

Collecting Continental Old Masters for
Harewood House, Yorkshire:
British Cultural Heritage and Aristocratic Survival,
1916–1947

Gemma Louise Plumpton

Submitted in accordance with the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Leeds
School of Fine Art, History of Art, and Cultural Studies
October 2023

The candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

This copy has been supplied on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgement.

The right of Gemma Louise Plumpton to be identified as Author of this work has been asserted by Gemma Louise Plumpton in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

Acknowledgements

This research was made possible by a doctoral scholarship awarded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council through the Collaborative Doctoral Partnership scheme, and I am hugely indebted to them. I am also grateful for the support provided to me by staff at the two partner institutions, the University of Leeds and the National Gallery.

I am immensely grateful to my supervisors, Susanna Avery-Quash and Mark Westgarth, for the expertise, guidance, and support that they have given me throughout the process of researching and writing this thesis, from which both it and I have benefitted enormously. It has been a privilege and a pleasure to work with them.

Harewood House has been my principal base during the past three and a half years, and I am grateful for the practical and moral support that all of the Trust staff have given me during that period. Above all I am indebted to Beckie Burton for so generously sharing her immense knowledge and enthusiasm for the Harewood collections with me. I would also like to thank Paula Martin, Roger Stark, Niamh Kelly, Sophie Barraclough, John Sheret, and Molly Kelly.

I have benefitted from discussing my research with a number of scholars over the course of this project and am grateful to them for sharing their time and expertise. In particular, I would like to thank Jeremy Howard, Peter Humfrey, Timothy Newbery, Harriet O'Neill, and Phillippa Heath. I am also grateful to Anne-Marie Tarkowski.

This thesis has relied heavily on primary research carried out in archives. I am grateful to David Lascelles and Diane Howse, Earl and Countess of Harewood, for granting permission for me to study the 6th Earl of Harewood's archive, which has been a cornerstone of this research project. My thanks are also due to Jon Culverhouse (Burghley House), Laura Hobbs (Royal Collection Archives), Gillian Long (University College London), Helen Riggs (York Georgian Society), Adam Toole (Temple Newsam), and the staff of the West Yorkshire Archive Service.

I am grateful to my fellow CDP and University of Leeds students, and would particularly like to thank Lucy West, Hannah Kašpar, Simon Spier, and Caroline McCaffrey-Howarth.

Finally, I would like to thank my husband James for his unwavering support and encouragement. This thesis is dedicated to my grandparents, Audrey and Richard Emery, who would have been delighted by its existence.

Abstract

This thesis examines the proactive collecting of continental old master paintings and drawings undertaken by Henry George Charles Lascelles, 6th Earl of Harewood (1882–1947) during the first half of the twentieth century, which began from the trenches of the First World War. The 6th Earl's activities are significant in a number of ways. In the first instance, he was buying art at a time when many aristocrats in Britain were selling individual masterpieces or entire collections as a result of external economic pressures, a process which began in 1882 with the high-profile Hamilton Palace sales. While considerable scholarly attention has been paid to the dominance of American plutocrats over the British market for continental old master paintings during this period, the 6th Earl's collecting demonstrates that private buyers could still be found in Britain for major works of art. This assessment is reinforced by significant fresh primary research which illustrates the breadth and composition of the 6th Earl's collection, including, significantly, his acquisition of continental old master drawings, which he used as connoisseurial tools to improve his understanding and appreciation of his paintings.

Set against a backdrop of increased concern in Britain that the nation's heritage was being lost to America, this thesis investigates the impact of the contemporary notion of cultural heritage upon the 6th Earl's acquisition and display of art. Specifically, the 6th Earl was acutely conscious that the lack of continental old master paintings at Harewood House, the ancestral country seat of the Lascelles family, betrayed his family's comparatively recently acquired wealth and nobility. This thesis contends that the 6th Earl's art collecting was therefore motivated by a desire to enhance his family's cultural patrimony in order to solidify and communicate their status as members of the aristocracy. His success in this area is indicated by his marriage in 1922 to Princess Mary (1897–1965), thereby becoming the son-in-law of King George V (1865–1936) and securing places for himself and his future heir at the very top of the aristocracy as members of the royal family.

At a time when the value of aristocratic stewardship was being increasingly questioned, the 6th Earl held a number of positions on the governing boards of public art institutions. In particular, through his role in the little-known Sudeley Committee the 6th Earl contributed to significant museum reforms which sought to improve physical and intellectual access to art for working people. Overall, this thesis presents a revised assessment of British private collecting of old masters during the first half of the twentieth century, providing a case study of an aristocrat who defied the economic, political, and social challenges facing members of his class to build a notable art collection and secure social ascendancy.

Contents

Acknowledgements	iii
Abstract.....	iv
Abbreviations and notes on titles.....	vii
List of Illustrations.....	viii
Collaborative Doctoral Partnership.....	xii
Introduction.....	1
Aristocratic cultural heritage	2
Existing scholarship on the 6th Earl of Harewood’s collecting.....	10
Archives.....	12
Chapter structure.....	14
Chapter One: Public and private promotion of art.....	17
Amateur taste.....	18
Criticism of aristocratic stewardship.....	21
Professionalisation	24
Trusteeships, committees, and commissions.....	26
The public benefit.....	39
Loans from the 6th Earl’s collection.....	41
Access to private collections in country houses.....	44
Conclusion.....	48
Chapter Two: Constructing an aristocratic heritage	50
Aristocratic heritage as national heritage	54
Combining the Clanricarde and Harewood heritage.....	58
Chesterfield House and Egerton House.....	66
The family seat: Harewood House.....	76
Conclusion.....	81
Chapter Three: Collecting continental old masters in Britain.....	82
Collecting in response to cultural heritage.....	82
Tancred Borenius.....	91
Acquisitions.....	96
i. Works of art by British artists.....	97
ii. Continental old master paintings.....	102
iii. Old master drawings.....	115

Conclusion.....	120
Chapter Four: Incorporating the collection into Harewood House.....	122
An interesting ancestral home, not a ‘dull Museum’.....	123
Collecting for display	125
Situating the old master collection within the house.....	127
The role of art professionals in the display of the 6th Earl’s old master paintings....	129
Dividing the collection between two rooms.....	131
Hanging pictures for close study and decorative impact.....	134
Framing the old masters.....	137
Authenticity in picture cleaning.....	144
Conclusion.....	149
Conclusion.....	151
Afterlife: cultural heritage at Harewood House since 1947	154
Illustrations.....	161
Bibliography	189
Appendix A: Houses occupied by or associated with the 6th Earl of Harewood	253
Appendix B: Paintings and drawings acquired by the 6th Earl of Harewood	254

Abbreviations and notes on titles

HHA: Harewood House Archive, Harewood House, Leeds.

6EHHA: 6th Earl of Harewood Archive, within HHA.

5CHHA: 5th Countess of Harewood Archive, within HHA.

PMHHA: Princess Mary Archive, within HHA.

HHPA: Harewood House Photographic Archive, Harewood House, Leeds.

HHT[letter]:[number]: catalogue reference to object in the care of Harewood House Trust.

NGTMS: collection management system of the National Gallery, The Museum System.

TBA: Tancred Borenius Archive, privately owned.

WYAS: West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds.

B.[number]: catalogue number given to a work in the 6th Earl's collection by Tancred Borenius, in *Catalogue of the Pictures and Drawings at Harewood House and Elsewhere in the Collection of the Earl of Harewood* (Oxford: Privately printed at the Oxford University Press, 1936).

Henry George Charles Lascelles is referred to throughout this thesis as the 6th Earl of Harewood (thereafter 6th Earl) for the sake of consistency and clarity, although he only held that title from 1929, and between 1892 and 1929 he was styled Viscount Lascelles.

Victoria Alexandra Alice Mary Windsor, the only daughter of King George V and Queen Mary of Teck, is referred to throughout as Princess Mary, though she was styled Viscountess Lascelles from 1922, Countess of Harewood from 1929, and Princess Royal after 1932.

In footnotes, where only a partial title is given – 5th Countess, 6th Earl, etc. – these refer to the Earl or Countess of Harewood. All other titles are given in full.

Where pictures or rooms are described in the text, footnotes, or captions, the attribution or title given to them during the 6th Earl of Harewood's lifetime is used. Details of any reattributions may be found in Appendix B.

Unless otherwise specified, all underlining in quotations is original.

List of Illustrations

- Fig. 1. Geographical distribution of loan exhibitions to which the 6th Earl of Harewood contributed, 1916–1947.
- Fig. 2. Details of loans by the 6th Earl of Harewood of continental and British old master paintings and drawings, 1916–1947.
- Fig. 3: Details of loans by the 6th Earl of Harewood of works of art by contemporary or recently deceased British artists, 1916–1947.
- Fig. 4. Sir Leslie Ward, *Hubert George de Burgh–Canning, second Marquess of Clanricarde (1832–1916)*, c. 1917–1919, oil on canvas (Leeds, Harewood House); detail.
- Fig. 5. Sir Leslie Ward, *Hubert George de Burgh–Canning, second Marquess of Clanricarde (1832–1916)*, 1919, oil on canvas (Leeds, Harewood House); detail.
- Fig. 6. John D. Reigh, *The "Devil's work" in Ireland*, published as a supplement in *United Ireland*, 19 January 1889.
- Fig. 7. Old Castle, Portumna, County Galway, by American Studios, early twentieth century (HHPA, box 84).
- Fig. 8. New Castle, Portumna, County Galway, by American Studios, before 1922 (HHPA, box 84).
- Fig. 9. Lenygon & Morant Ltd (by or for), scale drawing of panelling in the Drawing Room and Small Ball Room of Chesterfield House, c. 1920 (HHTD:2014.34).
- Fig. 10. Library, Chesterfield House, by *Country Life*, July 1931 (HHPA, box 84).
- Fig. 11. Library, Chesterfield House, by Bedford Lemere and Company, 17 August 1886 (Historic England Archive, BL06608).
- Fig. 12. Library, Chesterfield House, by Bedford Lemere and Company, 1894 (Historic England Archive, BL12787).
- Fig. 13. Richard Jack, *The Library at Chesterfield House*, 1927, oil on canvas (Leeds, Harewood House).
- Fig. 14. White Drawing Room, Chesterfield House, by *Country Life*, July 1931 (HHPA, box 84).

Fig. 15. Set of four Chippendale chairs at Chesterfield House, repr. in *Catalogue of the Remaining Contents of Chesterfield House, Mayfair, the Property of the Right Hon. the Earl of Harewood, K.G., D.S.O. [...] (London: J. Davy & Sons, 1932).*

Fig. 16. Entrance Hall, Harewood House, c. 1914, repr. in Arthur T. Bolton, 'Harewood House, Yorkshire, the Seat of the Earl of Harewood', *Country Life*, 4 July 1914, 18-26, p. 19 (detail).

Fig. 17. Yellow Drawing Room, Harewood House, during the restoration of the room in the 1990s (HHPA). The Victorian painted canvas has been uncovered on the wall to the right.

Fig. 18. Princess Mary's Dressing Room, Harewood House, by Walter Scott of Bradford, 29 May 1931 (HHPA). Visible are eighteenth-century plaster pilasters re-used from the room's previous design, and glazed cabinets inspired by the form of an Adam mirror.

Fig. 19: Plaster plaque in Princess Mary's Bathroom, Harewood House, c. 1930.

Fig. 20: The 6th Earl of Harewood in the trenches of the First World War, France, c. 1915–1919 (HHTPh:2004.1.75).

Fig. 21: Tancred Borenius, by Wallace Heaton, 1932 (TBA).

Fig. 22: Telegram from Tancred Borenius to the 6th Earl, enclosed in a letter from the 6th Earl to the 5th Countess, 18 May 1917 (5CHHA, box 6, no. 153).

Fig. 23: Thomas Girtin, *A Distant View of Harewood House from the South–West*, c. 1798, watercolour on paper (Leeds, Harewood House).

Fig. 24: State Dining Room, Harewood House, July 2023. Above the fireplace hangs Sir William Nicholson's *Henry George Charles Lascelles, 6th Earl of Harewood*, oil on canvas, 1936 (Leeds, Harewood House).

Fig. 25: H.R.H. Dressing Room, Chesterfield House, by *Country Life*, July 1931 (HHPA, Box 84). Above the fireplace is a group of pictures by David Teniers the Younger. On the left wall Veronese's drawing *Venice Triumphant* may be seen on the bottom register, surmounted by John Singer Sargent's painting of the Ducal Palace, Venice.

Fig. 26: The 6th Earl of Harewood (lowest seated figure on the right) in Italy, probably Venice, c. 1905–1907 (HHPA, Box 49).

Fig. 27: Grand Staircase, Chesterfield House, by *Country Life*, July 1931 (HHPA, box 84). Hung above the staircase is Peter Paul Rubens' *Queen Tomyris with the Head of Cyrus*, c. 1622–1623, oil on canvas (now Boston, Museum of Fine Arts).

Fig. 28: Invoice from Colnaghi to the 6th Earl, August 1919 (HHTD:2003.1.8).

Fig. 29: Titian, *The Death of Actaeon*, c. 1559–1575, oil on canvas (London, The National Gallery).

Fig. 30: El Greco, *A Man, A Woman, and A Monkey*, c. 1577, oil on canvas (Leeds, Harewood House).

Fig. 31: Cima da Conegliano, *St Jerome in the Wilderness*, c. 1492–1494, oil on canvas (Leeds, Harewood House).

Fig. 32: Paolo Veronese, *Venice Triumphant*, c. 1581, pen and ink, brush and bistre, and Chinese white on paper (location unknown).

Fig. 33: Gallery, Temple Newsam, Leeds, c. 1910, repr. in Fletcher Moss, *The Fifth Book of Pilgrimages to Old Homes* (Didsbury: The Author, 1910), p. 315.

Fig. 34: Picture Gallery, Temple Newsam, postcard printed by Pickard of Leeds, after 1939.

Fig. 35: 6th Earl of Harewood, design for a ceiling, October 1917, pencil on paper (5CHHA, box 6, 185). The shields depict, from top right running clockwise, the arms of Canning, de Burgh, and Lascelles (the fourth arms are not yet fully unidentified, but likely contain the quarterings of the Gascoigne family).

Fig. 36: Sir Herbert Baker (by or after), Ground Floor Plan of Harewood House, early 1930s (HHA).

Fig. 37: Gallery, Harewood House, c. 1914, repr. in Arthur T. Bolton, 'Harewood House, Yorkshire, the Seat of the Earl of Harewood', *Country Life*, 4 July 1914, 18–26, p. 23.

Fig. 38. Green Drawing Room (now Cinnamon Drawing Room), Harewood House, by Walter Scott of Bradford, early 1930s (HHPA).

Fig. 39. Rose Drawing Room (now Yellow Drawing Room), Harewood House, by Walter Scott of Bradford, early 1930s (HHPA).

Fig. 40. Morning Room, Chesterfield House, by Country Life, c. 1922 (HHTPh:2002.1.12p8).

Fig. 41. Green Drawing Room, Harewood House, by Walter Scott of Bradford, early 1930s (HHPA).

Fig. 42. Rose Drawing Room, Harewood House, c. 1950, repr. in Ernest Illingworth Musgrave and Sydney W. Newberry, *Harewood House: An Illustrated Survey of the Yorkshire Residence of H.R.H. The Princess Royal, The Historic Home of the Earls of Harewood* (Derby: English Life Publications, 1950).

Fig. 43. Dining Room, Chesterfield House, repr. in ‘Chesterfield House—II Mayfair, A Residence of Viscount Lascelles, K.G.’, *Country Life*, 51 (4 March 1922), 308–14, p. 313.

Fig. 44. Interior of the Burlington Fine Arts Club, 17 Savile Row, by Bedford Lemere and Company, 1921 (Historic England Archive, BL25311).

Fig. 45. Dining Room, Harewood House, by Walter Scott of Bradford, early 1930s (HHPA). To the left of the chimneypiece is Thomas Lawrence, *George Canning*, c. 1825, oil on canvas (Leeds, Harewood House).

Fig. 46. El Greco, *A Man, A Woman, and A Monkey*, c. 1577, oil on canvas, in the frame applied to it during the 1930s (Leeds, Harewood House).

Fig. 47. Vincenzo Catena, *Madonna and Child with St John the Baptist and St Jerome*, c. 1500–1530, oil on panel (Leeds, Harewood House), with frame by Ferruccio Vannoni, 1932.

Fig. 48. Queue of visitors in the Gallery at Harewood House on its opening day, 4 May 1950, repr. in *The Daily Herald*, 5 May 1950 (HHPA).

Fig. 49. Titian appeal board outside the National Gallery, 1971 or 1972, repr. in Alan Crookham, *The National Gallery: An Illustrated History* (London: National Gallery; Distributed by Yale University Press, 2009), p. 89.

Fig. 50. Paolo Veronese, *Portrait of a Gentleman of the Soranzo Family*, c. 1585, oil on canvas (London, The National Gallery).

Collaborative Doctoral Partnership

This thesis is the product of a Collaborative Doctoral Partnership between the University of Leeds and the National Gallery, London, funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council. Its subject was proposed by Dr Susanna Avery-Quash and Dr Mark Westgarth and developed in collaboration with Harewood House Trust. Harewood House Trust is not an official partner in this Collaborative Doctoral Partnership, but is a key stakeholder, whose involvement from the inception of the project has been crucial to its success.

The title originally proposed for this research project was ‘Collecting Continental Old Masters at Harewood House, Yorkshire: conflicts and convergences over contemporary art and national heritage and European and American cultural relations in the British art world, 1880–1950’. Over the course of this project, its focus has developed and shifted in recognition of the central role of aristocratic cultural heritage – as distinct from, though symbolically overlapping with, national heritage – in the 6th Earl of Harewood’s collecting. This has arisen in part in response to fresh primary research in the 6th Earl of Harewood’s archive, which for the first time has shed light on the 6th Earl’s awareness of the deficiencies in his ancestral patrimony, his promotion of public access to art in public institutions, and his beliefs concerning the desirability of preserving aristocratic culture in the private sphere. The richness of this subject in direct relation to the 6th Earl of Harewood’s activities is deserving of the comprehensive examination given in this thesis.

Introduction

Harewood House in Yorkshire, the country seat of the Lascelles family, contains a notable collection of continental old master paintings which includes important works of art by Italian masters such as Bellini, Cima, Titian, Tintoretto, and El Greco.¹ These were acquired by Henry George Charles Lascelles, the 6th Earl of Harewood (1882–1947) between 1916 and 1947, and were installed initially in Chesterfield House, London, before being transferred to Harewood House after the 6th Earl succeeded to his title in 1929.² The start of this acquisitive period was marked by the death of the 6th Earl’s great-uncle Hubert George de Burgh Canning, 2nd Marquess of Clanricarde (1832–1916), who unexpectedly left his entire fortune, Irish estate, and collection of art and other objects to the 6th Earl.³ The cash injection of approximately £2 million after tax enabled the 6th Earl to embark on a major programme of continental old master acquisitions that began from the trenches of the First World War with the assistance of art historian Dr Tancred Borenius (1885–1948).⁴ The 6th Earl would go on to marry into the very top end of the aristocracy, when, in 1922, he became a member of the royal family through his marriage to Princess Mary (1897–1965), the only daughter of King George V (1865–1936) and Queen Mary of Teck (1867–1953).⁵ The 6th Earl of Harewood’s collecting and related activities provide an interesting subject for detailed examination because, as will be demonstrated, they complicate the dominant narratives of existing scholarship on the market for continental old masters in Britain and on the status of the aristocracy during this period.

¹ Harewood House was built for the Lascelles family in the second half of the eighteenth century and has been occupied by that family since 1771; Mary Mauchline, *Harewood House: One of the Treasure Houses of Britain*, 2nd ed. (Ashbourne: Moorland, 1992); David Lascelles, *Harewood* (Leeds: Harewood House Trust, 2012).

² Appendix B provides full provenance for the 6th Earl’s acquisitions, where known, including acquisition dates.

³ Mauchline, p. 145. The apocryphal story is that the 6th Earl was in London in early 1916 on leave to recover from a gunshot wound and encountered Clanricarde in the St James’s Club, whom he sat with for half an hour. Clanricarde, who was widely unpopular, shortly thereafter changed his will to benefit the 6th Earl; George Lascelles, 7th Earl of Harewood, *The Tongues and the Bones* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1981), p. 26. Clanricarde’s will was altered in February 1916, two months before his death: LX210/3 Earlier will of the Marquis of Clanricarde, dated 10 August 1874, and LX210/1 Will of Hubert de Burgh Canning Marquis of Clanricarde, 2 February 1916, WYAS. The Clanricarde inheritance was inventoried by Christie’s; *The most Honourable The Marquis of Clanricarde, K.P. deceased—Inventory of the Collection of Pictures, China, Furniture, Decorative Objects, Silver etc., Christies, Manson and Woodes, September 1916*, HHTD: 2016:213.

⁴ Nicholas Penny, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Sixteenth Century: Italian Paintings: Volume II: Venice, 1540–1600* (London: National Gallery, 2008), p. 455. Correspondence from 6th Earl to 5th Countess of Harewood, 1915–1919, 5CHHA, box 6; correspondence 6th Earl to Borenius, 1917–1919, TBA.

⁵ ‘Clanricarde Millions: Nearly £2,500,000 Left to Viscount Lascelles’, *Daily Sketch* (London, 6 May 1916), p. 2; Ross McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures: England 1918–1951* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 3; Mauchline, p. 145.

Aristocratic cultural heritage

The political, economic, and social pressures faced by aristocrats in Britain during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century have been examined in detail by several scholars, including notably F.M.L. Thompson, David Cannadine, and Peter Mandler.⁶ A crucial factor was landownership, which had historically been an essential requirement for those seeking a political appointment and social elevation to the aristocracy; land, as well as the high status and political power that it connoted, was passed through the patrimonial line in many aristocratic families for generations.⁷ The gradual extension of the franchise during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, however, eroded the traditional link between landownership and political authority, in both houses of Government.⁸ The agricultural depression at the end of the nineteenth century, moreover, meant that land was increasingly regarded as an ‘uncertain and uneconomic asset’.⁹ The 6th Earl of Harewood was explicitly conscious of the declining value of landownership, and was highly critical of Lord Carrington whom he learned was recommending his friends to buy land in England, stating ‘I think he must be mad or dishonest to say such a thing’.¹⁰

The introduction of death duties in 1894, and the increase of direct taxation on landed wealth by David Lloyd George in 1909–1910, further contributed to this reassessment, and, as a result, many aristocrats during this period reconfigured their wealth on increasingly ‘non-landed terms’.¹¹ The approximately eight million acres of land in England sold between 1918 and 1921 – leading to the well-known phrase ‘England is changing hands’ – does not solely reflect penury, but the decision of some aristocrats to dispose of low-yield, highly taxed assets and

⁶ F.M.L. Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963); David Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, Rev. ed (London: Papermac, 1996); Peter Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997). See also Jose Harris, *Private Lives, Public Spirit: Britain 1870–1914* (London: Penguin Books, 1994), p. 104; McKibbin, p. 41.

⁷ Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), p. 300; Jose Harris, p. 103; Thompson, pp. 298–99.

⁸ Only eight landed peers were created between 1911 and 1920, and of the 93 new creations between 1921 and 1930 only 13 were landed while 24 were industrialists: McKibbin, pp. 16–17, 21.

⁹ Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, p. 89.

¹⁰ Likely Charles Robert Wynn-Carrington, later styled 1st Marquess of Lincolnshire (1843–1928). Lady Albermarle told the 6th Earl of Lord Carrington’s advice; 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 25 September 1910, 5CHHA, box 5.

¹¹ The top rate of death duties in 1894, set at eight percent, only affected the largest estates with rental income over £40,000; Bruce K. Murray, *The People’s Budget 1909/10: Lloyd George and Liberal Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 15; Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, pp. 90, 138; Harold Perkin, *The Rise of Professional Society: England since 1880* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), p. 78; Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, p. 300; Jose Harris, p. 105; Thompson, pp. 306–8. Lloyd George’s so-called People’s Budget of 1909 was designed to raise revenue for social reforms such as non-contributory old age pensions through direct taxation of wealth, particularly wealth in land and property, rather than wages; Murray, pp. 1, 5, 8.

diversify their income.¹² The vendors included the 5th Earl of Harewood, who sold approximately 9,000 acres of the Harewood estates in 1919, citing ‘income and super tax’ which left ‘little margin’ for ‘private expenses such as keeping up Harewood’.¹³ This quotation indicates the importance placed by aristocrats upon maintaining their ancestral cultural heritage – of which a country house was a significant component – even in the face of significant economic pressure.

The integral link between cultural heritage and aristocratic status meant that, as David Cannadine has noted, although the aristocracy was ‘getting out of land’ during the opening decades of the twentieth century, the ‘inherited habits of patrician behaviour continued even when the circumstances that had given rise to them and justified them had disappeared’.¹⁴ In the 1920s Lord Curzon, for one – a diplomat, politician, and long-standing Trustee of the National Gallery – still celebrated the fact that ‘Son succeeds father for generation after generation; he retains or adds to, or diminishes the patrimony of his ancestors; he builds or rebuilds or alters the family mansion; he takes part in the public life of his country.’¹⁵ However, many aristocrats at this time chose to realise the capital value of some of their cultural assets through sales in order to afford to maintain (and retain) their country house and its immediate estate.¹⁶ This was facilitated by the 1882 Settled Land Act, which enabled owners of entailed estates to sell previously inalienable objects.¹⁷ Art was the asset ‘least prized and most easily realized by landowners’, and as a result from the late nineteenth century there was a dramatic increase in sales of works of art from aristocratic private collections.¹⁸ These were inaugurated by the landmark Hamilton Palace sale in the summer of 1882, when ‘pictures, works of art, and

¹² McKibbin, p. 22; Thompson, pp. 330, 335.

¹³ ‘Earl of Harewood: Death of Father-in-Law of Princess Mary’, *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 7 October 1929, p. 5. The diversification of the Harewood capital estate had begun decades earlier, as by 1902 the 5th Earl owned a number of stocks and bonds, including in railroads, as well as receiving rental income from the lease of a London house, besides owning land in Yorkshire and Barbados; Nicholl Manisty & Co. ‘Notes of Property’, July 1902, 5EHHA. On the Lascelles family’s historic ownership of land, plantations, and enslaved people in the West Indies, see S. D. Smith, *Slavery, Family, and Gentry Capitalism in the British Atlantic: The World of the Lascelles, 1648–1834*, Cambridge Studies in Economic History (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006)

¹⁴ Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, p. 137.

¹⁵ Quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 137–38.

¹⁶ Giles Worsley contends that the aristocratic families that survived this period best did so by rationalising their assets, including selling land, art, and houses. While some of these sales were forced by pressing economic necessity, others actively chose to follow this path; Giles Worsley, *England’s Lost Houses: From the Archives of Country Life* (London: Aurum Press, 2011).

¹⁷ Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, p. 300; Thompson, pp. 308–10; Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, p. 89. The proceeds of such sales had to be reinvested into the estate.

¹⁸ Mandler, ‘Art, Death and Taxes’, p. 282.

decorative objects' were sold by Christie's on behalf of the Duke of Hamilton; the sale was hugely lucrative, raising approximately half a million pounds across just two days.¹⁹

The association between continental old master paintings, among other object types, and high social status, was recognised by socially ambitious *nouveau riche* American plutocrats, who formed a ready audience for the pictures from aristocratic collections that flooded the market from 1882.²⁰ The dominance of American collectors over the British art market at this time has received considerable scholarly attention in the twenty-first century, with major reference works including *British Models of Art Collecting and the American Response: Reflections Across the Pond*, edited by Inge Reist, and Cynthia Salzman's *Old Masters, New World: America's Raid on Europe's Great Pictures, 1880 – World War I*.²¹ In addition, several authors – including Reist, Barbara Pezzini, and Jeremy Howard – have studied the specific activities of individual American collectors, the agents they employed, and the dealers who supplied the market at this time.²² The aristocratic source of many of the old masters available in Britain at this time meant that American collectors 'implicitly [accepted] an aesthetic that was aristocratic, but augmented by Rothschild opulence.'²³ Eighteenth-century English

¹⁹ Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home*, p. 124. For country house sales during this period see Frank Herrmann, *Sotheby's: Portrait of an Auction House* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1980), pp. 263–71.

²⁰ Neil Harris, 'The Long Good-Bye: Heritage and Threat in Anglo-America', in *British Models of Art Collecting and the American Response: Reflections Across the Pond*, ed. by Inge Reist, *The Histories of Material Culture and Collecting, 1700–1950* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 195–208, pp. 17–18; Georgina S. Walker, *The Private Collector's Museum: Public Good Versus Private Gain*, *Routledge Research in Museum Studies* (London and New York: Routledge, 2020), p. 41.

²¹ *British Models of Art Collecting and the American Response: Reflections Across the Pond*, ed. by Inge Reist, *The Histories of Material Culture and Collecting, 1700–1950* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014); Cynthia Saltzman, *Old Masters, New World: America's Raid on Europe's Great Pictures, 1880–World War I* (New York: Viking, 2008).

²² Inge Reist, 'Knoedler and Old Masters in America', in *Old Masters Worldwide: Markets, Movements and Museums, 1789–1939*, ed. by Susanna Avery-Quash and Barbara Pezzini, *Contextualizing Art Markets* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2021), 195–210; Barbara Pezzini, 'The Politics of Masterpieces: The Failed Attempt to Purchase Rembrandt's *The Mill* for the National Gallery', *Colnaghi Studies Journal*, 6, 2020, 135–46; Jeremy Howard, 'The One That Didn't Get Away: New Light on the Sale of Holbein's *Duchess of Milan*', *Journal of the History of Collections*, 34.1 (2021), 141–56 <<https://doi.org/10.1093/jhc/fhaa060>>.

²³ Cannadine, 'Pictures Across the Pond: Perspectives and Retrospectives', in *British Models of Art Collecting and the American Response: Reflections Across the Pond*, ed. by Inge Reist, 9–25, p. 18. Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild (1839–1898) built Waddesdon Manor, Buckinghamshire, and filled it with eighteenth-century French decorative arts and British portraits of the same period; Michael Hall, '“*Le gout Rothschild*”: The Origins and Influences of a Collecting Style', in Reist, *British Models of Art Collecting and the American Response*, 101–116. The politician Sir Philip Sassoon, 3rd Baronet (1888–1939), was a member of the Rothschild banking family and inherited from them an art collection which he augmented with his own particular taste for eighteenth-century English conversation pieces such as those by Johann Zoffany; Marc Fecker, 'Sir Philip Sassoon at 25 Park Lane: The Collection of an Early Twentieth-century Connoisseur and Aesthete', *Journal of the History of Collections*, 31.1 (2019), 151–170. As well as Americans, British industrialist collectors were also influenced by the Rothschilds. For instance, Walter Samuel, 2nd Viscount Bearsted (1882–1948) was chairman of the Shell Transport and Trading Company which his father and uncle had founded; he bought Upton Park, Warwickshire, in 1922, and decorated it in a 'toned-down Rothschild' taste with Dutch paintings, English eighteenth-century portraits, sporting art, and European eighteenth-century porcelain; James Stourton and Charles Sebag-Montefiore, *The British as Art Collectors: From the Tudors to the Present* (London: Scala, 2012),

portraits by Gainsborough, Lawrence, and Romney were favoured, as well as earlier ones by Anthony van Dyck, while European old masters such as Rembrandt, Titian, and Raphael were also sought after.²⁴ Many of these pictures had been brought to England during the eighteenth-century period of the Grand Tour or as a result of important sales of continental European collections, such as the Orléans collection, at the turn of the nineteenth century.²⁵

Neil Harris has described the field of old master collecting in the early twentieth century as being ‘divided between those trying to protect patrimony and those trying to create one’.²⁶ In the context of Anglo-American collecting, British aristocrats – and preservationist groups, as will shortly be discussed – are placed in the former category, and Americans in the latter. The wealthiest and most voracious American collectors of continental old masters during this period sought not only to emulate British aristocrats but to rival them, and in doing so ‘rid themselves of the uncultured and tasteless tag that was often applied to them by the European elite’.²⁷ For example, the Boston socialite Isabella Stewart Gardner (1840–1924) engaged as her advisor the art historian Bernard Berenson (1864–1959), who stated that he would help her to build ‘a collection almost unrivalled – of masterpieces, and masterpieces only’.²⁸ Indeed, collecting for prestige depends upon the acquisition of material that is deemed to be ‘intrinsically important’, which as Susan Pearce notes ‘means, *par excellence*, pictures from the European schools of acknowledged masters.’²⁹ Thanks to their enormous fortunes built during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries – which were usually not in land and therefore comparatively easy to access and utilise – American plutocrats were able to pay large sums in order to acquire

pp. 288–289; Tancred Borenius, *A Catalogue of the Pictures, Etc. at 18 Kensington Palace Gardens, London*, 2 vols (Oxford: Privately printed at the Oxford University Press, 1926), II.

²⁴ Gerald Reitlinger, *The Economics of Taste: The Rise and Fall of Picture Prices 1760–1960* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1961), Ch. 7 ‘The Treasures Depart. 1884–1929’.

²⁵ Susanna Avery-Quash and Nicholas Penny, ‘The Dispersal of the Orléans Collection and the British Art Market’, in *London and the Emergence of a European Art Market, 1780–1820*, ed. by Susanna Avery-Quash and Christian Huemer (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2019), 145–158; Jordana Pomeroy, ‘Conversing with History: The Orléans Collection Arrives in Britain’, *British Models of Art Collecting and the American Response: Reflections Across the Pond*, ed. by Inge Reist, 47–60; Stourton and Sebag-Montefiore, chap. 9, ‘The Grand Tour: High Summer’, and chap. 12, ‘The Orléans Collection and Napoleon’s Bonanza’.

²⁶ Neil Harris, p. 195.

²⁷ Walker, p. 41.

²⁸ Bernard Berenson to Isabella Stewart Gardner, 18 December 1895, *Letters of Bernard Berenson and Isabella Stewart Gardner*, ed. Rollin van N. Hadley (Boston: North-Eastern University Press, c. 1987), p.45, quoted in Saltzman, p. 71. Berenson’s expertise in Italian art, his knowledge of private collections, and his close relationships with the dealers Otto Gutekunst of Colnaghi and with Joseph Duveen enabled him to fulfil this promise; “C’est Mon Plaisir”: Isabella Stewart Gardner, Bernard Berenson, Otto Gutekunst, and Titian’s *Europa*, in Saltzman, pp. 45–92.

²⁹ Susan M. Pearce, *On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition*, *Collecting Cultures* (London: Routledge, 2005), p. 232. The term ‘masterpiece’ ‘carries the burden of excellence, and also of having successfully passed a social and cultural test’; *Ibid.*, p. 291.

the works of art they desired, and their resources outstripped the majority of other collectors.³⁰ For example, in 1906 the businessman P.A.B. Widener (1834–1915) paid a record-breaking sum of £103,000 for Van Dyck's *Marchesa Grimaldi–Cattaneo*, overtaking the £100,000 paid by financier John Pierpont Morgan (1837–1913) in 1900 for Raphael's *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints*, known as the Colonna Altarpiece.³¹ In contrast, when the National Gallery in London purchased Raphael's *Ansidei Madonna* and Van Dyck's equestrian portrait of *Charles I* from the Duke of Marlborough in 1885, the significant purchase price of £87,500 had to be met by a special grant from the Treasury and resulted in the loss of the Gallery's purchase grant for two years.³²

Many Americans, including Gardner, as well as a number of British middle-class industrialist collectors, would go on to establish their own public museums or present their collections to existing art institutions.³³ While genuinely philanthropic, these gestures were also driven to a degree by personal and political ambitions, ensuring the survival of each collector's legacy in perpetuity.³⁴ The 6th Earl of Harewood certainly placed great importance on the survival of his patrimonial cultural heritage, intact, within Lascelles family ownership. Nevertheless, he does not entirely fit into Neil Harris's picture of an insecure British aristocrat, since the Clanricarde fortune precluded him from being forced to sell works of art due to economic necessity, and moreover he actively expanded his patrimony through his collecting and by buying houses.

While not directly negatively affected, the 6th Earl was aware of the dominance of American collectors and the resultant exodus of works of art from British aristocratic collections, some of which had been in the same family for centuries, across the Atlantic. This tendency only increased after 1909 when America abolished import tax on works of art more than 100 years old.³⁵ To take a high-profile example, Gainsborough's *The Blue Boy*, which had been owned by the Grosvenor family since the early nineteenth century, was sold in 1921 through the ubiquitous art dealer Joseph Duveen to the American railroad magnate Henry Huntington

³⁰ Cannadine, 'Pictures Across the Pond: Perspectives and Retrospectives', p. 17.

³¹ Reitlinger, p. 181.

³² Reitlinger, pp. 178–179; Elena J Greer, 'Sir Frederic William Burton and the Rosebery Minute: The Directorship of the National Gallery, London, in the Late Nineteenth Century' (unpublished Ph.D., University of Nottingham, 2017), pp. 236–238.

³³ Walker, pp. 27–28.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 41; Susan Pearce, p. 232.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 27; Howard, 'The One That Didn't Get Away', p. 150.

(1850–1927) for \$728,000 (£182,000) and subsequently exported in 1922.³⁶ Though privately owned, the picture's place among Britain's cultural heritage had been established through its inclusion in many significant exhibitions during the nineteenth century, including those held at the British Institution, Royal Academy, and the major 1857 Art Treasures exhibition in Manchester.³⁷ Moreover, the picture was accessible to the public at Grosvenor House in London, which was among the first private art collections in Britain to admit visitors.³⁸ Such was the outcry at its sale that *The Blue Boy* was put on public display at the National Gallery for three weeks ahead of its export to America, during which limited period a reported 90,000 visitors came to bid it farewell.³⁹

Public awareness of the loss of cultural heritage from Britain during this period may also be gleaned from popular media. For example, Henry James' 1911 novel *The Outcry* (originally a popular stage play) presented a familiar scenario of an American millionaire seeking to acquire a prized Reynolds from an impoverished British aristocrat, though in this case the story had a happy ending, for the painting was retained and the aristocrat, partly to acknowledge his gratitude, happily presented another old master to the National Gallery.⁴⁰ A comical take on the situation was offered by *The Ghost Goes West*, a 1935 film in which a Scottish castle was purchased and transported to America, along with the ghost of the vendor's ancestor, where both castle and ghost were used to advertise the American purchaser's department store.⁴¹ In these examples, the American millionaire was cast as the principal villain of the story. Dealers and other agents of the art market in Britain were similarly criticised in the press for their role in selling Britain's national heritage to American collectors, and for profiting from such commercial transactions.⁴²

The aristocratic tradition of *noblesse oblige* – a sense of duty and obligation to the local and national community in return for the privileges afforded by landownership – also led to harsh public criticism of aristocrats who sold their objects overseas instead of ensuring their retention

³⁶ Susanna Avery-Quash and Jacqueline Riding, 'The Blue Boy and the Britishness of British Art, 1788–1921', in *Gainsborough's Blue Boy: The Return of a British Icon* (London: National Gallery, 2022), 25–37, pp. 27, 36; *Saved! 100 Years of the National Art Collections Fund*, ed. by Richard Verdi (London: Scala, 2003), p. 61.

³⁷ Avery-Quash and Riding, pp. 27–28.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁴⁰ Henry James, *The Outcry* (London: Methuen & Co, 1911); Avery-Quash and Riding, p. 37.

⁴¹ *The Ghost Goes West*, dir. by René Clair (London Film Productions, 1935), online film recording, YouTube, uploaded 5 May 2021 <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xBoIQgHQSeI>> [accessed 19 April 2022].

⁴² The clash between international commerce and protection of national heritage is a leitmotif of *Old Masters Worldwide: Markets, Movements and Museums, 1789–1939*, ed. by Susanna Avery-Quash and Barbara Pezzini, *Contextualizing Art Markets* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2021).

in Britain.⁴³ Such criticism was part of a broader reassessment of the value of aristocratic public service which took place around the turn of the twentieth century, dovetailing with the decline of landownership as a source of political, economic, and social power. For instance, the professionalisation and bureaucratisation of local government meant that the amateur administration enacted by the landowning aristocracy ‘seemed increasingly inappropriate and anachronistic.’⁴⁴ Nevertheless, the 6th Earl of Harewood held a number of public-serving roles in his local area in Yorkshire, including the lord-lieutenancy of West Riding from 1927, a position which he took over from his father who had held it since 1904.⁴⁵ Again, the value of aristocratic arts stewardship, traditionally enacted in part through service on the trustee boards of public arts institutions, was also increasingly questioned during this period.⁴⁶ This coincided with the rise of a professional class of museum staff and civil servants, principally of middle-class background, who wielded increased authority over the organisation and operations of public art institutions, while middle-class collectors and trained specialists also began to dominate trustee boards.⁴⁷ However, as the current thesis demonstrates, the 6th Earl of Harewood served faithfully for many years on various museum boards and in other related platforms, through which he was able actively to contribute to reforms which sought to improve access to art for a wider public.

In response to the increased precarity of privately owned aristocratic cultural heritage, and an associated reconsideration of the validity and/or effectiveness of aristocratic stewardship, a number of organisations were formed in the early twentieth century which sought to preserve objects and buildings for the benefit of the nation. These included the National Trust, which had been formed in 1895 ‘to promote the permanent preservation for the benefit of the nation of lands and buildings of beauty of historic interest’.⁴⁸ It sought to achieve this by bringing the ‘national inheritance’ under its own management and making it permanently accessible to the public.⁴⁹ The 1937 National Trust Act expanded the Trust’s remit to include country houses,

⁴³ Andrea Geddes Poole, ‘Conspicuous Presumption: The Treasury and the Trustees of the National Gallery, 1890–1939’, *Twentieth Century British History*, 16.1 (March 2005), 1–28, p. 3; Perkin, p. 136.

⁴⁴ Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, pp. 140, 180–181.

⁴⁵ List of Societies with which Lord Harewood is connected, 6EHHA. The 2nd and 3rd Earls of Harewood had also previously served as Lord Lieutenant of West Riding.

⁴⁶ Andrea Geddes Poole, *Stewards of the Nation’s Art: Contested Cultural Authority, 1890–1939* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010); Andrea Geddes Poole, ‘The National Art-Collections Fund and the Cultural Politics of Aristocratic Marginalization’, *Nineteenth Century Studies*, 22 (January 2008), 75–98 (p. 76).

⁴⁷ J. Lynne Teather, ‘The Museum Keepers: The Museums Association and the Growth of Museum Professionalism’, *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 9.1 (1990), 25–41 <[https://doi.org/10.1016/0260-4779\(90\)90023-7](https://doi.org/10.1016/0260-4779(90)90023-7)>; Geddes Poole, ‘Conspicuous Presumption’, p. 28; Greer, p. 19; Perkin.

⁴⁸ *What Is The National Trust?* (London: National Trust, 1934), p. 1.

⁴⁹ James Lees-Milne, ed., *The National Trust: A Record of Fifty Years’ Achievement* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1946), p. ix.

which offered owners the opportunity of relinquishing ownership and control over the property in return for continued occupation, for at least a period of time.⁵⁰ The Country Houses Scheme was met with mixed reactions from owners, some of whom, including the 6th Earl of Harewood, felt that it did not give a strong enough guarantee of continued occupation for successive generations to justify the ‘freedom of action’ which owners were ‘invited to give away’.⁵¹

Another organisation active during this period that focused on preserving the nation’s cultural heritage was the National Art Collections Fund (NACF), which was established in 1903 ‘to save great art for the nation by allying private munificence to public access’.⁵² Its principal model was to raise funds from the art-loving general public by an annual subscription which was initially set at a guinea, a deliberately low figure to encourage those of limited means to join its ranks.⁵³ In this way the NACF sought to purchase works of art for national collections, thus using money fundraised from the public to benefit that same public.⁵⁴ The record-breaking prices commanded by many continental old masters and English eighteenth-century works during this period necessitated occasional high-profile public appeals by the NACF when larger sums of money were required.⁵⁵ These began in 1905 with *The Rokeby Venus* by Velázquez, for which £45,000 was raised in a matter of weeks to acquire the work for the National Gallery, thus preventing its export to America.⁵⁶

The NACF’s democratic approach contrasted the art-loving working public against aristocratic vendors, who were comparatively wealthy but of course faced much greater costs and higher taxation.⁵⁷ The 6th Earl of Harewood lamented the economic pressures that prompted many works of art to leave aristocratic private collections; however, like many members of his class, he had no moral opposition to the free market.⁵⁸ While actively

⁵⁰ Lees-Milne, *The National Trust: A Record of Fifty Years’ Achievement*, pp. 61, 123; Marcus Binney and Gervase Jackson-Stops, ‘The Last Hundred Years’, in *The Treasure Houses of Britain: Five Hundred Years of Private Patronage and Art Collecting*, ed. by Gervase Jackson-Stops (Washington; New Haven: National Gallery of Art; Yale University Press, 1985) 70–77, p. 73. The Country Houses Scheme was extended to include settled estates in 1939.

⁵¹ 6th Earl to the Secretary of the National Trust, 18 July 1936, 6EHHA, box 18.

⁵² Verdi, p. 18. A dash is sometimes used in the title of the National ‘Art-Collections’ Fund, however there is no historical consistency to its usage. Compare, for instance, the titles of two publications by D.S. MacColl: ‘Twenty-One Years of the National Art Collections Fund’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 44.253 (1924), 174–177, 179; and *Twenty-Five Years of the National Art-Collections Fund, 1903–1928* (Glasgow: Printed for the Fund by Robert Maclehose, The University Press, 1928). The dash is omitted here except in citations.

⁵³ Verdi, p. 19.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁵⁵ On the escalating prices achieved by continental old masters, see Reitlinger, chap. 7.

⁵⁶ Geddes Poole, *Stewards of the Nation’s Art*, pp. 109–110; Verdi, pp. 74–79.

⁵⁷ Geddes Poole, *Stewards of the Nation’s Art*, p. 102.

⁵⁸ Mandler, *The Rise and Fall of the Stately Home*, p. 39.

promoting access to art through his public-serving roles, with regard to his own private collection the 6th Earl's responsibility, as he saw it, was to maintain his ancestral cultural heritage for the benefit of his heir and subsequent descendants. Speaking at an NACF conference in 1923, he stated that 'It was open to any owner who could not afford to maintain his house to put his art treasures in the market and obtain many thousands of pounds for them from a rich American.'⁵⁹ Histories of the art world during this period have tended to focus on those who followed this path, thereby relegating the British aristocracy as a class to the category of vendor, whose ancestral collections were in 'dissolution', and whose authority in every sphere was being seriously eroded.⁶⁰ The 6th Earl of Harewood's collecting, however, powerfully contradicts this dominant contemporary trend, providing an irrefutable example of an aristocrat who made significant additions to, rather than diminishing, his family's cultural heritage during the first half of the twentieth century.

Existing scholarship on the 6th Earl of Harewood's collecting

A number of scholars have paid some attention to the 6th Earl of Harewood's collecting of continental old master paintings.⁶¹ Mary Mauchline's history of Harewood House and its inhabitants, originally published in 1974, noted that 'the collections of paintings assembled by the 6th Earl enriched the house' and referenced a handful of specific acquisitions.⁶² The 6th Earl was included in James Stourton and Charles Sebag-Montefiore's survey of British art collectors, the vast scope of which limited the space given to each collector to just a few paragraphs.⁶³ Jeremy Howard included the 6th Earl in his account of the key clients of the important art dealership, Colnaghi, acknowledging the 6th Earl's notable position as a British aristocrat among the 'American Gilded-Age plutocrats' who comprised much of the audience for continental old masters at that time.⁶⁴ The 6th Earl was likewise referenced in Frank

⁵⁹ 'Saving Works of Art: Viscount Lascelles and Rich Owners', *Westminster Gazette*, 14 June 1923, 8.

⁶⁰ Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, p. 89.

⁶¹ Conversely, the 6th Earl was not included in Frank Herrmann's account of major British collectors of old masters around the turn of the century, which principally focused on those who had begun collecting in the late nineteenth century such as Sir Francis Cook and his descendants, Lord Iveagh, and George Salting, though he also mentions later collectors Robert and Evelyn Benson, and Viscount Lee of Fareham; Frank Herrmann, *The English as Collectors: A Documentary Sourcebook* (London: Murray, 1999), pp. 392–394. The 6th Earl was also not included in Stacey Pierson's account of private collecting which centres around the Burlington Fine Arts Club; Stacey Pierson, *Private Collecting, Exhibitions, and the Shaping of Art History in London: The Burlington Fine Arts Club*, *The Histories of Material Culture and Collecting, 1700–1950*, 14 (New York and London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017).

⁶² Mauchline, p. 151.

⁶³ Stourton and Sebag-Montefiore, p. 288.

⁶⁴ The archival and some secondary references used by Howard were in fact provided to him by this author; Jeremy Howard, 'Colnaghi and the Italian Renaissance: 250 Years of Dealing and Collecting', in *Renaissance: Six Italian Masterpiece Rediscovered* (Venice: Marsilio Editori, 2021), 49–67, pp. 57–59.

Herrmann's history of the leading auction house, Sotheby's, in particular as one of the key collectors whom Tancred Borenius advised.⁶⁵ Phillippa Plock has published online detailed accounts of the 6th Earl's picture acquisitions that remain in the Harewood collection, drawing upon invoices in the 6th Earl's archive to shed light on the provenance of certain works and in some cases their historic display.⁶⁶

A comparatively thorough assessment of the 6th Earl's collecting was published by Nicholas Penny in his catalogue of the National Gallery's sixteenth-century Italian paintings.⁶⁷ Penny drew upon primary material then available in the 6th Earl's archive to assess the latter's acquisition and display of pictures, including their framing. Since that archive has subsequently been loaned to Harewood House Trust by the Lascelles family, this thesis is able to expand and, in some cases, amend Penny's account. Penny also highlighted the link between the 6th Earl's collecting activities and the contemporary interest in aristocratic heritage as national heritage:

It may be observed that Lascelles bought most of his pictures from old British collections and housed them in historic buildings which he did much to preserve. Thus his collecting may be related to that concern for preserving the national 'heritage' which manifested itself in the foundation of the National Art Collections Fund and the National Trust.⁶⁸

This thesis contributes significantly to the field of scholarship outlined above by providing an in-depth account of the 6th Earl of Harewood's collecting and display practices and situating his distinctive activities within the context of the period 1916–1947. In particular it builds upon the work of Nicholas Penny to interrogate the influence of the contemporary notion of cultural heritage – both as national heritage, and as private, ancestral, aristocratic heritage – upon the 6th Earl's collecting and display of continental old master paintings, and on the broader treatment and furnishing of his residences.

Princess Mary's influence upon the formation and presentation of the Harewood collection of continental old master paintings has been considered in the preparation of this thesis.⁶⁹ Her

⁶⁵ Herrmann, *Sotheby's: Portrait of an Auction House*, pp. 160–161, 241–242.

⁶⁶ There are multiple entries by Plock of Harewood pictures on the Visual Arts Data Service, which reference the Harewood archive, for instance Phillippa Plock, 'El Greco (Greek Painter, 1541–1614, Active in Spain), Allegory', *Visual Arts Data Service (VADS)* <<https://vads.ac.uk/large.php?uid=86932&sos=17>> [accessed 15 November 2019].

⁶⁷ Penny, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Sixteenth Century*, pp. 455–458; Stourton and Sebag-Montefiore, p. 288.

⁶⁸ Penny, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Sixteenth Century*, p. 455.

⁶⁹ Women collectors have received increased scholarly attention in recent years; for example, a study day on this subject held in March 2023 included papers on Princess Mary's contemporaries Margaret Greville (1863–1942)

acquisitive interest ‘jade and ornamental stones and miniatures’ is well known, and she may have inherited this taste from Queen Mary.⁷⁰ She acquired some old masters independently, as noted in Tancred Borenius’s catalogue of the Harewood collection, but none by Italian artists whom her husband preferred.⁷¹ Princess Mary also acquired some works of art specifically as gifts for her husband, though, as Susan Pearce has noted, the link between gift-giving and collecting is such that the recipient is ‘frequently invited to take part in the choice.’⁷² The bulk of the 6th Earl of Harewood’s old masters were acquired before his marriage, and while the couple surely considered the treatment and expansion of the collection after 1922 jointly, it does not appear that Princess Mary played a decisive role in these decisions. Princess Mary’s extensive archive remains at Harewood House but is not presently accessible to researchers; should this change, it may be possible to reassess her role as a collector.⁷³

Archives

This research project presents for the first time a comprehensive examination of the 6th Earl of Harewood’s collecting of continental old masters, which draws heavily upon fresh primary research in the 6th Earl’s archive thanks to the provision of unprecedented access by Harewood House Trust and the Earl and Countess of Harewood. Much of this archive is uncatalogued, and this research project therefore presents the first opportunity for a thorough investigation of its contents, highlighting hitherto unknown or overlooked aspects of the 6th Earl’s activities. The 6th Earl’s archive comprises: a large volume of invoices for works of art, furniture, and other objects and services; papers relating to his trusteeships and similar roles associated with public arts institutions; financial records; inventories of properties occupied by the 6th Earl; and several boxes of ‘miscellaneous’ correspondence.⁷⁴ This material is supported by related documents in Harewood’s photographic archive and the archives of other Lascelles family members, including an unbroken sequence of around 250 letters written by the 6th Earl to his mother from the trenches of the First World War.⁷⁵ Most of this material has never previously been published and is presented here for the first time.

and Hannah Ezra (also known as Mrs David Gubbay, 1885–1968); ‘Her Discerning Eye: Women Collectors at the Turn of the 20th Century’, Waddesdon Manor, Buckinghamshire, 28 March 2023.

⁷⁰ Mauchline, p. 145.

⁷¹ Tancred Borenius, *Catalogue of the Pictures and Drawings at Harewood House and Elsewhere in the Collection of the Earl of Harewood* (Oxford: Privately printed at the Oxford University Press, 1936).

⁷² Susan Pearce, p. 229.

⁷³ The archive is owned by the Earl and Countess of Harewood, but, unlike the 6th Earl’s archive, it is not on loan to Harewood House Trust.

⁷⁴ A list of archival material included in this research is provided in the bibliography. Some areas of the 6th Earl’s archive were excluded due to their tangential relevance, such as the large volume of documents relating to his activities as a Mason.

⁷⁵ 5CHHA, box 6.

Furthermore, this thesis draws upon the archive of Tancred Borenius which remains in family ownership.⁷⁶ Though the letters written by the 6th Earl to Borenius between 1917 and 1919 in this archive are known to a limited audience through typed transcripts produced during the twentieth century (which are themselves today preserved in another private archive), the Borenius archive has been largely untapped. There is little publicly-available archival material pertaining to Borenius; a handful of letters to Queen Mary survive in the Royal Collection Trust Archive, and the transcript of a posthumous lecture delivered by Borenius's daughter is held by University College London.⁷⁷ Therefore, this private material is particularly significant and helps to shed new light on the relationship between Borenius and the 6th Earl of Harewood, one of his major private clients. It comprises: correspondence from the 6th Earl, Princess Mary, and others; scrapbooks compiled by Borenius on major object sales and contemporary art historical controversies; photographs; books, many of them inscribed as gifts from Queen Mary; and copies of unpublished academic manuscripts about Borenius, including an MA dissertation written in Finnish.⁷⁸ No documentation pertaining to the other collectors whom Borenius advised, such as Margaret Greville (1863–1942) of Polesden Lacey, Surrey, was retained by his family after his death in 1948, and it is therefore not possible to build a comprehensive picture of Borenius's advisory network from this source.⁷⁹ The composition of the archive may have been influenced by the family's pride in Tancred Borenius's close association with members of the royal family.⁸⁰ Nevertheless, this archive provides a valuable supplement to correspondence in the Harewood archive, as well as enabling a more thorough understanding of the variety and breadth of the activities of this ubiquitous but somewhat nebulous figure.

The Sudeley Committee, which pressed for reforms to public art institutions between 1923 and 1947, with the 6th Earl of Harewood as its Chairman from 1933 onwards, has hitherto been

⁷⁶ Access to the entirety of the Borenius archive for research carried out in the preparation of this thesis was kindly provided in August 2021.

⁷⁷ ANF/6/7, Text of 'A Lecture on the Life and Work of Professor Tancred Borenius, Ph.D., D.Litt., F.S.A.' given by his daughter Clarissa Lada-Grodzicka, 1975, University College London, School of Slavonic and East European Studies Library; Royal Collection Trust Archive, Windsor.

⁷⁸ The archive also contains material relating to Borenius's non-arts related work, such as his excavation of Clarendon Palace and his diplomatic roles.

⁷⁹ The archive in its entirety was assessed by this author in August 2021. Extensive photographs taken during that visit were then re-assessed in March 2023 following discussions with Dr Alice Strickland, who is researching Margaret Greville's collecting, but no reference to Borenius's relationship with Greville was discovered.

⁸⁰ Email correspondence with the archive's present owner, 18 April 2023.

overlooked in accounts of twentieth-century museum and gallery reform.⁸¹ This is partly due to its comparatively brief existence and its unofficial position and independence from any public institution. The material relating to the Sudeley Committee in the 6th Earl of Harewood's archive has here been supplemented by the more comprehensive Sudeley Committee Papers which are held at the archives of the University of Leicester.⁸² Though publicly accessible, these papers are not known to have been previously utilised by researchers.⁸³ Informed by extensive fresh primary research, this thesis sheds new light on the 6th Earl of Harewood's arts philanthropy, a subject which has until now been hardly acknowledged, and presents a revised assessment of his collecting activities within the context of the period.⁸⁴

Chapter Structure

The Introduction of this thesis establishes the contemporary contexts surrounding the collecting of continental old master paintings in Britain during the early twentieth century. It outlines the political, economic, and social challenges that led to a rise in sales of works of art from British private collections from the late nineteenth century onwards, and establishes the dominant narrative of existing scholarship, which posits that the flow of continental old master paintings during this period was exclusively one way, out of British aristocratic collections and into American plutocratic ones. A number of key themes and topics are introduced which continue to feature throughout the thesis, including: the links between cultural heritage and aristocratic status; the increased interest in aristocratic cultural heritage during this period, both as privately owned genealogical objects and as part of the national heritage; the perceived tension between private commercial interests and public benefit; and the value of aristocratic stewardship.

Chapter One examines the 6th Earl's promotion of art through his involvement with public institutions and the use of his private collection. These activities are situated within the context of traditional aristocratic arts philanthropy and the increased presence of middle-class professionals across the museum sector in the early twentieth century, and the chapter evaluates the ways in which the 6th Earl's role as an aristocrat shaped his philanthropy. It considers the ways in which the 6th Earl's promotion of art responded to the broader context of public arts education, including an analysis of who the intended beneficiaries of his museum reforms were

⁸¹ Philippa Heath, 'Lord Sudeley: A Great Pioneer? Museum Education in London, 1901–1922' (unpublished M.A., Courtauld Institute of Art, 2003); the Sudeley Committee is not mentioned in Geddes Poole, *Stewards of the Nation's Art*.

⁸² These were compiled by the Committee's secretary, Sir Wyndham Dunstan.

⁸³ Staff in the University of Leicester's archive were unaware of the Sudeley Papers ever being utilised prior to a visit by this researcher on 14 December 2022.

⁸⁴ Mauchline references the 6th Earl's trusteeship of the British Museum, but this was a minor role in his philanthropy; Mauchline, p. 152.

and the impact that was sought upon them. This chapter also examines the extent to which the 6th Earl facilitated public access to his own art collection, in order to evaluate whether this differed from the treatment he promoted of public collections. Through this analysis Chapter One interrogates the cultural authority of the aristocracy and how the 6th Earl of Harewood, as a member of that class, sought to engage with the new milieu in which he found himself.

Chapter Two examines the ways in which the 6th Earl responded and contributed to contemporary ideas about cultural heritage. It considers the symbolic incorporation of aristocratic cultural heritage into a national heritage, as well as the 6th Earl's awareness of and interest in his own patrimonial heritage. This is evaluated through an examination of the decoration and furnishing of the 6th Earl's homes, including Chesterfield House (London), Egerton House (Newmarket), and Harewood House (Yorkshire). This chapter examines the ways in which the 6th Earl's ancestral history influenced his approach to aristocratic cultural heritage, with particular consideration given to the impact of his royal marriage in 1922.

Having established the primary contexts in which the 6th Earl was operating, Chapter Three presents a comprehensive and detailed account of what was arguably the most important aspect of the 6th Earl's collecting – continental old master paintings. Building upon the examination of the value of amateur versus professional expertise introduced earlier in the thesis, this chapter evaluates the respective agency of the 6th Earl and his art advisor, Dr Tancred Borenius, over the former's acquisitions. It considers the personal motivations behind the 6th Earl's collecting, including his familial relationships and the traditional role of continental old masters as markers of upper-class identity. Consideration is also given to the 6th Earl's collecting of English works of art and continental old master drawings, the latter of which has hitherto been rarely acknowledged. This chapter establishes the content and formation of the 6th Earl's collection, examining how this was influenced by the contemporary contexts outline earlier in the thesis.

The fourth and final chapter investigates the material and symbolic integration of the 6th Earl's collection of continental old master paintings into the Lascelles patrimony, through an assessment of its display and treatment at Harewood House – his primary residence – from 1930 onwards. The distinctions between the presentation of art in public institutions and in privately occupied aristocratic homes are discussed with specific reference to the 6th Earl's own beliefs and what he sought to convey to viewers of his collection. The ways in which art professionals, such as museum officials and restorers, informed the 6th Earl's treatment of his collection are also considered. Overall, Chapter Four evaluates the role that the 6th Earl intended his collection of continental old masters to fulfil at Harewood House.

The Conclusion draws together the examinations contained within each chapter of this thesis to give a comprehensive overview of the 6th Earl of Harewood's collecting of continental old masters. It establishes the extent to which the 6th Earl's activities align, or diverge, from the dominant narrative in existing scholarship on the collecting of continental old masters during this period and suggests explanations for this. A brief overview of the afterlife of the 6th Earl's collection following his death in 1947 is also provided in the Conclusion, with particular consideration given to the ways in which the collection's later treatment by the 7th and 8th Earls of Harewood followed or deviated from the 6th Earl's own intentions.

Two appendices are provided to this thesis. The first, Appendix A, provides details of each of the houses owned by or directly associated with the 6th Earl of Harewood during his lifetime. While some of these are well known, such as Chesterfield House and Harewood House, others, such as 13 Upper Belgrave Street and 32 Green Street, have been rarely referenced in scholarship concerning the 6th Earl of Harewood's collection. This appendix is therefore a valuable resource for future researchers, as is Appendix B, which provides details of all of the paintings and drawings (by both continental and British artists) known to have been acquired by the 6th Earl. Taking Tancred Borenius's catalogue of the Harewood picture collection as its starting point, this appendix makes a major contribution to empirical knowledge of the 6th Earl's collecting by providing detailed provenance information gleaned from fresh archival research and accumulated from various published secondary sources. By presenting this information in chronological order of acquisition, this appendix facilitates both qualitative and quantitative analysis of the 6th Earl of Harewood's collecting activities.

Chapter One: Public and private promotion of art

The 6th Earl of Harewood held a number of positions within and directly relating to public art institutions from the mid-1920s onwards, including trusteeships and memberships of advisory councils and commissions. His involvement in this field corresponded to the aristocratic responsibility of service to the public under the tradition of *noblesse oblige*, which by the early twentieth century often involved voluntary service on the governing bodies of museums and galleries.⁸⁵ Aristocrats brought to such roles their taste, amateur (often in-depth) knowledge of art, and a powerful network of regional, national and occasionally international contacts. The increase in works of art being exported from Britain to America at this time, however, led to criticism that aristocrats were not fulfilling their duties as stewards of the nation's heritage.⁸⁶ This was levelled on two accounts. As vendors of works of art that were considered by some to be part of the nation's heritage, aristocrats were criticised for prioritising their own financial gain (by accepting large sums from American collectors) over the benefit to the public of bringing art into national ownership (by offering works of art to public institutions for significantly lower prices, or as gifts).⁸⁷ The aristocrats who populated the governing bodies of public art institutions were additionally criticised for their role in the failure to secure those desirable acquisitions for the national collections.⁸⁸

A further factor which contributed to doubts as to the effectiveness of aristocratic stewardship during this period was the rise of a professional class of workers, including in the civil service and on the staff of museums and galleries.⁸⁹ Additionally, the governing bodies of public art institutions were increasingly populated by middle-class trustees with relevant expertise and professional experience.⁹⁰ The contexts outlined above have led to the suggestion, put forward most comprehensively by Andrea Geddes Poole, that the very notion of amateur stewardship was increasingly rejected during this period, and that this reflected a broader loss of aristocratic cultural authority.⁹¹ The 6th Earl of Harewood's close involvement with public art institutions, which continued until his death in 1947, appears to complicate

⁸⁵ Geddes Poole, 'The National Art-Collections Fund and the Cultural Politics of Aristocratic Marginalization', p. 77.

⁸⁶ Cannadine, 'Pictures Across the Pond: Perspectives and Retrospectives', pp. 9-25; Geddes Poole, 'The National Art-Collections Fund and the Cultural Politics of Aristocratic Marginalization'; Pezzini, 'The Politics of Masterpieces'; Howard, 'The One That Didn't Get Away', p. 150.

⁸⁷ Neil Harris, p. 195.

⁸⁸ Geddes Poole, *Stewards of the Nation's Art*, pp. 131, 177.

⁸⁹ Geddes Poole, 'Conspicuous Presumption', p. 5; Greer, p. 18.

⁹⁰ Geddes Poole, *Stewards of the Nation's Art*, p. 13; Greer, pp. 39, 42.

⁹¹ Geddes Poole, 'Conspicuous Presumption', p. 3.

Geddes Poole's conclusion. In particular, his role on the little-known Sudeley Committee, and his close collaboration with museum professionals, would suggest that the 6th Earl adapted to the circumstances outlined above by working for as well as outside and between institutions to effect positive change.⁹²

Amateur taste

While middle-class philanthropists often gave money or objects to arts institutions, many aristocrats preferred to enact public service by giving their time to serve as trustees since this did not require financial sacrifice or any loss of their private cultural heritage.⁹³ During the nineteenth century trustees were conceived of as amateur lovers of art who supported institutions by giving 'their weight and air, as public men, on many questions in Art of a public nature that may arise, and [providing] an indirect and useful channel of communication between the Government of the day and the Institution'.⁹⁴ The National Gallery's Board of Trustees, for example, had principally comprised aristocratic amateur collectors who brought to the role a network of contacts (including governmental contacts through their hereditary positions in the House of Lords) and sufficient knowledge of the arts to support the Director.⁹⁵ There were some shifts later in the century, seen in the appointment of trustees with scholarly expertise (the archaeologist, art historian, and politician Sir Austen Henry Layard was appointed in 1866) and men from industrial backgrounds (Scottish industrialist Sir Charles Tennant joined in 1894), but the aristocratic contingent remained dominant during the nineteenth century.⁹⁶

By acting as stewards of Britain's cultural heritage, aristocratic trustees were able to reinforce their cultural authority by promoting – and reinforcing the legitimacy of – their own tastes within arts institutions.⁹⁷ Broadly speaking, aristocrats favoured paintings by the old masters which they were used to seeing in the interiors of their family and peers, and works by

⁹² 6EHHA, box 4; Sudeley Committee Papers, University of Leicester.

⁹³ Geddes Poole, *Stewards of the Nation's Art*, p. 8; Frank Herrmann, 'Collecting Then and Now: The English and Some Other Collectors', *Journal of the History of Collections*, 21.2 (2009), 263–269, pp. 263–265.

⁹⁴ Minute of 27 March 1855, referenced in *Royal Commission on National Museums and Galleries: Final Report, Part 2. Conclusions and Recommendations Relating to Individual Institutions* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1930), p. 25, point 19.

⁹⁵ Geddes Poole, *Stewards of the Nation's Art*, pp. 227–230.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 13; Greer, pp. 39, 42.

⁹⁷ Sam Friedman and Aaron Reeves, 'From Aristocratic to Ordinary: Shifting Modes of Elite Distinction', *American Sociological Review*, 85.2 (2020), 323–350, pp. 323, 326; Geddes Poole, *Stewards of the Nation's Art*, p. 8.

living artists whose style conformed with earlier traditions.⁹⁸ The 6th Earl of Harewood's acquisitions will be examined later in this thesis, but his adherence to such traditional aristocratic tastes may here be demonstrated through his reaction to an exhibition of works by Picasso and Matisse at the Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A) in 1945. The 6th Earl had a particular interest in that organisation since he was Chairman of the V&A's Advisory Council and so was in regular contact with the museum's director, who in 1945 was Leigh Ashton (1897–1983, director 1945–1955).⁹⁹ The 6th Earl did not visit the Picasso–Matisse exhibition, so his opinion was based on assumptions and the views of others, notably his peers. In correspondence with Ashton in 1945, when discussing what they termed 'the Picasso controversy', the 6th Earl wrote: 'I particularly remember that you did not urge me to inspect [the exhibition] when I was at the Museum. I expect I should not have liked it.'¹⁰⁰ The 6th Earl's predetermined dislike was informed by the reaction of his friend Lord Ilchester, who had reported his experience in an earlier letter: 'The Picasso show to me was awful; whether it was disgusting I can't say, as I just didn't understand what the pictures meant.'¹⁰¹ The incomprehensibility of some contemporary art – especially abstract art – to aristocrats who were practiced at appreciating and understanding old masters and the European figurative art tradition was one reason for their dislike of it.

The 6th Earl's distaste for cutting-edge contemporary art informed his opinion on institutional collecting, and he warned Ashton of 'the danger of spending public money on contemporary art'.¹⁰² He believed that 'temporary Exhibitions are the right way to bring to the notice of the public the newest phases (or crazes)', and that it was better to wait until 'a few years after [the artist's] death' before acquiring any 'highly controversial subject'.¹⁰³ Though couched in terms of economic efficiency, the approach of acquiring only works whose value been proven over time raises the question of whose endorsement had the authority to legitimise art to the level required for institutional acquisition. The Picasso–Matisse exhibition was extremely well-attended, yet, in the 6th Earl's opinion, popularity among the (non-aristocratic)

⁹⁸ Geddes Poole, *Stewards of the Nation's Art*, p. 13. Some middle-class collectors from the nineteenth century onwards emulated aristocratic tastes, while others distinguished themselves by patronising contemporary artists; Dianne Sachko Macleod, *Art and the Victorian Middle Class: Money and the Making of Cultural Identity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

⁹⁹ 6EHHA, box 5.

¹⁰⁰ 6th Earl to Leigh Ashton, 24 December 1945, 6EHHA, box 5.

¹⁰¹ Lord Ilchester to 6th Earl, 11 December 1945, 6EHHA, box 5.

¹⁰² 6th Earl to Leigh Ashton, 24 December 1945, 6EHHA, box 5.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

public was insufficient to justify the purchase of works by ‘controversial’ contemporary artists by public institutions.¹⁰⁴

This highlights the connection between types of art and the cultural authority of their audiences. Prior to the early nineteenth century, old masters would have been accessible principally in private aristocratic residences which few could access.¹⁰⁵ Subsequent public display spaces were often decorated to resemble the interiors of aristocratic residences, such as the British Institution, which was established in the early nineteenth century and held loan exhibitions of old masters as well as showing contemporary art, which were accessible for anyone with the shilling entry fee.¹⁰⁶ The siting of old masters in aristocratic-style interiors conditioned the development of expectations of viewers’ behaviour and responses to old master paintings, which were inherently tied to aristocratic standards of decorum.¹⁰⁷

As early as 1816 critics commented that old master exhibitions attracted the ‘better class’ of persons who ‘seem in some degree to partake of the superiority of the pictures they behold’, whilst contemporary shows drew the ‘idle gaping of all classes’.¹⁰⁸ Similar judgement carried into the twentieth century, as evidenced in one account of the 1945 Picasso–Matisse exhibition:

In front of a remarkable picture of a well-developed boy holding a lobster I saw two Cockney ragamuffins – one about ten, the other about four. The younger was crying bitterly. “What’s the matter with him?” I asked the elder urchin. “‘E don’t like it,” he explained airily, “no more do I. ‘Tain’t funny at all like I ‘eard.”¹⁰⁹

While the two young boys’ incomprehension was shared by Lord Ilchester, here the lower social status of the boys – conveyed through negative descriptors and the phonetic accent – is presented as an important element in their confusion. Moreover, the boys had sought to find amusement in the exhibition, whereas Ilchester lamented finding it ‘anything but edifying’, indicating the aristocratic approach to art as a source of intellectual stimulation.¹¹⁰ The perceived connection between desirable behaviour and old masters helped to perpetuate the dominance of aristocratic taste (enacted through trusteeships) within arts institutions.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.; Leigh Ashton to 6th Earl, 20 December 1945, 6EHHA, box 5.

¹⁰⁵ Ann Pullan, ‘Public Goods or Private Interests? The British Institution in the Early Nineteenth Century’, in *Art in Bourgeois Society, 1790–1850*, ed. by Andrew Hemingway and William Vaughan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 27–44 (p. 37).

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 30.

¹⁰⁷ Helen Rees Leahy, *Museum Bodies: The Politics and Practices of Visiting and Viewing* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), p. 4.

¹⁰⁸ *New Monthly Magazine*, August 1916, p. 59, ref. in Pullan, p. 39.

¹⁰⁹ ‘The Postman and Picasso: “He Doodles”’, *Daily Mirror*, 10 December 1945, 4.

¹¹⁰ Lord Ilchester to 6th Earl, 6 December 1945, 6EHHA, box 5.

Criticism of aristocratic stewardship

During the late nineteenth century the value of aristocratic trustees was increasingly questioned.¹¹¹ This was prompted partly by an increase in sales of works of art from aristocratic collections in the wake of the 1882 Settled Land Act, many of which were subsequently exported to America.¹¹² High-profile examples such as the 1921 sale of Thomas Gainsborough's *The Blue Boy* led the press to question aristocrats' 'public spirit [and] lack of stewardship'.¹¹³ Criticism was especially strong when the vendor was also a trustee of a national arts institution, as was the case when Lord Lansdowne (a trustee of the National Gallery) sold Rembrandt's *The Mill* in 1911.¹¹⁴ Lansdowne was also the Leader of the House of Lords, and his decision to sell *The Mill* to an American collector, P.A.B. Widener, led the press to cast doubt over 'his right to leadership altogether.'¹¹⁵ By the early twentieth century the concept of national heritage was seen to encompass not only objects in public ownership but also those in private aristocratic collections, to which the public increasingly felt they had a symbolic claim.¹¹⁶ The perceived failure of aristocrats to preserve privately-owned heritage contributed to doubts as to their effectiveness as stewards of the nation's art.¹¹⁷

The establishment of the National Art Collections Fund (NACF) in 1903 was a direct response to the exodus of pictures of national importance from Britain.¹¹⁸ Its founders and early members were principally members of the educated middle class, including museum professionals, critics, and artists.¹¹⁹ The object of the NACF was to aid public institutions by purchasing works of art on their behalf and presenting them as gifts.¹²⁰ Its ordinary funds were raised through a membership subscription of initially £1.1s, a comparatively low figure which positioned the NACF as a middle-class endeavour.¹²¹ The 6th Earl of Harewood was aware of the work of the NACF; he was, at least for a time, a subscriber, and was listed as a Council

¹¹¹ Geddes Poole, 'The National Art-Collections Fund and the Cultural Politics of Aristocratic Marginalization', p. 76.

¹¹² See Cannadine, 'Pictures Across the Pond: Perspectives and Retrospectives'.

¹¹³ Pezzini, 'The Politics of Masterpieces', pp. 140–141.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.; Howard, 'The One That Didn't Get Away', p. 150.

¹¹⁵ Pezzini, 'The Politics of Masterpieces', p. 142; Geddes Poole, *Stewards of the Nation's Art*, p. 42.

¹¹⁶ Harris, 'The Long Good-Bye: Heritage and Threat in Anglo-America', p. 195.

¹¹⁷ Geddes Poole, *Stewards of the Nation's Art*, p. 131; Geddes Poole, 'Conspicuous Presumption', p. 3.

¹¹⁸ Geddes Poole, 'The National Art-Collections Fund and the Cultural Politics of Aristocratic Marginalization', p. 78; Verdi, p. 18.

¹¹⁹ Geddes Poole, 'The National Art-Collections Fund and the Cultural Politics of Aristocratic Marginalization', p. 78; Verdi, p. 19; *Twenty Five Years of the National Art Collections Fund, 1903–1928*, ed. by D.S. MacColl (Glasgow: Printed for the Fund by Robert Maclehose, The University Press, 1928), p. 5.

¹²⁰ H. M. Paull, 'The National Art-Collections Fund.', *Fortnightly Review*, 76.455 (November 1904), 874–88, p. 874.

¹²¹ Paull, p. 877; MacColl, p. 12.

member in the NACF's Annual Report of 1943.¹²² Subscriptions finally tipped over £2,000 in 1909, but in that same year the NACF was called upon to secure funding to purchase back for Britain Hans Holbein's *Christina, Duchess of Milan*, which had recently been sold by the Duke of Norfolk to the American industrialist, financier, and art patron Henry Clay Frick (1849-1919) for £72,000.¹²³ Due to the increasingly high prices commanded by works of art that were sought after by American collectors, it was through high-profile 'special appeals' that the NACF was able to acquire paintings such as *Christina* for Britain's public institutions.¹²⁴ These appeals led to renewed criticism of aristocrats in which their tradition of public service was noted as having been an important factor, as indicated by a 1909 article criticising the Duke of Norfolk:¹²⁵

An ordinary millionaire who has made money by gambling on a large scale may be excused if he puts one of the world's masterpieces into the public market, using the ordinary tricks of the trade to secure a fancy price. But that the premier Duke of England should so far forget his family pride as to expect the highest possible price from his country under the threat of selling his picture [...] abroad is almost incredible and certainly shameful.¹²⁶

Social status, rather than wealth, determined the behaviour expected of owners of works of art. Objects in private aristocratic collections were part of the family's cultural heritage, with the expectation that they would remain within the hereditary estate indefinitely.¹²⁷ As the above quotation indicates, no such expectations were placed on *nouveau riche* collectors.

It was surely in reference to aristocrats that the NACF asked in 1904 whether it was 'absurd to hope that owners of fine works of art may have sufficient patriotism to offer, in the first instance, to the various National Collections any work with which they contemplate parting', and hoped they would at least be 'willing to sacrifice a portion of their profit' to benefit the public.¹²⁸ However, the strong aristocratic tradition of primogeniture – the right of succession by which an estate passed to the eldest son as heir – meant that aristocrats as a class were less

¹²² Subscription to 'National Arts Collection' paid 1 January 1926, 6EHHA, box 16. Incomplete financial records make it impossible to determine whether this was a one-off payment, and whether the 6th Earl contributed to any of the NACF's public appeals. *National Art-Collections Fund Fortieth Annual Report 1943*, 6EHHA, box 5.

¹²³ MacColl, p. 12; Howard, 'The One That Didn't Get Away'.

¹²⁴ MacColl, p. 12; Reitlinger, Ch. 7 'The Treasures Depart. 1884–1929'.

¹²⁵ Howard, 'The One That Didn't Get Away', pp. 150–151.

¹²⁶ *Daily Chronicle*, 10 May 1909, referenced Geddes Poole, *Stewards of the Nation's Art*, pp. 114–115.

¹²⁷ Geddes Poole, *Stewards of the Nation's Art*, p. 193.

¹²⁸ Paull, p. 877.

likely than middle-class collectors to give works of art to public institutions.¹²⁹ The 6th Earl of Harewood did make a small number of gifts to museums and galleries. These included a portrait by Sir Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830) of ex-Prime Minister George Canning, which the 6th Earl presented to the National Portrait Gallery in 1919, and a group of drawings by John Sell Cotman (1782–1842) and a carved and painted medieval panel, which were given to the V&A in 1925 and 1928 respectively.¹³⁰ However, both of these objects had been purchased shortly before their presentation, presumably for that very purpose, and therefore did not affect the historic collections in situ at Harewood.¹³¹ Moreover, the gift of the Canning portrait was dynastically motivated since the sitter was the 6th Earl's great-great-grandfather, and the public association established by the gift between the 6th Earl, a prominent eighteenth-century politician, and a leading eighteenth-century English portrait artist, would have happily enhanced the Lascelles family's noble social standing in the public domain.

When the 6th Earl decided to sell the so-called 'Canning Jewel' in 1931, he notified the then-Director of the V&A, Sir Eric Maclagan (1879–1951, director 1924–1945), of the auction date and reserve price, but does not appear to have offered the institution a discount to acquire the Jewel for its collection.¹³² Maclagan penned a regretful response: 'as you yourself supposed, such a purchase would be quite outside our means; but it is very kind of you to have let us know about it beforehand.'¹³³ The NACF and Maclagan would have preferred the Jewel to have been presented to the V&A as a gift, but this would not have sated the 6th Earl's financial requirements; in 1931 he was restoring and renovating Harewood House at considerable cost.¹³⁴ Thus the 6th Earl did not fit the model of ideal philanthropy outlined by the NACF, since his sense of public duty did not extend to scenarios which required him constantly to sustain a financial or material loss.

¹²⁹ Geddes Poole, *Stewards of the Nation's Art*, p. 8; Herrmann, 'Collecting Then and Now', pp. 263–265.

¹³⁰ Canning: 6th Earl to Major Longden (Secretary of the Fine Arts Committee of the British Council), 21 April 1941, 6EHHA, box 19. For the 'Devonshire' medieval panel see Eric Maclagan to 6th Earl, 20 June 1928, HHTD:2000.1.41; invoice from The Sackville Gallery to the 6th Earl, 2 June 1928, HHTD:2003.1.26. Registry, nominal file of gifts, 6th Earl of Harewood, MA/1/H675, Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A).

¹³¹ The Canning portrait had been purchased at the sale of the collection of William Peel, 1st Earl Peel, a descendant of Prime Minister Sir Robert Peel, probably that held by Robinson & Fisher's on 29 November 1917; invoice from Agnew's, 6 December 1917, HHTD:2003.1.1. The delay between the portrait's purchase and its presentation likely arose from the 6th Earl's involvement in the First World War, as he settled many of his picture acquisitions in 1919. It is unknown what prompted the V&A gifts. The Cotman drawings were likely purchased from the 1925 sale of Sir Henry Theobald's collection at Sotheby's; MA/1/H675, V&A.

¹³² The Jewel was then attributed to Benvenuto Cellini but is now considered a nineteenth-century piece; 'The Canning Jewel', *V and A Collections*, 2020 <<http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O33882>> [accessed 27 January 2020]. The letter is known only through its reply; Maclagan to 6th Earl, 11 June 1931, HHTD:2000.1.54; Tancred Borenius to 6th Earl, 28 May 1931, HHTD:2000.1.54.

¹³³ Maclagan to 6th Earl, 11 June 1931.

¹³⁴ Mauchline, p. 145.

Professionalisation

Another factor which prompted a reconsideration of the value of aristocratic trustees was the professionalisation of the museum sector. The introduction of entrance exams for civil servants in 1870 resulted in a professional class of workers principally of middle-class background, and reformed the previous often nepotistic hiring practices of the Treasury.¹³⁵ The Treasury ultimately governed the recruitment structures of national arts institutions such as the National Gallery, and the increased social differences between Treasury staff and amateur patrician trustees has been cited as a cause of conflicts between those groups during the early twentieth century.¹³⁶ In Geddes Poole's opinion, 'the growing authority of the professional entailed a growing disdain for the amateur and a rejection of the ethos of the aristocratic steward'.¹³⁷

The trend towards professionalisation extended to museum staff as indicated by the foundation in 1889 of the Museums Association, a national organisation of professionals which identified and highlighted areas of museum strategy that it felt required improvement, and provided a forum for exchange through its annual conference.¹³⁸ The first issue of the Association's monthly periodical *Museums Journal* was published in 1901, which sought to enable readers 'to realise more vividly what a museum is, or better still, what it may be made'.¹³⁹ In 1930 the Museums Association ran a five-day training course for curators which included visits to several London institutions.¹⁴⁰ It subsequently developed an accredited diploma which encompassed museum collections and their 'administration, methods and techniques'.¹⁴¹ The increasing professionalisation of museum staff indicates that the power to determine 'what a museum is' was in the process of shifting away from trustees, thus contributing to an erosion of aristocratic cultural authority.¹⁴²

A key moment of contention between aristocratic trustees and professional museum staff was the Rosebery Minute of 1897, which drastically diminished the authority of the National Gallery's Director by requiring him to obtain approval from trustees before making any acquisition.¹⁴³ Though the Minute increased the power of the Gallery's trustees, this was

¹³⁵ Greer, p. 18; Geddes Poole, 'Conspicuous Presumption', p. 5.

¹³⁶ Geddes Poole, 'Conspicuous Presumption', pp. 7–9.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

¹³⁸ Heath, p. 3; Teather, p. 25.

¹³⁹ E. Howard, ed., *The Museums Journal*, Vol. 1 (1901–1902), p. 3, quoted in Heath, p. 3.

¹⁴⁰ Teather, p. 33.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 33–34. The first examinations were held in December 1938, but were interrupted by the Second World War and not resumed until mid-century.

¹⁴² Geddes Poole, 'Conspicuous Presumption'. The professionalisation of the museum sector did not equate to standardisation in the training or work of curators; see Teather, p. 32.

¹⁴³ Greer, p. 14.

perhaps an incidental outcome.¹⁴⁴ Geddes Poole concludes that the Minute was informed by ‘an egregious miscalculation by a senior Treasury man’ that the Gallery’s collection was essentially complete, and that the power of acquisition transferred to the trustees was a hollow one.¹⁴⁵ Conversely, Elena Greer contends that the Minute was designed to diminish the independent power of the director in light of the surge in prices of old masters, reflecting in part the government’s dissatisfaction with the Gallery’s latest director Frederick Burton (1874–1894).¹⁴⁶ The Rosebery Minute modified the management of the National Gallery as laid out in 1855, but it is valuable to consider the wording of the previous legislation here:

Without this aid [from Trustees] the Director would be in a high but insulated position [...] missing the counsel and experience of the Trustees, and being without that stimulus to exertion which the knowledge of the bond of union existing between the lovers of Art of this country and himself, through the medium of the Trustees, would be calculated to afford.¹⁴⁷

The underlying message is one of co-operation, which acknowledges the different but interlinked roles of trustees and directors.¹⁴⁸ In this context it is plausible to interpret the Rosebery Minute as Greer suggests, intending to force greater collaboration between the Director and trustees. Since trustees were implicitly considered to have good taste, their involvement would prevent any single individual determining the Gallery’s collections policy, without damaging the quality of acquisitions.¹⁴⁹

The V&A had no board of trustees during the 6th Earl of Harewood’s lifetime and its Advisory Council was instead responsible for advising the Director, though he did not require the Council’s agreement before making acquisitions.¹⁵⁰ The 6th Earl served as Chairman of the Council from 1930 to 1947.¹⁵¹ In this capacity, he wrote to the Minister of Education in 1947, indicating his belief that there was a place for both professionals and amateurs in the running of museums:

¹⁴⁴ Geddes Poole, *Stewards of the Nation’s Art*, chap. three; Greer, pp. 301–2.

¹⁴⁵ Geddes Poole, ‘Conspicuous Presumption’, pp. 72–75.

¹⁴⁶ Greer, p. 301.

¹⁴⁷ Minute of 27 March 1855, referenced in *Royal Commission on National Museums and Galleries: Final Report, Part 2*, p. 25 point 19.

¹⁴⁸ Teather, p. 36.

¹⁴⁹ Teather, p. 36.

¹⁵⁰ ‘Advisory Council Records’, *V&A Archives* <<https://www.vam.ac.uk/archives/unit/ARC139580>> [accessed 18 November 2022].

¹⁵¹ 6EHHA, box 5.

Perhaps I may be permitted to say that expert knowledge is provided by the staff of the Museum and it is not often that we [the Advisory Council] have reason to query their advice. In matters of taste, the consensus of opinion on the Council ought to be superior to that of the Museum staff. It is true that most of us have (or think we have) knowledge equal to that of an expert in some branch of the Museum's activities and this must almost always be the case in a body of people who are expected to supervise the general policy of a great museum. Nevertheless we should, I think, most of us hesitate to set our expert opinion against that of the Museum staff unless we had proof to support us.¹⁵²

The 6th Earl's distinction of museum staff as experts and Council members as arbiters of taste recalls the relationship between the director and trustees of the National Gallery outlined by the Minute of 1855, quoted above. As has been established, aristocratic taste influenced many public museums and galleries from their inception, and the 6th Earl's reference to it here indicates his belief in the continued cultural authority of his class. His acknowledgement of the distinct and valuable contribution of museum staff also demonstrates that he was conscious of the trend towards professionalisation, and therefore positioned himself and the Council as collaborators rather than combatants.

Trusteeships, committees, and commissions

The 6th Earl of Harewood held roles within several arts institutions, and the varying extent of his involvement in each case is evidenced by the unequal volume and makeup of the material retained in his archive.¹⁵³ However, as will be demonstrated, these institutional roles frequently overlapped, and their sum was certainly greater than the parts – their accumulated effect enabled the 6th Earl to make a significant contribution to public arts education.

The 6th Earl was Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the London Museum from at least 1930 until his death in 1947.¹⁵⁴ He was most likely invited to take the role due to his position as the son-in-law of King George V and Queen Mary, who had inaugurated the London Museum in 1912 in its original location in the state apartments of Kensington Palace.¹⁵⁵ The

¹⁵² 6th Earl to George Tomlinson (Minister for Education), 18 April 1947, HHTD:2001.2.16.

¹⁵³ 6EHHA, boxes 3–5. Private correspondence tends to indicate active and enthusiastic involvement, while un-annotated copies of meeting minutes and memoranda show a basic level of support.

¹⁵⁴ The earliest archival material dates to February 1930, but it is possible that his association began a short time earlier; 6EHHA, box 4. The London Museum later merged with the Guildhall Museum to form the Museum of London in 1976.

¹⁵⁵ Mortimer Wheeler to 6th Earl, 24 March 1932, 6EHHA, box 4; Kathryn Jones, "Quite a Creditable Collection": Queen Mary as Collector and Curator', lecture delivered at the study day 'Women Collectors at the Turn of the 20th Century', Waddesdon Manor, Buckinghamshire, 28 March 2023; Michael Hall, *Art, Passion &*

London Museum was a national institution that operated along the lines of a local museum and carried out ‘a great deal of educational work’.¹⁵⁶ Around 9,000 children from ‘London Elementary schools’ received ‘official lectures in the Museum every year’, and there was also a well-established lecture system for ‘secondary schools, teachers of various grades, University students, and historical and other local societies.’¹⁵⁷ As Chairman, the 6th Earl’s role was to advise the keeper on a range of topics including staff appointment and the investment of trust funds.¹⁵⁸ The 6th Earl occasionally drew attention to the London Museum’s operations in *The Times*, noting in 1943 that the Museum had ‘inaugurated Concerts of high-class music in its Galleries’ (this was some eleven years earlier than the National Gallery), thereby educating the public by ‘linking the conduct and display of the arts one with another’.¹⁵⁹ A significant volume of the 6th Earl’s London Museum papers concern the removal of its collections from its original site in Lancaster House in 1939, the requisition of its premises in 1943, and attempts after 1945 to secure a new home for the collections.¹⁶⁰ The Museum’s wartime closure curtailed its educational impact, and the 6th Earl’s principal contribution during this period was the utilisation of his Royal and government contacts – including his cousin and the King’s Secretary, Alan ‘Tommy’ Lascelles – to obtain insider information about the future of the London Museum.¹⁶¹

From at least 1930 to 1947, the 6th Earl was also Chairman of the V&A Advisory Council, which had been formed by the Board of Education in 1913 to advise the Director ‘on questions of principle and policy relating to the Museum and its acquisitions’.¹⁶² The Director, however, was not constitutionally bound by any conclusions reached by the Council, nor was he obliged to obtain agreement before making acquisitions, as noted above. The Council’s membership comprised several aristocrats of long-standing title (the 6th Earl of Harewood, Lord Ilchester,

Power: The Story of the Royal Collection (London: BBC Books, 2017), pp. 315–317. The London Museum’s collections included important Royal material, which was another reason why it was appropriate that its Board of Trustees should be chaired by a member of the royal family.

¹⁵⁶ Memorandum for the meeting of 23 July 1930 considering the Recommendations of the Royal Commission, 6EHHA, box 4. One trustee was formerly Permanent Secretary to the Board of Education; Mortimer Wheeler (Keeper and Secretary, London Museum) to 6th Earl, 11 February 1930, 6EHHA, box 4.

¹⁵⁷ Memorandum, 23 July 1930.

¹⁵⁸ 6EHHA, box 4.

¹⁵⁹ 6th Earl to *The Times*, 29 November 1943, in *The Sudeley Committee: Letters from the Committee and Leading Articles, 1924–1937, reprinted from The Times* (London: The Times Publishing Company for The Sudeley Committee, 1937), inside cover, in 6EHHA, box 4.

¹⁶⁰ 6th Earl to Mortimer Wheeler, 1 September 1943, and 3 December 1943, 6EHHA, box 4. Bridgewater House was suggested, but new premises were not secured during the 6th Earl’s lifetime.

¹⁶¹ See, for example, a letter from the 6th Earl to Mortimer Wheeler, 3 December 1943, sharing a scheme of demolition around Lancaster House that he had been told of ‘in a purely private manner’, and suggesting they pursue the Museum’s re-instatement ‘in the South Kensington site’; 6EHHA, box 4.

¹⁶² ‘Advisory Council Records’. The Council was reconstituted as a Board of Trustees in 1983.

and Lord Northbourne) but by the first decades of the twentieth century was dominated by middle-class businessmen, museum professionals, and artists.¹⁶³ The 6th Earl's early years in this post were spent in part placating a small proportion of Council members – all non-aristocrats – who resented being ‘at the mercy of the Director, without authority of any sort’ and who desired greater control over purchases.¹⁶⁴ Conversely, the 6th Earl, perhaps cognisant of criticism levelled at aristocratic trustees elsewhere, welcomed the advisory position of the Council which left the Director ‘to bear the responsibility of the consequences if any indiscretion is committed’.¹⁶⁵ Assuming a diplomatic role between the Director and Council, the 6th Earl chaired a meeting in 1934 where Maclagan eventually agreed to consult some Council members ‘as far as opportunity occurred, before recommending a purchase over £500.’¹⁶⁶ While this appeared to satisfy the dissenting members, no change was made to the Council's Terms of Reference, and it is unclear whether subsequent acquisitions were affected in any significant way.

In 1945 concern was expressed around the potential overlap between the newly-instituted Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts (CEMA, later Arts Council), which arranged loan exhibitions to regional institutions during the Second World War, and the activities of the V&A's own long-standing Circulation Department.¹⁶⁷ The latter's collections were varied and had been shared for decades through temporary loans to regional museums, galleries, libraries, art schools, and educational colleges.¹⁶⁸ Its exhibitions were educational and inclusive, since entry was free and full labels and descriptive notes were provided to assist non-specialist viewers.¹⁶⁹ The 6th Earl sat on the sub-committee which annually reviewed the Circulation Department's acquisitions in particular, and he praised its contribution to ‘the spreading of art education throughout the country as opposed to its concentration in London’.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶³ Minutes, V&A Advisory Council, 15 June 1934, HHTD:2001.2.3.

¹⁶⁴ Viscount Lee of Fareham to 6th Earl, 8 November 1931, 6EHHA, box 5. Fareham, who had only held his newly-created title since 1922, had resigned his position on the Council on 7 November 1931 in protest at the Council's lack of authority over the Director.

¹⁶⁵ Memorandum, 6th Earl to Advisory Council, n.d. (November 1930), 6EHHA, box 5.

¹⁶⁶ Minutes, V&A Advisory Council, 15 June 1934.

¹⁶⁷ Minutes, V&A Advisory Council, 25 October 1945, 6EHHA, box 5.

¹⁶⁸ 6th Earl to Dr Bolton (Dept. of Circulation), 1 April 1931, HHTD:2001.2.62; Joanna Weddell, ‘Room 38A and beyond: Post-War British Design and the Circulation Department’, *V&A Online Journal*, 4, 2012 <<http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/journals/research-journal/issue-no.-4-summer-2012/room-38a-and-beyond-post-war-british-design-and-the-circulation-department/>> [accessed 16 March 2021].

¹⁶⁹ Weddell.

¹⁷⁰ ‘Princess Mary At Harrogate. Lord Harewood Opens New Art Gallery.’, *The Yorkshire Post*, 10 January 1930, 12; ‘Advisory Council Records’.

However, he noted pragmatically that he would not ‘feel jealous’ if CEMA expanded its activities so long as this did not lead to competition with the V&A.¹⁷¹

The 6th Earl carried his enthusiasm for the educational benefit of institutional loans into his role as the so-called Sovereign’s Trustee of the British Museum, to which he was nominated by his father-in-law, King George V in 1930.¹⁷² The paucity of material in the 6th Earl’s archive suggests that he did not prioritise attendance on this particular board.¹⁷³ However, what is telling is that surviving correspondence evidences the 6th Earl’s interest in making the British Museum’s collections accessible to wider audiences through increased visibility; as he told Lord Bledisloe, the Governor–General of New Zealand, who enquired about the Museum lending some of its Maori collections to that country, ‘I am particularly keen on making the British Museum useful to other Museums.’¹⁷⁴ In 1930 the then-Director Frederic Kenyon (1863–1952, director 1903–1930) wrote to the 6th Earl about the possibility of extending the Museum’s loans policy.¹⁷⁵ ‘If the Trustees get the powers they ask for’, Kenyon explained, they would be able to loan duplicates and objects whose absence would not cause ‘injury to the interests of students’ or to ‘museums or universities or scientific institutions’ in Britain.¹⁷⁶ It was suggested that these could be arranged through the V&A Circulation Department; this collaboration was established later in the twentieth century, but possibly not during the 6th Earl’s lifetime.¹⁷⁷ Nevertheless, the 6th Earl’s roles at the V&A and British Museum sometime overlapped, most explicitly in 1934 with the joint acquisition of the Eumoforopoulos collection of Chinese antiquities. In Maclagan’s absence, the British Museum’s Director George Hill (1867–1948, director 1931–1936) asked the 6th Earl to sign a letter to the Government requesting support for the acquisition ‘in the double capacity of a Trustee of this Museum, and Chairman of the Advisory Council’ of the V&A.¹⁷⁸

In 1927 a Royal Commission on the National Museums and Galleries was commissioned by Parliament to evaluate and report on a wide range of questions concerning national arts institutions, including the distribution of ‘surplus’ collections to regional institutions,

¹⁷¹ 6th Earl to Lord Ilchester, 27 September 1945, 6EHHA, box 5.

¹⁷² The Sovereign’s Trustee was *ex officio* a member of the Standing Committee, the Museum’s ‘actual Governing Body’; Stamfordham to 6th Earl, 4 February 1930, 6EHHA, box 5.

¹⁷³ The 6th Earl initially refused this role due to engagements in Yorkshire and made it clear upon acceptance that he could not attend regularly; Stamfordham to 6th Earl, 4 February 1930.

¹⁷⁴ 6th Earl to Lord Bledisloe, 7 September 1934, 6EHHA, box 5.

¹⁷⁵ F. G. Kenyon to 6th Earl, 11 March 1930, 6EHHA, box 5.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁷ Weddell, fn. 49.

¹⁷⁸ George Hill to 6th Earl, 5 November 1934, 6EHHA, box 5.

admission fees, and museum administration.¹⁷⁹ Its inception has been credited to the 4th Baron Sudeley (1840–1922), who before his death had been ‘preparing to move for the appointment of a Royal Commission to consider the better workings of museums in this country’.¹⁸⁰ Its members were principally academics and professionals with backgrounds in the arts and heritage, although its Chairman, Lord D’Abernon, was an aristocrat and a trustee of the National Gallery.¹⁸¹ The Commission’s final Report, published in 1930, recommended the formation of a Standing Commission on Museums and Galleries (hereafter Standing Commission) ‘to advise generally on questions relevant to the most effective development of the National Institutions’, to promote co-operation between national and regional institutions, and to ‘stimulate the generosity’ of potential benefactors.¹⁸² The 6th Earl was selected in 1931 as one of three representatives of ‘Museums of Literature and Humanities’, which comprised the British Museum, Wallace Collection, London Museum, Imperial War Museum, V&A, and Bethnal Green Museum.¹⁸³ His name was put forward by the V&A, although he was associated with four of the six institutions listed (Bethnal Green being linked to the V&A).¹⁸⁴ Most of the nine Commission members were professionals; indeed, the 6th Earl and Lord D’Abernon were the only aristocrats.¹⁸⁵

As a governmental body the Standing Commission could be influential, and its broad remit meant that the 6th Earl’s membership intersected with his other philanthropic roles. For instance, the Standing Commission suggested that to improve the public ‘utilisation of the national institutions’, a dedicated publicity officer could be attached to each London institution; this had been raised by the Royal Commission and was supported by the Sudeley Committee (discussed below).¹⁸⁶ The 6th Earl took particular interest in the production of a ‘brief guide’ to museums and galleries in London, which was published by the Stationery Office in 1935 and intended to increase attendance.¹⁸⁷ While he was ‘delighted’, though unsurprised, to hear of the guide’s popularity, the 6th Earl hoped that the Standing Commission would ‘go a step

¹⁷⁹ ‘The Royal Commission on Museums & Galleries’, *Old Furniture, a Magazine for Domestic Ornament*, 2.6 (1927), 143–144.

¹⁸⁰ ‘Lord Sudeley, F.R.S’.

¹⁸¹ Geddes Poole, *Stewards of the Nation’s Art*, p. 168. The 6th Earl does not appear to have had a relationship with Lord D’Abernon outside of committee business.

¹⁸² Treasury Minute, 28 November 1930, enclosed in a letter from the Treasury Secretary to the 6th Earl, 24 February 1931, 6EHHA, box 3.

¹⁸³ Treasury Minute, 28 November 1930, 6EHHA, box 3.

¹⁸⁴ Mortimer Wheeler to 6th Earl, 7 January 1931, 6EHHA, box 3.

¹⁸⁵ 6EHHA, box 3.

¹⁸⁶ Standing Commission, Memorandum on the question of Improved Contact with the Public, and Publicity generally, n.d. [1934], 6EHHA, box 3.

¹⁸⁷ 6th Earl to Beresford, 29 October 1935, 6EHHA, box 3.

further in the direction which the Sudeley Committee advocates' and produce a more compendious publication useful beyond the general public in particular 'for schools and educational institutions'.¹⁸⁸ This would have expanded the educational benefits he had seen at the London Museum across other institutions in London.

Though now virtually unknown, the Sudeley Committee – of which the 6th Earl was a member from 1925 to 1947 – was an influential body in the first half of the twentieth century, which was consulted by the Standing Commission on many occasions alongside, for instance, the Museums Association.¹⁸⁹ It was originally set up in 1923 to continue the work of the aforementioned Lord Sudeley, who had spent the latter part of his life 'endeavouring to popularise' public museums and galleries.¹⁹⁰ As public institutions he believed that museums and galleries should perform a social function, and that since they were supported by taxpayers' money all classes of the public should be able to benefit from them.¹⁹¹ In his own words:

[H]as not the nation a right to claim that for the millions which have been spent in creating these great institutions some adequate interest in these vast sums should forthwith be given in the way of enjoyment and instruction, and that almost by the stroke of a magic wand life and happiness should be infused into the mind of every visitor?¹⁹²

Sudeley believed that 'the majority of people who visit museums [...] cannot be at the pains to read labels in an intelligent way [...] and they leave the place dazed and wearied, with no clear sense of what they have seen and having found neither enjoyment nor profit from their visit.'¹⁹³ The antidote he promoted was the institution of guide lecturers who could speak on general subjects to non-specialist visitors. Lord Sudeley was not associated with any arts institution, and instead promoted the introduction of guide lecturers per se in the House of Lords on several occasions.¹⁹⁴ This was an inherently aristocratic method of pursuing reform, as Sudeley used his hereditary position in the upper house of government to share his ideas with people who had authority to act on them. Several of the peers who heard Sudeley's speeches were trustees

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Standing Commission minutes, 7 December 1939, 6EHHA, box 3.

¹⁹⁰ 'Lord Sudeley, F.R.S', *Nature*, 110.2773 (1922), 851; *The Sudeley Committee: Letters from the Committee and Leading Articles, 1924–1937, reprinted from The Times*, inside cover, in 6EHHA, box 4; Sudeley Committee Papers, University of Leicester. For Lord Sudeley's work on museum reform see Heath.

¹⁹¹ Heath, pp. 26–27.

¹⁹² Lord Sudeley speaking at the House of Lords, 9 March 1921, in Heath, p. 27.

¹⁹³ Letter from Lord Sudeley, *The Saturday Review*, 15 November 1913, in Heath, p. 14.

¹⁹⁴ In 1917 he declined the Presidency of the Museums Association, reaffirming that 'I trust I may continue to help in Parliament and in many other directions'; Heath, p. 34.

of arts institutions, so that even if they did not affect legislative change, they could influence their own institutions.¹⁹⁵ Sudeley's appeals undoubtedly influenced the implementation of guide lecturers in several institutions prior to the First World War, including the British Museum (1911), V&A (1913), National Gallery (1914), Wallace Collection (1914), and Tate Gallery (1914).¹⁹⁶ Phillippa Heath has suggested plausibly that Sudeley's independence enabled him to achieve change, as he could engage with 'the popular right to debate on and influence museum policy and strategy' without institutional influence.¹⁹⁷

The 6th Earl of Harewood joined the Sudeley Committee in 1925, though the precise circumstances are unclear.¹⁹⁸ After the death in 1933 of the Committee's first Chairman, the artist and aristocrat Lord Northbourne, the members unanimously nominated the 6th Earl as his successor.¹⁹⁹ His influential status as the King's son-in-law may have precipitated this nomination, since this bolstered the Committee's social authority, though the 6th Earl's 'knowledge' – presumably of museums and galleries – was cited as 'an immense help to the Committee'.²⁰⁰ Membership fluctuated between ten and thirteen and comprised aristocrats, art historians, retired politicians, scientists, and clergy.²⁰¹ They belonged to what the 6th Earl described as 'the leisured classes' whose income was derived from hereditary wealth and its investment rather than a wage, and even the non-titled members held socially and economically privileged positions.²⁰² Most members were additionally 'officially connected with one or other of the great Museums' in London, giving them a ready channel through which to push reforms.²⁰³ For example, at a Sudeley Committee meeting in January 1934 it was pointed out that the labels on some Japanese armour at the V&A were placed too low to read without kneeling.²⁰⁴ Three weeks later the 6th Earl raised the matter to the Advisory Council, and the

¹⁹⁵ Lord Sudeley speaking in the House of Lords, 'Popular Guides to Museums', Volume 14, debated on Tuesday 29 April 1913, Hansard. Responses to Sudeley came from Earl Grey (Imperial Institute), Lord Redesdale (National Gallery and Wallace Collection), Lord Greville (Education Committee of the London County Council), Lord Reay (V&A), Earl Beauchamp (Tower of London), and Lord Emmott (Imperial Institute).

¹⁹⁶ Heath, p. 24.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

¹⁹⁸ Committee members 'unanimously' decided to invite the 6th Earl to join their number at a meeting of 9 June 1925, though no explanation is given; Sudeley Committee papers.

¹⁹⁹ 'History', *Northbourne Park School* <<https://www.northbournepark.com/history.aspx>> [accessed 2 January 2023].

²⁰⁰ Dunstan to 6th Earl, 7 January 1933, 6EHHA, box 4.

²⁰¹ The founding members were Lord Northbourne (Chair), the Archbishop of Canterbury, Viscount Cave, the Earl of Meath, Viscount Ullswater, Lord Shandon, Lord Ernle, Sir Lionel Phillips, Sir Hercules Read, Sir Wyndham Dunstan, D. S. MacColl, Professor Henry Tonks, and Reverend E. E. Dorling; *The Sudeley Committee: Letters from the Committee and Leading Articles*, inside cover.

²⁰² 6th Earl to M. Jean Capart, 20 July 1938, 6EHHA, box 4.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁴ Minutes, Sudeley Committee, 4 January 1934, 6EHHA, box 4.

issue was rectified shortly thereafter.²⁰⁵ The Committee also operated outside official channels by members making ‘private suggestions to Curators’ which, in the 6th Earl’s experience, ‘they usually carry out when possible’.²⁰⁶ One of the 6th Earl’s key contacts in this connection was Eric Maclagan, who was not only Director of the V&A but was also married to the 6th Earl’s cousin, Helen Elizabeth Lascelles.²⁰⁷

In contrast to middle-class arts organisations such as the NACF, the Sudeley Committee resisted involving itself in financial matters.²⁰⁸ For example, in 1934 they were asked to ‘take an interest’ in the collections of the Egyptian Department of University College London whose display required a £5000 overhaul.²⁰⁹ Rather than launch ‘an appeal for money’, the 6th Earl suggested that the Committee could help the collection’s Director ‘to impress his Trustees or Governors’ as to the importance of the situation.²¹⁰ While their methods differed from Lord Sudeley’s, the Committee similarly utilised the positions and contacts which they held as aristocrats in order to pursue change without requiring personal financial sacrifice.

The Sudeley Committee held quarterly meetings, which were minuted, and published an annual report as a letter from the Chairman to *The Times*.²¹¹ They convened in the luxurious setting of one of the members’ London residences, including Holland House (owned by Lord Ilchester), and on at least three occasions the 6th Earl’s home at 32 Green Street.²¹² The correspondence between the 6th Earl and Ilchester on Sudeley Committee matters was interspersed with discussions about horse racing, an interest which they and many others of their class shared.²¹³ Evidently, the similar social background of its members fostered a friendly and informal environment. In this regard the Committee may be likened to other homosocial environments in the contemporary art world such as the Burlington Fine Arts Club (BFAC), a private members club founded in 1866 and based in London, where collectors met to discuss art and examine exhibits lent by fellow members.²¹⁴ Several Sudeley Committee members were

²⁰⁵ Minutes, V&A Advisory Council, 25 January 1934 and 5 May 1934, 6EHHA, box 5.

²⁰⁶ 6th Earl to Trevor Thomas, 21 April 1942, 6EHHA, box 4.

²⁰⁷ The Maclagans stayed in the 6th Earl’s properties on several occasions; visitor book, Goldsborough Hall, 1923-1930, HHTD:2016.282; visitor book, (probably) 32 Green Street, 1931–1965, HHA.

²⁰⁸ In 1935 the Meath Memorial Committee, established following the death of the Earl of Meath in 1929, transferred approximately £150 in surplus funds to the Sudeley Committee to cover their expenses. The 6th Earl and Sir Wyndham were members of the Meath Committee; Minutes of a meeting of the Sudeley Committee, 7 March 1935, 6EHHA, box 4.

²⁰⁹ Captain George Spencer-Churchill to 6th Earl, 22 January 1934, 6EHHA, box 4.

²¹⁰ 6th Earl to Dunstan, 30 January 1934, 6EHHA, box 4.

²¹¹ There were no identifiable changes to the Committee’s organisation or operations after the 6th Earl succeeded as Chairman.

²¹² Minutes in 6EHHA, box 4.

²¹³ Correspondence between Harewood and Ilchester in April 1942; 6EHHA, box 4.

²¹⁴ Pierson, pp. 3–6.

also members of the BFAC, including Sir Hercules Read, Captain E. G. Spencer–Churchill, and the 6th Earl of Harewood.²¹⁵ The sociability as well as the exclusive nature of the Committee was emphasised by its Secretary, Sir Wyndham Dunstan, in a letter to the 6th Earl about inviting new members: ‘As we are a small and friendly body who talk informally I think it is well to be careful’.²¹⁶

The 6th Earl concisely explained the Sudeley Committee’s remit in a letter of 1942:

The Sudeley Committee is a self-appointed body of art lovers who wish to make Museums more easily understood by, and more useful to, the ordinary man who has no expert knowledge. Lord Sudeley (and this Committee) have urged the provision of Guide Lecturers for the benefit of this class of Museum visitor rather than for art students, and in many other ways have tried to remove the obstacles which prevent the general public from appreciating the contents of Museums, Galleries and National Monuments such as the Tower of London. They have urged the provision of minor amenities such as restaurants and have pressed for opening at hours when working people could pay their visits.²¹⁷

Art students were excluded from the Committee’s target audience since they were already a privileged class within art institutions, with two days per week reserved for students at the National Gallery (from 1880 the public could enter on student days for a fee of sixpence, the admission charge thereby creating a continued barrier of access).²¹⁸ Instead, the Sudeley Committee determined to improve access to art institutions for the working public who had hitherto been comparatively neglected.²¹⁹ These concerns aligned with those of contemporary middle-class organisations such as the Museums Association, which sought to improve the educational function of museums and advocated improvements such as ‘the promotion of museum lectures to working men’, noted above.²²⁰ The 6th Earl of Harewood would have been aware of the work of the Museums Association since its President, Sir Henry Miers, was a fellow member of the Standing Commission, and the 6th Earl was elected an Honorary

²¹⁵ Pierson, Appendix B: Biographical Index of Active Members and Contributors, pp. 169–186. The 6th Earl became a member of the BFAC in March 1917; no. 1391, candidate book 8, National Art Library, V&A.

²¹⁶ Dunstan to 6th Earl, 25 January 1933, 6EHHA, box 4.

²¹⁷ Emphasis added; 6th Earl to Trevor Thomas (Director of New Walk Museum, Leicester), 19 April 1942, 6EHHA, box 4.

²¹⁸ Alan Crookham, *The National Gallery: An Illustrated History* (London: National Gallery; Distributed by Yale University Press, 2009), p. 51.

²¹⁹ Access for working people had been given some consideration historically, for instance, the location of National Gallery’s new building on Trafalgar Square, erected during the 1830s, was selected partly because its central position would make it accessible to a larger audience; Crookham, p. 51.

²²⁰ Heath, p. 4.

members of the Museums Association in 1939 in view of his ‘distinguished services’ on the Sudeley Committee.²²¹

The 6th Earl and his fellow members on the Sudeley Committee were aware of the lineage and context of educational museum reform in which they were working and sought to make their own contributions using their positions as aristocrats to influence matters. The Committee attached ‘first importance to [...] the principle of free admission’ to art institutions, a sentiment which was shared by many individuals and organisations who gave evidence to the Royal Commission between 1927 and 1930.²²² Since this was little contested by the 1930s, and already reflected in the V&A Circulation Department’s loan exhibitions, the 6th Earl was not required to argue its merits. Similarly, the Royal Commission’s recommendation of increasing ‘loans from metropolitan to provincial institutions’ was welcomed by the Sudeley Committee, though they did not pursue any concrete reforms in this direction.²²³ The 6th Earl raised this subject independently during the opening of a loan exhibition at Harrogate Art Gallery, which had no permanent collection of its own; he recommended drawing on London institutions to devise loan exhibitions which would ‘carry the mind of the student right through a phase of art.’²²⁴ Regional loans were, in the 6th Earl’s view, principally a means of improving public arts education.²²⁵

A case study may be used to illustrate how the 6th Earl achieved reform by working across and between his various institutional roles which so far have been considered largely in isolation. The letter which he wrote to *The Times* in 1934 in his capacity as Chairman of the Sudeley Committee noted with dissatisfaction that the National Gallery, National Portrait Gallery, and Tate Gallery all closed at dusk, which in winter was as early as 4pm.²²⁶ As a result, working people were largely excluded from visiting those institutions. This issue had been recognised already in the previous century; indeed, as early as 1835 a Select Committee investigating the National Gallery had suggested that the Gallery might remain open ‘after the usual hours of labour’, a suggestion which was then repeated in the 1880s, but again to no

²²¹ Hansard, Museums (Standing Commission), debated on Tuesday 25 January 1944, Volume 396, Column 539, 57; E. W. Wignall (Secretary, Museums Association) to 6th Earl, 4 May 1939, 6EHHA, box 19.

²²² Lord Northbourne to *The Times*, 5 January 1929, in *The Sudeley Committee: Letters from the Committee and Leading Articles; Royal Commission on National Museums and Galleries: Oral Evidence, Memoranda and Appendices to the Interim Report* (London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1928).

²²³ Lord Northbourne to *The Times*, 4 November 1929, in *The Sudeley Committee: Letters from the Committee and Leading Articles*.

²²⁴ ‘Princess Mary at Harrogate.’

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ 6th Earl to *The Times*, 17 January 1934, in *The Sudeley Committee: Letters from the Committee and Leading Articles*.

effect.²²⁷ The Sudeley Committee itself had already raised the issue in 1927, reporting then that the National Gallery's Trustees 'have promised to consider whether this evening opening can be tried, as an experiment in the first instance, during the summer time of this year.'²²⁸ Evidently, the Sudeley Committee's promotion of evening opening was just one among many calls made since the National Gallery's inception, and was welcomed within and outside the institution.

The principal obstacle to late opening at the Gallery was its lack of artificial lighting. In this regard it was far behind the South Kensington Museum (V&A), which already in the mid-nineteenth century had installed gaslight and consequently opened until 10pm on two evenings per week.²²⁹ The lack of artificial lighting at the National Gallery was criticised by a Royal Commission in 1929, which stated 'It should be introduced immediately'.²³⁰ Its successor, the Standing Commission, repeated this recommendation to the government in 1934, shortly before the Sudeley Committee's letter in *The Times*.²³¹ The 6th Earl's membership of both bodies indicates that this timing was not coincidental, but reflects a co-ordinated strike on his part to raise awareness of the issue among the current public and the government after a century of similar lobbying. As a result largely of such concerted lobbying, in 1935 a resolution was finally reached; the Treasury approved increased expenditure to light the Gallery and enable it to remain open until 8pm on three days per week 'on an experimental basis'.²³²

The impact of evening opening was thought useful to measure and initially this was done by counting visitors who entered after the usual closing time. The 6th Earl recognised that this figure was 'exceedingly small' and gave the impression that 'to open a museum after 8 p.m. is not worth while'.²³³ He contended that 'the basis on which this decision is reached is false' and therefore independently asked the Director of the Bethnal Green Museum, whom he knew through the V&A, to count visitors leaving that Museum during its late evening openings.²³⁴ He believed that this figure would give a more reliable indication of impact since it would

²²⁷ Greer, p. 152; Sarah Staniforth, *Historical Perspectives on Preventive Conservation*, Readings in Conservation (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2013), pp. 182–183.

²²⁸ Lord Northbourne to *The Times*, 10 January 1927, *The Sudeley Committee: Letters from the Committee and Leading Articles*.

²²⁹ Nicholas Smith.

²³⁰ *Royal Commission on National Museums and Galleries: Final Report, Part 1. General Conclusions and Recommendations*, p. 42 point 25.

²³¹ 6th Earl to *The Times*, 17 January 1934, *The Sudeley Committee: Letters from the Committee and Leading Articles*.

²³² James Rae (Secretary of the Treasury) to Trustees of the National Gallery, 8 February 1935, 6EHHA, box 3.

²³³ 6th Earl to John Beresford, 27 April 1936, 6EHHA, box 3.

²³⁴ 6th Earl to A. K. Sabin, 27 April 1936, 6EHHA, box 3.

capture people who entered earlier and lingered to ‘take advantage of the evening opening to enjoy the Gallery for a longer time’.²³⁵ The Bethnal Green investigation showed that ‘the number of people who leave between 9 and 10 p.m. is almost as great as those who leave between 6 and 9 p.m.’, therefore confirming the 6th Earl’s suspicion.²³⁶ He shared these results with the Standing Commission, and it was subsequently agreed that the National Gallery would conduct a similar ‘experimental count of persons leaving the National Gallery between 5 and 8’.²³⁷ The result of this investigation would be passed to the Treasury to inform the government’s decision regarding the restoration of evening opening at the V&A and the Science Museum (which seems to have been discontinued during the First World War), and its extension elsewhere.²³⁸

The 6th Earl’s 1937 letter to *The Times* as Chairman of the Sudeley Committee relayed: ‘recent observations have shown that visitors [to the National Gallery] continue to arrive almost up to the closing hour, while considerable numbers are still in the gallery when it is about to be closed and are no doubt anxious to remain.’²³⁹ This indicates that the 6th Earl’s method of impact assessment had been accepted and, moreover, that it provided a reliable basis upon which officials were willing to approve evening opening. The support of the Sudeley Committee bolstered the position of the V&A’s Director who wanted the institution to remain open into the evenings; Maclagan told the 6th Earl that as Chairman of the Sudeley Committee ‘anything you say about evening opening [in *The Times*] will strengthen our hand’ in negotiations with the Board of Education.²⁴⁰ The 6th Earl surely contributed to the government’s decision in 1937 that the V&A should remain open until 8pm on three evenings per week.²⁴¹ As a result of these developments, the Sudeley Committee was able to report that ‘The public will now be able to visit one of the principal institutions in London every evening of the week, except Sunday.’²⁴²

As well as extending institutions’ opening hours, the Sudeley Committee expended considerable energy towards the institution of guide lecturers for a non-specialist adult audience. These complemented the ‘system of visits from schools’ which, as noted, the London

²³⁵ 6th Earl to John Beresford, 27 April 1936, 6EHHA, box 3.

²³⁶ Ibid.; A. K. Sabin to 6th Earl, 25 April 1936.

²³⁷ John Beresford to 6th Earl, 14 May 1936, 6EHHA, box 3.

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ 6th Earl to *The Times*, 25 May 1937, *The Sudeley Committee: Letters from the Committee and Leading Articles*.

²⁴⁰ Maclagan to 6th Earl, 20 April 1937, 6EHHA, box 5.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² 6th Earl to *The Times*, 25 May 1937, *The Sudeley Committee: Letters from the Committee and Leading Articles*.

Museum had developed ‘to a high degree’ and which the Royal Commission had advised should be extended in other institutions.²⁴³ Since the lectures promoted by the Sudeley Committee were intended to benefit working people, it was essential that institutions remained open during evenings and on Sundays to enable them to attend.²⁴⁴ Vice versa, once the Sudeley Committee had secured evening opening at an institution they soon thereafter raised the ‘desirability of having at least one evening lecture per week’ in order to attract and benefit their target audience.²⁴⁵ It was in reference to this that the 6th Earl noted his action points following a meeting in 1937: ‘write to Eric [Maclagan] – evening opening – & lecture / advertise in tube station’.²⁴⁶

As this suggests, the Sudeley Committee also recognised that the success of lectures depended on the public being made aware of them:

If only people in general knew about these incomparable collections of art and science, they would delight to enjoy them; that is the high faith on which the Sudeley Committee has consistently acted, and in which formerly preoccupied, sceptical or indifferent authorities have been persuaded, little by little, to share.²⁴⁷

Accordingly, in the 6th Earl’s first letter to *The Times* as Chairman of the Sudeley Committee in 1934 he suggested the formation of a central office in London that ‘could serve as a centre of publicity and information for all London institutions.’²⁴⁸ This was an extension of a proposal by the Standing Commission, as noted, which recommended the appointment of an institutional liaison officer to promote ‘publicity and contact with the outside public’.²⁴⁹ The ambitious scope of the proposals made by the 6th Earl through the Sudeley Committee was made possible thanks to its privileged position outside institutional or governmental control. Combined with individual institutional affiliations of its members, which provided a direct channel for reforms, the Sudeley Committee was an influential body within the context of public arts education during the 1920s–1940s.

²⁴³ Ibid.; ‘The Royal Commission on Museums & Galleries’, p. 144.

²⁴⁴ Lord Northbourne to *The Times*, 30 November 1925, *The Sudeley Committee: Letters from the Committee and Leading Articles*.

²⁴⁵ Minutes, Sudeley Committee, 23 April 1937, box 4.

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

²⁴⁷ Leading article, *The Times*, 25 May 1937, *The Sudeley Committee: Letters from the Committee and Leading Articles*.

²⁴⁸ 6th Earl to *The Times*, 17 January 1934, *The Sudeley Committee: Letters from the Committee and Leading Articles*.

²⁴⁹ Memorandum on the question of Improved Contact with the Public, and Publicity generally, n.d. [1934?], Standing Commission on Museums and Galleries, 6EHHA, box 3.

The 6th Earl retained the Chair of the Sudeley Committee until his death in 1947, though the Committee's activities had effectively ceased some five years earlier when members had been 'driven by the war into local activities'.²⁵⁰ The Committee's failure to reconvene after the war should not be ascribed to a lack of belief in its valuable contribution to public arts education, despite the inclination of members Lords Mersey, Ilchester, and Harlech in 1948 to think that 'our work is done'.²⁵¹ The 6th Earl's expressed concern that 'museums are so badly under-staffed that it will be impossible to get any reforms carried out', by contrast, indicates a desire on his part to continue to promote reforms, while the ever-enthusiastic Secretary Sir Wyndham Dunstan argued that 'there was plenty [of work] in hand when the War broke out and the indications are that there will be plenty to do in the future'.²⁵² Dunstan's resignation in 1947 presented the difficulty of finding a replacement with 'the leisure and the keenness' to take on the role, and although the collector and brewing heir Humphrey Whitbread accepted the post in September 1948, the Committee – which by then had also lost its Chairman due to the 6th Earl's death – was unable to re-establish itself, and quietly ceased to exist.²⁵³

The public benefit

The emphasis of early twentieth-century reformers, including the 6th Earl of Harewood, upon encouraging the working public into art institutions raises the question of the intended impact on that group. Lord Sudeley intended his reforms to benefit 'the intelligent public' and maintained that some members of the public ought to be excluded from guided tours of museums.²⁵⁴ These included children 'who come but ought not to come', as well as unspecified others who tactfully 'ought to be moved on'.²⁵⁵ In this regard the intended audience for Sudeley's reforms was more limited than the National Gallery had itself established in the previous century, since, for instance, it had permitted children from the very beginning.²⁵⁶

The Sudeley Committee's target audience of 'the ordinary man who has no expert knowledge' was less restricted.²⁵⁷ However, a comment made in 1927 by founding member

²⁵⁰ 6th Earl to Dunstan, 24 March 1947, 6EHHA, box 4.

²⁵¹ Lord Mersey to Dunstan, 25 June 1948, Sudeley Committee papers, box 6.

²⁵² 6th Earl to Dunstan, 24 March 1947, 6EHHA, box 4; Dunstan to Mersey, 26 June 1948, Sudeley Committee Papers, box 6.

²⁵³ 6th Earl to Dunstan, 24 March 1947, 6EHHA, box 4; Lord Wellington to Dunstan, 20 September 1948, Sudeley Committee papers, box 6. Dunstan sought to secure the Sudeley Committee's survival by merging with the London Society, Arts Council, or Institute of Advanced Education. These approaches were unsuccessful; Sudeley Committee Papers, box 6.

²⁵⁴ Hansard, House of Lords, Popular Guides to Museums, debated on Tuesday 29 April 1913, Volume 14, column 350.

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

²⁵⁶ Leahy, p. 20.

²⁵⁷ 6th Earl to Trevor Thomas, 19 April 1942.

Reginald Brabazon, 12th Earl of Meath, reveals that the benefit of art access for working-class visitors potentially necessitated the exclusion of others:

[It does not] appear to me that [the Sudeley Committee] should endeavour to force the entry into our museums and Galleries of that large class of uneducated persons who do not desire instruction, who would be bored by art of all kinds, and whose presence would be a hindrance to those who seriously contemplate mental improvement or who seek the refreshment and pleasures to be derived from the acquisition of knowledge, and the beauties of art, colour, and form.²⁵⁸

The 6th Earl similarly recognised that while ‘Every child should have the opportunity to see good works of art [...] it did not follow that every child would be able to appreciate them.’²⁵⁹ While the Sudeley Committee endeavoured to ensure that time and money – intertwined with class and profession – were no longer barriers to public arts education, they did not wish museums to become venues of general amusement. The Cockney children who hoped to see something ‘funny’ in the 1945 Picasso–Matisse exhibition were therefore not among the Committee’s target audience, not on the basis of class or age, but because they could disrupt the contemplation of others.²⁶⁰

There had already been attempts to remove the barriers of access for working class people in the nineteenth century. Many of the reforms promoted by the Sudeley Committee were pioneered at the South Kensington Museum in 1857; it remained open until 10pm on several evenings per week, and contained the world’s first museum restaurant.²⁶¹ These features were intended not only to facilitate arts education but to make the Museum ‘a powerful antidote to the gin palace’ for working people.²⁶² Similarly, it was assumed that the National Gallery could provide ‘a means of moral and intellectual Improvement for the People.’²⁶³ Later employment reforms meant that working people were entitled to paid leave and limited hours, and debates continued among the higher classes as to how working people should utilise their leisure

²⁵⁸ Meath to Dunstan, 11 November 1927, Sudeley Committee papers, box 5.

²⁵⁹ ‘Princess Mary At Harrogate.’

²⁶⁰ ‘The Postman and Picasso: “He Doodles”’.

²⁶¹ Louise Purbrick, ‘The South Kensington Museum: The Building of the House of Henry Cole’, in *Art Apart: Art Institutions and Ideology across England and North America*, ed. by Marcia R. Pointon (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 69–86, pp. 69–70, 72–73; James Sutton, ‘The First Years of the South Kensington Museum: Part 1: Henry Cole’s “Wager of a Hat”’, *V&A Blog*, 2013 <<https://www.vam.ac.uk/blog/caring-for-our-collections/first-years-south-kensington-museum-part-1-henry-coles-wager-hat>> [accessed 14 January 2023].

²⁶² Purbrick, pp. 73–74, 77–78, 83; Crookham, p. 51.

²⁶³ Crookham, p. 51.

time.²⁶⁴ Members of the Sudeley Committee and their contemporaries did not explicitly promote art institutions as vehicles for moral reform, however, that nineteenth-century context likely influenced later reformers' conception of museums and galleries as sites for educating the public in matters of taste.

In his Presidential Address to Museums Association members delivered in 1903, Francis Arthur Bather stated: 'The object of museums, as regards the lay public, is not to produce artists or connoisseurs, but to inspire people with a love of beauty and to induce a divine discontent with the ugliness in which they live.'²⁶⁵ The final report of the Royal Commission praised close working between museums and secondary schools for a similar reason, stating 'it is not much use producing a craftsman in the art schools if there is no public to appreciate his craft and buy his goods'.²⁶⁶ The notion that museums could teach the public to identify ugliness and beauty implies that these were universal values, however, they were inherently linked to notions of good taste which had historically been spread and upheld by aristocrats. Improved access to art institutions for working people therefore inherently, though likely unconsciously, reinforced the legitimacy of aristocratic taste.

Loans from the 6th Earl's collection

The subject of loans between national and regional art institutions has already been mentioned in passing, and it is an important topic for it also pertained to the 6th Earl as the owner of a private art collection. Loans to public institutions were an established element of aristocratic public service, and the 6th Earl believed that owners were 'under an obligation not to be selfish' with regard to sharing their collections.²⁶⁷ Temporary loans were an effective means by which aristocrats could contribute to public arts education while, crucially, maintaining private ownership.²⁶⁸

The 6th Earl began lending works of art to public (or semi-public) exhibitions in 1917, shortly after he began collecting, and continued to do so until the outbreak of war in 1939. Almost twenty percent of those exhibitions were held at the BFAC in London between 1917 and 1925 (fig. 1). According with the social environment of the BFAC these loans were arranged informally through Tancred Borenius, the 6th Earl's advisor and friend. The 6th Earl

²⁶⁴ Heath, p. 16.

²⁶⁵ Francis Arthur Bather, *Presidential Address to the Museums Association, Delivered at Aberdeen, July 1903* (London: 1903), p. 94.

²⁶⁶ *Royal Commission on National Museums and Galleries: Final Report, Part 2*, p. 18, section 15.2.

²⁶⁷ 'Access to Art Treasures', *The Yorkshire Post*, 7 July 1936, 7. Holbein's *Christina* had been lent to the National Gallery for 25 years prior to its sale; Howard.

²⁶⁸ Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1837* (New Haven and London, 1992), p. 176, quoted in Pullan, p. 28.

wrote to Borenius in 1919: ‘You know all my pictures as well as I do and can tell me what you would like (if any) for the Burlington Club winter exhibition.’²⁶⁹ BFAC exhibitions were accessible to a restricted audience of members and their guests. Women and art dealers were specifically excluded from membership, while the working classes and children were implicitly excluded.²⁷⁰ The educational value of these loans was therefore limited to the 6th Earl’s peers, who may have been granted access to the objects in the 6th Earl’s houses upon request.

Conversely, loans to public institutions presented a rare opportunity for people outside the 6th Earl’s social circle to see his collection and are therefore relevant to his promotion of the arts. Although the 6th Earl ‘deplored the concentration of art treasures in London’, he lent to just six regional exhibitions compared to sixteen in London.²⁷¹ Of particular interest is his only long-term loan, a painting depicting the *Queen Tomyris with the Head of Cyrus* by Rubens, which he lent to Leeds City Art Gallery in 1934 and which remained there until at least 1939.²⁷² This was arranged to coincide with an exhibition of seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish pictures lent from the ‘surplus collection’ of the National Gallery in 1934, which had ‘not previously been exhibited in the provinces’.²⁷³ The loan exhibition and the 6th Earl’s contribution of a conspicuous work accorded with the educational benefits for regional audiences which he promoted through his philanthropy. In 1934, Leeds City Art Gallery was open until 9pm on Saturdays, Bank Holidays, and Good Friday, and until 7pm on other weekdays, so the 6th Earl’s Rubens became far more accessible to the working population of Leeds and its surrounding area through this loan, compared to if it had been at Harewood House, which was open only on one day per week.²⁷⁴ It may be noted that the Rubens loan also had practical benefits for the 6th Earl, since the picture was probably too large to hang at Harewood House, and the Gallery would have assumed responsibility for the costly issue of insurance for the loan’s duration.²⁷⁵ These benefits of course did not lessen the positive public impact of the loan.

²⁶⁹ 6th Earl to Tancred Borenius, 7 October 1919, TBA.

²⁷⁰ Pierson, p. 14.

²⁷¹ ‘Princess Mary at New Art Gallery. Earl of Harewood Deplores Concentration of Art Treasures in London.’, *The Yorkshire Evening Post* (Leeds, 9 January 1930), 10.

²⁷² The loan initially agreed for one year; ‘New Art Director Takes Up Post at Leeds Gallery’, *The Yorkshire Post* (Leeds, 26 June 1934), 4. The Rubens was definitely in Leeds in 1936; Borenius, *Catalogue of the Pictures and Drawings at Harewood House*, p. 223. It was probably one of the ‘exceptionally large pictures’ evacuated from Leeds City Art Gallery in 1939; email correspondence with Adam Toole (Curator, Temple Newsam), 25 January 2023.

²⁷³ ‘National Gallery Art In Leeds. Rubens Loan from Lord Harewood’, *The Yorkshire Post* (Leeds, 3 August 1934), 8.

²⁷⁴ Ruiz, p. 138.

²⁷⁵ In order to get the Rubens into Leeds City Art Gallery it had to be taken out of its frame, and the canvas alone measured 7ft. by 12ft.; ‘Exhibition of Dutch and Flemish Painting in Leeds’, *Leeds Mercury*, 3 August

The 6th Earl rarely lent more than three works of art per year, indicating that these were token gestures rather than reflecting a deep commitment to making his collection accessible (fig. 2). He may also have been conscious of the impact of loans on the domestic display of his collection. For example, of the five works lent to the Royal Academy in 1930 four were drawings usually stored in portfolios, and their removal therefore did not affect the 6th Earl's interior decorative schemes.²⁷⁶ The 6th Earl perhaps shared the sentiments of his friend and Sudeley Committee colleague Spencer-Churchill, who resented sharing his collection:

I fear these picture exhibitors will then have robbed me of some 13 pictures. I am really becoming rather tired of acting as a kind of lending library.²⁷⁷

It was clearly for aesthetic reasons that the 6th Earl advised Borenius that if he wished to borrow a particular painting for the BFAC 'you must have it in the winter and not in the summer, because it leaves a mark on the wall which would prevent me from using the room.'²⁷⁸ Despite the public perception of aristocratic collections as part of the national heritage, as a private owner the 6th Earl prioritised his own right to enjoy his collection over the potential benefits of public exhibition.

The 6th Earl was a member of the British royal family through his marriage, and he and his wife Princess Mary were therefore the subject of significant public interest. Many of the historic English works lent by the 6th Earl reference the eighteenth-century cultural heritage of Harewood House and the Lascelles family, thereby demonstrating to viewers the appropriately long-held noble standing of Princess Mary's husband. In a similar vein, a clear connection may be drawn between the couple's wedding in 1922, which was the first Royal wedding to be televised, and the exhibition in that year of Sir John Lavery's painting of the bridal procession (fig. 3).²⁷⁹ Almost all of the 6th Earl's contemporary British loans were portraits of the couple (individually, hunting, or during their wedding), their home (Chesterfield House), or activities closely associated with them (the Bramham Moor Hunt). The only exceptions were three pictures by John Singer Sargent lent to a posthumous exhibition of the artist's work where the emphasis naturally was on the artist rather than subject. These loans were still likely motivated by the public's interest in the royal family, rather than their educational value.

1934, 6. The Rubens was valued for insurance in 1920 at £23,000, though it is unclear how much this insurance would have cost the 6th Earl annually; Chesterfield House Inventory, HHTD:2016.15.

²⁷⁶ *Exhibition of Italian Art 1200–1900*, 3rd ed. (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1930).

²⁷⁷ Spencer-Churchill to Dunstan, 12 May 1937, Sudeley Committee Papers, box 4 folder 8.

²⁷⁸ 6th Earl to Borenius, 4 October 1919, TBA. The work by Cristoforo Scacco was lent to the Winter Exhibition 1919–1920.

²⁷⁹ McKibbin, chap. 1 'Monarchy'.

Access to private collections in country houses

The issue of loans denuding one's interiors could be solved by facilitating public access to a private collection *in situ*. During the 1930s the 6th Earl continued the practice established by his ancestors of allowing the public to visit the State Apartments of Harewood House on one or two days per week during summer.²⁸⁰ Visitors were 'conducted round the house' in 'small parties', probably by a member of household staff since the provision of a guide lecturer would have surely been advertised.²⁸¹ The presence of the conductor was necessitated by practical and security concerns (not least because Harewood was a royal residence) rather than supporting public arts education. Visitors to Harewood during the 1930s paid a shilling fee to enter the House, which was donated to charitable causes.²⁸² This was common practice at the time, as it would have been seen as unacceptable for aristocrats to 'pocket the proceeds'.²⁸³ It was not until 1949, after the 6th Earl's death, that some country houses began to operate commercially and utilise admissions income to cover maintenance costs.²⁸⁴

The 6th Earl expressed no desire to transform Harewood House into a commercial venture, however, he was conscious that financial pressures from income tax, super tax, and death duties often forced aristocrats to sell works of art from their hereditary collections in order to maintain their country house.²⁸⁵ He therefore devised a scheme which argued that private owners who facilitated public access to the collections in their country house should be given significant tax reliefs from the Treasury, thereby turning their collections 'into capital [...] bringing in an income of some kind' which would, he hoped, preclude works of art being sold.²⁸⁶ One of the first instances in which the 6th Earl shared his proposal was in a letter to Sir Charles Holmes,

²⁸⁰ 'Harewood House: Opening of Mansion and Grounds to Public', *Shipley Times and Express*, 23 May 1931, 7. Harewood had 'never been closed since interested visitors could always have permission to see the State Apartments'; Mauchline, p. 153. Throughout the nineteenth century the House was open on one day per week; Benjamin Blunderhead, *A Season at Harrogate*, P. Palliser (Harrogate, 1838), p. 165. For a period prior to 1858 visitors were shown the private apartments, which ceased after a visitor looked over the shoulder of a family member writing a letter; 'An Illustrated Handbook for Harrogate, with Excursions in the Neighbourhood.', *The Athenaeum*, 1615, 1858, p. 450. Although Tinniswood stated that Harewood closed to visitors around the turn of the twentieth century, this did not accord with the 6th Earl's understanding that 'my father and my grand-father' had welcomed visitors: 6th Earl to Lothian, n.d. (March 1936), 6EHHA, box 18; Adrian Tinniswood, *The Polite Tourist: Four Centuries of Country House Visiting* (London and New York: National Trust, 1998), p. 164. Harewood was still accessible in 1912; *Black's Modern Guide to Harrogate*, ed. by Gordon Home (London: A. & C. Black, 1912), p. 80.

²⁸¹ 'Harewood House: Opening of Mansion and Grounds to Public'. Harewood's porter John Jewell guided visitors round the House during his tenure, and wrote its first published guidebook; John Jewell, *The Tourist's Companion; or, The History and Antiquities of Harewood in Yorkshire* (Leeds: B. Dewhirst, 1819).

²⁸² H. Thornton Rutter, 'The Chronicle of the Car', *Illustrated London News*, 11 June 1932, 973–974, p. 974.

²⁸³ Tinniswood, pp. 194–196.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 196. Longleat, seat of the Marquesses of Bath, was the first to enter the stately home business in a serious way on 1 April 1949.

²⁸⁵ 6th Earl to Charles Holmes (draft), 12 May 1922, HHTD:2000.1.8.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

Director of the National Gallery (1868–1936, director 1916–1928), in 1922, which was written seemingly in response to a suggestion that owners of private collections should open their homes in return for ‘out-of-pocket expenses’.²⁸⁷ The 6th Earl found this ‘a most unattractive proposition’ as it offered little, if any, financial benefits for owners.²⁸⁸ His own scheme was intended to benefit both aristocrats and the public: aristocrats would be relieved of some of the financial burden that could otherwise force them to sell their heritage; and the regional public would receive improved access to works of art in private homes which were not usually, or easily, accessible.

The transatlantic flow of art from British aristocratic collections was of foundational relevance to the NACF, and in 1923 the 6th Earl highlighted the benefits of tackling the issue at its source by enabling owners to derive income by owning, instead of selling, their works of art. In a speech delivered to a meeting of the NACF the 6th Earl asked:

Cannot we as a society bring pressure on the Chancellor of the Exchequer to recognise that in the case of every owner who is so kind as to guarantee that a certain portion of his house might be open to the public further relief of taxation may accrue to him? Are we so frightened that a single individual would derive some small benefit therefrom?²⁸⁹

The 6th Earl believed that the NACF’s model of purchasing endangered works was unsustainable, and that art institutions would also benefit from his scheme. He highlighted this at the Museums Association’s annual conference in 1936:

If such a calamity were to happen that all the private art treasures in this country were thrown on the market at once or even over a number of years, the expenditure of museums would be colossal, and the cost of housing those which would have to be acquired for the nation would be enormous.²⁹⁰

The 6th Earl indicated that private collections were within the Association’s remit when he asked delegates ‘to take a wide, comprehensive view of the object for which they existed in a

²⁸⁷ Ibid. Just a few days before writing that letter, the 6th Earl presided over the inaugural lecture of the Chair of the History of Art at University College, delivered by Tancred Borenius, who was Professor of the History of Art at that institution. The 6th Earl used his speech delivered after the lecture to highlight the present danger of losing works of art in private collections, which he felt should be made ‘made available for study’, concluding: ‘It was not fair to permit him [the owner of a private collection] to be taxed out of existence as some of them said they were being, and still expect them to show sympathy towards the public’s love of art’; ‘Viscount Lascelles on Art.’, *The Scotsman*, 6 May 1922, 9.

²⁸⁸ 6th Earl to Charles Holmes (draft), 12 May 1922.

²⁸⁹ ‘Closed Mansions’, *Shields Daily News*, 14 June 1923, 4.

²⁹⁰ ‘Letting Public See Art Treasures’.

corporate capacity – the education of the public in matters of art, and the exhibition of objects helpful of education in that direction.’²⁹¹ Country houses were ‘scattered throughout the country’, and their collections could make a valuable contribution to regional arts education as auxiliaries to public institutions.²⁹²

The 6th Earl shared his proposal with the Sudeley Committee in 1926 and suggested that members could induce museum officials throughout the country ‘to approach the Board of Education to devise a scheme for the relief of Death Duties’ for aristocrats who open their homes.²⁹³ While the Committee agreed that the subject ‘should be taken up’, several amendments were agreed which reflected members’ concerns about the Treasury becoming involved with private property:²⁹⁴

That it is desirable, especially in order to avoid raising sooner or later questions of actual ownership, not to ask Government, at first at all events, to subsidise or compensate owners who open their Collections. That in any scheme the rights of private ownership of Collections should be carefully safeguarded.²⁹⁵

Members envisaged that owners of houses ‘of special interest’ might initially be willing to welcome the public ‘in return for a grant towards the expenses of upkeep’.²⁹⁶ The Sudeley Committee’s suggestions modified the 6th Earl’s proposal to a degree with which he was surely unsatisfied, for it included minimal compensation for owners rather than the ‘real and serious inducement’ he felt was required.²⁹⁷ It was perhaps partly because of this that the subject of private collections was not pursued by the Sudeley Committee.²⁹⁸

The principal body ‘encouraging private people to open their houses’ from the late 1930s was the National Trust.²⁹⁹ The 6th Earl was invited to comment upon the Trust’s proposed Country Houses Scheme in 1936, and corresponded with its supporter Lord Lothian on the subject.³⁰⁰ While the Trust proposed to assist private owners through ‘exemption from Death

²⁹¹ ‘Access to Art Treasures’.

²⁹² ‘Princess Mary At Harrogate.’

²⁹³ Memorandum, ‘Public Use of Private Collections’, circulated for a meeting of 19 March 1926, Sudeley Committee Papers, box 1.

²⁹⁴ Minutes, 19 March 1926, Sudeley Committee Papers, box 1.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.* Syon House and Hardwick Hall were given as examples of houses of special interest.

²⁹⁷ 6th Earl to Charles Holmes (draft), 12 May 1922.

²⁹⁸ Another factor was the 6th Earl’s intermittent attendance at meetings around this time; after sharing his memorandum in March 1926, the 6th Earl was unable to attend the next three meetings (at least), and by January 1927 Private Collections had been removed from the agenda; Sudeley Committee Papers.

²⁹⁹ ‘Letting Public See Art Treasures’.

³⁰⁰ D.M. Matheson (Secretary of the National Trust) to 6th Earl, 21 July 1936; and 6th Earl to Lord Lothian (copy), n.d. (March 1936), both 6EHHA, box 18. The 1937 National Trust Act gave the Trust additional powers

Duties’ on the mansion itself, the 6th Earl argued that ‘by a little careful arrangement’ death duties on an equivalent sum could be saved ‘as an ordinary business transaction’.³⁰¹ In return, the 6th Earl understood that the National Trust’s scheme would require owners to ‘give up our absolute rights over the places and their important contents’, and ‘shall be obliged to obtain the sanction of the National Trust to move things about’ within their own home.³⁰² He concluded: ‘I do not think that owners of such places will find that they have any adequate return for the rights which they are invited to resign.’³⁰³

The concerns of the 6th Earl and the National Trust were inherently misaligned. The Trust’s responsibility was to ‘preserve the fabric of the historic houses under its guardianship, their gardens and grounds, their rich interior decorations and their valuable contents, and above all their character, unimpaired.’³⁰⁴ It was less concerned with living inhabitants who may, as the 6th Earl indicated, complicate the ‘unimpaired’ preservation of a house by trying to alter its contents. In contrast, the 6th Earl felt obliged to ensure that his descendants would enjoy the same rights of private ownership as he had done.³⁰⁵ This concern was shared by his aristocratic peers, including Lord Methuen (of Corsham Court, Wiltshire) and the Marchioness of Exeter (of Burghley House, Lincolnshire), who saw the future ‘in terms of enabling owners to maintain their country houses as private homes.’³⁰⁶ The 6th Earl stated that he ‘would rather see the matter taken up by genuine experts in museums rather than by an entirely outside body with little knowledge of pictures or art in general.’³⁰⁷ This reference to museums indicates that if the 6th Earl’s scheme had been implemented, Harewood House may have been made accessible along the lines he promoted for public institutions; the provision of lectures on art subjects and the abolition of admission fees could have made Harewood a valuable site for public arts education in Yorkshire. However, the 6th Earl’s scheme never developed beyond an idea, and the National Trust’s Country Houses Scheme became the principal mechanism through which country house owners could ensure the survival of their residence and its contents.³⁰⁸

for the Country Houses Scheme, and in 1939 a subsequent Act extended the Scheme to include settled estates; Lees-Milne, ed., *The National Trust: A Record of Fifty Years’ Achievement*, p. 123.

³⁰¹ 6th Earl to Lothian, 27 and 29 February 1936, 6EHHA, box 18.

³⁰² 6th Earl to Lothian, 27 February, and n.d. (March 1936), 6EHHA, box 18.

³⁰³ 6th Earl to Lothian, 29 February 1936.

³⁰⁴ Lees-Milne, *The National Trust: A Record of Fifty Years’ Achievement*, p. 77.

³⁰⁵ 6th Earl to Lothian, n.d. (March 1936).

³⁰⁶ Tinniswood, p. 181.

³⁰⁷ ‘Letting Public See Art Treasures’.

³⁰⁸ Lees-Milne, *The National Trust: A Record of Fifty Years’ Achievement*, p. 123. By 1946 the National Trust had accepted ownership of 17 country houses – nine of which were still inhabited ‘at least partially by the family of the donor’ – and had protective covenants on five more: *Ibid.*, p. 61.

Conclusion

The 6th Earl of Harewood's involvement with arts institutions and particularly his role on the Sudeley Committee challenge the notion that aristocrats had become ineffective stewards during the first half of the twentieth century.³⁰⁹ Instead, this chapter has demonstrated that some aristocrats adapted to the increased dominance of middle-class trustees and museum professionals in public art institutions by working outside and between institutions to effect change. The many successes of the Sudeley Committee during its short life demonstrate that aristocrats were not wholly eclipsed by middle-class professionals in the field of arts stewardship.³¹⁰ The educational reforms pursued by the 6th Earl may be situated within a lineage beginning in the nineteenth century and were simultaneously promoted by other individuals and organisations who sought to make art more accessible to working people, including the Museums Association. This indicates that the 6th Earl was conscious of the context within which he was operating, and deliberately utilised his network and position as an aristocrat to affect a successful outcome.

The 6th Earl like many others of his class saw a clear distinction between public art collections and privately owned objects, despite the increased characterisation of both as part of the nation's collective heritage.³¹¹ This is evidenced in the fact that he evaluated potential loans based upon the impact that they would have upon his ability to enjoy his collection and prioritised his private ownership rights over the potential public benefits. Accordingly, he was not notably generous in his loans to public institutions or the provision of public access to his private properties.³¹² While promoting free public access to art through his public roles, in a private capacity the 6th Earl determined that owners of private collections must be able to derive financial benefit from them in return for the provision of public access. He recognised that this was essential in order to enable aristocrats to retain ownership of their collections and occupy their hereditary homes.³¹³ The 6th Earl's vision differed from the National Trust's Country Houses Scheme in key ways, since it emphasised the importance of country houses as living, changing entities of which the ancestral aristocratic owner-occupier was an intrinsic element.³¹⁴ Though ultimately not implemented, the 6th Earl's scheme demonstrates the extent

³⁰⁹ Geddes Poole, 'Conspicuous Presumption', p. 3.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 7–9.

³¹¹ Neil Harris, p. 195; 6th Earl to Lord Lothian (copy), n.d. (March 1936).

³¹² D.M. Matheson to 6th Earl, 21 July 1936; and 6th Earl to Lord Lothian (copy), n.d. (March 1936).

³¹³ 6th Earl to Charles Holmes (draft), 12 May 1922.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*; Lees-Milne, p. 77.

to which he and other aristocrats were actively engaged with contemporary discussions around public arts education and cultural heritage.

Chapter Two: Constructing an aristocratic heritage

The notion of aristocratic cultural heritage was the subject of interest and debate in the early twentieth century. As a leading aristocrat, it is valuable to interrogate the 6th Earl of Harewood's awareness of and response to this context in some detail through a study of his treatment of his homes, before considering its influence on his collecting.³¹⁵ The economic challenges faced by the aristocracy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, including decreased income from land and increased direct taxation of wealth, meant that aristocrats were increasingly pushed to realise the capital value of their cultural heritage assets.³¹⁶ The 6th Earl was conscious that sales of aristocratic heritage were usually a last resort, as he stated in 1930: 'Nobody sold a work of art unless pressed by the obligations of carrying on a great estate that he had no longer means of doing so after paying very large capital sums in estate duties.'³¹⁷ As well as paintings, *objets d'art*, and furniture, some aristocrats during this period sold interior features such as chimneypieces and wood panelling.³¹⁸ Such objects carried social and cultural value for aristocrats, since their patina – the physical marks of wear which accumulate on an object's surface over time – functioned as a tangible representation and validation of the family's long-held nobility.³¹⁹ As a result, sales of what Grant McCracken describes as 'patina objects' could affect aristocrats' social standing, or at least perceptions of it.³²⁰ Conversely, long-held high social status could be implied through the acquisition of patinated objects with aristocratic provenance such as those listed above.

³¹⁵ A full list of houses owned by or associated with the 6th Earl is provided in Appendix A.

³¹⁶ The agricultural depression of the 1870s saw grain prices in Britain fall dramatically, which affected rental income from land. In 1894 death duties were introduced with a top rate of 8% for owners of large estates with rental income of over £40,000; this was steeply increased in David Lloyd George's 'People's Budget' of 1909–1910 and went up to 65% after the Second World War. Lloyd George had also introduced taxation of land values (initially at twenty percent of the rise in value not due to development or investment) which directly targeted the landowning aristocracy. The 1882 Settled Land Act had enabled aristocrats to sell entailed chattels, in order to raise the funds necessary to meet these costs. See Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, p. 300; Thompson, pp. 308–310; Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, p. 89; Mandler *The Rise and Fall of the Stately Home*, p. 174.

³¹⁷ 'Princess Mary At Harrogate.'

³¹⁸ This was the path taken by the Strickland family who had lived at Sizergh Castle, Cumbria since the sixteenth century; in 1891 they sold the Elizabethan panelling of the Inlaid Chamber to the Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A) for £1000, followed in 1896 by its stained glass and tester bed for £400; Cornforth, p. 48; Maev Kennedy, 'V&A Returns Tudor Bedroom to Original Sizergh Castle Setting', *The Guardian*, 2 January 2017 <<https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2017/jan/02/va-returns-tudor-bedroom-to-original-sizergh-castle-setting>> [accessed 29 April 2022].

³¹⁹ Grant McCracken, *Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), chap. 2: "'Ever Dearer in Our Thoughts": Patina and the Representation of Status before and after the Eighteenth Century'.

³²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

The 6th Earl of Harewood's receipt of the Clanricarde inheritance in 1916 largely protected him from the economic pressures that forced some other aristocrats to sell heirlooms; as his brother Edward 'Eddy' Lascelles wrote in 1916, 'one now feels [...] that the Harewood estate is now safe as a whole – as far as anything can be nowadays – & that without even a question of drawing on what the house contains'.³²¹ Nevertheless, the 6th Earl was conscious that he must carefully manage his inheritance in order to be able to maintain Harewood House. He would have been fully cognisant of the fact that economic pressure had already pushed his father, the 5th Earl, to sell property in the late nineteenth century in the hopes of investing the capital more productively in non-landed interests.³²² The 6th Earl laid out his calculations for how taxation would affect his inheritance in a long letter to his mother written from the trenches:

I suppose Uncle Hubert's estate will be about 2 3/4 millions – and death duties about £200,000. That leaves me roughly 2 millions – or an income of £80,000 a year. Income tax will be £34,000 a year on that at 8/6 in the pound – so that Uncle Hubert's enormous fortune of nearly £3,000,000 will be reduced by death duties and income tax to £46,000 a year. Nobody would believe such a thing! Of course it is a great deal of money – but my grandchildren or Eddy's children (if I have no children) will be paupers again if I don't take care.³²³

This last sentence acknowledges the precarious position of aristocrats during this period, when the death of a *paterfamilias* could incur such an enormous tax bill that their surviving relatives would be forced to draw on the capital value of physical assets – their cultural heritage – in order to settle it.

The 6th Earl of Harewood was influenced not only by the increased interest in aristocratic heritage in general during the early twentieth century, but by the specific details of his own family's cultural heritage. Harewood House had been built and furnished by some of the most fashionable architects and designers of the eighteenth century, including Robert Adam (1728–1792) (who designed the interiors) and Thomas Chippendale (1718–1779) (whose prestigious commission to furnish Harewood was the largest and most lucrative he ever received).³²⁴ By

³²¹ Edward 'Eddy' Lascelles to 5th Countess, 20 April 1916, 5CHHA, Eddy's letters from the war, 62.

³²² Mauchline, p. 143.

³²³ 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 18 May 1916, 5CHHA, box 6, 111.

³²⁴ David Lascelles, pp. 14–15; Eileen Harris, *The Genius of Robert Adam: His Interiors* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2001), p. 133; Mauchline, pp. 87–95; see items with Harewood provenance in Adam Bowett and James Lomax, *Thomas Chippendale 1718–1779: A Celebration of British Craftsmanship and Design* (The Chippendale Society, 2018).

the early twentieth century, Harewood additionally contained family portraits by major artists – including Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723–1792), John Hoppner (1758–1810), and Sir Thomas Lawrence (1796–1830) – and paintings of the house and surrounding landscape by J.M.W. Turner (1775–1851) and Thomas Girtin (1775–1802), as well as a noted collection of continental European and Asian mounted porcelain.³²⁵ However, the 6th Earl of Harewood inherited very few continental old master paintings from his father and no known genuine ancient Greek or Roman statuary.³²⁶ In these fields Harewood may be contrasted against Castle Howard in nearby York, seat of the Earls of Carlisle, which already in 1818 was recorded as containing ‘numerous relics of antiquity to claim notice [...] numberless pictures which adorn the walls [and an] extensive and choice collection of vases’.³²⁷

The 6th Earl’s awareness of the deficiencies in his cultural heritage compared to other aristocratic families is indicated by the fact that for a brief period in November 1916 he planned to ‘form a Greek collection of first-class pieces’ of ancient sculpture.³²⁸ He ultimately decided not to pursue the matter, presumably having been put off by the advice of a relative in Athens that ‘really first-class pieces very rarely come into the market’ and that it was ‘forbidden to export objects of artistic value without Govt. authority’.³²⁹ The 6th Earl did attempt to acquire ancient sculptures of Athena and Hygeia from the sale of the collection of Thomas Hope in 1917, however, the difficulty of accessing from the trenches expert advice regarding the authenticity of each sculpture – ‘which is very important to my mind’ – appears to have

³²⁵ David Lascelles, pp. 18–19; Mauchline, pp. 113–116. The porcelain was collected by Edward ‘Beau’, Viscount Lascelles (1740–1814) and kept at Harewood House on Hanover Square, London, where it was visited in 1815 by Queen Charlotte and the Prince Regent (later King George IV); Mauchline, p. 118.

³²⁶ There is no surviving inventory of Harewood House dating to the 5th Earl’s occupation, however, the contents of the 6th Earl’s patrimonial inheritance can be gleaned from contemporary articles such as Bolton, and several inventories of heirlooms created by the 4th Earl of Harewood; HHTD:2016.205.1–3.

³²⁷ John Preston Neale, *Castle Howard: Its Antiquity and History. The Ancestral Home of the Howards* [Reprinted from ‘Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen, Etc.’] (London: Mitre Press, 1931 [repr. of 1818 original]), p. 11.

³²⁸ Reginald Bridgeman (who worked for the British Legation in Athens) to 6th Earl, 24 November 1916, 6EHHA, Green leather box with ‘L’ monogram. Bridgeman and the 6th Earl shared a grandparent in Orlando Bridgeman, 3rd Earl of Bradford.

³²⁹ Ibid. In 1909 Italy had banned the export of Italian works of art of national importance; Howard, ‘The One That Didn’t Get Away’, p. 150. The 6th Earl had some experience of the difficult export process already, having attempted to buy a sculpture in Rome in 1912 (when passing through the city on his way to India). The 6th Earl wrote to his mother regarding the process, ‘I must wait for a trial between the Roman Municipality and the Italian Gov.t to be decided’; 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 17 January 1917, 5CHHA, box 5. Shortly after this letter he wrote again to say ‘I have given up my statue’; 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 19 January 1912, 5CHHA, box 5. Ultimately, he may have acquired in this vein for Harewood at least two ancient Roman busts, one possibly representing a young Mark Anthony, the other an old man; both were sold at Christie’s, 5 December 2012, lots 505 and 506. The acquisition of these busts has alternatively been credited to Edwin Lascelles (1713–1795) during his 1738 Grand Tour; see ‘A Roman Marble Figure of Fortuna, circa 2nd Century A.D., with 18th Century Restorations’, *Sotheby’s* <<https://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2017/ancient-sculpture-and-works-of-art-117261/lot.36.html>> [accessed 1 August 2023].

curtailed his efforts in this direction.³³⁰ The 6th Earl's subsequent decision to collect continental old master paintings must similarly have been informed by the lack of such works of art at Harewood House, their wide availability in Britain at the time, as well as his access to expert advice on potential acquisitions from Tancred Borenius (whose expertise did not extend to classical sculpture).

The 6th Earl of Harewood's engagement with and embellishment of his cultural heritage was likely informed by a desire to emphasise his noble genealogy through adherence to traditionally aristocratic markers of social status such as houses, works of art, and antique furnishings. As Arthur MacGregor has noted, this same motivation lay behind many eighteenth-century aristocrats' collecting: 'for many of them, the formation of a collection was less an end in its own right than a means to surrounding [sic] themselves with pleasing objects whose social and cultural messages would have been plainly understood by all.'³³¹ For the 6th Earl of Harewood, this took on particular social significance after his marriage to Princess Mary in 1922 when he became a member of the royal family, which positioned him at the very pinnacle of the class structure in Britain – 'an upper class above the upper class'.³³² The Lascelles family had only been titled since 1795 (first as Barons, then as Earls from 1814), and were therefore comparatively *nouveau riche* compared to well-established aristocratic families such as the Howards of Castle Howard (created Earls of Carlisle in 1661), and the Cavendishes of Chatsworth House, Derbyshire (created Earls in 1618 and Dukes of Devonshire in 1694).³³³ The 6th Earl's engagement with his own cultural heritage predates his marriage, nevertheless, it is valuable to consider the ways in which this royal association affected the way in which the 6th Earl used cultural heritage to reinforce his own aristocratic status, and thus emphasise his

³³⁰ 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 28 July 1917, 171, and 6th Earl to 5th Earl, 21 July 1917, unnumbered, both 5CHHA, box 6. A sculpture of Hygeia was acquired at the sale by the dealer Spink for 4000 guineas, and the 6th Earl wrote to him after the sale 'to offer him a profit of 10% if he will keep it for me', but the purchase does not appear to have been secured: 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 28 July 1917. On the Hope sale and its afterlife, see Nicole Budrovich, '100 Years Later: The Hope Collection from London to Los Angeles', *Getty*, 25 July 2017 <<https://www.getty.edu/news/100-years-later-the-hope-collection-from-london-to-los-angeles/>> [access 26 August 2023].

³³¹ Arthur MacGregor, 'Aristocrats and Others: Collectors of Influence in Eighteenth-Century England', in *British Models of Art Collecting and the American Response: Reflections Across the Pond*, ed. by Inge Reist, 73-85, p. 75.

³³² McKibbin, p. 3.

³³³ *Debrett's Peerage and Baronetage*, ed. by Chip Kidd and Charles Williamson (London: Macmillan, 2003), pp. 271, 460. The announcements of Princess Mary's engagement published by the press in November 1921 frequently detailed the 6th Earl's ancestry; 'Princess Mary to Marry an Englishman', *Daily News*, 23 November 1921, 1; 'Princess Mary's Man: Who and What Her Fiancée, the Viscount Lascelles, Is', *New York Times*, 1 January 1922, 37.

legitimacy as a member of the royal family. This is particularly pertinent with regard to his restoration and renovation of Harewood House after 1929, when it became a royal residence.

Aristocratic heritage as national heritage

While politicians at this time viewed the property of the landed classes as a national financial asset that could be seized through taxation, and aristocrats were frequently forced to realise the capital value of their cultural assets in order to meet these costs, such property was increasingly recognised as a valuable part of the nation's cultural heritage.³³⁴ In some cases aristocrats themselves promoted this view; for instance, Lionel Sackville-West, 3rd Baron Sackville (1867–1928) permitted the public to visit his home, Knole in Kent, on most days of the week.³³⁵ As a result, the house was described by *Country Life* as being more of 'a national museum than [a] private home' that was kept up 'as much for the benefit of the public' as for the owner.³³⁶ During the nineteenth century a number of preservationist organisations were founded which sought to protect cultural heritage, including that which was privately owned by aristocrats, sometimes through legislation.³³⁷ However, aristocrats as a class were 'most notoriously jealous of [their] property rights', and the Duke of Rutland, for example, considered such protective legislation to be a means of 'meddling with and spying into every one's private affairs [...] under the cloak of the preservation of ancient monuments'.³³⁸

The suggestion, made in the early twentieth century, that aristocrats might be legally prevented from selling paintings (in particular) to overseas buyers, in order that they might be retained in Britain, was received with similar apprehension.³³⁹ The question was investigated by a committee of National Gallery Trustees whose report, known as the Curzon Report after its Chairman Lord Curzon, was published in 1915.³⁴⁰ While the committee's membership principally comprised middle-class individuals including professional art experts (such as the art historian Robert Witt) – largely excluding aristocrats from its membership or as witnesses

³³⁴ Mandler, 'Art, Death and Taxes'. On stately homes as national heritage in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries see Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home*.

³³⁵ 'Such as Knole', *Country Life*, 63.1620 (4 February 1928), p. 134.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*

³³⁷ For example, the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings supported the 1882 Ancient Monuments Protection Act, which would see prehistoric monuments cared for by the state; Simon Thurley, *Men from the Ministry: How Britain Saved Its Heritage* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), p. 41; Lees-Milne, *The National Trust: A Record of Fifty Years' Achievement*, p. x.

³³⁸ Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home*, p. 39; Thurley, pp. 75–76.

³³⁹ Howard, 'The One That Didn't Get Away', p. 150, fn. 63.

³⁴⁰ *Report of the Committee of Trustees of The National Gallery Appointed by the Trustees to Enquire into the Retention of Important Pictures in This Country and Other Matters Connected with the National Art Collections* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1915) (hereafter Curzon Report).

– they argued against the introduction of restrictive legislation.³⁴¹ The phrasing of the Report on this matter is strong:

To place upon owners the burden of very heavy taxation and then to deprive them of what are in many cases the sole means of meeting it would be almost a refinement of cruelty, and would arouse against the Government the legitimate resentment, at the very moment when it ought to conciliate the sympathy and to secure the co-operation of the class to whom these masterpieces belong.³⁴²

The Curzon Report suggested that tax incentives should be offered to owners of private works of art in order to enable them to keep them, or to induce them to offer first refusal to the nation if disposal should be necessary.³⁴³ However, the outbreak of the First World War around the time of the Report's publication curtailed its immediate impact.³⁴⁴

Peter Mandler has noted that concern over the protection of 'free-trading principles', which complicated attempts to protect cultural heritage, was not limited to aristocracy but was also shared by the Treasury and 'British society'.³⁴⁵ Accordingly, in the early decades of the twentieth century, private individuals sometimes conducted restoration projects themselves without organisational or governmental input. A high-profile example was Lord Curzon's restoration to Tattershall Castle, Lincolnshire, of the building's original chimneypieces.³⁴⁶ In 1911 Tattershall had been purchased by an American syndicate, whose nationality immediately led to concerns that the castle would be dismantled, transported across the Atlantic, and re-erected in America.³⁴⁷ Though this did not come to pass, its new owners did sell and remove the castle's large fifteenth-century chimneypieces, damaging them in the process.³⁴⁸ Curzon stepped in to purchase the castle and its detached chimneypieces in late 1911, and the swell of

³⁴¹ Catherine Usher, 'The Curzon Report 1915: Grand Failure or Prophetic Foresight?' (unpublished M.A., University of Buckingham, 2018), p. 2.

³⁴² Curzon Report, p. 11.

³⁴³ Curzon Report, p. 38 recommendation VI. The Curzon Report paved the way eventually for the introduction of tax relief for owners of qualified heritage assets and the present system of export controls; see HM Revenue & Customs, 'Capital Taxation and Tax-Exempt Heritage Assets', *GOV.UK*, 2021 <<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/capital-taxation-and-tax-exempt-heritage-assets>> [accessed 6 April 2022]; Vivian F. Wang, 'Whose Responsibility? The Waverley System, Past and Present', *International Journal of Cultural Property*, 15.3 (2008), 227–269.

³⁴⁴ Usher, pp. ii–iii.

³⁴⁵ Mandler, 'Art, Death and Taxes', p. 296.

³⁴⁶ H. Avray Tipping, 'Tattershall Castle – I. Lincolnshire, the Property of Earl Curzon of Kedleston', *Country Life*, 38.965 (1915), 18–26; H. Avray Tipping, 'Tattershall Castle – II. Lincolnshire, the Property of Earl Curzon of Kedleston', *Country Life*, 38.966 (1915), 54–61.

³⁴⁷ 'TATTERSHALL CASTLE WILL BE TAKEN TO AMERICA', *Dundee Courier*, 22 September 1911, 4.

³⁴⁸ 'TATTERSHALL CASTLE: THE REPORTED REMOVAL TO AMERICA', *Evening Mail*, 29 September 1922, 5.

public feeling around the matter is indicated by the triumphal parade that was arranged to mark the chimneypieces' return, in which both they and Lord Curzon travelled through the local village on decorated drays and carriages, in a scene reminiscent of a Roman triumph.³⁴⁹ The restored Tattershall Castle was described as a 'valued national monument' by *Country Life* in 1915, and its criticism of 'corporate indifference to such matters' may be read as a veiled reference to the inaction of the National Trust.³⁵⁰ The National Trust eventually took on responsibility for Tattershall after it was bequeathed to them by Lord Curzon in 1925.³⁵¹

It was not until the 1930s that country houses became a specific focus of preservationist groups. The Georgian Group was established in 1937 as a subsidiary of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB, itself founded in 1877), and focused on all buildings erected after 1714 (not only Georgian examples).³⁵² In the same year the National Trust launched its Country Houses Scheme, which offered owners the opportunity to transfer their house to the Trust along with a tax-free endowment for upkeep while crucially enabling the family to continue inhabiting their home.³⁵³ While preservationist groups and aristocratic owners both wished to preserve cultural heritage, their priorities sometimes conflicted.³⁵⁴ The principle of private ownership and the rights that this afforded was of great importance to aristocrats.³⁵⁵ The 6th Earl of Harewood expended considerable effort towards ensuring the survival of his ancestral cultural heritage within family ownership, but despite this careful planning, upon the 6th Earl's death in 1947 his son faced the significant challenge of paying death duties on his inheritance at a rate of seventy percent.³⁵⁶ One of the options available to him, which would secure the future of Harewood House though not necessarily his family's occupation of it, was to transfer ownership of the house to the National Trust.

A key figure in the development of the Trust's Country Houses Scheme was James Lees-Milne (1908–1997), who spent the 1940s travelling to historic properties around Britain and meeting owners who might wish, or need, to present their home to the Trust.³⁵⁷ Writing on

³⁴⁹ 'TATTERSHALL CASTLE FIREPLACES TRIUMPHANTLY MAKE THEIR RETURN', *Dundee Courier*, 6 June 1912, 3.

³⁵⁰ Tipping, 'Tattershall Castle – I', p. 18.

³⁵¹ 'The History of Tattershall Castle', *National Trust* <<https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/visit/nottinghamshire-lincolnshire/tattershall-castle/the-history-of-tattershall-castle>> [accessed 17 July 2023].

³⁵² These later properties were excluded from protection under the Ancient Monuments Act; Stamp, p. 1.

³⁵³ Lee-Milne, *The National Trust: A Record of Fifty Years' Achievement*, pp. 61, 123; Binney and Jackson-Stops, p. 73. The Country Houses Scheme was extended to include settled estates in 1939.

³⁵⁴ Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home*, pp. 155–156.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

³⁵⁶ George Lascelles, p. 96.

³⁵⁷ Alistair M. Duckworth, 'Travelling First Class: The War Diaries of James Lees-Milne', *Biography*, 5.2 (1982), 129–135, p. 129.

country houses in 1946 Lees-Milne acknowledged that ‘few apparently will remain private residences for long’, despite the Country Houses Scheme.³⁵⁸ While both owners and the National Trust wished to see country houses preserved, the former also wished to retain ownership and occupation, which was not always reconcilable with the Trust’s commitment to ‘unimpaired’ preservation.³⁵⁹ Lees-Milne kept extensive diaries, now published, which record his visit to Harewood House on 27 and 28 November 1947 after the death of the 6th Earl.³⁶⁰ Lees-Milne first met with an agent at Harewood named Mr FitzRoy, to whom he suggested:

[The] family might approach the Treasury and ask for the house, some 4,000 acres of land around it, and also the chief objects of art to be taken in lieu of duties and handed over to the Trust.³⁶¹

During a subsequent discussion with Princess Mary, Lees-Milne recorded her asking ‘many questions quietly and intelligently about domestic arrangements under the National Trust’, including whether a strip of the Terrace might be reserved for her to use on opening days.³⁶² On the following day Lees-Milne was given a tour of the house by Princess Mary during which she frequently remarked ‘I do hope I shall not have to sell this, or that’.³⁶³ The record of Lees-Milne’s visit to Harewood House paints an evocative picture of the economic challenges and uncertainty being faced by aristocrats and even royalty by the middle of the twentieth century, as they struggled to maintain a semblance of their former comfortable existence while organisations such as the National Trust had a prime aim which was to preserve the nation’s cultural heritage. The option of preserving Harewood House through the National Trust’s Country Houses Scheme was ultimately not taken up. Instead, the 7th Earl of Harewood was able to retain ownership and occupation of his ancestral country house by selling a significant amount of the estate’s land and permanently opening the house to the public.³⁶⁴

Apart from the question of ownership, public interest more generally in aristocratic cultural heritage in Britain was bolstered by publications such as *Country Life*, founded in 1897, which contained among its heavily illustrated articles many devoted to country houses and grand

³⁵⁸ Lees-Milne, *The National Trust: A Record of Fifty Years’ Achievement*, p. 77.

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁰ James Lees-Milne, *Diaries, 1946–1949: Caves of Ice & Midway on the Waves* (London: John Murray, 1996), pp. 207–10.

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 207.

³⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 208.

³⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 209.

³⁶⁴ George Lascelles, pp. 96–97. This is described at greater length in the Conclusion of this thesis.

London properties.³⁶⁵ The magazine also appealed to aristocratic readers, who saw their own heritage reflected within its pages; for instance, Harewood House featured in *Country Life* in 1914 and 1922, and Chesterfield House – which the 6th Earl of Harewood purchased in 1918 – was covered in two articles published in 1922 to coincide with the 6th Earl’s marriage to Princess Mary.³⁶⁶ *Country Life*’s contributors were, or came to be, considered experts in their field: the famous gardener Gertrude Jekyll wrote about gardens attached to country houses and gave gardening advice; Henry Avray Tipping was a member of the landed gentry who applied his research skills gained at Oxford University to write articles that were genuine contributions to architectural history; and Margaret Jourdain, who had worked closely with a number of furniture and antique dealers, contributed articles on decorative arts subjects, a field in which she went on to author numerous publications.³⁶⁷ Through its articles on country houses, *Country Life* helped to increase knowledge and enthusiasm among its largely middle-class readership about the tangible aristocratic heritage of Britain, and thereby aided in incorporating that heritage symbolically into the national heritage.

Combining the Clanricarde and Harewood heritage

The collections inherited by the 6th Earl of Harewood from the 2nd Marquess of Clanricarde in 1916 had a significant impact upon the Lascelles family’s cultural heritage by expanding it into new areas, a fact of which the 6th Earl was conscious:

Of course in some ways the most delightful things are the little boxes of miniatures – because there are none at Harewood and there ought to be. They fill a gap. So do Lord Canning’s letters. There seems to be no historical material at Harewood – unless father has got it locked up.³⁶⁸

The 6th Earl’s delight in these objects is based on their genealogy, as objects of cultural heritage inherited from an ancestor. The Lascelles and de Burgh families had been linked since 1845 when Henry Lascelles, 4th Earl of Harewood, married Lady Elizabeth Joanna de Burgh,

³⁶⁵ Michael Hall, ‘How *Country Life*’s 125-Year Journey Began, Thanks to a Visionary Founder’, *Country Life Blog*, 5 January 2022 <<https://www.countrylife.co.uk/country-life/country-lifes-120-year-journey-began-thanks-visionary-founder-146435>> [accessed 13 January 2022]; Strong. *Country Life* did not only feature aristocratic cultural heritage, it also contributed to an interest in the Arts and Crafts movement, but the former is of greater relevance to this study.

³⁶⁶ Bolton; Tipping, ‘Harewood House’; Tipping, ‘Chesterfield House, Mayfair.—I’; Tipping, ‘Chesterfield House, Mayfair.—II’.

³⁶⁷ Strong, pp. 24–28; Giulia della Rosa, ‘Margaret Jourdain and *The Burlington Magazine*’, *The Burlington Magazine Index Blog*, 2016 <<https://burlingtonindex.wordpress.com/2016/09/24/margaret-jourdain-and-the-burlington-magazine/>> [accessed 31 May 2022].

³⁶⁸ 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 14 June 1916, 5CHHA, box 6, 118.

daughter of Ulick de Burgh, 1st Marquess of Clanricarde.³⁶⁹ The de Burgh family were of Anglo–Norman descent, had been granted land in Ireland in the twelfth century, and erected their first castle at Portumna in the late thirteenth century.³⁷⁰ The Earldom of Clanricarde was created in 1543, followed by the Marquessate in 1645.³⁷¹ The 6th Earl’s inheritance of collections, archival documents, and the Portumna estate from the 2nd Marquess of Clanricarde therefore came with ancient associations, which further legitimised the Lascelles family as members of the aristocracy by enhancing and embellishing their own cultural genealogy. Such familial items provided Harewood House with what it ‘ought’ to contain, as judged through comparison with other aristocratic families.

George Canning (1770–1827), who served as Prime Minister for a brief period in 1827, was the grandfather of the 2nd Marquess of Clanricarde and also the father-in-law of the 4th Earl of Harewood.³⁷² The 6th Earl’s interest in George Canning predated his 1916 inheritance, since by that date he had already begun ‘to collect matter to write his life’, though this project was ultimately not accomplished.³⁷³ Canning’s political career may have been of interest to the 6th Earl, but his interest was likely based principally on their familial link; Canning was the only member of the extended Lascelles family to attain the post of prime minister. This political heritage was undoubtedly something that the 6th Earl wanted to highlight, and it carried particular resonance within the context of the aristocracy’s declining political authority in the early twentieth century.³⁷⁴ Accordingly, the 6th Earl hung prominently at Harewood House a full-length portrait of George Canning by Sir Thomas Lawrence that he had inherited in 1916.³⁷⁵

The way in which the 6th Earl sought to incorporate the 2nd Earl of Clanricarde more directly into the heritage of Harewood House than had hitherto been the case may be assessed through an examination of two posthumous portraits that the 6th Earl commissioned of his great-uncle from Sir Leslie Ward (1851–1922).³⁷⁶ A small full-length preparatory portrait on canvas is undated, but features the same composition and many of the same features as the

³⁶⁹ Mauchline, p. 130.

³⁷⁰ Michael Mac Mahon, *Portumna Castle and Its Lords* (Corofin, Co. Clare: Kincora Books, 2000), pp. 5–6.

³⁷¹ Mac Mahon, pp. 7, 17.

³⁷² Derek Beales, ‘Canning, George (1770–1827), Prime Minister and Parodist’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online ed.), 12 January 2023 <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4556>>.

³⁷³ 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 19 April 1916, 5CHHA, box 6, 106.

³⁷⁴ This largely resulted from Reform Acts (the first in 1832) and the extension of the franchise during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which eroded the traditional link between landownership (particularly by the aristocracy) and political authority; Cannadine, *The Rise and Fall of Class in Britain*, p. 78; McKibbin, p. 17.

³⁷⁵ Borenius, *Catalogue of the Pictures and Drawings at Harewood House*, p. 205.

³⁷⁶ B. 486, 487.

larger finished portrait that is signed and dated 1919; either or both were complete by 15 June 1919, when the 6th Earl paid Ward £167.³⁷⁷ In the preparatory work Clanricarde is shown seated in an interior with his left elbow resting on a Chippendale-style round table, holding a miniature with its cover opened in his right hand and a small magnifying glass in his left (fig. 4). Nothing is known about the furnishings that Clanricarde had in his apartment or in the hotel room in which he lived for much of his later life, and it is possible that the 6th Earl himself suggested the inclusion of the Chippendale motifs in order to create a visual association between Clanricarde and Harewood House.³⁷⁸

In the final portrait the Chippendale-style decoration of the table has vanished, as has the magnifying glass, while the miniature has been replaced with a gold box (fig. 5). Despite these changes the hand positions remain identical, as a result of which the empty left hand in the final portrait is unusually placed, as though pointing at something not visible to the viewer.³⁷⁹ A book appears on the table of the larger portrait with its spine facing away from the viewer, leaving it unclear whether it holds special significance since Clanricarde had no well-known literary associations. It is also not clear why the 6th Earl chose to have the miniature replaced by a gold box, though both types of object were well-represented in the Clanricarde collection and expanded the Harewood collection into new areas, as indicated by the earlier quotation. Neither object has yet been identified, though they are painted in such detail that Ward presumably referenced specific objects in the Clanricarde inheritance that were shown to him by the 6th Earl.³⁸⁰ Certainly, the 6th Earl of Harewood spoke to Ward about, and possibly provided him with photographs and clothing to inform the portrait details.³⁸¹ The jewelled brooch – one of many noted jewels owned by Clanricarde – is, for instance, also seen in a caricature by Ward that was published in *Vanity Fair* in 1900, and was a recognisable element of Clanricarde's regular uniform along with the more ubiquitous features of elite male dress of the time such as the top hat, umbrella, large black coat, and pinstriped trousers.³⁸²

³⁷⁷ Cheque book stub no. B.250807, 6EHHA.

³⁷⁸ S.L. Gwynn and Patrick Maume, 'Canning, Hubert George de Burgh, Second Marquess of Clanricarde (1832–1916), Landlord in Ireland', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2006 <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/32179>>.

³⁷⁹ From a visual examination it does not appear that the magnifying glass was originally included and later painted over.

³⁸⁰ They have not been located at Harewood House and may have been included in one of several sales of jewellery and precious objects that took place from 1965 onwards.

³⁸¹ 6th Earl to Borenius, 8 June 1917, TBA.

³⁸² Leslie Ward 'SPY', *Old Wares*, lithograph, 40 x 27cm, published in *Vanity Fair*, 24 May 1900. The jewel was 'an Oriental ruby worth some thousands of pounds, surrounded by big brilliants of the finest water'; Douglas Ainslie, *Adventures Social and Literary* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1922), p. 118.

In both paintings, though perhaps more clearly in the sketch, Clanricarde is presented as a collector and connoisseur. This was the role that the 6th Earl constructed for Clanricarde within the history of Harewood House; a man whose fortune and collections of art objects enhanced the family's cultural patrimony. Borenius also assisted with the creation of this role through his description of Clanricarde's contribution to the Harewood picture collections in the introduction to his 1936 catalogue:

[...] the second and last Marquess of Clanricarde, bequeathed in 1916 to his great-nephew, the sixth and present Earl of Harewood, all the pictures belonging to him. These include notable examples of the English eighteenth century Masters, most of which came to Lord Clanricarde from the Canning family through his mother, the Hon. Harriet Canning, and a series of pictures by Dutch and Flemish seventeenth century Masters which had mainly been brought together by Lord Clanricarde himself.³⁸³

This is in sharp contrast to images and descriptions of Clanricarde published in the press, which dubbed him 'the most hated man in Ireland' as a result of his poor treatment of his estate tenants, whom he would regularly have evicted or jailed for failing to pay rent, the rate of which he would not lower despite the agricultural depression of the late nineteenth century.³⁸⁴ One newspaper even published a cartoon of Clanricarde as the devil in 1889 (fig. 6).³⁸⁵ In terms of his physical appearance, the well-dressed figure in Ward's portraits sharply contrasts with contemporary accounts of Clanricarde being 'shabbily dressed' (save for the jewel pinned to his necktie), to the point that he was allegedly refused entry to the House of Lords on occasion.³⁸⁶ The 6th Earl eventually hung Ward's finished portrait in the Dining Room of Harewood House in the 1930s, near to the portrait of George Canning by Lawrence noted above.³⁸⁷ The Dining Room also contained portraits of previous Earls and Countesses of Harewood, each of whom had contributed to, or at least directly maintained, the family's cultural heritage; these included Edwin Lascelles, 1st Baron Harewood (1713–1795), who had built Harewood House, and Louisa, 3rd Countess of Harewood (1801–1859), who had directed and overseen the Victorian renovations to the house.³⁸⁸ In this way Clanricarde and Canning

³⁸³ Borenius, *Catalogue of the Pictures and Drawings at Harewood House*, p. vii.

³⁸⁴ Eamon Phoenix, 'Ruthless Landlord and Miser Clanricarde', *The Irish News*, 2014 <<http://www.irishnews.com/opinion/2014/11/29/news/ruthless-landlord-and-miser-clanricarde-109303/>> [accessed 9 February 2020]; O'Mel, 'Clanricarde, "the Curse"', *NZ Truth* (Wellington, 10 June 1916), 3.

³⁸⁵ Mac Mahon, p. 31; Ainslie, p. 122; O'Mel; Phoenix.

³⁸⁶ Ainslie, p. 118; 'Clanricarde, "the Curse"'; Phoenix.

³⁸⁷ Borenius, *Catalogue of the Pictures and Drawings at Harewood House*, p. 205.

³⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 206; David Lascelles, pp. 14, 20.

were visually incorporated by the 6th Earl into Harewood's genealogical heritage, which they had strengthened materially (through the Clanricarde inheritance) and symbolically (as members of adjacent long-standing noble families).

The 6th Earl's inheritance of the Portumna estate in County Galway, Ireland, from the 2nd Marquess of Clanricarde, expanded the Lascelles patrimony into new areas by providing its first land holding in Ireland. The estate contained two properties in 1916. Portumna Castle was a semi-fortified Jacobean house, which had been built by Richard Burke, 4th Earl of Clanricarde sometime before 1618, at the enormous cost of £10,000 (fig. 7). An accidental fire in 1826 had, however, destroyed much of Portumna Castle and its original contents.³⁸⁹ A new Gothic mansion, known as the New Castle, had subsequently been built at the opposite end of the estate in 1862 (fig. 8). The New Castle had hardly been occupied, though, because the 2nd Marquess of Clanricarde, who succeeded to the title in 1874, was an absentee landlord who lived in London.³⁹⁰ The question of what to do with the Portumna properties was taken up by the 6th Earl in the months following his coming into ownership of them. He was determined not to 'trust Ireland as Uncle Hubert did' – in other words, never visit the estate – 'without giving the place a trial', and intended therefore to make the older castle there habitable.³⁹¹ The 6th Earl discussed his plans for Portumna in his frequent letters home to his mother, written from the trenches during the First World War: 'I long to see Portumna – and to know if it would be possible to restore the old castle. I am sure I shall hate the new one.'³⁹²

It is noteworthy that the 6th Earl believed he would 'hate' the New Castle and so set his sights on restoring Portumna Castle, even though the latter was in worse physical condition and would have cost around £5,000 more to rebuild.³⁹³ The New Castle was so unimportant to the 6th Earl, in fact, that he suggested using it 'as a quarry' for materials if he chose to restore Portumna Castle.³⁹⁴ His preference for Portumna Castle was at least partly aesthetic – from a photograph of it the 6th Earl concluded 'the outline of the roof seems to me to be very remarkably beautiful' – but must also have been influenced by the 6th Earl's interest in his own cultural heritage and aristocratic ancestry – on both counts, the more ancient, the better.³⁹⁵ The acquisition of built heritage with antique and noble associations offered a key means for

³⁸⁹ *Clanricard's Castle: Portumna House, Co. Galway*, ed. by Jane Fenlon (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012), p. 78.

³⁹⁰ 'Death of the Marquis of Clanricarde', *The Irish Independent*, 14 April 1916, 3.

³⁹¹ 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 2 August 1916, 5CHHA, box 6, 134. The 6th Earl would not have lived in Ireland full time, but perhaps visited for hunting and shooting trips, as well as to check on his estate.

³⁹² 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 14 June 1916, 5CHHA, box 6, 118.

³⁹³ 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 16 June 1917, 5CHHA, box 6, 161.

³⁹⁴ 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 2 June 1916, 5CHHA, box 6, 114.

³⁹⁵ 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 1 August 1916, 5CHHA, box 6, 134.

wealthy and socially-aspirant individuals to imply that they, like the family whose land they now owned, had a long-standing and legitimate basis for inclusion as members of the aristocracy.³⁹⁶ For example, the presence on the Harewood estate of Harewood Castle, which was fortified in 1366 and in a ruinous state by the eighteenth century, imbued the Lascelles of that date with a sense of nobility and longevity; accordingly, when Edwin Lascelles was ennobled in 1790 he became ‘Baron Harewood, of Harewood Castle’.³⁹⁷ As a result of this ancient association, the author of one of the first histories of Harewood published in 1859 was able to catalogue the ‘The Lords of Harewood’ as an unbroken chronology of ancestral owners from the Norman Conquest to the Lascelles family, thus reinforcing the latter’s claim to aristocratic status.³⁹⁸ While the Lascelles family claimed Norman ancestry through previous occupants of the Harewood estate, who were not blood relatives, the Clanricarde family had genuine, direct, ancient noble ancestry, which the 6th Earl likely sought to emphasise by restoring Portumna Castle.

The 6th Earl’s approach to Portumna Castle was influenced by the example of his good friend, and the godfather of his eldest son, George Lane-Fox (1870–1947).³⁹⁹ Lane-Fox had rebuilt his own family’s ancestral home at Bramham Park, West Yorkshire, prior to the First World War.⁴⁰⁰ Bramham had originally been built in the first half of the eighteenth century but was gutted by fire in 1828, only two years after Portumna Castle had suffered the same fate.⁴⁰¹ The badly damaged Entrance Hall and north portion of the building were left in a ruinous state and exposed to the elements for the remainder of the nineteenth century.⁴⁰² When Lane-Fox inherited Bramham Park in 1906 he hired architect Detmar Blow to recreate, as far as possible,

³⁹⁶ For example, when the engagement between Princess Mary and the 6th Earl was announced in the press, several comments were made upon Harewood House and its lineage, the antiquity of which appears to have reflected upon the 6th Earl’s status. One paper noted: ‘[Harewood House] stands on the site of an old English mansion called Gawthorpe Hall, home of the Gascoynes, and the birthplace of the famous Lord Chief Justice Gascoyne’; ‘Princess Mary to Marry an Englishman’.

³⁹⁷ John Jones, *The History and Antiquities of Harewood, in the County of York, with Topographical Notices of Its Parish & Neighbourhood* (London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1859), p. 66.

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 72–74. Gawthorpe Hall, a fifteenth-century manor house on the Harewood and Gawthorpe estates acquired by Edwin Lascelles, had been more recently occupied than Harewood Castle and also contributed to the noble associations of the estate.

³⁹⁹ George Lane-Fox to Princess Mary, 1 March 1923, PMHHA, box 119; ‘The friendship that exists between Harry & me can, I hope, never be broken by anything’.

⁴⁰⁰ H. Avray Tipping, ‘Bramham Park – II. Yorkshire, the Seat of Lieut.–Col. Geo. Lane–Fox, M.P.’, *Country Life*, 50.1292 (1921), 448–455.

⁴⁰¹ H. Avray Tipping, ‘Bramham Park – I. Yorkshire, the Seat of Lieut.–Col. Geo. Lane–Fox, M.P.’, *Country Life*, 50.1291 (1921), 416–423. The house was ‘reduced to a roofless shell’ by the fire.

⁴⁰² George ‘Nick’ Lane-Fox, guided tour of Bramham Park, 20 May 2022.

the original house, with some adaptations made for twentieth-century comforts.⁴⁰³ Bramham Park was less than ten miles away from Harewood House, and the 6th Earl was familiar with the house and its restoration. Indeed, he referenced Bramham as a possible model for the restoration of Portumna Castle in a letter to his mother:

[T]he old castle I should only try to restore if I liked the park and the shooting and hunting enough to make it worth while. Nor should I even try to make a big house of it in any case – but I might try to restore it in part – rather as Sudely [Sudeley Castle, Gloucestershire] has been done or as George Fox has done Bramham. After all, it is a far more beautiful house than Bramham and if I do not restore it to some extent I shall be far less able to enjoy the place than George was to enjoy Bramham before he rebuilt the house.⁴⁰⁴

Since Bramham Park was a private home, not simply a monument, its restoration had a practical function in making the house habitable. This concern was not shared by preservationist groups such as the SPAB, which resented modern interference with old buildings; some of its members considered that replacing a missing part of an old building was ‘as useless and mischievous as attempting to repaint a portion of a picture by an old master, or to replace the missing limb of an antique statue.’⁴⁰⁵ Such ideas might be workable for the early buildings and monuments that the SPAB concerned itself with but were impractical for country houses, whose aristocratic inhabitants desired modern comfort as well as aesthetic pleasure. Lane-Fox did, however, choose not to rebuild or restore the eighteenth-century Entrance Hall at Bramham, which retained signs of physical damage from the 1828 fire and exposure to weather, thus providing a visual record of Bramham Park and the Lane-Fox family’s history.⁴⁰⁶ This, combined with the faithful recreation of the original eighteenth-century design in the rebuilt section of the house, enabled Lane-Fox to assert his family’s ongoing cultural relevance and social status. The result of the restored Bramham was seen as cause for congratulations by H. Avray Tipping, who stated to his *Country Life* audience that ‘the whole nation’ benefitted

⁴⁰³ ‘Nostalgia on Tuesday: Bramham’s Trials’, *The Yorkshire Post*, 2017 <<https://www.yorkshirepost.co.uk/whats-on/arts-and-entertainment/nostalgia-tuesday-bramhams-trials-1784834>> [accessed 14 March 2022].

⁴⁰⁴ 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 2 August 1916, 5CHHA, box 6, 134. The Tudor Sudeley Castle had been left derelict after the Civil War until its purchase in 1837 by the Dent family, who made their money in the glove industry. The Dents restored the Elizabethan parts of the building during the nineteenth century, though some parts were left ruinous, and much of the furnishings were bought from the Strawberry Hill sale of 1842; ‘History’, *Sudeley Castle & Gardens* <<https://sudeleycastle.co.uk/history>> [accessed 18 May 2022].

⁴⁰⁵ H. Heathcote Statham, ‘The Treatment of Ancient Buildings’, *The National Review*, 30.175 (1897), 96–110, p. 102; Thurley, p. 32.

⁴⁰⁶ George ‘Nick’ Lane-Fox, guided tour of Bramham Park, 20 May 2022.

from the recreation of an ‘excellent and typical’ early eighteenth-century country house.⁴⁰⁷ Bramham Park therefore was both influenced by contemporary interest in aristocratic cultural heritage, particularly of the eighteenth century, and contributed to that movement through illustrated articles such as those in *Country Life*.⁴⁰⁸

In the event, though preliminary plans were drawn up for the restoration of Portumna Castle in 1917, no building work was undertaken in Ireland by the 6th Earl.⁴⁰⁹ The political context may have played a role in this decision, since the 6th Earl had declared in 1916 that ‘I should not do too much [in Ireland] so long as House Rule was hanging over one’s head – as no doubt its effect might be disastrous to private owners.’⁴¹⁰ A comment made by the 6th Earl years later in 1943 alludes to difficulties in his relationship with the Portumna tenants, which may be another reason why he did not pursue any renovation work on the castle:

I could (but shall not) tell you of the manner in which I tried to deal handsomely with the remaining tenants of the Clanricarde Estate and of the intolerable manner in which they accepted my gifts.⁴¹¹

Besides the legacy of poor treatment from the 2nd Marquess of Clanricarde, the 6th Earl’s marriage into the British royal family in 1922 presumably only exacerbated a difficult historical relationship with the local Irish community; after all, the Republic of Ireland was formed in that same year after a prolonged struggle for independence from British rule.⁴¹² Indeed, relations remained complex: fires were started at Portumna in 1922, destroying the New Castle, and again in 1928, just days before a scheduled visit from the 6th Earl and Princess Mary whom it was reported at the time were planning to rebuild Portumna Castle as an Irish seat, an idea with strong political connotations due to the couple’s royal status.⁴¹³ Plans for the castle were drawn up by Louie J. Lawless in November of that year, but once again no building work ever materialised.⁴¹⁴ Portumna estate was eventually purchased by the Irish government in 1948, a year after the 6th Earl’s death.⁴¹⁵

⁴⁰⁷ Tipping, ‘Tattershall Castle – II’, p. 454.

⁴⁰⁸ Tipping, ‘Bramham Park – I.’; Tipping, ‘Bramham Park – II.’.

⁴⁰⁹ 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 16 June 1917, 5CHHA, box 6, 161.

⁴¹⁰ 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 1 August 1916, 5CHHA, box 6, 134. On the subject of Home Rule in Ireland around the time of the First World War, see Robert F. Foster, *Modern Ireland: 1600–1972* (London: Penguin Books, 1989), pp. 461–493.

⁴¹¹ 6th Earl to Greville Poko (copy), 18 May 1943, 6EHHA, box 20.

⁴¹² Foster, p. 614.

⁴¹³ ‘A Splendid Ghost’, *The Irish Times*, 24 February 2001 <<https://www.irishtimes.com/news/a-splendid-ghost-1.284594>> [accessed 18 May 2022]; ‘Princess Mary in Ireland’, *Sheffield Independent*, 8 October 1928, 1.

⁴¹⁴ HHTP:2014.38a–b.

⁴¹⁵ ‘A Splendid Ghost’.

Chesterfield House and Egerton House

While the 6th Earl knew that he would one day inherit Harewood House, he did not live there until 1930. During the 1910s and 1920s he purchased two houses: Chesterfield House, London, which he acquired during the First World War shortly after receipt of the Clanricarde inheritance; and Egerton House, Newmarket, acquired in the 1920s by which time he was married with two young children.⁴¹⁶ It is therefore of particular interest to establish the ways in which the 6th Earl's treatment of those homes demonstrated an awareness of, and responded to, his own patrimonial cultural heritage, and to discover if either or both acted as a 'dry run' for his attitudes to and work conducted in the later inherited family seat, Harewood House.

Upon his demobilisation and return to England in 1919 much of the 6th Earl's attention was devoted to the restoration and furnishing of Chesterfield House in Mayfair, London, which he had purchased from the Dowager Lady Burton in 1918 for £140,000.⁴¹⁷ Chesterfield House had been built between 1747 and 1752 by Isaac Ware (1704–1766) for Philip Stanhope, 4th Earl of Chesterfield (1694–1773).⁴¹⁸ Its interiors demonstrated the 4th Earl of Chesterfield's Francophile taste and interests, and featured French rococo-style panelling in several rooms.⁴¹⁹ By 1918 Chesterfield House had passed through several owners and its once-extensive gardens had been sold to developers, but it remained an impressive and largely intact Georgian London townhouse.⁴²⁰ Its history and design was recorded at length in Edwin Beresford Chancellor's 1908 publication *The Private Palaces of London*, alongside chapters on other great aristocratic Georgian properties in London such as Devonshire House, Grosvenor House, and Lansdowne House.⁴²¹ The 6th Earl's acquisition of Chesterfield House therefore symbolically associated him with the owners of those other grand historic properties – the Dukes of Devonshire and Westminster, and Marquesses of Lansdowne – and implied that he was of similarly high social standing, despite holding a lower ranked peerage.⁴²²

By the mid-1930s many of the houses described by Beresford Chancellor had been demolished or seriously disfigured, along with a number of other eighteenth-century buildings

⁴¹⁶ See Appendix A for details.

⁴¹⁷ Invoice from Grogan and Boyd receipted 28 July 1920, 6EHHA, correspondence in accordion file, 'G'. The purchase was agreed in April 1918 but not completed until after the First World War.

⁴¹⁸ Edwin Beresford Chancellor, *The Private Palaces of London Past and Present* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1908) chap. VIII, 'Chesterfield House'.

⁴¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 207.

⁴²⁰ Beresford Chancellor, p. 217.

⁴²¹ Beresford Chancellor. See also Robert O'Byrne, 'There Was Relatively Little Mourning for the Passing of the Great London Houses', *Apollo*, 195, no. 708 (May 2022), 114.

⁴²² The ranks of peerages in Britain, in descending order, are Duke, Marquess, Earl, Viscount, and Baron.

and squares in London including the Adam brothers' Adelphi Terrace (demolished 1933).⁴²³ These losses were increasingly publicly mourned due to growing awareness of such properties as part of the national heritage, highlighted for instance by the Georgian Group.⁴²⁴ The 6th Earl would later on become associated with the protectionist movement for Georgian heritage through his wife, Princess Mary, who was President of the York Georgian Society from its inception in 1939.⁴²⁵ For his own part, having spent much of his childhood at Harewood House, the 6th Earl needed no convincing about the value of Georgian design, and his acquisition of Chesterfield House may also have been influenced, once again, by gaps in his family's heritage.

When *Country Life* featured Chesterfield House in 1922, the following description was given of the 6th Earl's treatment of its interiors in the preceding three years:

To the alterations and decorations made by Lord Burton no change has been made by Lord Lascelles [...] There was need of some reparation and repainting, but the guiding principle has been to reserve all that was original, so that the interior retains much of the flavour and appearance it bore [...] in February, 1752.⁴²⁶

Photographs taken of Chesterfield House around this time confirm that the silk wall fabrics imported from France and hung for the 4th Earl of Chesterfield in the Dining Room and Morning Room were retained by the 6th Earl.⁴²⁷ By the twentieth century these silks displayed signs of wear and old restorations, which visually conveyed the fact that they had been *in situ* for more than 150 years. This was important to the 6th Earl who, as suggested by *Country Life* in the earlier quotation, was keen to ensure that as much of the original fabric of the building as possible was preserved. Moreover, as Grant McCracken has theorised, physical patina upon objects associated with 'honourable' living – such as silver plate, or in this case silk wall hangings – served a social function by authenticating a family's claim to high status, by physically demonstrating that they had held sufficient nobility to own such objects, for long enough for them to acquire signs of wear.⁴²⁸ In some cases, middle-class owners of country

⁴²³ Joseph Friedman, 'The Afterlife of the London Town House', in *The Georgian London Town House: Building, Collecting and Display*, edited by Susanna Avery-Quash and Kate Retford, (London: Bloomsbury, 2019), 198–201. Devonshire House was demolished in 1924, Grosvenor House in 1927, and Lansdowne House was partially demolished in 1931.

⁴²⁴ Stamp, p. 3.

⁴²⁵ An address book listing 'Societies with which Lord Harewood is connected' claims that the 6th Earl was President of the York Georgian Society (6EHHA), but this has been corrected by Helen Riggs (email correspondence, 7 January 2022).

⁴²⁶ Tipping, 'Chesterfield House, Mayfair. —II', p. 314. The 4th Earl of Chesterfield held a housewarming party in February 1752, which was famously described by Horace Walpole; Beresford Chancellor, p. 207.

⁴²⁷ Beresford Chancellor, p. 212.

⁴²⁸ McCracken, pp. 32, 38.

houses around this time furnished them with visibly worn antique objects such as threadbare carpets instead of purchasing new items in order to import such an aesthetic.⁴²⁹ Such objects not only created an impression of longevity, implying that the present owners had occupied that house for longer than was the case, but also reflected a growing interest in antique furnishings and interior decoration during this period.⁴³⁰ Chesterfield House had a genuine long and noble provenance, and the 6th Earl's preservation of worn elements such as the wall silks meant that the house's historic high status symbolically embellished the 6th Earl's own genealogy.

As well as preserving the interiors of Chesterfield House, the 6th Earl ensured that new insertions were sympathetic to the existing older features. When the decorating firm Lenygon & Morant was hired to add panelling in the Ballroom and White Drawing Room in 1920 – possibly to fill areas previously used to display pictures – they were instructed by the 6th Earl to take ‘careful patterns of existing panel ornament’ so that the new work matched the original exactly (fig. 9).⁴³¹ Similarly, two vitrines commissioned for displaying porcelain in the White Drawing Room were ‘decorated and gilded to match existing decoration in room’.⁴³² Lenygon & Morant was one of the firms of ‘antique dealers cum architectural decorators’ active in the early twentieth century which capitalised on the growing demand for aristocratic interior salvage, and offered to supply clients with complete rooms in a specific historic style, providing everything from old wall panelling to furniture.⁴³³ Lenygon & Morant's showrooms at 31 Old

⁴²⁹ Stephen Calloway, ‘Those in search of the amusing do not generally pursue wardrobes’; furniture collectors, decorators and changing tastes in the creation of twentieth-century rooms’, lecture delivered at the Furniture History Society 46th Annual Symposium, ‘Making the Old New: The Twentieth Century Interior Designer’s Promotion of Furniture and its History’, The Wallace Collection, London, and online, 23 April 2022.

⁴³⁰ A number of histories of interior design and manuals on decorating with antique furnishings were published around the turn of the twentieth century. The 6th Earl owned a copy of Arthur Stratton, *The English interior: a review of the decoration of English homes from Tudor times to the XIXth Century* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1920), which was bound in 1921; Lib:4741. It may have been given to him as a wedding gift, since the firm which bound the book was not the one he usually patronised (Riviere).

⁴³¹ Invoice from Lenygon & Morant Ltd, 7 June 1920, HHTD:2016.116. The drawing of the panelling is unsigned and features the address ‘9 Clarges Street, Piccadilly. W.1.’, which has no known association with Lenygon & Morant, and may indicate that the technical drawing was subcontracted to a second firm; HHTP:2014.34. Mark Westgarth, ‘Lenygon and Morant Limited’ *Antique Dealers: the British Antique Trade in the 20th Century* <<https://antiquetrade.leeds.ac.uk/dealerships/34654>> [accessed 18 May 2022].

⁴³² Invoice from Thornton–Smith Ltd., 18 May 1921, HHTD:2016.108. The porcelain is itemised in the 1920 inventory of Chesterfield House compiled by Grogan & Boyd, HHTD:2016.215 (hereafter 1920 inventory). On Thornton Smith, see Mark Westgarth, ‘Thornton-Smith Antiques – ‘The Georgian House’.’ *Antiquedealersblog*, 6 February 2017 <<https://antiquedealersblog.com/2017/02/06/thornton-smith-antiques-the-georgian-house/>> [accessed 26 August 2023].

⁴³³ John Cornforth, *The Inspiration of the Past: Country House Taste in the Twentieth Century* (Middlesex: Viking in Association with Country Life, 1985), p. 48; Calloway. Another prominent firm active during this period was White Allom & Co, headed by Sir Charles Allom, who was so skilled at combining original elements with salvage and new work that it can be difficult to distinguish between those categories; John Harris, *Moving Rooms: The Trade in Architectural Salvages* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2007), p. 88; Mark Westgarth, ‘White Allom & Co.’, *Antique Dealers:*

Burlington Street, London, contained salvaged interiors with descriptions such as ‘Early English Renaissance Room’ which were erected within the building’s own Palladian interiors and used to display the firm’s furniture stock, thus demonstrating to clients their ability to create period interiors.⁴³⁴ While the 6th Earl did acquire several old tables from Lenygon & Morant, the firm did not act as interior designers on his behalf.⁴³⁵ In fact, there is no evidence that the 6th Earl employed any individual or firm to oversee the restoration and furnishing of Chesterfield House; he acquired furnishings from a variety of sources, and all of the invoices were addressed to the 6th Earl directly rather than through a third party.⁴³⁶ This indicates that the 6th Earl had a good working knowledge of Georgian interior decoration and definite ideas concerning the way in which he wished to treat Chesterfield House in order to incorporate it into his own heritage.

The 6th Earl was particularly excited by the opportunity to acquire furnishings original to Chesterfield House that was presented by the sale of the contents of Bretby Hall, Derbyshire, in mid-1918.⁴³⁷ Bretby was the country house of the Earls of Chesterfield, to which the 7th Earl of Chesterfield had removed some of the contents of Chesterfield House after the latter’s sale in 1869.⁴³⁸ By 1918 Bretby was owned by the 5th Earl of Carnarvon, who had inherited it from his grandmother, the Dowager Countess of Chesterfield, and it is interesting to note that the 6th Earl described Carnarvon in correspondence as “my cousin”.⁴³⁹ There was a genuine genealogical connection between the men, albeit a distant one; the maternal aunt of the 5th Countess of Harewood was Anne Stanhope, Countess of Chesterfield, whose daughter Lady Evelyn Stanhope married Henry Herbert, 4th Earl of Carnarvon and inherited Bretby Hall in 1861.⁴⁴⁰

Regarding the Bretby sale, the 6th Earl wrote the following to his mother:

It is most annoying that I cannot see the things from Bretby which are sold next week at Christie’s. I have told Grogan & Boyd to find out if any furniture or pictures came

the British Antique Trade in the 20th Century <<https://antiquetrade.leeds.ac.uk/dealerships/35026>> [accessed 18 May 2022]; Taylor.

⁴³⁴ John Harris, p. 105.

⁴³⁵ Invoice from Lenygon & Morant Ltd, 7 June 1920, HHTD:2016.116.

⁴³⁶ 6EHH: receipts and art correspondence; receipts for furniture, dec. arts, etc.; miscellaneous correspondence in accordion folder, 1917-1924.

⁴³⁷ 6th Earl to Borenus, 23 May 1918, TBA.

⁴³⁸ Tipping, ‘Chesterfield House, Mayfair. —II’, p. 314.

⁴³⁹ This occurs at least twice: 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 18 May and 28 July 1918, 5CHHA, box 6, 203 and 212.

⁴⁴⁰ Bernard Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage of the British Empire* (London: Harrison, 1871), p. 193.

from [Chesterfield House] (I know many did) & to buy certain of them for me. If I could get back the original pictures for the Library I should be very pleased.⁴⁴¹

Messrs Grogan and Boyd were the estate agents through whom the 6th Earl purchased Chesterfield House (this transaction was ongoing at the time of the Bretby sale), and they later produced an inventory and valuation of the house's contents in 1920.⁴⁴² They appear to have acted on his behalf at the Bretby sale from which he acquired, among other items, two looking glasses, three commodes, a set of six chairs and two sofas, as well as pictures, curtains, ' & etc.'⁴⁴³ Interestingly, the 6th Earl declined to purchase a Sheraton cabinet which had also come from Chesterfield House, concluding that it 'does not seem to me to have belonged to the house' since it was 'so much later in date' (around the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century).⁴⁴⁴ His interest in the historical furnishing of Chesterfield House was evidently limited to those objects which he considered to be original – in other words, those acquired by the 4th Earl of Chesterfield for his brand new home.

The pictures purchased from Bretby were the 'original pictures for the Library' mentioned in the quotation above, comprising a series of portraits of literary men which the 4th Earl of Chesterfield had commissioned to fill white stucco frames in his Library.⁴⁴⁵ Though the 6th Earl emphasised that these pictures were 'not good' artistically, they did 'belong to the room', and he considered them reasonably priced at around £300 (fig. 10).⁴⁴⁶ The Library was one of the most well-known rooms of Chesterfield House; the 4th Earl of Chesterfield had described his then-unfinished Library as the best room in London in 1749, and the 6th Earl of Harewood praised it highly to his father as 'the most charming & beautiful room I know anywhere.'⁴⁴⁷

The Chesterfield House portrait series was an iconic feature of the house's original design, whose removal left noticeable gaps in the fabric of the building. Most of the stucco frames in the Library remained empty in August 1886, almost two decades after the pictures had been removed to Bretby, leaving the room looking incomplete and even damaged (fig. 11). Lord and Lady Burton later hung the room with eighteenth-century English portraits, many of female

⁴⁴¹ 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 22 May 1918, 5CHHA, box 6, 204.

⁴⁴² The 1920 inventory is inscribed by 'Wm. Grogan and Boyd Valuers, 10 Hamilton Place, Park Lane, W1'.

⁴⁴³ Invoice from D. Chapman (carman and contractor) to Grogan and Boyd, 26 August 1918, 6EHHA, miscellaneous correspondence 1917–1927, 'G'; 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 2 June 1918, 5CHHA, box 6, 205. The invoice from Grogan and Boyd dated 28 July 1920 includes the cost of transporting the purchased items from Bretby but does not include the cost of the items themselves nor any commission for their acting on the 6th Earl's behalf at the sale.

⁴⁴⁴ 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 2 June 1918, 5CHHA, box 6, 205.

⁴⁴⁵ Beresford Chancellor, p. 212.

⁴⁴⁶ 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 27 July 1918, 5CHHA, box 6, 212.

⁴⁴⁷ Beresford Chancellor, p.210, quoting a letter from the 4th Earl of Chesterfield to Dayrolles, March 1749; and 6th Earl to 5th Earl, 23 June 1918, 5CHHA, box 6, 207.

sitters, which served the purpose of filling the empty frames but bore no relation to the room's function or conception as a place of solitary academic pursuits (fig. 12). The restoration by the 6th Earl of Harewood of the original paintings to their intended eighteenth-century location was praised by H. Avray Tipping in *Country Life*, who felt that he could now picture the 4th Earl of Chesterfield in the room 'alone with his books and his thoughts'.⁴⁴⁸

The 6th Earl chose to have the Library immortalised in a painting by Richard Jack (1866–1952) in 1927, in which it appears similarly arranged to the *Country Life* photographs of 1922 (fig. 13).⁴⁴⁹ Jack painted a number of views of interiors for aristocratic and royal clients in the 1920s and 1930s, for example, in 1927 and 1928, he produced interior portraits of two rooms in Buckingham Palace for the 6th Earl's parents-in-law, King George V and Queen Mary.⁴⁵⁰ Both the subject (a grand Georgian London house) and artist (with aristocratic and royal clientele) of the Chesterfield House Library portrait therefore emphasised the 6th Earl's symbolic aristocratic links and thereby embellished his genealogy.⁴⁵¹ The subsequent removal of the painting by Jack to Harewood House, where it remains, further contributed to the absorption of Chesterfield House and its history into the Harewood patrimony, as has already been noted was the case with the portraits of Clanricarde and Canning. This activity was reinforced by the physical incorporation of architectural elements of Chesterfield House at Harewood House which had been removed by the 6th Earl before 1934 when he sold the London house.⁴⁵² For example, the large wooden double gate with lions-head knockers that originally stood at the entrance to the courtyard of Chesterfield House was installed to the left-side wall of the main entrance to the Harewood estate by the 6th Earl.⁴⁵³ There it serves no practical function but is a symbolic remnant of the 6th Earl's association with Chesterfield House – which no longer stands, having been demolished by 1937 and replaced with flats –

⁴⁴⁸ Tipping, 'Chesterfield House, Mayfair. – I', p. 242.

⁴⁴⁹ Richard Jack to 6th Earl noting the cost of the picture at £600, 26 September 1928, HHTD:2000.1.19. B. 342.

⁴⁵⁰ 'The Chinese Chippendale Drawing Room, Buckingham Palace', *Royal Collection Trust* <<https://www.rct.uk/collection/search#/2/collection/405848/the-chinese-chippendale-drawing-room-buckingham-palace>> [accessed 25 June 2023]. This room had been created in 1911 by Queen Mary and the interior decorator and antique dealer Sir Charles Allom of White Allom & Co.

⁴⁵¹ The configuration of the room and inclusion of Titian's portrait of *Francis I* in the painting by Jack clearly date the work to the 6th Earl's occupancy, and therefore also reinforce his position within the history of Chesterfield House.

⁴⁵² Arbiter, 'The Estate Market: Broke of the "Shannon"', *Country Life*, 19 May 1934, 32; Arbiter, 'The Estate Market: Chesterfield House Flats Sold', *Country Life*, 15 July 1939, 34; Christopher Simon Sykes, *Private Palaces: Life in the Great London Houses* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1985), pp. 323–324.

⁴⁵³ With thanks to Molly Kelly for highlighting this.

and an ongoing means of incorporating the London house and its historic associations into the Harewood patrimony.⁴⁵⁴

The 6th Earl of Harewood's approach to furnishing Chesterfield House was informed by the individual character of each room, and by the cultural heritage of both that house and of Harewood House. Many of the rooms were lined with Rococo panelling in white and gold which imposed a strong French character, whilst those lined with silk (already discussed) offered a more neutral backdrop for furnishings.⁴⁵⁵ In the case of the former, the 6th Earl emphasised the cultural heritage of Chesterfield House by using antique French furnishings. For example, the White Drawing Room contained French furniture primarily of the Louis XV period (1715–1774), including most notably a roll-top secretaire signed 'Riesener' (for the French royal cabinetmaker Jean–Henri Riesener) for which the 6th Earl gave more than £6000 in 1919, when it was purchased on his behalf at Christie's by dealer Frank Partridge (fig. 14).⁴⁵⁶ It had previously been owned by Yolande and Stephens Lyne Stephens who were prominent collectors of French art and objects in nineteenth-century Britain, and it therefore came with a distinguished provenance.⁴⁵⁷ While this was a costly acquisition for the 6th Earl, he was not directly competing regularly at this level with wealthy American collectors; for example, in 1899 John Pierpont Morgan had paid £17,600 to Duveen Brothers for a secretaire and commode by Riesener.⁴⁵⁸ Unlike Morgan, the 6th Earl was not a collector of French furniture *per se*, but used items like the Riesener secretaire, purchased as a 'one off', to emphasise the eighteenth-century Francophile cultural heritage of Chesterfield House.

⁴⁵⁴ Other elements of Chesterfield House that were removed to Harewood House around 1934 include English cast iron and gilt bronze railings from the front of the property (later sold at Christie's, 3 October 1988, lot 104) and a George III blackened zinc lantern (sold at Christie's, 9 December 2012, lot 1250).

⁴⁵⁵ The Morning Room was lined with silk and was a comparatively private room not described by Beresford Chancellor or *Country Life*. The 6th Earl seems to have taken this room as an opportunity for experimentation in the early years of his occupancy, as its furnishings reflected the 6th Earl's interest in the arts of continental Europe, as also expressed through his collecting. In 1920 the Morning Room contained Italian, Portuguese, and Flemish furniture, some dating to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The resulting antiquarian appearance of the room is unique within the 6th Earl's interior decorating *oeuvre*. By 1931 the room had been renamed the Green Drawing Room and its furnishings and arrangement were considerably altered. 1920 inventory; HHTPh:2002.1.12 p.8, HHPA.

⁴⁵⁶ Invoices from Frank Partridge, 2 July and 8 October 1919, 6EHHA, in Receipts for furniture, dec arts, jewellery, paintings, etc. (hereafter Receipts for furniture), 'uncatalogued' folder. The Christie's sale was held on 2 July 1919, lot 80, £6090 plus £304.10. 1920 inventory, pp. 87–90. The room titles used here are taken from annotations in an album of photographs of Chesterfield House dating to 1931 (HHPA, box 84); they differ from those used in the 1920 inventory of the property. On Riesener, see *Jean–Henri Riesener: Cabinetmaker to Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette*, ed. by Helen Jacobsen, Rufus Bird, and Mia Jackson (London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 2020).

⁴⁵⁷ See Laure-Aline Griffith-Jones, 'French Taste in Victorian England: The Collection of Yolande Lyne-Stephens', *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 2020, no. 31, 5 January 2021 <<https://doi.org/10.16995/ntn.3350>>.

⁴⁵⁸ Vignon, p. 188.

In one room at Chesterfield the 6th Earl was able to make links with Harewood more explicit. The 4th Earl of Chesterfield had ‘determined to have no gilding at all’ in his Library ‘as the constant fire and candles in that room would so soon turn it black’, and the walls above the bookshelves were therefore left white.⁴⁵⁹ The lack of Rococo gilding meant that the Library was less obviously French in style, which allowed the 6th Earl more freedom in his choice of furniture. He filled the Library mainly with English eighteenth-century furniture, much of which had been made by or in the style of Thomas Chippendale.⁴⁶⁰ This included a set of four Chippendale armchairs upholstered with Mortlake tapestry which the 6th Earl purchased from Frank Partridge in September 1918 for £3,000 (fig. 15).⁴⁶¹ The inclusion of high-quality furniture by Chippendale helped to dovetail the cultural heritage of Chesterfield House with Harewood House, therefore associating the recently purchased townhouse and its own eighteenth-century heritage with the Lascelles family’s cultural heritage in Yorkshire. The increased public and scholarly attention given to Chippendale around the 1920s highlighted the cultural heritage of Harewood House to a broader audience; for example, a 1925 silent film made for the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley shows an actor playing Thomas Chippendale examining his work at Harewood.⁴⁶² The 6th Earl’s loan of two of his Chippendale armchairs from Chesterfield House to an exhibition of English eighteenth-century furniture at the BFAC in 1921 similarly drew attention to the connection between Chippendale, Chesterfield House, and Harewood House, in a semi-public arena.⁴⁶³

⁴⁵⁹ Beresford Chancellor, p. 210.

⁴⁶⁰ Invoices and the 1920 inventory do not specify whether the furniture was attributed directly to Chippendale, and the cabinetmaker’s name was commonly used during this period to refer to anything in his style.

⁴⁶¹ Invoice from Frank Partridge to 6th Earl, 8 October 1919, 6EHHA, Receipts for furniture, ‘uncatalogued’. The chairs are now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

⁴⁶² *Thomas Chippendale: a 1920s silent ‘biopic’* (c.1925), online film recording, YouTube, uploaded 8 August 2018 <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aQWuSQ073hk>> [accessed 22 February 2022], original film held at the British Film Institute; Kate Hay, ‘Chippendale and Sheraton: Rediscovering Rare Silent Films’, *V&A Blog*, 2018 <<https://www.vam.ac.uk/blog/museum-life/chippendale-and-sheraton-rediscovering-rare-silent-films>> [accessed 8 June 2022]. A number of publications on Chippendale’s life and work appeared during this period, beginning in 1897 with K. Warren Clouston’s *The Chippendale Period in English Furniture* (London and New York: Debenham & Freebody and Edward Arnold, 1897). This scholarly interest resulted in the realisation that Chippendale had not been born in Worcester as previously thought, but in Otley, Yorkshire, only around ten miles away from Harewood; Oliver Brackett, *Thomas Chippendale: A Study of His Life, Work, and Influence* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1925). Chippendale’s *Gentleman and Cabinet-maker’s Director* – the book that he first published in 1754 to showcase his designs and inspire other cabinetmakers – was reprinted in 1900 (by Munro Bell) and published in America in 1938 (by Arthur Hayden).

⁴⁶³ H. Avray Tipping, ‘English Furniture at the Burlington Fine Arts Club’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 38.215 (1921), 67–69, 72–74, pp. 73–74. BFAC exhibitions were not fully public, as examined earlier in this thesis, since their audience principally comprised members and their guests.

Again, the 6th Earl deliberately drew attention to his connections with Harewood House at Egerton House in Newmarket, which he purchased in 1925.⁴⁶⁴ In a manner similar to that employed at Chesterfield, at Egerton the 6th Earl referenced a specific moment in the history of Harewood House through the furnishing he chose for his Newmarket house. Egerton had been built in the late nineteenth century, and little is known about its original internal architecture and decoration save that some rooms had been ‘panelled with a lightly-stained oak work’.⁴⁶⁵ Significantly, Egerton was ‘one of the chief properties in this country in connection with bloodstock breeding and racing’, and the horses of three monarchs as well as many prominent aristocrats had been trained there; in 1937, for instance, King George V kept eighteen horses at the stables at Egerton, and the 6th Earl had twenty-one.⁴⁶⁶ The 6th Earl’s purchase of Egerton therefore placed him and Princess Mary in the centre of one of the most important sites for the aristocratic pastime of horse racing and breeding, and provided them with a comfortable home when they attended the July Course during the Newmarket race season.⁴⁶⁷ As such, the acquisition of Egerton held social significance for the 6th Earl’s integration into the royal family, and it was likely in order to emphasise his own family’s long-standing aristocratic status that he furnished the house with reference to his own principal ancestral seat, Harewood House.

Much of the furniture acquired by the 6th Earl for Egerton was in the Empire or Regency (as it was known in Britain) style, which had developed out of neoclassicism towards the end of the eighteenth century in France around the time of the French Revolutionary Wars and the Napoleonic wars.⁴⁶⁸ Interest in Regency design was bolstered by the Georgian revival of the first decades of the twentieth century, and described as ‘New Regency’ or ‘Vogue Regency’ by some 1930s commentators.⁴⁶⁹ As at Chesterfield House, much of the antique furniture provided for Egerton was sourced from Frank Partridge, a well-established dealer whose clientele later

⁴⁶⁴ ‘The King’s Racehorses in Training: Promise of a Splendid Season’. *Country Life*, 17 April 1937, lxxiv; Z., ‘Egerton House, Newmarket’, *The Idler*, November 1898, 687–695, pp. 694–695.

⁴⁶⁵ ‘About’, *Egerton Stud Newmarket* <<https://www.egertonstud.co.uk/about>> [accessed 28 October 2019]; Z., ‘Egerton House, Newmarket’. The property was not published in *Country Life*.

⁴⁶⁶ ‘The King’s Racehorses in Training: Promise of a Splendid Season’, *Country Life*, 17 April 1937, lxxiv; Arbiter, ‘The Estate Market: Lord Harewood’s Sale of Egerton’, *Country Life*, 20 August 1943, 345.

⁴⁶⁷ Sidney Galth, ‘Lord Harewood’s Stud in Yorkshire’, *Country Life*, 16 September 1933, 272–276, pp. 275–276.

⁴⁶⁸ Edwards and Ramsey, *The Late Georgian Period, 1760–1810*, p. 35; Margaret Jourdain, *English Interiors in Smaller Houses: From the Restoration to the Regency, 1660–1830* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1923), p. 57. Moss Harris & Sons also provided ‘Old English Empire’ furniture for Egerton; invoices from M. Harris & Sons: 12 February 1924, HHTD:2016.104; 1 October 1925, 6HHA, Receipts for furniture, ‘uncatalogued’.

⁴⁶⁹ Clare Taylor, ‘“Modern Swedish Rococo”: The Neo-Georgian Interior in Britain, c. 1920–1945’, in *Neo-Georgian Architecture 1880–1970: A Reappraisal*, ed. by Julian Holder and Elizabeth McKellar (Swindon: Historic England, 2016), 151–166, pp. 160–163.

included the art collector and industrialist William Hesketh Lever, 1st Viscount Leverhulme, American industrialist J. Paul Getty, and Queen Mary, the 6th Earl's mother-in-law, who in 1938 endowed Partridge with a Royal Warrant.⁴⁷⁰ Among the furniture supplied by Partridge for Egerton was an Empire mahogany upright secretaire mounted with ormolu plaques which he had acquired from Christie's in December 1925 for £16.10s.9d including commission.⁴⁷¹ During the early nineteenth century either Edward Lascelles, 1st Earl of Harewood (1740–1820), or his eldest son Edward 'Beau', Viscount Lascelles (1764–1814), had embarked upon a redevelopment of Harewood House's Entrance Hall in the Regency style.⁴⁷² They may have been influenced by the Prince Regent (later King George IV), who was one of the champions of the Regency style in Britain, and had commissioned the designer Henry Holland (1745–1806) to redecorate his London home, Carlton House, in the new style in 1784.⁴⁷³ Some of the furniture likely made for the Regency commission at Harewood remained in the house in the early twentieth century, including a set of eight klismos (an ancient Greek shape) chairs, which were photographed in the Entrance Hall in 1914 by *Country Life*, alongside chairs made by Chippendale (fig. 16).⁴⁷⁴

The 6th Earl of Harewood was evidently aware of Harewood's Regency cultural heritage, which later informed his selection of marble for a new top for a Regency table:

The Hall at Harewood was re-furnished about 1810 "in the Egyptian taste", and the table in question has legs like gryphons, and conforms with other furniture supposed to be in this taste. The Egyptian marble would therefore be peculiarly appropriate.⁴⁷⁵

Though the 6th Earl seems to have put particular emphasis on acquiring Empire furniture around the time of his acquisition of Egerton, there were examples of this style already at Chesterfield House, as the Library contained a set of five 'Empire mahogany Library chairs

⁴⁷⁰ Mark Westgarth, 'Frank Partridge', *Antique Dealers: The British Antique Trade in the 20th Century* <<https://antiquetrade.leeds.ac.uk/dealerships/39726>> [accessed 19 April 2022]. Partridge was also commissioned by Philip Kerr, 11th Marquess of Lothian, to re-furnish his Jacobean country house Blickling Hall in Norfolk with period furniture; Mark Westgarth and others, *SOLD! The Great British Antiques Story* (in association with The Bowes Museum, 2020) cat. no. 12; James Lees-Milne, *Blickling Hall, Norfolk: A Property of the National Trust* (London: Country Life for The National Trust, 1948), p. 18.

⁴⁷¹ Invoice from Frank Partridge, 17 December 1925, HHTD:2015.27.

⁴⁷² Jewell, p. 21; Abigail Harrison Moore, 'Imagining Egypt: The Regency Furniture Collections at Harewood House, Leeds and Nineteenth Century Images of Egypt' (unpublished Ph.D., University of Southampton, 2001), p. 4.

⁴⁷³ Edwards and Ramsey, *The Late Georgian Period, 1760–1810*, p. 35.

⁴⁷⁴ The same photograph was used in 1922; Tipping, 'Harewood House'. On Regency furniture at Harewood House, see Harrison Moore.

⁴⁷⁵ 6th Earl to Sir Herbert Baker (draft), 11 November 1930, 6EHHA, box 18.

with Etruscan decorations'.⁴⁷⁶ Nor was Egerton furnished entirely in the Regency style, either; the 6th Earl purchased and restored a pair of carved Robert Adam pedestals and wall-mounted light fittings for the house.⁴⁷⁷ Though this went against the advice of at least one contemporary manual on furnishing with antiques, which stated that the Regency style 'requires a room to itself', the combination of eighteenth-century English and Regency furnishings at Chesterfield House and Egerton aligned these properties with the 6th Earl's ancestral country house.⁴⁷⁸ The repetition of this mixture indicates that the 6th Earl may have been self-consciously referencing, and reinforcing, his aristocratic cultural heritage across various of his properties. He may, too, have been influenced by his mother-in-law Queen Mary's taste for the Regency style, as she recreated the State Suite of Buckingham Palace 'such as George IV had envisaged' around this time.⁴⁷⁹

The family seat: Harewood House

The Harewood House that the 6th Earl inherited in 1929 was clearly marked with the accretions of generations of his family. Much of its eighteenth-century cultural heritage remained *in situ*, including ceilings by Robert Adam, Chippendale's extensive furniture commission, and family portraits of Earls and Countesses by leading British artists.⁴⁸⁰ By the early twentieth century, the fact that Harewood House could still boast original work by some of the most popular Georgian designers was socially significant, as it demonstrated the longevity of the Lascelles family's wealth and high social standing, quite apart from being in-keeping with the renewed fashion for Georgian design reflected in the then current Neo-Georgian movement.⁴⁸¹ In fact, the renovations executed by Sir Charles Barry at Harewood during the nineteenth century reflected the Lascelles family's growing history, but had disrupted or destroyed many of Robert Adam's earlier interior design schemes.⁴⁸² Yet the 6th Earl chose not to follow the approach taken by some owners of Georgian country houses in the early twentieth century to systematically expunge them of their Victorian additions in order to emphasise the eighteenth-

⁴⁷⁶ 1920 inventory, p. 114.

⁴⁷⁷ Invoice from Albert Amor, 20 July 1925, HHTD:2015.12.

⁴⁷⁸ Frank Frankfort Moore, *The Commonsense Collector: A Handbook of Hints on the Collecting and the Housing of Antique Furniture* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1910), p. 216.

⁴⁷⁹ Marguerite D. Peacocke, *The Pictorial History of Buckingham Palace* (London: Pitkin Pictorials, 1957), p. 8.

⁴⁸⁰ Photographed during the early 1930s; Harewood House presentation photograph album, HHPA.

⁴⁸¹ On Neo-Georgian design, see Elizabeth McKellar, 'Representing the Georgian: Constructing Interiors in Early Twentieth-century Publications, 1890–1930', *Journal of Design History*, 20.4 (2007), 325–344; *Neo-Georgian Architecture 1880–1970: A Reappraisal*, ed. by Julian Holder and Elizabeth McKellar (Swindon: Historic England, 2016).

⁴⁸² Mauchline, pp. 122–139; Bolton, p. 20.

century design.⁴⁸³ On the one hand, this would have been practically difficult as the exterior and interior of the house had been altered extensively by Barry (for instance, Adam's scheme was entirely swept away in the Dining Room), and on the other, it was undesirable since the upper floor added by Barry provided more vital space for the family.⁴⁸⁴

Nevertheless, the 6th Earl and Princess Mary embarked upon a major programme of preservation, restoration, and modernisation at Harewood House during the 1930s, which included bringing some of the rooms on the state floor closer to Robert Adam's original designs.⁴⁸⁵ For example, the built-in bookcases flanking the fireplace on the south wall of the Old Library had been boarded over probably in the nineteenth century, and the new wall space used to display pictures.⁴⁸⁶ Barry had likely left the original bookcases intact and simply covered them, which meant that the 6th Earl was able to restore the Old Library to its Adam design by simply removing Barry's wall panels. The reversibility of some of the Victorian changes at Harewood was not unheard of in other country houses; for example, when the High Saloon of Castle Howard was redecorated by the 9th Earl and Countess of Carlisle in 1894 the room's early eighteenth-century murals were covered with wallpaper attached to battens (instead of pasted directly onto the wall).⁴⁸⁷ The wallpaper could therefore be easily removed, which it was only thirty years later by the couple's fifth son, Geoffrey Howard.⁴⁸⁸ This approach preserved the early heritage of the house while enabling owners to follow contemporary fashions.

The 6th Earl himself utilised this same *modus operandi* when he redecorated the drawing room adjoining the Main Library, subsequently known as the Rose Drawing Room, around 1937. Most of its painted and gilt surfaces were cleaned, polished, and re-gilt in 1937 and 1938, but the 6th Earl instructed that 'No work [was] to be done to the decorated wall surfaces above the dado', which featured painted canvas likely installed during the Victorian redecorations.⁴⁸⁹ That area was subsequently covered with damask attached to fresh canvas, which changed the

⁴⁸³ For example, at Hinton Ampner in Hampshire, Ralph Dutton employed the architect Lord Wellesley to 'reveal the plain lines of the original house of 1793'; Louise Campbell, 'Foreword', in *Neo-Georgian Architecture 1880–1970: A Reappraisal*, x–xvi, p. xi; and Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home*, 286–287. Gavin Henderson, 2nd Baron Faringdon, had the Victorian porch, balustrade, dormer windows, and left wing removed from Buscot Park, Oxfordshire, after he inherited the property in 1934; Campbell, p. xii.

⁴⁸⁴ Mauchline, pp. 123–124.

⁴⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 145–151.

⁴⁸⁶ See photograph in Bolton, p. 24. Mauchline, p. 128. Adam's designs for Harewood, including one showing the original bookcases in the Old Library, are preserved in Sir John Soane's Museum, London. Barry had installed mahogany bookcases in the rooms now known as the Main Library and Spanish Library, so the bookshelves in the Old Library were perhaps surplus to requirements, and therefore covered.

⁴⁸⁷ Interpretation panel at Castle Howard, seen 11 June 2022.

⁴⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁹ Estimate from A.L. Cowtan to 6th Earl Harewood, 31 May 1937, WYAS, WYL250/Accn1789/4.

appearance of the room while ‘leaving the present decoration in position’ underneath (fig. 17).⁴⁹⁰ The rose colour of the new damask was in keeping with the colour of work of Robert Adam found elsewhere at Harewood (such as in the Gallery ceiling), and the 6th Earl’s treatment of this room therefore demonstrates his decision to privilege Harewood’s eighteenth-century cultural heritage over its nineteenth-century renovations, a decision which certainly emphasised his family’s longstanding links with the house.⁴⁹¹

The most marked change made to Harewood in the 1930s was the adaptation of several rooms for Princess Mary on the east side of the house, which were designed by Sir Herbert Baker (1862–1946) with extensive input from the couple.⁴⁹² The designs for Princess Mary’s new suite of rooms were informed by the Georgian heritage of Harewood House, particularly its Robert Adam interiors, which provided an invaluable source of inspiration and direct quotation for Baker and his colleagues. For example, Baker instructed the firm Messrs H.H. Martyn (who provided decorative plaster work) to visit Harewood and ‘study the old Adam work so that the detail may follow the old work, or where it is new be designed in character with it’, thereby ensuring that the new rooms were congruous with their neighbours on the state floor of Harewood House.⁴⁹³ On occasion the couple also highlighted objects which were in storage as sources for Baker’s designs; for instance, the glazed doors of two display cabinets in Princess Mary’s Dressing Room were designed ‘after the manner of the Adam mirror which Lord Harewood showed me in the attic’.⁴⁹⁴ This quotation is taken from a letter written by Baker only a fortnight after he had spent three days at Goldsborough Hall, where Princess Mary and the 6th Earl were living at the time; interestingly, these dates exactly coincide with a visit by the 6th Earl’s advisor Tancred Borenius, and it is tempting therefore to consider that

⁴⁹⁰ Letters from A.L. Cowtan to 6th Earl Harewood, 20 May 1937 and 22 March 1938, WYAS, WYL250/Accn1789/4.

⁴⁹¹ Colour photographs of Harewood’s interiors show that several of Adam’s ceilings featured the colour pink, see Gordon Nares, ‘The Splendours of Harewood’, *Country Life Annual*, 1957, 40–46 (p. 43).

⁴⁹² Robert Chamberlain, ‘Harewood House, 1929–39: Restoration and Revivalism’ (M.A. dissertation, University of Leeds, 199[8?]); Jeremy Musson, *Robert Adam: Country House Design, Decoration, and the Art of Elegance* (New York: Rizzoli, 2017), p. 105. At this time Baker was working on the rebuilding and enlargement of the Bank of England (1925 and 1939), a project for which he was later heavily criticised due to his destruction of much of Sir John Soane’s earlier structure; Holder and McKellar, p. 111. Baker’s contemporary domestic architecture included Port Lympne, Kent, which he designed for the MP and Rothschild heir Philip Sassoon, 3rd Baronet; Chamberlain, p. 12; ‘Sir Herbert Baker: a great British architect’, *The National Trust* <<https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/owletts/features/sir-herbert-baker-a-great-british-architect>> [accessed 22 June 2022].

⁴⁹³ Herbert Baker to Mr Rutherford (of Brierley and Rutherford, a local architect firm extensively engaged at Harewood during the 1930s), 24 March 1930, Borthwick Archive, University of York.

⁴⁹⁴ Herbert Baker to Princess Mary, 17 March 1930, PMHHA; This is possibly identifiable with a George III giltwood pier glass with arched divided plate still at Harewood, HHTF:1997.92.

Borenus may have been involved (however informally) in some of these early discussions about the renovations at Harewood House.⁴⁹⁵

Some of the references to the Lascelles family's cultural heritage installed in Princess Mary's new rooms were sourced from beyond Harewood House. Five old circular plaster plaques had been identified in the 'old workshops' at Harewood House and were incorporated into Princess Mary's Dressing Room and Bathroom, but a sixth plaque was required to make the scheme harmonious.⁴⁹⁶ Regarding a potential source for the new plaque, Baker wrote the following:

There is an Adam room in 13, Upper Belgrave Street, which is copied from the old Hanover Square Harewood House and in it there is a plaque, three cherubs riding a dolphin, that I thought might be very suitable for our plaque in the bathroom. Having been Harewood property H.R.H. [Princess Mary] fell in with the suggestion. [...] H.R.H. gave me instructions to have a cast made of it and the Dowager Countess of Harewood gave permission for you to send your men to do this.⁴⁹⁷

Harewood House on Hanover Square, London, was a Robert Adam house acquired by the Lascelles family in the late eighteenth century, which had been sold when the 6th Earl was a teenager.⁴⁹⁸ It had been demolished in 1908, when it reportedly retained 'enough of its internal [Adam] decorations and original appearance to occasion regret for its loss.'⁴⁹⁹ 13 Upper Belgrave Street was still owned by the family and occupied by the 6th Earl's mother, the Dowager Countess. Clare Taylor has noted that the use of aristocratic interior salvage in some country houses during the 1920s and 1930s imbued both property and owner with 'not only authenticity through provenance, but also direct links to 18th-century life'.⁵⁰⁰ The inclusion of a direct reference to the Hanover Square house albeit through a cast rather than the original plaque, alongside salvaged elements from elsewhere in Harewood House, referenced and

⁴⁹⁵ 1–3 March 1930, Goldsborough Hall Visitors Book, HHA.

⁴⁹⁶ Herbert Baker to Rutherford, 27 March 1930, Borthwick Archive. Baker recorded that he, Princess Mary, and the 6th Earl 'went down to the old workshops and saw a mass of old ornamentation and fittings.'

⁴⁹⁷ Herbert Baker to Mr Morton (of H.H. Martyn & Co), 15 December 1930, Borthwick Archive.

⁴⁹⁸ Mauchline, pp. 119, 143.

⁴⁹⁹ Aleck Abrahams, 'Harewood House, Hanover Square', *Notes and Queries*, s10–X.256 (1908), 406–407 (p. 406) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/nq/s10-X.256.406d>>.

⁵⁰⁰ Clare Taylor, pp. 152–153. For instance, at Trent Park, Middlesex, Philip Sassoon incorporated elements from Devonshire House and Chesterfield House, both grand Georgian London houses.

emphasised the Lascelles family's cultural heritage and thereby strengthened their symbolic aristocratic links (fig. 19).

It was also important to the couple that the new rooms reflected Princess Mary's own personal interests and royal status. The 6th Earl's marriage into the royal family was a deeply significant moment for the Lascelles family, reinforcing their position not just as members of the aristocracy but placing them firmly and permanently in the historical record at the very top of the upper class. This was demonstrated elsewhere at Harewood House, for instance, in the decision to hang Oswald Birley's portrait of *Princess Mary* in the central position above the mantelpiece in the Dining Room.⁵⁰¹ This portrait was a wedding gift from the Harewood estate tenants, and its prominent display therefore emphasised both the Lascelles family's royal connections, and Princess Mary's symbolic integration into the family's ancestral estate in Yorkshire.⁵⁰² It was both appropriate and desirable that Princess Mary's occupation of Harewood House should leave a permanent record in the form of her new rooms on the state floor.

The ornamentation of Princess Mary's Dressing Room alluded to her love of gardening, an idea that Baker welcomed but with a word of caution:

The introduction of natural flowers requires some careful thought in Adam decoration, because naturalism is a little at variance with the formalism of the thought of Adam's day [...] But that is no reason why we should not have an expression of our own at the present day [...].⁵⁰³

The apse ceiling featured in low relief the figure of Flora, goddess of flowers, designed by Sir Charles Wheeler and inspired by the work of Italian Renaissance artist Sandro Botticelli; this was an explicit reference to Princess Mary's interest in gardening, and may also have been intended as a reference to the 6th Earl's collection of primarily Italian old master paintings.⁵⁰⁴ Princess Mary's royal status was also referenced through the inclusion on the ceiling of her Dressing Room of classically stylised floral emblems representing the dominions of the British Empire.⁵⁰⁵ Baker was conscious that they should not 'overdo' the references to Empire, but felt that their inclusion as floral emblems could be achieved 'without making any political

⁵⁰¹ Harewood House Presentation photograph album, early 1930s, HHPA.

⁵⁰² Borenus, *Catalogue of the Pictures and Drawings at Harewood House*, p. 108.

⁵⁰³ Herbert Baker to Princess Mary, 1 April 1930, PMHHA.

⁵⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰⁵ Herbert Baker to Princess Mary, 24 March and 5 April 1930, PMHHA.

mistakes'.⁵⁰⁶ Further references to royal status in the new rooms included the 'M' monogram surmounted by a princess's coronet (which featured eight times in the Dressing Room ceiling), and Princess Mary's coat of arms, which is mirrored by those of the 6th Earl in the apse ceiling of her Dressing Room. The latter included quarterings of the Canning and de Burgh families, emphasising the 6th Earl's ancient ancestry, and was surrounded by the Order of the Garter which he had been granted by King George V upon his marriage.⁵⁰⁷ The inclusion of these genealogical references embedded into the physical fabric of Harewood House, in an Adam-revival room clearly identified with Princess Mary, would act as a permanent reminder to visitors and subsequent generations of the family of the longevity and nobility (and royalty) of the Lascelles family.

Conclusion

The comparatively recent ascension of the Lascelles family to the nobility resulted in notable gaps in their cultural heritage compared to other, older aristocratic families, a fact of which the 6th Earl became even more conscious after his marriage into the royal family. Some of these were filled by the Clanricarde inheritance, and Leslie Ward's posthumous portrait of the 2nd Marquess of Clanricarde clearly demonstrates the 6th Earl's conscious incorporation of the well-established Clanricarde (and by extension Canning) genealogies to bolster his own family's aristocratic status. His approach to Chesterfield House also indicates that he sought to appropriate that house's distinct noble history – which was genuinely but distantly linked to the Lascelles family – in order once more to embellish his status. This was achieved by preserving and restoring the building's eighteenth-century heritage, while incorporating references to Harewood House through the use of Chippendale and Regency furniture.

The 6th Earl was undoubtedly aware of the revival of interest in eighteenth-century architecture and design during this period, and his decision not to expunge Harewood of its Victorian additions only underscores the fact that he was principally guided by the notion of cultural heritage rather than contemporary fashion. The new rooms installed for Princess Mary at Harewood House during the early 1930s were designed to record and communicate the Lascelles family's recent ascension to the top of the class structure in Britain through the 6th Earl's royal marriage, while also placing that event within a lineage that could be traced back to (and thereby justified by) the eighteenth-century creation of Harewood House and of the family's aristocratic status.

⁵⁰⁶ Herbert Baker to Princess Mary, 15 March and 21 March 1930, PMHHA.

⁵⁰⁷ Bernard Burke and Ashworth Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Peerage and Baronetage, the Privy Council, and Knightage* (London: The Burke Publishing Company, 1923), p. 1103

Chapter Three: Collecting continental old masters in Britain

The 6th Earl of Harewood's unusual status as an aristocrat who assembled a notable collection of continental old master paintings in Britain during the first half of the twentieth century has been acknowledged by a number of scholars.⁵⁰⁸ Nevertheless, until now, no in-depth assessment of the influences and motivations that informed his collecting has been conducted. This chapter draws upon fresh primary research to examine the breadth and composition of the 6th Earl's collection, including, significantly, his acquisitions of continental old master drawings, a field which has been scarcely recognised by scholars to date. The respective agency over the 6th Earl of Harewood's acquisitions by the 6th Earl himself and his advisor, Dr Tancred Borenius, is assessed here for the first time, building upon the discussion of amateur versus professional expertise which has featured throughout this thesis.

The growing field of scholarship in the history of collecting and the art market has naturally tended to focus on the dominant themes of the period here under consideration, namely, the purchase of aristocratic cultural heritage by American plutocrats.⁵⁰⁹ This chapter examines the 6th Earl's activities against this backdrop, providing an account of an acquisitive aristocrat, whose example complicates the dominant narratives of collecting histories and demonstrates that the flow of art during this period was not solely in one direction, out of British collections and into American ones. Through a detailed examination which draws on significant fresh primary research, this chapter will demonstrate that the 6th Earl's conception and assembly of his collection was informed by – indeed largely based on – an awareness of his – and other aristocrats' – cultural heritage.

Collecting in response to cultural heritage

At the start of the twentieth century, Harewood House contained no major continental pictures, which distinguished it from many well-established aristocratic properties. Edwin Lascelles had embarked on a Grand Tour during the 1730s, but returned with no notable purchases, and while

⁵⁰⁸ Penny, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Sixteenth Century*, pp. 455–458; Mauchline, p. 151; Howard, 'Colnaghi and the Italian Renaissance: 250 years of Dealing and Collecting', pp. 57–59.

⁵⁰⁹ Saltzman; Reist, ed., *British Models of Art Collecting and the American Response*. Aside from old masters, the development of the modern art market in London has received attention from certain scholars: see in particular Pamela M. Fletcher and Anne Helmreich, eds., *The Rise of the Modern Art Market in London, 1850–1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011). Studies which focus on the role of art market agents and dealers during this period include: Inge Reist, 'Knoedler and Old Masters in America'; Howard, 'Colnaghi and the Italian Renaissance: 250 Years of Dealing and Collecting'; Imogen Tedbury, 'Scholar, Dealer and Museum Man: Robert Langton Douglas in the International Old Master Market', in *Old Masters Worldwide: Markets, Movements and Museums, 1789–1939*, ed. by Susanna Avery-Quash and Barbara Pezzini, 161–178; Simpson; Barbara Pezzini, 'Making a Market for Art: Agnew's and the National Gallery, 1855–1928' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Manchester, 2017).

some of his descendants – particularly Beau Lascelles – demonstrated a keen interest in continental ceramics, few of the 6th Earl of Harewood’s ancestors had made a point of acquiring old master paintings.⁵¹⁰ The 5th Earl had acquired only very few continental pictures (mostly at auction at Christie’s in London), the most significant being a small skating scene by Pieter Breughel the Younger which Borenius ‘thought a great deal of’.⁵¹¹ During a trip to Florence in 1913, the 5th Earl commissioned a watercolour of the Bargello courtyard and a copy of Raphael’s *La Donna Velata* in the Pitti Palace as souvenirs of his trip, but bought no original Italian old master paintings *per se*.⁵¹² Mary Mauchline’s account of the 5th Earl of Harewood’s occupation of Harewood House is principally concerned with the financial struggles that he faced, and she states that the only improvement made to the house’s fabric during this period was the installation of electricity.⁵¹³ Bearing this context in mind, it is perhaps unsurprising that he did not acquire many paintings beyond family portraits, and that it was left to his son, the 6th Earl, with his surprise inheritance of more than £2 million, to enhance the family’s cultural heritage in this area.

Among the 6th Earl’s living relatives, the most voracious collector, who may have served as some kind of role model, was his great uncle, the 2nd Marquess of Clanricarde, who assembled an extensive collection of primarily Dutch old master paintings.⁵¹⁴ It has been assumed that the main branch of the Lascelles family had little contact with Clanricarde; indeed, one author claimed that the 6th Earl and Clanricarde ‘had not met for ten years’ prior to their chance meeting in a London club in 1916 which supposedly prompted the latter to make

⁵¹⁰ The acquisition of a small number of ancient marble sculptures has been attributed to Edwin by Sotheby’s and dated to his Grand Tour in 1738; ‘A Roman Marble Figure of Fortuna, circa 2nd Century A.D., with 18th Century Restorations’, *Sotheby’s*. See also S.D. Smith, p. 185.

⁵¹¹ 5th Earl diary entry 8 July 1910, 5EHHA; invoice from Charles Davis for purchase made at Christie’s 8 July 1910, lot 76, for £77.3.6, 5EHHA; 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 9 June 1917, 5CHHA, box 6, no. 159. Books acquired by the 5th Earl and Countess also indicate their interest in art history or at least in the artistic heritage of Britain, which may have influenced the 6th Earl. The three-volume catalogue of the National Gallery’s paintings authored by Sir Edward Poynter (London: Cassell, 1899–1900) were certainly acquired by the 5th Earl or Countess, since they do not feature the 6th Earl’s bookplate.

⁵¹² Giulio [surname illegible] to 5th Earl regarding commission, 28 March 1913, 5EHHA. Christie’s sale catalogue 29 June 1951, lot 82, regarding Raphael copy. The 5th Earl’s diary entries from Florence record in detail the numerous visits made to art galleries and palazzi and convey genuine enthusiasm for both Renaissance paintings and antique sculpture.

⁵¹³ Mauchline, p. 144.

⁵¹⁴ Gwynne and Maume. The pictures inherited by the 6th Earl from Clanricarde are recorded in Borenius, *Catalogue of the Pictures and Drawings at Harewood House*; they comprise 58 Dutch pictures, 27 Flemish, 31 Italian, 7 French, and 2 German, as well as 61 English pictures which are mostly family portraits. A small number of paintings inherited from Clanricarde had been sold in 1932; *Catalogue of the Remaining Contents of Chesterfield House, Mayfair; the Property of the Right Hon. The Earl of Harewood, K.G., D.S.O.: Comprising Books, Prints, Pictures, and Decorative China, Sèvres Porcelain from the Collection of the Late Marquis of Clanricarde ... Important Furniture from the Principal Rooms ... a Magnificent Set of Four Chippendale Arm Chairs, Covered in Soho Tapestry Which Will Be Sold by Auction* (London: J. Davy & Sons, 1932).

the 6th Earl his sole heir.⁵¹⁵ Fresh primary research, however, has shown that the 5th Earl of Harewood did have some direct contact with his uncle, specifically with regard to collecting. For instance, the 5th Earl recorded in his diary on 19 May 1900: ‘went to Christie’s, bought 2 little Dutch pictures also went to the Albany [an apartment complex in Piccadilly, London, where Clanricarde lived] with Uncle Hubert & saw his things’.⁵¹⁶ Moreover, the 6th Earl of Harewood recalled that he had been ‘often told’ by his great-uncle that the latter ‘never bought enamel snuff boxes, but only those with “water colours” in them’.⁵¹⁷ This quotation indicates that the men had met on multiple occasions and discussed Clanricarde’s collections of snuff boxes. Such conversations likely also ranged over his jewels, ceramics, and Dutch ‘Golden Age’ pictures, since the 6th Earl was aware of Clanricarde’s preferences concerning Sèvres porcelain – ‘he liked it in proportion to the amount of turquoise blue surface’ – and claimed that his great-uncle possessed ‘unrivalled’ and ‘intimate knowledge of the obscure Dutch painters of the 17th century’.⁵¹⁸ Though the details of this relationship are unclear, and accounts of a visit by the 6th Earl to Clanricarde’s apartment in Hanover Square (to which he relocated after being evicted from the Albany for refusing to pay an increased rent) cannot be corroborated, the 6th Earl was certainly aware of his great-uncle’s ‘artistic discrimination’ and perhaps he consciously sought to develop his own reputation in old master paintings partly as a result of such familial influence.⁵¹⁹

There may have also been psychological influences behind the 6th Earl’s decision to collect continental old master paintings in emulation of his great-uncle. His relationship with his father, the 5th Earl, was strained, as was acknowledged by Eddy Lascelles in a letter written shortly after he learned of his brother’s receipt of the Clanricarde inheritance:

[...] it seems as if there could never again be any reason for difficulties between Harry and Father. One has always felt that Father’s behaviour has been influenced chiefly by fear of what might (or possibly must) be the future of the estate – while Harry’s has been governed by resentment at being more or less caged up [...] Money has, after all,

⁵¹⁵ Geoffrey Wakeford, *The Princesses Royal* (London: Hale, 1973), p. 202. Wakeford is a highly interesting though unreliable narrator, perhaps relying on memory rather than written evidence; parts of his account of 6th Earl have been confirmed by fresh archival research, while others must be discounted as untrue. The most widely repeated version of this meeting is recounted in George Lascelles, p. 26.

⁵¹⁶ 5th Earl diary, 5EHHA.

⁵¹⁷ 6th Earl to H. Clifford–Smith, 24 September 1931, 6EHHA, box 18. Clifford–Smith was preparing an article on the Canning Jewel and wrote to the 6th Earl on this matter.

⁵¹⁸ 6th Earl to H. Clifford–Smith, 26 December 1931, 6EHHA, box 18.

⁵¹⁹ Wakeford, pp. 203–204; Gwynne and Maume. 6th Earl to H. Clifford Smith, 24 September 1931, 6EHHA, box 18.

been the whole source of resentment on both sides and now it need never be so again.⁵²⁰

The aristocratic tradition of primogeniture meant that an enormous burden was always destined to fall to the 6th Earl; that of maintaining his family's heritage, wealth, and social status. Eddy Lascelles, as the younger son, felt no such pressure.⁵²¹ Applying a psychoanalytical lens to surviving photographs and letters, one may note the playfulness of a young Eddy dressing up as Napoleon and performing for his mother's camera, and affectionately addressing his mother in correspondence by the nickname 'Pork'.⁵²² Conversely, the 6th Earl of Harewood looks invariably serious in childhood photographs, as though already restricted by the weight of responsibility that his father had undoubtedly already impressed upon him.⁵²³ It was this pressure, and the 'sheer boredom' that came with it, that, according to Eddy Lascelles, caused the 6th Earl to 'resort to distraction' that his father resented.⁵²⁴

It was rumoured at the time that Clanricarde had chosen to leave his fortune to the 6th Earl because "It has to go to someone – it had better go to the one who will get through it quickest!".⁵²⁵ Others suggested that Clanricarde's will skipped a generation because he hated his nephew, and therefore made the 5th Earl the executor and trustee of the will in order to further annoy him.⁵²⁶ Whether or not either suggestion was true, the inheritance would have disrupted the relationship between the 6th Earl and his father; providing the former with 'sufficient income to provide himself with occupation and amusement really suited to him', without the burden of using it responsibly.⁵²⁷ Frederick Baekeland has posited that if a familial relationship is harmonious then collecting by one part is usually enthusiastically approved, whereas in a poor relationship collecting 'may be but one of a number of disputed areas'.⁵²⁸ Indeed, the Clanricarde inheritance and the 6th Earl's decision to utilise it in the assembly of a noted art collection does not appear to have eased the paternal relationship. The 5th Earl's diaries confirm that he continued to express frustration over his son's spending and behaviour,

⁵²⁰ Edward 'Eddy' Lascelles to 5th Countess, 20 April 1916, 5CHHA, Eddy's letters from the war, 62.

⁵²¹ Susan Pearce, p. 83.

⁵²² Albums of photographs taken by 5th Countess, HHTPh:2001.1.31–33. The origin of the nickname are unclear, but it is used consistently in Eddy Lascelles' wartime correspondence to his mother; 5CHHA, Eddy's letters from the war.

⁵²³ HHTPh:2001.1.31–33.

⁵²⁴ Edward 'Eddy' Lascelles to 5th Countess, 20 April 1916, 5CHHA, Eddy's letters from the war, 62.

⁵²⁵ Osbert Sitwell, *Queen Mary and Others* (London: Michael Joseph, 1974), p. 55.

⁵²⁶ *Ibid.* Given that the 5th Earl's diary records him having contact with Clanricarde in 1910, this suggestion implies that the relationship deteriorated during the last six years of Clanricarde's life.

⁵²⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵²⁸ Frederick Baekeland, 'The Psychological Aspects of Art Collecting', *Psychiatry*, 44:1 (February 1981), 45–59, quoted in Susan Pearce, p. 228. Baekeland specifically references the relationship between husband and wife; however, the notion is applicable to other close familial relationships.

as recorded in an entry from September 1921: ‘Harry gave £5200 for a yearling filly on Friday. What an ass [the word is underlined three times] he is, & so vulgar bidding against Lord Glanely & other bounders of that description.’⁵²⁹ William Tatem, 1st Baron Glanely (1868–1942) was a ship-owner and noted racehorse owner, who was granted a baronetage in 1916; evidently, even when the 6th Earl’s finances allowed for such expenditure, the 5th Earl disagreed with the way in which his son conducted himself.⁵³⁰

Other diary entries indicate that the 5th and 6th Earls held different artistic tastes. When the 6th Earl had some paintings hung in the smoking room of 13 Upper Belgrave Street in March 1917, his father opined that they ‘look like splotches of dirt on the fairly clean walls. I much prefer the things that were there’.⁵³¹ By that date there were at least three continental old masters in that house that had been recently acquired by the 6th Earl.⁵³² While it is not certain that these are the paintings that the 5th Earl described in his diary, if this was the case, this quotation indicates that the 5th Earl either did not appreciate his son’s artistic tastes or that he resented the 6th Earl’s aesthetic intrusion into his home.⁵³³ By utilising the Clanricarde fortune to build a notable collection of continental old master paintings, the 6th Earl decisively invalidated his father’s concerns around ‘the future of the estate’ in his hands and ensured that his own name would outshine the 5th Earl’s in later histories of the Lascelles family.⁵³⁴

Additionally, this thesis suggests that the 6th Earl’s collection of continental old master paintings was intended to reinforce his aristocratic identity by filling gaps in his heritage. This provides an interesting point of distinction between him and many other collectors active in the British art market during this period. With regard to middle-class collectors, their lack, in many cases, of inherited cultural heritage allowed them the freedom to collect in any field without their acquisitions having to fit in with those of their ancestors or be deliberately distinguished from them. This was true, for example, of Sir Michael Sadler (1861–1943), who was Vice-Chancellor of the University of Leeds (1911–1923) and helped to establish the Leeds Art Collections Fund in 1912.⁵³⁵ Sadler was a notable proponent of modern art, and his own collection contained paintings by Roger Fry, Augustus John, and the brothers John and Paul

⁵²⁹ 5th Earl diary entry 10 September 1921, 5EHHA.

⁵³⁰ David Jenkins, ‘William James Tatem, 1st Baron Glanely (1868-1942), *Amgueddfa Cymru* <<https://museum.wales/articles/1100/William-James-Tatem-1st-Baron-Glanely-1868-1942/>> [accessed 27 January 2024].

⁵³¹ 5th Earl diary entry 23 March 1917, 5EHHA.

⁵³² By El Greco, Mariotto Albertinelli, and Antonio da Pollaiuolo; Borenius to 6th Earl, 6 January 1917, TBA.

⁵³³ If not his son’s continental old master paintings, the 5th Earl must be describing works of art from Clanricarde’s own collection; either old English pictures or Dutch old masters, which the 6th Earl had inherited.

⁵³⁴ Edward ‘Eddy’ Lascelles to 5th Countess, 20 April 1916, 5CHHA, Eddy’s letters from the war, 62.

⁵³⁵ ‘Sculpture at Leeds’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 131.1038 (September 1989), 603.

Nash, as well as sculptures by Henry Moore and Barbara Hepworth.⁵³⁶ In 1923 Sadler presented a number of paintings, drawings, and prints to the University of Leeds, where they formed the core of its modern collection.⁵³⁷ As a member of that university's Brotherton Library Collection Committee from 1934 onwards, the 6th Earl of Harewood must surely have been aware of Sadler's promotion of modern art.⁵³⁸ However, as noted already in this thesis, the 6th Earl personally disliked modern art, and believed that 'almost all contemporary criticism of a living artist is immature'; acquiring works by artists whose value (scholarly, artistic, or economic) had not yet been proven over time, therefore, would not have reliably enhanced his cultural patrimony in the manner desired.⁵³⁹

To take an aristocratic example, Captain Edward George Spencer-Churchill (1876–1964) inherited Northwick Park in Gloucestershire in 1912, which contained a significant art collection that had been largely amassed by his ancestor John Rushout, 2nd Baron Northwick (1770–1859), during the first half of the nineteenth century.⁵⁴⁰ Tancred Borenius laid out the history of the Northwick collection in his catalogue of the approximately-four hundred paintings published in 1921, and acknowledged its high quality by noting that several of the choicest paintings were acquired by the National Gallery in 1859 (including Sandro Botticelli's *Portrait of a Young Man*).⁵⁴¹ Spencer-Churchill was a good friend of the 6th Earl of Harewood, the latter who recalled that as well as paintings, Spencer-Churchill collected drawings – 'He seems to have so many drawings that it is almost a matter of indifference to him if he gets any more!' – and early antiquities – 'He had his Greek bead in his pocket. He never moves without it, I believe.'⁵⁴² With regard to paintings, Spencer-Churchill's purchases were mostly bargains

⁵³⁶ 'Gift to Leeds University: Sir Michael Sadler's Collection', *The Manchester Guardian*, 18 October 1923, 9; Eveleigh Bradford; *Selected Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture from the Collection of the late Sir Michael Sadler*. Sadler was the first person in England to own a Kandinsky; 'Sculpture at Leeds', p. 603.

⁵³⁷ Sarah Brown and others, *The Sadler Gift 1923* (Leeds: The Stanley & Audrey Burton Gallery, University of Leeds, 2012).

⁵³⁸ 6EHA, box 4.

⁵³⁹ 6th Earl to Lord Stanhope, 22 December 1945, 6EHA, box 4, Standing Commission.

⁵⁴⁰ Oliver Bradbury and Nicholas Penny, 'The Picture Collecting of Lord Northwick: Part I', *The Burlington Magazine*, 144.1193 (2002), 485–496; Oliver Bradbury and Nicholas Penny, 'The Picture Collecting of Lord Northwick: Part II', *The Burlington Magazine*, 144.1195 (2002), 606–617. The 2nd Baron died intestate and unmarried, and his property and art collection were sold so that the proceeds could be divided among his next of kin; a series of sales took place at which George Rushout, 3rd Baron Northwick (1811–1887) re-purchased a considerable part of his family's collection, which later came to Spencer-Churchill; Tancred Borenius and Lionel Cust, *Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures at Northwick Park* (London: Privately printed at the Chiswick Press, 1921), p. vi.

⁵⁴¹ Borenius and Cust. Borenius had begun cataloguing the collection by April 1918; 6th Earl to Borenius, 26 April 1918, TBA. 'Sandro Botticelli, Portrait of a Young Man: NG626', *The National Gallery* <<https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/sandro-botticelli-portrait-of-a-young-man>> [accessed 23 May 2023].

⁵⁴² 6th Earl to Borenius, 3 May 1918, TBA. The 6th Earl and Spencer-Churchill served in the same brigade of the Grenadier Guards during the First World War.

found in auction sales at Christie's and Sotheby's which he then had cleaned and 'pulled together' by restorers, thereby 'rescuing' them from 'dirt, overpainting, and oblivion' and '[increasing] the beauty in the picture world'.⁵⁴³ The element of risk involved in buying pictures in poor condition appears to have contributed to Spencer-Churchill's satisfaction, and he once stated that his response to discovering a purchase was not what it seemed would be 'Hum, I must know more about this myself, and the study will be a pleasure'.⁵⁴⁴ Since he already possessed a significant collection of continental old master paintings, which confirmed and communicated his family's long-held aristocratic status, Spencer-Churchill could afford to gamble on his purchases in a way that others without that heritage, such as the 6th Earl of Harewood, perhaps could not.

Spencer-Churchill catalogued his own art acquisitions in 1961, separate from the hereditary Northwick collection.⁵⁴⁵ This decision not only singled out Spencer-Churchill as an individual collector, whose own expertise was reflected in the collection, but also suggests that his purchases were not intended, and did not need, to add to his patrimonial heritage, which was already significant. In contrast, the 6th Earl of Harewood commissioned Borenius to catalogue the paintings and drawings in the Harewood collection in a single publication produced in 1936.⁵⁴⁶ This was part of a wider programme undertaken around that time to preserve the Harewood collections in literary form.⁵⁴⁷ For instance, in 1931 the 6th Earl commissioned a catalogue of the porcelain at Harewood House and Chesterfield House from William King, an 'intimate friend' of Tancred Borenius and member of the Department of Ceramics and Ethnography at the British Museum, in which capacity the 6th Earl may have encountered him

⁵⁴³ Stourton and Sebag-Montefiore, p. 290; Edward George Spencer-Churchill, *The Northwick Rescues, 1912–1961* (Evesham: Sharp Bros., 1961), p. 3.

⁵⁴⁴ Spencer-Churchill, p. 53.

⁵⁴⁵ Spencer-Churchill. The conceptual separation of the two collections continued through to the posthumous sale of the contents of Northwick Park in 1965; James Feron, '\$2.8 MILLION ART TO BE AUCTIONED: Spencer-Churchill Collection Will Be Sold at Christie's', *New York Times*, 10 July 1964, p. 26; Frank Davis, 'Small Bronzes from Northwick Park', *Illustrated London News*, 16 January 1965, p. 28.

⁵⁴⁶ Borenius, *Catalogue of the Pictures and Drawings at Harewood House*. Borenius had begun work on the catalogue by 1933, and it was published in 1936; A payment of £142.8s.3d to Oxford University Press for 'work in connection with picture catalogue' is recorded in 1933, with a further £698.19s.6d being paid in 1934; Accounts recorded for paintings Lord Harewood acquired, 1930–1938, HHTD:200.1.13.

⁵⁴⁷ Some evidence of this falls outside the category of published catalogues under discussion here but may be briefly noted for reference. In 1937 the 6th Earl and Princess Mary engaged Borenius's assistance in order to produce an 'Album' of photographic reproductions of prints made of the painted copies that they owned by David Teniers Jr. after works of art in Archduke Leopold William's collection. Princess Mary corresponded with Borenius on this subject and looked forward to him visiting Harewood when 'we can settle exactly how our album is to be done'. See letters from Princess Mary to Borenius, 27 and 31 August 1937, TBA. Between 1945 and 1947 the 6th Earl handwrote several lists of old master drawings in his collection, including the artists' dates and provenance information. These were likely for his own reference; see HHTD:2006.12 and HHTD:2001.3.1–3.

through his role as a trustee of that institution.⁵⁴⁸ Borenius's catalogue was and remains the only comprehensive catalogue of the Harewood picture collection, which represented, as stated by Borenius in the introduction, 'the accumulated results of several generations' activities'.⁵⁴⁹ The introduction provides a history of the Lascelles family as collectors, giving particular prominence to Edwin and Edward Lascelles, the latter of whom was created the 1st Earl of Harewood in 1812 and commissioned many of the great English eighteenth-century portraits in the collection.⁵⁵⁰ After discussing the pictures inherited from the 2nd Marquess of Clanricarde in 1916, only one sentence is given to the 6th Earl's own contribution to the collection.⁵⁵¹ This clearly indicates that the purpose of the catalogue was not to glorify the 6th Earl as an individual collector apart from his ancestors, but to symbolically integrate his acquisitions within his family's cultural heritage and record for the benefit of contemporary and future readers the breadth and significance of the Harewood collection as it had accumulated over time.

The contemporary ambition of the Harewood catalogue is further indicated by the fact that 250 copies were printed, each being numbered, which were shared privately with individuals and institutions as gifts by the Lascelles family.⁵⁵² Recipients of the Harewood catalogue included museums and galleries in Britain, continental Europe (many in Italy), and America; gentleman's clubs and societies in London; major university libraries in Britain and the continent; international art historians such as Dr Roberto Longhi (Bologna, Italy), Dr Max J. Friedlander (Berlin, Germany), and Paul J. Sachs (Harvard, America); European royalty; as well as relatives and friends, many of whom were also collectors.⁵⁵³ This impressive list attests to the international network within which the 6th Earl was, or wished to be, situated; the royal

⁵⁴⁸ William King to 6th Earl, 1931, HHTD:2000.1.25; receipt from St James's Club, signed by William King, for £100 for 'cataloguing the porcelain at Harewood House and Chesterfield House', HHTD:2015.6. The quote is taken from a letter from Felix Hope-Nicholson to Kerstin Lindman-Strafford, 10 November 1975, TBA. No manuscript or copy of the porcelain catalogue has been definitely identified at Harewood.

⁵⁴⁹ Borenius, *Catalogue of the Pictures and Drawings at Harewood House*, p. v. A manuscript catalogue exists of the contents of Harewood House, Hanover Square, London, produced between 1814 and 1820, describing the collection of mainly English watercolours owned by Beau Lascelles; HHA.

⁵⁵⁰ Borenius, *Catalogue of the Pictures and Drawings at Harewood House*, pp. v–vii; Mauchline, p. 113.

⁵⁵¹ The significance of the 6th Earl's personal contribution to the Harewood patrimony is reflected in the individual catalogue entries, and in the selection of illustrations, as 31 of the 35 plates given to continental old master paintings show works acquired by the 6th Earl. Overall, it is the pictures of the Italian school that are furnished with the most enthusiastic and in-depth catalogue entries; most of these pictures were, as Borenius noted, 'Acquired by the sixth Earl of Harewood'. The catalogue's emphasis on Italian pictures is likely a combined result of Borenius's specialisation in that area as well as the 6th Earl's own preferences, and the fact that this area of the continental old master collection at Harewood House had been deliberately and carefully assembled since 1916.

⁵⁵² Not all copies of the publication were shared; many remain at Harewood House.

⁵⁵³ List of Museums, Galleries, etc. to which the Catalogue of the Pictures and Drawings at Harewood House has been sent, 6EHHA, box 3.

connections he surely identified through his wife, Princess Mary, while the 6th Earl likely collaborated with Tancred Borenius to identify leading international scholars and relevant institutions and individual collectors whom they believed should be aware of the Harewood collection. By increasing knowledge and awareness of his family's historic and contemporary art collecting within these prestigious networks, the 6th Earl ambitiously sought to emphasise the Lascelles' continued cultural authority and relevance, distinguishing them from other aristocratic families whose cultural heritage was being dispersed at this time.

Moreover, the 6th Earl was part of an active and engaged network of collectors for whom giving catalogues of one's collection as gifts appears to have been common practice, as the 6th Earl himself received copies of some private catalogues which were sent either by the collection's owner, or by Borenius when he was the author.⁵⁵⁴ Significantly, if not surprisingly, after 1922 the 6th Earl received as gifts many publications concerning aspects of the Royal collection at Windsor Castle, Buckingham Palace, and Hampton Court from his parents-in-law, King George V and Queen Mary.⁵⁵⁵ A catalogue of the principal pictures at Windsor Castle, for example, features the inscription: 'For Harry Harewood in remembrance of my visit to Harewood from Mary R. September 1937'.⁵⁵⁶ Clearly, material cultural heritage was something in which the royal family and the 6th Earl shared an interest, and by cataloguing his own continental acquisitions alongside the paintings accumulated by his ancestors, and sharing this catalogue with his parents-in-law, the 6th Earl asserted the longevity of his heritage and his legitimate status as a member of the royal family.⁵⁵⁷

⁵⁵⁴ These include: Borenius, *A Catalogue of the Pictures, Etc. at 18 Kensington Palace Gardens, London*; James Buchanan, *Sporting pictures at Lavington Park* (London: Privately printed, 1927); Robert Benson, *The Holford Collection, Dorchester House* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1927).

⁵⁵⁵ Anthony Blunt, *The French drawings in the collection of His Majesty the King at Windsor Castle* (London: Phaidon, 1945); C.H. Collins Baker, *Catalogue of the principal pictures in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle* (London: Constable, 1937); Sir Martin Conway and Lionel Cust, *The King's pictures from Buckingham Palace, Windsor Castle and Hampton Court*, Vol I. The Dutch Collection (London: Fine Arts Publishing Co., 1928); Lionel Cust, *The King's pictures from Buckingham Palace, Windsor Castle and Hampton Court* (London: Fine Arts Publishing Co., c. 1930); W.H. St. John Hope, *Windsor Castle: an architectural history*, Vol I (London: Country Life, 1913); Christopher Hussey, *Buckingham Palace; its furniture, decoration and history. Introduction by Christopher Hussey* (London: Country Life, 1930); P.G. Konody, Guy Francis Laking, *The armoury of Windsor Castle, European section* (London: Bradbury, Agnew & Co., 1904); Guy Francis Laking, *The furniture of Windsor Castle* (London: Bradbury, Agnew & Co., 1905); Guy Francis Laking, *Sèvres porcelain of Buckingham Palace and Windsor Castle* (London: Bradbury, Agnew & Co., 1907).

⁵⁵⁶ Collins Baker, *Catalogue of the principal pictures in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle*.

⁵⁵⁷ A copy of the Harewood catalogue in the Royal Collection Trust collection was given to Queen Mary by Princess Mary on 10 May 1937, RCIN 1152018.

Tancred Borenius

Although the basic fact of Tancred Borenius's role as advisor to the 6th Earl of Harewood has long been known, until now there has been no in-depth analysis of how this relationship worked practically, and limited consideration of the relative agency of each man in the formation of the 6th Earl's collection.⁵⁵⁸ Access to the personal papers of each individual makes such a study now possible. The 6th Earl was on active military duty in France when he began buying pictures in 1916, and therefore needed someone with professional expertise whom he could trust to evaluate potential acquisitions and act on his behalf in London (fig. 20). That his relationship with Borenius continued beyond the end of the war, right through until the 1940s when the 6th Earl's acquisitions had reduced almost to a stop, demonstrates that Borenius's involvement went beyond a mere practical necessity.

It has been claimed that the 6th Earl was first introduced to Borenius when he enquired in the Burlington Fine Arts Club (BFAC) about an advisor who could help him form a picture collection.⁵⁵⁹ This is plausible, as Borenius's expertise would have been known to BFAC members since he had been on the selection committee for its exhibitions of 'Early Venetian Pictures' and 'The Venetian School' in 1912 and 1914, respectively.⁵⁶⁰ By 1916, Borenius's academic background and developing career in the British art world made him an appropriate collaborator for a burgeoning collector. Born in Wiborg, Finland, in 1885, Borenius often visited the Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg as a child and went on to study history of art at Helsingfors (fig. 21).⁵⁶¹ While working on his doctoral thesis on *The Painters of Vicenza*, Borenius spent time in Italy, where he met the British art critic Roger Fry, and in London.⁵⁶² The thesis was published in 1909 and was so well received that Borenius was invited to undertake the re-editing of a new edition of Crowe and Cavalcaselle's *History of Painting in Northern Italy* by the publisher John Murray, which prompted him to settle permanently in

⁵⁵⁸ Penny, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Sixteenth Century*, pp. 455–458; Herrmann, *Sotheby's: Portrait of an Auction House*, pp. 160–161, 241–242.

⁵⁵⁹ Herrmann, *Sotheby's: Portrait of an Auction House*, p. 242.

⁵⁶⁰ *Catalogue of a Collection of Pictures of the Early Venetian School and Other Works of Art*. (London: Chiswick Press, privately printed for The Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1912); *Venetian School: Pictures by Titian and His Contemporaries* (London: Privately printed for the Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1915). It may be noted, however, that the 6th Earl did not apply for membership of the BFAC until 14 February 1917; he was proposed by Henry Harris and seconded by Borenius and elected to the membership on 6 March; Burlington Fine Arts Club candidate book 8, no. 1391, National Art Library, V&A. By this point the 6th Earl had probably already known Borenius for at least six months, having likely met around September 1916 when the 6th Earl was in England recovering from a gunshot wound; the earliest surviving letter from the 6th Earl to Borenius, dated 6 January 1917, references pictures already bought on his advice; 6th Earl to Borenius, 6 January 1917, TBA.

⁵⁶¹ Text of 'A Lecture on the Life and Work of Professor Tancred Borenius, Ph.D., D.Litt., F.S.A.' given by his daughter Clarissa Lada-Grodzicka.

⁵⁶² *Ibid.*

London.⁵⁶³ Borenius wrote his first article for the *Burlington Magazine* in 1910, soon becoming a regular contributor, and obtained a lectureship (later a professorship) in art history at University College London in 1913.⁵⁶⁴

Alongside his academic career, Borenius quickly gained an understanding of the London art trade and became acquainted with many of the leading ‘gentlemen connoisseurs’, including Sir Herbert Cook and Robert Benson.⁵⁶⁵ He catalogued these and many more private collections over the following decades, including those of Arthur Lee (1923), Henry Harris (1930), Leverton Harris (1931), the 6th Earl of Harewood (1936), and Paul Methuen (1939).⁵⁶⁶ On top of his academic credentials and expertise in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century art of the Veneto region of Italy, Borenius’s familiarity with the London art world and his growing knowledge of private collections made him ideally placed to collaborate in the formation of a picture collection. On a number of occasions, the 6th Earl of Harewood purchased works of art which Borenius had previously published, in some cases for the first time. Examples of this pattern include a panel by Cima da Conegliano published in 1911 and acquired in 1918;⁵⁶⁷ a *Portrait of an Ecclesiastic* attributed to Ridolfo Ghirlandaio by Borenius in 1913, then bought as a work by Piero di Cosimo in 1919;⁵⁶⁸ the *Procuratore Mocenigo* attributed by Borenius to Alessandro Longhi in 1915 and acquired in 1921;⁵⁶⁹ and a large panel by Antonio Vivarini bought by the 6th Earl in 1926, which had been published by Borenius in the previous year.⁵⁷⁰ A cautiously practical explanation for this pattern is that through his scholarly work, including arranging loan exhibitions for the BFAC, Borenius became aware of many pictures in private ownership which he was later able to draw to the 6th Earl’s attention. A further interpretation

⁵⁶³ Dennis Farr, ‘Borenius, (Carl) Tancred (1885–1948), Art Historian’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/76085>>.

⁵⁶⁴ Penny, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Sixteenth Century*, p. 455.

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid. Tancred Borenius, *A Catalogue of the Paintings at Doughty House Richmond, & Elsewhere in the Collection of Sir Frederick Cook BT, Viscount de Monserrate, Edited by Herbert Cook, M.A., F.S.A., Hon. Member of the Royal Academy of Milan* (London: William Heinemann, 1913), 1: Italian Schools; and Robert Benson and Tancred Borenius, *Catalogue of Italian Pictures at 16, South Street, Park Lane, London and Buckhurst in Sussex* (London: Privately printed at the Chiswick Press, 1914).

⁵⁶⁶ Borenius, *A Catalogue of the Pictures, Etc. at 18 Kensington Palace Gardens, London*, 1; Tancred Borenius, *Catalogue of a Collection of Italian Maiolica Belonging to Henry Harris* (London: Privately printed, 1930); Tancred Borenius, *The Leverton Harris Collection* (London: Privately printed, 1931); Borenius, *Catalogue of the Pictures and Drawings at Harewood House*; Tancred Borenius, *A Catalogue of the Pictures at Corsham Court* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1939).

⁵⁶⁷ B. 15; Tancred Borenius, ‘S. Jerome by Cima Da Conegliano’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 19.102 (1911), 318–323.

⁵⁶⁸ B. 48; Tancred Borenius, ‘Portrait of an Ecclesiastic by Ridolfo Ghirlandaio’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 23.122 (1913), 65.

⁵⁶⁹ B. 37; Tancred Borenius, ‘A Portrait by Alessandro Longhi’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 26.143 (1915), 181.

⁵⁷⁰ B. 75; Tancred Borenius, ‘Early Italian Pictures in the Collection of Lord Carmichael’, *Apollo*, 1.2 (1925), 65–68.

would be that Borenius deliberately recommended pictures to the 6th Earl that he himself already knew well, and which he had personally attributed.⁵⁷¹ This could have been for practical reasons, or a result of Borenius's pride and keenness to demonstrate his expertise, as well as his desire to secure important homes for paintings he had brought to light. In all likelihood elements of both scenarios are true.

The tone of the 6th Earl of Harewood and Tancred Borenius's relationship was influenced by the intellectually stimulating homosocial environment of the BFAC, as Borenius addressed the 6th Earl with deference while the 6th Earl recognised that expert opinion resided with his new friend.⁵⁷² As early as January 1917, the 6th Earl wrote memorably to Borenius that:

[You] have taken so much interest in the pictures and have, in fact, been principally responsible for the selection I have made. In fact every one has been bought on your advice except the Pollaiuolo in which your opinion also (without your knowing it) weighed very largely in my determination to have it!⁵⁷³

The fact that Borenius could influence the 6th Earl's purchases without the former knowing about it hints at the difficulty in trying to definitively credit either man for the choice of acquisitions. Despite the implication of the above quotation, the 6th Earl did not always feel the need to consult Borenius before making a purchase. For instance, in 1918 he reported his acquisition of a self-portrait by Annibale Carracci (1560–1609) to Borenius in correspondence after the fact.⁵⁷⁴ On occasion the 6th Earl demonstrated sufficient confidence in his own connoisseurship to challenge the views of established art historians and museum professionals. For instance, in 1938 he wrote to J.W. Goodison (1903–1993), an Assistant Curator of the Fitzwilliam Museum, regarding a picture by Mariotto Albertinelli in that collection that closely

⁵⁷¹ It should be acknowledged that many of the attributions given in Borenius's catalogue no longer stand; however, these changes were made later in the twentieth century after the 6th Earl's death. Most of the names now attached to pictures acquired by the 6th Earl are of artists from the same school and period as those given by Borenius. For example, a painting attributed to Vincenzo Catena in 1936 is now attributed to Alvise Vivarini and Marco Basaiti – all three artists were active in Venice around 1500 and were influenced by Giovanni Bellini, to whom this painting had previously been attributed. These changes reflect the developments made in art scholarship since the 1930s, and do not reflect ill on either Tancred Borenius's competency as a cataloguer, or on the authenticity of works in the 6th Earl's collection.

⁵⁷² On homosocial domesticity in gentlemen's clubs, see Amy Milne-Smith, 'A Flight to Domesticity? Making a Home in the Gentlemen's Clubs of London, 1880–1914', *Journal of British Studies*, 45, no. 4 (October 2006), 796–818. Both men were also dedicated members of the St James's Club, and of other fraternal societies: the 6th Earl was an active Freemason and member of many Lodges, eventually becoming the Grand Master of the United Grand Lodge of England (1942–1947); Tancred Borenius was a member of The Sette of Odd Volumes, an eccentric dining club for bibliophiles whose members were named 'Brother [name]' – Borenius was Brother Pilgrim.

⁵⁷³ 6th Earl to Borenius, 6 January 1917, TBA.

⁵⁷⁴ B. 13. 6th Earl to Borenius, 28 February 1918, TBA.

resembled his own.⁵⁷⁵ The attribution of the Fitzwilliam picture had been accepted by art Bernard Berenson, yet the 6th Earl disputed this:

Frankly I find it difficult to believe that Berenson is right, and I understand that many years ago and before my version was known, it was accepted in the Fitzwilliam Museum as a copy. It is not, of course, an exact copy, and I should say that it is an attempt by a pupil to paint a picture based on one painted by his master. The landscape in yours seems to me attractive, but I do not think the remainder of your picture will stand against mine.⁵⁷⁶

There is nothing to suggested that Borenius encouraged or was even aware of the 6th Earl's correspondence, and it is unclear on what basis the latter formed his opinions; Berenson's *Venetian Painters of the Renaissance* was one of the few publications on Italian old masters in the 6th Earl's library.⁵⁷⁷ While aristocrats with amateur knowledge of art no longer dominated the governing boards of public institutions during this period, being increasingly eclipsed by individuals with professional expertise, this pattern was not entirely replicated in the formation of the 6th Earl's private collection; the 6th Earl utilised the scholarly advice of Tancred Borenius, but also trusted his own taste and knowledge.

Certainly, the relationship between the 6th Earl of Harewood and Borenius was more nuanced than a commercial exchange of cash for expertise. The 6th Earl at one point stated that he paid Borenius a commission 'upon anything which I buy on his advice', and financial records confirm that in some cases this was true.⁵⁷⁸ For instance, an invoice for items bought from Sotheby's by Borenius on the 6th Earl's behalf in 1928 bears a pencil note written by the 6th Earl, adding ten percent to the amount owed as Borenius's commission.⁵⁷⁹ However, it is clear that in many cases Borenius received no financial compensation for his work.⁵⁸⁰ This was particularly true in the case of scholarly duties that he undertook for the 6th Earl, which were commensurate with his knowledge and experience as a published author of scholarly

⁵⁷⁵ 6th Earl to J.W. Goodison, 26 May 1938, HHTD:2000.1.76.

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁷ Bernard Berenson, *The Venetian Painters of the Renaissance: With an Index to Their Works* (New York and London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1894).

⁵⁷⁸ 6th Earl to Borenius, 3 March 1917, and 8 June 1917, TBA.

⁵⁷⁹ Invoice from Borenius to 6th Earl, 22 February 1928, HHTD:2000.1.49.

⁵⁸⁰ There is no evidence that Borenius was paid a retainer by the 6th Earl even during the early years of their relationship, since recorded payments to him in the 6th Earl's financial accounts are sporadic and vary significantly in amount, indicating that they are reimbursements for works of art bought on the 6th Earl's account; Grenadier Guards passbook, 1915–1921, and cheque book stubs 1917–1921, 6EHHA, box 16. In the more detailed account records dating from 1930 onwards, each payment made to Borenius is clearly explained; for example, £35.3s on 4 July 1933 for 'books bought at Sotheby's', and £23 on 9 July 1934 for 'snuff boxes', again most likely representing reimbursements; Private and general accounts, 1930–1947, HHA, box 13.

catalogues and articles as discussed above. For example, he researched the 6th Earl's pictures and attempted to identify sitters in a portrait group by Sebastiano del Piombo (1485–1547).⁵⁸¹ Upon receiving Borenius's comments regarding this picture while in the trenches of the First World War, the 6th Earl responded with his own opinion:

I do not myself see the objection to the Borgia theory, but then I do not know the correct dates nor do I know the personal appearance of the man in question. One would have thought that Caesar Borgia and Machiavelli were easily enough recognised to settle the question if one took the trouble to go to Italy and compare likenesses. I shall certainly do this after the war.⁵⁸²

It has not been possible ascertain whether the 6th Earl did make a study trip to Italy, and it is possible that this rather romantic suggestion, formed in the trenches of the First World War, did not come to fruition after demobilisation. Nevertheless, the 6th Earl's relationship with Borenius supported his connoisseurial ambitions, as the men were able to discuss Venetian paintings – a subject in which they shared an interest – in great detail, akin to the conversations which one might have encountered also at the BFAC. Accordingly, there was a social element to their relationship; Borenius and his wife Anne-Marie were regular guests at Harewood House before the outbreak of the Second World War, and the 6th Earl correspondingly visited Borenius at the cottage in Salisbury to which he had removed himself from London during the 1930s.⁵⁸³ While Borenius may accurately be described as the 6th Earl's art advisor, their relationship was also built on, or developed into, a genuine friendship. The sincerity of feeling is conveyed clearly by a telegram sent by Borenius to Princess Mary in 1947 shortly after the 6th Earl's death, when Borenius was himself acutely unwell: 'DEEPEST SYMPATHY. I LOVED HIM.'⁵⁸⁴

The cultural and social prestige attached to the 6th Earl, as an aristocratic heir and 'the most eligible bachelor in Society' thanks to the Clanricarde inheritance, would have benefitted

⁵⁸¹ There are several undated notes written by Borenius at Harewood that discuss the sitters in the Sebastiano, bought from Colnaghi in 1917 as *Amerigo Vespucci relating his adventures to Cardinal Guilio de Medici, afterwards Pope Clement VII*, as well as the sitter in a portrait by Tintoretto; HHTD:2003.1.45a–c. The Sebastiano is now called *Cardinal Bandinello Sauli, His Secretary, and Two Geographers*; 'Cardinal Bandinello Sauli, His Secretary, and Two Geographers', *National Gallery of Art* <<https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.46136.html#provenance>> [accessed 28 November 2019].

⁵⁸² 6th Earl to Borenius, 21 October 1917, TBA.

⁵⁸³ Robert O'Byrne, 'He Helped Set the Standard for Apollo', *Apollo*, 2017.

⁵⁸⁴ 26 May 1947, PMHHA, box 133.

Borenus, who in 1916 was still relatively early in his career.⁵⁸⁵ Indeed, it was through this relationship that Borenus later became close with Queen Mary, on whose behalf he occasionally carried out art historical research (such as identifying the subject of an ivory statuette) and advised on purchases.⁵⁸⁶ On at least one occasion Borenus visited Windsor Castle where he was shown ‘pictures, drawings, [and] objets d’art’ by Queen Mary herself, an experience which he described in a letter of thanks as ‘a privilege for which it is difficult to know how to express my gratitude’.⁵⁸⁷ Borenus’s relationship with the 6th Earl and the Queen meant that he was by extension granted access not only to the Royal family, but also to private collections and their owners throughout the country.⁵⁸⁸ This fact did not go unnoticed by dealing firms such as Agnew’s and Duveen Brothers, which recognised that Borenus ‘could be very useful in getting hold of things’ thanks to his contact with ‘many large families’ in Britain; both firms collaborated with Borenus later in his career.⁵⁸⁹ Borenus’s compensation for his role in building the 6th Earl’s picture collection was therefore only partly financial; the social benefits of being closely associated with a young, wealthy aristocrat – and one indeed who would go on to have familial ties with the royal family – and the almost unique opportunity of assembling a collection of old masters in Britain during this period, were also significant for the young scholar as he settled into life in a foreign land.

Acquisitions

Extensive fresh primary research carried out in the preparation of this thesis has significantly expanded the known provenance of works of art acquired by the 6th Earl of Harewood, and enabled identification of works which were hitherto not known to have passed through his ownership. Analysis of this data, which is provided in full in Appendix B, indicates that the 6th

⁵⁸⁵ ‘Clanricarde Millions: Nearly £2,500,000 Left to Viscount 6th Earl’; The visitor book has not survived, but it is discussed in an essay entitled ‘Visitors to Coombe Bissett and Clarendon Palace 1930–1939’ by Dr T.B. James, TBA.

⁵⁸⁶ Letters from Borenus to Queen Mary, Royal Collection Trust Archive, Windsor. For instance, Borenus visited the booksellers Messrs Maggs in 1935, where he evaluated a collection of books with royal provenance and listed for the dealer ‘a number of items which it occurs to me that your Majesty might like to make a selection’. It appears that Borenus himself suggested to the Queen that she may wish to take an interest in these publications, and she subsequently agreed that he should make a selection on her behalf; Borenus to Queen Mary, 10 September 1935, Royal Collection Trust Archive.

⁵⁸⁷ Borenus to Queen Mary, 20 April 1932, Royal Collection Trust Archive. Stourton described Borenus as an ‘arch-Monarchist’, indicating his enthusiasm for the royal family; *Kenneth Clark: Life, Art and Civilisation* (London: William Collins, 2016), p. 98.

⁵⁸⁸ On occasion Borenus accompanied Queen Mary, the 6th Earl, and Princess Mary on excursions to aristocratic properties during his stays at Harewood House. For instance, the group visited the Marquis and Marchioness of Zetland at Aske Hall in nearby Richmond in September 1937; ‘Queen Mary Sees Art Treasures’, *The Western Daily Press and Bristol Mirror*, 16 September 1937, 1.

⁵⁸⁹ Internal memo from New York to London, 13 May 1942, Duveen Brothers records, Series II.E., Correspondence: Borenus, Dr. Tancred, 1928–1945, 960015 (bx.353, f.10), GRI.

Earl of Harewood's collecting of art was closely tied to the different phases of his life and the properties that he occupied during each period. It is therefore useful briefly to summarise this timeline before discussing his acquisitions. There is little evidence pertaining to the 6th Earl's collecting prior to the First World War; however, it is known that he purchased a handful of pictures during his time working as honorary attaché to the British Embassy in Rome between 1905 and 1907.⁵⁹⁰ The majority of the 6th Earl's continental old masters were acquired over a five year period between 1916, when he inherited the Clanricarde fortune, and the end of 1921, when he became engaged to Princess Mary.⁵⁹¹ At the beginning of this period he was on active service in France during the First World War, and following his return to England in 1919 he was occupied with the furnishing and decorating of his new London home, Chesterfield House.⁵⁹² His 1922 marriage to Princess Mary prompted the couple's move to Goldsborough Hall, a Harewood family home in Yorkshire, and the rate of the 6th Earl's acquisitions slowed down considerably. In 1929 the 5th Earl of Harewood died and the 6th Earl therefore succeeded to the title.⁵⁹³ The family moved from Goldsborough Hall into Harewood House in 1930 and spent much of the following decade rearranging and restoring the family seat. Chesterfield House was sold in 1934, having been unoccupied since 1932, and thereafter when in London the 6th Earl and Princess Mary resided in houses provided for them by the Royal family.⁵⁹⁴

i. Works of art by British artists

While the primary focus of this thesis is continental old masters, it is valuable to consider the 6th Earl's patronage and collecting of work by British artists in order to establish the influence of cultural heritage upon the Harewood collection as a whole during this period.⁵⁹⁵ The subject matter of the 6th Earl's British pictures may broadly be grouped as follows: old portraits of Lascelles family members; pictures of, or historically associated with, Harewood House and other locations significant to the Lascelles family; political portraits and subjects; animals; and contemporary commissioned family portraits.⁵⁹⁶ Due to the close links between the Lascelles

⁵⁹⁰ Wortham and Reynolds. This is gleaned from a single letter surviving from that period; 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 21 May 1907, 5CHHA, box 5.

⁵⁹¹ Based upon research carried out in the preparation of this thesis; see Appendix B.ii.

⁵⁹² Wortham and Reynolds.

⁵⁹³ Mauchline, p. 149.

⁵⁹⁴ For details, see Appendix A. 'Former London Home Of Princess Royal: Chesterfield House Sold', *Halifax Evening Courier*, 20 June 1934, 3; '32 Green Street, Mayfair, London W1', *Buildington* <<https://www.buildington.co.uk/london-w1/32-green-street/32-green-street/id/8336>> [accessed 5 May 2020].

⁵⁹⁵ Borenus catalogued the 6th Earl's British pictures under the heading of 'English' works, but due to the 6th Earl's purchase of works by Scottish, Welsh, and Northern Irish artists, they are here collectively described as British.

⁵⁹⁶ Pictures featuring horses, hunting dogs, and fowl – all animals associated with aristocratic country sport – often featured in country house collections; Francis Russell, 'The Hanging and Display of Pictures, 1700–1850',

family and the local Yorkshire community and landscape, several of the 6th Earl's animal pictures were also portraits of significant local places and family members. For example, the contemporary watercolour *Run Towards the Punch Bowl* by Charles Simpson (1885–1971) depicts members of the Bramham Moor Hunt to which the 6th Earl was Master of Hounds from 1921, a role which had also been held by earlier Earls of Harewood.⁵⁹⁷ The 6th Earl also purchased a handful of pictures that do not fit into the above subject groups but were similarly relevant to his familial heritage and interests. For example, two pictures of Roman architectural subjects by Jonathan Skelton (c. 1735–1759) related simultaneously to the 6th Earl's time spent living in Rome from 1905 to 1907, and to the importance of Harewood House within the development of watercolour painting in eighteenth-century Britain.⁵⁹⁸

As may be gathered from the subjects listed above, the 6th Earl's taste for British pictures demonstrated a strong interest in his own heritage. The 6th Earl was eager to hear of any portraits of his own family members that were available for purchase, as Borenius was aware when he telegraphed the 6th Earl in 1917 to alert him to the upcoming sale of a portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds of Lady Jane Coleman (the second wife of Edwin Lascelles and mother of the infamous Lady Worsley whose portrait, also by Reynolds, hangs at Harewood) (fig. 22).⁵⁹⁹ The picture was not secured because the 5th Earl, who appears to have assessed it instead of Borenius, considered it to be 'not worth more than £500' – far below Borenius's suggested valuation of 1250 guineas (around £1300).⁶⁰⁰ The painting was subsequently purchased by the dealer Asher Wertheimer for £2,500; the 6th Earl was 'most disappointed' not to have acquired it, noting that 'the picture is worth more to me than to anybody else' due to its ancestral connection.⁶⁰¹ There was a portrait of Lady Jane Coleman already at Harewood House, by

in *The Fashioning and Functioning of the British Country House* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1989), 133–154, p. 135. This taste was adopted by some twentieth-century middle-class collectors such as James Buchanan. The 4th Marquess of Bute also amassed a considerable collection of horse pictures in the twentieth century, responding to his family's history and cultural heritage; see Oliver Cox, 'Sporting Art and Sporting Life: Art and Archives at Mount Stuart', *Art & The Country House*, 20 November 2020 <<https://artandthecountryhouse.com/essays/essays-index/sporting-art-and-sporting-life-art-and-archives-at-mount-stuart>> [accessed 26 September 2022].

⁵⁹⁷ Receipt from The Fine Art Society, 19 December 1927, HHTD:2001.1.33. The Lascelles and Lane-Fox families of nearby Bramham Park had a long traditional association with the Bramham Moor Hunt. The equestrian portrait of *Henry, 3rd Earl of Harewood*, by Francis Grant, R.A., depicts the sitter in his role as Master of the Hounds; Jones, p. 187.

⁵⁹⁸ B. 499, B. 450.

⁵⁹⁹ Telegram from Borenius to 6th Earl, 18 May 1917, 5CHHA, box 6, no. 153.

⁶⁰⁰ 6th Earl to Borenius, 20 May 1917, TBA; telegram from Borenius to 6th Earl, enclosed in letter from 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 18 May 1917, 5CHHA, box 6, no. 153. It is not clear why the 5th Earl was responsible for assessing and (the 6th Earl hoped) acquiring the Reynolds; it is the only known instance of this occurring.

⁶⁰¹ 6th Earl to Borenius, 21 May 1917, TBA. It is unclear from correspondence why the 6th Earl did not eventually buy this portrait. It has not been possible to trace its current location; it may be related to the portrait

Henry Singleton (1766–1839), however, a portrait by Reynolds would have been highly desirable, not least because there was already a portrait by Reynolds of Edwin Lascelles at Harewood, so the two could form a pair.⁶⁰² There were six Reynolds portraits at Harewood in the early twentieth century, which increased to seven when the 6th Earl inherited *Mrs Hardinge* in 1916, and his awareness of their importance to his cultural heritage is reflected in the 6th Earl's purchase of a set of 'edition de luxe' volumes of *The Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, interleaved with proof engravings, in 1920, for the significant sum of £300.⁶⁰³

Aristocratic portraits by the great eighteenth-century artists, especially those depicting women sitters, were also particularly desirable to American and British middle-class collectors in the early twentieth century.⁶⁰⁴ Portraits by Gainsborough, Lawrence, and Romney were favoured, as well as earlier ones by Anthony van Dyck; the latter artist achieved a record-breaking sum of £103,000 in 1906, which was given by the American businessman P.A.B. Widener (1834-1915) for *Marchesa Grimaldi-Cattaneo*.⁶⁰⁵ The 6th Earl had no need to compete with wealthier collectors in this area since Harewood House contained many full-length portraits of his own ancestors by leading artists such as Reynolds, Thomas Gainsborough, and Sir Thomas Lawrence.⁶⁰⁶ He did, however, acquire smaller works relating to his family which were less desirable to other collectors. These include three half-length portraits by Eden Upton Eddis (1812–1901) of *Henry Lascelles, 2nd Earl of Harewood* and two of his daughters, *Lady Harriet Lascelles, Countess of Sheffield* and *Lady Frances Hope*; the first two works were bought by Borenus on the 6th Earl's behalf at Sotheby's in 1928, while the latter was acquired privately.⁶⁰⁷

As well as works on canvas, the 6th Earl acquired a miniature of *Lady Jane Coleman* by renowned miniature artist Richard Cosway (1742–1821) (whose portrait of *Mrs Scott and her daughter Henrietta* he had inherited from the Marquess of Clanricarde), a drawing of *George Canning* (a relation through the Clanricarde branch of the family) by Sir Thomas Lawrence, and two further family portraits by George Richmond (1809–1896) (who painted the well-

of 'Mrs. Edwin Lascelles' by Reynolds purchased by Henry Huntington in 1913 which was destroyed by fire in 1985.

⁶⁰² B.447, B.408. Singleton had also painted Lady Jane Coleman; B.446.

⁶⁰³ Invoice from Leggatt Brothers to 6th Earl, July 1920, HHTD:2003.1.23. The 6th Earl also acquired books relating to other aspects of the Harewood portrait collection, including Ronald Sutherland, Lord Gower, and Algernon Graves, *Sir Thomas Lawrence, with a catalogue of the artist's exhibited and engraved works, compiled by Algernon Graves* (London: Goupil & Co., 1900).

⁶⁰⁴ Reitlinger, pp. 182–197; Cannadine, 'Pictures Across the Pond: Perspectives and Retrospectives', p. 19.

⁶⁰⁵ Reitlinger, p. 181.

⁶⁰⁶ Some of these were described in Bolton.

⁶⁰⁷ B. 258, 259, 260. Invoice dated 22 February 1928, HHTD:2000.1.49.

known full-length portrait of Louisa, 3rd Countess of Harewood, who oversaw the changes made to Harewood by Charles Barry during the nineteenth century).⁶⁰⁸ These portraits enhanced the principal collection of full-length family portraits on canvas which were hung in the Gallery at Harewood House, illustrating the Lascelles family's noble genealogy.

As well as acquiring portraits of family members, the 6th Earl also purchased several portraits of Harewood House itself and the surrounding area. As aristocratic landowners, the Lascelles family had strong historic links with their local communities in West Yorkshire, not only those on the Harewood estate; several Earls of Harewood, for instance, had held the role of Lord Lieutenant of West Riding, including the 6th Earl.⁶⁰⁹ Acquiring and displaying works of art which depicted their local area helped to highlight this association, and assert the high status and authority of the Lascelles family. Examples of such works already existed at Harewood, for example, the Dining Room was dominated, as noted, by Francis Grant's large equestrian portrait of the 3rd Earl of Harewood as Master of Hounds of the Bramham Moor Hunt.⁶¹⁰ Of particular significance among the 6th Earl's acquisitions in this area are two watercolours by Thomas Malton (1748–1804), six watercolours and two pencil drawings by Thomas Girtin (1775–1802), and a watercolour by J.M.W. Turner (1775–1851).⁶¹¹ Beau Lascelles, eldest son of the 1st Earl of Harewood, was an important early patron of English watercolour artists around the turn of the nineteenth century. He took art lessons from Girtin and invited Turner to paint Harewood House, prompting the artist's tour of the North of England which is recognised as a significant moment in his career.⁶¹² Beau amassed a significant collection of English watercolours which he kept in his London home on Hanover Square, also called Harewood House, however the majority of these pictures were sold in 1858.⁶¹³ The 6th Earl's (re-)acquisition of works previously in the Harewood collection was therefore a conscious decision aiming to restore an absence in the family patrimony, and

⁶⁰⁸ B. 368, 417 and 418 (the miniature was not catalogued by Borenus).

⁶⁰⁹ List of Societies with which Lord Harewood is connected, 6EHHA.

⁶¹⁰ An engraved plaque on the painting's frame notes that the picture was presented to the 3rd Earl on 18 January 1848 by members of the Hunt, in gratitude to him and the 2nd Earl for 'keeping the hounds'.

⁶¹¹ B. 277–278, 306–308, 310–313, and 472; one Girtin was not included in Borenus's catalogue. His purchases in this area were also accompanied by literary acquisitions, including Randall Davies, *Thomas Girtin's watercolours* (London: The Studio, 1924). In 1921 the 6th Earl purchased a morocco leather-bound copy of J.M.W. Turner's *Liber Studiorum* from Maggs Bros for £95; Invoice from Maggs Bros, Conduit Street, London, to 6th Earl, 20 September 1921, HHTD:2000.1.5.

⁶¹² See Hill, *Harewood Masterpieces*; David Hill, *Turner in the North: A Tour through Derbyshire, Yorkshire, Durham, Northumberland, the Scottish Borders, the Lake District, Lancashire, and Lincolnshire in the Year 1797* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996).

⁶¹³ *Collection of Water-colour drawings at Harewood House, Hanover Square: [...] The property of a nobleman [...] which will be sold by auction by Messrs Christie and Manson [...] on Saturday, May 1, 1858*, HHTD:2016.283.

complicates the dominant narrative that aristocrats during this period were primarily vendors of their cultural heritage.

The significance of these works on paper is reflected in the longevity of the 6th Earl's interest in them, with known acquisitions spanning from 1919 to 1937, and the prices he was willing to pay, the highest being £450 for a watercolour of *Harewood House* by Girtin bought from T. Palser and Sons in 1927 (fig. 23).⁶¹⁴ Their importance within the Harewood patrimony is further reinforced by the fact that Princess Mary displayed many of these watercolours in her own rooms on the state floor at Harewood House – like oil paintings, in gilt frames – and purchased a number of related works herself.⁶¹⁵ These acquisitions include a watercolour by Girtin of *Harewood Bridge* and four views of Harewood painted by Beau Lascelles himself, all acquired between 1931 and 1936.⁶¹⁶ Princess Mary's picture acquisitions were less extensive than her husband's, but similarly adhere to the traditional aristocratic taste for pictures relating to one's own heritage. Since Harewood House became her home from 1930, it follows that she adopted the Lascelles family's interest in early English watercolour paintings depicting the house and its surrounding area. This dovetailed with Princess Mary's interest in her own royal heritage, demonstrated through her purchases of pictures of York Cottage at Sandringham, Balmoral, and Buckingham Palace.⁶¹⁷

As the above discussion demonstrates, the 6th Earl's collecting of British pictures was informed by his desire to restore and build upon his family's artistic heritage. While this was at times literal and involved buying pictures which had originally been commissioned by Lascelles family members, in other cases it is shown through the 6th Earl's adherence to aristocratic tastes and the style of the existing Harewood collection. John Singer Sargent (1856–1925), a well-known society portraitist whom the 6th Earl had met in the trenches during the First World War, produced charcoal drawings of the 6th Earl and Princess Mary shortly after their marriage.⁶¹⁸ Around the same time Sargent had drawn similar portraits of Princess Mary's brother and sister-in-law, the Duke of York and Lady Elizabeth Bowes–Lyon (later King George VI and Queen Elizabeth), and these charcoal portraits therefore visually emphasised the 6th Earl's royal status.⁶¹⁹ Three equestrian portraits were also commissioned from Alfred J.

⁶¹⁴ B. 307; invoice from T. Palser and Sons, 21 March 1927, HHTD:2003.1.24.

⁶¹⁵ Two works in pencil by Girtin were kept at Egerton House, Newmarket.

⁶¹⁶ B. 308; the works by Beau Lascelles were not catalogued by Borenus.

⁶¹⁷ B. 390–391, 393, and 439. Princess Mary's interest in her own family and heritage likely stemmed from her mother, Queen Mary, who actively acquired objects and works of art associated with her ancestors; Kathryn Jones.

⁶¹⁸ B. 435–436; for the latter see invoice from F.W. Purchas, July 1925, HHTD:2000.1.12.

⁶¹⁹ Sargent produced over six hundred charcoal portraits during the last two decades of his life; Elaine Kilmurray and Richard Ormond, eds., *Sargent* (London: Tate Gallery, 1998), p. 129. 'RCIN 453592 – Lady

Munnings (1878–1959); their figurative style and the depiction of aristocratic country pursuits ensured that these pictures would fit in with the older portraits in the Harewood collection.⁶²⁰ Both Munnings and Singer Sargent were members of the Royal Academy, as had been the major artists who painted previously generations of the Lascelles family.

In 1936 the 6th Earl commissioned a full-length portrait of himself from Sir William Nicholson (1872–1949) (fig. 24).⁶²¹ The 6th Earl is shown in the robes of the Order of the Garter – which he was granted by King George V in 1922 – over the uniform of a lord-lieutenant, a post which he held in West Yorkshire from 1927 until his death. Behind the 6th Earl is a standard bearing his coat of arms, and the gardens of Harewood House may be seen in the background. This is an imposing, ceremonial portrait, featuring many of the same elements – such as military uniform, robes, and a view of Harewood – as other Lascelles family portraits which were hung in the Dining Room at Harewood House. This aristocratic portrait may be fruitfully compared with another painted by Nicholson of William Pleydell-Bouverie, 7th Earl of Radnor (1895–1968), which is at Longford Castle, Salisbury; that picture is half-length, and shows the Earl seated at a table wearing a tweed jacket.⁶²² The Radnor portrait demonstrates a modern approach to depicting aristocrats, showing the Earl as a country gentleman who may have just sat down after partaking in some country pursuit such as a shoot. Meanwhile, the grandeur and symbolism in the portrait of the 6th Earl places it firmly within the historic aristocratic tradition.

ii. Continental old master paintings

The decision taken by the 6th Earl of Harewood to collect continental old master paintings was informed by his ancestors' lack of engagement in this field; however, it is interesting to note one distinct group of continental pictures whose acquisition was likely directly influenced by the 2nd Marquess of Clanricarde. One of the paintings inherited in 1916 by the 6th Earl was a small copy by David Teniers Jr. (1610–1690) of Palma Giovane's (1544–1628) *Apollo Flaying Marsyas*, after the original in the collection of the Archduke Leopold William (1614–1662), to whom Teniers was court painter.⁶²³ This was one of an extensive series of copies produced by Teniers after pictures in the Archduke's collection, and it appears to have sparked the 6th Earl's

Elizabeth Bowes-Lyon', *Royal Collection Trust* <<https://www.rct.uk/collection/themes/exhibitions/watercolours-and-drawings-in-the-collection-of-queen-elizabeth-the-q-3>> [Accessed 30 July 2023].

⁶²⁰ B. 381–383; Alfred J. Munnings, *The Second Burst* (London: Museum Press, 1951), vol. 2, p. 225.

⁶²¹ B. 386.

⁶²² Seen during a visit to Longford Castle on 7 February 2020 and highlighted to the author by Susanna Avery-Quash.

⁶²³ B. 125 (XXII).

interest, since he continued to acquire related works throughout his lifetime.⁶²⁴ The 6th Earl arranged works from this series together in a small drawing room at Chesterfield House (fig. 25). The Teniers pictures are distinct from the rest of the 6th Earl's collection since he expressed no great interest in Flemish pictures, had 'taken a dislike to little pictures', and usually did not acquire copies, even old ones.⁶²⁵ Yet the significance of this collection to the 6th Earl was recognised by Princess Mary, who on several occasions purchased pictures from the series as gifts for her husband, and who continued to add to the collection after his death.⁶²⁶ Though the 6th Earl undoubtedly developed an art historical interest in the Teniers copies – reflected in his creation of an album of photographs of prints made after the paintings – the assembly of this collection was inspired by his great-uncle, from whom he had inherited the first picture in this series, as well as the fortune that had enabled him to pursue collecting in the first place.⁶²⁷

While the 6th Earl's receipt of the Clanricarde inheritance was a crucial moment in the formation of his collection, as will be discussed, his interest in art predates that event. The first known picture acquisitions made by the 6th Earl occurred between 1905 and 1907 when he lived in Rome (fig. 26). This was not a leisurely Grand Tour, as the 6th Earl was in Rome for work; however, this phase of collecting may in many ways be compared to the souvenir-hunting of earlier Grand Tourists.⁶²⁸ Only one letter written by the 6th Earl during this period has been identified so far in the Harewood archive, but it evidences that the 6th Earl visited other cities in Italy including Venice, Perugia, and Assisi, often with the specific intention of seeing art.⁶²⁹ The 6th Earl wrote from Rome thoughtfully and with great enthusiasm about its historical culture. Venice in particular appears to have captured his interest, not only its art but also its history and wider culture, as he purchased several books on these subjects that were

⁶²⁴ B. 125 (I–XXV), excluding 125 (XXII). Borenius, *Catalogue of the Pictures and Drawings at Harewood House*, p. 67. Interestingly, the 6th Earl would go on to acquire one original painting from that collection, *The Death of Actaeon* by Titian – he knew of this provenance at the time of purchase, though the importance of that painting suggests that the link to the Teniers series was not the deciding factor in the acquisition; invoice from Colnaghi to the 6th Earl, August 1919, HHTD:2003.1.8.

⁶²⁵ Edward Lascelles (younger brother of the 6th Earl) to 5th Countess, 1 June 1916, Eddy's war letters, no. 67.

⁶²⁶ Princess Mary to Borenius, 28 December 1937, TBA, enclosing a cheque of £20 for the Teniers picture 'with which Harry is delighted'; W.A. Martin to Princess Mary, 24 October 1949, HHTD:2015.66, thanking her for a cheque for £65.5 for a small picture by Teniers purchased by Alec Martin on her behalf at Christie's no 21 October 1949, lot 58. Martin noted, 'The picture will make a good addition to your "Teniers Gallery"'.
⁶²⁷ 6th Earl to H. Clifford-Smith, 26 December 1931, 6EHHA, box 18. The album remains at Harewood House.

⁶²⁸ James Stourton, 'The Revolving Door: Four Centuries of British Collecting', in *British Models of Art Collecting and the American Response: Reflections Across the Pond*, ed. by Inge Reist, 27–43, pp. 30–31.

⁶²⁹ 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 21 May 1907, 5CHHA, box 5. The 6th Earl visited an exhibition of Umbrian art in Perugia and saw Giotto's work at Assisi.

published around the time of his Rome stay.⁶³⁰ The 6th Earl drew upon his experiences seeing art in Italy years later when evaluating potential acquisitions, for instance, in a letter to Borenius in 1917 he asked: ‘Am I right in believing V. Crivelli to be a brother of Carlo Crivelli? In any case I have seen pictures by Vittore Crivelli in Italy, and I think in Venice.’⁶³¹ The 6th Earl was far from the only collector to be inspired by his experience in Italy during this period; for example, Isabella Stewart Gardner had spent several summers in Venice before she began collaborating with Bernard Berenson in the mid-1890s, and developed an appreciation for Italian Renaissance art which influenced her collecting.⁶³²

Six acquisitions may be dated to the 6th Earl’s Italian period with certainty, including a pair of eighteenth-century French landscapes, and two Italian pastoral scenes by the Flemish artist Jan Philip Spalthof (c. 1680–c. 1722).⁶³³ Spalthof’s work had previously been known only through recorded evidence, and the 6th Earl’s purchases have been cited as evidence of his ‘informed and precocious’ taste, however the 6th Earl at the time confessed ‘I don’t know who he [Spalthof] is, & should like to’.⁶³⁴ Interestingly, even at this early stage the 6th Earl was conscious that his acquisitions would later join his family’s cultural heritage at Harewood House; regarding the paintings by Spalthof, he told his mother ‘I think they would look well in the Old Library’.⁶³⁵ As early as 1907, the 6th Earl expressed an interest in buying a ‘very good’ portrait of St Francis by Antonio da Pollaiuolo (1433–1498), but since it was ‘rather expensive’ – and his personal allowance of £750 ‘did not lend itself to expensive living’ – he probably decided against it.⁶³⁶ He did, however purchase a small battle scene by the Milanese artist Ambrogio Borgognone (c. 1470s–1523/1524) and a portrait of a man in a turban believed initially to be Venetian, both of which must have been sold before 1936 since neither was catalogued by Borenius. The 6th Earl’s known early purchases were varied, inexpensive, and exhibit no strong preference for any particular school, period, or subject matter. Nevertheless, his time in Italy was surely formative in his artistic education, and his purchases and comments already indicate an early interest in Italian Renaissance art.

The 6th Earl also demonstrated an early interest in the commercial potential of collecting continental old master paintings. For example, in 1907, the 6th Earl wrote to his mother about

⁶³⁰ These remain at Harewood and feature the 6th Earl’s earliest bookplate, dating their acquisition to before 1922: Berenson; Mortimer Menpes, *Venice* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1904); Thomas Okey, *The old Venetian palaces and old Venetian folk* (London: J.M. Dent, 1907).

⁶³¹ 6th Earl to Borenius, 21 June 1917, TBA.

⁶³² Saltzman, p. 47.

⁶³³ B. 93–94 (French) and 122–123 (Spalthof).

⁶³⁴ 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 21 May 1907, 5CHHA, box 5; Mauchline, p. 144.

⁶³⁵ 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 21 May 1907, 5CHHA, box 5.

⁶³⁶ 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 21 May 1907, 5CHHA, box 5; Mauchline, p. 144.

the Borgognone which he had acquired for 80 francs: ‘I hope it is worth more, but I don’t know’.⁶³⁷ A decade later he wrote a more extensive letter from the trenches noting several recent transatlantic sales which demonstrated the increasing value of old master paintings, which he hoped would also apply to his own purchases:

The only good Paolo Veronese which I have ever seen for sale was from Stafford House and fetched nothing – about £1200 I think – and went to America I believe. Of course I had no money then, or it would be mine now! That picture, and a pair of pictures in Arthur Grenfell’s sale [Christie’s, June 1914] by Paolo Uccelli (fetched about £1500 also) I restrained myself with the greatest difficulty from buying. The Uccello’s have since been sold in America for about £30,000 I hear! And are probably worth it! One of these days my Pollaiuolo will be worth £10000 – although I only gave £924 for it!⁶³⁸

While significant price increases could result from fresh scholarship, and the 6th Earl’s interest in this area could therefore be connoisseurial, he was also likely conscious of the potential for art to be utilised as an investment. The 6th Earl was not immune to the economic challenges facing other members of the aristocracy during this period, and he recognised, as others did, that art was an asset which could be comparatively easily liquidated when funds were required. The capital value of art and its potential role in investments was acknowledged at this time. In Sir Charles Holmes’s guide to *Pictures and Picture Collecting* (1903), for instance, the author adopted ‘a business point of view’ and recommended only picture groups that he considered to be good investments.⁶³⁹ It was also ‘as a mere matter of business’ that Holmes recommended wealthy collectors to employ an experienced advisor, who ‘would probably save expense in the end’.⁶⁴⁰ Yet while the 6th Earl of Harewood often asked Borenius’s opinion regarding how much he should pay for particular acquisitions, he did not always restrain himself to the advised price, believing that ‘the best thing of its kind is always worth paying for, if one can’t get it without!’⁶⁴¹ However, commercial value was not the principal factor weighing in the 6th Earl’s

⁶³⁷ 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 21 May 1907, 5CHHA, box 5. This must have been sold before 1936 as it was not catalogued by Borenius.

⁶³⁸ 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 9 June 1917 5CHHA, box 5, no. 159. The Veronese referenced was likely the *Supper at Emmaus* sold in 1913 by the Duke of Sutherland at Christie’s for £1,427.10s, now in Rotterdam: Reitlinger, p. 469; Thomas Bodkin, ‘Review of Art Prices Current 1913-14. Vol. VII, by G. Ingram Smyth’ *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 7.28 (December 1918), 671–672, p. 672.

⁶³⁹ Charles Holmes, *Pictures and Picture Collecting* (London: A. Treherne & Co., 1910), p. 5.

⁶⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁶⁴¹ 6th Earl to Borenius, 24 June 1917, TBA. For example, Borenius initially advised the 6th Earl that a drawing by Veronese was not worth more than £300. The 6th Earl set a more generous limit for bidding at up to 500 guineas, and eventually gave £1816 for the drawing when his prior limit was found to be insufficient: 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 3 July 1917, 5CHHA, box 6, 166; 6th Earl to Borenius, 24 June 1917, and 17 July 1917, both TBA.

determination to acquire a particular work of art.

Of the early purchases described above, only four remained in the collection when it was catalogued by Borenius in 1936.⁶⁴² The 6th Earl's decision to sell the remainder of the Italian purchases may reflect a desire to weed his collection of paintings which no longer fitted within the concept of his collection as a whole; this was a practice followed by other collectors such as the banker Robert Benson (1850–1929).⁶⁴³ However, only three of the continental old masters purchased from 1916 onwards were subsequently sold by the 6th Earl. This likely reflects not only the fact that his collecting after this date became more focused, as will shortly be discussed, but also the financial ease which the Clanricarde inheritance afforded him, reducing the likelihood of needing to realise the capital value of his cultural assets.

The three paintings sold were: *The Holy Family with Sts Anne and Catherine of Alexandria* by Jusepe de Ribera (1591–1652) (sold in 1934 to Seligmann and Rey for the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York);⁶⁴⁴ Jacopo Bassano's (1510–1592) *Parable of the Sower* (sold in 1934 and acquired by Heinrich, Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza de Kászon (1875–1947));⁶⁴⁵ and the very large Rubens (1577–1640) of *Queen Tomyris* (sold in 1941, after two years of trying to find a buyer, to Robert Langton Douglas (1864–1951) acting on behalf of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, for \$53,500) (fig. 27).⁶⁴⁶ The timing of these sales in the 1930s and early 1940s indicates that they were directly linked to the 6th Earl's increased expenditure on the modernisation and renovation of Harewood House; there is no evidence that he placed the proceeds of art sales into other investment opportunities.⁶⁴⁷ These sales therefore demonstrate the same motivation that had caused the 6th Earl to acquire continental old master paintings in

⁶⁴² B. 93–94 and 122–123.

⁶⁴³ Benson and Borenius p. xix.

⁶⁴⁴ 'Jusepe de Ribera (Called Lo Spagnoletto), *The Holy Family with Sts Anne and Catherine of Alexandria*', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art* <<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/437455>> [accessed 15 October 2021].

⁶⁴⁵ 'The Parable of the Sower', *Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza* <<https://www.museothyssen.org/en/collection/artists/bassano-jacopo/parable-sower>> [accessed 28 November 2019].

⁶⁴⁶ 'Head of Cyrus Brought to Queen Tomyris', *Museum of Fine Arts Boston* <<https://collections.mfa.org/objects/32755/head-of-cyrus-brought-to-queen-tomyris;jsessionid=2B3426014ABFD174747C80EFDC658CF6>> [accessed 4 December 2019]. Princess Mary to Tancred Borenius, 2 July 1939, TBA: 'Harry hopes you may be able to tell him of a possible purchaser of the Rubens.' Duveen Brothers noted privately: 'Langton Douglas has pictures out here [in America] on consignment from Lord Harwood [*sic*]'; internal communication from New York to London, 13 May 1942, Duveen Brothers Archive, GRI, Correspondence: Borenius, Dr. Tancred, 1928–1945, 960015, b.353, f.10.

⁶⁴⁷ The 6th Earl also sold Chesterfield House around this time, which dealing firm Duveen Brothers took to show 'that he is in need of money', however, another factor in this case was the purchase in 1931 by King George V and Queen Mary of 32 Green Street for use by Princess Mary and the 6th Earl, making the maintenance of a second London property an unnecessary expense; internal note from London to New York, 27 October 1931, 'Re Lord Harewood', Duveen Brothers records, Series II.E., 960015 (bx.362,f.1).

the first place, namely, the enhancement of his cultural heritage. Indeed, the selection of paintings to be sold was not solely guided by potential profit. This is demonstrated by the fact that the 6th Earl actually sold his large Rubens for less than he had paid, while he refused several offers in the region of £100,000 for Titian's (c. 1485/1490–1576) *Death of Actaeon*, which would have represented a significant profit.⁶⁴⁸ The contribution of each picture to the 6th Earl's cultural heritage was an important factor; the Rubens was too large to hang satisfactorily at Harewood House, so could be sold without injury, while the Titian served such an important role in the 6th Earl's collection that it was 'the last one that [he] would be inclined to sell.'⁶⁴⁹

The 6th Earl of Harewood's surprise inheritance of the Clanricarde fortune in 1916 precipitated a gear-change in both the pace and focus of acquisitions, which was sustained until the end of 1921. The 6th Earl's high ambitions for his old master collection are indicated by the fact that he might have acquired Titian's largest group portrait *The Vendramin Family* if, as he suspected, it had been sold and 'used to pay the death-duties' after the death of the 7th Earl of Northumberland in 1918.⁶⁵⁰ The 6th Earl's expectation that the death of the male head of an aristocratic family would be followed by the sale of major objects of its cultural heritage indicates how common that pattern had become by the early twentieth century. Writing to Borenius, the 6th Earl requested 'I hope you will keep your ears open in case you should hear anything about it. I think it will be offered to me if it is in the market – but I am not absolutely sure'.⁶⁵¹ It is noteworthy that the 6th Earl considered himself to be well known enough as a collector interested in Venetian works of this period that he would be offered the picture if it entered the market, particularly if the owners preferred to ensure its retention in Britain rather than risk its export to America.

In the event, *The Vendramin Family* was not sold until 1929; by that date, the staff and trustees of the National Gallery had placed the picture on its list of desirable and nationally-important works of art in private ownership – known as the Paramount List – which in 1922

⁶⁴⁸ Internal memo from the London to the New York branch of Duveen Brothers, 23 June 1942, Duveen Brothers records, Series II.A, GRI. The conversion rate from USD to GBP had been set by the British government in 1940 at \$4.05 to £1. The Rubens' sale price therefore converted to less than £14,000, well under the £21,000 the 6th Earl had paid in 1919; David Challis, *Archival Currency Converter 1916–1940*, 2019 <https://canvasresources-prod.le.unimelb.edu.au/projects/CURRENCY_CALC/> [accessed 1 August 2023].

⁶⁴⁹ Internal memo from the London to the New York branch of Duveen Brothers, 23 June 1942, Duveen Brothers records, Series II.A, GRI. The 6th Earl wrote to Ernest Duveen in 1944 stating that while he might consider a 'very big' offer for the picture, he would not be willing to send it across the Atlantic in advance of any sale, as had been requested; 6th Earl to Ernest Duveen, 23 April 1944, Duveen brothers records, Series II.A, file regarding 'Harewood Collection, Titian's Diana and Actaeon, ca. 1930–1951', 960015 (bx.249, f.23).

⁶⁵⁰ 6th Earl to Borenius, 23 May 1918, TBA.

⁶⁵¹ Ibid.

the government had agreed to contribute towards the purchase of if they ever came onto the market.⁶⁵² Upon the painting's sale in 1929 it was acquired by the National Gallery with contributions from the National Art Collections Fund, the collector Samuel Courtauld, and the dealer Sir Joseph Duveen, for the significant sum of £122,000.⁶⁵³ There is no evidence that the 6th Earl attempted to acquire *The Vendramin Family* in 1929; by that date, *The Death of Actaeon* had instead taken its place in the 6th Earl's collection to represent Titian's major works.

In total, between 1916 and 1921 the 6th Earl purchased around forty continental old master pictures, of which more than three-quarters were by Italian artists. Most of the Italian pictures dated to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and half were by artists from Venice or the Veneto. The 6th Earl retained an interest in this field after his major spending period; his acquisitions made after 1922 included three small works by Sebastiano Ricci (1659–1734).⁶⁵⁴ These were probably acquired for decorative purposes, since they are later in date than most of the 6th Earl's Venetian works, and at the time of their purchase in 1931 he was focused on the restoration and updates taking place at Harewood House. The predominance of pictures by Venetian artists in the 6th Earl's collection was not accidental; in fact, his interest in Venetian art was already evident during his years in Rome. In May 1907 the 6th Earl wrote the following passage:

I bought a little portrait of a man in a turban a week ago for 20 francs, hoping it was Venetian; but I fear it is German & I have taken a dislike to it.⁶⁵⁵

The fact that the 6th Earl lost interest in a picture specifically because he no longer believed it to be by a Venetian artist indicates a specific interest in that direction, though this did not prevent him from buying pictures from other continental schools during that early period. A later, stronger statement made by the 6th Earl confirms that by mid-1917 he had deliberately focused his collecting in this area: 'I want to get pictures by the Venetian artists'.⁶⁵⁶ His interest was centred on particular fifteenth- and sixteenth-century artists whose works he wished to

⁶⁵² The List was compiled by staff and trustees of the National Gallery and initially contained seven works of art, which increased to ten in 1927; it included four Titians, a Holbein, and a Hans Memling; Alan Crookham, National Gallery Research Centre Manager, email correspondence, 6 May 2022. The Curzon Report, published in 1915, had recommended that the Trustees of the National Gallery approach owners of pictures 'essential or highly desirable for the nation' to seek first refusal for the Gallery if they chose to sell, which arguably influenced the production of the Paramount List in 1922; Usher, pp. 54–55.

⁶⁵³ NG4452, NGTMS; Reitlinger, p. 467.

⁶⁵⁴ B. 52–54.

⁶⁵⁵ 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 21 May 1907, 5CHHA, box 5.

⁶⁵⁶ 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 3 July 1917, 5CHHA, box 6, no. 166

acquire; in his correspondence he specifically named Gentile Bellini (c. 1429–1507), Giovanni Bellini (1430–1516), Carlo Crivelli (1435–1495), Tintoretto (c. 1518–1594), and Veronese (1528–1588).⁶⁵⁷ This is not to say that subject matter was unimportant to the 6th Earl, but that in certain cases he would acquire a picture because it was attributed to a particular artist irrespective of who or what it depicted.

This focused approach to collecting aligned with the advice given by Sir Charles Holmes in his guide to *Pictures and Picture Collecting*, in which he recommended that men who were ‘rich’ but not ‘millionaires’ should collect systematically in one field.⁶⁵⁸ Success – defined by Holmes as building an ‘important’ collection – would require the collector to ‘know more about art’, though by limiting his purchases to one field he would naturally develop ‘the narrower knowledge of the specialist’.⁶⁵⁹ This approach was taken by a number of collectors during the early twentieth century, such as Robert Benson, who specialised in collecting the art of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Italy and was subsequently able to author his own catalogue.⁶⁶⁰

It may have been through discussions with Tancred Borenius that the 6th Earl’s existing interest in Venice crystallised into a deliberate collecting policy, informed by Borenius’s knowledge of the state of arts scholarship and the British art market. Scholarly interest in the art of Renaissance Venice increased towards the end of the nineteenth century with the emergence of publications such as Crowe and Cavalcaselle’s *History of Painting in North Italy* in 1871 and Bernard Berenson’s 1894 monograph on *The Venetian Painters of the Renaissance*.⁶⁶¹ Three editions of Roger Fry’s first book on *Giovanni Bellini* were published between 1899 and 1901, indicating its great popularity.⁶⁶² A number of exhibitions on Venetian art were also held in London, including one at the New Gallery in 1894, and two held by the BFAC in 1912 and 1914; the 6th Earl acquired catalogues of the latter two exhibitions in 1917.⁶⁶³ By the 1920s, when the 6th Earl’s most active collecting period was drawing to a close,

⁶⁵⁷ 6th Earl to Borenius, 18 January 1919 and 14 May 1918, TBA; 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 3 July 1917, 5CHHA, box 5, no. 166.

⁶⁵⁸ Holmes, *Pictures and Picture Collecting*, p. 25.

⁶⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 24–25.

⁶⁶⁰ Benson and Borenius. Benson also authored the Prefatory Note in the BFAC exhibition catalogue of *The Venetian School: Pictures by Titian and his Contemporaries*, pp. 8–16.

⁶⁶¹ Joseph Archer Crowe and Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle, *A History of Painting in North Italy: Venice, Padua, Vicenza, Berona, Ferrara, Milan, Friuli, Brescia, from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century* (London: John Murray, 1871); Berenson.

⁶⁶² Roger Fry, *Giovanni Bellini* (London: At the Sign of the Unicorn, 1899).

⁶⁶³ *Exhibition of Venetian Art; The New Gallery, Regent Street, 1894–95* (London: The New Gallery, 1894); *Catalogue of a Collection of Pictures of the Early Venetian School and Other Works of Art; The Venetian School: Pictures by Titian and His Contemporaries*.

connoisseurs were examining Venetian painting ‘with a renewed interest and closer attention’ in order to distinguish the different artists’ oeuvres; among the subsequent publications was German art historian Detlev von Hadeln’s work on Tintoretto.⁶⁶⁴ The revived interest in Venetian art around this time is also reflected in the acquisitions of the National Gallery. In 1918, for example, the Gallery purchased two oil sketches of the Trojan Horse by Giovanni Domenico Tiepolo.⁶⁶⁵ The 1924 bequest of Dr Ludwig Mond further enhanced the Gallery’s collections in this field, and included works by Giovanni Bellini, Alessandro Longhi, Luca Signorelli, Sodoma, and Titian.⁶⁶⁶ The attention given by the 6th Earl to Venetian painting in particular was part of a broader contemporary trend seen in scholarship and institutional acquisitions.

As a collector interested in Venetian Renaissance works of art, it is unsurprising that the 6th Earl of Harewood was willing to give a significant sum of money in order to secure a major work by Titian.⁶⁶⁷ Indeed, the American interest in this field would have helped to drive prices upward; for example, in 1896 Isabella Stewart Gardner had paid £20,600 for Titian’s *Rape of Europa*, which she acquired from Lord Darnley through Colnaghi, and in 1914 Hugh Lane sold the *Portrait of a Man in a Red Cap* to Henry Clay Frick for £50,000.⁶⁶⁸ The sum of £60,000 which the 6th Earl paid Colnaghi for *The Death of Actaeon* – given in two instalments in 1919 and 1920 – made this his most expensive acquisition by a considerable margin of almost £40,000.⁶⁶⁹ The high purchase price reflected the demand for works by Titian as well as the prestige attached to *The Death of Actaeon*, which was part of a series of *poesie* commissioned by King Philip II of Spain and was likely the painting described as ‘Actaeon mauled by his hounds’ in a surviving letter from the artist to patron.⁶⁷⁰ The painting had been exhibited publicly in Britain on at least five occasions during the nineteenth century, so was well known, as was its illustrious provenance; it had been owned by important continental collectors including Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, Queen Christina of Sweden (1626–1689), and Philippe

⁶⁶⁴ Barbara Pezzini and Michael G. Brennan, ‘Provenance as a History of Change: From Calvi in Scotland to Tintoretto in America’, *Journal of the History of Collections*, 30.1 (2018), 77–89.

⁶⁶⁵ NGTMS: NG3318 and NG3319.

⁶⁶⁶ NGTMS.

⁶⁶⁷ On the collecting of Titian by the National Gallery, see Susanna Avery-Quash, ‘Titian at the National Gallery, London: An unchanging reputation?’, in Peter Humfrey, ed., *The Reception of Titian in Britain: from Reynolds to Ruskin* (Turnhout: Brepols 2013), 215–228.

⁶⁶⁸ Howard, ‘Colnaghi and the Italian Renaissance: 250 Years of Dealing and Collecting’, pp. 52–53; Reitlinger, p. 466.

⁶⁶⁹ Invoices from Colnaghi to 6th Earl, August 1919, HHTD:2003.1.7a and HHTD:2003.1.8. The second most expensive painting was Rubens’s *Queen Tomyris with the Head of Cyrus*, for which the 6th Earl gave £21,000; invoice from Arthur Ruck to the 6th Earl, 26 June 1919, HHTD:2003.1.15.

⁶⁷⁰ Borenus, *Catalogue of the Pictures and Drawings at Harewood House*, pp. 34–37. *The Death of Actaeon* was never delivered to Spain and may have remained in Titian’s studio upon his death.

d'Orléans, Duc d'Orléans (1674–1723).⁶⁷¹ The full provenance and exhibition history of *The Death of Actaeon*, as well as historic information, were cited in full in the invoice for the painting sent to the 6th Earl by Colnaghi (fig. 28).⁶⁷²

The Death of Actaeon served a central role in the 6th Earl of Harewood's collection, and its importance was reflected in the length of Borenus's catalogue entry for the work in 1936 as well as its prominent inclusion in future guide books (fig. 29).⁶⁷³ *Actaeon* had been offered to the National Gallery by the 3rd Earl Brownlow (a Trustee of the Gallery) in 1914 for just £5000, the low price being a result of Brownlow's anxiety to see the picture in the Gallery, recognising the national importance attached to it.⁶⁷⁴ In the event the acquisition was rejected, possibly because of the influential Trustee Alfred de Rothschild who reportedly believed the picture 'would not fetch £5 at Christie's'.⁶⁷⁵ While details of the negotiations between Brownlow, Colnaghi, and the 6th Earl are not known, it is possible that Brownlow's desire for the painting to remain in Britain supported his sale to the 6th Earl of Harewood, and prevented him from seeking an American buyer for the work.

Another of the 6th Earl's more expensive acquisitions was the painting by El Greco (1541–1614) known as *A Man, A Woman, and A Monkey*, for which he gave £10,000 to Carfax Gallery in 1917 (fig. 30).⁶⁷⁶ The market for works by El Greco had expanded considerably from around 1900 onwards, thanks in part to the collecting activities of Henry (1847–1907) and Louisine Havemeyer (1855–1929), an American couple with extensive wealth made in the sugar industry, who made annual buying trips through Europe, including Spain, around this date.⁶⁷⁷ In London, Lionel Harris (1872–1943) established the Spanish Art Gallery on Conduit Street in 1907, which sold art and antiques imported from Spain, and the business was continued through the first half of the twentieth century by his sons.⁶⁷⁸ Aside from the Havemeyers, buyers for works by El Greco included Frick, who acquired *Man in Armour* from Knoedler in

⁶⁷¹ Borenus, *Catalogue of the Pictures and Drawings at Harewood House*, pp. 34–37. The invoice from Colnaghi recorded the exhibition history, provenance, and historic details such as the correspondence reference described above; HHTD:2003.1.8.

⁶⁷² HHTD:2003.1.8.

⁶⁷³ Borenus, *Catalogue of the Pictures and Drawings at Harewood House*, pp. 34–37; pamphlet guide to Harewood House printed by Walter Gardham, Leeds, likely produced during the 1930s or 1940s, 6EHHA.

⁶⁷⁴ Penny, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Sixteenth Century*, pp. 254–255.

⁶⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 255. On relationships between the National Gallery's trustees and director during this period, see Geddes Poole, *Stewards of the Nation's Art*, and 'Conspicuous Presumption'.

⁶⁷⁶ Invoice from A.B. Clifton (Carfax Gallery) to 6th Earl, 24 September 1917, HHTD:2003.1.35. The sum was paid by the solicitors' firm Messrs Peake, Bird, Collins & Co, which was at that time still processing the 6th Earl's inheritance from the 2nd Marquess of Clanricarde.

⁶⁷⁷ Reitlinger, p. 136; Saltzman, chap. IV.

⁶⁷⁸ Mark Westgarth, 'The Spanish Art Gallery', *Antique Dealers: The British Antique Trade in the 20th Century* <<https://antiquetrade.leeds.ac.uk/dealerships/39698>> [accessed 22 August 2022].

1912 for £31,000.⁶⁷⁹ The National Gallery purchased its first El Greco, *The Agony in the Garden of Gethsemane*, in 1919 for £5,250.⁶⁸⁰ A new scholarly interest in the artistic production of Spain – which had often been bypassed by Grand Tourists of the eighteenth century – and specifically work by El Greco was encouraged by the *Burlington Magazine* during the first two decades of the twentieth century, particularly by its co-Editor Roger Fry.⁶⁸¹ While some critics hailed El Greco as a precursor to Cézanne, Fry retained an historicistic approach that situated the artist within the context of seventeenth-century Spain.⁶⁸² Moreover, El Greco had worked in Venice and was inspired by the artistic production of that region, which perhaps explains why the 6th Earl was willing to pay a high price for a comparatively small picture by the artist which fell outside his principal field of collecting.⁶⁸³ Given the interest in works by El Greco from America, and the inability of the National Gallery to give large sums for works of art, El Greco's *A Man, A Woman, and A Monkey* was among the works at risk of leaving Britain during this period.

However, the high prices cited thus far were exceptional, and the vast majority of the 6th Earl's pictures cost him less than £5000 each, many less than £1000. Few of the prices paid for works acquired after 1922 are known; however, there is a notable shift in importance and function seen in the later purchases. The two most significant acquisitions made in this period were a picture of *St Jerome* by Giovanni Battista Moroni (1520–1578) bought from Lord Wimborne's 1923 sale at Christie's, and Antonio Vivarini's (1415–1480) *The Solitude of Mount Alvernia*, depicting St Francis of Assisi receiving the stigmata, which was acquired at Lord Carmichael of Skirling's 1926 sale at Sotheby's.⁶⁸⁴ The three remaining Italian pictures bought in this period were attributed vaguely to the sixteenth- or eighteenth-century schools, and the 6th Earl also bought a landscape by Spalhof which harks back to his earliest period of collecting in Rome thirty years earlier. The *ad hoc* nature of the 6th Earl's picture acquisitions after 1922 indicates that he was not actively seeking additions to his collection at this time but responded to the availability of desirable works of art, for instance as private collections were brought to the market.

⁶⁷⁹ Reitlinger, p. 333.

⁶⁸⁰ Ibid. NGTMS, NG3476. The National Gallery had acquired an El Greco from the Hamilton Palace sale of 1882, however, the work was then attributed to Titian.

⁶⁸¹ Barbara Pezzini and Ioannis Tzortzakakis, 'From Exotic Genius to Precursor of Modernity: El Greco in The Burlington Magazine (1903–1920)', *The Burlington Magazine Index Blog*, 2014

<<https://burlingtonindex.wordpress.com/2014/02/05/elgreco/>> [accessed 22 August 2022].

⁶⁸² Pezzini and Tzortzakakis.

⁶⁸³ Crete, where El Greco was born, was also at that time a Venetian colony; David Davies, ed., *El Greco* (London: National Gallery, 2003), pp. 19–21.

⁶⁸⁴ B. 44 and 75.

A conspicuous feature of the Harewood collection is the recurring figure of St Jerome, who is the primary subject of four pictures purchased by the 6th Earl – by Cima da Conegliano (1460–1528), Sodoma (1477–1549), Jan Wellens de Cock (c. 1480–1526), and Giovanni Battista Moroni (1520–1578) – and appears in two further paintings, by Antonio da Pollaiuolo (1433–1498) and Vincenzo Catena (1480–1531).⁶⁸⁵ While the inclusion of several pictures of the saint could be attributed to a quirk of supply to the art market, the profusion here surely cannot be coincidental. Furthermore, one of these is by a Flemish artist and therefore outside the 6th Earl's preference for Venetian pictures.⁶⁸⁶ The 6th Earl even owned a racehorse named 'St Jerome', and we must therefore take it that the life or image of the saint held some particular personal significance to the collector.⁶⁸⁷ A credible explanation recently discovered by this author may be found in an article written by Tancred Borenius in 1938 for *The Harewood News*, a self-published newspaper co-edited by George and Gerald Lascelles, the sons of the 6th Earl and Princess Mary.⁶⁸⁸ The article, titled 'Two Early Pictures of St. Jerome', quotes a passage from one of the saint's epistles in which he describes life in the wilderness:

Oh, how often, in the desert, in that vast solitude [...] did I fancy myself in the midst of the luxuries of Rome! I sat, alone, for I was full of bitterness. My misshapen limbs were rough with sackcloth and my skin so squalid [...]. Tears and groans were my occupation every day and all day long.⁶⁸⁹

These circumstances strongly recall the 6th Earl's own experience in the trenches during the First World War, when he suffered from painful rheumatism and lack of sleep, as well as gunshot wounds and gassing.⁶⁹⁰ He recounted one life-threatening experience in a letter to his mother in September 1918:

I had a horrid experience & thought I was going to be killed! As I went to the captured trenches directly after the attack had got there I walked across the open for several hundred yards, when I suddenly found a machine-gun turned upon me & my orderly.

⁶⁸⁵ B. 15, 44, 64, 14, and 49, in order as described in this thesis; the painting by Jan Wellens de Cock was not catalogued by Borenius.

⁶⁸⁶ Christie's sale catalogue, 2 July 1965, lot no. 87, p. 57. The picture is described as having been 'Acquired by the Sixth Earl of Harewood', so was not part of the Clanricarde inheritance.

⁶⁸⁷ Borenius apparently named many of the 6th Earl's racehorses; Kerstin Lindman-Strafford, *Tancred Borenius: Europé Och Viborgare* (Ekenäs tryckeri, 1976), p. 54.

⁶⁸⁸ HHA.

⁶⁸⁹ Tancred Borenius, 'Two early pictures of St. Jerome', *The Harewood News*, Number 3, April 1938, HHA.

⁶⁹⁰ 'I have been feeling very ill these last 4 or 5 days. It started with rheumatism in my arm & spread to pain in my back & I could not sleep'; 6th Earl to the 5th Countess, 18 May 1918, 5CHHA, box 6, no. 203; Wortham and Reynolds.

We quickly dived into a shell hole & from there crawled into a little trench which I knew of on the map. To my terror I found it was only about a foot deep & in places less! Fortunately the grass & thistles were rather long & we crawled along it until we got to another – real – trench. But half way there we saw a German aeroplane coming straight for us very low & shooting his machine-gun at us! We lay flat on our faces & pretended to be dead & luckily several of our aeroplanes chased him & before he had hit us he turned sharp away. He must have seen us crawling & knew we were not dead.⁶⁹¹

While St Jerome dreamed of Rome, the 6th Earl's mind was occupied by the prospect of returning to his growing picture collection in London. As he told Tancred Borenius in one letter from the trenches dated 28 October 1918: 'The prospect of collecting all those pictures into Chesterfield House is so alluring that I find it difficult to concentrate upon the business in hand when it comes into my mind.'⁶⁹²

While the 6th Earl may have known the story of St Jerome, there is no reason to believe that he was familiar with the above-quoted epistle before he bought his first depiction of the saint in April 1917.⁶⁹³ The reference may have been brought to his attention by Borenius in the course of discussing this acquisition and the similarity of their situations led the 6th Earl to feel a personal affinity with the saint, though it must be remembered that St Jerome's exile was voluntary and religious, while the 6th Earl did not want to be in the trenches.⁶⁹⁴ It is also possible that the 6th Earl decided to collect multiple pictures depicting St Jerome in order to compare different artists' treatment of the subject. The popularity of St Jerome in Venice during Giovanni Bellini's time has been explored by Hans Belting, who notes that Bellini often depicted the saint in the wilderness with a book, combining two elements of the saint's life that were usually shown separately (penitence in the wilderness, and translating the Bible) (fig. 31).⁶⁹⁵ The variations in the saint's iconography seen in the 6th Earl's pictures could have provided the visual material for discussions – with friends, family, and other visitors interested in art – of the artistic developments that took place in Venice during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. As will be discussed later in this and the following chapter, the 6th Earl's collecting of old master drawings and the display of his pictures demonstrate a keen desire to study and

⁶⁹¹ 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 27 September 1918, 5CHHA, box 6, no. 222.

⁶⁹² 6th Earl to Borenius, 28 October 1918, TBA.

⁶⁹³ Invoice, Ayerst Hooker Buttery to 6th Earl, 28 December 1917, HHTD:2003.1.36.

⁶⁹⁴ He told his father that he 'hates soldiering'; 6th Earl to 5th Earl, 15 July 1916, 5CHHA, box 6, unnumbered (between 128 and 130 in sequence).

⁶⁹⁵ Hans Belting, 'St. Jerome in Venice: Giovanni Bellini and the Dream of Solitary Life', *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, 17.1 (Spring 2014), 5–33.

gain deeper understanding of the work of the artists in his collection, and this explanation is therefore viable.

iii. Old master drawings

The 6th Earl's collecting of continental old master drawings and prints echoed and reinforced his family's own cultural heritage, as well as reflecting his own personal artistic preferences. In the former category are the works on paper which were acquired because they were directly related to pictures that he had inherited from Clanricarde, or those at Harewood which he would go on to inherit in 1929. For example, he wanted to acquire an engraving by Lucas van Leyden (1494–1533) at the Earl of Pembroke's 1917 sale because it featured the same figure and signature as in one of the pictures by that artist that he had inherited from the Marquess of Clanricarde.⁶⁹⁶ *A Design for a Fountain* by Benvenuto Cellini (1500–1571) may have been selected because the 6th Earl also owned a jewel, known as the Canning Jewel after its historic owner Earl Canning, which was then believed to have been crafted by Cellini.⁶⁹⁷ Cellini was also connected to Francis I, King of France (1494–1547), who was depicted in a portrait by Titian in the 6th Earl's collection which was acquired around the same time.⁶⁹⁸ In these cases, the 6th Earl used old master drawings to provide context for other works of art in his collection. As well as their art-historical value, in these examples the acquisition of works on paper also served to contextualise the 6th Earl's cultural heritage, since they enhanced objects associated with his ancestors and therefore embellished the artistic heritage of the Lascelles family.

Tancred Borenius was explicitly aware of the 6th Earl's interest in this field and demonstrated this in his choice of Christmas gift in 1933, when he gave the 6th Earl two drawings by Antonio Zucchi (1726–1795), who was one of the interior painters who decorated Harewood House in the eighteenth century.⁶⁹⁹ The 6th Earl's response to the gift was shared by Princess Mary in a letter to Borenius:

Harry and I opened your parcel together and directly he saw the drawings, before I had time to read your letter, he said they were like Zucchi drawings only he had never seen any by him! I thought I must tell you this. [...] They do remind one of Zucchi's paintings

⁶⁹⁶ 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 3 July 1917, 5CHHA, box 6, no. 166. The engraving was not acquired due to the high prices secured at that sale.

⁶⁹⁷ A.C.R. Carter, 'Forthcoming Sales. More Hamilton Silver: The "Canning Jewel"', *The Burlington Magazine*, 59.340 (July 1931), xxxv–xxxvi, p. xxxv; List of drawings purchased for Lord Lascelles by Agnew's, sent via Borenius c. 25 April 1918, TBA.

⁶⁹⁸ Invoice from Agnew's to 6th Earl, 6 May 1918, HHTD:2000.1.2.

⁶⁹⁹ B. 83–84.

in the music room.⁷⁰⁰

Through this gift Borenius demonstrated his close understanding of the 6th Earl's interest in art that related to his own heritage – here linked to the surviving original decoration of Harewood House – as well as the 6th Earl's desire to use drawings as a means of improving his own understanding of each artist's oeuvre. The fact that the 6th Earl was able to identify the artist on his own merit, having never before seen drawings by Zucchi, must have provided immense satisfaction to him as well as to Borenius.

Aside from those acquisitions which embellished his existing heritage, the same preferences demonstrated in the 6th Earl's picture collecting were also evident in his drawing collection. Thirty-eight of his acquisitions in this area were by Italian artists, over half of which were Venetian.⁷⁰¹ This was, again, a reflection of a deliberate policy which the 6th Earl expressed from the trenches in 1917:

I want to get a portfolio of drawings by the same artists as I have (or want to have) pictures. And I want to get pictures by the Venetian artists.⁷⁰²

A second extract from the same letter illuminates the scholarly interests that influenced the 6th Earl to collect works on paper:

I do not really care for engravings and drawings except for purposes of study and comparison – but there is no doubt that an artist's characteristics become much more obvious if one can compare his pictures and drawings together.⁷⁰³

This quotation echoes the motivation of collectors of drawings since the early nineteenth century, summarised by Reitlinger as follows: 'the old masters had left behind them brilliant untarnished drawings in which their handwriting could be far better perceived than in the present condition of their paintings.'⁷⁰⁴ Artists who were represented in the 6th Earl's collection in both painting and drawing included Sodoma, Titian, Tintoretto, Veronese, and Guido Reni (1575–1642). As the above extract demonstrates, the drawings played a supporting role in the 6th Earl's collection in order to enhance his understanding and appreciation of his paintings. This is reinforced by the fact that all but a handful of his old master drawings were stored in

⁷⁰⁰ Princess Mary to Tancred Borenius, 27 December 1933, TBA.

⁷⁰¹ The remainder included works by French artists Claude Lorrain and Antoine Watteau, Dutch artists Rembrandt van Rijn and Rubens, and one sheet by the Spanish artist Alonso Cano.

⁷⁰² 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 3 July 1917, 5CHHA, box 6, no. 166.

⁷⁰³ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁴ Reitlinger, p. 217.

four solander boxes which were kept in the Main Library at Harewood House; this room is adjacent to the rooms in which the old master paintings were hung, and so the 6th Earl could easily have accessed and have carried drawings between the rooms in order to compare them to the pictures.

Prior to the Second World War, continental old master drawings remained ‘ludicrously cheap’, and high-quality works could be acquired for comparatively low sums.⁷⁰⁵ For this reason Charles Holmes recommended that collectors who were ‘not very rich’ should acquire ‘fine drawings’, also noting that ‘the study of drawings is a wonderful training for the eye’.⁷⁰⁶ Aside from highly finished drawings that could be hung like paintings, most works on paper did not fulfil a decorative function and might be kept in solander boxes. Perhaps in part for this reason – as well as the lack of published scholarship in this field at the time – the collecting of working drawings and studies was largely a scholarly undertaking, and wealthy Americans and British industrialists did not significantly engage with this field before the 1930s.⁷⁰⁷ Major collectors of old master drawings included the art historian Sir Robert C. Witt (1872–1952), whose collection was distinguished by its inclusion of fine examples of the work of minor artists, as well as the work of major old masters such as Michelangelo, Canaletto, and Tintoretto.⁷⁰⁸

The 6th Earl is rarely cited as a collector of continental old master drawings, perhaps because only three examples were included in Borenus’s 1936 catalogue, and the majority of that collection has now been dispersed.⁷⁰⁹ Borenus did publish an article on ‘Old Master Drawings in the Collection of Viscount Lascelles’ in the first ever issue of *Apollo* in 1925 – a publication which Borenus had co-founded – which included a number of illustrations, but

⁷⁰⁵ Reitlinger, pp. 217–218. The 1936 sale of the collection of American banker Henry Oppenheimer (1859–1932) is recognised as a turning point in the market for old master drawings, as almost everything – including sheets by Leonardo, Michelangelo, and Holbein – sold for more than he had originally paid. At the Oppenheimer sale, the transatlantic dealer Joseph Duveen paid the highest price then recorded for any drawing, £10,710. Oppenheimer had reportedly spent £48,000 on drawings, including £32,000 in 1912 for the entire collection of John Postle Heseltine (1843–1929), which contained more than 600 old master drawings; ‘\$1,000,000 IS PAID FOR 600 DRAWINGS; Celebrated Heseltine Collection of Works by Old Masters Sold to a London Firm’, *The New York Times*, 23 October 1912.

⁷⁰⁶ Holmes, *Pictures and Picture Collecting*, pp. 19–20.

⁷⁰⁷ Reitlinger, p. 218.

⁷⁰⁸ John Pope-Hennessy, ‘Drawings from the Witt Collection’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 82.481, April 1943, 103. Others in this field included Adolph Paul Oppé (1878–1957), who formed a collection of over 3000 British eighteenth and nineteenth century works on paper; Brinsley Ford, ‘Adolph Paul Oppé (1878–1957)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004. Archibald George Blomefield Russell (1879–1955) predominantly collected Italian drawings, including a rare early study of a seated youth by Giovanni Bellini; Tancred Borenus, ‘Drawings in the Collection of Mr A.G.B. Russell’, *The Connoisseur*, 66 (1923), 2–12, pp. 3, 5.

⁷⁰⁹ B. 74, 83, and 84.

this appears to have garnered little attention from later scholars.⁷¹⁰ This examination therefore relies on information drawn from a number of primary sources, including lists of drawings handwritten by the 6th Earl himself, invoices from Agnew's, the 1948 Valuations for Probate compiled after the 6th Earl's death, and Christie's sale catalogues.⁷¹¹ Around fifty continental old master drawings are known to have been purchased by the 6th Earl between 1917 and 1947, many at auction, with around half definitely purchased before 1922. He was particularly proactive at the auctions of the Poynter (1918) and Northwick (1921) collections. Interestingly, while the 6th Earl was sufficiently confident in his knowledge of old master paintings to make some acquisitions in that field without consulting Borenius, in the comparatively under-researched field of old master drawings he seems to have relied more heavily upon Borenius's professional expertise.

The negotiations between Borenius and the 6th Earl which preceded the Sotheby's sales of the Earl of Pembroke's old master drawings from Wilton House in July 1917 provide a case study of the extent of Borenius's influence and authority over the 6th Earl's collecting in this field. The 6th Earl heard about the Pembroke Sale through the British press as he had access to newspapers in the trenches, and since he knew the seller 'Reggie' Pembroke personally he wrote directly asking for an advance copy of the catalogue.⁷¹² At the same time the 6th Earl asked Borenius whether he was familiar with the collection, and if so whether he thought anything from it was worth buying.⁷¹³ Having reviewed the catalogue, the 6th Earl sent Borenius a list of seventeen lots that he was 'inclined to buy' unless advised otherwise.⁷¹⁴ Borenius went through the entire Pembroke collection in person on the 6th Earl's behalf and concluded that the majority were 'quite worthless' with many 'fantastic' and incorrect attributions, and recommended the purchase of just three drawings and two engravings.⁷¹⁵ Far from being disappointed, the 6th Earl remarked in a letter to his mother that he was impressed by Borenius's discernment, 'especially because this collection has such a reputation that one could never afterwards have blamed him for recommending the lot!'⁷¹⁶ On sale day, high competition meant that their agreed limits were woefully inadequate, and despite Borenius

⁷¹⁰ Tancred Borenius, 'Old Master Drawings in the Collection of Viscount Lascelles', *Apollo*, 1.1 (1925), 189–196.

⁷¹¹ Lists of drawings HHTD:2001.3.1–4; Agnew's invoices in Miscellaneous correspondence in accordion file, 6EHHA; 1948 valuations and Christie's catalogues, HHA.

⁷¹² 6th Earl to Borenius, 27 May 1917, TBA.

⁷¹³ *Ibid.*

⁷¹⁴ 6th Earl to Borenius, 6 June 1917, TBA. The catalogue had been sent to the 6th Earl at his request by the vendor, 'Reggie' Pembroke, whom he knew personally; 6th Earl to Borenius, 27 May 1917, TBA.

⁷¹⁵ Borenius to 6th Earl, 17 June 1917, 5CHHA, box 6, enclosed in 166.

⁷¹⁶ 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 3 July 1917, 5CHHA, box 6, 166.

bidding up to £1600 for a Veronese drawing of *Venice Triumphant* – far above the 450 or 500 guineas they had agreed, though with the 6th Earl’s permission to go ‘as high as you think at all reasonable’ – the work was secured by Agnew’s for £1650 (fig. 32).⁷¹⁷ Regretting this loss, the 6th Earl subsequently bought the work from Agnew’s, giving the firm a ten percent profit.⁷¹⁸

The level of trust placed by the 6th Earl upon Borenius’s knowledge and scholarship was such that the advisor was able to act at times upon his own initiative. This was the case at the 1918 Poynter sale, when Borenius disregarded some of the items highlighted by the 6th Earl and even added works to his list without consultation.⁷¹⁹ In the latter category was a drawing by Lodovico Carracci (1555–1619) bought for £125, which Borenius described as ‘the finest Carracci drawing known to me, & worth easily the double of what it fetched’, as well as a ‘powerful drawing’ by Luca Signorelli (c. 1441/1445–1523) bought for £400, although Borenius considered it easily worth £1000.⁷²⁰ A number of other drawings purchased at the Poynter Sale may also be said to reflect Borenius’s interest in Venetian art, including works by Vittore Carpaccio (1465–1525) and Bartolomeo Montagna (1449/1450–1523) which had both been attributed and published for the first time by Borenius in a 1916 article in the *Burlington Magazine*.⁷²¹ Borenius’s existing knowledge of these drawings, and the high regard in which he held them, surely encouraged the 6th Earl to acquire them once they became available in 1918. This pattern was repeated at the Northwick Sale in July 1921, where the 6th Earl acquired a sheet of studies of camels’ heads, people, and hands by Veronese which Borenius had published in February of that year.⁷²²

Aware of the dangers of light on drawings, the 6th Earl framed only one of his drawings, which he put in a ‘specially designed carved pearwood frame’ provided by Agnew’s: a sketch by Veronese depicting *Venice Triumphant*, which he had acquired in 1917, as described above.⁷²³ This was indeed the most expensive drawing he acquired. He wished to draw attention to it because it was one of only a few extant preparatory works relating to Veronese’s famous ceiling painting in the Sala del Maggior Consiglio, a state room in the Ducal Palace in

⁷¹⁷ 6th Earl to Borenius, 24 June and 17 July 1917, TBA.

⁷¹⁸ 6th Earl account with Agnew’s, June 1919, HHTD:2003.1.1.

⁷¹⁹ Penny, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Sixteenth Century*, p. 455. Borenius to 6th Earl, 24 April 1918, HHTD:2003.1.44.

⁷²⁰ Borenius to 6th Earl, 24 April 1918, HHTD:2003.1.44; and 25 April 1918, HHTD:2002.1.42.

⁷²¹ Tancred Borenius, ‘Two Unpublished North Italian Drawings’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 29.163 (October 1916), 271–273. This has been noted by Penny, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Sixteenth Century*, pp. 455–456.

⁷²² Tancred Borenius, ‘A Group of Drawings by Paul Veronese’, *The Burlington Magazine* 38.215 (February 1921), 54–55, 58–59, p. 59; sale account to 6th Earl from Agnew’s, July 1921, HHTD:2003.1.2.

⁷²³ Invoice from Agnew’s to 6th Earl, 27 February 1919, HHTD:2003.1.1.

Venice.⁷²⁴ The 6th Earl's interest in the drawing was an extension of his interest in Veronese's paintings, acknowledging 'his best works are ceilings and wall decoration in the Doge's Palace [...] (and therefore not to be had)'.⁷²⁵ In fact, two years later, in 1919, the 6th Earl was able to buy a painting by Veronese. In the meantime, he was in possession of a painting whose subject matter related to the Venetian subject of Veronese's drawing – an oil painting by John Singer-Sargent of the Sala del Maggior Consiglio which shows Veronese's finished painting in its setting. To draw attention to his two related works of art he deliberately displayed the Veronese drawing and the Sargent painting side by side at Chesterfield House (fig. 25).⁷²⁶

In a number of cases, however, the 6th Earl acquired drawings by artists who were not represented in his painting collection, several of whom were later in date than his preferred period of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. For instance, he owned four works by the eighteenth-century Venetian Giovanni Battista Tiepolo (1696–1770), two by the seventeenth-century artist Guercino (1591–1666), and one by Salvator Rosa, whom the 6th Earl had categorised alongside the 'later and lesser Venetians' that did not interest him in a letter in 1917.⁷²⁷ The comparatively low price of many drawings during this period enabled the 6th Earl to acquire drawings by Italian and especially Venetian artists who were contemporaries and successors to the artists whose paintings he owned, thereby filling in the gaps in his old master collection and forming a fuller (though certainly still incomplete) picture of the history of art in Italy from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries.⁷²⁸

Conclusion

The 6th Earl of Harewood's collecting was conscientious and deliberate, with consideration of the past, present, and future. His acquisitions of British works of art which related directly to his heritage – including family portraits and watercolours depicting Harewood House – emphasised his aristocratic genealogy and helped to legitimise his position as a member of the royal family. The 6th Earl's collecting of continental old master paintings was similarly intended to address a notable absence in the Lascelles patrimony, bringing it in line with the heritage of older aristocratic families. Yet this was not a mock-Grand Tour collection but one that responded to the state of arts scholarship and the art market in Britain in the twentieth

⁷²⁴ Xavier F. Salomon, *Veronese* (London: National Gallery, 2014), p. 205.

⁷²⁵ 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 3 July 1917, 5CHHA, box 6, no. 166.

⁷²⁶ B. 433.

⁷²⁷ 6th Earl to Borenius, 8 June 1917, TBA. He also owned three drawings each by Palma Giovane, Giovanni Antonio da Pordenone, Giulio Romano, and Pietro da Cortona.

⁷²⁸ Of the twenty-two drawings whose purchase price is known, thirteen were under £100, and only two cost more than £500.

century, where a revival of interest in Venetian Renaissance art was ongoing. By securing the expert advice and assistance of Tancred Borenius, a scholar of the art of this period with a strong network of contacts within the British art world, the 6th Earl was able to identify desirable acquisitions from a range of sources and assure himself that these were of high quality and appropriately priced. This chapter has also demonstrated, however, that the 6th Earl was ultimately responsible for the acquisitions he made, which were informed by his own taste and amateur knowledge.

The 6th Earl was genuinely enthusiastic and interested in the art he acquired, as demonstrated by his acquisition of old master drawings which enabled him to undertake closer study of the works by painters represented in his collection. Yet he was also necessarily practical and recognised that he or his heirs may one day be forced to realise the capital value of his pictures in order to maintain Harewood House, the most crucial component of his family's heritage. When the 6th Earl had the entire Harewood collection of pictures catalogued by Borenius in 1936 he was locating his own collecting firmly within the longer artistic heritage of the Lascelles family and preserving this patrimony for perpetuity, while also increasing awareness of it among an international network of social and scholarly elites. Assembled in the context of political and financial challenges to the landed aristocracy, the 6th Earl's collecting of continental old masters enhanced the cultural significance of the Lascelles family seat and sought to solidify their high social status.

Chapter Four: Incorporating the collection into Harewood House

The 6th Earl of Harewood's occupancy of Harewood House from 1930 to 1947 was the first time in that house's history that it had contained a notable (in terms of both scale and value) collection of continental old master paintings, and there was therefore no specific historic precedent for its display.⁷²⁹ Whether private guests of the 6th Earl or members of the public who were admitted on open days, visitors to Harewood during that period would have spent time in the State Rooms on the west side of the ground floor.⁷³⁰ In these rooms visitors would take in the Chippendale and Regency furniture of the Entrance Hall (commissioned during the eighteenth century by Edwin Lascelles and Beau Lascelles, respectively), the comprehensive and remarkably intact interior design scheme of Robert Adam in the Music Room (commissioned by Edwin Lascelles), Sir Charles Barry's Victorian renovations in the Dining Room (overseen by the 3rd Earl and Countess of Harewood), and the enormous collection of Sèvres and oriental porcelain in the long gallery and paintings by J.M.W. Turner in the main library (acquired by Beau).⁷³¹ Historic portraits of members of the Lascelles family were also hung in the dining room and the gallery.⁷³² The west side therefore illustrated the genealogy of the house and the Lascelles family since the eighteenth century through its cultural heritage.

This chapter will examine the ways in which the 6th Earl materially and symbolically incorporated his collection of continental old master paintings into the existing Lascelles patrimony at Harewood House. Having already established the influence of older aristocratic examples in the assembly of his collection, the extent to which the 6th Earl adopted traditional country house methods of picture display in order to enhance and communicate his aristocratic status will be considered here.⁷³³ This chapter will also evaluate the ways in which the 6th Earl's display and treatment (including framing and restoration) of his old master collection at

⁷²⁹ The 6th Earl inherited his title and Harewood House in 1929, but did not move into the property until 1930; Mauchline, p. 146.

⁷³⁰ The route for members of the public began in the Entrance Hall and likely followed a circuit round the Music Room, Dining Room, Gallery, Green Drawing Room, Rose Drawing Room, and the Main Library. This route was indicated in Borenus, *Catalogue of the Pictures and Drawings at Harewood House*, topographical index pp. 205–207. John Jewell in 1819 describes the entire state floor beginning with the east side, reversing the room order outlined here, while in 1950 the west side was shown beginning with the Main Library and ending with the Music Room; Jewell; Ernest Illingworth Musgrave and Sydney W. Newberry, *Harewood House: An Illustrated Survey of the Yorkshire Residence of H.R.H. The Princess Royal, The Historic Home of the Earls of Harewood* (Derby: English Life Publications, 1950).

⁷³¹ Photographs taken c. 1930 show the furnishing of the Entrance Hall and displays of porcelain in Harewood's Gallery; HHPA.

⁷³² Borenus, *Catalogue of the Pictures and Drawings at Harewood House*, pp. 205–206.

⁷³³ For historic picture display practices, see Russell; Giles Waterfield, 'Picture Hanging and Gallery Decoration', in *Palaces of Art: Art Galleries in Britain 1790–1990* (London: Dulwich Picture Gallery, 1991), 49–65.

Harewood House was informed by contemporary scholarly and professional ideas, as demonstrated, for instance, in public institutions which the 6th Earl would have known through his various roles in public museums.⁷³⁴ Beginning with a broad view of the house that considers the significance of the rooms in which the 6th Earl chose to display his collection, this chapter will gradually layer inwards, examining in turn the division of the collection between rooms, the arrangement of pictures within each room, and then the framing and restoration undertaken on the pictures.

An interesting ancestral home, not a ‘dull Museum’

In an examination of the 6th Earl’s arrangement of his collection of continental old master paintings at Harewood House, contemporary methods of display found in public galleries provide a useful basis for comparison. However, it is important to highlight the distinctions between a publicly owned and operated gallery or museum – even one formed around an aristocratic collection – and a privately owned collection held in a domestic residence. The 6th Earl was himself well aware of the differences, as is made clear through his correspondence on the subject of the National Trust’s Country House Scheme, under which country houses would be transformed into public assets.⁷³⁵ Chief among his concerns was that the National Trust would limit or curtail not only owners’ rights to sell objects, but also to rearrange them: ‘so far as it prevents this, it will handicap him from maintaining the residence as a living house and will hasten its decline into a Museum.’⁷³⁶ The movement, addition, and removal of objects within a country house signified the survival and continued presence of its owners, which was of direct concern to the 6th Earl as a member of a patrimonial aristocratic family. It was these symbolic aristocratic links which the 6th Earl principally expressed concern about, and which, for him, constituted the difference between a museum and a living country house:

To continue the history and development of a private house by [commissioning] portraits of its owners is one of the duties of the owner of such a place, and really

⁷³⁴ Key texts include Robert H. Benson, ‘Notes on Frames’, in *Report of the Committee of Trustees of the National Gallery (Lord Curzon of Kedleston, E Vincent, R H Benson and C Holroyd) Appointed by the Trustees to Enquire into the Retention of Important Pictures in This Country, and Other Matters Connected with the National Art Collections* (London, 1914), 49–51; Charles J. Holmes, ‘Some Elements of Picture Cleaning’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 40.228 (March 1922), 132–134; Charles J. Holmes, ‘Some Elements of Picture Cleaning (Concluded)’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 40.229 (April 1922), 171–174; Harriet O’Neill, ‘Re-Framing the Italian Renaissance at the National Gallery, 1824–2014’ (unpublished Ph.D., University College London, 2014).

⁷³⁵ 6th Earl to Lord Lothian, 6EHHA, box 18.

⁷³⁶ 6th Earl to Lord Lothian (copy), 29 February 1936, 6EHHA, box 18.

constitutes the difference between a house continuously lived in and a Museum such as Hertford House.⁷³⁷

A relevant contemporary and local case study in this connection is Temple Newsam, a country house in Leeds, which was sold by the Hon. Edward Wood (1881–1959, later the Earl of Halifax) to the Leeds Corporation in 1922, and thereafter became a public museum.⁷³⁸ A photograph taken of the gallery prior to the sale shows a room filled with antique furnishings, ceramics – including some shown in glass vitrines – as well as continental old master paintings and old English family portraits (fig. 33).⁷³⁹ The majority of the contents of Temple Newsam were either removed by Lord Halifax or sold during a week of sales held at the house in July 1922.⁷⁴⁰ As a result, when the house opened to the public as a museum in 1923, it had been denuded of the majority of its cultural heritage: the once-crowded gallery contained only a few items of furniture arranged along its walls and the remnant of the paintings consisted of just a few family portraits and old master paintings presented by Wood.⁷⁴¹ The 6th Earl lamented the house’s changed status and composition in a letter in 1936, noting: ‘Temple Newsam, Lord Halifax’s house in Leeds, is a glaring instance of an interesting house reverting to a dull Museum.’⁷⁴²

The transformation of Temple Newsam from a private aristocratic home into a public museum was practically (or legally) completed in 1922, but this development was pursued further by Philip Hendy after he became Director of Temple Newsam in 1938 (he was also at this time Director of Leeds City Art Gallery).⁷⁴³ Hendy ‘restored’ some rooms of the country house, however, his scheme was not designed to foreground the history of Temple Newsam

⁷³⁷ 6th Earl to Lord Lothian (copy), n.d. but before 17 March 1936 (the date of Lothian’s response), 6EHHA, box 18. Hertford House in London contained a collection of old master paintings and decorative arts assembled by the 3rd and 4th Marquesses of Hertford and Richard Wallace, the latter’s illegitimate son, which became the permanent collection of the Wallace Collection when the house was opened as a public museum in 1897; Walker, p. 44; Barbara Lasic, ‘“Splendid Patriotism”: Richard Wallace and the Construction of the Wallace Collection’, *Journal of the History of Collections*, 21.2 (2009), 173–182.

⁷³⁸ Ana Baeza Ruiz, ‘The Road to Renewal: Refiguring the Art Museum in Twentieth-century Britain’ (unpublished Ph.D., University of Leeds, 2017), pp. 120–121.

⁷³⁹ In 1910 Temple Newsam was described as containing ‘scores of pictures by noted artists, Titian, Rembrandt, Rubens, Guido [Reni], Claude [Lorrain], &c.’; Fletcher Moss, *The Fifth Book of Pilgrimages to Old Homes* (Didsbury: The Author, 1910), p. 330.

⁷⁴⁰ *A Catalogue of the Contents of the Mansion, Mainly Consisting of Old English Furniture of the Queen Anne, Chippendale and Sheraton Periods, Lac Cabinets and Screens, Antique Chinese Bronzes, Panels in Petit Point, Pictures and Valuable Porcelain, To Be Sold by Auction by Messrs Robinson, Fisher & Harding* (London: Doherty & Co, 1922).

⁷⁴¹ The old master paintings including a work by Guido Reni, two by Lucas Cranach, and eleven pictures by Bergognone, which had been at Temple Newsam ‘for nearly two hundred years’; Sydney D. Kitson and Edmund D. Pawson, *Temple Newsam* (Leeds: Jowett & Sowry for Leeds City Council, 1927), p. 43.

⁷⁴² 6th Earl to Lord Lothian (copy), 29 February 1936, 6EHHA, box 18.

⁷⁴³ Ruiz, p. 120.

and its former occupants so much as to provide a platform for ‘reforming the public perception about the arts and design’ (fig. 34).⁷⁴⁴ This sort of conversion of domestic aristocratic properties into public buildings for temporary display purposes was seen in some quarters as a sign of commitment to ‘democratic values’.⁷⁴⁵ Therefore, although by the late 1930s Temple Newsam did still contain some objects with Earls of Halifax provenance, and its collections could be rearranged and enlarged through acquisitions (seemingly countering the 6th Earl’s concerns about static arrangements under the National Trust), those later changes bore no direct relation to the aristocratic families who had previously occupied Temple Newsam or to their original art collections; the symbolic aristocratic link had been lost.⁷⁴⁶ The 6th Earl was aware of the changes undergone by Temple Newsam since it had become a public gallery, and his negative response underlines the importance to him not only of Harewood House remaining a private aristocratic home, but of that status being symbolically conveyed through its presentation. While the treatment of pictures in public museums and galleries did influence the 6th Earl, as we shall go on to discuss, unlike those institutions, Harewood House was never intended as a site primarily for public entertainment or education.

Collecting for display

Harewood House was already fully furnished when the 6th Earl of Harewood inherited it in 1929 and began the process of integrating his own pictures into the interior decoration scheme.⁷⁴⁷ As in any collection, the picture hang was ‘a compromise between the space available and the scale of the collection’, an imbalance which could result in walls becoming over-crowded or paintings being kept in storerooms.⁷⁴⁸ There is evidence that the scale of the 6th Earl of Harewood’s picture collecting was consciously determined by the space available for its display. As early as 1918, in response to correspondence from his art advisor, Tancred Borenius, highlighting potentially desirable acquisitions, the 6th Earl plainly stated his intention

⁷⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 122.

⁷⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 126.

⁷⁴⁶ Some objects acquired for Temple Newsam during Philip Hendy’s directorship had a Halifax provenance. In 1939 the 6th Earl of Harewood was involved in the purchase of the suite of needlework furniture, known as the ‘Five Sisters’ Suite’, which had been made for the gallery of Temple Newsam. The 6th Earl lobbied the Leeds Corporation to acquire the suite from Lord Halifax, acting upon a request from Hendy. The suite was subsequently purchased from Lord Halifax and given to the Corporation by the National Art Collections Fund and four Leeds citizens; 6th Earl to Alderman Walker (copy), 6 October 1939; 6th Earl to Philip Hendy (copy), 30 October 1939; Philip Hendy to 6th Earl, 29 September 1939, all 6EHHA, green box 19. Lord Halifax agreed to accept £5,000, against Frank Partridge’s valuation of £7,000. G. Bernard Wood, ‘Restoration at Temple Newsam’, *The Field*, 178.4619 (July 1941), 22–24, p. 22; ‘Temple Newsam: A Historic Yorkshire Mansion Now a War-Time Art Gallery’, *The Antique Collector*, 11.2 (April 1940), 28–33, p. 33.

⁷⁴⁷ No inventory of Harewood House during the 5th Earl’s tenure is known, however, its contents can be gleaned from descriptions and photographs in Bolton.

⁷⁴⁸ Russell, p. 133.

to display the entirety of his collection in his recently acquired London home, Chesterfield House:

As I wrote to you, I want to go slow about buying pictures for the present – until I know where I am going to put them. Most of the available space [...] is now filled – and until I see how I can fit in those of my [great-]uncle’s pictures which are stored I do not want to launch into other pictures unless they are of such extraordinary merit and importance that I feel I cannot let them pass. [...] I do not want to sell anything of his which is good, and therefore I feel bound to have room to hang them.⁷⁴⁹

This quotation additionally reveals that the 6th Earl was prioritising his family’s cultural heritage over his own more recent acquisitions.

Whilst some collectors had continuously to alter the hang of their pictures as further acquisitions were made, the 6th Earl seems to have preferred to scale his collecting activities to the space available and settle on the most desirable long-term arrangement of his pictures, which included ensuring that his inherited pictures remained on display.⁷⁵⁰ Considerations of economy surely influenced this approach, as the 6th Earl was acutely aware that even with the large Clanricarde inheritance he would need to ‘take care’ to manage his finances in order to mitigate the impact of taxation.⁷⁵¹ Moreover, the art historical importance of the pictures in the 6th Earl’s collection as it was perceived at the time – knowledge of which among the interested public would help to position the 6th Earl as a connoisseur of art – could only be appreciated by those visiting Chesterfield House, and later Harewood House, if they were on display.⁷⁵² Ownership alone was insufficient, as little social benefit could be gained from pictures kept in storage. The importance of being able to hang his collection at Harewood House was likely a significant factor in the 6th Earl’s decision to sell a number of old master paintings during the 1930s, examined in the previous chapter, as greater benefit could be gained by realising the capital value of those works than storing them out of sight.

The fundamental desirability of making explicit the connection between the 6th Earl’s collection of continental old masters and his ancestral heritage is made particularly clear in an imagined interior scheme which he himself designed in 1917.⁷⁵³ When he designed this scheme

⁷⁴⁹ 6th Earl to Borenius, 14 May 1918, TBA.

⁷⁵⁰ Russell, p. 133.

⁷⁵¹ 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 18 May 1916, 5CHHA, box 6, 111.

⁷⁵² Mieke Bal, ‘Telling Objects: A Narrative Perspective on Collecting’, in *The Cultures of Collecting*, ed. by John Elsner and Roger Cardinal (London: Reaktion Books, 1997), 97–115, p. 98.

⁷⁵³ 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 29 July 1917, 6CHHA, box 6, 172.

the 6th Earl did not own a London home (he acquired Chesterfield House in 1918), but as early as June 1916 he had shared with his mother his intentions to buy ‘a London house’, and this design likely relates to that hypothetical house.⁷⁵⁴ The interior scheme he described in a letter to his mother, which contained his drawing of an imagined ceiling (fig 35):

I have been designing myself a ceiling for the room in which the Pollajuolo [sic], the Venetian altarpiece, the Ferarese [sic] “St. John” & perhaps the St. Jerome will go. It must be quite white, with coved edges & a deep moulding round the centre flat part. Then shields in the 4 corners – Lascelles, de Burgh, Canning & the 2 other quarterings which we are entitled to in the last corner. These must be in high relief with the arms upon them in low relief.⁷⁵⁵

The scheme was ultimately never realised, though genealogical references were installed at Harewood House in the 1930s, including, as noted earlier, the coats of arms of Princess Mary and the 6th Earl (the latter featuring the Canning and de Burgh quarterings) installed in the ceiling of the apse in Princess Mary’s dressing room.

Situating the old master collection within the house

The 6th Earl of Harewood displayed the majority of his continental old master paintings at Harewood House in the Green Drawing Room and Rose Drawing Room on the south-west side of the state floor (fig. 36).⁷⁵⁶ Some aristocratic properties including country houses contained specialised picture galleries in which the owner displayed the greatest masterpieces from their collection, often comprising old master paintings.⁷⁵⁷ For example, Northwick Park was given a top-lit picture gallery in the 1830s which housed many of the old masters acquired from the

⁷⁵⁴ 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 14 June 1916, 5CHHA, box 6, 118. The 6th Earl described his imagined plans for the Clanricarde inheritance, which he devised from the trenches of the First World War, as ‘building castles in the air’, and this design and his comments about buying a London house – while reflecting genuine intentions – must be considered within this context.

⁷⁵⁵ 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 12 October 1917, 5CHHA, box 6, 185.

⁷⁵⁶ Borenus, *Catalogue of the Pictures and Drawings at Harewood House*, pp. 206–207.

⁷⁵⁷ The tradition of displaying old master paintings in specialised galleries was established in Britain around the seventeenth century, perhaps influenced by rooms such as the Tribuna of the Uffizi in Florence which Grand Tourists would have seen during their European travels. Aristocrats whose country house or London home did not already contain a gallery in which they could hang their old master paintings might choose to build one rather than spread their collection throughout smaller apartments; Mark Girouard, ‘The Power House’, in *The Treasure Houses of Britain: Five Hundred Years of Private Patronage and Art Collecting*, ed. by Gervase Jackson-Stops (Washington, D.C.: New Haven: National Gallery of Art; Yale University Press, 1985), 22–27, pp. 26–27; Waterfield, p. 50; Russell, p. 133. Long galleries had already become popular in country houses since the sixteenth century as sites for the display of family portraits or portraits of important friends or connections; Girouard, p. 27.

continent by the 2nd Baron Northwick.⁷⁵⁸ The inclusion of a grand gallery at Harewood House in the eighteenth century was certainly inspired by older aristocratic examples. However, by the twentieth century, the tradition of hanging family portraits in the gallery was itself part of the cultural heritage of Harewood, and the room served an important role as a visual demonstration of the history and genealogy of the Lascelles family. A similar arrangement could be found in the gallery at Temple Newsam prior to 1922, where large family portraits hung beneath medallion portraits in the ceiling of members of the British royal family; the visual association of their ancestors with royalty emphasised the long-held nobility of the owners of Temple Newsam.⁷⁵⁹

It was important that the 6th Earl's continental old masters integrated seamlessly with the existing contents of Harewood in order to enhance, rather than disrupt, its cultural heritage, and accordingly he expressed no desire to re-hang the gallery with his own collection. In fact, already during the First World War the 6th Earl contemplated how he would integrate the eighteenth-century British family portraits that he had inherited from his great-uncle into the existing collection at the country house. In a letter to his mother, he noted:

Do you know that I had always tried to picture the gallery re-hung with the Cosway [*Mrs Scott and her daughter Henrietta*] and the Gainsborough [*George Canning as a boy*] in it. I had put them in the middle – the Cosway above and the Gainsborough below – and the two Reynolds over the doors. I wonder whether they will ever get to these places!⁷⁶⁰

The paintings referenced in this quotation were significant to the 6th Earl on several levels: as ancestral portraits which demonstrated his noble genealogy; as part of the Clanricarde inheritance that had significantly enhanced his wealth and cultural heritage; and as examples of work by two major eighteenth-century artists who were heavily sought after by collectors

⁷⁵⁸ Bradbury and Penny, 'The Picture Collecting of Lord Northwick: Part I'. Northwick's descendent Captain George Spencer-Churchill was a good friend of the 6th Earl, who would have been familiar with the collection and likely also its display in a single crowded gallery. Spencer-Churchill is mentioned in several of the 6th Earl's letters to Borenius during the First World War, and the two seem to have been friendly and discussed their respective collections; see 6th Earl to Borenius, 1 May 1918 and 3 May 1918, TBA.

⁷⁵⁹ The Gallery had been adapted for the display of family portraits between 1738 and 1745 by the 7th Viscount Irwin, and this arrangement remained intact until 1922: Kitson and Pawson, p. 42; Wood, p. 22; 'Temple Newsam: A Historic Yorkshire Mansion Now a War-Time Art Gallery', p. 33; Inventory of Pictures, Furniture, etc. at Temple Newsam, 19 September 1922, Temple Newsam Archive.

⁷⁶⁰ 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 19 April 1916, 5CHHA, box 6, 106. The Gainsborough was hung in the gallery by 1936, its exact position being unknown, while the Cosway remained in London; Borenius, *Catalogue of the Pictures and Drawings at Harewood House*, pp. 206, 219. The 'two Reynolds' referenced were likely the portraits of Lady Worsley and Lady Harrington, Edwin Lascelles' step-daughters, which hung in the gallery in 1914; Bolton, p. 23.

during this period.⁷⁶¹ His intention to hang these pictures in the gallery demonstrates the 6th Earl's awareness of the power of arrangement in incorporating objects and those associated with them (whether artist or sitter) into his family's heritage (fig. 37).

The use of smaller rooms for the display of old master paintings was found in a number of aristocratic houses in the early twentieth century, including Castle Howard in Yorkshire, so the 6th Earl's adoption of two drawing rooms for this purpose was not in any way unusual.⁷⁶² Moreover, the decoration and function of the Green and Rose Drawing Rooms had changed a number of times since Harewood House was built – the latter had been a billiard room since at least the 1890s – and it was therefore not disruptive to the house's history to adapt them once again to house the 6th Earl's incoming picture collection.⁷⁶³ The rooms on the west side of the state floor had historically been used for entertaining guests, whilst the east side contained more intimate rooms used only by the family and their closest friends.⁷⁶⁴ By placing the old masters in drawing rooms on the west side of the house, rather than, for example, in his own dressing room or sitting room to the east, the 6th Earl ensured that they would be viewable by the vast majority of visitors to Harewood House.⁷⁶⁵ Moreover, the Green and Rose Drawing Rooms were filled with important Chippendale furniture and Sèvres porcelain, whose presence helped to integrate the 6th Earl's new collection of continental old masters with the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century cultural heritage of Harewood House.⁷⁶⁶

The role of art professionals in the display of the 6th Earl's old master paintings

The distribution of the 6th Earl's continental old masters between the two drawing rooms at Harewood House was attributed by Mary Mauchline to Tancred Borenius, as a result of his close involvement in the assemblage of the collection and position as a well-regarded art

⁷⁶¹ George Canning, as noted, was the grandfather of the 2nd Marquess of Clanricarde. Henrietta Scott later became Duchess of Portland and George Canning's sister-in-law. On the popularity of English eighteenth-century portraiture during this period, particularly among American collectors, see: Avery-Quash and Riding, pp. 30–37; Saltzman; Reist, *British Models of Art Collecting and the American Response*.

⁷⁶² Waterfield, p. 49. At Castle Howard, while the long gallery contained a number of full-length family portraits, old master paintings were primarily hung in the Orleans Room, Octagon, and Museum Room; George Anthony Geoffrey Howard, *Castle Howard* (York: Castle Howard Estate, 1958), pp. 11–13, 17–18; Ben Elliott and Heath Ballowe, 'Historic Photos of The Long Gallery', *The Long Gallery at Castle Howard*, 2021 <https://castlehowardthelonggallery.commons.bgc.bard.edu/?page_id=130> [accessed 20 September 2022].

⁷⁶³ The Rose Drawing Room only assumed this name after it was redecorated by the 6th Earl in the 1930s. It was originally the Yellow Drawing Room in the eighteenth century but used as a billiard room by the 5th Earl and Countess of Harewood. The Green Drawing Room had changed colour and name but had always been a drawing room.

⁷⁶⁴ Nares, p. 45.

⁷⁶⁵ The 6th Earl's sitting room and dressing room contained English pictures, primarily ancestral portraits which were too small or of lesser artistic merit than those hung on the west side of the house, as well as Alfred Munnings' portrait of *H.R.H. The Princess Royal on Horseback*; Borenius, *Catalogue of the Pictures and Drawings at Harewood House*, p. 210.

⁷⁶⁶ See Harewood House presentation album of photographs, 1930s, HHPA.

scholar.⁷⁶⁷ There were a number of dealers active during this period who handled not only the acquisition of works of art for their clients but also their subsequent display within the domestic interior, a notable example being the firm of Duveen Brothers.⁷⁶⁸ The 6th Earl certainly valued Borenius's opinion, and had in 1920 invited him to assist in the arrangement of some of his inherited Dutch old masters at Chesterfield House, as the following letter proves: 'If you are going to be in London for a bit, you must come and help me arrange the small pictures which belonged to Lord Clanricarde in that little red room.'⁷⁶⁹ Although the 6th Earl sought Borenius's assistance in arranging these pictures in October 1920, an invoice from Agnew's recorded a charge for 'mens [sic] time [...] arranging and hanging pictures in Red Drawing-room' on 7 March 1921.⁷⁷⁰ Given that six months had elapsed between Borenius being invited to Chesterfield House and the pictures being hung by Agnew's, it seems unlikely that in the end Borenius played any decisive role in this particular display.

After the 6th Earl had moved into Harewood House in 1930, Tancred Borenius was invited to visit 'to see about the pictures'.⁷⁷¹ However, a letter from Princess Mary indicates that this visit involved investigating what was already at Harewood – largely an exploration of certain storage areas – rather than arranging the old master paintings:

I do hope you were not over-tired after our long day at Harewood on Sunday. I enjoyed it very much and was much excited at discovering fresh treasures in the stores. We were there again Monday afternoon and found a few more things! I hope when we get into Harewood you will come and stay with us and see the pictures as they ought to look.⁷⁷²

From such extant evidence, it may be concluded that Borenius's involvement with the 6th Earl's collection was limited primarily to acquisitions, research and cataloguing, and did not extend to its display. Furthermore, there is no evidence that Agnew's were involved in the hanging of pictures at Harewood House. This may have been because at Harewood the 6th Earl had a larger workforce of his own which was capable of carrying out such tasks. This is indicated by a letter to the 6th Earl from Cowtan & Sons, the firm responsible for redecorating a number of the rooms at Harewood during the 1930s: 'It is presumed that the taking down and subsequent re-hanging of the pictures, mirrors etc. will be carried out by Your Lordships own staff, and no

⁷⁶⁷ Mauchline, p. 160.

⁷⁶⁸ See Vignon.

⁷⁶⁹ 6th Earl to Borenius, 4 October 1920, TBA.

⁷⁷⁰ Invoices from Agnew's to 6th Earl, June 1921, 6EHHA, Miscellaneous correspondence 1917–1924.

⁷⁷¹ Princess Mary to Borenius, 26 December 1929, TBA.

⁷⁷² Princess Mary to Borenius, 5 March 1930, TBA.

provision is made herein for this work.⁷⁷³ Given that the 6th Earl's domestic staff were responsible for physically hanging pictures from 1930, and no record is known of any advisor or similar art professional being employed to advise on the arrangement of pictures, it seems likely that the 6th Earl assumed principal responsibility for the arrangement.

Dividing the collection between two rooms

Thanks to his involvement with museums and galleries in London and Yorkshire, examined in Chapter One, the 6th Earl of Harewood was aware that arranging pictures by period or school could support the educational remit of public art institutions.⁷⁷⁴ For instance, he recommended in 1930 that the new Harrogate Art Gallery should arrange their temporary exhibitions chronologically from 'the early period of a type of art' up to its 'highest peak of excellence'.⁷⁷⁵ In this case, a didactic arrangement was essential in order to enable students to 'see the point at which they could pick up the threads of true art and avoid the places where degeneration had begun.'⁷⁷⁶ Harewood House was first and foremost a private residence and, although it was accessible to visitors, the artistic education of the general public was not of concern to the 6th Earl.

In 1936 when Tancred Borenius catalogued the Harewood House picture collection, he recorded nine paintings hanging in the Green Drawing Room and fourteen in the Rose Drawing Room.⁷⁷⁷ Mauchline characterised the division of pictures between the two rooms as being one of secular subjects in the Green Drawing Room and religious subjects in the Rose Drawing Room, which is broadly accurate, although with a few important exceptions.⁷⁷⁸ The works in the Green Drawing Room included El Greco's *A Man, a Woman, and a Monkey*, Tintoretto's portrait of *Benedetto Soranzo*, *The Death of Actaeon* and a portrait of *Francis I* both by Titian, and a full-length portrait of *The Procuratore Mocenigo* by Alessandro Longhi (1733–1813), as well as a picture of a warrior by Paris Bordone (1500–1571), and three further unidentified

⁷⁷³ Estimate from Cowtan & Sons to 6th Earl, 28 March 1938, WYAS, WYL250/Accn1789/4.

⁷⁷⁴ The National Gallery had been moving towards a chronological arrangement since the late nineteenth century inspired by continental public galleries including the Habsburg picture gallery in Vienna (opened 1781) and the Louvre in Paris (reorganised and reopened in 1793); Waterfield, pp. 53–54; Klonk, p. 22. The collections in these public galleries were also divided by school in order to demonstrate, and enable viewers to compare, the chronological development of art in different geographical areas. Underlying such arrangements was the implicit and widely accepted belief in the hierarchy of schools, with Italian art of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries at the apex. These views were established during the eighteenth century and may be detected, for example, in Sir Joshua Reynolds's *Discourses in Art* delivered to the Royal Academy between 1769 and 1790; Klonk, pp. 23–24.

⁷⁷⁵ 'Princess Mary at Harrogate.'

⁷⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷⁷ Borenius, *Catalogue of the Pictures and Drawings at Harewood House*, pp. 206–207.

⁷⁷⁸ Mauchline, pp. 160, 164. This explanation does not account for the historical scenes and portraits in the Rose Drawing Room, and mythological subjects in both rooms.

portraits by Annibale Carracci, Lorenzo Lotto (1480–1556/1557), and Cavazzola (1486–1522) (fig. 38).⁷⁷⁹ From this list it may be noted that, as well as being secular subjects, many of these pictures were portraits of powerful or influential men, including royalty, a naval commander, a leading politician, and an explorer.⁷⁸⁰ This grouping recalls the series of portraits of British literary men which the 6th Earl had restored to Chesterfield House a decade earlier; though likely not conceived in these terms at the point of acquisition, this partial and expanding series of powerful figures in Venetian history added an historical (as opposed to purely art historical) element to the 6th Earl's collection. This interest is also reflected, for example, in the 6th Earl's acquisition of books on the history of Venice and its people.⁷⁸¹

By contrast, in the Rose Drawing Room, a significant proportion of the pictures displayed there in 1936 featured religious subjects, which accords with Mauchline's characterisation (fig. 39). These included the *Madonna and Child with the Infant St John* by Mariotto Albertinelli (1474–1515), *Christ at the Column* by an artist in the school of Antonio del Pollaiuolo, as well as multiple paintings of saints (by Cima da Conegliano, Cristoforo Scacco (15th–16th centuries), Sodoma, Antonio Vivarini, and an artist of the Umbro-Florentine School of about 1500), and an *Ecclesiastic* by Piero di Cosimo (1462–1522).⁷⁸² These were accompanied by several secular or mythological narrative pictures, notably two cassoni panels by Bartolomeo di Giovanni (c. 1458–1501) depicting scenes from Roman mythology, and *A Siege* by an artist in the school of Domenico Morone (c. 1442–1518).⁷⁸³ In the Rose Drawing Room was also a portrait of *A Roman Lady* by Sebastiano del Piombo.

Although the arrangement of pictures according to subject matter had been a feature of British country houses since the eighteenth century, in his study on picture hanging Giles Waterfield makes no mention of religious subjects traditionally being grouped together within a secular, domestic setting.⁷⁸⁴ However, the catalogue of the 1914 Burlington Fine Arts Club (BFAC) exhibition of 'The Venetian School' – of which the 6th Earl owned a copy – listed exhibits under the classifications of *poesie*, sacred subjects, and portraits, which might well

⁷⁷⁹ Borenius, *Catalogue of the Pictures and Drawings at Harewood House*, p. 206.

⁷⁸⁰ The sitter in the *Portrait of a Gentleman* by Lorenzo Lotto had traditionally been identified as the explorer Sebastian Cabot. The portrait by Cavazzola was described by Borenius as a *Portrait of a Young Woman* but had previously been identified as a portrait of a man; Borenius, *Catalogue of the Pictures and Drawings at Harewood House*, p. 20; London Grafton Galleries, *A Catalogue of an Exhibition of Old Masters in Aid of the National Art-Collections Fund: October 4 to December 28, 1911* (London: Philip Lee Warner, 1911) no. 79.

⁷⁸¹ Menpes; Okey.

⁷⁸² Borenius, *Catalogue of the Pictures and Drawings at Harewood House*, p. 206.

⁷⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸⁴ Waterfield, p. 49. Waterfield quotes the late Georgian traveller Viscount Torrington, who imagined for himself a house with horse pictures in the great hall, full-length portraits by Van Dyck in the dining room, 'some rare Holbeins' in the library, and 'the most finish'd pictures' by Dutch artists in his drawing room.

have influenced to some degree his division of pictures between the drawing rooms at Harewood House.⁷⁸⁵ Interestingly, a similar kind of division of subject matter had been enacted in Chesterfield House around 1920, where the Morning Room featured a number of religious subjects and mythological scenes (fig. 40).⁷⁸⁶

Primary sources reveal that the historic fabric of the two drawing rooms at Harewood House played a determining role in the 6th Earl's arrangement of his continental old masters, as aesthetic considerations were an important element of the successful incorporation of his art collection into Harewood's historic interiors. The Green Drawing Room featured large panels of damask intended to accommodate one picture each, following a scheme pioneered by the Prince Regent at Carlton House, London, in the early nineteenth century.⁷⁸⁷ Photographs taken around 1930 show the 6th Earl grappling with this arrangement, since he originally tried hanging some of his religious works in the Green Drawing Room; however, their small size meant that they were dwarfed by the panels and the room itself (fig. 41). The Green Drawing Room was larger than the Rose, and optically higher because of the coved ceiling, and it was therefore necessary to hang the larger (especially taller) works in that room in order to match its scale and create an appropriately imposing impression upon visitors to the house. Accordingly, later photographs show that the smaller pictures initially hung in the Green Drawing Room were moved into the Rose Drawing Room, where they were later catalogued by Borenus.⁷⁸⁸

The Victorian painted panels that lined the walls of the Rose Drawing Room before 1930 did not offer sufficient space for the 6th Earl to hang satisfactorily his continental old master paintings using the traditional arrangement of one picture per panel. Photographs demonstrate that the 6th Earl tried to overcome this by using a cassone painting to bridge the panels and maximise display space, but this resulted in a crowded effect (see fig. 39). Indeed, the hanging of paintings on a patterned background was strongly discouraged by Edith Wharton and Ogden Codman in their widely read 1897 interior decoration manual since it produced 'a confusion of line in which the finest forms lose their individuality and significance.'⁷⁸⁹ The importance of the 6th Earl's continental old master paintings being on display at Harewood, and the greater importance attached by him to the house's eighteenth-century heritage over nineteenth-century

⁷⁸⁵ *The Venetian School: Pictures by Titian and his Contemporaries*, pp. 17–20.

⁷⁸⁶ 1920 inventory of Chesterfield House, HHTD:2016.15.

⁷⁸⁷ Waterfield, p. 56.

⁷⁸⁸ This included Mariotto Albertinelli's *Madonna and Child*, and *Christ at the Column* by Pollaiuolo, hung in the panels flanking the fireplace in fig. 8; Harewood House presentation photo album, early 1930s, HHPA.

⁷⁸⁹ Edith Wharton and Ogden Codman Jr., *The Decoration of Houses* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1898), p. 45. Wharton and Codman were critical of crowded Victorian interior decoration styles.

adaptations, likely contributed to his decision to cover the Victorian panelling with rose-coloured damask, which was not only better suited to picture hanging, but was also coherent with the Robert Adam interiors (fig. 42).⁷⁹⁰

Hanging pictures for close study and decorative impact

At Harewood House, the 6th Earl hung his continental old master paintings in a single row approximately at eye level, with at least several inches of space between each frame. He had taken this approach to picture hanging since he first occupied Chesterfield House in 1919 (fig. 43), and photographs of Goldsborough Hall taken during the 1920s show that the few old masters transferred to that house after 1922 were also displayed in this manner.⁷⁹¹ Since the early eighteenth century, old master paintings in many country houses had been arranged in symmetrical hangs that were several rows deep (known as a ‘picturesque hang’), inspired by arrangements in continental collections such as at the Pitti Palace and in the Tribune of the Uffizi, which aristocrats would have visited during a Grand Tour.⁷⁹² The picturesque hang persisted in many country houses into the twentieth century, for instance, the 6th Earl of Harewood encountered it during his overnight visit to Burghley House, Lincolnshire, with Princess Mary in October 1926.⁷⁹³ It also influenced the arrangement of public art institutions, particularly those which developed out of private collections during the nineteenth century.⁷⁹⁴

The principle of arranging pictures in a single line at eye level had gained support during the mid-nineteenth century, when, for example, the Director of the National Gallery Sir Charles Lock Eastlake (1793–1865, director 1855–1865) argued that ‘Every specimen of art in a

⁷⁹⁰ During the nineteenth century, a dark crimson colour was frequently used as a backdrop to old master paintings in country houses. This was also utilised by dealers such as Agnew, and subsequently taken up by many public galleries; Waterfield, pp. 58–59; Charlotte Klonk, *Spaces of Experience: Art Gallery Interiors from 1800 to 2000* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), p. 32; Agnew, pp. 29–30.

⁷⁹¹ Photographs of Chesterfield House in, HHPA, box 84; photographs of Goldsborough Hall in HHPA, box 86.

⁷⁹² Waterfield, p. 49. In order to achieve a pleasing visual effect, copies of paintings might be commissioned that could be adapted in size as required to provide pendants to single works; Jackson-Stops, p. 18.

⁷⁹³ Interpretation in the Black and Yellow Bedroom, Burghley House, seen by the author 2 April 2022. The picture hang at Burghley House had been a crowded but essentially picturesque arrangement since the late eighteenth century, as seen in photographs taken of the interiors in 1905; with thanks to Jon Culverhouse for sharing this information and archival photographs via email on 17 August 2022. Contemporary photographs of Castle Howard show paintings hung up to four rows deep in some rooms; ‘Beautiful British Homes: XI. – Castle Howard, the Yorkshire Home of the Earl of Carlisle’, *The Sketch*, 48.616 (1904), 165; R. S. G., ‘Castle Howard’, *The Pall Mall Magazine*, 23.95 (1901), 324–336, p. 333. A photograph of the Canaletto Room showing a picturesque, stacked hang is undated but must have been taken before the room was destroyed in the fire of 1940; Country Life Archive, image ID 1000574689.

⁷⁹⁴ For instance, at the National Gallery a picturesque hang was employed both at 100 Pall Mall – the home of the assembler of its founding collection, John Julius Angerstein, and the Gallery’s first location – from 1824, and at the Gallery’s permanent home on Trafalgar Square from 1838, as seen in a watercolour by Frederick Mackenzie, *The National Gallery when at Mr J. J. Angerstein’s House, Pall Mall, c. 1824–1834*, London, Victoria and Albert Museum; Klonk, p. 28.

national collection should, perhaps, be assumed to be fit to challenge inspection, and to be worthy of being well displayed.’⁷⁹⁵ The value of hanging pictures less densely was increasingly recognised in the early twentieth century, at the National Gallery and elsewhere. An attempt to thin out the picture hang at Hampton Court (a royal palace open to the public for free since 1837 and operated by the Office of Works) was undertaken by C.H. Collins Baker (1880–1959), Surveyor of the King’s Pictures (1928–1934), during the late 1920s, when he removed pictures from display ‘in order to allow for the better display of better pictures’.⁷⁹⁶ Collins Baker’s successor, Sir Kenneth Clark (1903–1983, surveyor 1934–1945) – who was also then Director of the National Gallery (1934–1945) – undertook a comprehensive rehang of the pictures at Hampton Court during the late 1930s, alongside the Office of Works’ restoration of the palace’s state rooms.⁷⁹⁷ He also reorganised the Picture Gallery at Buckingham Palace, in collaboration with Queen Mary, reducing the number of pictures on display (which had been hung up to four rows deep) so that ‘all could be seen to advantage’⁷⁹⁸ The result was that the paintings in that room were hung not more than two rows deep, on the lower section of the wall only (therefore close to eye level), and with at least several inches between each frame.⁷⁹⁹

As the son-in-law of King George V and Queen Mary, the 6th Earl of Harewood would have been familiar with Clark’s rearrangement of the collections at Buckingham Palace and other royal properties.⁸⁰⁰ It may have been for this reason that in 1938 the Sudeley Committee (with the 6th Earl as Chairman) recommended that Clark be engaged to superintend the rehang of principal pictures at Kenwood House, London, which along with the house itself had been given to the nation as the Iveagh Bequest by Edward Cecil Guinness, 1st Earl of Iveagh (1847–

⁷⁹⁵ Eastlake to Prime Minister Sir Robert Peel in 1845, quoted in Susanna Avery-Quash, ‘John Ruskin and the National Gallery: Evolving Ideas about Curating the Nation’s Paintings during the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century’, *Journal of Art Historiography*, 22, (June 2020), 43, p. 5 fn. 17. The critic John Ruskin also argued against a stacked hang, believing that ‘A model gallery should have one line only’; *Works of John Ruskin*, XIII, p.177, quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 4–5. Progress towards the single line hang at the National Gallery was hindered by the scale of the collection and lack of available wall space, though significant progress was finally made under successive directors Sir Kenneth Clark (1934–1945) and Philip Hendy (1946–1967).

⁷⁹⁶ Thurley, p. 20; C.H. Collins Baker, *Catalogue of the Pictures at Hampton Court* (Glasgow: Robert Maclehose, 1929), p. 163.

⁷⁹⁷ Stourton, p. 103; Thurley, p. 187.

⁷⁹⁸ Peacocke, *The Pictorial History of Buckingham Palace*, p. 14. The earlier stacked hang in the Picture Gallery is seen in a photograph taken by Alexander Hood c. 1914, repr. in Christopher Lloyd, *The Royal Collection* (London: ABC Books, 1993), p. 15.

⁷⁹⁹ Photograph repr. in Peacocke, *The Pictorial History of Buckingham Palace*, p. 9. See also a photograph of Queen Elizabeth II with her prime ministers, 1953, RCIN 2007006; <<https://www.rct.uk/collection/search#/7/collection/2007006/her-majesty-with-her-prime-ministers>> [accessed 6 August 2023].

⁸⁰⁰ To some extent, Kenneth Clark and his wife were also in the same social circle as the 6th Earl due to Clark’s official roles; for example, they attended a house party at Chatsworth which was held for Princess Mary in 1934; Stourton, p. 110.

1927).⁸⁰¹ The Sudeley Committee's interest in promoting public access to art evidently extended to considerations of display; this was most likely the subject of conversations that 'took place on Kenwood, Kensington Palace, [and] Hampton Court' at a Sudeley Committee meeting in June 1937.⁸⁰²

As has been established, the 6th Earl did not need to consider the educational merit of his pictures' arrangement within the private context of Harewood House, but the implication that pictures hung high on a wall would not stand up to close inspection would have encouraged him to employ a single line hang in order to demonstrate to all visitors his assurance in the quality of his collection. Moreover, his desire to study the 'characteristics' of artists represented in his collection by '[comparing] his pictures and drawings together' necessitated him being able to get physically close to each of his paintings.⁸⁰³ This connoisseurial study had likely underpinned the decision to employ a single line hang in temporary exhibitions held by the BFAC, which were often specialised in the work of a particular school or period.⁸⁰⁴ The 6th Earl certainly encountered the single line hang at the BFAC; photographs evidence that it was utilised, for example, during the BFAC's exhibition in 1921 to which the 6th Earl lent a painting by Scacco and a set of Chippendale chairs (fig. 44). BFAC exhibitions often included furniture and decorative arts alongside paintings, which evoked an 'intimate, domestic sense of experience' that was reminiscent of their members' own homes and encouraged close study of each picture rather than being calculated to give a generalised impression of grandeur.⁸⁰⁵

⁸⁰¹ Minutes of Sudeley Committee meeting on 27 May 1938, 6EHHA, box 4. Charles Holmes, *Pictures from the Iveagh Bequest and Collections; with an Introduction and Catalogue of the Kenwood Collection* (London: W.J. Stacey, 1928). In 1938 Clark was engaged on the restoration and rehang of Hampton Court's state rooms.

⁸⁰² Minutes of a Sudeley Committee meeting on 8 June 1937, 6EHHA, box 4. Details of these discussions were not recorded in the minutes, since 'there was no formal business'. Kensington Palace had been under the control of the Office of Works since the late nineteenth century; Thurley, p. 52.

⁸⁰³ 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 3 July 1917, 5CHHA, box 6, 116. Some art dealers also adopted the practice of hanging their stock in a single row, as this arrangement enabled clients to assess the individual value (aesthetic, art historical, and capital) of each picture, sometimes in mock-domestic spaces like those at the BFAC.

Colnaghi's gallery in New Bond Street featured such displays from 1911, which the 6th Earl may have seen when he purchased pictures from that dealer from 1917 onwards; Warner-Johnson and Howard, p. 4, fig. 5 showing the Gallery c. 1912 after the firm moved to the premises in 1911. Dealer Hugh Lane went further and displayed his painting stock in the genuine domestic spaces of his own home, Lindsey House on Cheyne Walk, London; Morna O'Neill, 'The Afterlife of the Palace of Art: Hugh Lane at Lindsey House', lecture delivered at the conference 'Palaces of Art: Whistler and the Art Worlds of Aestheticism', Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D.C., 28 October 2011, online film recording, YouTube, uploaded 13 March 2012 <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EavayynvARQ>> [accessed 19 April 2022].

⁸⁰⁴ Pierson, p. 19. For example, its 1912 exhibition of 'Early Venetian Pictures' was 'designed to illustrate in particular the work of Giovanni Bellini [...] and his scholars', culminating with Giorgione; this didactic mission necessitated a single line hang in order to demonstrate the progression of art in Venice; *Early Venetian Pictures and other Works of Art*, p. 8.

⁸⁰⁵ Klonk, p. 15.

Although the single line hang foregrounded the appreciation of each individual picture rather than their cumulative visual effect, the 6th Earl nevertheless recognised the merit of balancing pictures to create a pleasing aesthetic effect. He certainly took this approach into consideration when evaluating potential picture purchases, on one occasion noting: ‘It is a very curious shaped picture – but as I have to find a place for the Ferrarese St. John I take it that to have another long narrow picture will make it easier rather than more difficult.’⁸⁰⁶ The notion that two unusually shaped pictures might be easier to display than one indicates that the 6th Earl intended to use these paintings as a pair, balancing them through a symmetrical arrangement around a central feature such as a chimneypiece or painting. Photographs of the Green Drawing Room at Harewood House after 1930 show that the 6th Earl used two portraits by Titian and Tintoretto, which were of a similar scale and similarly framed, as a pair in precisely this manner. It therefore appears that the 6th Earl adopted the principles of symmetry and balance that made the traditional picturesque hang aesthetically pleasing (often found in private aristocratic displays) but applied them to a single line hang which enabled and encouraged contemplation of each individual picture.⁸⁰⁷

Framing the old masters

The 6th Earl of Harewood did not undertake any large-scale reframing programme of his continental old master paintings, and many of the works in his collection appear to have retained the frames in which they were housed at the point of purchase.⁸⁰⁸ This activity – or rather lack of activity – contrasts with many country house displays which survived from the early eighteenth century, when aristocrats returning from a Grand Tour often chose to use a single or limited number of frame types to house pictures that might vary significantly in date and country of origin, inspired by examples of frames they had seen on the continent.⁸⁰⁹ This

⁸⁰⁶ 6th Earl to Borenius, 21 June 1917, TBA, discussing a Vittore Crivelli picture of a bishop to be sold at Christie’s on 29 June 1917, lot 98 (not acquired).

⁸⁰⁷ Waterfield, p. 57; Klonk, p. 47. Aesthetic considerations were also sometimes applied to public art collections, for instance, Kenneth Clark noted that with regard to the arrangement of the National Gallery’s collections: ‘I would rather that the pictures looked well than that they were strictly classified by school and date.’; Kenneth Clark to Alexander Watt, 16 February 1935, letter forwarded to 6th Earl as Chairman of the Sudeley Committee, 6EHHA, box 4.

⁸⁰⁸ This is understood from the paucity of precise references to reframing in correspondence or invoices in the 6th Earl’s archive dating to the 1910s or early 1920s. An exception is the frame of a *Holy Family* by Ribera, bought from Colnaghi, which was immediately exchanged for an undescribed ‘new frame supplied’, but no description of either frame is known; invoice from Colnaghi to 6th Earl, 16 February 1922, HHTD:2003.1.10.

⁸⁰⁹ This approach had been utilised early on by the Elector of Saxony who ordained around 1746 that all of the pictures in his gallery at Dresden should be placed in uniform Rococo frames. Gold-coloured frames were favoured during the nineteenth century, in order to emphasise the value of the picture they surrounded; Nicholas Penny, *Frames*, Pocket Guides (London: National Gallery, 1997), pp. 49–50. For instance, at Dulwich Picture Gallery all of the paintings bequeathed in a single collection in 1811 were placed in gold-leafed plaster frames;

became common practice during the nineteenth century, and helped to create visual cohesion across a potentially varied collection; in a domestic setting, this approach visually asserted the role of the collector as owner and connoisseur.⁸¹⁰ This approach, however, did not encourage individual study of each picture because as Waterfield has noted, ‘the setting still remained more important than the individual work of art’.⁸¹¹ The 6th Earl of Harewood was aware of this practice, as indeed many of the principal family portraits hung in the dining room of Harewood House featured similar frames modelled after a design applied to the earliest Lascelles family portraits in the eighteenth century (fig. 45).⁸¹² Accordingly, when the 6th Earl decided to hang his portrait of George Canning by Thomas Lawrence in that room around 1930, he deliberately placed it in one of the original eighteenth-century frames to ensure its visual cohesion.⁸¹³

Conversely, in the case of his own, more recently accumulated continental old master paintings, the 6th Earl of Harewood assessed each picture individually and acquired or commissioned new frames only when he deemed it necessary. An early example is the 6th Earl’s large painting by Rubens, for which the dealer Colnaghi provided an antique frame in 1921, replacing a Louis XVI-style oak frame with one that was influenced by the rococo carving in the interiors of Chesterfield House, reflecting in this case the 6th Earl’s desire to create a unified interior scheme.⁸¹⁴ Invoices from Agnew’s dating to the early 1920s add further

Waterfield, p. 49; Jacob Simon, *The Art of the Picture Frame: Artists, Patrons and the Framing of Portraits in Britain* (London: National Portrait Gallery Publications, 1996), p. 119.

⁸¹⁰ For example, Prince Albert had paintings in the Picture Gallery of Buckingham Palace placed in uniform gilt frames in 1851, regardless of their date or country of origin; Lucy Whitaker, ‘“Preparing a Handsome Picture Frame to Pattern Chosen by HRH The Prince”: Prince Albert Frames His Collection’, in *Victoria & Albert: Art & Love*, ed. by Susanna Avery-Quash (London: Royal Collection Trust, 2012), 2–37, pp. 3–4. Photographs of Castle Howard in the early twentieth century show this framing approach – although not all identical, the extensive gilding and repetition of forms created a sense of visual unity; Country Life Picture Library, image ID 1000586789, 1000574713, 1000574687.

⁸¹¹ Waterfield, p. 49.

⁸¹² These frames featured a carved reed design with cross-ribbons and a flat diaper-pattern surround. The copies were sometimes simplified, with the wide surround omitted; this was particularly true of smaller portraits, such as that of the 5th Countess of Harewood by Solomon J. Solomon (visible above the door to the right in fig. 24). Not all of the Lascelles family portraits were placed in the same frame, although, as the 6th Earl noted with frustration in a letter to his mother concerning his own portrait by Lander: ‘I had it painted most carefully the same size as [the portrait of the 5th Earl by Sir William Llewellyn] so that eventually there may be at least two pictures in the dining-room to match! [...] I should like to have it put into a frame like the others’; 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 16 June 1917, 5CHHA, box 6, no. 161.

⁸¹³ It is unclear which portrait was taken out of this frame to accommodate the Lawrence.

⁸¹⁴ With thanks to Timothy Newbury for sharing his knowledge regarding the style of the two frames. Invoice from Colnaghi to 6th Earl, 28 April 1921, 6EHHA, miscellaneous correspondence 1917–1924. Interestingly, the new frame was provided at cost (for the large sum of £318.15) even though the painting had been purchased from Arthur Ruck, not Colnaghi. The 6th Earl had purchased seven paintings from Colnaghi between 1917 and 1921 including Titian’s *Diana and Actaeon* for £60,000, and this existing relationship may have encouraged Colnaghi to accept no profit on the frame. The new frame for the Rubens was similar to that around the 6th Earl’s Veronese portrait, though Nicholas Penny believes that frame was originally made for a picture by Guido Reni that was also in the 6th Earl’s collection; Penny, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Sixteenth Century*, p. 458, fn. 20.

details in this connection. They document that the 6th Earl acquired a number of different types of frames at this time: antique frames, new frames copied after existing ones in the 6th Earl's possession, and new frames perhaps copied after or inspired by historic models.⁸¹⁵

During the 1860s at the National Gallery, Eastlake and his Assistant Keeper Ralph Wornum had begun to move towards the use of frames reflecting the style of the particular school of each painting – some of which were designed after antique models by Wornum himself – rather than using standard patterns to create unity in each gallery.⁸¹⁶ However, it was not until 1900 that the National Gallery formalised a policy in which old frames or copies of them were applied to paintings of the same date and origin.⁸¹⁷ The use of historically appropriate antique frames supported the Gallery's connoisseurship by replicating the attribution given to each picture, thus acting as art historical tools themselves and supporting the Gallery's educational function.⁸¹⁸ A key promotor of the use of appropriate historical frames was the collector and Trustee of the National Gallery Robert Benson, who in 1914 argued that the Gallery should acquire 'fine original frames' – meaning from the same place and date as a given picture, not necessarily the frame first given to it upon completion – in order to preserve 'the setting intended by the artist' and recreate a lost 'wholeness'.⁸¹⁹ The idea that housing a picture in a frame produced in a similar time and place to it could bring one nearer to the artistic moment of creation is relevant to the 6th Earl of Harewood's desire to understand the 'characteristics' of artists in his collection.⁸²⁰ It was surely in part due to Benson's campaign that the National Gallery increasingly acquired antique frames during the first half of the twentieth century.⁸²¹ Where it was not possible to acquire antique frames at reasonable prices, Benson recommended that the best European craftsmen be employed to copy examples of 'original' frames in public and private collections.⁸²² These ideas already existed in continental Europe; in 1897 the

⁸¹⁵ Invoices from Agnew's to 6th Earl, various dating 1920–1923, 6EHHA, miscellaneous correspondence 1917–1924. See for example two 'antique carved and gilt wood' frames provided for 'Italian pictures' on 15 April 1921. The 6th Earl also sold his 'cast-off frames' back to Agnew's; fourteen unwanted frames – not necessarily all from old master paintings – were exchanged in this way for £20 credit in October 1920; invoice from Agnew's to 6th Earl, December 1920, 6EHHA, miscellaneous correspondence 1917–1924.

⁸¹⁶ O'Neill, pp. 169, 171; Whitaker, p. 8.

⁸¹⁷ This was likely inspired by the work of Wilhem von Bode at the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin, who instructed dealers to locate antique frames in specific styles, as well as commissioning copies of old frames that were related to the specific history and provenance of a given painting; O'Neill, pp. 169, 171, 190.

⁸¹⁸ O'Neill, p. 171. Harriet O'Neill has placed the taste for antique frames around the turn of the century within the context of the broader fashion for using antique furnishings, explored in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

⁸¹⁹ Robert H. Benson, 'Notes on Frames', in Curzon Report, p. 49; O'Neill, p. 175.

⁸²⁰ 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 3 July 1917, 5CHHA, box 6, 116.

⁸²¹ The National Gallery acquired antique frames through purchase, such as a group from Cassirer purchased in 1935, as well as through gifts from dealers and collectors; Simon, *The Art of the Picture Frame*, p. 119; O'Neill, pp. 196–197.

⁸²² Benson, 'Notes on Frames', p. 51. Benson's proposals for the National Gallery reflect his approach to framing his own collection; for instance, for a tondo by Andrea del Sarto, Benson commissioned a copy of an

Venetian dealer Michelangelo Guggenheim published a pattern book containing illustrations of antique frames of various origins, which he intended to be used by collectors and museum officials as the basis for an informed commissioning of modern copies.⁸²³

It is likely that the 6th Earl was aware of contemporary framing practices in the National Gallery as a result of his frequent trips to London and his social network in the artistic and scholarly community in the capital. While he may not have read Benson's 'Notes on Frames', the 6th Earl was – like Benson and Borenius – a member of the BFAC, where the discussions concerning pictures likely extended to aspects of their display.⁸²⁴ The 6th Earl was certainly conscious of the value of using historically appropriate frames. In a letter to his mother in 1917, he commented:

I think the frames very important to make the best of the pictures. The Greco's frame is wrong and will have to be put right but I have not made up my mind about it.⁸²⁵

The frame around El Greco's *Allegory* – a fully gilded example with all-over pastiglia decoration – was eventually replaced, likely at the 6th Earl's instruction sometime after 1931, when it arrived at Harewood House.⁸²⁶ The replacement frame was an antique south Italian cassetta example dating to c. 1640, which was reduced in size (presumably in order to house the El Greco) and reworked to look Spanish.⁸²⁷ It featured dark green flat panels patterned as imitation marble, with Italian Renaissance-style gilded composition or papier mâché ornaments in the corners and centres, which may have been added during the 1930s (fig. 46). Many

antique frame in the Siena Gallery, which he considered to be 'one which Andrea might have chosen himself'; Robert Benson to Joseph Duveen, 26 July 1927, referenced in Karen Serres, 'Duveen's Italian Framemaker, Ferruccio Vannoni', *The Burlington Magazine*, 159.1370 (May 2017), 366–374. This frame was probably commissioned from Sienese framemaker Giovacchino Corsi, who Benson recommended the National Gallery employ in his 'Notes on Frames', p. 51.

⁸²³ Michelangelo Guggenheim, *Le cornici Italiane dalla metà del secolo XV^o allo scorcio del XVI^o. con breve testo riassuntivo intorno alla storia ed all'importanza delle cornici*. (Milan: Vlrice Hoepli, 1897); O'Neill, pp. 176–177.

⁸²⁴ Pierson, p. 170.

⁸²⁵ 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 9 June 1917, 5CHHA, box 6, 159.

⁸²⁶ There are no photographs of the El Greco's frame between the early 1930s (old frame, HHPA box 84) and 1966 (new frame, Richard Buckle, *Harewood: A New Guide–Book to the Yorkshire Seat of the Earls of Harewood* (Derby: English Life Publications, 1966), but it is almost certain that the reframing was done by the 6th Earl. Tim Newbury has noted that the exaggerated painted marbling is of a style usually dated to the 1960s; email correspondence, 3 September 2023. This would suggest that the painting was reframed by the 7th Earl of Harewood after his father's death, however, the challenging economic circumstances he faced during the 1960s (outlined in the Conclusion of this thesis) make it hard to believe that the 7th Earl would have prioritised reframing a painting after he inherited in 1947.

⁸²⁷ With thanks to Tim Newbury for sharing his expertise, and for noting that when antique Spanish frames were applied to paintings by El Greco, these often dated to the mid- or late-17th century, rather than being exactly contemporary to the artist; email correspondence, 26 August 2023. No invoice or other reference to the frame has been identified in the Harewood archive.

Spanish frames of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries combined gold with very dark colours or black, which echoed the colouring and use of dramatic chiaroscuro in paintings of the same date, so this frame was appropriate to the original date and place of execution of the El Greco.⁸²⁸

Even before the El Greco was reframed for Harewood House, the 6th Earl had consciously displayed it in its previous home, Chesterfield House, in a manner which enhanced the effect of chiaroscuro, by illuminating it by an electric light situated below the picture so that the direction of light echoed that of the painted flame – this was a deliberate choice, as the 6th Earl’s other paintings were lit from above (see fig. 46).⁸²⁹ It was perhaps in part this sensitive display that caused an art historian visiting the 6th Earl’s collection at Chesterfield House to praise him: ‘There are so few collectors who appreciate El Greco and understand his use of textures and his amazing skill in the treatment of light.’⁸³⁰ While no picture lamps were installed at Harewood House during the 1930s, the new frame given to the El Greco at that time similarly emphasised the dramatic lighting of the picture. In this regard the picture’s display demonstrated the 6th Earl’s art historical understanding of El Greco’s work, as well as reflecting the contemporary preference for using historically appropriate frames.

In a handful of cases, the 6th Earl commissioned new Renaissance-revival frames for his Italian old master paintings – sometimes up to fifteen years after their acquisition – from the Florentine framemaker Ferruccio Vannoni (1881–1965).⁸³¹ Vannoni had trained in Siena under Giovacchino Corsi, the framemaker whom Benson had recommended the National Gallery to employ to produce replicas of old frames in 1914.⁸³² Like Corsi, Vannoni specialised in the production of replica frames with carved or moulded ornament; however, Karen Serres has

⁸²⁸ Philippe Avila, ‘An Introduction to Spanish Baroque Frames in the Golden Age’, *The Frame Blog*, 2019 <<https://theframeblog.com/2019/03/12/an-introduction-to-spanish-baroque-frames-in-the-golden-age/>> [accessed 14 July 2022]; Paul Mitchell and Lynn Roberts, *Frameworks: Form, Function & Ornament in European Portrait Frames* (London: P. Mitchell in association with Merrell Holberton, 1996), pp. 122–125.

⁸²⁹ Photograph of the Dining Room, Chesterfield House, photographed by *Country Life* c. 1922, HHPA, box 84. For an examination of the introduction of electricity in country houses, see the research project ‘Electrifying the Country House’ by Graeme Gooday and Abigail Harrison Moore, including their jointly authored chapter, ‘True Ornament? The Art and Industry of Electric Lighting in the Home, 1889–1902’, in *Art versus Industry*, ed. by Kate Nichols, Rebecca Wade, and Gabriel Williams (Manchester University Press, 2015), 158–178. For a specific study of electricity at Harewood House, see Michael Kay and Graeme Gooday, ‘From Hydroelectricity to the National Grid: Harewood House and the History of Electrification in Britain, 1900–1940’, *History of Retailing and Consumption*, 4.1 (2018), 43–63 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/2373518X.2018.1436222>>.

⁸³⁰ George Charles Williamson to 6th Earl, 23 April 1924, HHTD:2000.1.47.

⁸³¹ Invoices from Vannoni to the 6th Earl, 10 September 1931 and 27 July 1932, HHTD:2015.29 and HHTD:2015.30.

⁸³² Lynn Roberts, ‘19th & 20th Century Italian Framemakers: Articles in The Burlington Magazine’, *The Frame Blog*, 2017 <<https://theframeblog.com/2017/06/19/review-19th-20th-century-italian-framemakers-articles-in-the-burlington-magazine/>> [accessed 28 November 2019]; Benson, p. 51.

noted that Vannoni's frames 'display striking inventiveness, to the point that one could argue that no two frames are exactly alike.'⁸³³ From 1925 until his retirement in 1958 Vannoni was the principal source of frames for early Italian pictures for Duveen Brothers.⁸³⁴ Surviving correspondence evidences that Tancred Borenius corresponded with Vannoni on the 6th Earl's behalf.⁸³⁵ As has been demonstrated, the 6th Earl was ultimately responsible for the arrangement of his picture collection at Harewood House, and this likely extended to the selection or commission of new frames. No doubt Borenius was involved in the transactions with Vannoni because he was fluent in Italian, a skill which neither the 6th Earl nor Princess Mary seem to have possessed.⁸³⁶

Vannoni is known to have created frames for two pictures in the 6th Earl's collection: Vincenzo Catena's (1480–1531) *Madonna and Child with St John the Baptist and St Jerome* in 1931; and Tintoretto's portrait of *Benedetto Soranzo* in 1932.⁸³⁷ The instructions given to Vannoni for the Tintoretto's frame in 1932 were recorded in a letter from Princess Mary to Borenius: 'Very many thanks for your letter also for the photograph of the Tintoretto showing the frame. It is most kind of you to have sent this photograph to Florence with instructions to make a design for a frame on simplified lines and to ask for an estimate. Lord Harewood wonders if you have the size of our Tintoretto otherwise we can quickly get it for you.'⁸³⁸ The Tintoretto had been placed in an overmantel at Chesterfield House and therefore did not have a portable frame.⁸³⁹ Later, in the Green Drawing room of Harewood House, the Tintoretto was hung next to a mantelpiece which was flanked on the opposite side by the 6th Earl's portrait of *Francis I* by Titian; the pictures were of similar scale and proportion to one another so formed

⁸³³ Serres.

⁸³⁴ Ibid. Duveen likely engaged Vannoni to provide replacement frames for much of Robert Benson's collection after purchasing it *en bloc* in 1927; Joseph Duveen to Robert Benson, 8 September 1927, Duveen Brothers Records, box 351 [reel 206], folder 3.

⁸³⁵ Princess Mary to Borenius, 16 June 1932, and 26 June 1932, TBA.

⁸³⁶ Farr.

⁸³⁷ Invoices from Ferruccio Vannoni to the 6th Earl, 27 July 1932, HHTD:2015.30 (Tintoretto); and 10 September 1931, HHTD:2015.29 (Catena). The Tintoretto's previous display is visible in a photograph of the Dining Room, Chesterfield House, by *Country Life*, c. 1922, HHPA, box 84. Nicholas Penny has additionally suggested that Vannoni created the frame around the 6th Earl's portrait by Titian of *Francis I* around 1925; *National Gallery Catalogues: The Sixteenth Century*, p. 456. No documentation has been found in the 6th Earl's archive regarding the Titian's frame, whereas the other two Vannoni commissions are evidenced by receipts. Agnew's sale records indicate that the painting was reframed by that firm when it was in their stock, between 1911 and 1918; Agnew's picture stock book, stock no. 3615, NGA27/1/1/11, NGA. Indeed, the present frame was photographed around the painting in Chesterfield House in 1922; Tipping, 'Chesterfield House, Mayfair.-I', p. 239. Stylistic evidence does not support a Vannoni attribution, as the main part of the frame has characteristics consistent with being produced in Venice c. 1580, while the salamanders and moulding on the sight edge were likely added during the 1910s in England; email correspondence with Tim Newbury, 3 September 2023.

⁸³⁸ Princess Mary to Borenius, 16 June 1932, TBA.

⁸³⁹ See fig. 43.

a balanced pair, which was also historically appropriate since the artists had been active in Venice during the same period.⁸⁴⁰ The reference to a photograph sent to Vannoni and instructions for a ‘frame on simplified lines’ – as well as the visual similarities between the pierced cassetta frames which surrounded the Titian and Tintoretto in the 1930s – may indicate that the frame around Titian’s *Francis I* was used as the model.

Aesthetic considerations were likely behind the reframing in 1931 of Vincenzo Catena’s *Madonna and Child with St John and St Jerome*, which had previously been housed in a cassetta frame with broad flat gilt panels.⁸⁴¹ That picture was not moved to Harewood House until 1939; it was part of a group of continental old master paintings (including the 6th Earl’s two works by Giovanni Bellini) that was moved from Chesterfield House to 32 Green Street around 1932.⁸⁴² The Bellinis, and most of the paintings that hung alongside the Catena in the Morning Room of Chesterfield House, featured tabernacle frames whose architectural features made them more physically imposing and visually interesting than the Catena’s frame.⁸⁴³ Vannoni’s new tabernacle frame for the Catena redressed this imbalance, while also being historically accurate, since its design closely aligned with the frame around *The Mystic Marriage of St Catherine* by Andrea Privately in San Giobbe, Venice (fig. 47).⁸⁴⁴

Vannoni’s invoice for the tabernacle frame described it as being ‘*patinato all’uso antico*’.⁸⁴⁵ Similarly, the invoice for the Tintoretto’s new frame was translated into English by a member of the 6th Earl’s household who described it as being ‘Gilded in Gold, double thickness toned antique.’⁸⁴⁶ These references to patination likely reflect an instruction to Vannoni that was intended to prevent the new frames from looking ‘incongruously fresh’ in comparison with the older frames in the 6th Earl’s collection, which Vannoni’s were prone to do.⁸⁴⁷ The potential for a freshly-gilt frame to disturb the aesthetic experience of studying an old master painting

⁸⁴⁰ A similar approach had been taken by Prince Albert in the mid-nineteenth century, who sometimes placed paintings that were unrelated but of a similar size into identical frames so as to create a cohesive display; Whitaker, pp. 16–17.

⁸⁴¹ Photograph of the Morning Room, Chesterfield House, taken by *Country Life* c.1922, HHPA, box 84. This was probably the frame that the 6th Earl bought the picture in.

⁸⁴² The family ceased using 32 Green Street from the outbreak of the Second World War, when the pictures were moved to Harewood; Valuation for Probate on the Estate of the 6th Earl of Harewood, Pictures, Drawings and Prints Suggested for Exemption, January 1948, HHTD:2016.217, p.32.

⁸⁴³ According to Tim Newbury the tabernacle frames photographed at Chesterfield House had likely been produced in the early twentieth century; email correspondence, 2 May 2021.

⁸⁴⁴ The Previtali may have been the model for the engraving of a late fifteenth-century Venetian frame reproduced in Guggenheim, plate 27. Tim Newbury highlighted the connection to the Previtali frame; email correspondence, 23 April 2021. Both of Vannoni’s invoices to the 6th Earl contain references – ‘Prot.llo 760 a Pag.83’ (Catena) and ‘Prot.llo 730’ (Tintoretto) – that indicate that the designs for the new frame were selected from an illustrated publication such as Guggenheim’s.

⁸⁴⁵ Invoice from Ferruccio Vannoni to the 6th Earl, 10 September 1931, HHTD:2015.29.

⁸⁴⁶ HHTD:2015.30; the handwriting is probably not that of the 6th Earl.

⁸⁴⁷ Serres, p. 372.

was known – for example, the dealer Duveen ordered that the gilding of the new French-style frames that he applied to British paintings be coloured and toned in accordance with each work, ensuring that the pairing of painting and frame was visually harmonious and the recent production of the frame not immediately intelligible.⁸⁴⁸ Kenneth Clark also had some of the ‘gaudy’ gilt frames in the National Gallery ‘toned down’ during the first half of the 1930s, again for aesthetic reasons.⁸⁴⁹ As well as these considerations, patina and its association with high social standing (see pp. 4 and 66) were of great importance to the 6th Earl in the furnishing of his homes.⁸⁵⁰ This extended to all aspects of the interior including pictures frames. Bright gilding would have highlighted to visitors which frames had been made recently, and by extension may have indicated that the 6th Earl’s collection of old masters had only lately been assembled. While the 6th Earl did not actively seek to disguise this fact – provenance was recorded in Borenius’s catalogue of the Harewood collection – it was nevertheless important that his collection visually cohered with the eighteenth-century heritage of Harewood House, which cumulatively conveyed his high social status and associated longstanding family ancestry.

Authenticity in picture cleaning

There is no identifiable pattern in the frequency with which the 6th Earl had pictures in his collection cleaned or restored, and no evidence of an annual condition review either by the 6th Earl himself or an external individual or firm. As with the reframing of his paintings described above, the 6th Earl employed a restorer to work on his pictures only when he deemed it necessary, usually either at the time of their acquisition or shortly after his move to Harewood House in 1930; after that point he intervened only as and when treatment was required.⁸⁵¹ In this regard he followed the policy advocated by Sir Charles Holmes, who stated in 1922: ‘No

⁸⁴⁸ Nicholas Penny and Karen Serres, ‘Duveen’s French Frames for British Pictures’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 151.1275 (June 2009), 388–394, p. 392.

⁸⁴⁹ Kenneth Clark to Alexander Watt, 16 February 1935, 6EHHA, box 4.

⁸⁵⁰ McCracken, pp. 31–43.

⁸⁵¹ The restoration work carried out for the 6th Earl during the 1920s may be briefly summarised here. Much of the cleaning and restoration undertaken while the 6th Earl was at Chesterfield House was targeted at paintings that he had inherited from the 2nd Marquess of Clanricarde, and others which were valued for their decorative or historic merit rather than their artistic merit. The individuals and firms engaged during this period include Herbert George Haines (whose invoice does not detail the type of work carried out), the dealing firm Agnew’s (whose interior work, described above, included ‘cleaning and polishing’ the surface of pictures, indicating minimal intervention), and Reeve and Davis (who carried out significant structural work on many Clanricarde pictures, including relining and cradling, skills in which Edward Davis specialised): invoice from H.G. Haines to 6th Earl, receipted 21 September 1920, 6EHHA, miscellaneous correspondence in accordion file; invoice from [Reeve and Davis, signed by C. Markey] to 6th Earl, 10 January 1921, HHTD:2000.1.6.

man of sense calls in a picture-cleaner till his presence is made absolutely necessary by some damage or deterioration in the surface or substance of a painting.’⁸⁵²

During the early years of his collecting, the 6th Earl engaged Ayerst Hooker Buttery (1868–1929), who was a specialist in the treatment of Italian pictures to the extent that the 6th Earl considered it would be ‘wasting his talent’ for Buttery to treat his English pictures.⁸⁵³ In accordance with Buttery’s area of expertise, the 6th Earl seems to have only engaged him to work on Italian paintings: *A Roman Lady* by Sebastiano del Piombo, *Portrait of a Lady* by Cavazzola, *St Jerome* by Sodoma, and *St John the Baptist* by Cristoforo Scacco.⁸⁵⁴ Buttery’s work mostly consisted of the removal of old ‘perished’ or ‘discoloured’ varnish and of ‘old repairs’, and unspecified ‘restoring’, which may simply refer to the restoration of a layer of fresh varnish, or to reinstating areas of lost paint.⁸⁵⁵ His level of intervention appears to have been limited to what was required in order to improve visibility of the original painted surface, which sometimes involved removing the work of previous restorers; Buttery’s specialist knowledge may have helped him to distinguish later interventions from the artist’s original work.⁸⁵⁶

As suggested in the memorable comment from Sir George Beaumont (1753–1827) that paintings should have ‘the tonality of an old Cremona fiddle’, the dark tone of old master paintings created by varnish which had discoloured over time had come to be regarded as traditional by much of the art-loving public in the early twentieth century.⁸⁵⁷ As a result, paintings that looked bright and fresh after being cleaned attracted severe public criticism, as Kenneth Clark found in 1937 when the National Gallery displayed a recently-cleaned portrait

⁸⁵² Charles J. Holmes, ‘An Essay on Mastic Varnish’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 35.197 (August 1919), 68, 71–72, 75, p. 68.

⁸⁵³ 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 18 May 1917, 5CHHA, box 6, 153. Buttery had worked on the picture collections of public museums (The National Gallery, the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) and aristocratic country houses (Chatsworth House and Hardwick Hall, both Derbyshire), and had been appointed as cleaner and restorer of pictures to Queen Victoria in 1900; Jacob Simon, ‘British Picture Restorers, 1600–1950 – B – National Portrait Gallery’ <<https://www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes/directory-of-british-picture-restorers/british-picture-restorers-1600-1950-b/>> [accessed 28 April 2020].

⁸⁵⁴ 6th Earl to Borenius, 6 January 1917, TBA; Invoices from Ayerst Hooker Buttery to 6th Earl, 29 December 1917, HHTD:2003.1.36; and 25 March 1918, HHTD:2003.1.37a.

⁸⁵⁵ Ibid. The Scacco required more extensive work; Buttery’s final invoice of £185 records ‘parquetting and flattening’ (cradling) the panel, as well as ‘removing old varnishes & repairs, [and] cleaning & restoring same’.

⁸⁵⁶ For a scientific account of Buttery’s interventions on a work in the National Gallery, analysed during their removal, see Jill Dunkerton, ‘The Technique and Restoration of ‘The Virgin and Child Enthroned, with Four Angels’ by Quinten Massys.’ *National Gallery Technical Bulletin* 29 (2008): 60–75, pp. 62–63.

⁸⁵⁷ Beaumont’s comment arose in criticism of the works of John Constable, who is famously said to have lain a Cremona violin on Beaumont’s lawn in response; C.R. Leslie, *Memoirs of the Life of John Constable, Esq. R.A., Composed Chiefly of the Letters [1843]*, J. Mayne, ed., (London: Phaidon, 1951), p. 114.

of Philip II by Velazquez, known as ‘the Silver Philip’.⁸⁵⁸ The increasing democratisation of physical and intellectual access to public art collections in the first half of the twentieth century also affected picture cleaning, as it was important that visitors without specialist knowledge could see the pictures on display clearly in order to understand and appreciate them.⁸⁵⁹ However, several artists and Royal Academicians accused the National Gallery of having removed original glazes – not only varnish – from the ‘Silver Philip’, and such was the intensity of feeling that the creation of a Society for the Protection of Old Masters was threatened.⁸⁶⁰ Clark established a scientific department at the National Gallery during the 1930s, whose technical analysis he relied on in order to ‘prove that no harm [had] been done’ to pictures during the cleaning process.⁸⁶¹

This was part of a broader shift towards a scientific approach to picture cleaning and restoration. In May 1923, in response to public inquiries, the Royal Academy convened a committee of ‘artists and scientists for the investigation of the qualities of artists’ materials and of the various methods of cleaning of old pictures.’⁸⁶² Concurrently, there was a profusion of articles on the subject of picture cleaning and restoration, particularly in the *Burlington Magazine* and letters to *The Times* newspaper. The authors of those articles included restorers (Henry Thomas Dover), museum professionals (Charles Holmes and Kenneth Clark), art historians (Tancred Borenius and D.S. MacColl), and artists (Arthur Pillans Laurie).⁸⁶³ Several

⁸⁵⁸ Stourton, p. 120. Eastlake had also faced criticism when he had had four pictures in the National Gallery cleaned in 1846, and was blamed for ‘flaying’ and ‘scraping raw’ the pictures, as well as ‘falsifying’ them through overpainting; Susanna Avery-Quash, ‘The Art of Conservation II: Sir Charles Eastlake and Conservation at the National Gallery, London’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 157.1353 (December 2015), 846–854, p. 847. See also Holmes, ‘An Essay on Mastic Varnish’, p. 71.

⁸⁵⁹ Ruiz, p. 213. This concept was embodied in the ‘Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures’ held at the National Gallery from 1947 to 1948 during the Directorship of Philip Hendy, which presented cleaned pictures as ‘self-evident visual object lessons’ that could be understood by ‘lay people’ without additional interpretation; Louis Crombeke, ‘Pictures – Clean or Dirty?’, *Daily Worker*, 16 October 1947. Ruiz has noted that Hendy’s approach to cleaning ‘had been over reliant on the capacity of artworks to transparently communicate meaning’ and ‘had not acknowledged the prescriptive conditions under which such experience took place’; p. 200.

⁸⁶⁰ Stourton, p. 120.

⁸⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 119–121.

⁸⁶² ‘The Academy Banquet’, p. 17. In a notice printed in *The Times* that same year the members of this committee urged owners and custodians of ‘valuable pictures’ to ‘postpone as far as possible the so-called restoration and cleaning of pictures in their possession’ until ‘some general agreement is reached’ on the best methods, presumably anticipating a definitive statement to be made in the committee’s eventual report; ‘The Care of Old Pictures’, 14 December 1923, p. 16.

⁸⁶³ Henry T. Dover, ‘The Restoration of Paintings’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 39.223 (October 1921), 184–185, 187–188; Henry T. Dover, ‘The Restoration of Paintings’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 39.224 (November 1921), 221–223; Charles J. Holmes, ‘Some Elements of Picture Cleaning’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 40.228 (March 1922), 132–134; Charles J. Holmes, ‘Some Elements of Picture Cleaning (Concluded)’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 40.229 (April 1922), 171–174; Kenneth Clark, ‘The Cleaning Of Pictures’, *The Times*, 23 December 1936, 11; Tancred Borenius, ‘On the Care of Pictures’, *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, 133.3475, 3 June 1922, 571–572; D.S. MacColl, ‘Fumigation for Furniture Beetle in Panels’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 40.230 (May 1922), 234, 237; A. P. Laurie, ‘Ailing Pictures’, *The Times*, 9 July 1931, 10.

authors sought to dissuade ‘amateurs’ from attempting ‘domestic picture cleaning’, which could lead to ‘sheer disaster’.⁸⁶⁴ The 6th Earl of Harewood had some awareness of the techniques one might use for picture cleaning, which he relayed in a letter to his sister in 1947 after a bird had damaged one of her paintings:

I do not think you need worry about the bird’s behaviour to your Hogarth. You can safely apply a little soap and slightly warm water to get it off and see whether it has left any mark on the varnish. I should not apply potatoe [sic] (which is alcohol) because it is apt to soften and remove varnish. You must rub it very gently so as not to stretch the canvas on which it is painted and your rubbing must be with some soft material, not a brush. When you have got off the bird’s “card”, make sure that you wash off all the soap with clean water.⁸⁶⁵

Although the 6th Earl wrote confidently on the use of soap and water, in fact as early as 1922 Charles Holmes had described this combination as ‘a deadly method of surface cleaning which was much in vogue twenty-five years ago, and is still advocated by those who know no better’.⁸⁶⁶ The 6th Earl did not own any publications concerned with picture cleaning or restoration, and relied on the knowledge and expertise of professional restorers whom he engaged to treat the pictures in his collection, not least Tancred Borenius.

Although lacking specialist knowledge, the 6th Earl was aware that darkened varnish affected the appearance of pictures and their perceived quality. In 1938 he corresponded with J.W. Goodison, an Assistant Curator at the Fitzwilliam Museum, regarding an Albertinelli in the Cambridge collection, which was closely related to his own work by that artist.⁸⁶⁷ Having judged that the Fitzwilliam version would not ‘stand against mine’, the 6th Earl asked: ‘I wonder whether it has been recently cleaned, and, if not, whether cleaning would reduce the heaviness of some parts of it?’⁸⁶⁸ Goodison concurred that the ‘heavily discoloured varnish’ was indeed ‘responsible for the “heaviness of its appearance”’, but also noted that it ‘look[ed] to be in honest condition’ beneath the varnish.⁸⁶⁹ This last comment reflects the high value attached to work by the artist versus that of later restorers, and the notion of authenticity was key in this regard. Amateurs certainly attached greater value to paintings which featured only

⁸⁶⁴ Holmes, ‘Some Elements of Picture Cleaning’, p. 133

⁸⁶⁵ 6th Earl to Viscountess Boyne (his elder sister, Margaret), 7 April 1947, 6EHHA, box 21.

⁸⁶⁶ Holmes, ‘Some Elements of Picture Cleaning’, p. 133.

⁸⁶⁷ HHTD:2000.1.76.

⁸⁶⁸ 6th Earl to J.W. Goodison, 26 May 1938, HHTD:2000.1.76. The 6th Earl also suggested that the Fitzwilliam’s picture was ‘an attempt by a pupil to paint a picture based on one painted by his master’.

⁸⁶⁹ Goodison to 6th Earl, 30 May 1938, HHTD:2000.1.76.

minimal, if any, restoration work; for example, when the 5th Earl of Harewood visited Florence, Italy, in 1914 he noted in his diary that ‘the recently discovered Pallas Taming a Centaur by Botticelli’ was ‘a wonderful picture, cleaned but not touched up’.⁸⁷⁰

Accordingly, much of the conservation work commissioned by the 6th Earl of Harewood focused upon surface cleaning and the removal of discoloured varnish, and more invasive work was only carried out when absolutely necessary. In 1930, shortly after his inheritance of Harewood House, the 6th Earl commissioned the picture cleaner and restorer William Addison Holder (1883–1947) to compile a report on the pictures at Harewood with recommendations for their treatment.⁸⁷¹ Holder subsequently treated many paintings for the 6th Earl in 1930 and 1931, including seventeen ancestral portraits by leading artists including Sir Joshua Reynolds, Sir Thomas Lawrence, George Richmond, and John Hoppner.⁸⁷² Most of these portraits were simply cleaned, the old discoloured varnish removed, and a layer of new varnish added.⁸⁷³ The high figures charged in some cases for comparatively unobtrusive work – including £100 and £70 for Reynolds’s *Mrs Hale as Euphrosyne* and *Edwin Lascelles, Lord Harewood*, respectively – suggests that the paintings at Harewood had not received professional treatment for some time prior.⁸⁷⁴

The restorer Henry Dover was critical of owners who insisted that their recently-cleaned pictures should be given ‘a glamour of antiquity’ through the application of a coloured glaze (often watercolour) beneath the new varnish, arguing that ‘the restoration of a picture should be realised wherever possible without any toning whatever.’⁸⁷⁵ There is no evidence that the

⁸⁷⁰ 5th Earl diary entries, 12 March–2 April 1913, 5EHHA.

⁸⁷¹ Letter and estimate from W.A. Holder, Holder & Sons, to 6th Earl, 31 March 1930, HHTD:2000.1.21. This survey included pictures which formed part of Adam’s decorative scheme, such as the *capricci* by Zucchi in the Music Room, and oil paintings by Turner in the Main Library. Holder was part of the family firm William Holder & Sons, which had been established in the early nineteenth century, and whose clients in the twentieth century included the National Gallery, Agnew’s, and Duveen Brothers: Simon, ‘British Picture Restorers, 1600–1950 – H – National Portrait Gallery’; Agnew, p. 26.

⁸⁷² Invoice from W. Holder to 6th Earl, 15 January 1931, HHTD:2015.42.

⁸⁷³ Occasionally, Holder’s invoices record more invasive work carried out: for example, he repaired ‘numerous cracks and pentimento’ on Hoppner’s *Edward Lascelles, first Earl of Harewood*, removed ‘repaints’ from two paintings by Alessandro Longhi and Vincenzo Catena, and ‘filled and repaired damages’ to a picture by Sebastiano Ricci; Invoice from W. Holder to 6th Earl, HHTD:2015.42; invoice from W. Holder to 6th Earl, 20 November 1931, HHTD:2015.41. The lack of any further detail makes it difficult to draw definite conclusions about the impact of these treatments, however, it is likely that Holder’s work was limited to repairing damage and removing old interventions that would otherwise interfere with the 6th Earl’s ability to appreciate the artist’s original work.

⁸⁷⁴ Invoice from W. Holder to 6th Earl, HHTD:2015.42. These high figures may also reflect the difficulty of treating works by Reynolds, who experimented extensively with media; see M. Kirby Talley, Jr, ‘All Good Pictures Crack’: Sir Joshua Reynolds’ practice and studio’, in *Reynolds*, ed. by Nicholas Penny (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1986), 55–70. Mauchline stated that the 5th Earl did little to improve Harewood House due to financial limitations; Mauchline, p. 144.

⁸⁷⁵ Dover, ‘The Restoration of Paintings’, p. 223.

6th Earl of Harewood ever had his pictures toned in this way; indeed, it may have been due to his awareness of the comparative brightness of cleaned pictures that he decided to have all of the discoloured paintings at Harewood cleaned and revarnished around 1931, so that his own more recently cleaned acquisitions would not appear incongruous when they were incorporated into the collection. Interestingly, this aspect of his picture cleaning is therefore opposite to what he undertook in relation to his picture frames; in the latter case, patina was added, rather than removed. This decision demonstrates that the 6th Earl's prime concern was the ability to study artists' work up-close and unobscured.

Conclusion

The 6th Earl of Harewood showed a great deal of autonomy in the arrangement and treatment of his continental old masters and, while employing experts to assist where necessary, he was closely involved with most if not all of the decisions taken in this regard. His approach towards the display of his continental old master paintings reflected his desire to incorporate them into his family's broader, and older, cultural heritage at Harewood House, in accordance with the collection's intended function to fill a gap in that heritage and thereby reinforce the Lascelles family's aristocratic status. Aspects of the 6th Earl's display of his collection at Harewood accordingly align with traditional country house presentations, for instance, their position in the more public west side of Harewood alongside furniture and decorative arts commissioned or acquired by his ancestors. Moreover, aesthetic considerations were one of the key factors in the separation of the collection between the Rose and Green Drawing Rooms, and the pictures' balanced dispersal around features such as chimneypieces which helped to visually integrate the collection into the wider decorative scheme.

The 6th Earl also demonstrated an awareness of evolving contemporary practices around the display and treatment of old master paintings, gained through his philanthropic involvement with public art institutions, as well as his personal network of fellow collectors and the royal family. As a member of the Burlington Fine Arts Club, he was aware that hanging pictures in a single line at eye level facilitated close examination, and deliberately limited the volume of his acquisitions to ensure that they did not exceed the space available for a spacious display – considering the space already taken by his family's historic pictures, whose display he prioritised over his own collection. The 6th Earl's use of historically appropriate picture frames, and desire to have clean pictures treated in accordance with professional recommendations, also indicate that he was aware of these practices at the National Gallery. Though not detracting from the aesthetic interior ensemble, these up-to-date display methods reflected the 6th Earl's

art historical knowledge and emphasised the individual value of pictures in his collection, thus enhancing his own status as a knowledgeable collector of continental old master paintings.

Conclusion

Existing scholarship on the history of collecting during the first half of the twentieth century has tended to focus on the dominance of American plutocrats in the British art market, with British aristocrats relegated to the category of vendor. The 6th Earl of Harewood complicates this narrative and demonstrates that the flow of continental old master paintings was not solely one way, from Britain to America, during this period. This thesis provides a valuable contribution to the field by drawing attention to the targeted acquisition of old masters for a British private collection during the first half of the twentieth century.

As noted in the Introduction to this thesis, Nicholas Penny has recognised a link between the 6th Earl of Harewood's collecting activities and the contemporary 'concern for preserving the national "heritage"'.⁸⁷⁶ The conflation of aristocratic cultural heritage with national heritage during the period under discussion led to public outrage against aristocrats who sold important works of art to American buyers, particularly when this resulted in their permanent transatlantic export (or having to be 'saved' at the last minute through purchase by the National Art Collections Fund, at great cost). The 6th Earl, like many members of his class, valued the rights and privileges of private ownership, which prevented him from accepting that works of art in private collections such as his own should be treated as national property analogous to those in public institutions. He believed that private ownership and public benefit were compatible and was keen to improve access to art in country houses in order to support the artistic education of the general public, especially local communities, while also enabling owners to retain possession of their heritage. The scheme that the 6th Earl proposed to enable this arrangement was underpinned by financial support from the government, and informed by a realistic assessment of the economic circumstances that led many aristocrats to sell works of art. As government support was not forthcoming, and the 6th Earl was unwilling to make a financial sacrifice to benefit the public, Harewood House remained principally a private home to which public access was no more generous than it had been in previous centuries.

Through a close examination of the 6th Earl's involvement with public arts institutions – an element of his biography that has been hitherto overlooked – this thesis has challenged the suggestion that aristocrats during the first half of the twentieth century were ineffective or unwelcome stewards of art. In particular, through his role on the independent Sudeley Committee the 6th Earl utilised his private and official network of contacts afforded by his

⁸⁷⁶ Penny, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Sixteenth Century*, p. 455.

social position to promote institutional reforms that sought to make works of art in public collections more physically and intellectually accessible to working people. His successes in this area, including the part he played in promoting the implementation of evening opening at several national institutions, indicate the adaptability and continued cultural authority of the aristocracy during the 1930s and 1940s in ways that have not always been acknowledged by scholars. This thesis has also shown that the involvement of the Sudeley Committee in pursuance of museum reform was frequently welcomed by museum directors and trustees, providing important counter evidence to certain recent scholarly accounts that paint a picture of constant contentious relationships between professionals and amateurs in art institutions of this period.

This thesis contends that the 6th Earl's collecting of continental old master paintings – as well as his treatment of that collection and of his homes more broadly – was motivated in part by an awareness of his own patrimonial cultural heritage as a privately-owned asset held in trust for his heirs. The 6th Earl was aware of what he perceived to be deficiencies in the Lascelles family's cultural heritage compared to the rich heritage built up by longer-established aristocratic families. These were particularly evident in the fields of ancient sculpture and continental old master paintings. By focusing his collecting on the latter, the 6th Earl used the Clanricarde fortune to make a recognisable impact upon his patrimony, and in doing so defied his father's critical expectations of him. The 6th Earl's collecting ensured that he would be memorialised alongside his ancestors who had significantly contributed to Harewood's cultural heritage; in particular, the 1st Earl, Beau Lascelles, and the 2nd Marquess of Clanricarde. He guaranteed this legacy by commissioning Borenius to catalogue the Harewood collection in 1936 with an historical foreword. Additionally, since continental old master paintings were used to connote upper-class identity, the 6th Earl's collection enhanced his social status and that of his heirs. His success in this field is indicated by his marriage to Princess Mary in 1922, when his position as the son-in-law of King George V and Queen Mary (and later brother-in-law of kings Edward VIII and George VI) explicitly confirmed his elevation to the very top of the aristocracy in Britain.

This thesis has demonstrated some of the ways in which the 6th Earl deployed his cultural heritage, or references to it, to emphasise his aristocratic lineage. For instance, the use of Chippendale and Regency furniture at Chesterfield House and Egerton House recalled the cultural heritage of Harewood House. By referencing his ancestral family seat and its contents in his other collections and their displays, the 6th Earl incorporated more recently-acquired houses and their noble associations into his own genealogy. The changes made to Harewood

House during the 1930s demonstrated a joint preoccupation with preserving and emphasising that house's innate eighteenth-century heritage while at the same time enhancing its symbolic value through references to its newly-heightened status as a royal household. These heritage concerns were also reflected in the 6th Earl's collecting of works of art by English artists, including his re-acquisition of eighteenth-century watercolours collected by Beau Lascelles, some of which depicted the ancestral home.

This thesis comprises a major empirical contribution to scholarship on the history of collecting by presenting, for the first time, a comprehensive account of the works of art purchased by the 6th Earl, many of which have not previously been associated with him. The areas of collecting into which he made only limited forays such as maiolica, ancient sculpture, and antiquities such as coins were outside the scope of this study, but this thesis has opened these fields for future researchers. It has highlighted the significant role that continental old master drawings played in supporting the 6th Earl's understanding and appreciation of his paintings, reflecting his awareness of their connoisseurial value and the growing scholarly interest in this field. Significant in this regard is the 6th Earl's collaboration with Tancred Borenius, which has previously received limited scholarly attention. This thesis has further clarified their relationship, recognising Borenius's occasional role as researcher and guide to the 6th Earl's collection, which was unpaid but of benefit to him by providing access to the royal family and other major private collectors as well as augmenting his reputation among other art advisers, agents and dealers. Thanks to Borenius's specialism in Italian art from the Veneto and his strong network of contacts in the London art market, the pair were able to acquire desirable works of art from a range of sources, in many cases for comparatively low sums. This thesis has also shown that the 6th Earl's interest in Venetian art predates their relationship, and that the Earl himself was ultimately responsible for the selection and display of works in his collection. His confidence in this matter was based upon enthusiastic amateur connoisseurship and the belief that he, like other members of his class, possessed innate good taste and therefore cultural authority.

The 6th Earl's connoisseurial interest in the continental old master paintings he acquired was reflected in their subsequent display and treatment, which was informed by his knowledge of contemporary practices advocated by museum professionals, restorers, and fellow collectors. Whilst the collection as a whole was intended to enhance the Lascelles' cultural heritage, the 6th Earl also highlighted the quality and interest of each individual painting through their display. The use of the single line hang, historically appropriate frames, and cleaning of pictures in line with professional recommendations all supported art historical study

of the artists represented in the collection and emphasised his own status as a knowledgeable collector. Combining these up-to-date scholarly principles with elements of display traditionally found in country house collections, such as a symmetrical arrangement of pictures, ensured the new collections could be seamlessly introduced and incorporated into the interiors of Harewood House.

The 6th Earl was conscious that his role at Harewood House was that of a steward, whose responsibility – and that of his son, and their subsequent heirs – was to maintain the Lascelles hereditary estate and high social status to the best of his ability. The Clanricarde inheritance enabled him to go beyond mere maintenance work and make a significant contribution to increasing his family's cultural heritage, quite apart from the way in which he enhanced his family's social status when he married into the royal family. However, the 6th Earl was acutely aware of the economic, political, and social challenges facing his class, and recognised that his heirs may one day be forced to sell some of their cultural heritage in order to secure the future of Harewood House under continued Lascelles ownership. His response to this danger was encapsulated in a statement he wrote to his mother just one month after the death of the 2nd Marquess of Clanricarde: 'Harewood must be kept up.'⁸⁷⁷

Afterlife: cultural heritage at Harewood House since 1947

After the 6th Earl's death in 1947, his son George Henry Hubert Lascelles, 7th Earl of Harewood (1923–2011) faced death duties payable at a rate of seventy percent upon his inheritance, as well as the cost of putting Harewood House back in order after it had been used as a convalescent hospital during the Second World War.⁸⁷⁸ Despite careful financial planning by his father, and with support from his mother, the Dowager Countess, Princess Mary, the 7th Earl was forced to meet these costs by selling assets; approximately 'two-thirds of the land and the chattels' had been disposed of by the early 1950s.⁸⁷⁹

A number of paintings, furniture, and *objets d'art* were sold through Christie's during two sales in June 1951; however, only a handful of the continental old master paintings that were sold at this point had been acquired by the 6th Earl of Harewood, and those that were sold were comparatively minor works previously hung in secondary properties or private rooms of

⁸⁷⁷ 6th Earl to 5th Countess, 18 May 1916, 5CHHA, box 6, 111

⁸⁷⁸ George Lascelles, p. 96. While the 7th Earl inherited the estate in 1947, the executors of the 6th Earl's will were Princess Mary and the 6th Earl's cousin Sir Alan 'Tommy' Lascelles (the King's Private Secretary). As such, they retained control of the estate until death duties were paid c. 1951; *ibid.*, p. 293.

⁸⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

Harewood House.⁸⁸⁰ Their sale therefore had little visual impact upon Harewood House, as the dealing firm Duveen Brothers succinctly noted at the time: ‘The Pembroke and Harewood Collections, as represented in recent public sales, have been unloading what they can well spare.’⁸⁸¹ This was echoed in the sales of furniture and *objets d’art*, since many of the objects sold had been purchased by the 6th Earl for either Chesterfield House or Egerton House.⁸⁸² As those objects were not historically related to Harewood and had been acquired comparatively recently, their capital value could be realised without significantly impacting the Lascelles’s cultural heritage or perceptions of their social standing.

The only major continental old master painting to leave the Harewood collection in the years immediately following the 6th Earl’s death was a portrait group by Sebastiano del Piombo, which was sold privately in 1949 through Alec Martin of Christie’s (who had valued the paintings for probate) for an unknown sum to American businessman Samuel Kress, who later presented it to the National Gallery of Art in Washington.⁸⁸³ This was not the first of the 6th Earl’s paintings to enter an American collection – during his lifetime, the large painting by Rubens of *Queen Tomyris with the Head of Cyrus* had been sold to the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, as noted on page 103 – but the direct connection between the del Piombo’s transatlantic departure and the pressure of paying death duties signified a shift in the trajectory of the Harewood collections.⁸⁸⁴ This was recognised by Duveen, who approached the Trustees of the Harewood estate in 1949 in the hopes of securing the sole rights to sell the major Titian painting *The Death of Actaeon*.⁸⁸⁵ The Trustees’ response, that ‘they’d had many enquiries about the Titian’, indicates that the 7th Earl now found himself decidedly on the other side of

⁸⁸⁰ Christie’s, *Important French and English Furniture, Sèvres Porcelain, Objects of Art, Sold by Orders of Her Royal Highness The Princess Royal, The Rt. Hon. The Earl of Harewood, and the Executors and Trustees of The Rt. Hon. The 6th Earl of Harewood, K.G., G.C.V.O., D.S.O., deceased*, 28 June 1951; Christie’s, *Pictures by Old Masters: Sold by the Orders of Her Royal Highness The Princess Royal, The Rt. Hon. The Earl of Harewood, and The Executors and Trustees of The Rt. Hon. The 6th Earl of Harewood, K.G., G.C.V.O., D.S.O., deceased*, 29 June 1951.

⁸⁸¹ Brockwell to Ernest Fowles, 8 July 1951, Duveen Brothers records, GRI, 960015 (bx.249,f.23). The Earl of Pembroke opened Wilton House, Salisbury, to the public in 1951, a move which must have been accompanied by public sales; ‘Wilton House. Ancestral Home of Earls of Pembroke. Open to the Public.’, *Wiltshire Times and Trowbridge Advertiser*, 5 May 1951, 2.

⁸⁸² Christie’s, *Important French and English Furniture*.

⁸⁸³ ‘Cardinal Bandinello Sauli, His Secretary, and Two Geographers’. A letter from Ernest Fowles to Ernest Duveen, both of the dealing firm Duveen brothers, dated 15 July 1949 (in 960015 (bx.249,f.23) Duveen Brothers records, Getty Research Institute), records that Mr. Kress acquired some paintings from Harewood through Alec Martin, who valued works of art in Lord Harewood’s Estate around this time.

⁸⁸⁴ ‘BOSTON GETS A RUBENS: Earl of Harewood Sells Painting to Museum of Fine Arts’, *New York Times*, 22 May 1941, 19.

⁸⁸⁵ Letter from Ernest Fowles (New York) to Captain Ernest Duveen (London), 15 July 1949, Duveen Brothers records, Getty Research Institute (GRI), Series II. A. Files regarding works of art: Harewood Collection, Titian’s *Diana and Actaeon*, 960015 (bx.249,f.23).

the art market compared to his father – an aristocratic vendor, like so many of his peers, rather than a buyer – and that his cultural heritage was known or at least suspected to be available for the right price.⁸⁸⁶ However, the central role of *The Death of Actaeon* in the collection amassed by the 6th Earl of Harewood meant that the 7th Earl ‘would only sell if he received a really very high offer, in the neighbourhood of a hundred thousand pounds’; as none was forthcoming, the Titian remained at Harewood for the time being.⁸⁸⁷

The death of Princess Mary in 1965 struck another heavy financial blow, and its negative impact upon the 7th Earl’s cultural heritage is clear.⁸⁸⁸ In July 1965 alone, at least twelve of the Earl’s continental old master paintings and thirty drawings were sold at Christie’s.⁸⁸⁹ Several items left Britain shortly after their sale, including Paris Bordone’s *Warrior with his two pages*, and two sheets by Pietro da Cortona and Luca Signorelli, which were all acquired by American institutions or private collectors through Colnaghi.⁸⁹⁰ As well as paintings that had been comparatively recently acquired, the 7th Earl also sold objects that had been in his family’s possession for more than a century, again indicating the increased financial pressure he faced at this time. Major items that left the Lascelles’ hereditary collection at this time included the library desk made by Chippendale for Harewood House around 1770, which was sold in July 1965 for £43,050, then a world record price for an item of English furniture.⁸⁹¹ In the same month Christie’s held a sale of *Highly Important Sèvres Porcelain* from Harewood, dispersing much of the collection that had been amassed by Beau Lascelles around the turn of the nineteenth century.⁸⁹² The significance of this sale was widely recognised, likely in part thanks to the publication of a series of articles on the Sèvres collection at Harewood by Hugh Tait in

⁸⁸⁶ Letter from London to New York branches of Duveen Brothers, 29 July 1949, Duveen Brothers records, GRI, 960015 (bx.249,f.23).

⁸⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸⁸ George Lascelles, p. 295. The economic nuances of the situation are unclear; whether, for example, it was loss of financial support from his mother or increased taxation that was most pressing.

⁸⁸⁹ Christie’s, *Important Pictures by Old Masters*, 2 July 1965, lots 74–116; Christie’s, *Highly Important Drawings and Prints by Old Masters*, 6 July 1965, lots 115–148.

⁸⁹⁰ Christie’s, *Important Pictures by Old Masters*, lots 76, 123, and 141. The painting was acquired privately and later presented to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, in 1973; ‘Paris Bordon: Portrait of a Man in Armor with Two Pages’, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art* <<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/435722>> [accessed 16 October 2019]. The Colnaghi dealer and old master drawings specialist James Byam Shaw had strong links with staff at the Morgan Library, as well as the Metropolitan Museum of Art (where four of the drawings sold in 1965 reside, although it is unclear whether Colnaghi was involved in those transactions); see Gemma Plumpton, ‘James Byam Shaw (1903–1993): A Scholar-Dealer’s Impact on Museums’ (unpublished M.A., The University of Buckingham, 2017).

⁸⁹¹ The table was purchased by H. Blairman and Sons and then acquired by Leeds Corporation with support from local benefactors and the NACF. It is on display at Temple Newsam, Leeds. Mark Westgarth, ‘Year of the Dealer – Antiques Trade Gazette and the Harewood Library Table and ‘Raynham’ Commodities.’ *Antiquedealersblog*, 6 July 2019 <<https://antiquedealersblog.com/tag/harewood-house/>> [accessed 27 August 2023].

⁸⁹² Christie’s, *Highly Important Sèvres Porcelain*, 1 July 1965.

Apollo between 1964 and 1966.⁸⁹³ Buyers at the 1965 sale included the Louvre Museum, Paris.⁸⁹⁴

It was also at this time that the 7th Earl decided to open the state floor of Harewood House to the public permanently, in the hopes of making Harewood ‘as nearly self-supporting as possible.’⁸⁹⁵ The house had already been opened on one day per week since 1950, when the *Daily Herald* noted that ‘for the first time proceeds went to maintenance’ of the house rather than charity, as they had done before the war (fig. 48).⁸⁹⁶ It is interesting that the 7th Earl, like his father, preferred to maintain Harewood House privately rather than through an organisation such as the National Trust. The 7th Earl’s thoughts on this subject are recorded in his memoir, and bear repeating:

[...] without the vast sums of private money that go to keep ancient buildings with their collections warm and water-tight [...] a large chunk of this aspect of the national heritage [i.e., country houses], to use the by no means inaccurate jargon, would disappear within a generation. There are too many such houses to be within the competence of the National Trust, and those of less than national importance would presumably be lost.⁸⁹⁷

While recognising that Harewood House and its contents could be considered part of the national heritage, the 7th Earl saw it as his responsibility to maintain the patrimonial estate in the ownership of the Lascelles family, even when this required him to sell works of art and other cultural assets. This sense of duty was noted in the 7th Earl’s memoir: ‘For my own part, I came early to love Harewood and its heritage, and to rejoice in the feeling that I belonged to it, as I suspect my father did before me.’⁸⁹⁸ This appreciation for and sense of belonging to his own heritage had been instilled in the 7th Earl by his older relatives from a young age, and was crucial for the survival of the Lascelles family and its heritage, as McCracken has noted with regard to aristocratic families in general: ‘For the old system of family and inheritance, the

⁸⁹³ Hugh Tait, ‘Sèvres porcelain in the Collection of The Earl of Harewood, Part I: The Early Period, 1750-1760’, *Apollo*, 79.28 (June 1964), 474-478; Hugh Tait, ‘Sèvres porcelain in the Collection of The Earl of Harewood, Part II: The Middle Period: 1760-1775’, *Apollo*, 81.35 (January 1965), 20-27; Hugh Tait, ‘Sèvres porcelain in the Collection of The Earl of Harewood, Part III: The Louis XVI Period: 1775-1793’, *Apollo*, 83.52 (June 1966), 437-443.

⁸⁹⁴ ‘(#51) A Pair of Sèvres Porcelain Vases Known as ‘Vases Allemands Unis’, Late Louis XV, circa 1770, the Painting of Figures by Charles Eloi Asselin’, *Sothebys*, 2017 <<https://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2016/excellence-pf1711/lot.51.html>> [accessed 27 August 2023].

⁸⁹⁵ George Lascelles, pp. 301–302. The family relinquished their rooms on the state floor at this time.

⁸⁹⁶ *Daily Herald*, 4 May 1950.

⁸⁹⁷ George Lascelles, pp. 305–306

⁸⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 294.

movement of goods from one generation to the next was an important method of preserving the corporation, ensuring its continuity, relaying its values, and of bringing each successive generation into the lineage.⁸⁹⁹ This was enacted in part through gifts, for example, in 1932 at nine years old the 7th Earl received two important publications recording his maternal (royal) and paternal (aristocratic) heritage: from Queen Mary, *The King's pictures from Buckingham Palace, Windsor Castle, and Hampton Court* and from the 5th Countess of Harewood a copy of the 1859 guide to Harewood by John Jones.⁹⁰⁰

Despite opening the house and selling some of its contents after 1965, evidently major action was required in order to keep Harewood House economically viable in the longer term, and accordingly in 1970 the decision was made to sell Titian's *Death of Actaeon*.⁹⁰¹ The picture had been on long term loan to the National Gallery in London since 1961, where it had 'given so much enjoyment to visitors'; in this regard it may be compared to Holbein's *Christina, Duchess of Milan*, which was sold by its aristocratic owner in 1909 after hanging in the National Gallery for many years.⁹⁰² An internal National Gallery memo noted that the Trustees of the Harewood Trust (who controlled the picture) were unlikely to consider an offer from the Gallery 'unless the price was in excess of the price offered for the Velazquez recently sold' – referring to the portrait of *Juan de Pareja* sold at Christie's by the Earl of Radnor in 1970 for the significant sum of 2,200,000 guineas (around £2,310,000).⁹⁰³ The Titian therefore went to auction at Christie's on 25 June 1971, where it was acquired by the dealer Julius Weitzner for £1,680,000, who soon thereafter sold it to the J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu for £1,763,000.⁹⁰⁴ The Government had refused to make a special grant towards a purchase of the Velazquez in 1970, and repeated this position with the Harewood Titian.⁹⁰⁵ Nevertheless, the export of the Titian was temporarily halted and the National Gallery launched its first ever public appeal to acquire

⁸⁹⁹ McCracken, p. 52.

⁹⁰⁰ Lionel Cust, *The King's pictures from Buckingham Palace, Windsor Castle, and Hampton Court* (London: Fine Arts Publishing, 1932), inscribed 'For darling George from his grandmother Mary R., Harewood House, August 21st 1932'; John Jones, inscribed 'George / from his grandmother / F. Harewood / Sep. 1932'.

⁹⁰¹ Letter from P.H. Byam–Cook (of Macfarlanes solicitors, acting for the Trustees of the Harewood Trust) to Sir John Witt (Chairman of the National Gallery Trustees), 9 December 1970, NG14/258/1 Acquisition file 9 Dec 1970 – 9 Aug 1971, NGA.

⁹⁰² Letter from John Witt (Chairman of Trustees of the National Gallery) to P.H. Byam Cook (acting for Trustees of the Harewood Trust), 14 December 1970, Acquisition file 9 December 1970 – 9 August 1971, NG14/258/1, NGA; Press cuttings Jan–Dec 1961, NG24/1961/7, NGA. Howard, 'The One that Didn't Get Away'.

⁹⁰³ Internal Memo 15 January 1971, A.634/V/DC', in NG14/258/1; Velázquez (Diego Rodríguez de Silva y Velázquez) | Juan de Pareja (ca. 1608–1670)', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art* <<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/437869>> [accessed 29 June 2023].

⁹⁰⁴ Dossier on Titian's *Death of Actaeon*, four files, NG6420, National Gallery Archive (NGA).

⁹⁰⁵ Notes of an interview with Lord Eccles, 19 January 1971, and Director's Draft document 'Sale of the Harewood Titian', 4 February 1971, in Acquisition file 9 Dec 1970 – 9 August 1971, NG14/258/1.

the picture (fig. 49).⁹⁰⁶ The painting hung in the National Gallery for the duration of the appeal, recalling the three-week exhibition of Gainsborough's *The Blue Boy* before its transatlantic departure in 1922.⁹⁰⁷ The Gallery's appeal was ultimately successful, and the Titian entered the national collection. The sale also appears to have had the desired result for the 7th Earl of Harewood as, although there were additional sales of objects from Harewood during the 1980s, no further major works of art left the Harewood collection in the twentieth century.⁹⁰⁸

While the 6th Earl of Harewood's collecting in the first half of the twentieth century provided a counterexample to the dominant narrative in scholarship of aristocratic loss and American dominance of the British art market, as this brief overview testifies, in the second half of the twentieth century the 7th Earl of Harewood had little choice but to join his fellow aristocrats in selling cultural heritage in order to maintain his estate. That the burden of paying significant death duties was principally responsible for this situation is clear; as evidenced throughout this thesis, it was a danger known to the 6th Earl during his lifetime. This pattern was repeated following the 7th Earl of Harewood's death in 2011, as his son David Henry George Lascelles, 8th Earl of Harewood (b. 1950), has since had to part with many objects from the Harewood collections.⁹⁰⁹ To illustrate the scale of loss after two generations of sales, only twenty-four of the fifty-seven continental old master paintings known to have been acquired by the 6th Earl, and three of the forty-nine drawings, remain at Harewood House.⁹¹⁰ The most significant recent departure from the collection assembled by the 6th Earl was Veronese's full-length *Portrait of a Gentleman*, which was transferred into national ownership in 2022 through the government's Acceptance in Lieu scheme, under a hybrid purchase arrangement, and allocated to the National Gallery where it now hangs (fig. 50).⁹¹¹

It must be noted that although the Lascelles family's cultural heritage has shrunk in volume during the 7th and 8th Earls' lifetimes, they have also made their own contributions to it in quite different directions. This thesis has provided valuable groundwork for a future examination of the collecting of modern and contemporary art at Harewood House since the

⁹⁰⁶ Verdi, pp. 37–38; Crookham, pp. 88–90. The National Gallery committed £1 million from its current and future purchase grants towards the acquisition, and the government matched public donations, including £100,000 given by the National Art Collections Fund. On export stops under the Waverley Criteria, see Wang.

⁹⁰⁷ Avery-Quash and Riding, p. 37.

⁹⁰⁸ Paintings and drawings from Harewood House were sold at Christie's on 2 July 1985, 5 July 1985, 9 July 1985, 12 July 1985, 23 July 1985, and 6 December 1985; for full details, see Appendix B.

⁹⁰⁹ Major recent sales at Christie's include *Collecting in the Royal Tradition*, 5 December 2012, and *Treasures from the Collections of The Dukes of Gloucester & The Earls of Harewood*, 12 and 13 December 2019.

⁹¹⁰ See Appendix B.

⁹¹¹ 'Two New Acquisitions Go on Display at the National Gallery', *The National Gallery*, July 2022 <<https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/about-us/press-and-media/press-releases/two-new-acquisitions-go-on-display-at-the-national-gallery>> [accessed 6 August 2023].

mid-twentieth century, and it would be interesting to consider the ways in which this was influenced, or enabled, by the 6th Earl's plugging of gaps in his family's cultural heritage. All told, the 6th Earl of Harewood's tenure represents arguably the high point of the Lascelles family's cultural heritage, in both its scale and the aristocratic (and royal) status that it connoted, given that more than half of the continental old master paintings acquired by the 6th Earl have since been sold by his heirs out of necessity. Those paintings which remain at Harewood House, however, continue to function as a tangible record of the Lascelles family's cultural and social history, and specifically of the 6th Earl of Harewood's supreme contribution to that legacy.

Illustrations

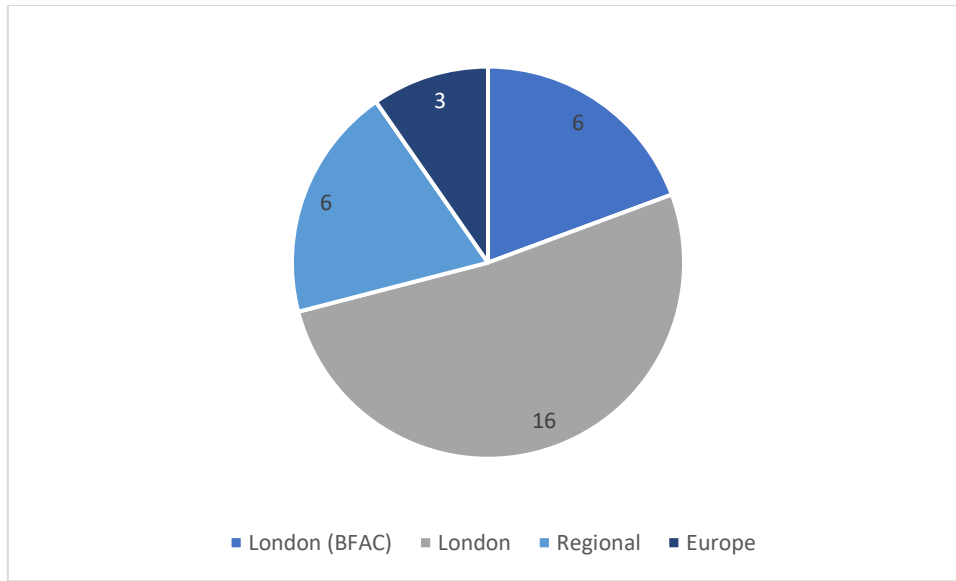


Figure 1: Geographical distribution of loan exhibitions to which the 6th Earl of Harewood contributed, 1916–1947.

Dates	City	Institution	Exhibition	Loaned object
1917	London	Burlington Fine Arts Club	Drawings by Deceased Masters	Paolo Veronese, <i>Venice Triumphant</i> (drawing)
1919	London	Burlington Fine Arts Club	Florentine Painting before 1500	School of Antonio del Pollaiuolo, <i>Christ at the Column</i>
1919-1920-1920-	London	Burlington Fine Arts Club	Winter Exhibition	Francesco di Giorgio, <i>The Triumph of Julius Caesar</i> ; Juan de Valdés Leal, <i>The Assumption of the Virgin</i> ; Cristoforo Scacco, <i>St John the Baptist</i>
1921	London	Royal Academy	Spanish Painting	Jusepe de Ribera, <i>St John the Baptist</i>
1921	London	Goupil Gallery		Paolo Veronese, <i>Venice Triumphant</i> (drawing)
1921-1922	London	Tate Gallery		Henry Edridge, A.R.A., <i>J.M.W. Turner, R.A.</i> (drawing)
1923-1924	London	Burlington Fine Arts Club	Winter Exhibition	David Teniers the Younger, <i>St Margaret, after Domenico Feti</i> ; David Teniers the Younger, <i>The Infancy of Jupiter, after A. Schiavone</i>
1924	London	Burlington Fine Arts Club	Winter Exhibition	Henry Edridge, A.R.A., <i>J.M.W. Turner, R.A.</i> (drawing)
1925	Paris	Palais des Beaux-Arts	Exposition du Paysage Français de Poussin à Corot	Claude Lorrain, <i>View of Tivoli</i> (drawing)
1925	London	Thos. Agnew & Sons	Magnasco Society Loan Exhibition	Jusepe de Ribera, <i>The Holy Family with Saints Anne and Catherine of Alexandria</i>
1925	London	Wembley Park	British Empire Exhibition	Lorenzo Lotto, <i>Portrait of a Gentleman</i>
1925	London	Burlington Fine Arts Club	Italian Art of the Seventeenth Century	Pietro da Cortona, <i>Woman Holding a Round Object</i> (drawing)
1928	London	Thos. Agnew & Sons	Fifth Loan Exhibition of the Magnasco Society	Claude Lorrain, <i>View of Tivoli</i> (drawing) Titian, <i>The Death of Actaeon</i> ; Titian, <i>Kneeling Figure seen from the Back</i> (drawing); Pietro da Cortona, <i>Woman Holding a Round Object</i> (drawing); Benozzo Gozzoli, <i>Madonna and Angels</i> (drawing); Bartolommeo Montagna, <i>Standing Figure of a Woman</i> (drawing); Luca Signorelli, <i>Studies of Four Demons</i> (drawing)
1930	London	Royal Academy	Italian Art: 1200-1900	
1930	Harrogate	Harrogate Art Gallery		Edward Hoppner R.A., <i>Edward, Viscount Lascelles</i>
1934-?1939	Leeds	City Art Gallery	Long term loan	Peter Paul Rubens, <i>Queen Tomyris with the Head of Cyrus</i>
1934	London	Royal Academy	Exhibition of British Art	Thomas Girtin, <i>Harewood House</i> (watercolour); J.M.W. Turner, <i>Harewood Castle</i> (Watercolour)
1936	Leeds	City Art Gallery	Masterpieces from the collections of Yorkshire and Durham	Paolo Veronese, <i>Portrait of a Gentleman</i>
1938	London	Royal Academy	17th Century Art in Europe	Pietro da Cortona, <i>Woman Holding a Round Object</i> (drawing)
1939	Venice	Palazzo Giustinian	Mostra di Paolo Veronese	Paolo Veronese, <i>Portrait of a Gentleman</i> ; Paolo Veronese, <i>Venice Triumphant</i> (drawing); Paolo Veronese, <i>Camels' heads, people, and hands</i> (drawing)

Figure 2: Details of loans by the 6th Earl of Harewood of continental and British old master paintings and drawings, 1916–1947.

Dates	City	Institution	Exhibition	Loaned object
1922	London	Royal Academy	Summer Exhibition	Sir John Lavery, R.A., <i>The Bridal Procession of H.R.H. The Princess Royal and Henry, Viscount Lascelles</i>
1926	London	Royal Academy	Works by the late John S. Sargent, R.A.	John Singer Sargent, R.A.: <i>The Hall of the Grand Council, Ducal Palace, Venice</i> ; <i>H.R.H. The Princess Royal (drawing)</i> ; <i>In a Church at Grenada</i> ; <i>Marble Quarries at Carrara</i>
1926	York	City Art Gallery		John Singer Sargent, R.A., <i>Henry George Charles Lascelles, Sixth Earl of Harewood, K.G., G.C.V.O., D.S.O. (drawing)</i>
1928	London	Royal Academy	Summer Exhibition	Richard Jack, R.A., <i>The Library at Chesterfield House</i> ; Alfred Munnings P.R.A., <i>The Bramham Moor Hounds at Weeton Whin</i>
1928	London	Royal Academy	Winter Exhibition	Solomon Joseph Solomon, R.A., <i>Henry George Charles Lascelles, Sixth Earl of Harewood, K.G., G.C.V.O., D.S.O.</i>
1928	Norwich	Norwich Castle Museum	Munnings Exhibition	Alfred Munnings P.R.A., <i>The Bramham Moor Hounds at Weeton Whin</i>
1929	London	Grafton Gallery		Frank Salisbury, <i>H.R.H. The Princess Royal signing the register in the Vestry at Westminster Abbey</i>
1930	Leeds	City Art Gallery	Special Exhibit	Alfred Munnings P.R.A., <i>H.R.H. The Princess Royal on 'Portumna' and the Earl of Harewood, Master of the Bramham Moor Hunt, on 'Tommy'</i>
1930	London	Royal Academy	Summer Exhibition	Alfred Munnings P.R.A., <i>H.R.H. The Princess Royal on 'Portumna' and the Earl of Harewood, Master of the Bramham Moor Hunt, on 'Tommy'</i>
1931	London	Royal Academy	REFUSED	Alfred Munnings P.R.A., <i>The Bramham Moor Hounds at Weeton Whin</i>
1940	Venice		REFUSED. 22nd Biennale International Exhibition of Fine Arts	Alfred Munnings P.R.A., <i>H.R.H. The Princess Royal on horseback</i>

Figure 3: Details of loans by the 6th Earl of Harewood of works of art by contemporary or recently deceased artists, 1916–1947.



Figure 4: Sir Leslie Ward, *Hubert George de Burgh-Canning, second Marquess of Clanricarde* (1832–1916), c. 1917–1919, oil on canvas, (Leeds, Harewood House); detail.



Figure 5: Sir Leslie Ward, *Hubert George de Burgh-Canning, second Marquess of Clanricarde* (1832–1916), 1919, oil on canvas (Leeds, Harewood House); detail.



Figure 6: John D. Reigh, *The "Devil's work" in Ireland*, published as a supplement in *United Ireland*, 19 January 1889.



Figure 7: Old Castle, Portumna, County Galway, by American Studios, early twentieth century (HHPA, box 84).



Figure 8: New Castle, Portumna, County Galway, by American Studios, before 1922 (HHPA, box 84).

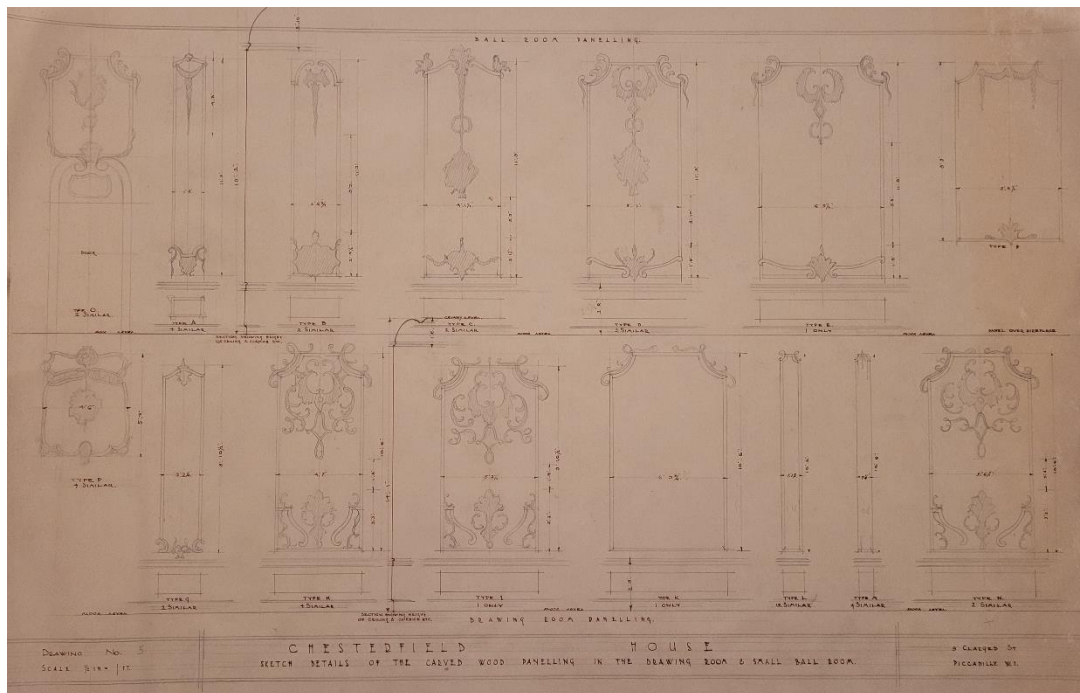


Figure 9: Lenygon & Morant Ltd (by or for), scale drawing of panelling in the Drawing Room and Small Ball Room of Chesterfield House, c. 1920 (HHTD:2014.34).

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.

Figure 10: Library, Chesterfield House, by *Country Life*, July 1931 (HHPA, box 84).



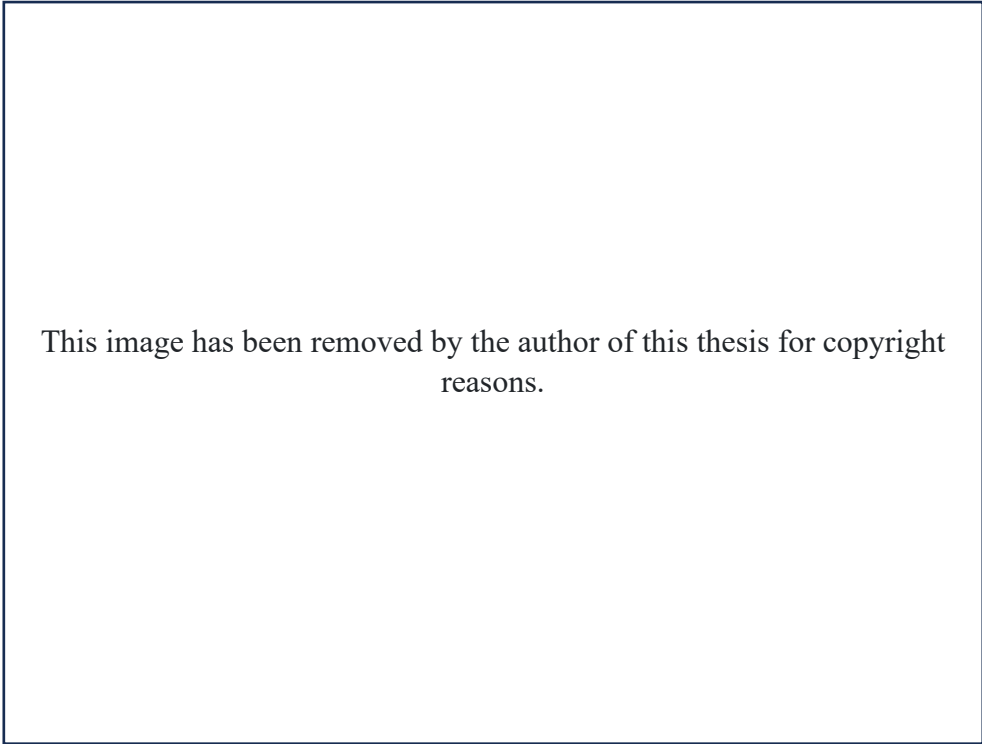
Figure 11: Library, Chesterfield House, by Bedford Lemere and Company, 17 August 1886 (Historic England Archive, BL06608).



Figure 12: Library, Chesterfield House, by Bedford Lemere and Company, 1894 (Historic England Archive, BL12787).



Figure 13: Richard Jack, *The Library at Chesterfield House*, 1927, oil on canvas (Leeds, Harewood House).



This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.

Figure 14: White Drawing Room, Chesterfield House, by *Country Life*, July 1931 (HHPA, Box 84). Some of the panelling in this room is now in the Bowes Museum (Barnard Castle).



This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.

Figure 15: Set of four Chippendale chairs at Chesterfield House, repr. in *Catalogue of the Remaining Contents of Chesterfield House, Mayfair; the Property of the Right Hon. the Earl of Harewood, K.G., D.S.O. [...]* (London: J. Davy & Sons, 1932).

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.

Figure 16: Entrance Hall, Harewood House, c. 1914, repr. in Arthur T. Bolton, 'Harewood House, Yorkshire, the Seat of the Earl of Harewood', *Country Life*, 4 July 1914, 18–26, p. 19 (detail).



Figure 17: Yellow Drawing Room, Harewood House, during the restoration of the room in the 1990s (HHPA). The Victorian painted canvas has been uncovered on the wall to the right.



Figure 18: Princess Mary's Dressing Room, Harewood House, by Walter Scott of Bradford, 29 May 1931 (HHPA). Visible are eighteenth-century plaster pilasters re-used from the room's previous design, and glazed cabinets inspired by the form of an Adam mirror.



Figure 19: Plaster plaque in Princess Mary's Bathroom, Harewood House, c. 1930.



Figure 20: The 6th Earl of Harewood in the trenches of the First World War, France, *c.* 1915–1919 (HHTPh:2004.1.75).

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.

Figure 21: Tancred Borenius, by Wallace Heaton, 1932 (TBA).

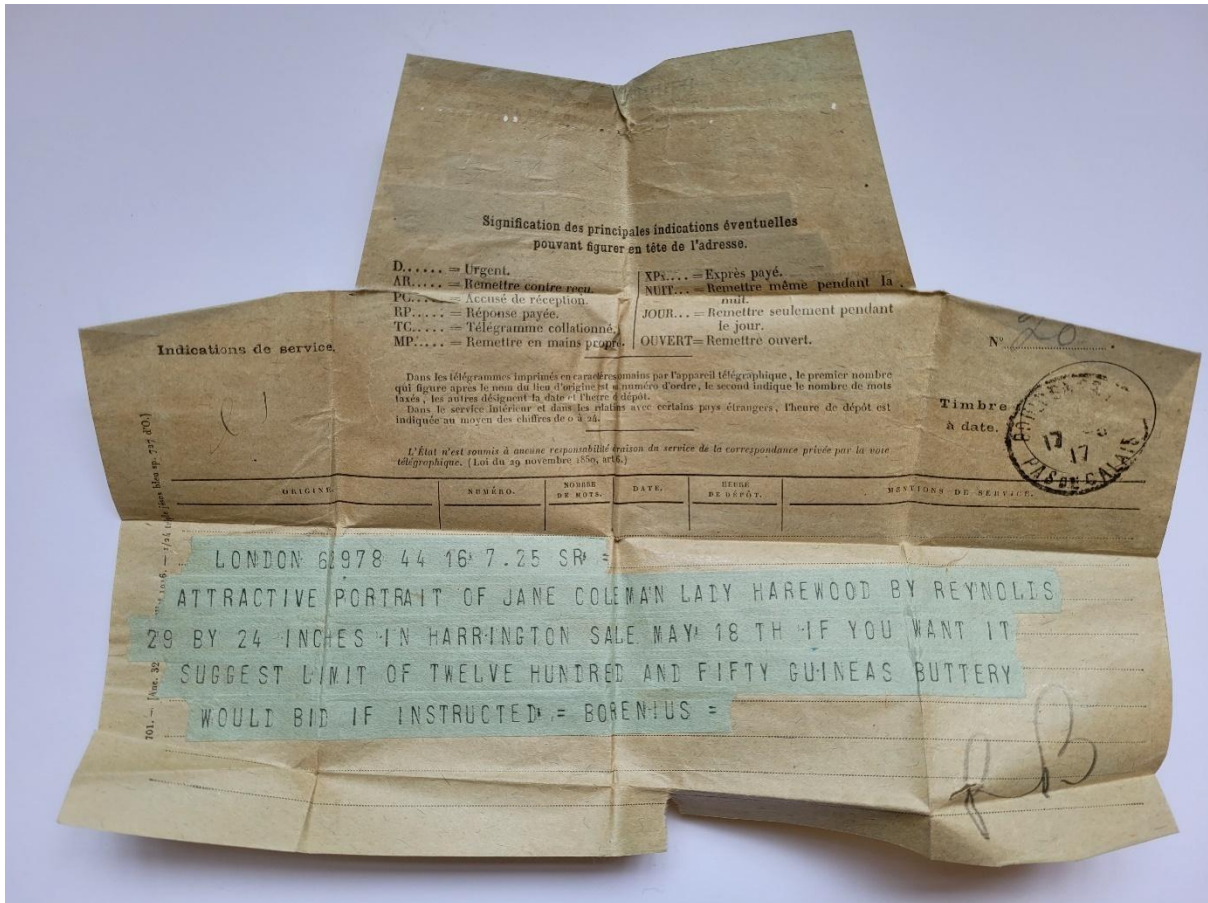


Figure 22: Telegram from Tancred Borenius to the 6th Earl, enclosed in a letter from the 6th Earl to the 5th Countess, 18 May 1917 (SCHHA, box 6, no. 153).



Figure 23: Thomas Girtin, *A Distant View of Harewood House from the South-West*, c. 1798, watercolour on paper (Leeds, Harewood House).



Figure 24: State Dining Room, Harewood House, July 2023. Above the fireplace hangs Sir William Nicholson's *Henry George Charles Lascelles, 6th Earl of Harewood*, oil on canvas, 1936.

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.

Figure 25: H.R.H. Dressing Room, Chesterfield House, *Country Life*, July 1931 (HHPA, Box 84). Above the fireplace is a group of pictures by David Teniers the Younger. On the left wall Veronese's drawing 'Venice Triumphant' may be seen on the bottom register, surmounted by John Singer Sargent's painting of the Ducal Palace, Venice.



Figure 26: The 6th Earl of Harewood (lowest seated figure on the right) in Italy, probably Venice, c. 1905–1907 (HHPA, Box 49).

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.

Figure 27: Grand Staircase, Chesterfield House, *Country Life*, July 1931 (HHPA, box 84). Hung above the staircase is Peter Paul Rubens' *Queen Tomyris with the Head of Cyrus*, c. 1622–23, oil on canvas (now Boston, Museum of Fine Arts).

HHTD:2003.1.8

The Right Honble
Viscount Lascelles. London. August 1919.

To P. & D. Colnaghi & Co. Bach.

EXPERTS, DEALERS IN PICTURES, ENGRAVINGS, ETC.

Publishers by Appointment to his Majesty,
Their late Majesty King Edward VII. Queen Victoria
AND HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE LATE PRINCE CONSORT.

11, 11.5, 11.6, New Bond Street, W.1.

ESTABLISHED 1760.

TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS
"COLNAGHI WESDO LONDON."
TELEPHONE NO
MAYFAIR 6356 (3 LINES)

1919
July 11 To the Painting
by Titian Diana and Actaeon £ 60,000

Diana seen in a woody landscape at the chase, has just
thrown an arrow from the quiver held in her left. Her
hounds are rushing furiously on to the figure of Actaeon
who is grasping the reins with a wild clutch. His hands
are raised in the act of falling backwards.

on canvas 40 1/2 x 78"

From the Collection of
The Arch Duke Leopold
Duc de Orleans.
Sir Abraham Hume
Earl of Brownlow.

Exhibited
Pall Mall House, 1872
do 1893
New Gallery, 1894-5
Grafton Galleries, 1911.

Reproduced in a letter written by Titian to Philip II in 1557.

Engraved by J. Couche in the Catalogue of the Galerie
des Palais Royaux 1808. Vol II. plate X.

Figure 28: Invoice from Colnaghi to the 6th Earl, August 1919 (HHTD:2003.1.8).



Fig. 29: Titian, *The Death of Actaeon*, c. 1559–1575, oil on canvas (London, The National Gallery).



Figure 30: El Greco, *A Man, A Woman, and A Monkey*, c. 1577, oil on canvas (Leeds, Harewood House).



Figure 31: Cima da Conegliano, *St. Jerome in the Wilderness*, c. 1492–94, oil on canvas (Leeds, Harewood House).

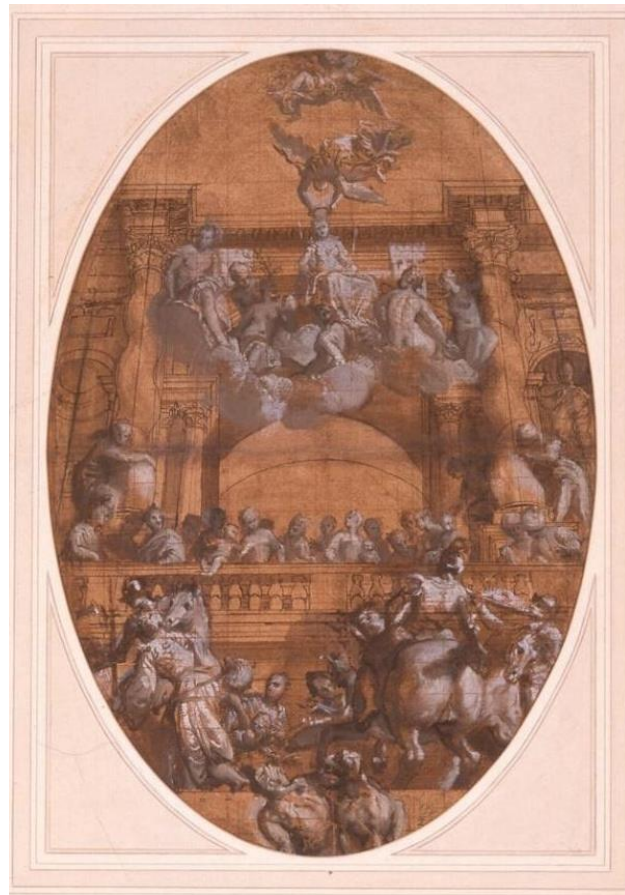


Figure 32: Paolo Veronese, *Venice Triumphant*, c. 1581, pen and ink, brush and bistre, and Chinese white on paper (location unknown).

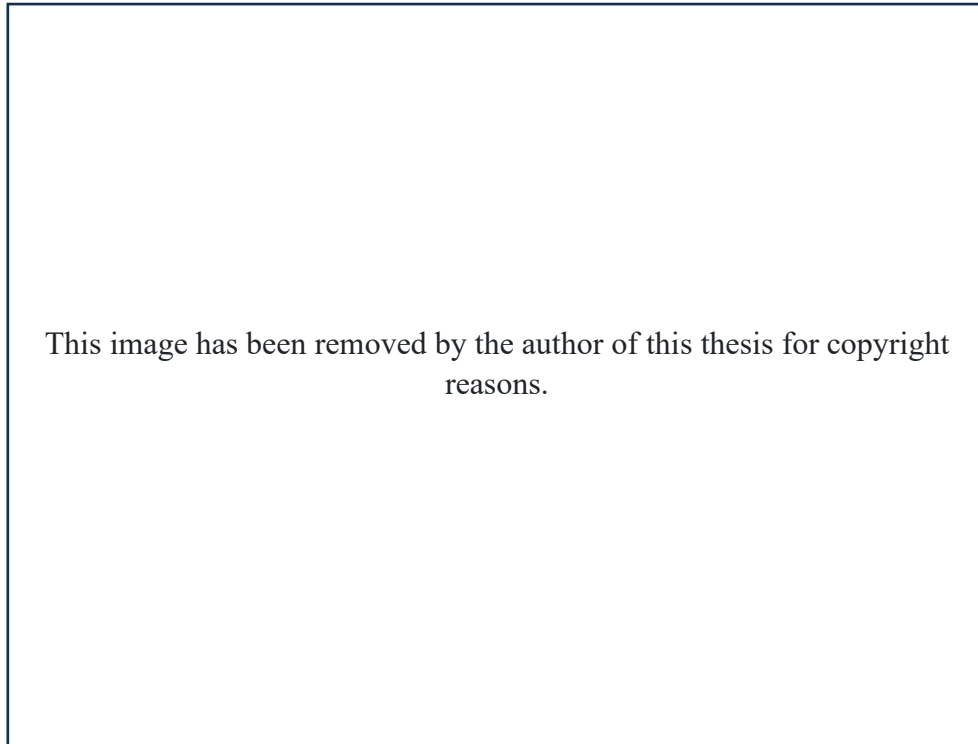


Figure 33: Gallery, Temple Newsam, Leeds, c. 1910, repr. in Fletcher Moss, *The Fifth Book of Pilgrimages to Old Homes* (Didsbury: The Author, 1910), p. 315.

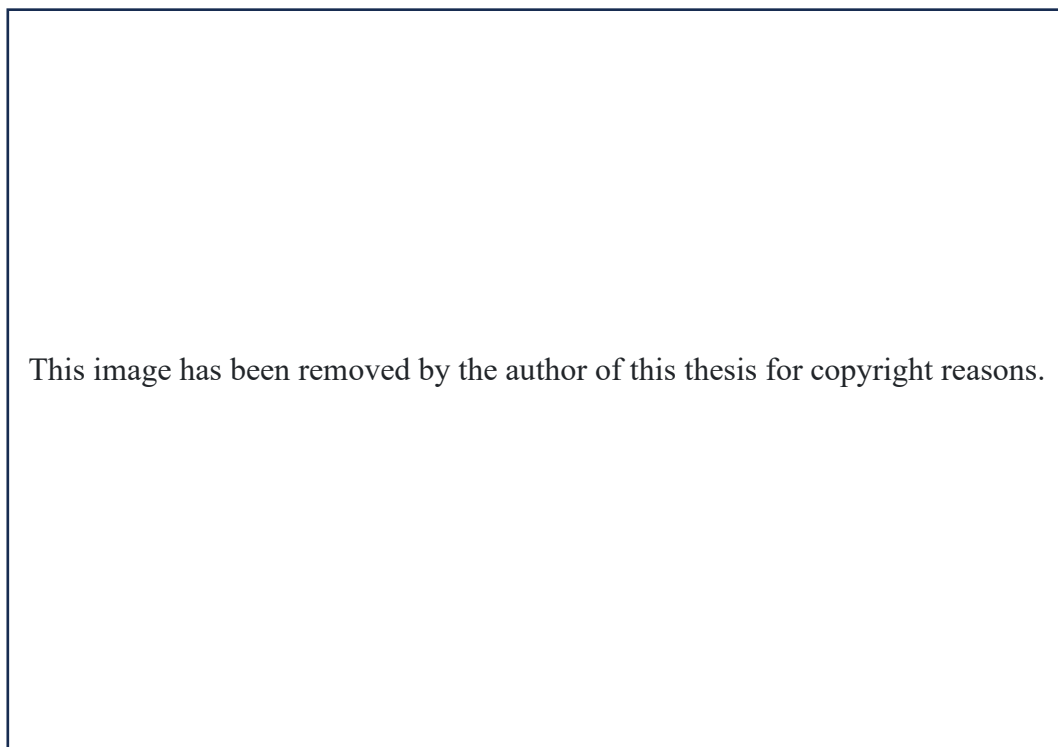


Figure 34: Picture Gallery, Temple Newsam, postcard printed by Pickard of Leeds, after 1939.

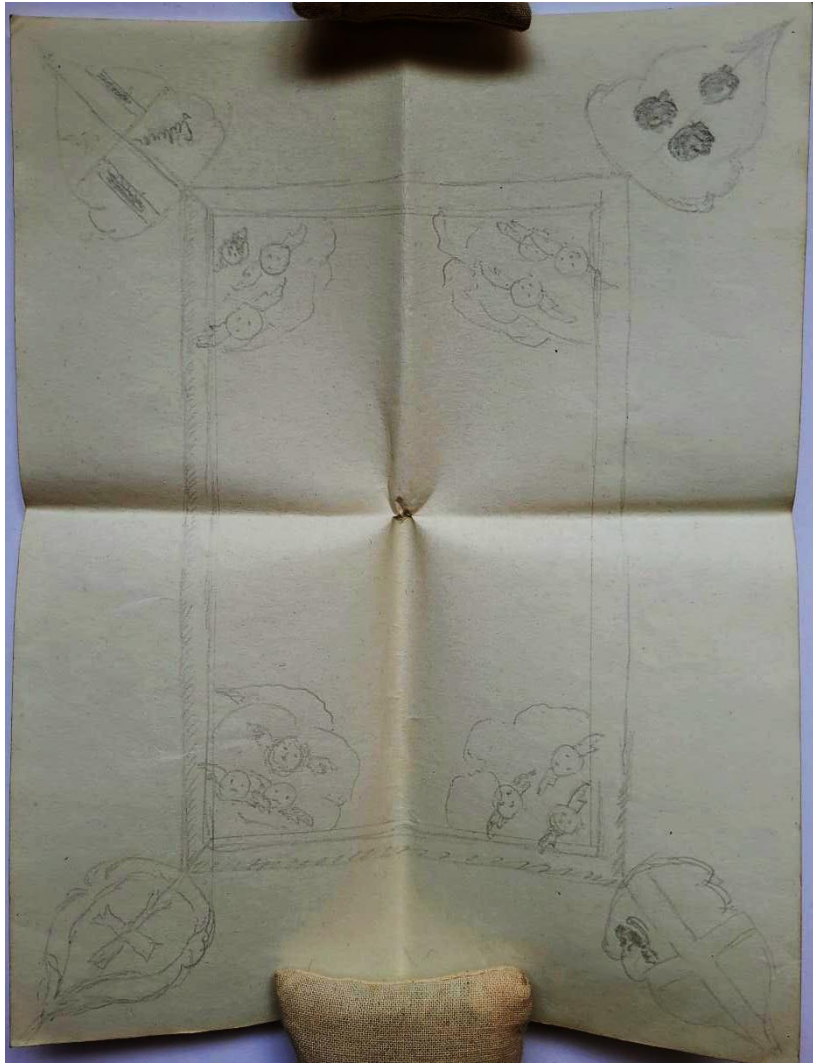


Figure 35: 6th Earl of Harewood, design for a ceiling, October 1917, pencil on paper (5CHHA, box 6, 185). From top right running clockwise the shields depict the arms of Canning, de Burgh, and Lascelles (the fourth arms are not yet fully unidentified, but likely contain the quarterings of the Gascoigne family).

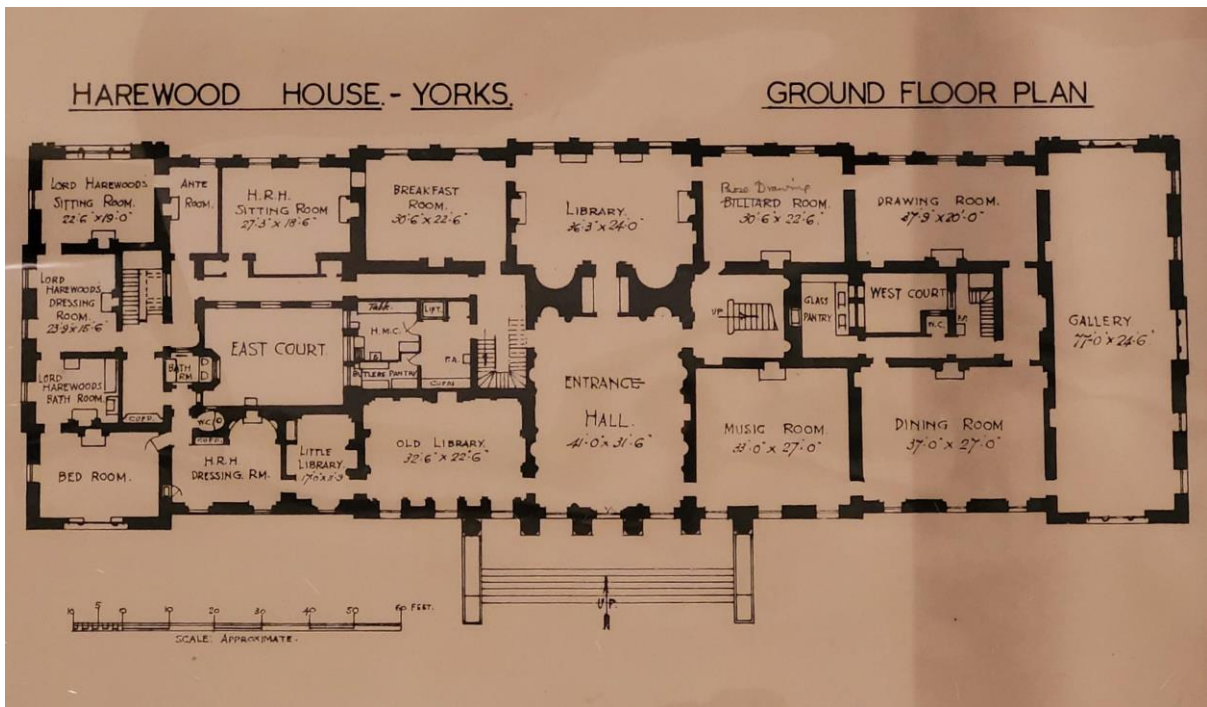


Figure 36: Sir Herbert Baker (by or after), ground floor plan of Harewood House, early 1930s (HHA).

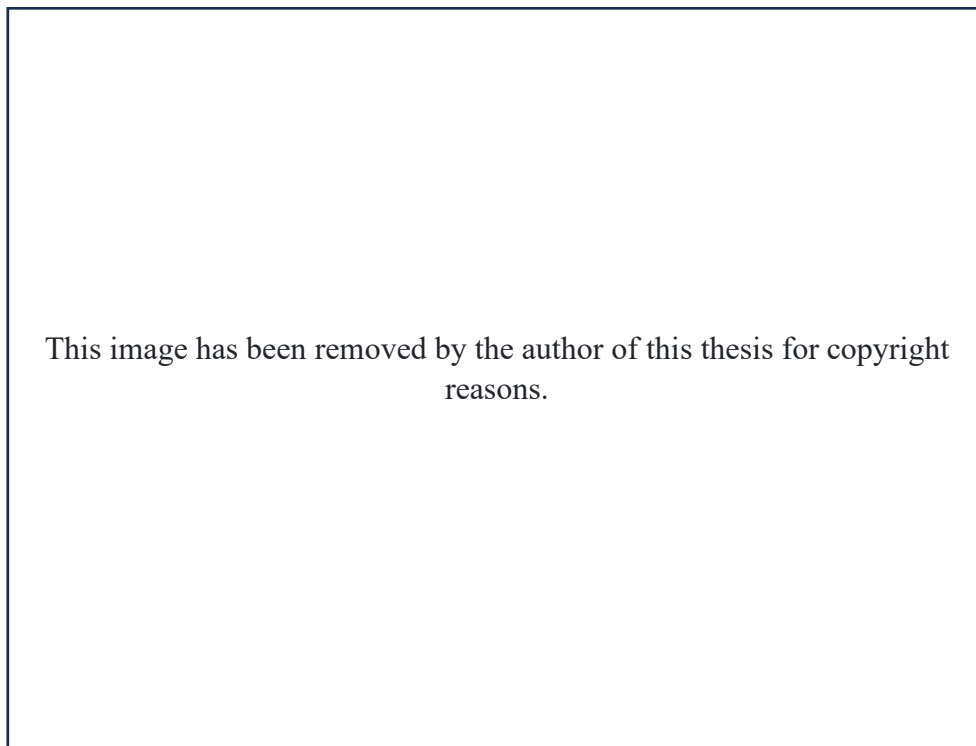


Figure 37: Gallery, Harewood House, c. 1914, repr. in Arthur T. Bolton, 'Harewood House, Yorkshire, the Seat of the Earl of Harewood', *Country Life*, 4 July 1914, p. 23.



Figure 38: Green Drawing Room (now Cinnamon Drawing Room), Harewood House, by Walter Scott of Bradford, early 1930s (HHPA).



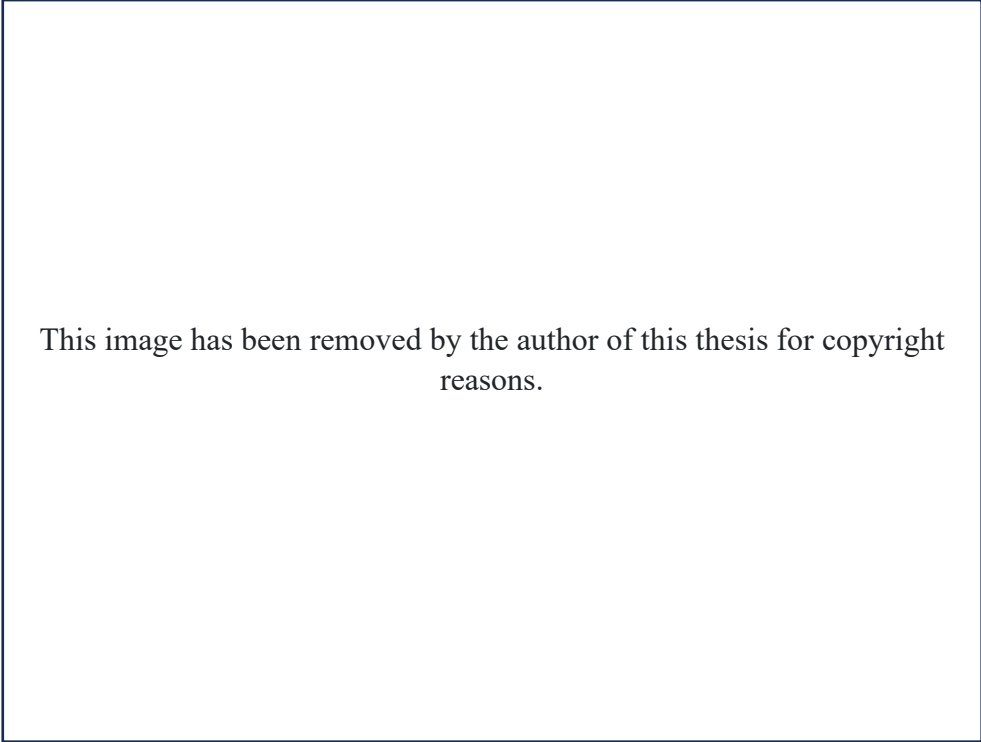
Figure 39: Rose Drawing Room (now Yellow Drawing Room), Harewood House, by Walter Scott of Bradford, early 1930s (HHPA).

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.

Figure 40: Morning Room, Chesterfield House, by *Country Life*, c. 1922 (HHTPh:2002.1.12p8).

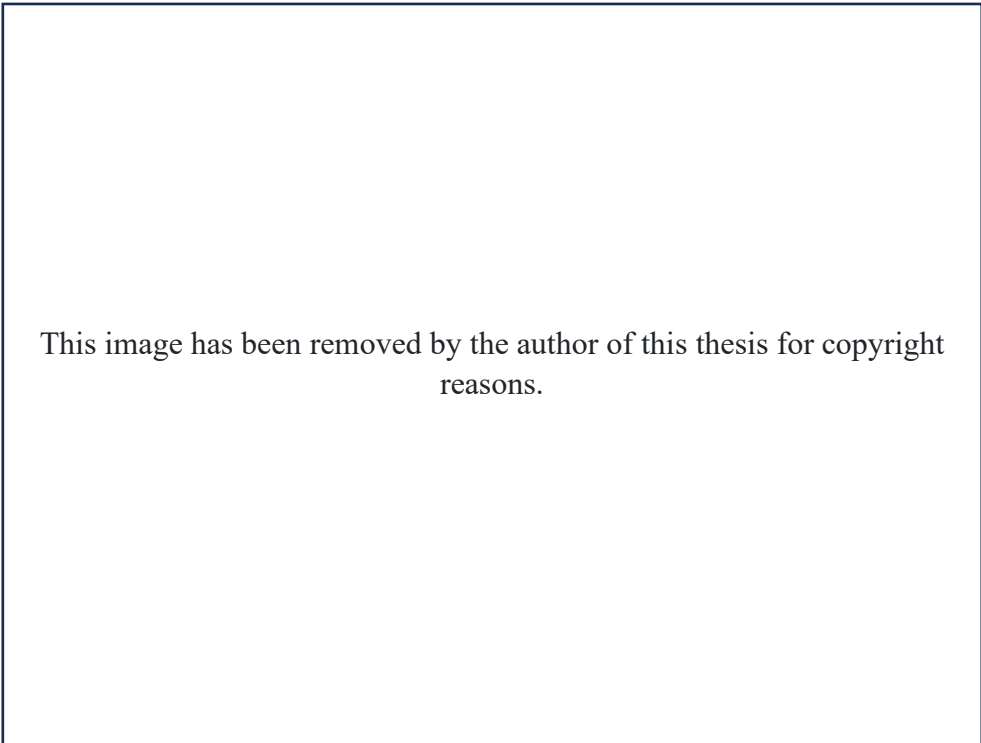


Figure 41: Green Drawing Room, Harewood House, by Walter Scott of Bradford, c. 1931 (HHPA).



This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.

Figure 42: Rose Drawing Room, Harewood House, c. 1950, repr. in Ernest Illingworth Musgrave and Sydney W. Newberry, *Harewood House: An Illustrated Survey of the Yorkshire Residence of H.R.H. The Princess Royal, The Historic Home of the Earls of Harewood* (Derby: English Life Publications, 1950).



This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.

Figure 43: Dining Room, Chesterfield House, repr. in 'Chesterfield House—II Mayfair, A Residence of Viscount Lascelles, K.G.', *Country Life*, 51 (4 March 1922), 308–314, p. 313.



Figure 44: Interior of the Burlington Fine Arts Club, 17 Savile Row, by Bedford Lemere and Company, 1921 (Historic England Archive, BL25311).



Figure 45: Dining Room, Harewood House, by Walter Scott of Bradford, early 1930s (HHPA). To the left of the chimneypiece is Thomas Lawrence, *George Canning*, c. 1825, oil on canvas (Leeds, Harewood House).



Figure 46: El Greco, *A Man, A Woman, and A Monkey*, oil on canvas, c. 1575–1580 (Leeds, Harewood House), in the frame applied to it during the 1930s.



Figure 47: Vincenzo Catena, *Madonna and Child with St. John the Baptist and St. Jerome*, oil on panel, c. 1500–1530 (Leeds, Harewood House), with frame by Ferruccio Vannoni, 1932.

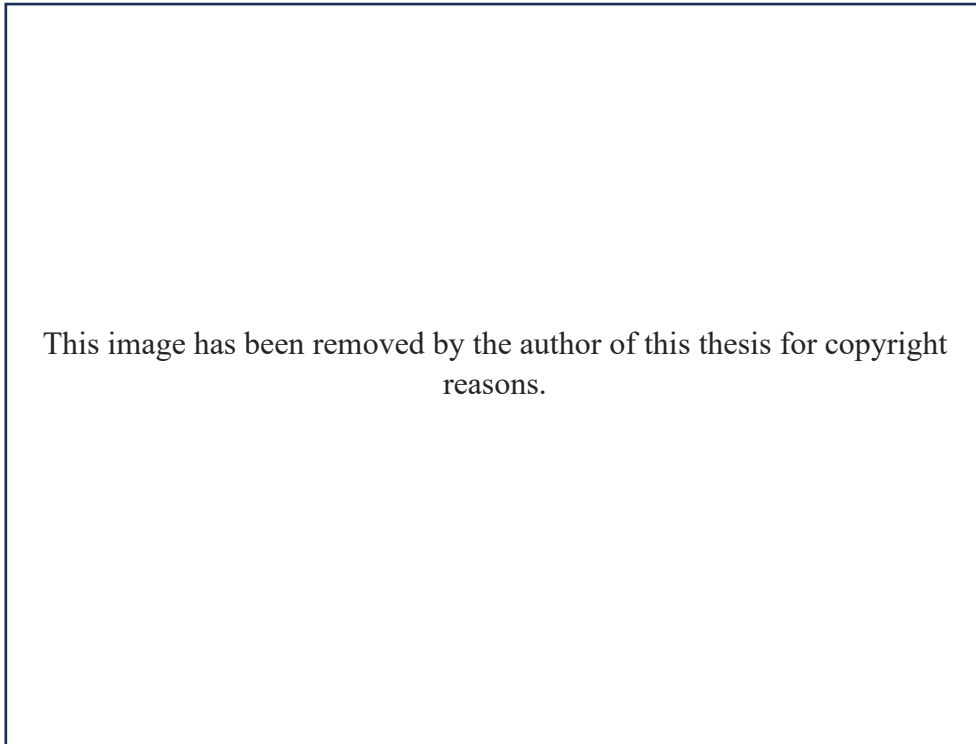


Figure 48: Queue of visitors in the Gallery at Harewood House on its opening day, 4 May 1950, repr. in *The Daily Herald*, 5 May 1950 (HHPA).

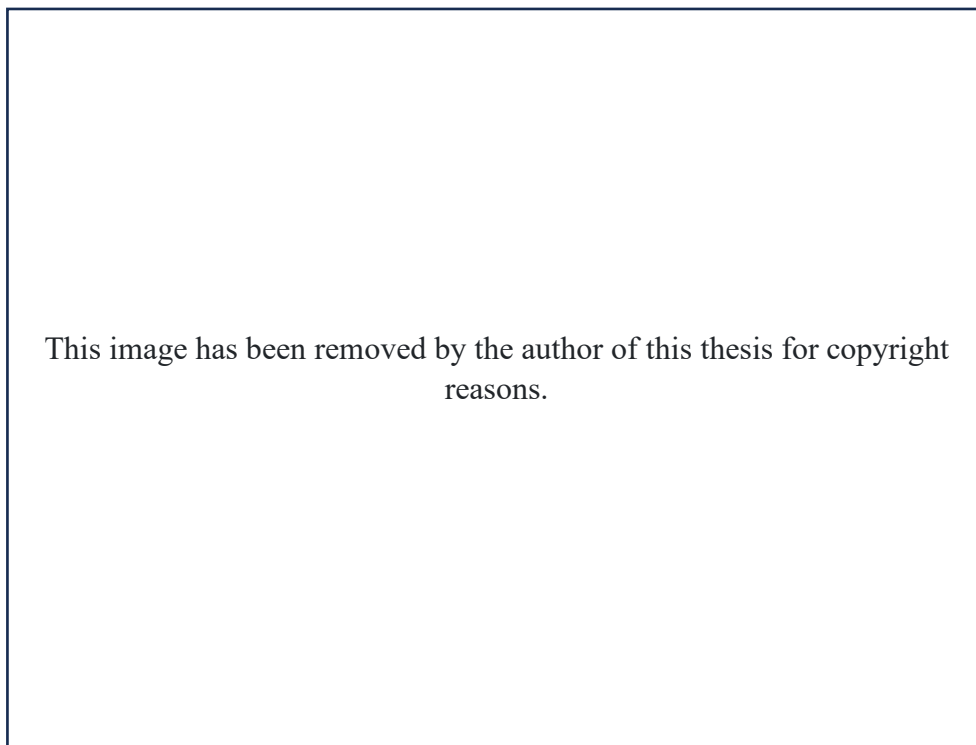


Figure 49: Titian appeal board outside the National Gallery, 1971 or 1972, repr. in Alan Crookham, *The National Gallery: An Illustrated History* (London: National Gallery; Distributed by Yale University Press, 2009), p. 89.



Figure 50: Paolo Veronese, *Portrait of a Gentleman of the Soranzo Family*, oil on canvas, c. 1585 (London, The National Gallery).

Bibliography

Manuscript sources

Thos. Agnew & Sons Archive, National Gallery, London

NGA27/1/1/11 Picture stock book 9, 1909–1919

NGA27/1/1/12 Picture stock book 10, 1904–1933

NGA27/1/2/10 Drawing stock book

NGA27/1/2/11 Drawing stock book

NGA27/1/2/12 Drawing stock book

NGA27/14/2 London Ledgers 1873–1972, records for ‘Viscount Lascelles’, ‘Earl of Harewood’, and ‘HRH Princess Mary’

Colnaghi Archive, Colnaghi Gallery, London

COL1/14/1 Press Cuttings – Holbein’s “Christina of Denmark”, 1909

COL3/1/2 Pictures stock book A1, 1911–1931

COL3/2/2 Drawings stock book A2, 1920–1932

Duveen Brothers Archive, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles

2007.D.1 (bx.228,f.15) Brochures, 1910–1962. Series IV.A. Painting and sculpture, 1910–1962 Bellini, Giovanni: The Madonna and Child, Collection of Henry George Charles

Lascelles [sic], 6th Earl of Harewood and H.R.H. Princess Mary (Princess Royal), undated

2007.D.1 (bx.229,f.13) Brochures, 1910–1962. Series IV.A. Painting and sculpture, 1910–

1962 Bellini, Giovanni: The Virgin and Child, Collection of Harewood, K.G., D.S.O, undated

2007.D.1 (bx.388) Collector's files: Harewood, Earl of, 1936, Tancred Borenius catalogue of collection

2007.D.1 (bx.642) Lists related to stock and collections: Italian school "X" Pictures and Sculpture: Italian Pictures: 51–100, undated

960015 (bx.249,f.23) Files regarding works of art: Harewood Collection, Titian's Diana and Acteon, ca. 1930–1951

960015 (bx.274,f.5) Files regarding works of art: Princess Royal's pictures, 1924

960015 (bx.362,f.1) Correspondence: Har–Hay, 1916–1945

960015 (bx.532,f.3) Collectors' files: R. Langton Douglas: Original letters (and essays), 1942–1948

960015 (bx.532,f.4) Collectors' files: R. Langton Douglas: Original letters (and essays), 1941–1942

Harewood House Archive, Harewood House, Leeds

HHTD:2003.3.9 Harewood House Daily Journal 1930–1943

HHTD:2016.15 Chesterfield House inventory 1920

HHTD:2016.217–231 Valuations for probate on the estate of the 6th Earl of Harewood, January 1948

HHTD:2016.234 Inventories 1945–1952

Visitor Book (32 Green Street?) 1931–1965

The Harewood News, co-edited by George and Gerald Lascelles, 1937–1939

Harewood House Photographic Archive, Harewood House, Leeds

Box 84 Interiors of Harewood, Harewood items, relatives' homes and places relevant to the family

Box 85 Harewood House and gardens

Box 86 Goldsborough Hall

'Harewood House' presentation photo album, early 1930s

Henry George Charles Lascelles, 6th Earl of Harewood Archive, Harewood House, Leeds

HHTD:2016.2–HHTD:2016.175 Receipts for furniture, decorative items, jewellery, paintings, 1919–1951

Box 3, Museum and Galleries correspondence, 1932–1939

Box 4, Museum and Galleries correspondence, 1939–1945

Box 5, Museum and Galleries correspondence, V&A, c. 1930–1941

Box 13, Personal finances and financial settlements, 1930–1947

Box 16, Private accounts, 1926–1945

Box 17, Miscellaneous correspondence, 1920–1927

Box 18, Miscellaneous correspondence, 1928–1937

Box 19, Miscellaneous correspondence, 1938–1941

Box 20, Miscellaneous correspondence, 1942–1947

Box 21, Miscellaneous correspondence, 1920–1953

Box 22, WWI correspondence to Henry Viscount Lascelles, 1915–1919

Art correspondence (Borenus and sale receipts archived separately), 1918–1951

Drawings and photographs belonging to Henry George Charles, 6th Earl of Harewood

Miscellaneous correspondence in accordion folder, 1917–1924

Receipts for works of art and letters to Borenus, 1916–1951

List of Societies with which Lord Harewood is associated

Florence Katharine Lascelles (née Bridgeman), 5th Countess of Harewood Archive, Harewood House, Leeds

Box 2, Private letters, at least 1920–1943

Box 4, Correspondence from Viscount Lascelles and Edward Cecil Lascelles, 1892–1895

Box 5, Correspondence from Viscount Lascelles and Edward Cecil Lascelles, 1907–1918

Box 6, Correspondence from Viscount Lascelles during WWI, 1915–1919

Princess Mary Archive, Harewood House, Leeds

Box 119, Various private and personal correspondence

National Gallery Archive, London

NG6420 Picture dossier, Titian *The Death of Actaeon*

NG14/258/1 Acquisition file 9 December 1970 – 9 August 1971

NG24/1961/7 Press cuttings January – December 1961

Private archive

Digital transcripts of correspondence from Viscount Lascelles, later 6th Earl of Harewood, to Tancred Borenius, 1917–1919

Royal Collection Trust Archive, Windsor

Correspondence from Tancred Borenius to Queen Mary, 1931–1936

Letter from Tancred Borenius to the 6th Earl of Harewood, 16 January 1931

Tancred Borenius Archive, private

Incoming correspondence from Queen Mary, Princess Mary, the 6th Earl of Harewood, and others

Scrapbook of press clippings regarding the National Gallery ‘Giorgione’ scandal, 1937–1939

Scrapbook of press clippings regarding the sale of the Canning Jewel, 1931

Miscellaneous papers, booklets, and photographs

Books from Tancred Borenius’s library, including gifts from Queen Mary and Princess Mary

Temple Newsam Archive, Leeds

Inventory of Pictures, Furniture, etc. at Temple Newsam, 19 September 1922

Guidebooks; 1927, 1931, 1934, 1936

Country Life, 8 October 1904

Sproston, Mildred, ‘Temple Newsam’ (Ph.D.[?] thesis, University of Leeds[?], n.d. [after 1927, possibly 1930s])

University College London, School of Slavonic and East European Studies Library

ANF/6/7 – Text of ‘A Lecture on the Life and Work of Professor Tancred Borenius, Ph.D., D.Litt., F.S.A.’ given by his daughter Clarissa Lada–Grodzicka, 1975

Victoria and Albert Museum, London

MA/1/H674 – Registry, nominal file of gifts, 5th Earl of Harewood

MA/1/H675 – Registry, nominal file of gifts, 6th Earl of Harewood

Burlington Fine Arts Club candidate book, volume 8

West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds

WYL250/Accn1789/1 Harewood House receipts and payments, 1930–1933

WYL250/ACCN1789/3 Harewood House plans and specifications, 1930

WYL250/Accn1789/4 Correspondence and estimates from Messrs Cowtan & Sons Ltd, 1938

WYL250/Accn1789/5 Correspondence and accounts, 1930–1933

WYL250/3/Acs/304 Inventory of Goldsborough Hall, 1925

WYL250/4/12/10 correspondence relating to changes to Goldsborough Hall, 1922

WYL250/4/12/2 A Plan of Alterations Designed for Goldsborough, the Seat of Daniel Lascelles Esq, by Thos White, 1766

WYL250/4/12/1 A design for the improvement of Goldsborough, the seat of Daniel Lascelles Esq, by R. Woods, 1763

WYL250/4/12/3 ‘The Platform of the honble Colonel Byerley’s house at Goldsborough

WYL250/4/12/4 Plan of Goldsbro Hall

WYL250/4/12/5 ‘Goldsborough Hall Yorkshire’, design by Sydney D. Kitson, FRIBA, Mens et Del, February 1922

WYL250/4/12/6 Design for Goldsborough Hall by Sydney Kitson, cellar and second floor, 1922

WYL250/4/12/7 Design for Goldsborough Hall by Sydney Kitson, first floor, 1922

WYL250/4/12/8 Design for Goldsborough Hall by Sydney Kitson, ground floor, 1922

WYL250/4/12/9 Design for Goldsborough Hall Yorkshire, ‘Proposed new bathrooms on first floor’, 1922

WYL1612/6/6/18 Photographic print of the long gallery, Temple Newsam, 1952

LLC51/1/1 Leeds Library and Arts Committee minutes, 1912–1924

LLC51/1/2 Leeds Library and Arts Committee minutes, 1923–1931

LLC51/1/3 Leeds Library and Arts Committee minutes, 1932–1938

LLC57/1/1 Temple Newsam Estate Committee minute book, 1922–1927

- LLD3/1/7509 Temple Newsam correspondence and audit papers, 1939–1951
- LLD3/1/7510 Leeds City Museums guide, correspondence, etc, 1925–1947
- LX210/1 Will of Hubert George De Burgh Canning Marquis of Clanricarde, 2 February 1916
- LX210/2 Letter in Marquis of Clanricarde’s hand to Mr R. Peake Esq., 22 January 1916
- LX210/3 Earlier Will of the Marquis of Clanricarde, dated 10 August 1874
- LX210/4 Enclosure – Draft, undated (Clanricarde’s hand – short note)
- LX210/5 Envelope to LX210/4
- LX210/7 Excerpt from ‘The Complete Peerage of England Scotland Ireland Great Britain and the United Kingdom, Volume III Canonteign to Cutts, 1913 (London: The St Catherine Press)
- LX210/8, Excerpt from ‘Twilight of the Ascendancy’, by Mark Bence–Jones, 1987 (London: Constable)
- LZ210/6 Letter from Herbert Agar to ‘Sir’, Stanton House, Highworth, Wilts, 12th January 1884
- LZ210/9 Excerpt from ‘The Big House in Ireland’, by Valerie Pakenham, 2000 (London: Cassell & Co)

Witt Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, London

- 131A El Greco
- 161 Master of Marradi
- 192 Lazzaro Bastiani
- 222 Giovanni Bellini
- 296A Jusepe de Ribera
- 500 Annibale Carracci
- 549 Vincenzo Catena
- 595A Cima da Conegliano
- 1257 Alessandro Longhi
- 1296 Lorenzo Lotto
- 1813 Antonio del Pollaiuolo
- 2146 Il Sodoma
- 2297 Tintoretto
- 2342 Titian
- 2483 Paolo Veronese

Unpublished sources

Arizzoli, Louise, 'James Hazen Hyde and the Allegory of the Four Continents. A Research Collection for an Amateur Art Historian' (Ph.D. thesis, Indiana University, 2013)

Callmann, Ellen, 'Apollonio Di Giovanni' (Ph.D. thesis, New York University, 1970)

Chamberlain, Robert, 'Harewood House, 1929–39: Restoration and Revivalism' (M.A. dissertation, University of Leeds, 199[8?])

Cowdell, Theophilus Paul, 'The Role of the Royal Academy in English Art 1916–1930' (Ph.D. thesis, Sheffield Hallam University, 2008)

Dallas Andrews, Wendy, 'The Cowtan Order Books, 1824–1938: An Analysis of Wallpaper and Decorating Records and Their Use as Historical Sources' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 2017)

Greer, Elena J., 'Sir Frederic William Burton and the Rosebery Minute: The Directorship of the National Gallery, London, in the Late Nineteenth Century' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Nottingham, 2017)

Harrison Moore, Abigail, 'Imagining Egypt: The Regency Furniture Collections at Harewood House, Leeds and Nineteenth Century Images of Egypt' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Southampton, 2001)

Heath, Phillippa, 'Lord Sudeley: A Great Pioneer: Museum Education in London, 1901–1922' (MA thesis, Courtauld Institute of Art, 2003)

Muir, Kimberley Hamilton Scotland, 'Wounded Masterpieces: Restoring Works of Art When Damage Carries Meaning' (Ph.D. thesis, Queen's University, 2007)

O'Neill, Harriet, 'Re-Framing the Italian Renaissance at the National Gallery, 1824–2014' (Ph.D. thesis, University College London, 2014)

Pezzini, Barbara, 'Making a Market for Art: Agnew's and the National Gallery, 1855–1928' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Manchester, 2017)

Ruiz, Ana Baeza, 'The Road to Renewal: Refiguring the Art Museum in Twentieth-century Britain' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Leeds, 2017)

Smith, Amelia, 'Acquisition, Patronage and Display: Contextualising the Art Collections of Longford Castle during the Long Eighteenth Century' (Ph.D. thesis, Birkbeck, University of London, 2017)

Usher, Catherine, 'The Curzon Report 1915: Grand Failure or Prophetic Foresight?' (M.A. dissertation, University of Buckingham, 2018)

Printed sources

'(#51) A Pair of Sèvres Porcelain Vases Known as 'Vases Allemands Unis', Late Louis XV, circa 1770, the Painting of Figures by Charles Eloi Asselin', *Sothebys*, 2017
<<https://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2016/excellence-pf1711/lot.51.html>>
[accessed 27 August 2023].

'\$1,000,000 IS PAID FOR 600 DRAWINGS; Celebrated Heseltine Collection of Works by Old Masters Sold to a London Firm', *The New York Times*, 23 October 1912

'12 and 13, Upper Belgrave Street Sw1, City of Westminster, London', *British Listed Buildings* <<https://britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/101066216-12-and-13-upper-belgrave-street-sw1-knightsbridge-and-belgravia-ward>> [accessed 5 May 2020]

'12 and 13, Upper Belgrave Street SW1, Non Civil Parish – 1066216', *Historic England* <<https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1066216>> [accessed 5 May 2020]

'32 Green Street, Mayfair, London W1', *Buildington* <<https://www.buildington.co.uk/london-w1/32-green-street/32-green-street/id/8336>> [accessed 5 May 2020]

'32, Green Street W1, City of Westminster – 1066724', *Historic England* <<https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1066724>> [accessed 5 May 2020]

'148, Piccadilly, London, England', *The Rothschild Archive* <<https://family.rothschildarchive.org/estates/38-148-piccadilly>> [accessed 19 February 2020]

'2017,7010.1', *British Museum Collection Online* <https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3782710&partId=1&people=106852&peoA=106852-3-18&page=2> [accessed 4 November 2019]

'40,000 Visitors Were Bewildered by Picasso's Art', *Daily News*, 21 December 1945, 3

‘À Berlin!’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 15.73 (April 1909), 3–4

A Catalogue of the Contents of the Mansion, Mainly Consisting of Old English Furniture of the Queen Anne, Chippendale and Sheraton Periods, Lac Cabinets and Screens, Antique Chinese Bronzes, Panels in Petit Point, Pictures and Valuable Porcelain, To Be Sold by Auction by Messrs Robinson, Fisher & Harding (London: Doherty & Co., 1922)

A Catalogue of the Pictures and Drawings in the National Loan Exhibition in Aid of National Gallery Funds, 1909–1910: Held in the Grafton Galleries, Grafton Street, London, W.: October, November, December, and January 1909–1910, 3rd ed. (London: Ballantyne & Co., 1909)

A Catalogue of an Exhibition of Old Masters in Aid of the National Art-Collections Fund: October 4 to December 28, 1911 (London: Philip Lee Warner, 1911)

A Guide to Harrogate and Its Waters, with Excursions to Harlow Hill, Crimble Viaduct, Knaresbro’, Brimham Rocks, Ripon, Studley Park, Fountains Abbey, Harewood, Ripley, Etc. (Manchester: Abel Heywood & Son, 1869)

A Guide to Harrogate and Its Waters, with Excursions to Harlow Hill, Crimble Viaduct, Knaresbro’, Brimham Rocks, Ripon, Studley Park, Fountains Abbey, Harewood, Ripley, &c. (Manchester: Abel Heywood & Son, 1884)

A Guide to Harrogate, Ripon, Studley Royal, Knaresborough, and Fountains Abbey, with Excursions to All Places of Interest in the Neighbourhood (Manchester: Abel Heywood & Son, 1907)

‘A Guide to the Works of the Major Italian Renaissance Painters’, *Cavallini to Veronese* <<https://cavallinitoveronese.co.uk/>> [accessed 28 November 2019]

A Loan Exhibition Depicting Marlborough and the Reign of Queen Anne: 29th January – March, 1934, in Aid of the Young Women’s Christian Association (London, 1934)

‘A New Acquisition: A Magnificent Drawing by Benozzo Gozzoli’, *The British Museum Blog*, 2017 <<https://blog.britishmuseum.org/a-new-acquisition-a-magnificent-drawing-by-benozzo-gozzoli/>> [accessed 13 May 2020]

‘A New Method of Lighting Picture Galleries’, *The Sphere*, 19 May 1923, 204

A Private View: 14 March – 4 November 2001 (Leeds: Harewood House, 2001)

‘A Roman Marble Figure of Fortuna, circa 2nd Century A.D., with 18th Century Restorations’, *Sotheby’s* <<https://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2017/ancient-sculpture-and-works-of-art-117261/lot.36.html>> [accessed 1 August 2023]

‘A Splendid Ghost’, *The Irish Times*, 24 February 2001 <<https://www.irishtimes.com/news/a-splendid-ghost-1.284594>> [accessed 18 May 2022]

‘A Thorn in Our Flesh’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 46.264 (March 1925), 107–8

‘A Wooded River Landscape with Jacob, Laban, and His Daughters’, *The Art Institute of Chicago* <<https://www.artic.edu/artworks/149029/a-wooded-river-landscape-with-jacob-laban-and-his-daughters>> [accessed 13 May 2020]

Abel, Matthew, ‘The Curator Queen: Queen Mary and the V&A’, *V&A Blog*, 2 March 2020 <<https://www.vam.ac.uk/blog/caring-for-our-collections/the-curator-queen-queen-mary-and-the-va>> [accessed 3 November 2020]

‘About’, *Egerton Stud Newmarket* <<https://www.egertonstud.co.uk/about>> [accessed 28 October 2019]

Abrahams, Aleck, ‘Harewood House, Hanover Square’, *Notes and Queries*, 21 November 1908, 406–407

Adams, Alexander, ‘Morna O’Neill: Hugh Lane: The Art Market and the Art Museum 1893–1915’, *British Art Journal*, 19.3 (2018), 125

‘Access to Art Treasures’, *The Yorkshire Post*, 7 July 1936, 7

Agnew, Geoffrey, *Agnew’s, 1817–1967* (London: Bradbury Agnew Press, 1967)

Agnew, Julian, and others, *A Dealer’s Record: Agnew’s 1967–81* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1981)

‘Aims Of An Art Gallery. Mr. Philip Hendy’s Criticism of Leeds’, *The Yorkshire Post*, 9 July 1936, 7

Ainslie, Douglas, *Adventures Social and Literary* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1922)

‘An Illustrated Handbook for Harrogate, with Excursions in the Neighbourhood’, *The Athenaeum*, 1615 (1858), 450

Anderson, Jaynie, 'Cavenaghi, Luigi', *Grove Art Online*, 2003

<<https://www.oxfordartonline.com/view/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.001.0001/oa-9781884446054-e-7000015009>> [accessed 17 October 2019]

Appadurai, Arjun, 'Introduction: commodities and the politics of value', in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. by Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 3–63

Arbiter, 'The Estate Market: A Glance at Market Conditions. Houses with Exquisite Gardens; Goldsborough Hall', *Country Life*, 83 (23 April 1938), xxxviii

———, 'The Estate Market: Broke of the "Shannon"', *Country Life*, 75 (19 May 1934), 32

———, 'The Estate Market: Chesterfield House Flats Sold', *Country Life*, 86 (15 July 1939), 34

———, 'The Estate Market: Future of Chesterfield House', *Country Life*, 74 (18 November 1933), 30

———, 'The Estate Market: Lord Harewood's Sale of Egerton', *Country Life*, 94 (20 August 1943), 345

———, 'The Estate Market: Offer of Farms', *Country Life*, 64 (24 November 1928), 36

———, 'The Estate Market: Sales: Coming and Concluded', *Country Life*, 70 (8 August 1931), 168

Arnold, Dana, *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape and Society* (Stroud: History Press, 2013)

'Art For The Provinces. Lord Harewood's Suggestion. Opening Of Private Houses.' *The Yorkshire Observer*, 7 July 1936, 6

'Art Market', *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 2019,

<<https://academic.eb.com/levels/collegiate/article/art-market/444272>> [accessed 20 November 2019]

'Arthur Ruck', *Country Life*, 47 (3 January 1920), xxxix

'Arthur Ruck Galleries', *Country Life*, 59 (26 June 1926), xcii

‘Asked for Admission Fee: Princess Mary at Harewood House’, *The Manchester Guardian*, 7 July 1930, 15

‘At Chesterfield House’, *Pall Mall Gazette*, 18 June 1923, 8

Atkinson, W. A., *A Short Account of Goldsborough and Its Neighbourhood, Including the Church and the Hall* (Knaresborough: Parrs, 1922)

‘Attributed to John Michael Rysbrack: Mantelpiece from Chesterfield House, London’, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art* <<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/201929>> [accessed 19 April 2020]

‘Austen Henry Layard’, *The National Gallery* <<https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/about-us/history/collectors-and-benefactors/austen-henry-layard>> [accessed 3 December 2021]

‘Autrement’, *Cadres Lebrun* <<https://www.cadres-lebrun.fr?lang=en>> [accessed 28 November 2019]

Avery-Quash, Susanna, ‘John Ruskin and the National Gallery: Evolving Ideas about Curating the Nation’s Paintings during the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century’, *Journal of Art Historiography*, 22 (June 2020), 1–43

———, ‘The Art of Conservation II: Sir Charles Eastlake and Conservation at the National Gallery, London’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 157.1353 (December 2015), 846–854

———, ‘Titian at the National Gallery, London: An unchanging reputation?’, in *The Reception of Titian in Britain: from Reynolds to Ruskin*, ed. by Peter Humfrey (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 215–228

Avery-Quash, Susanna, and Barbara Pezzini, eds., *Old Masters Worldwide: Markets, Movements and Museums, 1789–1939* (London: Bloomsbury, 2021)

Avery-Quash, Susanna, and Jacqueline Riding, ‘*The Blue Boy* and the Britishness of British Art, 1788–1921’, in *Gainsborough’s Blue Boy: The Return of a British Icon*, ed. by Christine Riding (London: National Gallery, 2022), 25–37

Avery-Quash, Susanna, and Jemma Craig, *Creating a National Collection: The Partnership between Southampton City Art Gallery and The National Gallery* (Southampton: Southampton City Art Gallery, 2021)

Avery-Quash, Susanna, and Kate Retford, eds., *The Georgian London Town House: Building, Collecting and Display* (London: Bloomsbury, 2019)

Avery-Quash, Susanna, and Nicholas Penny, 'The Dispersal of the Orléans Collection and the British Art Market', in *London and the Emergence of a European Art Market, 1780–1820*, ed. by Susanna Avery-Quash and Christian Huemer (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2019), 145–158

Avila, Philippe, 'An Introduction to Spanish Baroque Frames in the Golden Age', *The Frame Blog*, 12 March 2019 <<https://theframeblog.com/2019/03/12/an-introduction-to-spanish-baroque-frames-in-the-golden-age/>> [accessed 14 July 2022]

Bailey, John, *Tales from the Old Country Estates* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1999)

Bal, Mieke, 'Telling Objects: A Narrative Perspective on Collecting', in *The Cultures of Collecting*, ed. by John Elsner and Roger Cardinal, (London: Reaktion Books, 1997) 97–115

'Barbieri, Giovanni Francesco, Children', *Sotheby's* <<https://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/lot.124.html/2016/master-drawings-n09457>> [accessed 13 May 2020]

Bather, Francis Arthur, *Presidential Address to the Museums Association, Delivered at Aberdeen, July 1903* (London: 1903)

Beales, Derek, 'Canning, George (1770–1827), Prime Minister and Parodist', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online ed.), 12 January 2023 <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4556>>

'Beautiful British Homes: XI.– Castle Howard, the Yorkshire Home of the Earl of Carlisle', *The Sketch*, 16 November 1904, 165

Bell, Clive, 'The Cleaning of Pictures', *The Burlington Magazine*, 40.228 (March 1922), 127–128

Bell, J. Munro, *The Furniture Designs of Thomas Chippendale* (London: Gibbings and Company, 1910)

Belting, Hans, 'St. Jerome in Venice: Giovanni Bellini and the Dream of Solitary Life', *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, 17 (Spring 2014), 5–33

Benson, Robert, 'Notes on Frames', in *Report of the Committee of Trustees of the National Gallery (Lord Curzon of Kedleston, E Vincent, R H Benson and C Holroyd) Appointed by the Trustees to Enquire into the Retention of Important Pictures in This Country, and Other Matters Connected with the National Art Collections* (London: H.M.S.O., 1914), 49–51

———, *The Holford Collection: A Catalogue of Twelve Illuminated Manuscripts at Dorchester House and 107 Pictures at Westonbirt in Gloucestershire* (London: Medici Society, 1924)

———, *The Holford Collection, Dorchester House* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1927)

Benson, Robert, and Tancred Borenius, *Catalogue of Italian Pictures at 16, South Street, Park Lane, London and Buckhurst in Sussex* (London: Privately printed at the Chiswick Press, 1914)

Berenson, Bernard, *The Venetian Painters of the Renaissance: With an Index to Their Works* (New York and London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1894)

Beresford Chancellor, Edwin, *The Private Palaces of London Past and Present* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1908)

Black, Adam and Charles Black, *Black's Guide to Harrogate and Vicinity: Including Fountains Abbey, Bolton Priory, and Ripon* (Edinburgh: 1871)

———, *Guide to Harrogate, and Vicinity, Including Fountains Abbey, Bolton Priory, and Ripon*, 7th ed. (Edinburgh, 1882)

'Blickling Hall, Norfolk, the Seat of The Marquess of Lothian', *Country Life*, 18 (9 December 1905), 822–832

Blunderhead, Benjamin, *A Season at Harrogate, &c. &c. in a Series of Poetical Epistles from Benjamin Blunderhead, Esq. to His Mother in Derbyshire: With Useful and Copious Notes, &c.*, (Harrogate: P. Palliser, 1838)

'Bob's Letters about Bachelors. XXXIX.—Viscount Lascelles', *The Gentlewoman*, 2 September 1905, 336

Bode, Wilhelm Von, 'Die amerikanische Gefahr im Kunsthandel', *Kunst und Künstler*, 5 (1907), 3–6

———. ‘Die amerikanische Konkurrenz im Kunsthandel und ihre Gefahr für Europa’, *Kunst und Künstler*, 1 (1902), 5–12

Bodkin, Thomas, ‘Review of Art Prices Current 1913-14. Vol. VII, by G. Ingram Smyth’ *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 7.28 (December 1918), 671–672

Bolton, Arthur T., ‘Harewood House, Yorkshire, the Seat of the Earl of Harewood’, *Country Life*, 36 (4 July 1914), 18–26

Borenius, Tancred, *A Catalogue of the Paintings at Doughty House Richmond, & Elsewhere in the Collection of Sir Frederick Cook BT, Viscount de Monserrate, Edited by Herbert Cook, M.A., F.S.A., Hon. Member of the Royal Academy of Milan* (London: William Heinemann, 1913), 1: Italian Schools

———, *A Catalogue of the Pictures at Corsham Court* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1939)

———, *A Catalogue of the Pictures, Etc. at 18 Kensington Palace Gardens, London*, 2 vols (Oxford: Privately printed at the Oxford University Press, 1923-1926)

———, ‘A Great Tintoretto’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 61.354 (September 1932), 99–104

———, ‘A Group of Drawings by Paul Veronese’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 38.215 (February 1921), 54–55, 58–59

———, ‘A Portrait by Alessandro Longhi’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 26.143 (February 1915), 181

———, ‘A Portrait Group by Sebastiano Del Piombo’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 37.211 (October 1920), 168–169

———, ‘A Re-Discovered Portrait of Michelangelo at Goldsborough Hall’, *Country Life*, 56 (20 September 1924), 434–435

———, ‘A Seascape by Tintoretto’, *Apollo*, 2 (July–December 1925), 249–250

———, *Catalogue of a Collection of Italian Maiolica Belonging to Henry Harris* (London: Privately printed, 1930)

———, *Catalogue of the Pictures and Drawings at Harewood House and Elsewhere in the Collection of the Earl of Harewood* (Oxford: Privately printed at the Oxford University Press, 1936)

- , ‘Drawings in the Collection of Mr A.G.B. Russell’, *The Connoisseur*, 66 (May 1923), 2–12
- , ‘Early Italian Pictures in the Collection of Lord Carmichael’, *Apollo*, 1.2 (February 1925), 65–68
- , ‘Italian Cassone Paintings’, *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, 6 September 1924, 237–238
- , ‘Old Master Drawings in the Collection of Viscount Lascelles’, *Apollo*, 1.1 (January–June 1925), 189–196
- , ‘Old Masters in Wiltshire’, *Country Life*, 80 (25 July 1936), 82–85
- , ‘On the Care of Pictures’, *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, 3 June 1922, 571–572
- , *Pictures by the Old Masters in the Library of Christ Church Oxford: A Brief Catalogue with Historical and Critical Notes on the Pictures in the Collection* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1916)
- , ‘Pictures from American Collections at Burlington House’, *Apollo*, 11.63 (March 1930), 153–163
- , ‘Pictures from British Collections at the Italian Exhibition’, *Apollo*, 11.61 (January 1930), 91–101
- , ‘Portrait of an Ecclesiastic by Ridolfo Ghirlandaio’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 23.122 (May 1913), 65
- , ‘S. Jerome by Cima Da Conegliano’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 19.102 (September 1911), 318–323
- , ‘The Benson Collection’, *Apollo*, 6 (August 1927), 65–70
- , ‘The Chesterfield House Collection of Pictures’, *Country Life*, 51 (25 February 1922), 257–259
- , ‘The Christ Church Tintoretto’, *The Times*, 6 December 1937, 13
- , ‘The Italian Exhibition at Burlington House’, *Apollo*, 11.62 (February 1930), 1–16
- , *The Leverton Harris Collection* (London: Privately printed, 1931)

———, ‘Two Unpublished North Italian Drawings’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 29.163 (October 1916), 271–273

———, ‘Unpublished Cassone Panels–I’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 40.227 (February 1922), 70–71, 74–75

———, ‘Unpublished Cassone Panels–VI’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 41.237 (December 1922), 256, 258–259

Borenius, Tancred, and Lionel Cust, *Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures at Northwick Park* (London: Privately printed at the Chiswick Press, 1921)

Borenius, Tancred, and Rudolf Wittkower, *Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings by the Old Masters Formed by Sir Robert Mond, LL.D., F.R.S.E., F.S.A.* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1937)

Borenius, Tancred, and W. H. Woodward, *Catalogue of a Collection of Pottery Belonging to W. H. Woodward* (London: Privately printed, 1928)

‘BOSTON GETS A RUBENS: Earl of Harewood Sells Painting to Museum of Fine Arts’, *New York Times*, 22 May 1941, 19

Bourdieu, Pierre, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, ed. by Randal Johnson (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993)

———, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. by Richard Nice (London: Routledge, 1984)

Bowett, Adam, and James Lomax, *Thomas Chippendale 1718–1779: A Celebration of British Craftsmanship and Design* (The Chippendale Society, 2018)

Brackett, Oliver, *Thomas Chippendale: A study of his life, work, and influence* (London: Hodder & Stoddard, 1925)

Bradbury, Oliver, and Nicholas Penny, ‘The Picture Collecting of Lord Northwick: Part I’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 144.1193 (August 2002): 485–496

———, ‘The Picture Collecting of Lord Northwick: Part II’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 144.1195 (October 2002): 606–617

Bradford, Eveleigh, ‘They Lived in Leeds’, *The Thoresby Society*, July 2018

<<https://www.thoresby.org.uk/content/people/sadler.php>> [accessed 29 November 2021]

Brodetsky, Selig, and Henry George Charles Lascelles, Earl of Harewood, *The Jews in the Post-War Settlement* (London: The Jewish Historical Society of England, 1942)

Brown, Sarah, and others, *The Sadler Gift: 1923* (Leeds: The Stanley & Audrey Burton Gallery, University of Leeds, 2012)

Buchanan, James, *Sporting pictures at Lavington Park* (London: Privately printed, 1927)

Buckle, Richard, *Harewood: A New Guide-Book to the Yorkshire Seat of the Earls of Harewood* (Derby: English Life Publications, 1966)

Budrovich, Nicole, '100 Years Later: The Hope Collection from London to Los Angeles', *Getty*, 25 July 2017 <<https://www.getty.edu/news/100-years-later-the-hope-collection-from-london-to-los-angeles/>> [accessed 26 August 2023]

Burke, Bernard, *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage of the British Empire* (London: Harrison, 1871)

Burke, Bernard and Ashworth Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Peerage and Baronetage, the Privy Council, and Knightage* (London: The Burke Publishing Company, 1923)

Burnard, Trevor, 'Slavery, Family and Gentry Capitalism in the British Atlantic: The World of the Lascelles, 1648–1834', *EH.NET*, August 2007, <https://eh.net/book_reviews/slavery-family-and-gentry-capitalism-in-the-british-atlantic-the-world-of-the-lascelles-1648-1834/> [accessed 25 April 2022]

Byam Shaw, James, *Paintings by Old Masters at Christ Church, Oxford* (London: Phaidon, 1967)

———, 'Denis Mahon: A Sketch' in *Guercino Drawings from the Collections of Denis Mahon and the Ashmolean Museum* (London: The Burlington Magazine, 1986) viii–ix

C., M., 'For the Connoisseur: The Italian Exhibition', *Country Life*, 67 (18 January 1930), 103–109

C., W.G., 'The Wallace Collection', *The Burlington Magazine*, 40.226 (January 1922), 44,49

'Caliari, Paolo, a Sheet of Studies', *Sotheby's* <<https://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2016/old-master-british-drawings-116040/lot.12.html>> [accessed 14 May 2020]

Cannadine, David, 'Pictures Across the Pond: Perspectives and Retrospectives', in *British Models of Art Collecting and the American Response: Reflections Across the Pond*, ed. by Inge Reist, *The Histories of Material Culture and Collecting, 1700–1950* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 9–25

———, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, (London: Papermac, 1996)

———, *The Rise and Fall of Class in Britain* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999)

'Canning Jewel Brings \$50,000 From American at London Sale', *New York Times*, 17 July 1931, 9

'Canning Jewel For Nation', *Halifax Evening Courier*, 5 September 1931, 3

'Capt Edward G Spencer-Churchill', *The British Museum*

<<https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG46930>> [accessed 15 October 2021]

'Cardinal Bandinello Sauli, His Secretary, and Two Geographers', *National Gallery of Art*

<<https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.46136.html#provenance>> [accessed 28 November 2019]

Carter, A. C. R., 'Forthcoming Sales. More Hamilton Silver: The "Canning Jewel"', *The Burlington Magazine*, 59.340 (July 1931), xxxv–xxxvi

Casteras, Susan P., and Colleen Denney, eds., *The Grosvenor Gallery: A Palace of Art in Victorian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996)

Catalogue of a Collection of Pictures of the Early Venetian School and Other Works of Art (London: Chiswick Press: Privately printed for The Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1912)

Catalogue of an Exhibition of Florentine Painting Before 1500 (London: Chiswick Press: Privately printed for The Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1920)

Catalogue of Ancient and Modern Pictures and Drawings, the Property of F. T. Galsworthy Etc.; Also Pictures by Old Masters, the Property of The Lady Beryl Gilbert, Which Will Be Sold by Auction by Messrs. Christie, Manson & Woods (London: Christie, Manson & Woods, 1918)

Catalogue of the Remaining Contents of Chesterfield House, Mayfair, the Property of the Right Hon. The Earl of Harewood, K.G., D.S.O.: Comprising Books, Prints, Pictures, and Decorative China, Sèvres Porcelain from the Collection of the Late Marquis of Clanricarde

... *Important Furniture from the Principal Rooms ... a Magnificent Set of Four Chippendale Arm Chairs, Covered in Soho Tapestry Which Will Be Sold by Auction* (London: J. Davy & Sons, 1932)

Challis, David, *Archival Currency Converter 1916–1940*, 2019 <https://canvasresources-prod.le.unimelb.edu.au/projects/CURRENCY_CALC/> [accessed 1 August 2023]

Chamberlain, W. B., ‘Cleaning Old Masters’, *The Times*, 25 January 1922, 6

Charlton, John, ‘Excavating the Past’, *The Times*, 5 January 1953, 7

‘Chesterfield House, W., 5th June, 1923’, *The London Gazette*, 5 June 1923, 1963

Clark, Alan, ed., *A Good Innings: The Private Papers of Viscount Lee of Fareham* (London: J. Murray, 1974)

Clark, Kenneth, ‘The Cleaning Of Pictures’, *The Times*, 23 December 1936, 11

City Art Gallery, Leeds, *Masterpieces from the Collection of Yorkshire and Durham: 6–31 July 1936* (Leeds: Leeds City Art Galleries, 1936)

Civai, Alessandra, and Silvia Muzzin, eds., *Luigi Cavenaghi e émigré maestri dei tempi antichi: pittura, restauro e conservazione dei dipinti tra ottocento e novecento* (Bergamo: Banca di Credito Cooperativo, 2006)

‘Civil Service Estimates’, *The Times*, 16 March 1928, 9

‘Clanricarde Millions: Nearly £2,500,000 Left to Viscount Lascelles’, *Daily Sketch*, 6 May 1916, 2

‘Claude Gellée, Called Claude Lorrain (Champagne 1600–1682 Rome), *The Church of Santissima Trinità Dei Monti, Rome, a Goatherd Resting with His Herd in the Foreground*’, *Christie’s* <https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/lot_details.aspx?intObjectID=6009941> [accessed 13 May 2020]

‘Closed Mansions’, *Shields Daily News*, 14 June 1923, 4

Cochran, Peter, ed., ‘The Correspondence between Byron and Richard Belgrave and Isabelle Hoppner, 1817–1823’, June 2012 <<https://petercochran.files.wordpress.com/2010/03/byron-and-hoppner-1817-18234.pdf>> [accessed 2 August 2020]

‘Collections and Archives’, *Castle Howard* <<https://www.castlehoward.co.uk/visit-us/the-house/collections-and-archive>> [accessed 14 May 2022]

Collins Baker, C.H., *Catalogue of the Pictures at Hampton Court* (Glasgow: Robert Maclehose, 1929)

‘Conservation, n.’, *Oxford English Dictionary* (online ed.), June 2020 <<https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/39564?redirectedFrom=conservation>> [accessed 8 June 2020]

Conwell, John Joe, ‘Portumna History – A Brief History of the Town of Portumna’, 2008 <<http://www.portumna.net/home/history.html>> [accessed 5 May 2020]

Cooper, Douglas, *The Courtauld Collection; A Catalogue and Introduction* (London: Athlone Press, 1954)

Cooper, Duff, *Old Men Forget* (London: Robert Hart-Davis, 1953)

Cornforth, John, ‘A Georgian Patchwork’, in *The Fashioning and Functioning of the British Country House* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1989), 155–174

———, *The Inspiration of the Past: Country House Taste in the Twentieth Century* (Middlesex: Viking in Association with Country Life, 1985)

Country House Lighting 1660 – 1890, Temple Newsam Country House Studies, 4 (Leeds: Leeds City Art Galleries, 1992)

Country Life Cumulative Index, Volumes I to CXCIV (London: IPC Media, 2001)

‘Country Notes’, *Country Life*, 51 (25 February 1922), 227–228

‘Country Notes: Queen Anne at Chesterfield House’, *Country Life*, 75 (3 February 1934), 108

‘Country Notes: Queen Mary in Yorkshire’, *Country Life*, 82 (25 September 1937), 313

‘Court Circular’, *The Times*, 15 September 1948, 6

Coutts, Howard, ‘The Italian Drawing That Would Cost the UK £15m to Keep’, *Apollo*, 25 April 2016 <<https://www.apollo-magazine.com/cost-15m-keep-italian-drawing-uk-heres-matters/>> [accessed 28 February 2020]

Cox, Oliver, ‘Sporting Art and Sporting Life: Art and Archives at Mount Stuart’, *Art & The Country House*, 20 November 2020 <<https://artandthecountryhouse.com/essays/essays->

index/sporting-art-and-sporting-life-art-and-archives-at-mount-stuart> [accessed 26 September 2022]

Cox, Trenchard, and Anne Pimlott Baker, 'Maclagan, Sir Eric Robert Dalrymple (1879–1951)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online ed.), 23 September 2004 <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/34772>>

Crookham, Alan, *The National Gallery: An Illustrated History* (London: National Gallery; Distributed by Yale University Press, 2009)

Crosland, Thomas William Hodgson, 'The King's First Grandson', in *Last Poems*, ed. by Thomas William Hodgson Crosland (London: Fortune Press, 1928), 21

Crowe, Joseph Archer, and Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle, *A History of Painting in North Italy: Venice, Padua, Vicenza, Berona, Ferrara, Milan, Friuli, Brescia, from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century* (London: John Murray, 1871)

———, *A History of Painting in North Italy*, ed. by Tancred Borenius, 3 vols (London: John Murray, 1912)

Cumming, Robert, *My Dear BB . . . : The Letters of Bernard Berenson and Kenneth Clark, 1925–1959* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2015)

Cust, Lionel, 'Luigi Cavenaghi', *The Burlington Magazine*, 33.184 (July 1918), 36–37

———, 'Review: Art Sales from Early in the 18th Century to Early in the 20th Century... Vol. I by Algernon Graves', *The Burlington Magazine*, 34.191 (February 1919), 78

———, 'Review: Pictures by the Old Masters in the Library of Christ Church, Oxford', *The Burlington Magazine*, 30.167 (February 1917), 79–80

———, 'The National Gallery', *The Burlington Magazine*, 27.147 (June 1915), 110–113

Davies, David, ed., *El Greco* (London: National Gallery, 2003)

Davis, Frank, 'Small Bronzes from Northwick Park', *Illustrated London News*, 16 January 1965, 28

della Rosa, Giulia, 'Margaret Jourdain and The Burlington Magazine', *The Burlington Magazine Index Blog*, 24 September 2016

<<https://burlingtonindex.wordpress.com/2016/09/24/margaret-jourdain-and-the-burlington-magazine/>> [accessed 31 May 2022]

‘Death of the Marquis of Clanricarde’, *The Irish Independent*, 14 April 1916, 3

‘Dining Room from Lansdowne House’, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*

<<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/196910>> [accessed 14 June 2023]

Donaldson Eberlein, Harold, and Abbot McClure, *The Practical Book of Period Furniture; Treating of Furniture of the English, American Colonial and Post-Colonial and Principal French Periods* (Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott, 1914)

Douglas, R. Langton, ‘Mino Del Reame’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 87.510 (September 1945), 217–225

Douglas, R. Langton, and Joan Evans, ‘Dr Tancred Borenius’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 90.548 (November 1948), 327–328

Dover, Henry T., ‘The Restoration of Paintings’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 39.223 (October 1921), 184–185, 187–188

———, ‘The Restoration of Paintings’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 39.224 (November 1921), 221–223

‘Dr Johnson, John Opie RA’, *Philip Mould Historical Portraits Picture Archive*

<<http://www.historicalportraits.com/Gallery.asp?Page=Item&ItemID=779&Desc=Dr-Johnson-%7C-John-Opie-RA>> [accessed 6 May 2020]

‘Drawing’, *The British Museum* <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_2017-7010-1> [accessed 13 May 2020]

Duckworth, Alistair M., ‘Travelling First Class: The War Diaries of James Lees-Milne’, *Biography*, 5.2 (1982), 129–135

Dumas, F. G., *The Franco–British Exhibition Illustrated Review* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1908)

Duncan, Carol, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995)

Dunkerton, Jill, ‘The Technique and Restoration of The Virgin and Child Enthroned, with Four Angels by Quinten Massys’, *National Gallery Technical Bulletin*, 29 (2008), 60–75

‘Earl of Harewood: Death of Father-in-Law of Princess Mary’, *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 7 October 1929, 5

‘Earl of Harewood Will Sell Famous “Canning” Pendant’, *New York Times*, 20 June 1931, 7

Earle, Lionel, *Turn Over the Page* (London: Hutchinson & Co, 1935)

Edel, Leon, ‘Henry James and The Outcry’, *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 18.4 (July 1949), 340–346

Edwards, Ralph, and L.G.G. Ramsey, eds. *The Late Georgian Period, 1760–1810*, The Connoisseur Period Guides to the Houses, Decoration, Furnishing and Chattels of the Classic Periods (London: The Connoisseur, 1956)

———, *The Early Georgian Period, 1714–1760*, The Connoisseur Period Guides to the Houses, Decoration, Furnishing and Chattels of the Classic Periods (London: The Connoisseur, 1957)

———, *The Regency Period, 1810–1830*, The Connoisseur Period Guides to the Houses, Decoration, Furnishing and Chattels of the Classic Periods (London: The Connoisseur, 1958)

‘El Greco (1541 – 1614)’, *The National Gallery*

<<https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/artists/el-greco>> [accessed 5 February 2020]

Elam, Caroline, *Roger Fry and Italian Art* (London: Ad Ilissum in association with the Burlington Magazine, 2019)

Elliott, Ben, and Heath Ballowe, ‘Historic Photos of The Long Gallery’, *The Long Gallery at Castle Howard*, 2021

<https://castlehowardthelonggallery.commons.bgc.bard.edu/?page_id=130> [accessed 20 September 2022]

Elsner, John, and Roger Cardinal, eds. *The Cultures of Collecting* (London: Reaktion Books, 1994)

‘Empire Style in Regency Interiors’, *Etons of Bath*, <www.etonsofbath.com/inspiration-from-history/empire-style-in-regency-interiors/> [accessed 14 June 2022]

English Heritage, *Conservation Principles, Policies and Guidance for the Sustainable Management of the Historic Environment*, 23 April 2008

<<https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/conservation-principles-sustainable-management-historic-environment/conservationprinciplespoliciesandguidanceapril08web/>> [accessed 1 May 2023]

Evans, Émilie Oléron, 'Housing the Art of the Nation: The Home as Museum in Gustav F. Waagen's *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*', *Nineteenth-century Art Worldwide* 17.1 (Spring 2018) <<https://doi.org/10.29411/ncaw.2018.17.1.2>> [accessed 13 April 2021]

'Exhibition of Dutch and Flemish Painting in Leeds', *Leeds Mercury*, 3 August 1934, 6

Exhibition of Italian Art 1200–1900, 3rd ed. (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1930)

Exhibition of Venetian Art; The New Gallery, Regent Street, 1894–95 (London: The New Gallery, 1894)

'Famous Canning Gem Is Given To British by an American', *New York Times*, 5 September 1931, 5

'Famous Pictures in Leeds', *The Yorkshire Post*, 23 June 1936, 5

'Famous 'Venus': Earl Of Darnley's Titian For Sale', *The Weekly Dispatch*, 5 April 1925, 9

Farr, Dennis, 'Borenius, (Carl) Tancred (1885–1948)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online ed.), 23 September 2004 <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/76085>>

Fecker, Marc, 'Sir Philip Sassoon at 25 Park Lane: The Collection of an Early Twentieth-century Connoisseur and Aesthete', *Journal of the History of Collections*, 31.f1 (March 2019), 151–170

Fenlon, Jane, ed., *Clanricard's Castle: Portumna House, Co. Galway* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012)

Feron, James, '\$2.8 MILLION ART TO BE AUCTIONED: Spencer-Churchill Collection Will Be Sold at Christie's', *New York Times*, 10 July 1964, 26

———, 'A BRUEGHEL WORK SOLD FOR \$229,320: Northwick Treasure Bought at Christie's in London', *New York Times*, 29 May 1965, 24

Finch, Jonathan, 'Harewood House and the Destruction of the Gawthorpe Hall,' 2017, <<https://www.danskeherregarde.dk/app/webroot/uploads/jonathan-finch.pdf>> [accessed 26 April 2022]

'Find out More about the History of Eastnor Castle: Decline of Family Fortunes', *Eastnor Castle* <<https://eastnorcastle.com/about/history/>> [accessed 6 November 2019]

Fitzgerald, Percy Hetherington, *Robert Adam, Artist and Architect: his works and his system* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1904)

Fletcher, Pamela M., 'Creating the French Gallery: Ernest Gambart and the Rise of the Commercial Art Gallery in Mid-Victorian London', *Nineteenth-century Art Worldwide*, 6.1 (Spring 2007) <<http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/spring07/143-creating-the-french-gallery-ernest-gambart-and-the-rise-of-the-commercial-art-gallery-in-mid-victorian-london>> [accessed 22 March 2021]

Fletcher, Pamela M., and Anne Helmreich, eds., *The Rise of the Modern Art Market in London, 1850–1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011)

Ford, Brinsley, 'Adolph Paul Oppé (1878–1957)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online ed.), 23 September 2004 <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/35318>>

'Former London Home Of Princess Royal: Chesterfield House Sold', *Halifax Evening Courier*, 20 June 1934, 3

Foster, Robert F., *Modern Ireland: 1600–1972* (London: Penguin Books, 1989)

Friedman, Joseph, 'The Afterlife of the London Town House', in *The Georgian London Town House: Building, Collecting and Display*, ed. by Susanna Avery-Quash and Kate Retford, (London: Bloomsbury, 2019), 198–201

Friedman, Sam, and Aaron Reeves, 'From Aristocratic to Ordinary: Shifting Modes of Elite Distinction', *American Sociological Review*, 85.2 (April 2020), 323–350

'Front Matter', *The Burlington Magazine*, 43.246 (September 1923), i–iv

'Front Matter', *The Burlington Magazine*, 46.265 (April 1925), i–xlii

Fry, Roger, 'A Portrait by Lorenzo Lotto', *The Burlington Magazine*, 37.208 (July 1920), 38–39

———, 'Drawings at the Burlington Fine Arts Club', *The Burlington Magazine*, 32.179 (February 1918), 51–53, 56–57, 60–63, 81

———, *Giovanni Bellini* (London: At the Sign of the Unicorn, 1899)

———, 'Modern Mosaic and Mr. Boris Anrep', *The Burlington Magazine*, 42.243 (June 1923), 272–273, 276–278

———, ‘Pictures Lent to the National Gallery’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 30.170 (May 1917), 198–199, 202–202

———, ‘The Mond Pictures in the National Gallery’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 44.254 (May 1924), 234, 238–241, 244–247

———, ‘The National Gallery’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 34.191 (February 1919), 78–79

———, ‘The Painters of Vicenza’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 16.81 (December 1909), 152–154

Fry, Roger, and Tancred Borenius, ‘Exhibition of Pictures of the Early Venetian School at the Burlington Fine Arts Club—III’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 21.110 (May 1912), 95–101

G., ‘The Royal Collections at Buckingham Palace’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 34.195 (June 1919), 253

G., R. S., ‘Castle Howard’ *The Pall Mall Magazine*, 23: 95 (March 1901), 324–336

Galth, Sidney, ‘Lord Harewood’s Stud in Yorkshire’, *Country Life*, 74 (16 September 1933), 273–276

Gash, Norman, *Aristocracy and People: Britain 1815–1865* (London: Edward Arnold, 1985)

Gaskell, Ivan, ‘Tradesmen as Scholars: Interdependencies in the Study and Exchange of Art’, in *Art History and Its Institutions: The Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Elizabeth Mansfield (London: Routledge, 2002), 146–162

Geddes Poole, Andrea, ‘Conspicuous Presumption: The Treasury and the Trustees of the National Gallery, 1890–1939’, *Twentieth Century British History*, 16.1 (March 2005), 1–28

———, *Stewards of the Nation’s Art: Contested Cultural Authority, 1890–1939* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010)

———, ‘The National Art-Collections Fund and the Cultural Politics of Aristocratic Marginalization’, *Nineteenth Century Studies*, 22 (January 2008), 75–98

‘Georgian York’, *Country Life*, 86 (21 October 1939), 426–427

‘Gift to Leeds University: Sir Michael Sadler’s Collection’, *The Manchester Guardian*, 18 October 1923, 9

‘Giovanni Battista Tiepolo (Venice 1696–1770 Madrid), *Head of a Boy in a Cap, Looking up to the Left, His Left Hand to His Cheek*’, *Christie’s*

<https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/lot_details2.aspx?intObjectID=6009920> [accessed 13 May 2020]

Girouard, Mark, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984)

Girouard, Mark, ‘The Power House’, in *The Treasure Houses of Britain: Five Hundred Years of Private Patronage and Art Collecting*, ed. by Gervase Jackson-Stops (Washington, D.C.: New Haven: National Gallery of Art; Yale University Press, 1985), 22–27

———, ‘The Country House and the Country Town’, in *The Fashioning and Functioning of the British Country House* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1989), 305–330

‘Giulio Pippi, Called Giulio Romano (Rome 1499–1546 Mantua), *A Roman Officer with Mounted Musicians, One on an Ass*’, *Christie’s*

<https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/lot_details.aspx?intObjectID=6009899&from=salesummary&intObjectID=6009899> [accessed 13 May 2020]

‘Giulio Romano: *Apparition of Saint Andrew in Glory*’, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*

<<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/338911>> [accessed 14 May 2020]

Gladstone Menzies, William, *Period Furniture for Everyman: A Handbook for the Amateur* (London: Duckworth, 1939)

‘Glossary: The Salting Bequest’, *The National Gallery*

<<https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/glossary/the-salting-bequest>> [accessed 3 December 2021]

Going Once: 250 Years of Culture, Taste and Collecting at Christie’s (London: Phaidon, 2016)

Goldner, George R., *European Drawings: Catalogue of the Collections* (Malibu, California: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1988)

‘Goldsborough Hall To Let: First Yorkshire Home of Princess Mary’, *The Manchester Guardian*, 14 February 1931, 12

‘Goldsborough Hall, Yorkshire, the Residence of Mr. W.R. Lamb’, *Country Life*, 16 (15 October 1904), 558–560

Gooday, Graeme, and Abigail Harrison Moore, ‘True Ornament? The Art and Industry of Electric Lighting in the Home, 1889–1902’, in *Art versus Industry*, ed. by Kate Nichols, Rebecca Wade, and Gabriel Williams (Manchester University Press, 2015), 158–178

Granger Blair, W., ‘GUARDI OIL BRINGS \$152,880 IN LONDON: A Record Price Is Paid for the Venetian Landscape’, *New York Times*, 30 October 1965, 31

Gretton, Thomas, ‘“Art Is Cheaper and Goes Lower in France.” The Language of the Parliamentary Select Committee on the Arts and Principles of Design of 1835–1836’, in *Art in Bourgeois Society, 1790–1850*, ed. by Andrew Hemingway and William Vaughan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 84–100

Griffith, Henry Hammond, *The Story of Harewood and Its Church* (Harrogate: S.B. Lupton, 1946)

Griffith-Jones, Laure-Aline, ‘French Taste in Victorian England: The Collection of Yolande Lyne-Stephens’, *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 31 (5 January 2021) <<https://doi.org/10.16995/ntn.3350>>

Guggenheim, Michelangelo, *Le cornici italiane dalla metà del secolo XV^o allo scorcio del XVI^o. con breve testo riassuntivo intorno alla storia ed all’importanza delle cornici.* (Milan: Vlrice Hoepli, 1897)

Gwynn, S.L., and Patrick Maume, ‘Canning, Hubert George de Burgh, Second Marquess of Clanricarde (1832–1916), Landlord in Ireland’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online ed.), 28 September 2006 <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/32179>>

‘Hal O’Nians’, *Country Life*, 151 (8 June 1972), 49

Hall, Michael, *Art, Passion & Power: The Story of the Royal Collection* (London: BBC Books, 2017)

———, ‘How Country Life’s 125-Year Journey Began, Thanks to a Visionary Founder’ *Country Life Blog*, 5 January 2022 <<https://www.countrylife.co.uk/country-life/country-lifes-120-year-journey-began-thanks-visionary-founder-146435>> [accessed 13 January 2022]

Harewood: Collecting in the Royal Tradition: Wednesday 5 December 2012 and Sunday 9 December 2012 (London: Christie, Manson & Woods, 2012)

Harewood House, Leeds, Yorkshire: The Property of the Rt. Hon. The Earl of Harewood: Furniture, Objects of Art, Pictures, Watercolours, Prints and Ceramics Surplus to Requirements: Which Will Be Sold at Auction on the Premises, Monday 3 October 1988 at 11:00am and 2:00pm Precisely (London: Christie, Manson & Woods, 1988)

‘Harewood House Objects and Art Note of Sale’, *Arts Council England*, 2019
<https://www.artscouncil.org.uk/sites/default/files/download-file/Harewood%20chattels%20notes%20of%20sale_0.pdf> [accessed 5 November 2019]

‘Harewood House: Opening of Mansion and Grounds to Public’, *Shipley Times and Express*, 23 May 1931, 7

Harewood House: The Home of Her Royal Highness the Princess Royal and The Earl and Countess of Harewood (Leeds: E. J. Arnold & Son, n.d. [1950s])

Harewood, Yorkshire: A Guide (Leeds: Harewood House Trust, 1995)

Harker, Ronald, *Harewood House, Yorkshire*, 3rd ed. (Leeds & Manchester: Hunters Armley, 1985)

Harris, Eileen, *The Genius of Robert Adam: His Interiors* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2001)

Harris, John, *Moving Rooms* (New Haven: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2007)

Harris, John, ‘The Secret World War II Peace Mission of Tancred Borenius’, *The History Press* <<https://www.thehistorypress.co.uk/articles/the-secret-world-war-ii-peace-mission-of-tancred-borenius/>> [accessed 3 October 2019]

Harris, Jose, *Private Lives, Public Spirit: Britain 1870–1914* (London: Penguin Books, 1994)

Harris, Neil, ‘The Long Good-Bye: Heritage and Threat in Anglo–America’, in *British Models of Art Collecting and the American Response: Reflections Across the Pond*, ed. by Inge Reist, *The Histories of Material Culture and Collecting, 1700–1950* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 195–208

‘Harrods Ltd.’, *The Times*, 4 March 1914, 11

Harrogate and Neighbourhood (Cheltenham & London: Ed. J. Burrow & Co., 1924)

Harrogate: Official Guide (Harrogate: 1924)

Harter, Ethel, 'The Society of the Dilettanti and Its New Home', *Fortnightly Review*, 113.676 (April 1923), 653–662

Haworth, Penny, 'Salerooms', *London Life*, 26 February 1966, 53

Hay, Kate, 'Chippendale and Sheraton: rediscovering rare silent films', *V&A Blog*, 7 August 2018 <<https://www.vam.ac.uk/blog/museum-life/chippendale-and-sheraton-rediscovering-rare-silent-films>> [accessed 22 February 2022]

'Head of Cyrus Brought to Queen Tomyris', *Museum of Fine Arts Boston* <<https://collections.mfa.org/objects/32755/head-of-cyrus-brought-to-queen-tomyris;jsessionid=2B3426014ABFD174747C80EFDC658CF6>> [accessed 4 December 2019]

Hedquist, Valerie, *Class, Gender, and Sexuality in Thomas Gainsborough's Blue Boy* (New York: Routledge, 2020)

Heirs & Graces: Portrait Miniatures from Harewood and the Royal Collection: 14 March – 4 November 2001 (Leeds: Harewood House, 2001)

'Hendrick van Cleve (III)', *RKD* <<https://rkd.nl/en/explore/images/278691>> [accessed 14 May 2020]

Hendy, Philip, and Ludwig Goldscheider, *Giovanni Bellini* (London: Phaidon, 1945)

Henry, T.A., 'Wyndham Rowland Dunstan. 1861–1949', *Obituary Notices of Fellows of the Royal Society* 7.19 (1950), 63–81

Herrmann, Frank, *Sotheby's: Portrait of an Auction House* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1980)

———, *The English as Collectors: A Documentary Sourcebook* (London: Murray, 1999)

———, 'Collecting Then and Now: The English and Some Other Collectors', *Journal of the History of Collections*, 21.2 (November 2009), 263–269

Higonnet, Anne, *A Museum of One's Own: Private Collecting, Public Gift* (Pittsburgh and New York: Periscope Publishing, 2009)

Hill, David, *Harewood Masterpieces: English Watercolours and Drawings* (Leeds: Harewood House Trust, 1995)

———, *Turner in the North: A Tour through Derbyshire, Yorkshire, Durham, Northumberland, the Scottish Borders, the Lake District, Lancashire, and Lincolnshire in the Year 1797* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996)

‘Historic Houses, Castles, Gardens and Other Places of Interest Open to the Public’, *Country Life*, 141 (1 January 1967), 174

‘History’, *Northbourne Park School* <<https://www.northbournepark.com/history.aspx>> [accessed 2 January 2023]

‘History’, *Sudeley Castle & Gardens* <<https://sudeleycastle.co.uk/history>> [accessed 18 May 2022]

‘History of the Galerie Heinemann’, *Galerie Heinemann Online* <<http://heinemann.gnm.de/en/history-of-the-galerie-heinemann.html>> [accessed 6 December 2019]

HM Revenue & Customs, ‘Capital Taxation and Tax-Exempt Heritage Assets’, *GOV.UK*, 23 December 2021 <<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/capital-taxation-and-tax-exempt-heritage-assets>> [accessed 6 April 2022]

Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992)

Hoffmann, Edith, ‘The Magazine in War-Time’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 128.1000 (July 1986), 478–480

‘Holbein and a Jury’, *The Times*, 15 November 1933, 15

Holder, Julian, and Elizabeth McKellar, eds., *Neo-Georgian Architecture 1880–1970: A Reappraisal* (Swindon: Historic England, 2016)

Holmes, Charles J, ‘A Much Needed Reform’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 39.221 (August 1921), 53

———, ‘An Essay on Mastic Varnish’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 35.197 (August 1919), 68, 71–72, 75

———, ‘Lord Curzon’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 46.265 (April 1925), 194

———, ‘New Exhibits at the National Gallery’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 30.167 (February 1917), 80–81

———, ‘Notes in the National Gallery’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 33.184 (July 1918), 30, 35

———, *Pictures and Picture Collecting* (London: A. Treherne & Co., 1910)

———, *Pictures from the Iveagh Bequest and Collections; with an Introduction and Catalogue of the Kenwood Collection* (London: W.J. Stacey, 1928)

———, *Self and Partners (Mostly Self)* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936)

———, ‘Some Elements of Picture Cleaning’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 40.228 (March 1922), 132–134

———, ‘Some Elements of Picture Cleaning (Concluded)’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 40.229 (April 1922), 171–174

———, ‘Spanish Painting at Burlington House’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 37.213 (December 1920), 268–271, 274–276

———, ‘The Mond Pictures in the National Gallery—II’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 45.260 (November 1924), 216–217, 220–221, 225

———, ‘Titian’s Venus and Adonis in the National Gallery’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 44.250 (January 1924), 16, 18–19, 21–22

Home, Gordon, ed., *Black’s Modern Guide to Harrogate* (London: A. & C. Black, 1912)

‘How Art Treasures Are Lost’, *Leeds Mercury*, 14 June 1923, 8

Howard, George Anthony Geoffrey, *Castle Howard* (York: Castle Howard Estate, 1958)

Howard, Jeremy, ‘The One That Didn’t Get Away: New Light on the Sale of Holbein’s Duchess of Milan’, *Journal of the History of Collections*, 34.1 (March 2021), 141–156
<<https://doi.org/10.1093/jhc/fhaa060>>

———, ‘Colnaghi and the Italian Renaissance: 250 Years of Dealing and Collecting’, in *Renaissance: Six Italian Masterpiece Rediscovered* (Venice: Marsilio Editori, 2021), 49–67

Howarth, E., ed., *The Museums Journal; the Organ of the Museums Association; July, 1901, to July, 1902, Vol. 1* (London: Dulua and Co., 1902)

Hoyle, William E., *The Education of a Curator: Presidential Address to the Museums Association* (Manchester: The Manchester Museum (University of Manchester, 1906)

Hussey, Christopher, 'The Great Estates of London and Their Development: The Grosvenor Estate', *Country Life*, 63 (21 April 1928), 558–565

Hussey, Christopher, 'Parham Park, Sussex–II', *Country Life*, 109 (8 June 1951), 1880–1803

Hussey, Christopher, 'Parham Park, Sussex–III', *Country Life*, 109 (15 June 1951), 1884–1888

Ipswich Meeting: Social Arrangements (Museums Association, 1908)

Italian Art: An Illustrated Souvenir of the Exhibition of Italian Art at Burlington House London, 3rd ed. (London: William Clowes & Sons, 1930)

Italian Art at the Exhibition at Burlington House (Italy: E.N.I.T. (Italian State Railways and Tourist Department), 1930)

J., M., 'What Yorkshire Has Done for the War. II. – The West Riding', *Country Life*, 38 (14 August 1915), 221–222

'Jackson Stops & Staff', *Country Life*, 78 (21 December 1935), xiv

Jackson-Stops, Gervase, 'Harewood Rehung', *Country Life*, 184 (26 July 1990), 66–69

———, 'Temples of the Arts', in *The Treasure Houses of Britain: Five Hundred Years of Private Patronage and Art Collecting*, ed. by Gervase Jackson-Stops (Washington, D.C.: New Haven: National Gallery of Art; Yale University Press, 1985), 14–21

Jackson-Stops, Gervase, and others, eds., *The Fashioning and Functioning of the British Country House* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1989)

Jacobsen, Helen, Rufus Bird, and Mia Jackson, eds., *Jean-Henri Riesener: Cabinetmaker to Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette* (London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 2020)

'Jacopo Robusti, Called Jacopo Tintoretto (Venice 1519–1594) or Studio, *Samson Slaying the Philistines*, after Michelangelo (Recto and Verso)', *Christie's*

<https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/lot_details.aspx?intObjectID=6249633> [accessed 14 May 2020]

James, Henry, *The Outcry* (London: Methuen & Co, 1911)

‘Jan Cossiers (Antwerp 1600–1671), *The Head of a Young Man, in Profile to the Left*’, *Christie’s*

<https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/lot_details.aspx?intObjectID=6009934&from=salesummary&intObjectID=6009934> [accessed 13 May 2020]

‘Jean-Antoine Watteau (Valenciennes 1684–1721 Nogent-Sur-Marne), *Head of a Child in a Feathered Hat, Looking to the Right*’, *Christie’s*

<https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/lot_details.aspx?intObjectID=6009942> [accessed 13 May 2020]

Jenkins, David, ‘William James Tatem, 1st Baron Glanely (1868-1942), *Amgueddfa Cymru*

<<https://museum.wales/articles/1100/William-James-Tatem-1st-Baron-Glanely-1868-1942/>> [accessed 27 January 2024]

Jennings, Arthur Seymour, *The Decoration and Renovation of the Home* (London: Trade Papers Publishing, 1900)

Jewell, John, *The Tourist’s Companion; or, The History and Antiquities of Harewood in Yorkshire, Giving a Particular Description of Harewood House, Church, and Castle; with Some Account of Its Environs ...* (Leeds: B. Dewhirst, 1819)

Jones, John, *The History and Antiquities of Harewood, in the County of York, with Topographical Notices of Its Parish & Neighbourhood* (London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1859)

Jourdain, Margaret, *English Decoration and Furniture of the Later XVIIIth Century (1760–1820)* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1922)

———, *English Interiors in Smaller Houses: From the Restoration to the Regency, 1660–1830* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1923)

———, *Regency Furniture, 1795–1820* (London: Country Life, 1934)

‘Jusepe de Ribera (Called Lo Spagnoletto): *The Holy Family with Saints Anne and Catherine of Alexandria*’, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*

<<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/437455>> [accessed 16 October 2019]

Kavanagh, Gaynor, *Museums and the First World War: A Social History* (London: Leicester University Press, 1994)

Kay, Michael, and Graeme Gooday, 'From Hydroelectricity to the National Grid: Harewood House and the History of Electrification in Britain, 1900–1940', *History of Retailing and Consumption*, 4.1 (2018), 43–63

Kennedy, Maev, 'V&A Returns Tudor Bedroom to Original Sizergh Castle Setting', *The Guardian*, 2 January 2017, <<https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2017/jan/02/va-returns-tudor-bedroom-to-original-sizergh-castle-setting>> [accessed 29 April 2022]

Kidd, Chip, and Charles Williamson, eds. *Debrett's Peerage and Baronetage* (London: Macmillan, 2003)

Kilmurray, Elaine, and Richard Ormond, eds., *Sargent* (London: Tate Gallery, 1998)

Kirby Talley Jr., M., 'All Good Pictures Crack': Sir Joshua Reynolds' practice and studio', in *Reynolds*, ed. by Nicholas Penny (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1986), 55–70

Kitson, Sydney D., and Edmund D. Pawson, *Temple Newsam* (Leeds: Jowett & Sowry for Leeds City Council, 1927)

———, *Temple Newsam*, 3rd ed., (Leeds: Jowett & Sowry for Leeds City Council, 1929)

———, *Temple Newsam*, 8th ed., (Leeds: Jowett & Sowry for Leeds City Council, 1938)

Klonk, Charlotte, *Spaces of Experience: Art Gallery Interiors from 1800 to 2000* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009)

Knaresborough: Official Guide (Knaresborough: Parrs, n.d. [twentieth century])

Koenig, Marlene Eilers, 'Royal Musings: Adultery, a Child, Divorce, Remarriage = Estrangement from the Royal Family', *Royal Musings*, 2011

<<http://royalmusingsblogspotcom.blogspot.com/2011/07/what-may-have-led-to-estrangement.html>> [accessed 26 November 2019]

Kopytoff, Igor, 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process', in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. by Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 64–94

Kumar, Brinda, "'Exciting a Wider Interest in the Art of India": The 1931 Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition', *British Art Studies*, 13 (September 2019)

<<https://doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-13/bkuma>>

Lamb, W.R.M., 'Ailing Pictures', *The Times*, 17 July 1931, 15

‘Landlord during the Workhouse Years’, *The Irish Workhouse Centre*
 <<http://irishworkhousecentre.ie/landlord-during-the-workhouse-years/>> [accessed 5 May 2020]

Lane, Oliver, ‘Samuel, Walter Horace, Second Viscount Bearsted (1882–1948), Art Collector and Philanthropist’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online ed.), 23 September 2004 <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/62461>>

Lascelles, George, 7th Earl of Harewood, *The Tongs and the Bones* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1981)

Lascelles, David, 8th Earl of Harewood, *Harewood* (Leeds: Harewood House Trust, 2012)

Lasic, Barbara, ‘“Splendid Patriotism”: Richard Wallace and the Construction of the Wallace Collection’ *Journal of the History of Collections*, 21.2 (November 2009), 173–182

Laurie, A.P., ‘Study Of Old Masters’, *The Times*, 9 September 1930, 13

———, ‘Ailing Pictures’, *The Times*, 9 July 1931, 10

———, ‘Restoration Of Old Masters’, *The Times*, 2 November 1933, 8

Lavery, John, ‘Cleaning Of Pictures’, *The Times*, 5 January 1937, 13

‘Leeds City Art Gallery Special Exhibit’, *The Yorkshire Post*, 26 August 1930, 1

Lees-Milne, James, *Blickling Hall, Norfolk: A Property of the National Trust* (London: Country Life for The National Trust, 1948)

———, *Diaries, 1946–1949: Caves of Ice & Midway on the Waves* (London: John Murray, 1996)

———, *The Age of Adam* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1947)

———, ed. *The National Trust: A Record of Fifty Years’ Achievement* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1946)

Leslie, C.R., *Memoirs of the Life of John Constable, Esq., R.A., Composed Chiefly of the Letters [1843]*, ed. by J. Mayne (London: Phaidon, 1951)

‘Letting Public See Art Treasures’, *Leeds Mercury*, 7 July 1936, 5

‘Lighting Picture Galleries’, *The Art Journal*, 57 (September 1859), 275

Lindman-Strafford, Kerstin, *Tancred Borenius: europé och viborgare* (Sweden: Ekenäs Tryckeri, 1977)

Lippmann, F. W., 'A Bronze Statuette Attributed to Benvenuto Cellini', *The Burlington Magazine*, 16.79 (October 1909), 40

———, 'German and Flemish Pictures in the National Gallery', *The Burlington Magazine*, 12.56 (November 1907), 108

'London Begins Fete on Eve of Wedding of Princess Mary', *New York Times*, 28 February 1922, 1–2

'Lord Darnley's Pictures: £10,710 For A Hoppner', *The Scotsman*, 2 May 1925, 10

'Lord Harewood's Advice To Leeds', *The Leeds Mercury*, 13 January 1936, 5

'Lord Sudeley, F.R.S', *Nature* 110.2773 (23 December 1922), 851

'Lords Sitting of Wednesday, 16 February, 1944: Preservation of Historical and Art Treasures', *Hansard*, 5, CXXX, cc813-62 <<https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/lords/1944/feb/16/preservation-of-historical-and-art>> [accessed 1 November 2019]

'Lot 163. Cuthbert Bradley (1861–1943). *With the Cottesmore Hounds March 5th 1921. Looking across the Vale of Catmoss.* (i); and *With the Cottesmore Hounds and Lord Lonsdale March 7. 1921.*', *Christie's* <https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/lot_details.aspx?intObjectID=6249684&from=salesummary&intobjectid=6249684&sid=4a53e5f5-2248-4925-9bcc-e04a53a67166> [accessed 6 January 2020]

Lowe, Roy, 'Sadler, Sir Michael Ernest (1861–1943)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online ed.), 4 October 2007 <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/35905>>

Lowenthal, David, *The Past Is a Foreign Country – Revisited* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015)

'*Lucrezia Borgia, Duchess of Ferrara – Dosso DOSSI, Battista DOSSI (Attributed To)*', *Google Arts & Culture* <<https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/lucrezia-borgia-duchess-of-ferrara-dosso-dossi-battista-dossi-attributed-to/NgFnnMYAWyTcRA>> [accessed 4 December 2019]

‘*Lucrezia Borgia, Duchess of Ferrara*. Dosso DOSSI; Battista DOSSI (Attributed To)’, *National Gallery of Victoria* <<http://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/explore/collection/work/3746/>> [accessed 4 December 2019]

Lucie-Smith, Edward, *Furniture: A Concise History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994)

MacColl, D.S., ‘Fumigation for Furniture Beetle in Panels’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 40.230 (May 1922), 234,237

———, ‘Twenty-One Years of the National Art Collections Fund’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 44.253 (April 1924), 174–177, 179

———, ed., *Twenty-Five Years of the National Art-Collections Fund, 1903–1928* (Glasgow: Printed for the Fund by Robert Maclehose, The University Press, 1928)

MacGregor, Arthur, ‘Aristocrats and Others: Collectors of Influence in Eighteenth-Century England’, in *British Models of Art Collecting and the American Response: Reflections Across the Pond*, ed. by Inge Reist, *The Histories of Material Culture and Collecting, 1700–1950* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 73-85

MacLagan, Eric, ‘The Re-Opening of the Wallace Collection’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 38.214 (January 1921), 47

Macleod, Dianne Sachko, *Art and the Victorian Middle Class: Money and the Making of Cultural Identity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996)

MacMahon, Michael, *Portumna Castle and Its Lords* (Corofin, Co. Clare: Kincora Books, 2000)

Mandler, Peter, ‘Art, Death and Taxes: The Taxation of Works of Art in Britain, 1796–1914’, *Historical Research*, 74.185 (August 2001), 271–297

———, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997)

von Massenbach, Camilla, ‘Bernard Thomas Hutton CROFT’

<<https://genealogy.links.org/links-cgi/readged?/home/ben/camilla-genealogy/current+c-croft812+2-2-0-1-0>> [accessed 18 December 2019]

Mauchline, Mary, *Harewood House: One of the Treasure Houses of Britain* (Ashbourne: Moorland Pub. Co., 1992)

- Mechel, Chrétien de, *Catalogue des tableaux de la Galerie impériale et royale de Vienne* (Basle, 1784)
- McCracken, Grant, *Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988)
- McKellar, Elizabeth, 'Representing the Georgian: Constructing Interiors in Early Twentieth-century Publications, 1890–1930', *Journal of Design History* 20.4 (Winter 2007), 325–344
- McKibbin, Ross, *Classes and Cultures: England 1918–1951* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998)
- 'Medical News: Royal Sanitary Institute', *The Lancet*, 233.6041 (10 June 1939), 1357
- Menpes, Mortimer, *Venice* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1904)
- Messenger, Robert, 'Lord Who Stooped to Conquer the Typewriter World, and Fell Face First', *Oz Typewriter*, 30 December 2020 <<https://oztypewriter.blogspot.com/2020/12/lord-who-stooped-to-conqueror.html>> [accessed 23 May 2023]
- Millar, Oliver, 'Caring for The Queen's Pictures: Surveyors Past and Present', in Christopher Lloyd, *The Queen's Pictures: Royal Collectors Through the Centuries* (London: National Gallery, 1991), 14–27
- Milmo, Cahal, 'Last of the Dutch Masters: Mail Order Magnate's Collection Finally to Be Sold', *The Independent*, 6 December 2004, <<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/this-britain/last-of-the-dutch-masters-mail-order-magnates-collection-finally-to-be-sold-7907209.html>> [accessed 2 December 2019]
- Milne-Smith, Amy, 'A Flight to Domesticity? Making a Home in the Gentlemen's Clubs of London, 1880–1914', *Journal of British Studies*, 45.4 (October 2006), 796–818
- Minutes of Evidence of the Committee of Trustees of The National Gallery Appointed by the Trustees to Enquire into the Retention of Important Pictures in This Country and Other Matters Connected with the National Art Collections* (London: H.M.S.O, 1915)
- Mitchell, Paul., 'FRAME HISTORY: The Cassetta, Part 1', *Paul Mitchell: Antique & Handmade Replica Frames*, 27 May 2016 <<https://www.paulmitchell.co.uk/news/2016/frames-the-cassetta-part-1/>> [accessed 18 July 2022]

Mitchell, Paul, and Lynn Roberts, *Frameworks: Form, Function & Ornament in European Portrait Frames* (London: P. Mitchell in association with Merrell Holberton, 1996)

Möntmann, Nina, *Art and Its Institutions: Current Conflicts, Critique and Collaborations* (London: Black Dog Publishing, 2006)

Moss, Fletcher, *The Fifth Book of Pilgrimages to Old Homes* (Didsbury: The Author, 1910)

‘Mr. A.H. Buttery.’, *The Times*, 30 March 1929, 17

Munnings, Alfred J., *The Second Burst* (London: Museum Press, 1951)

Murray, Bruce K., *The People’s Budget 1909/10: Lloyd George and Liberal Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980)

Murray, W. Grant., *The Museums Association: Manchester Meeting, 1918* (London: 1918)

Address by the President, Professor Sir William Turner: The public museums in Edinburgh (The Museums Association, 1901)

‘Museums Association: Annual Conference at Leeds’, *Nature*, 138.3482 (15 July 1936), 172

Musgrave, Ernest Illingworth, and Sydney W. Newberry, *Harewood House: An Illustrated Survey of the Yorkshire Residence of H.R.H. The Princess Royal, The Historic Home of the Earls of Harewood* (Derby: English Life Publications, 1950)

Musson, Jeremy, *How to Read a Country House* (London: Ebury Press, 2005)

———, *Robert Adam: Country House Design, Decoration, and the Art of Elegance* (New York: Rizzoli, 2017)

Nares, Gordon, ‘The Splendours of Harewood’, *Country Life Annual*, 121 (1 January 1957), 40–46

Nash, Joseph, *The Mansions of England in the Olden Times*, 4 vols (London: Thomas McLean, 1839–1849)

‘National Gallery’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 33.189 (December 1918), 232

‘National Gallery’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 38.218 (May 1921), 257

‘National Gallery Art in Leeds: Rubens Loan from Lord Harewood’, *The Yorkshire Post*, 3 August 1934, 8

Neale, John Preston, *Castle Howard: Its Antiquity and History. The Ancestral Home of the Howards [Reprinted from "Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen, Etc."]* (London: Mitre Press, 1931 [repr. of 1818 original])

‘New Art Director Takes Up Post at Leeds Gallery’, *The Yorkshire Post*, 26 June 1934, 4

Nichols, John, ed., ’73. *The Tourist’s Companion; Being a Concise Description and History of Ripon, Studley Park, Fountain’s Abbey, Hackfall, Brimham Craggs, Newby Hall, Boroughbridge, Aldborough, Knaresborough, Plumpton, Harrogate, Harewood House, and Bolton Priory; Intended as a Guide to Persons Visiting Those Places. Illustrated with Wood Cuts and a Ground Plan of Fountains Abbey. Second Edition, with Additions.* 8vo. Longman and Co., *The Gentleman’s Magazine* (1819), 433–434

Nicolai, Fausto, ‘More than an Expatriate Scholar: Frederick Mason Perkins as Art Adviser, Agent and Intermediary for American Collectors of the Twentieth Century.’, *Journal of the History of Collections*, 28.2 (July 2016), 311–325

‘Nicolas Poussin: *Blind Orion Searching for the Rising Sun*’, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art* <<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/437326>> [accessed 5 May 2020]

‘Nostalgia on Tuesday: Bramham’s Trials’, *The Yorkshire Post*, 10 January 2017 <<https://www.yorkshirepost.co.uk/whats-on/arts-and-entertainment/nostalgia-tuesday-bramhams-trials-1784834>> [accessed 14 March 2022]

‘Notes of the Week’, *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, 20 September 1919, 257–260

‘Notice of Intention to Sell at Christie’s Auction on 13th December 2019’, *Arts Council England*, 2019 <https://www.artscouncil.org.uk/sites/default/files/download-file/Notice%20of%20Intention%20to%20Sell%20-%20Harewood%20items%2013th%20December%202019_0.pdf> [accessed 5 November 2019]

Ó Conchubhair, Seán M., ‘The Congested Districts Board’, *The Irish Monthly*, 69.820 (October 1941), 477–488

O’Byrne, Robert, ‘From the Archives’, *Apollo*, 181.627 (January 2015), 98

———, ‘He Helped Set the Standard for Apollo’, *Apollo*, 185.651 (February 2017), 41–42

———, ‘There Was Relatively Little Mourning for the Passing of the Great London Houses’, *Apollo*, 195.708 (May 2022), 114

O’Mel, Odin, ‘Clanricarde, “the Curse”’, *NZ Truth*, 10 June 1916, 3

O’Neill, Morna, ‘Decorative Politics and Direct Pictures: Hugh Lane and the Global Art Market, 1900–15’ in *The Rise of the Modern Art Market in London, 1850–1939*, ed. by Pamela Fletcher and Anne Helmreich (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), 174–194

———, *Hugh Lane: The Art Market and the Art Museum, 1893–1915* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2018)

Oddy, Andrew, and others, ‘Conservation and Restoration’, *Grove Art Online* (2003)
<<https://doi.org/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T019099>>

Okay, Thomas, *The old Venetian palaces and old Venetian folk* (London: J.M. Dent, 1907)

‘Old Masters and Objets d’Art’, *American Art News*, 15 June 1918, 5

‘Old Pictures’, *The Times*, 15 December 1923, 13

Olechnowicz, Andrezj, ‘Britain’s ‘Quasi-Magical’ Monarchy in the Mid-Twentieth Century?’ in *Classes, Cultures, and Politics: Essays on British History of Ross McKibbin*, ed. by Clare V.J. Griffiths, James J. Nott, and William Whyte (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 70–84

Ormond, Richard, ‘Royal Portraiture’, in *Kings and Queens of England*, ed. by M.C. Scott Moncrieff (London: Blandford Press, 1973), 148–154

Parham House, ‘The Collection’ <<https://www.parhaminsussex.co.uk/the-house/the-collection/>> [accessed 12 November 2020]

Parham Park, Pullborough Sussex: Illustrated List of Pictures (Uxbridge: King and Hutchings, n.d. [twentieth century])

‘Paris Bordon: *Portrait of a Man in Armor with Two Pages*’, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art* <<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/435722>> [accessed 16 October 2019]

Paul, Barbara, “‘Collecting Is the Noblest of All Passions!’: Wilhelm von Bode and the Relationship between Museums, Art Dealing, and Private Collecting”, trans. by Nicholas Levis, *International Journal of Political Economy*, 25.2 (Summer 1995), 9–32

- Paull, H.M., 'The National Art-Collections Fund.' *Fortnightly Review*, 76.455 (November 1904), 874–880
- Peacocke, Marguerite D., *The Pictorial History of Buckingham Palace* (London: Pitkin Pictorials, 1957)
- Pearce, David, *London's Mansions: The Palatial Houses of the Nobility* (London: Batsford, 1986)
- Pearce, Susan M., *On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition, Collecting Cultures* (London: Routledge, 2005)
- Penny, Nicholas, *Frames, Pocket Guides* (London: National Gallery, 1997)
- , *National Gallery Catalogues: The Sixteenth Century: Italian Paintings: Volume II: Venice, 1540–1600* (London: National Gallery, 2008)
- Penny, Nicholas, and Karen Serres, 'Duveen's French Frames for British Pictures', *The Burlington Magazine*, 151.1275 (June 2009), 388–394
- Perkin, Harold, *The Rise of Professional Society: England since 1880* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989)
- Pezzini, Barbara, 'Francis Howard (1874–1954) and the 'other' Grosvenor Gallery (founded 1912)', *The Burlington Magazine Index Blog*, April 2014
<<https://burlingtonindex.wordpress.com/2014/04/21/grosvenor-gallery-francis-howard/>>
[accessed 24 November 2021]
- , 'Pan-Giorgionism: Herbert Frederick Cook (1868–1939) as Art Writer' *The Burlington Magazine Index Blog*, March 2014
<<https://burlingtonindex.wordpress.com/2014/04/02/herbert-frederick-cook-giorgione/>>
[accessed 20 September 2021]
- , 'The Politics of Masterpieces: The Failed Attempt to Purchase Rembrandt's *The Mill* for the National Gallery', *Colnaghi Studies Journal*, 6 (2020), 135–146
- Pezzini, Barbara, and Ioannis Tzortzakakis, 'From Exotic Genius to Precursor of Modernity: El Greco in *The Burlington Magazine* (1903–1920)', *The Burlington Magazine Index Blog*, February 2014 <<https://burlingtonindex.wordpress.com/2014/02/05/elgreco/>> [accessed 22 August 2022]

Pezzini, Barbara, and Michael G. Brennan, 'Provenance as a History of Change: From Caliarì in Scotland to Tintoretto in America', *Journal of the History of Collections*, 30.1 (March 2018), 77–89

Phillips, Claude, 'Florentine Painting Before 1500', *The Burlington Magazine*, 34.195 (June 1919), 208–211, 214–217, 219

Phoenix, Eamon, 'Ruthless Landlord and Miser Clanricarde', *The Irish News*, 29 November 2014 <<http://www.irishnews.com/opinion/2014/11/29/news/ruthless-landlord-and-miser-clanricarde-109303/>> [accessed 2 September 2020]

'Picture Sale', *The Athenaeum*, 16 July 1910, 77

Pictures in the Collection of Henry Clay Frick, at One East Seventieth Street, New York (New York: Privately printed, 1929)

'Pictures Worth 2200,000. Fine Exhibition For Leeds.', *Bradford Observer*, 20 June 1936, 5

Pierson, Stacey, *Private Collecting, Exhibitions, and the Shaping of Art History in London: The Burlington Fine Arts Club*, *The Histories of Material Culture and Collecting, 1700–1950* (New York and Abingdon: Routledge, 2017)

'Pietro Da Cortona', *The Morgan Library & Museum*, 2014

<<https://www.themorgan.org/drawings/item/141187>> [accessed 4 November 2019]

Plock, Phillippa, 'Albertinelli, Mariotto (Italian Painter, 1474–1515), *Madonna and Child with the Infant St John*', *Visual Arts Data Service (VADS)*

<<https://vads.ac.uk/large.php?uid=86884&sos=1>> [accessed 7 November 2019]

———, 'Attributed to Bastiani, Lazzaro (Italian Painter, Born before 1430, Died 1512), *Madonna and Child*', *Visual Arts Data Service (VADS)*

<<https://vads.ac.uk/large.php?uid=86893&sos=20>> [accessed 15 November 2019]

———, 'Attributed to Bellini, Giovanni and Studio, *Madonna and Child with a Donor*', *Visual Arts Data Service (VADS)* <<https://vads.ac.uk/large.php?uid=86895&sos=0>> [accessed 7 November 2019]

———, 'Attributed to Carlone, Carlo Innocenzo (Italian Painter, 1686–1775), *A Victorious General*', *Visual Arts Data Service (VADS)*

<<https://vads.ac.uk/large.php?uid=86901&sos=26>> [accessed 15 November 2019]

- , ‘Attributed to Cima Da Conegliano, Giovanni Battista (Italian Painter, ca. 1459–1517), *St Jerome in the Wilderness*’, *Visual Arts Data Service (VADS)* <<https://vads.ac.uk/large.php?uid=86897&sos=0>> [accessed 5 November 2019]
- , ‘Attributed to Longhi, Alessandro (Italian Painter and Printmaker, 1733–1813), *Portrait of the Procuratore Mocenigo*’, *Visual Arts Data Service (VADS)* <<https://vads.ac.uk/large.php?uid=86927&sos=0>> [accessed 15 November 2019]
- , ‘Attributed to Lotto, Lorenzo (Italian Painter, ca. 1480–1556), *Portrait of a Gentleman*’, *Visual Arts Data Service (VADS)* <<https://vads.ac.uk/large.php?uid=86913&sos=0>> [accessed 15 November 2019]
- , ‘Attributed to Manner of Catena, Vincenzo Di Biagio (Italian Painter, ca. 1470–1531), *Madonna and Child with St John the Baptist and St Jerome in a Landscape*’, *Visual Arts Data Service (VADS)* <<https://vads.ac.uk/large.php?uid=86892&sos=0>> [accessed 7 November 2019]
- , ‘Attributed to School of Domenico Veneziano (Italian Painter, ca. 1400–1461), *Christ at the Column*’, *Visual Arts Data Service (VADS)* <<https://vads.ac.uk/large.php?uid=86912&sos=0>> [accessed 15 November 2019]
- , ‘Attributed to Studio of Titian (Italian Painter and Draftsman, ca. 1488–1576), *Portrait of King Francis I of France*’, *Visual Arts Data Service (VADS)* <<https://vads.ac.uk/large.php?uid=86923&sos=24>> [accessed 15 November 2019]
- , ‘Attributed to The Master of Fontanarosa (Italian Artist, Active 17th Century), *St John the Baptist*’, *Visual Arts Data Service (VADS)* <<https://vads.ac.uk/large.php?uid=86886&sos=18>> [accessed 15 November 2019]
- , ‘Attributed to The Master of Marradi (Italian Artist, Active 15th Century), *The Rape of the Sabines*’, *Visual Arts Data Service (VADS)* <<https://vads.ac.uk/large.php?uid=86907&sos=1>> [accessed 7 November 2019]
- , ‘Attributed to The Master of Marradi (Italian Artist, Active 15th Century), *The Reconciliation of the Romans and Sabines*’, *Visual Arts Data Service (VADS)* <<https://vads.ac.uk/large.php?uid=86891&sos=1>> [accessed 7 November 2019]

———, ‘Carlone, Carlo Innocenzo (Italian Painter, 1686–1775), *Christ Crowned with Thorns*’, *Visual Arts Data Service (VADS)* <<https://vads.ac.uk/large.php?uid=86873&sos=0>> [accessed 14 November 2019]

———, ‘Carlone, Carlo Innocenzo (Italian Painter, 1686–1775), *Minerva on Clouds, Surrounded by Allegorical Figures of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture*’, *Visual Arts Data Service (VADS)* <<https://vads.ac.uk/large.php?uid=86898&sos=21>> [accessed 15 November 2019]

———, ‘Circle of Courtois, Guillaume (French Painter and Draftsman, 1628–1679, Active in Italy), *Portrait of a Gentleman*’, *Visual Arts Data Service (VADS)* <<https://vads.ac.uk/large.php?uid=86909&sos=0>> [accessed 7 November 2019]

———, ‘El Greco (Greek Painter, 1541–1614, Active in Spain), *Allegory*’, *Visual Arts Data Service (VADS)* <<https://vads.ac.uk/large.php?uid=86932&sos=17>> [accessed 15 November 2019]

———, ‘Sodoma (Italian Painter, 1477–1549), *St Jerome in the Wilderness*’, *Visual Arts Data Service (VADS)* <<https://vads.ac.uk/large.php?uid=86910&sos=22>> [accessed 15 November 2019]

———, ‘Tintoretto, Jacopo (Italian Painter, 1519–1594), *Portrait of Benedetto Soranzo*’, *Visual Arts Data Service (VADS)* <<https://vads.ac.uk/large.php?uid=86911&sos=23>> [accessed 15 November 2019]

———, ‘Veronese, Paolo (Italian Painter and Draftsman, 1528–1588), *Portrait of a Gentleman of the Soranzo Family*’, *Visual Arts Data Service (VADS)* <<https://vads.ac.uk/large.php?uid=86922&sos=25>> [accessed 15 November 2019]

Pomian, Krzysztof, *Collectors and Curiosities: Paris and Venice, 1500–1800*, trans. by Elizabeth Wiles-Portier (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990)

Pope-Hennessy, John, ‘Drawings from the Witt Collection’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 82.481 (April 1943), 103

Pope-Hennessy, James, *Queen Mary, 1867–1953* (London: Phoenix Press, 2000)

‘*Portrait of an Ecclesiastic*’, Herbert F. Johnson Museum of Art, Cornell University <<https://museum.cornell.edu/collections/european/medieval-and-renaissance/portrait-ecclesiastic>> [accessed 28 November 2019]

‘Portumna Castles’, *Visit Portumna*, 2015

<<https://beautifulirish.wordpress.com/2015/01/05/portumna-castles/>> [accessed 5 May 2020]

Potter, Matthew, ‘Breaking the Shell of the Humanist Egg: Kenneth Clark’s University of London Lectures on German Art Historians’, *Journal of Art Historiography*, 11 (December 2014), 1–34

‘Princess Mary at New Art Gallery. Earl of Harewood Deplores Concentration of Art Treasures in London.’, *The Yorkshire Evening Post*, 9 January 1930, 10

‘Princess Mary At Harrogate. Lord Harewood Opens New Art Gallery.’, *The Yorkshire Post*, 10 January 1930, 12

‘Princess Mary Engaged to Wed Lord Lascelles: Betrothal to the Viscount Is Formally Announced by the King and Queen’, *New York Times*, 23 November 1921, 1

‘Princess Mary in Ireland’, *Sheffield Independent*, 8 October 1928, 1

‘Princess Mary to Marry an Englishman’, *Daily News*, 23 November 1921, 1

‘Princess Mary’s Man: Who and What Her Fiancé, the Viscount Lascelles, Is’, *New York Times*, 1 January 1922, 37

‘Princess Mary’s Wedding Bells: England’s Absorbing Interest in Preparations for Her Romantic Marriage With Viscount Lascelles—Presents From People’, *New York Times*, 5 February 1922, 83

‘Professor Tancred Borenius’, *The Times*, 4 September 1948, 6

‘Property from the Descendants of Their Majesties King George V and Queen Mary, Christie’s, London, 13 December 2019’, *Christie’s*

<https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/print_sale.aspx?saleid=28361&lid=1> [accessed 6 January 2020]

Pullan, Ann, ‘Public Goods or Private Interests? The British Institution in the Early Nineteenth Century’, in *Art in Bourgeois Society, 1790–1850*, ed. by Andrew Hemingway and William Vaughan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 27–44

Purbrick, Louise, ‘The South Kensington Museum: The Building of the House of Henry Cole’ in *Art Apart: Art Institutions and Ideology across England and North America*, ed. by Marcia R. Pointon (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 69–86

‘Quaint Exhibits at the Leeds Art Gallery’, *The Yorkshire Post*, 14 November 1930, 3

‘Queen Mary Sees Art Treasures’, *The Western Daily Press and Bristol Mirror*, 16 September 1937, 1

Quill, Sarah, ‘Lighting up the Darkness: The National Gallery, London’, in *From Darkness to Light: Writers in Museums 1798–1898*, ed. by Rosella Mamoli Zorzi and Katherine Manthorne (Open Book Publishers, 2019) 167–176

R., S., ‘The Picture Gallery of Andrea Vendramin (T. Borenius)’, *Gazette Des Beaux–Arts*, 66.9 (1924), 63

Ramage, Nancy H., ‘Restorer and Collector: Notes on Eighteenth-century Recreations of Roman Statues’, *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome. Supplementary Volumes*, 1 (2002), 61–77

‘Raphael, *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints*’, The Metropolitan Museum of Art <<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/437372>> [accessed 3 December 2021]

‘RCIN 453592 – *Lady Elizabeth Bowes–Lyon*’, Royal Collection Trust <<https://www.rct.uk/collection/themes/exhibitions/watercolours-and-drawings-in-the-collection-of-queen-elizabeth-the-q-3>> [Accessed 30 July 2023]

Read, C. Hercules, ‘The Exhibition of Ivories at the Burlington Fine Arts Club’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 43.244 (July 1923), 8–11, 15

Redford, George, ‘The Barbers’ Company’s “Holbein”’, *The Times*, 3 February 1890, 4

Rees, Helen, ‘Art Exports and the Construction of National Heritage in Late-Victorian and Edwardian Great Britain’, in *Economic Engagements with Art*, ed. by Neil De Marchi and Craufurd D.W. Goodwin (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 1999), 187–208

Rees Leahy, Helen, ‘Desiring Holbein: Presence and Absence in the National Gallery’, *Journal of the History of Collections*, 19.1 (May 2007), 75–87

———, *Museum Bodies: the Politics and Practices of Visiting and Viewing* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012)

Reist, Inge Jackson, ed., *A Market for Merchant Princes: Collecting Italian Renaissance Paintings in America*, The Frick Collection Studies in the History of Art Collecting in America (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015)

———, ed., *British Models of Art Collecting and the American Response: Reflections Across the Pond*, *The Histories of Material Culture and Collecting, 1700–1950* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014)

———, ‘Knoedler and Old Masters in America’, in *Old Masters Worldwide: Markets, Movements and Museums, 1789–1939*, ed. by Susanna Avery-Quash and Barbara Pezzini, *Contextualizing Art Markets* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2021), 195–210

Reitlinger, Gerald, *The Economics of Taste: The Rise and Fall of Picture Prices, 1760–1960* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1961)

Report of the Committee of Trustees of The National Gallery Appointed by the Trustees to Enquire into the Retention of Important Pictures in This Country and Other Matters Connected with the National Art Collections (London: H.M.S.O., 1915)

‘Report of the National Gallery Committee’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 27.146 (May 1915), 82–84

‘Restoration, n.’, *Oxford English Dictionary* (online ed.), June 2020
<<https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/163986?redirectedFrom=restoration>> [accessed 8 June 2020]

‘Reynolds Masterpieces For America’, *The Scotsman*, 22 August 1923, 5

Ridgway, Christopher, ‘The ‘Orleans Room’ at Castle Howard’, *Art & The Country House*, 20 November 2020 <<https://www.artandthecountryhouse.com/essays/essays-index/the-orleans-room-at-castle-howard>> [accessed 19 August 2020]

‘Robert Adam, Side Chair (One of a Set of Fourteen)’, The Metropolitan Museum of Art <<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/841568>> [accessed 5 May 2020]

Roberts, Lynn, ‘19th & 20th Century Italian Framemakers: Articles in *The Burlington Magazine*’, *The Frame Blog*, 2017 <<https://theframeblog.com/2017/06/19/review-19th-20th-century-italian-framemakers-articles-in-the-burlington-magazine/>> [accessed 28 November 2019]

Rosner, Victoria, *Modernism and the Architecture of Private Life* (Chichester: Columbia University Press, 2008)

- Rovers, Eva, 'Introduction: The Art Collector – between Philanthropy and Self-Glorification', *Journal of the History of Collections*, 21.2 (November 2009), 157–161
- Rowse, A.L., 'Caves of Ice, James Lees-Milne (Book Review)', *The Spectator*, 26 February 1983, 21
- 'Roxburghe House (Harewood House)', *DiCamillo*
 <<https://www.thedicamillo.com/house/roxburghe-house-harewood-house/>> [accessed 18 May 2022]
- Royal Commission on National Museums and Galleries: Interim Report* (London: H.M.S.O., 1928)
- Royal Commission on National Museums and Galleries: Oral Evidence, Memoranda and Appendices to the Interim Report* (London: H.M.S.O., 1928)
- Royal Commission on National Museums and Galleries: Final Report, Part I. General Conclusions and Recommendations* (London: H.M.S.O., 1929)
- Royal Commission on National Museums and Galleries: Final Report, Part 2. Conclusions and Recommendations Relating to Individual Institutions* (London: H.M.S.O., 1930)
- Rubin, Patricia, "'The Outcry": Despoilers, Donors, and the National Gallery in London, 1909', *Journal of the History of Collections*, 25.2 (July 2013), 253–275
- Russell, Francis, 'The Hanging and Display of Pictures, 1700–1850', in *The Fashioning and Functioning of the British Country House* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1989) 133–154
- Rutter, Frank, *Post-Impressionist and Futurist Exhibition* (London: Doré Gallery, 1913)
- Ryan, Derek, and Stephen Ross, eds., *The Handbook to the Bloomsbury Group* (London: Bloomsbury, 2018)
- S., E.F., 'Review: Thomas Chippendale: A Study of His Life, Work, and Influence by Oliver Brckett and Chippendale Thomas', *The Burlington Magazine*, 47.269 (August 1925), 107–108
- Salomon, Xavier F., *Veronese* (London: National Gallery, 2014)
- Saltzman, Cynthia, *Old Masters, New World: America's Raid on Europe's Great Pictures, 1880–World War I* (New York: Viking, 2008)

Sandberg-Vavala, Evelyn, 'Lazzaro Bastiani's Madonnas', *The Burlington Magazine*, 59.342 (September 1931), 124–141

'Sandro Botticelli, *Portrait of a Young Man*: NG626', The National Gallery
 <<https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/sandro-botticelli-portrait-of-a-young-man>>
 [accessed 23 May 2023]

Sands, Frances, 'Piccadilly, number 79, (now 1 Stratton Street), London: designs for ceilings for the 11th Earl of Eglinton, 1769 (7)', *Sir John Soane's Museum Collection Online*, 2013
 <<http://collections.soane.org/SCHEME1127>> [accessed 8 June 2022]

'Saving Works of Art: Viscount Lascelles and Rich Owners', *Westminster Gazette*, 14 June 1923, 8

Schubring, Paul, 'Cassoni Panels in English Private Collections—II', *The Burlington Magazine*, 22.118 (January 1913), 196–203

Serres, Karen, 'Duveen's Italian Framemaker, Ferruccio Vannoni', *The Burlington Magazine*, 159.1370 (May 2017), 366–374

Seward, Desmond, *Renishaw Hall: The Story of the Sitwells* (London: Elliott and Thompson, 2015)

Shapland, H.P., *Style Schemes in Antique Furnishing: Interiors and Their Treatment* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., 1909)

Shaw, Samuel, Pamela Fletcher, and David Israel, 'Carfax Gallery', *London Gallery Project*, 2007 <<https://learn.bowdoin.edu/fletcher/london-gallery/data/pages/as529.html>> [accessed 6 February 2020]

Sheppard, F.H.W., ed., 'Green Street Area: Introduction', in *Survey of London: Volume 40, the Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair, Part 2 (The Buildings)* (London: London County Council, 1980), 185–187

Simon, Jacob, *Beningbrough Hall: North Yorkshire* (London: National Trust, 1992)

———, 'British Picture Restorers, 1600–1950', *National Portrait Gallery*
 <<https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/research/programmes/directory-of-british-picture-restorers/#:~:text=An%20online%20resource%2C%20researched%20and,Nicola%20Christie%20and%20Ibby%20Lanfean.>> [accessed 28 April 2020]

———, *The Art of the Picture Frame: Artists, Patrons and the Framing of Portraits in Britain* (London: National Portrait Gallery Publications, 1996)

Simpson, Colin, *The Artful Partners: The Secret Association of Bernard Berenson and Joseph Duveen* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1988)

‘Sir Herbert Baker: a great British architect’, *The National Trust*
<<https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/owletts/features/sir-herbert-baker-a-great-british-architect>>
[accessed 22 June 2022]

‘Sir Joshua Reynolds, P.R.A. (Plympton, Devon 1723–1792 London), *Portrait of Lady Frances Marsham, Later Countess of Romney (1755–1795)*’, *Christie’s*
<<https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/sir-joshua-reynolds-pra-plympton-devon-1723-1792-5813603-details.aspx>> [accessed 8 May 2020]

Sisson, C.H., ‘Houses at the End of Their Tether’, *London Review of Books*, 5.5, 17 March 1983, <<https://www.lrb.co.uk/the-paper/v05/n05/c.h.-sisson/houses-at-the-end-of-their-tether>> [accessed 26 March 2020]

Sitwell, Osbert, *Queen Mary and Others* (London: Michael Joseph, 1974)

Skwirblies, Robert. ‘The European Market for Italian Old Masters after Napoleon’, in *Old Masters Worldwide: Markets, Movements and Museums, 1789–1939*, ed. by Susanna Avery-Quash and Barbara Pezzini, *Contextualizing Art Markets* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2021), 39–54

Smith, Nicholas, ‘Let There Be Light! Illuminating the V&A in the Nineteenth Century’, *V&A Blog*, 10 September 2013 <<https://www.vam.ac.uk/blog/caring-for-our-collections/let-there-be-light-illuminating-va-nineteenth-century>> [accessed 2 December 2022]

Smith, S.D., *Slavery, Family, and Gentry Capitalism in the British Atlantic: The World of the Lascelles, 1648–1834*, *Cambridge Studies in Economic History* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006)

Sorensen, Lee, ed., ‘Borenius, Tancred’, *Dictionary of Art Historians*, 21 February 2018
<<http://arthistorians.info/boreniust>> [accessed 3 October 2019]

‘Spanish Art Gallery: Harris, Tomas’, *National Gallery of Art*,
<<https://www.nga.gov/collection/provenance-info.29043.html#biography>> [accessed 22 August 2022]

- Speed, Harold, 'To The Editor Of The Times', *The Times*, 5 January 1937, 13
- Spencer-Churchill, Edward George, *The Northwick Rescues, 1912–1961* (Evesham: Sharp Bros., 1961)
- Stamp, Gavin, 'How We Celebrated the Coronation: The Foundation and Early Years of the Georgian Group', *The Georgian Group Journal*, 20 (2012), 1–21
- Staniforth, Sarah, *Historical Perspectives on Preventive Conservation*, Readings in Conservation (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2013)
- Statham, H. Heathcote, 'The Treatment of Ancient Buildings', *The National Review*, 30.175 (September 1897), 96–110
- Stewart Gardner, Isabella, *Catalogue of Fenway Court* (Boston: Merrymount Press, 1909)
- Stourton, James, *Kenneth Clark: Life, Art and Civilisation* (London: William Collins, 2016)
- , 'The Revolving Door: Four Centuries of British Collecting', in *British Models of Art Collecting and the American Response: Reflections Across the Pond*, ed. by Inge Reist (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 27–43
- Stourton, James, and Charles Sebag-Montefiore, *The British as Art Collectors: From the Tudors to the Present* (London: Scala, 2012)
- Strong, Roy, *Country Life, 1897–1997: The English Arcadia* (London: Boxtree, 1999)
- 'Such as Knole', *Country Life*, 63.1620 (4 February 1928), 134
- Sutton, Denys, 'Tancred Borenius: Connoisseur and Clubman', *Apollo*, 107.194 (April 1978), 294–309
- , 'The Degas Sales and England', *The Burlington Magazine*, 131.1033 (April 1989), 266–272
- , 'Borenius, (Carl) Tancred', *Grove Art Online*, 2003
<<https://doi.org/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T010100>>
- Sutton, James, 'The First Years of the South Kensington Museum: Part 1: Henry Cole's 'Wager of a Hat'', *V&A Blog*, 2 August 2013 <<https://www.vam.ac.uk/blog/caring-for-our->

collections/first-years-south-kensington-museum-part-1-henry-coles-wager-hat> [accessed 14 January 2023]

Swarbrick, John, *Robert Adam and his Brothers: Their Lives, Work and Influence on English Architecture, Decoration and Furniture* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1916)

Sykes, Christopher Simon, *Private Palaces: Life in the Great London Houses* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1985)

T., S.A., 'The Restoration of an Old London Palace: Lindsey House, Cheyne Walk, the Home of Sir Hugh Lane', *The Graphic*, 23 July 1910, 18

Tait, Hugh, 'Sèvres porcelain in the Collection of The Earl of Harewood, Part I: The Early Period, 1750-1760', *Apollo*, 79.28 (June 1964), 474-478

———, 'Sèvres porcelain in the Collection of The Earl of Harewood, Part II: The Middle Period: 1760-1775', *Apollo*, 81.35 (January 1965), 20-27

———, 'Sèvres porcelain in the Collection of The Earl of Harewood, Part III: The Louis XVI Period: 1775-1793', *Apollo*, 83.52 (June 1966), 437-443

'Tancred Borenius', *The Burlington Magazine*, 90.547 (October 1948), 277

'Tancred Borenius, Expert on Art, Dies', *New York Times*, 5 September 1948, 40

'TATTERSHALL CASTLE: THE REPORTED REMOVAL TO AMERICA', *Evening Mail*, 29 September 1922, 5

'TATTERSHALL CASTLE FIREPLACES TRIUMPHANTLY MAKE THEIR RETURN', *Dundee Courier*, 6 June 1912, 3

'TATTERSHALL CASTLE WILL BE TAKEN TO AMERICA', *Dundee Courier*, 22 September 1911, 4

Taylor, Clare, 'Modern Swedish Rococo': The Neo-Georgian Interior in Britain, c 1920-1945', in *Neo-Georgian Architecture 1880-1970: A Reappraisal*, ed. by Julian Holder and Elizabeth McKellar (Swindon: Historic England, 2016), 151-166

Taylor, Irene, and Alan F. Taylor, eds., *The Assassin's Cloak: An Anthology of the World's Greatest Diarists* (Edinburgh: Canongate Books, 2003)

Teather, J. Lynne, 'The Museum Keepers: The Museums Association and the Growth of Museum Professionalism', *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 9.1 (March 1990), 25–41

Tedbury, Imogen, 'Scholar, Dealer and Museum Man: Robert Langton Douglas in the International Old Master Market', in *Old Masters Worldwide: Markets, Movements and Museums, 1789–1939*, ed. by Susanna Avery-Quash and Barbara Pezzini, Contextualizing Art Markets (New York: Bloomsbury, 2021), 161–178

'Temple Newsam: A Historic Yorkshire Mansion Now a War-Time Art Gallery', *The Antique Collector* 11.2 (April 1940), 28–33

'Temple Newsam, Yorkshire, The Residence of Mrs. Meynell-Ingram' *Country Life*, 16.405 (8 October 1904), 522–529

'The Academy Banquet', *The Times*, 5 May 1924, 20

'The Academy Banquet', *The Times*, 7 May 1923, 17

'The Canning Jewel. Lord Lascelles's Sixteenth Century Treasure', *The Penrith Observer*, 7 March 1922, 6

'The Canning Jewel', *V and A Collections*, 2020 <<http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O33882>> [accessed 27 January 2020]

'The Care of Old Pictures', *The Times*, 14 December 1923, 16

'The Chesterfield Portraits', *University of London* <<https://london.ac.uk/senate-house-library/our-collections/special-collections/university-london-artworks-collection/chesterfield-portraits>> [accessed 11 May 2020]

'Richard Jack (1866-1952), *The Chinese Chippendale Drawing Room, Buckingham Palace*', *Royal Collection Trust* <<https://www.rct.uk/collection/search#/2/collection/405848/the-chinese-chippendale-drawing-room-buckingham-palace>> [accessed 25 June 2023]

'The Earl Of Harewood', *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 7 October 1929, 4

'The Earl of Harewood', *The Telegraph*, 2011 <<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/8631002/The-Earl-of-Harewood.html>> [accessed 23 October 2019]

'The Estate Market: Chesterfield House and Other Properties', *Country Life*, 46 (20 September 1919), 374

The Famous Collection of Drawings by Old Masters founded by the late Henry Oppenheimer Esq., F.S.A. (London: Christie's, 1936)

'The History of Tattershall Castle', *National Trust*

<<https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/visit/nottinghamshire-lincolnshire/tattershall-castle/the-history-of-tattershall-castle/>> [accessed 17 July 2023]

'The History of Tattershall Castle in a Nutshell', *National Trust*

<<https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/tattershall-castle/features/the-history-of-tattershall-castle-in-a-nutshell/>> [accessed 31 March 2020]

'The History of the National Trust', *National Trust* <<https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/who-we-are/about-us/the-history-of-the-national-trust/>> [accessed 26 January 2023]

'The House: Newby and Weddell', *Newby Hall* <<https://www.newbyhall.com/things-to-do/the-house/>> [accessed 18 July 2022]

'The King's Racehorses in Training: Promise of a Splendid Season', *Country Life*, 81 (17 April 1937), lxxiv

The Magnasco Society. Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition of Italian Pictures of the XVII. & XVIII. Centuries (London: Thos. Agnew and Sons, 1924)

'The Morelli–Nerli Wedding Chests', *The Courtauld Institute of Art*

<<https://courtauld.ac.uk/gallery/collection/decorative-arts/renaissance-decorative-arts-highlights/the-morelli-nerli-wedding-chests/>> [accessed 19 April 2020]

'The National Gallery', *The Times*, 13 December 1907, 10

'The Parable of the Sower', *Museo Nacional Thyssen–Bornemisza*

<<https://www.museothyssen.org/en/collection/artists/bassano-jacopo/parable-sower/>> [accessed 28 November 2019]

'The Postman and Picasso: 'He doodles'', *Daily Mirror*, 10 December 1945, 4

'The Royal Commission on Museums & Galleries', *Old Furniture, a Magazine for Domestic Ornament*, 2.6 (November 1927), 143–144

'The Shock of the Old: 'Manet and the Post–Impressionists' *The Burlington Magazine* 152.1293 (December 2010), 779

‘The Siege of Troy’, *National Trust Collections*

<<http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object>> [accessed 19 February 2020]

‘The Sport of Collecting (Book Review)’, *The Spectator*, 31 July 1915, 147–148

‘The Thirty-Eighth Report of the National Portrait Gallery’, *The Times*, 22 November 1895, 9

‘“The Times” on Forgeries’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 42.239 (February 1923), 61–62

The Tourist’s Companion; Being a Concise Description and History of Ripon, Studley Park, Fountains Abbey, Hackfall, Brimham Crags, Newby Hall, Knaresbrough, Harrogate, Harewood House, Bolton Priory, &c., 3rd ed. (Ripon: T. Langdale, 1822)

The Tourist’s Guide: Being a Concise History and Description of Ripon, Studley Royal, Fountains Abbey, Markenfield Hall, Brimham Rocks, Hackfall, Swinton, Masham, Tanfield, Norton Conyers, Newby Hall, Boroughbridge, Aldborough, Ripley, Harrogate, Knaresbrough, Plumpton, and Almias Cliff, Intended as a Companion to Visitors., 2nd ed. (Ripon: John Lewis Linney, 1838)

‘Thomas Lawrence, P.R.A. (1769–1830), *Portrait of George Canning, M.P. (1770–1827), Half-Length, Seated*’, *Christie’s*

<https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/lot_details.aspx?intObjectID=6249634&from=searchresults&intObjectID=6249634> [accessed 13 May 2020]

Thompson, F.M.L., *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963)

Thornton, Alfred, ‘The Significance of the Sketch’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 41.235 (October 1922), 168–171, 175

Thornton, David, *The Picture Story of Harewood House* (Leeds: D. & J. Thornton, 1982)

Thornton Rutter, H., ‘The Chronicle of the Car’, *Illustrated London News*, 11 June 1932, 973–974

Throop, Lucy Abbot, *Furnishing The Home of Good Taste: A brief sketch of the period styles in interior decoration with suggestions as to their employment in the homes of today*, 4th ed. (New York: Robert M. McBride & Co., 1920)

Thurley, Simon, *Men from the Ministry: How Britain Saved Its Heritage* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013)

Tinniswood, Adrian, *The Polite Tourist: Four Centuries of Country House Visiting* (London and New York: National Trust, 1998)

Tipping, H. Avray, 'Bramham Park – I. Yorkshire, the Seat of Lieut.–Col. Geo. Lane-Fox, M.P.' *Country Life*, 50.1291 (1 October 1921), 416–423

———, 'Bramham Park – II. Yorkshire, the Seat of Lieut.–Col. Geo. Lane-Fox, M.P.' *Country Life*, 50.1292 (8 October 1921), 448–455

———, 'Chesterfield House, Mayfair. – I, A Residence of Viscount Lascelles', *Country Life*, 51 (25 February 1922), 235–242

———, 'Chesterfield House, Mayfair – II, A Residence of Viscount Lascelles, K.G.', *Country Life*, 51 (4 March 1922), 308–314

———, 'English Furniture at the Burlington Fine Arts Club', *The Burlington Magazine*, 38.215 (February 1921), 67–69, 72–74

———, 'Harewood House, Yorkshire, the Home of the Lascelles', *Country Life*, 51 (25 February 1922), 243–248

———, 'Tattershall Castle – I. Lincolnshire, the Property of Earl Curzon of Kedleston' *Country Life*, 38.965 (3 July 1915), 18–26

———, 'Tattershall Castle – II. Lincolnshire, the Property of Earl Curzon of Kedleston', *Country Life*, 38.966 (10 July 1915), 54–61

'Titian Expert Advisers Statement', *Arts Council*, 2016

<https://www.artscouncil.org.uk/sites/default/files/download-file/Titian_Expert_advisers_statement.pdf> [accessed 4 November 2019]

'Titian's "Death of Actaeon" – A Triumph?' *The Burlington Magazine*, 113.825 (December 1971), 695–695

'To-Day's Appointments', *The Yorkshire Post*, 15 November 1930, 10

Tonkovich, Jennifer, 'Hans Calmann and the American Market for Old Master Drawings, 1937–73', *Master Drawings*, 59.1 (Spring 2021), 49–72

'Town & Country: Sacred Art', *Country Life*, 196 (21 March 2002), 86

‘Treasures from the Collections of The Dukes of Gloucester & The Earls of Harewood’, *Christie’s* <https://www.christies.com/features/Treasures-from-the-Collections-of-The-Dukes-of-Gloucester-and-The-Earls-of-Harewood-10226-1.aspx?PID=en_hp_carousel_1> [accessed 9 December 2019]

‘Treasures of Harewood House. Fascinating Glimpses’, *The Leeds Mercury*, 4 June 1936, 5

Trodd, Colin, ‘Culture, Class, City: The National Gallery, London, and the Spaces of Education, 1822–1857’ in *Art Apart: Art Institutions and Ideology across England and North America*, ed. by Marcia R. Pointon (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 33–49

Tsar, Diana, ‘Omega Workshops, 1913–1919’, *Charleston* <<https://www.charleston.org.uk/stories/omega-workshops-1913-1919/>> [accessed 21 May 2023]

Tucker, John F., ‘Points from Letters: Ailing Pictures’, *The Times*, 14 July 1931, 10

‘Two New Acquisitions Go on Display at the National Gallery’, *The National Gallery*, July 2022 <<https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/about-us/press-and-media/press-releases/two-new-acquisitions-go-on-display-at-the-national-gallery>> [accessed 6 August 2023]

‘UK Risks Losing £15m Veronese Drawing’, *GOV.UK* <<https://www.gov.uk/government/news/uk-risks-losing-15m-veronese-drawing>> [accessed 28 February 2020]

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), ‘What is meant by “cultural heritage”?’ <<http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/illicit-trafficking-of-cultural-property/unesco-database-of-national-cultural-heritage-laws/frequently-asked-questions/definition-of-the-cultural-heritage/>> [accessed 21 January 2022]

V&A Archives, ‘Advisory Council Records’ <<https://www.vam.ac.uk/archives/unit/ARC139580>> [accessed 18 November 2022]

‘Velázquez (Diego Rodríguez de Silva y Velázquez), *Juan de Pareja (ca. 1608–1670)*’, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art* <<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/437869>> [accessed 29 June 2023]

Venetian School: Pictures by Titian and His Contemporaries (London: Privately printed for the Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1915)

- Venturi, Adolfo, *Storia Dell' Arte Italiana*, VII (Milan: Ulrico Hoepli, 1915)
- Verdi, Richard, ed., *Saved! 100 Years of the National Art Collections Fund* (London: Scala, 2003)
- 'View of Tivoli (Recto); View of Tivoli (Verso)', *The J. Paul Getty Museum*
 <<http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/44/>> [accessed 6 November 2019]
- Vignon, Charlotte, *Duveen Brothers and the Market for Decorative Arts, 1880–1940* (New York: The Frick Collection in association with D. Giles Limited, London, 2019)
- 'Viscount Lascelles and Art', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 14 June 1923, 9
- 'Viscount Lascelles on Art.', *The Scotsman*, 6 May 1922, 9
- W., 'At the National Gallery', *The Burlington Magazine*, 37.209 (August 1920), 111
- W., R., 'Review: A Catalogue of the Pictures, Etc., at 18, Kensington Palace Gardens, London. 1923 by Viscount and Viscountess Lee of Fareham and Tancred Borenius', *The Burlington Magazine*, 45.257 (1924), 94
- Wake, Jehanne. 'Benson, Robert Henry [Robin] (1850–1929), Merchant Banker and Art Collector' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online ed.), 25 May 2006
 <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/48999>>
- Wakeford, Geoffrey, *The Princesses Royal* (London: Hale, 1973)
- Walbran, John Richard, *A Guide to Ripon, Harrogate, Fountains Abbey, Bolton Priory, and Several Places of Interest in Their Vicinity*, 5th ed. (Ripon: W. Harrison, 1851)
- , *The Pictorial Pocket Guide to Ripon and Harrogate: With Topographical Observations on Studley–Royal, Brimham Rocks, Hackfall, and the Monastic Remains of Fountains and Bolton*, 3rd ed. (Ripon: W. Harrison, 1849)
- Walford, Edward, *The County Families of the United Kingdom; or, Royal Manual of the Titled and Untitled Aristocracy of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland* (London: Dalcassian Publishing Company, 1919)
- Walker, Georgina S., *The Private Collector's Museum: Public Good versus Private Gain* (London: Routledge, 2019)

- Wang, Vivian F., 'Whose Responsibility? The Waverley System, Past and Present', *International Journal of Cultural Property*, 15.3 (August 2008), 227–269
- Wardleworth, Dennis, 'The 'friendly' battle for the Mond Bequest', *The British Art Journal*, 4.3 (Autumn 2003), 87–93
- Warner-Johnson, Tim, and Jeremy Howard, *Colnaghi: Past, Present and Future: An Anthology* (London: Colnaghi, 2016)
- Warren, Jeremy, 'The 4th Marquess of Hertford and Sir Richard Wallace as Collectors: Chalk and Cheese? Or Father and Son?' in *British Models of Art Collecting and the American Response: Reflections Across the Pond*, ed. by Inge Reist, *The Histories of Material Culture and Collecting, 1700–1950* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 117–131
- Warren Clouston, K., *The Chippendale Period in English Furniture* (London and New York: Debenham & Freebody and Edward Arnold, 1897)
- Wassyng Roworth, Wendy, ed., *Angelica Kauffman: A Continental Artist in Georgian England* (London: Reaktion Books, 1992)
- Waterfield, Giles, 'Fact and Fantasy', *The Spectator*, 20 October 2012, 52
- , 'Picture Hanging and Gallery Decoration', in *Palaces of Art: Art Galleries in Britain 1790–1990* (London: Dulwich Picture Gallery, 1991), 49–65
- , 'Review of *The Rise of the Modern Art Market in London, 1850–1939*, by Pamela Fletcher and Anne Helmreich', *The Burlington Magazine*, 155.1318 (January 2013), 40
- , *The People's Galleries: Art Museums and Exhibitions in Britain, 1800–1914* (New Haven: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 2015)
- Watling, Lucy, 'Émigré to Editor: Edith Hoffmann and *The Burlington Magazine*, 1938–1951', *Tate Art Writers in Britain* <<https://www.tate.org.uk/about-us/projects/art-writers-britain/hodin-hoffman/emigre-editor>> [accessed 3 October 2019]
- Weddell, Joanna, 'Room 38A and beyond: Post–War British Design and the Circulation Department', *V&A Online Journal*, 4 (Summer 2012)
<<http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/journals/research-journal/issue-no.-4-summer-2012/room->

38a-and-beyond-post-war-british-design-and-the-circulation-department/> [accessed 16 March 2021]

Westgarth, Mark, *Antique Dealers: the British Antique Trade in the 20th Century* <<https://antiquetrade.leeds.ac.uk/dealerships>> [accessed 19 April 2022]

———, ‘Thornton-Smith Antiques – ‘The Georgian House’.’ *Antiquedealersblog*, 6 February 2017 <<https://antiquedealersblog.com/2017/02/06/thornton-smith-antiques-the-georgian-house/>> [accessed 26 August 2023].

———, ‘W. F. Greenwood & Sons, York’, *Antiquedealersblog*, 25 May 2019 <<https://antiquedealersblog.com/2019/05/25/w-f-greenwood-sons-york/>> [accessed 8 June 2022]

———, ‘Year of the Dealer – Antiques Trade Gazette and the Harewood Library Table and ‘Raynham’ Commodes.’ *Antiquedealersblog*, 6 July 2019 <<https://antiquedealersblog.com/tag/harewood-house/>> [accessed 27 August 2023]

Westgarth, Mark, and others, *SOLD! The Great British Antiques Story* (Online: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, in association with The Bowes Museum, 2020)

Wharton, Edith, and Ogden Codman Jr, *The Decoration of Houses* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1898)

What Is The National Trust? (London: National Trust, 1934)

Whitaker, Lucy, ‘Preparing a Handsome Picture Frame to Pattern Chosen by HRH The Prince’: Prince Albert Frames His Collection’, in *Victoria & Albert: Art & Love*, ed. by Susanna Avery-Quash (London: Royal Collection Trust, 2012) 2–37

White, Raymond, and Jo Kirby, ‘A Survey of Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-century Varnish Compositions Found on a Selection of Paintings in the National Gallery Collection’, *National Gallery Technical Bulletin*, 22 (2001), 64–84

Wilenski, R.H., ‘Saving Art Treasures for the Nation’, *Britannia and Eve*, 26.2 (22 March 1929), 460–461

‘WILL BE A LONDON HOSTESS: Duchess of Roxburghe Takes Chesterfield House from Lady Burton’, *New York Times*, 23 September 1909, 11

‘Wilton House. Ancestral Home of Earls of Pembroke. Open to the Public.’, *Wiltshire Times and Trowbridge Advertiser*, 5 May 1951, 2

Witt, Robert C., ‘Review: A Catalogue of the Pictures at Elton Hall in Huntingdonshire in the Possession of Colonel Douglas James Proby by T. Borenius and J. V. Hodgson’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 45.260 (November 1924), 247–248

———, *The Nation and its Art Treasures* (London: William Heinemann, 1911)

Wivel, Matthias, ‘The Rare Titian Drawing That the UK Is Fighting to Keep’, *Apollo*, 2016 <<https://www.apollo-magazine.com/rare-titian-drawing-uk-fighting-keep/>> [accessed 4 November 2019]

Wood, G. Bernard, ‘Restoration at Temple Newsam’, *The Field*, 178.4619 (5 July 1941), 22–24

Woodward, Henry, *Museums Association Canterbury Meeting 1900: Address by the President* (Glasgow and Edinburgh: William Hodge & Co., 1900)

Giles Worsley, *England’s Lost Houses: From the Archives of Country Life* (London: Aurum Press, 2011)

Wortham, H.E., and K.D. Reynolds, ‘Lascelles, Henry George Charles, Sixth Earl of Harewood (1882–1947)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online ed.), 8 January 2015 <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/34411>>

Wragg, Brian, *The Life and Works of John Carr of York*, ed. by Giles Worsley (York: Oblong, 2000)

X., ‘The Consequences of the American Invasion’, *The Burlington Magazine* 5.16 (July 1904), 353–355

Z., ‘Egerton House, Newmarket’, *The Idler*, November 1898, 687–695

Z., ‘National Gallery’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 40.226 (January 1922), 44

‘Zacharias Blijhooft’, *RKD* <<https://rkd.nl/en/explore/images/195982>> [accessed 14 May 2020]

Video sources

Kind Hearts and Coronets, dir. by Robert Hamer (Ealing Studios, 1949) [on DVD]

Thomas Chippendale: a 1920s silent 'biopic' (Gaumont Ideal, c. 1925), online film recording, YouTube, uploaded 8 August 2018

<<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aQWuSQ073hk>> [accessed 22 February 2022]

The Ghost Goes West, dir. by René Clair (London Film Productions, 1935), online film recording, YouTube, uploaded 5 May 2021

<<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xBoIQgHQSeI>> [accessed 19 April 2022]

Appendix A: Houses occupied by or associated with the 6th Earl of Harewood

Information sourced from the Harewood archives at Harewood House, from published sources, and kindly provided by Rebecca Burton.

House	Location	Details
Harewood House	Hanover Square, London	Purchased by Edward Lascelles, 2nd Earl of Harewood, in 1795, from the Duke of Roxburghe (previously called Roxburghe House). Contents sold 1893, house put on the market by the 5th Earl in 1898. Possibly visited, but never occupied, by the 6th Earl.
13 Upper Belgrave Street	Westminster, London	Purchased by the Lascelles family by 1894, leased out by 1902, but used by them again by the First World War. Used by the 6th Earl when in London before 1919. Occupied by the Dowager (5th) Countess after 1929. Contents sold by Dowager Countess and the 6th Earl in 1942, house likely sold 1942 or 1943.
Portumna Castle	County Galway, Ireland	Inherited by the 6th Earl from the 2nd Marquess of Clanricarde in 1916. Never occupied by the 6th Earl, sold shortly after his death in 1947.
Chesterfield House	Mayfair, London	Purchased by the 6th Earl in 1918 for £140,000 from the Dowager Lady Burton. Occupied full time by the 6th Earl until 1922. Used as a London home until c. 1931. Vacated in 1932 (when remaining contents sold), sold in 1934 and subsequently demolished.
Goldsborough Hall	Knaresborough, Yorkshire	Lascelles family house, inherited by Edwin Lascelles from his brother Daniel in 1784. Used by the dowager or heir in waiting. Occupied by the 6th Earl and family 1922–1930. Inherited in 1929. Remained in the family until after the 6th Earl's death.
Egerton House	Newmarket, Suffolk	Stud and stables, purchased by the 6th Earl in 1925 and used during the racing season. Sold in 1943.
Harewood House	Leeds, Yorkshire	Lascelles family seat, occupied since 1771. Inherited by the 6th Earl in 1929, occupied full time until 6th Earl's death. Remains in the Lascelles family.
32 Green Street	Mayfair, London	Purchased by King George V and Queen Mary in 1931 for use by Princess Mary and her family when in London. 6th Earl paid fire insurance on the building, possibly not rent. Vacated c. 1939 at the start of WWII. Sold in 1946.

Appendix B: Paintings and drawings acquired by the 6th Earl of Harewood


This appendix describes all of the paintings and drawings known to have been acquired by the 6th Earl of Harewood, in three categories: British paintings and drawings, continental old master paintings, and continental old master drawings. In each category, works of art are listed chronologically by the date of their acquisition. Where this is not known, the latest possible acquisition date is given based upon their inclusion in either: the 1922 inventory of Chesterfield House (HHTD:2016.15); Tancred Borenius's *Catalogue of the Pictures and Drawings at Harewood House and Elsewhere in the Collection of the Earl of Harewood* (Oxford: Privately printed at the Oxford University Press, 1936); or the valuation for probate on the estate of the 6th Earl of Harewood compiled in 1947 (HHTD:2016.217–231).


Text in black here has been taken directly from Borenius's *Catalogue of the Pictures and Drawings at Harewood House*, and the catalogue numbers in the right-hand column refer to that publication. Text in red represents information not included in **that** catalogue, which has been compiled from various sources. Some of this has previously been published online by Philippa Plock through the Visual Arts Data Service, and by Nicholas Penny in his account of the 6th Earl's collecting in *National Gallery Catalogues: The Sixteenth Century: Italian Paintings: Volume II: Venice, 1540–1600* (London: National Gallery, 2008). Their accounts have been enhanced and updated through extensive fresh primary research in the 6th Earl of Harewood's archive, the wider Harewood House archive, the Tancred Borenius archive, material deposited with the West Yorkshire Archive Service, the National Gallery archive, and the Witt Library within the Courtauld Institute of Art. The stock books and wider archives of dealers Agnew's, Colnaghi, and Duveen have also been utilised, and catalogues of Christie's auction sales have been a fruitful source of provenance information.



Works of art acquired by gift are generally excluded from this appendix, apart from those given by Tancred Borenius, who had intimate knowledge of the 6th Earl's interests and desires. Works of art acquired by Princess Mary are also excluded, apart from the copies by David Teniers Jr. after paintings in the collection of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, since their acquisition was directly informed by the 6th Earl's interest in that series.



B.i. British paintings and drawings

Acquisition	Artist (latest attribution if changed in brackets)	Title	Ground	Size (HxW cm)	Provenance	Sold	Current location (and page reference in current thesis)	1936 Cat. No.
Purchased in October 1916 from Ernest Brown & Phillips, The Leicester Galleries, for £21	Christopher Richard Wynne Nevinson (1889–1946)	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin: 0 auto;"> This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons. </div> <i>A Strafe (View of a Battlefield)</i>	Canvas	40.8 x 50.7			Museum of Fine Arts, Ghent	385
Purchased in November 1916 from A. Baird Carter for £21 (fixed into game book by dealer)	Archibald Thorburn (1860–1935)	<i>Goosander</i>	Water-colour					
Purchased in November 1916 from A. Baird Carter for £21 (fixed into game book by dealer)	Archibald Thorburn (1860–1935)	<i>Red breasted Merganser</i>	Water-colour					
Purchased in November 1916 from A. Baird Carter for £21 (fixed into game book by dealer)	Archibald Thorburn (1860–1935)	<i>Scamp</i>	Water-colour					




Possible commission in 1917 by the 6th Earl of Harewood, though perhaps by the 5th Earl and Countess	John St Helier Lander (1868–1944)	 <p><i>Henry Viscount Lascelles</i></p>	oil on canvas	166 x 105.5			Harewood House, Leeds (p. 133, fn. 782)	
Purchased in February 1917 from A. Baird Carter for £21 (fixed into game book by dealer)	Archibald Thorburn (1860–1935)	<i>Brent geese</i>	Water-colour					
Purchased in February 1917 from A. Baird Carter for £21 (fixed into game book by dealer)	Archibald Thorburn (1860–1935)	<i>Barnack geese</i>	Water-colour					
Purchased on 6 December 1917 from Robinson & Fisher for £220.10, with Agnew's acting on commission (Additional £11.0.6)	Sir Thomas Lawrence, P.R.A. (1769–1830)	<div data-bbox="712 1077 981 1316" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> <p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.</p> </div> <p><i>William Huskisson (1770–1830)</i></p>	Canvas	81.2 x 64.8	From the Peel collection		Harewood House, Leeds	369


<p>Commissioned by the 6th Earl by 1918, while in France during the First World War</p>	<p>Henry Tonks (1862–1937)</p>	 <p><i>Hubert George de Burgh-Canning, second Marquess of Clanricarde (1832–1916)</i></p>	<p>pastel</p>	<p>50 x 36.2</p>			<p>Harewood House, Leeds</p>	<p>466</p>
<p>Purchased 11 January 1918 from The Chenil Gallery for £100 (sale agreed by 15 January 1917)</p>	<p>Augustus John, R.A. (1878–1961)</p>	<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.</p> <p><i>Woman with two children</i></p>	<p>canvas</p>	<p>22.8 x 17.7</p>			<p>Harewood House, Leeds</p>	<p>352</p>
<p>Purchased late May 1918 from Christie's sale of Bretby Park heirlooms for £300</p>	<p>various</p>	<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.</p> <p><i>The Chesterfield House series of portraits of literary celebrities</i></p>			<p>These 17 portraits were placed in the library at Chesterfield House by the 4th Earl of Chesterfield. They were removed in the nineteenth century to Bretby in Derbyshire.</p>	<p>Christie's, 29 June 1951, lots 33–49 sold as one to Robinson for £1155</p>	<p>University of London (pp. 68, 127)</p>	<p>497</p>


Purchased in 1919 from Lady Louisa Egerton	Thomas Girtin (1775–1802)	 <i>Harewood House</i>	Water- colour	64.4 x 98	Probably painted in 1798 for Edward, 'Beau', Viscount Lascelles, then sold Christie's 1 May 1858		Harewood House, Leeds (p. 95–96)	306
Acquired likely around 1919	Sir Leslie Ward (SPY) (1851–1922)	 <i>Hubert George de Burgh- Canning, second Marquess of Clanricarde (1832–1916)</i>	Canvas	48.2 x 35.5	Sketch for the commission		Harewood House, Leeds (pp. 57–59)	487



<p>Commissioned in 1919, for which £167 paid to the artist on 15 June that year</p>	<p>Sir Leslie Ward (SPY) (1851–1922)</p>	 <p><i>Hubert George de Burgh-Canning, second Marquess of Clanricarde (1832–1916)</i></p>	<p>Canvas</p>	<p>166 x 112.5</p>			<p>Harewood House, Leeds (pp. 57–59)</p>	<p>486</p>
<p>Purchased on 16 April 1920 from Agnew's for £105</p>	<p>John Opie, R.A. (1761–1907)</p>	 <p><i>Portrait of Dr Johnson</i></p>						
<p>Purchased on 6 July 1921 from Sotheby's, lot 175, for £50 with Agnew's acting on commission (additional £2.10)</p>	<p>J.M.W. Turner, R.A. (1775–1851), after J.R. Cozens</p>	<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.</p> <p><i>Rome from Monte Mario</i></p>	<p>pencil with indigo and Indian ink wash</p>	<p>41 x 53.5</p>	<p>From the collection of Lord Northwick, by descent to Edward George Spencer-Churchill, whose sale 5–6 July 1921.</p>		<p>Harewood House, Leeds</p>	<p>473</p>


Purchased on 6 July 1921 from Sotheby's, lot 176, for £50 with Agnew's acting on commission (additional £2.10)	J.M.W. Turner, R.A. (1775–1851), after J.R. Cozens	This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons. <i>A castle beside a stream</i>	pencil with indigo and ndian ink wash	37.5 x 46.4	From the collection of Lord Northwick, by descent to Edward George Spencer–Churchill, whose sale 5–6 July 1921.		Harewood House, Leeds	474
Purchased on 6 July 1921 from Sotheby's, lot 173, for £30 with Agnew's acting on commission (additional £1.10). Accompanied by an autographed letter from Ruskin to the sitter, dated 29 May 1867.	John Ruskin (1819–1900)	This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons. <i>Lily – the ethics of the dust (Portrait Study of Lily Armstrong, head and shoulders)</i>	Pencil and Water-colour	35.6 x 24.7	From the collection of Lord Northwick, by descent to Edward George Spencer–Churchill, whose sale 5–6 July 1921.	Christie's, 5 July 1985, lot 48		424
Purchased December 1921 from Agnew's for £180	Paul Sandby, R.A. (1730/1731–1809)	This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons. <i>A military camp in St James's Park during the Gordon Riots, 1780; (The Encampment of the Guards in St James' Park during the Gordon Riots)</i>	Water-colour	30.5 x 45.7		Christie's, 13 July 1965, lot 168	Probably the one in Yale Center for British Art, New Haven (p. 96)	432



Commissioned before 1923	John Singer Sargent, R.A. (1856–1925)	 <p><i>Henry George Charles Lascelles, Sixth Earl of Harewood, K.G., G.C.V.O., D.S.O.</i></p>	Charcoal 1	60.5 x 47			Harewood House, Leeds (p. 97)	436
Purchased on 8 May 1923 from Rogers, Chapman & Thomas, lot 153	J.M.W. Turner, R.A. (1775–1851)	 <p><i>Harewood Castle</i></p>	Water-colour	45.7 x 65	From the collection of Mrs Newall of London, since at least 1902		Harewood House, Leeds (pp. 95–96)	472
Purchased on 13 March 1924 from Goupil Gallery for £35	Augustus John, R.A. (1878–1961)	<p><i>Study of draped female figure</i></p>	Brush drawing in Indian ink	34.9 x 19				353
Purchased on 13 March 1924 from Goupil Gallery for £131.5	Philip Wilson Steer, O.M. (1860–1942)	 <p><i>The seagulls</i></p>	canvas	39 x 60			Harewood House, Leeds	455



<p>Purchased on 13 March 1924 from Goupil Gallery for £36.15</p>	<p>Philip Wilson Steer, O.M. (1860–1942)</p>	<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.</p>		<p>Water-colour</p>	<p>22.3 x 31.4</p>		<p>Christie's, 9 December 2012, lot 1226</p>		<p>456</p>
<p>Possibly commissioned, by 2 April 1924, when £450 paid to Salisbury</p>	<p>Frank O. Salisbury (1874–1962)</p>	 <p><i>H.R.H. The Princess Royal signing the Register in the vestry at Westminster Abbey, 28 February 1922</i></p>	<p>canvas</p>	<p>109.5 x 84</p>			<p>Harewood House, Leeds</p>	<p>425</p>	
<p>Purchased 17 April 1924 from The Cotswold Gallery for £35</p>	<p>Thomas Rowlandson (1756–1827)</p>	<p><i>George III in Windsor Great Park</i></p>	<p>Water-colour</p>	<p>17.8 x 25.6</p>		<p>Christie's, 13 December 2019, lot 105, possibly unsold</p>		<p>423</p>	

Commissioned in the mid-1920s	Alfred J. Munnings, R.A. (1878–1959)	 <i>The Bramham Moor Hounds at Weeton Whin</i>	Canvas	126 x 166		Christie's, 11 July 2019, lot 53	(p. 97)	382
Likely acquired or commissioned by 1925	Augustus William Enness (1876–1948)	<i>Rhododendrons; or Kew 1921</i>	Canvas	60.9 x 50.8				298
Purchased on 13 May 1925 from Sotheby's, lot 144	Jonathan Skelton (c. 1735–1759)	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.</div> <i>A monastery near Genzano</i>	Pen and Indian ink with wash	27.9 x 42.9	From the collection of Sir Henry Theobald, K.C.	Christie's, 9 July 1985, lot 49	(p. 93)	448
Purchased on 13 May 1925 from Sotheby's, lot 144	Jonathan Skelton (c. 1735–1759)	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.</div> <i>The Ponte Lucano and the Tomb of the Plautii</i>	Water-colour	25.7 x 36.2	From the collection of Sir Henry Theobald, K.C.	Christie's, 27 June 2012, lot 518	(p. 93)	449




Purchased on 13 May 1925 from Sotheby's, lot 144	Jonathan Skelton (c. 1735–1759)	<div data-bbox="712 260 1037 448" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> <p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.</p> </div> <p><i>The Temple of Minerva Medica, Rome</i></p>	Water-colour	14 x 30	From the collection of Sir Henry Theobald, K.C.	Christie's, 27 June 2012, lot 517, unsold or withdrawn	(p. 93)	450
Purchased on 26 May 1933 from The Sporting Gallery, Grafton Street for £10.10	Edward Brian Seago (1910–1974)	 <p><i>Morning Gallops</i></p>	Millboard	20 x 32			Harewood House, Leeds	441
Purchased in July 1925 from the estate of John Singer Sargent through F.W. Purchas, the Executor of the Estate, for £105. The work had been commissioned from Sargent and was accompanied by a letter from him to the 6th Earl of Harewood, dated 6 April 1925, and making an appointment for a sitting on 11 April.	John Singer Sargent, R.A. (1856–1925)	 <p><i>H.R.H. The Princess Royal</i></p>	Charcoal	62.5 x 46.5			Harewood House, Leeds (p. 97)	435



Purchased on 30 November 1925 from William F. Embleton for £40	Archibald Thorburn (1860–1935)	<i>Little owl and scops owl</i>	Water-colour	27.3 x 17.8				464
Purchased on 4 December 1925 from Christie's, lot 155	English School, 17th Century	<i>Judge Hutton (1561? –1639)</i>	Panel	54.6 x 41.6	From the collection of Sir R.G. Musgrove	Christie's, 29 June 1951, lot 32, to Evans for £29.8		268
Purchased on 2 March 1926 from Robert Langton Douglas for £1,200	John Singer Sargent, R.A. (1856–1925)		Canvas	70 x 54.5	Robert Langton Douglas had purchased the work directly from Sargent		Harewood House, Leeds	434

<p>Commissioned by 1927</p>	<p>Florence Enid Stoddard (1882– 1962)</p>	 <p><i>The Hon. Gerald Lascelles (born 21 August 1924)</i></p>	<p>Water- colour, circular</p>	<p>28 diameter</p>			<p>Harewood House, Leeds</p>	<p>457</p>
<p>Purchased 24 February 1927 from Ernest Brown & Phillips, Leicester Galleries for £105</p>	<p>Paul Sandby, R.A. (1730/1731–1809)</p>	<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.</p> <p><i>Windsor Castle: the Norman tower seen under an archway; or, North Tower, Windsor Castle</i></p>	<p>Water- colour</p>	<p>36.8 x 47.6</p>	<p>From the collection of the Duchess of Grafton</p>	<p>Christie's, 13 July 1965, lot 169</p>		<p>431</p>
<p>Purchased 2 March 1937 from Agnew's for £85</p>	<p>Thomas Girtin (1775–1802)</p>	 <p><i>Dover Harbour</i></p>	<p>Water- colour</p>	<p>28.5 x 25.5</p>	<p>Probably purchased by Edward 'Beau', Viscount Lascelles, and sold after his death in 1858</p>		<p>Harewood House, Leeds (pp. 95–96)</p>	


Probably purchased on 21 March 1927 from T. Palser & Sons for £450	Thomas Girtin (1775–1802)	 <p><i>Harewood House (A Distant View of Harewood House from the South-West)</i></p>	Water-colour	62.9 x 95.9	Likely commissioned by Beau Lascelles	Harewood House, Leeds (pp. 95–96)	307
Purchased on 11 June 1927 from Ernest Brown & Phillips, The Leicester Galleries, London, exh. No. 33, for £36.15	Ambrose McEvoy, A.R.A. (1878–1927)	<p><i>Interior of the Church of St John the Evangelist</i></p>	Water-colour	24.1 x 34.9			376
Purchased 13 December 1927 from Rowley Gallery for £36.15	Solomon Joseph Solomon, R.A. (1860–1927)	 <p><i>H.R.H. The Princess Royal as a girl</i></p>	Panel	30 x 38.5		Harewood House, Leeds	451




Purchased on 19 December 1927 from The Fine Art Society, exh. No. 50, for £14.14	Charles Simpson, R.A. (1885–1971)	<i>Whooper Swans at Harewood</i>	Water-colour					
Purchased on 19 December 1927 from The Fine Art Society, exh. No. 15, for £16.16	Charles Simpson, R.A. (1885–1971)	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> <p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.</p> </div> <i>Run towards the Punch Bowl</i>	Water-colour	36.8 x 52		Possibly sold, Duggleby Stephen son, York, 2020	(p. 93)	
Purchased on 19 December 1927 from The Fine Art Society, exh. No. 52, for £15.15	Charles Simpson, R.A. (1885–1971)	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> <p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.</p> </div> <i>Bramham Moor (Meet of the Bramham Moor, Bickerton Bar Feb. 27 1927)</i>	Water-colour	38.1 x 53.3		Possibly sold, Duggleby Stephen son, York, 2020		
Purchased on 19 December 1927 from The Fine Art Society, exh. No. 32, for £4.4	Possibly Charles Simpson, R.A. (1885–1971)	<i>Harewood</i>	Black and white drawing					



<p>Purchased 16 February 1928 from Sotheby's, lot 6, for £5 (group of two Malton watercolours)</p>	<p>Thomas Malton, Jr. (1748–1804)</p>	 <p><i>Harewood House (Harewood House from the South East)</i></p>	<p>Water-colour</p>	<p>33 x 47.5</p>		<p>Harewood House, Leeds (p. 95)</p>	<p>377</p>
<p>Purchased 16 February 1928 from Sotheby's, lot 6, for £5 (group of two Malton watercolours)</p>	<p>Thomas Malton, Jr. (1748–1804)</p>	 <p><i>Harewood House (Harewood House from the North)</i></p>	<p>Water-colour</p>	<p>33 x 48</p>		<p>Harewood House, Leeds (p. 95)</p>	<p>378</p>
<p>Possibly purchased on 22 February 1928 from Sotheby's, lot 32, by Tancred Borenius for the 6th Earl, for £3.10</p>	<p>Eden Upton Eddis (1812–1901)</p>	 <p><i>Henry Lascelles, Second Earl of Harewood (1767–1841)</i></p>	<p>Canvas</p>	<p>73.6 x 60.9</p>		<p>Harewood House, Leeds (p. 95)</p>	<p>258</p>




<p>Possibly purchased on 22 February 1928 from Sotheby's, lot 31, by Tancred Borenius for the 6th Earl, for £8</p>	<p>Eden Upton Eddis (1812–1901)</p>	 <p><i>Lady Harriet Lascelles, Countess of Sheffield (1802–1889)</i></p>	<p>Canvas</p>	<p>76.1 x 63.5</p>			<p>Harewood House, Leeds (p. 95)</p>	<p>259</p>
<p>Purchased 22 February 1928 from Sotheby's, lot 11 (two pictures by Richmond), by Tancred Borenius for the 6th Earl (commission added), for £6.10</p>	<p>George Richmond, R.A. (1809–1896)</p>	 <p><i>Lady Harriet Lascelles, Countess of Sheffield (1802–1889)</i></p>	<p>Black, red, and white chalk</p>	<p>19.5 x 15</p>			<p>Harewood House, Leeds (p. 95)</p>	<p>417</p>



<p>Purchased 22 February 1928 from Sotheby's, lot 11 (two pictures by Richmond), by Tancred Borenius for the 6th Earl (commission added), for £6.10</p>	<p>George Richmond, R.A. (1809–1896)</p>	 <p><i>George Holroyd, Second Earl of Sheffield (1802–1876)</i></p>	<p>Black, red, and white chalk</p>	<p>19.5 x 15</p>		<p>Harewood House, Leeds (p. 95)</p>	<p>418</p>
<p>Purchased on 8 May 1928 from Goupil Gallery, exh. No. 36, for £42</p>	<p>Lady Patricia Ramsay (1886–1974)</p>	 <p><i>Horse chestnut branch against a painting</i></p>	<p>Millboard</p>	<p>73.6 x 53.3</p>		<p>Harewood House, Leeds</p>	<p>405</p>
<p>Purchased on 8 May 1928 from Goupil Gallery, exh. No. 74, for £42</p>	<p>Lady Patricia Ramsay (1886–1974)</p>	 <p><i>Sea-fans, Bermuda</i></p>	<p>Millboard</p>	<p>54.6 x 53</p>		<p>Harewood House, Leeds</p>	<p>406</p>

<p>Purchased on 16 June 1928 from Lewis & Simmons for £225</p>	<p>Richard Cosway, R.A. (1742–1821)</p>	 <p><i>Jane, Lady Harewood</i></p>	<p>Miniature</p>	<p>9.2 x 7</p>	<p>From the Duke of Leinster collection</p>	<p>Harewood House, Leeds (p. 95)</p>	
<p>Commissioned c. 1927, paid £600 on 26 September 1928</p>	<p>Richard Jack, R.A. (1866–1952)</p>	 <p><i>The Library at Chesterfield House</i></p>	<p>Canvas</p>	<p>85 x 110</p>		<p>Harewood House, Leeds (p. 69)</p>	<p>342</p>
<p>Purchased 7 March 1930 from Christie's, lot 9, by Tancred Borenius for the 6th Earl, for 18 guineas</p>	<p>Sir Thomas Lawrence, P.R.A. (1769–1830)</p>	 <p><i>George Canning (1770–1827)</i></p>	<p>Black and white chalk</p>	<p>92.5 x 80</p>	<p>From the Lansdowne collection. Previously Thomas Lawrence; his sale, Christie's, 19 June 1830, lot 405 (30 gns to Woodburn)</p>	<p>Christie's, 13 December 2019, lot 113 (p. 95)</p>	<p>368</p>



<p>Commissioned in 1919, paid £845 on 22 June 1931</p>	<p>Alfred J. Munnings, R.A. (1878–1959)</p>	 <p><i>H.R.H. The Princess Royal on 'Portumna' and the Earl of Harewood, Master of the Bramham Moor Hunt, on 'Tommy'</i></p>	<p>Canvas</p>	<p>101 x 139</p>		<p>Harewood House, Leeds (p. 97)</p>	<p>381</p>
<p>Purchased on 13 June 1931 from Agnew's for £250</p>	<p>Thomas Girtin (1775–1802)</p>	 <p><i>York Minster</i></p>	<p>Water-colour</p>	<p>34.2 x 49</p>		<p>Harewood House, Leeds (pp. 95–96)</p>	<p>310</p>
<p>Commissioned in 1931, paid £26.50 on 3 May 1932</p>	<p>Edward Brian Seago (1910–1974)</p>	 <p><i>Alcester</i></p>	<p>Canvas</p>	<p>79.5 x 102</p>		<p>Harewood House, Leeds</p>	<p>440</p>

Purchased on 31 July 1934 from Sotheby's, lot 92	Frederick Yeates Hurlstone (1800–1869)	 <p><i>Rowley Lascelles (1771–1841)</i></p>	Canvas	111.7 x 86.3			Harewood House, Leeds	340
Purchased in January 1935 from the artist via the Leicester Galleries	Sir William Nicholson (1872–1949)	 <p><i>The Discreet Diner</i></p>	Panel	49 x 39			Harewood House, Leeds	387
Acquired by 1936	A. Wood (first half of the nineteenth century)	<i>Harewood House</i>	Water-colour	20.6 x 28.9				495




Acquired by 1936	Christopher Williams (1873–1934)	 <p><i>The Villa Medici, Fiesole</i></p>	Panel	46 x 55			Harewood House, Leeds	494
Acquired by 1936 from Miss Egerton, to whom it had been given by Lord Penrhyn	Eden Upton Eddis (1812–1901)	 <p><i>Lady Frances Hope (1804–1855)</i></p>	Canvas	76.2 x 63.5			Harewood House, Leeds (p. 95)	260
Acquired by 1936	English School, c. 1830	 <p><i>Leeds Town Hall</i></p>	Panel	29.2 x 42			Harewood House, Leeds	287




Acquired by 1936	Gainsborough Dupont (1754– 1797)	 <p><i>Henrietta, Countess of Harewood (1770–1846)</i></p>	Canvas	59.5 x 38.5			Harewood House, Leeds	256
Acquired by 1936, probably from Agnew's	Henry Edward Dawe (1790–1848)	 <p><i>Harewood House and St George's, Hanover Square, 1824</i></p>	Sepia wash	36 x 27.5			Harewood House, Leeds	254




Acquired by 1936	Hercules Brabazon Brabazon (1821–1906)	This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.		Water-colour	14.2 x 23.2		Christie's, 23 July 1985, lot 117		220
Acquired by 1936	Hercules Brabazon Brabazon (1821–1906), after J.M.W. Turner	This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.		Water-colour	30 x 27.3		Christie's, 9 July 1985, lot 189		221
Acquired by 1936	James Ward, R.A. (1769–1859)	This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.		Pen and sepia and sepia wash	11.5 x 30.5		Christie's, 9 July 1985, lot 52		485
Acquired by 1936	John Alexander Harrington Bird (1846–1936)			Water-colour	30.5 x 38.1				216
Acquired by 1936	John Frederick Herring, Sr. (1795–1865)			Canvas	120.7 x 144.8				325


Acquired by 1936	John Glover (1767–1859)	 <p><i>A Welsh mountain lake (A landscape, cattle watering in the foreground)</i></p>	Water-colour	37.1 x 52.7			Harewood House, Leeds	314
Acquired by 1936	John Singer Sargent, R.A. (1856–1925)	 <p><i>The hall of the Grand Council, Ducal Palace, Venice</i></p>	Canvas	51 x 70	Previously Mrs Robert Mathias (née Wertheimer)		Harewood House, Leeds (p, 115)	433
Acquired by 1936	John Singer Sargent, R.A. (1856–1925)	<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.</p>	Water-colour	52.4 x 34.3		Christie's, 6 December 1985, lot 196		437

Acquired by 1936	Mary E. Jellicoe (1827–1898)	<div data-bbox="712 194 1037 443" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> <p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.</p> </div> <p><i>Up under Severus, Rome</i></p>	Water-colour	50.8 x 35.9		Christie's, 9 December 2012, lot 1228		351
Acquired by 1936	Max Beerbohm (1872–1956)	<i>Arbitrium Olympi – the budget in the balance</i>	Water-colour	33.5 x 36		Possibly inherited by Jeremy Thorpe, M.P., through the 7th Earl of Harewood's first wife Marion Stein (later Thorpe). Sold at Christie's, 8 September 2015, lot 193		213

Acquired by 1936	Max Beerbohm (1872–1956)	<i>Mr Walter Long</i>	Water- colour	26.2 x 26.1		As above, lot 192		214
Acquired by 1936	Max Beerbohm (1872–1956)	<i>Mr Henry Chaplin</i>	Water- colour	39.4 x 29.2		As above, lot 196		215
Acquired by 1936	Philip Wilson Steer, O.M. (1860–1942)	 <i>Grimbald Crag</i>	Canvas	49 x 59			Harewood House, Leeds	454
Acquired by 1936	Sir Edwin Landseer, R.A. (1802–1873)	 <i>A deerhound</i>	Black chalk	36 x 46		Duggleb y Stephen son, York, 2020		358
Acquired by 1936	Sir John Lavery, R.A. (1856–1941)	 <i>The Bridal Procession of H.R.H. The Princess Royal and the Earl of Harewood</i>	Canvas	84 x 96			Harewood House, Leeds (p. 42)	364

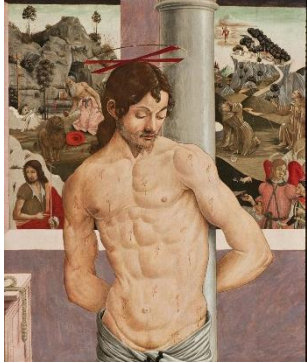
<p>Commissioned mid-1930s, completed in 1936. The second of two identical portraits commissioned by the 6th Earl from Nicholson. The first was made for Freemasonry Hall, London, also completed in 1936.</p>	<p>Sir William Nicholson (1872–1949)</p>	 <p><i>Henry George Charles Lascelles, Sixth Earl of Harewood, K.G., G.C.V.O., D.S.O.</i></p>	<p>Canvas</p>	<p>220 x 128</p>			<p>Harewood House, Leeds (p. 97)</p>	<p>386</p>
<p>Acquired by 1936. Label on reverse indicates it was once at the Cotswold Gallery, 59 Frith Street, Soho Square, London</p>	<p>Thomas Girtin (1775–1802)</p>	 <p><i>Bilton Bank, Knaresborough</i></p>	<p>Pencil</p>	<p>11 x 17</p>			<p>Harewood House, Leeds (pp. 95–96)</p>	<p>312</p>
<p>Acquired by 1936. Label on reverse indicates it was once at the Cotswold Gallery, 59 Frith Street, Soho Square, London</p>	<p>Thomas Girtin (1775–1802)</p>	 <p><i>Grimbold Bridge, Knaresborough</i></p>	<p>Pencil</p>	<p>11 x 17</p>			<p>Harewood House, Leeds (pp. 95–96)</p>	<p>313</p>



Acquired by 1936	Thomas Girtin (1775–1802)		Water-colour	16 x 23			Harewood House, Leeds (pp. 95–96)	311
Acquired by 1936	William H. Hopkins (1825–1892)	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.</div>	Oil on canvas	34 x 43.7		Christie's, 2012, lot 1236		327
Acquired by 1936	Winifred Austen (1876–1964)	<i>Innocents Abroad</i>	Water-colour	41.9 x 30.5				209
Purchased on 5 January 1938 from Frank T. Sabin (group of three watercolours by Buckler) for £4.4	John Chessell Buckler (1793–1894)		Water-colour	36.3 x 50.4			Harewood House, Leeds	
Purchased on 5 January 1938 from Frank T. Sabin (group of three watercolours by Buckler) for £4.4	John Chessell Buckler (1793–1894)		Water-colour	30 x 42			Harewood House, Leeds	



<p>Purchased on 5 January 1938 from Frank T. Sabin (group of three watercolours by Buckler) for £4.4</p>	<p>John Chessell Buckler (1793–1894)</p>	 <p><i>The Lodge, Harewood</i></p>	<p>Water-colour</p>	<p>36.2 x 50.4</p>			<p>Harewood House, Leeds</p>	
--	--	--	---------------------	--------------------	--	--	------------------------------	--



B.ii. Continental old master paintings



Acquisition	Artist (latest attribution in brackets)	Title (recent title)	Ground	Size (HxW inches)	Provenance	Sold	Current location (and page reference in current thesis)	1936 Cat. No.
Purchased in 1905 in Rome	French School, 18th century (Jan Peeter Verdussen (1700–1763))	<div data-bbox="719 512 1041 703" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.</div> <i>The Departure (A camp follower greeted at a military booth)</i>	Canvas	55.9 x 70.5		Christie's, 5 July 1985, lot 85	(p. 99)	93
Purchased in 1905 in Rome	French School, XVIII century (Jan Peeter Verdussen (1700–1763))	<div data-bbox="719 815 1041 1007" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;">This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.</div> <i>The Picnic (A riding party greeted at a picnic in the grounds of a villa)</i>	Canvas	55.9 x 70.5		Christie's, 5 July 1985, lot 85	(p. 99)	94




Purchased in 1906 in Rome	Jan Philip Spalthof, or Joannes Philippus Spalthoven (c. 1680–c. 1722)	This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons. <i>Scene in Italy (Peasants with market produce resting by a fountain)</i>	Canvas	52.1 x 70.5	Referenced as being acquired 'the previous year' in a letter from the 6th Earl to his mother on 21 May 1907. Christie's states this was previously owned by Lady Agnes Cooper, and sold by her at Christie's on 8 June 1905, lot 113.	Christie's, 2 July 1965, lot 108	(p. 99)	122
Purchased in 1906 in Rome	Jan Philip Spalthof, or Joannes Philippus Spalthoven (c. 1680–c. 1722)	<i>Scene in Italy (Peasants with produce and a sportsman near a statue in a landscape)</i>	Canvas	52.1 x 70.5	As above	Christie's, 2 July 1965, lot 108	(p. 99)	123
Purchased in 1907 in Italy for 80 francs	Ambrogio Borgognone (c. 1470s–1523/1524)	<i>Battle scene</i>				Before 1936	(p. 100)	
Purchased in 1907 in Italy for 20 francs		<i>Portrait of a man in a turban</i>				Before 1936	(pp. 100, 104)	
Purchased 1 March 1917 from Robert Langton Douglas for £924	School of Antonio del Pollaiuolo (1433–1498) (Florentine School, 13th–15th centuries)	 <i>Christ at the Column</i>	Panel	76 x 63	From the collection of Robert Browning. Possibly purchased by Mr Dowdeswell at the Browning sale, Sotheby's, 1 May 1913, lot 65; he received advice via telegram from Borenus. Attributed in 1917 as a work by 'Pollaiuolo and F. Botticini'.		Harewood House, Leeds (pp. 89, 100, 108, 127)	49



<p>Purchased 5 March 1917 from Colnaghi for £1000</p>	<p>Mariotto Albertinelli (1474–1515)</p>	 <p><i>Madonna and Child with the infant St John</i></p>	<p>Panel</p>	<p>63 x 46.5</p>	<p>Colnaghi had bought the piece from Kerr Koppel, Berlin, on 12 December 1912, possibly in a half share with Knoedler.</p>		<p>Harewood House, Leeds (pp. 127, 143)</p>	<p>3</p>
<p>Purchased 26 March 1917 from Arthur Ruck for £460 as 'Ferrara School picture'</p>	<p>Cristoforo Scacco (15th–16th centuries)</p>	 <p><i>St John the Baptist</i></p>	<p>Panel</p>	<p>158.8 x 66</p>	<p>Formerly in the collection of Count Augusto d'Ayionti of Naples.</p>	<p>Christie's, 2 July 1965, lot 106</p>	<p>Musée du Petit Palais, Avignon (pp. 127, 132, 140)</p>	<p>59</p>




<p>Purchased 4 April 1917 from James R. Saunders for £5000</p>	<p>Il Sodoma (1477–1549)</p>	 <p><i>St Jerome</i></p>	<p>Panel</p>	<p>131 x 104.5</p>	<p>Sold at Brett's, Hanover Square, 23 April 1847; Mr Abraham Darby by 1857. From the Wynn Ellis collection, possibly sold posthumously in 1876.</p>		<p>Harewood House, Leeds (pp. 108, 112, 127, 140)</p>	<p>64</p>
<p>Possibly purchased around 7 May 1917 from the 17th Century Gallery for c. £2500</p>	<p>Cola dell'Amatrice (1480–1547)</p>	 <p><i>Madonna and Child with Saints</i></p>	<p>Panel</p>	<p>Polyptych: 194.3 1 x 277.3. Central compartment: 111.1 3 x 61.6</p>	<p>Previously in the Dowdeswell sale, Christie's, 8 February 1916, lot 181. 6th Earl paid Tancred Borenius £120 as commission for a 'gilt [?fresco] of five panels, School of Crivelli' on 7 May 1917. The painting was informally valued by the 6th Earl at £2500 in an undated note. However, there is also an invoice from W. Lawson Peacock & Co to the 6th Earl, dated 10 August 1917, for 'A large altarpiece by Pietro Alamanno' for £1200; Alamanno trained with Crivelli, but no other altarpieces are known in the 6th Earl's collection.</p>	<p>Christie's, 29 June 1951</p>		<p>16</p>


<p>Purchased 18 August 1917 from Colnaghi for £12000</p>	<p>Sebastiano del Piombo (1485–1547)</p>	 <p><i>Portrait Group (Cardinal Bandinello Sauli, His Secretary, and Two Geographers)</i></p>	<p>Panel</p>	<p>121.8 x 150.4</p>	<p>Formerly Henry Labouchere, Lord Taunton. Colnaghi purchased the work, or possibly a half-share in it, from Robert Langton Douglas on 17 March 1916; Colnaghi had full ownership on 14 December 1916. Described by Colnaghi as <i>Amerigo Vespucci relating his adventures to Cardinal Giulio de Medici, afterwards Pope Clement VII</i></p>	<p>Via Alec Martin to the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, New York, 1949</p>	<p>National Gallery of Art, Washington (pp. 90, 150.</p>	<p>62</p>
<p>Purchased 24 September 1917 from Carfax Gallery for £10,000</p>	<p>El Greco (1541–1614)</p>	 <p><i>A Man, a Woman, and a Monkey (An Allegory)</i></p>	<p>Canvas</p>	<p>61 x 87</p>	<p>From the Bensusan collection; possibly Jacob Samuel Levy Bensusan (1846–1917). The purchase price was paid by Peake Bird Collins & Co., the solicitors' firm handling the 2nd Marquess of Clanricarde's estate.</p>		<p>Harewood House, Leeds (pp. 106–107, 127, 136–137)</p>	<p>85</p>
<p>Purchased 14 December 1917 from Christie's for £44.2, with Agnew's acting on commission (additional £2.4)</p>	<p>Juan de Valdés Leal (1622–1690)</p>	<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.</p> <p><i>The Assumption of the Virgin</i></p>	<p>Panel</p>	<p>38.7 x 25.4</p>	<p>Bought as a work by Alonzo Cano.</p>	<p>Christie's, 5 July 1985, lot 86</p>		<p>87</p>


<p>Purchased in 1917 (paid for 31 March 1919) from Colnaghi for £2000</p>	<p>Vincenzo Catena (1480–1531) (Alvise Vivarini (1446–1502) and Marco Basaiti (1470–1530))</p>	 <p><i>Madonna and Child with St John the Baptist and St Jerome</i></p>	<p>Panel</p>	<p>82.2 x 118.1</p>	<p>Previously in the collections of William Beckford, Fonthill Abbey; J. Stokes, around 1853; Lady Audley.</p>		<p>Harewood House, Leeds (p. 108, 137–139)</p>	<p>14</p>
<p>Purchased around 1917, possibly from Ayerst Hooker Buttery since it was in his studio undergoing treatment by 6 January 1917</p>	<p>Sebastiano del Piombo (1485–1547)</p>	 <p><i>A Roman Lady</i></p>	<p>Canvas</p>	<p>80 x 59.69</p>	<p>Previously in the collection of the Earl of Elgin, Broom Hall. Referenced in a letter from the 6th Earl to Borenius on 6 January 1917, purchased around that time. Described in 1920 as a <i>Portrait of a Lady as St Lucia</i></p>		<p>Harewood House, Leeds (pp. 127, 140)</p>	<p>63</p>
<p>Purchased in 1917 for £8</p>	<p>Bernardo Strozzi (1581–1644)</p>	<p><i>Life size figures seated at a table upon which one is writing</i></p>						



<p>Purchased 28 December 1917 from Durlacher Bros. for £220</p>	<p>Tintoretto (1518–1594)</p>	 <p><i>A Naval Scene (Venetian Galleys before a fortified city)</i></p>	<p>Canvas</p>	<p>38.1 x 246.4</p>	<p>From the collection of Sir Henry Hope Edwardes, Bart., Wootton Hall, Ashbourne, Derby (sold at Christie's, April 1901, No. 24, as Tintoretto, where stated as from the Cavendish–Bentinck collection. Attributed in 1918 to 'old Italian school of Tintoretto').</p>	<p>Christie's, 26 July 1968, lot 119</p>		<p>66</p>
<p>Purchased 25 January 1918 from Christie's for £17.17, with Agnew's acting on commission (additional £0.18)</p>	<p>School of Guido Reni (1575–1642)</p>	<p><i>St Mary Magdalen</i></p>	<p>Canvas</p>	<p>109 x 84.5</p>	<p>Previously in the collection of General Studd, whose sale held at Christie's, 25 January 1918.</p>	<p>Christie's, 29 June 1951, lot 83</p>		<p>51</p>
<p>Purchased around February 1918 from Robert Langton Douglas for £4000 or £4500</p>	<p>Giovanni Bellini (1430–1516)</p>	 <p><i>Madonna and Child with a Donor</i></p>	<p>Panel</p>	<p>183 x 69</p>	<p>In the collection of an English family by 1840. Previously owned by Langton Douglas, then Viscount Harcourt; perhaps re-acquired by Douglas before the 6th Earl's purchase, or the sale brokered directly by him.</p>		<p>Harewood House, Leeds (p. 138)</p>	<p>7</p>
<p>Purchased 2 February 1918 from Arthur Ruck for £1650</p>	<p>Francesco di Giorgio Martini (1439–1502)</p>	 <p><i>The Triumph of Julius Caesar</i></p>	<p>Panel</p>	<p>40.5 x 134.5</p>	<p>From the Somers collection at The Priory, Reigate.</p>		<p>Harewood House, Leeds</p>	<p>18</p>

<p>Purchased 6 February 1918 from Robert Langton Douglas for £50</p>	<p>Paolo Morando Cavazzola (1486–1522) (Dosso Dossi (c. 1489–1542) and Battista Dossi (1490–1548))</p>	 <p><i>Portrait of a Young Woman (Portrait of Lucrezia Borgia)</i></p>	<p>Panel, oval</p>	<p>74.5 x 57.2</p>	<p>Previously in possession of Mr. Farrer, picture-dealer; subsequently in collection of Thomas Woolner, sculptor; later in possession of Sir George Donaldson (at least 1911).</p>	<p>Christie's, 2 July 1965, lot 85. Bought by Colnaghi, from whom acquired by National Gallery of Victoria in 1965</p>	<p>National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne (pp. 127, 140)</p>	<p>42</p>
<p>Purchased 6 February 1918 from Robert Langton Douglas for £210</p>	<p>North Italian School, c. 1450</p>	 <p><i>St Martin and the Beggar</i></p>	<p>Panel</p>	<p>135.9 x 59.7</p>	<p>Bought as a work by Giovanni da Milano</p>	<p>Christie's, 29 June 1951, lot 76</p>		<p>45</p>


<p>Purchased 8 February 1918 from Christie's for £304.10, with Agnew's acting on commission (additional £15.4.6)</p>	<p>Annibale Carracci (1560–1609) (Bolognese school, 16th–17th century)</p>	 <p><i>Portrait of a Gentleman</i></p>	<p>Canvas</p>	<p>95 x 70</p>	<p>From the collection of Lady Beryl Gilbert, of Revesby Abbey, Boston, Lincs. (Christie's, 8 February 1918, lot 124, as A. Carracci, <i>Portrait of the Artist as a gardener</i>). Previously Sir Robert Gordon, Ambassador to the Court of Vienna, 1848.</p>		<p>Harewood House, Leeds (pp. 89)</p>	<p>13</p>
<p>Purchased 16 March 1918 from Agnew's for £4000</p>	<p>Cima da Conegliano (1460–1528)</p>	 <p><i>St Jerome</i></p>	<p>Panel</p>	<p>63.5 x 101</p>	<p>Previously Major Edward Kennard (since at least 1911). Purchased by Agnew's from Charles Fairfax Murray on 15 March 1918 for £3500.</p>		<p>Harewood House, Leeds (pp. 88, 108, 127)</p>	<p>15</p>
<p>Purchased 25 March 1918 from Ayerst Hooker Buttery for £630</p>	<p>Jusepe de Ribera (1591–1652)</p>	 <p><i>St John the Baptist</i></p>	<p>Canvas</p>	<p>146 x 103</p>	<p>From the collection of the Dowager Countess of Mexborough (Christie's, 14 December 1917, lot 88; as Murillo <i>St John with the Lamb</i>). Previously owned by Arthur Tooth.</p>		<p>Harewood House, Leeds</p>	<p>86</p>


<p>Purchased 6 May 1918 from Agnew's for £15,000</p>	<p>Titian (c. 1485/1490–1576)</p>	 <p><i>Francis I</i></p>	<p>Canvas</p>	<p>94 x 77.5</p>	<p>Previously in collection of Count Sebastian Giustiniani of Padua, and of Herr von Lenbach, the artist, of Munich. Purchased by Agnew's on 4 April 1911 from D. Heinemann</p>	<p>Harewood House, Leeds (pp. 110, 127, 138)</p>	<p>67</p>
<p>Purchased 1 May 1919 from Colnaghi for £4000</p>	<p>Piero di Cosimo (1462–1522) (Florentine, early 16th century)</p>	<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.</p> <p><i>Portrait of an Ecclesiastic</i></p>	<p>Panel</p>	<p>68.6 x 50.8</p>	<p>Formerly in collection of the Earl of Malmesbury (see catalogue of the sale, 1876, lot 23, attributed to Raphael). Subsequently C. Butler, and Robert Langton Douglas. Purchased from F.W. Lippermann by Colnaghi on 10 February 1913 for £2500. Attributed to Ghirlandaio by Colnaghi, reattributed by Borenus in 1936.</p>	<p>Christie's, 2 July 1965, lot 91</p> <p>Herbert F. Johnson Museum of Art, Cornell University, New York (pp. 88, 127)</p>	<p>48</p>
<p>Purchased 26 June 1919 from Arthur Ruck for £21,000</p>	<p>Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640)</p>	<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.</p> <p><i>Queen Thomyris with the Head of Cyrus</i></p>	<p>Canvas</p>	<p>205.1 x 361</p>	<p>Purchased by Queen Christina of Sweden while in Rome. Passed with her entire collection in Rome to the Duc d'Orléans. Bought by the Earl of Darnley on dispersal of the Orléans collection; from his collection to Ruck.</p>	<p>In 1941 to Robert Langton Douglas</p> <p>Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (pp. 41, 101–102, 134, 150)</p>	<p>117</p>


<p>Purchased 11 July 1919 from Colnaghi for £60,000</p>	<p>Titian (c. 1485/1490–1576)</p>	 <p><i>The Death of Actaeon</i></p>	<p>Canvas</p>	<p>178.8 x 197.8</p>	<p>From a series painted by Titian for Philip II, but apparently never delivered to Spain. Previously also in the collection of: Archduke Leopold William; Queen Christina of Sweden, then inherited by Cardinal Decio Azzolini and Marchese Pompeo Assolini; sold to Prince Livio Odesdcalchi, inherited by Prince Baldassare Odescalchi–Erba; bought by Philippe, Duc d'Orleans. Acquired by Sir Abraham Hume at the dispersal in England of the Orléans collection in 1798–9, Lord Alford before 1845, and subsequently inherited by the Earls Brownlow. Paid for by the 6th Earl in two instalments.</p>	<p>Christie's, 25 June 1971, to Julius Weitzner for £1,680,000. Acquired by the National Gallery through a public appeal in 1972.</p>	<p>National Gallery, London (pp. 102–103, 105–106, 127, 150–151, 153)</p>	<p>68</p>
---	-----------------------------------	---	---------------	------------------------------	--	---	---	-----------




<p>Purchased 20 December 1919 from Francis Howard for £1750</p>	<p>Paolo Veronese (1528–1588)</p>	 <p><i>Portrait of a Gentleman (Portrait of a Gentleman of the Soranzo Family)</i></p>	<p>Canvas</p>	<p>181.5 x 111</p>	<p>Formerly collection of Sir Charles Robinson, C.B., formerly H.M.'s Surveyor of Pictures. With Francis Howard by 1910.</p>	<p>Accepted by HM Government in lieu of Inheritance tax (under a hybrid part-purchase arrangement) and allocated to the National Gallery, 2022</p>	<p>National Gallery, London (p. 112, 115, 154)</p>	<p>73</p>
<p>Purchased 22 December 1919 from Colnaghi for £500</p>	<p>Jacopo Bassano (1510–1592)</p>	 <p><i>The Parable of the Sower</i></p>	<p>Canvas</p>	<p>139 x 129</p>	<p>Previously Sir Thomas Baring, by 1839. Subsequently William Coningham, and auctioned on two occasions, in 1849 and 1851. In the collection of the Earls of Northbrook from 1851 to 1919. Colnaghi purchased the work at Christie's, 12 December 1919, lot 110, for £420.</p>	<p>1934</p>	<p>Museo Nacional Thyssen–Bornemisza, Madrid (p. 101)</p>	




<p>Purchased 17 February 1919 from Arthur Ruck for £7000</p>	<p>Giovanni Bellini (1430–1516) (Lazzaro Bastiani (1429–1512))</p>	 <p><i>Madonna and Child</i></p>	<p>Panel</p>	<p>71 x 53</p>	<p>Previously owned by the Grandi Brothers, Milan, since at least 1915.</p>	<p>Christie's, 5 July 1985, lot 87; unsold.</p>	<p>Harewood House, Leeds (p. 138)</p>	<p>6</p>
<p>Purchased 24 June 1920 from Arthur Ruck for £2700</p>	<p>Lorenzo Lotto (1480–1556)</p>	 <p><i>Portrait of a Gentleman</i></p>	<p>Canvas</p>	<p>87.5 x 68</p>			<p>Harewood House, Leeds (p. 127)</p>	<p>41</p>

<p>Purchased by 1920, valued at £4000 in an inventory of that date</p>	<p>Paris Bordone (1500–1571)</p>	 <p><i>A warrior with his two pages</i></p>	<p>Canvas</p>	<p>116.8 x 157.5</p>	<p>From the Somers collection at Eastnor Castle. Previously in the collection of Signor Paolo del Sera of Venice, then to Prince Leopoldo dei Medici at Florence.</p>	<p>Christie's, 2 July 1965, lot 76. Purchased by Colnaghi; subsequently to Mr and Mrs Charles Wrightman, New York. Presented to the Metropolitan Museum 1973</p>	<p>Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (pp. 127, 151)</p>	<p>9</p>
<p>Purchased by 1920</p>	<p>School of Domenico Morone (c. 1442–1518)</p>	<p><i>A Siege (The Siege of a Town, with archers and horsemen outside the walls)</i></p>	<p>Panel</p>	<p>39.4 x 49.5</p>	<p>Valued at £100 in 1920 inventory of Chesterfield House.</p>	<p>Christie's, 2 July 1965, lot 100</p>	<p>(p. 127)</p>	<p>43</p>


<p>Purchased in 1920 or 1921 from Christie's</p>	<p>Joos van Cleve (1485–1541) (Workshop of Joos van Cleve)</p>	<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.</p>	<p>Panel</p>	<p>33.7 x 24.1</p>	<p>Bought as a work by Mabuse.</p>	<p>Christie's, 2 July 1965, lot 82; unsold. Christie's, 5 July 2019, lot 103</p>		<p>109</p>
<p>Purchased 21 April 1921 from Ayerst Hooker Buttery for £2500</p>	<p>Tintoretto (1518–1594)</p>	 <p><i>Benedetto Soranzo</i></p>	<p>Canvas</p>	<p>123 x 110</p>			<p>Harewood House, Leeds (pp. 112, 127, 132, 137–139)</p>	<p>65</p>
<p>Purchased 22 April 1921 from Arthur Ruck for £50 (along with Teniers' copy [possibly after Polidoro Veneziano], <i>The Madonna and Child</i>, and a book of engravings)</p>	<p>David Teniers, Jr. (1610–1690), after Titian</p>	<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.</p>						



Possibly purchased 22 April 1921 from Arthur Ruck for £50 (along with Teniers' copy after Titian, <i>The Holy Family</i> , and a book of engravings)	David Teniers, Jr. (1610–1690), after Polidoro Veneziano	This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.		15.9 x 22.2	Previously Duke of Marlborough, Blenheim sale, Christie's, 26 July 1886, lot 108		(p. 98)	125 (VI)
Purchased 19 July 1921 from Colnaghi for £938	Jusepe de Ribera (1591–1652)	 <p><i>The Holy Family with Sts Anne and Catherine of Alexandria</i></p>	Canvas	209.6 x 154.3	Colnaghi had bought it on 12 December 1919 from Christie's, lot 134, for £546. Possibly owned by Jean-Baptiste Pierre Le Brun until at least 1810, and later Thomas Baring, from whom by descent to 2nd Earl Northbrook, Stratton Park, who sold at Christie's 1919.	Via Seligman and Rey, 1934, to the Metropolitan Museum	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (p. 101)	



<p>Purchased 24 July 1921 from Henry Harris for £2500</p>	<p>Alessandro Longhi (1733–1813)</p>	 <p><i>The Procuratore Mocenigo</i></p>	<p>Canvas</p>	<p>227 x 158</p>	<p>Harris had purchased it from the Galleria Sangiorgi, Rome. Borenus received £100 commission for the sale.</p>		<p>Harewood House, Leeds (pp. 88, 127)</p>	<p>37</p>
<p>Purchased by 1922, possibly through Arthur Ruck</p>	<p>Bartolomeo di Giovanni (c. 1458–1501) (Master of Marradi (late 15th century))</p>	 <p><i>The Rape of the Sabines</i></p>	<p>Panel</p>	<p>43 x 172</p>	<p>From the collection of the Earl of Crawford. Arthur Ruck secured two full cassoni from this collection for the 6th Earl in 1918 for £7500, but the purchase of the panels is not documented.</p>		<p>Harewood House, Leeds (pp. 127–129)</p>	<p>4</p>
<p>Purchased by 1922, possibly through Arthur Ruck</p>	<p>Bartolomeo di Giovanni (c. 1458–1501) (Master of Marradi (late 15th century))</p>	 <p><i>The Reconciliation of the Romans and Sabines</i></p>	<p>Panel</p>	<p>43 x 172</p>	<p>From the collection of the Earl of Crawford. Arthur Ruck secured two full cassoni from this collection for the 6th Earl in 1918 for £7500, but the purchase of the panels is not documented.</p>		<p>Harewood House, Leeds (pp. 127–129)</p>	<p>5</p>



<p>Purchased 1 March 1923 from Arthur Ruck for £55 (along with Teniers' copy after Domenico Feti, <i>The Triumph of Galatea</i>)</p>	<p>David Teniers, Jr. (1610–1690), after Palma il Giovane</p>	 <p>[©KHM-Museumsverband] <i>Herodias</i></p>		<p>22.5 x 17</p>	<p>Previously Duke of Marlborough, Blenheim sale, Christie's, 26 July 1886, lot 176</p>	<p>By 1977</p>	<p>Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (p. 98)</p>	<p>125 (XXI)</p>
<p>Purchased 1 March 1923 from Arthur Ruck for £55 (along with Teniers' copy after Palma Giovani, <i>Herodias</i>)</p>	<p>David Teniers, Jr. (1610–1690), after Domenico Feti</p>	 <p>[©KHM-Museumsverband] <i>The Triumph of Galatea</i></p>		<p>21 x 31</p>	<p>Previously Duke of Marlborough, Blenheim sale, Christie's, 26 July 1886, lot 156</p>	<p>By 1981</p>	<p>Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (p. 98)</p>	<p>125 (XIV)</p>
<p>Probably purchased 9 March 1923 from Christie's</p>	<p>Giovanni Battista Moroni (1520–1578)</p>	 <p><i>St Jerome</i></p>	<p>Canvas</p>	<p>81 x 99</p>	<p>From the collection of the Moracchi family at Bergamo; then private collection at Brescia; subsequently Lord Wimborne, Canford Manor (no. 15 in privately printed catalogue of 1888)</p>	<p>Christie's, 4 July 2019; unsold.</p>	<p>Harewood House, Leeds (p. 108)</p>	<p>44</p>



Probably purchased 8 April 1925 from Christie's	North Italian School, 16th Century	<i>St Saturninus</i>	Canvas	87 x 49.5	Previously Lord St Audries	Christie's, 29 June 1951, lot 77; unsold. Christie's, 19 October 1951, lot 92; unsold.	46
Purchased by 1925	Umbro–Florentine School c. 1500 (manner of Bartolommeo di Giovanni (c. 1458–1501))	<i>St Stephen</i>	Panel	26.7 x 22.2	Acquired by the 6th Earl in London according to Borenius	Christie's, 1988, lot 206 with two others	70 C



<p>Purchased 10 May 1926 from Sotheby's</p>	<p>Antonio Vivarini (1415–1480)</p>	 <p><i>The Solitude of Mount Alvernia (A monk seated in a landscape)</i></p>	<p>Panel</p>	<p>90.2 x 35.6</p>	<p>From the collection of Lord Carmichael of Skirling, whose sale was held at Sotheby's, 10 May 1926; lot 492.</p>	<p>Christie's, 2 July 1965, lot 101</p>	<p>(pp. 88, 108, 127)</p>	<p>75</p>
---	---	--	--------------	------------------------	--	---	-------------------------------	-----------



<p>Purchased in 1927 from Baroness Christine Lutgendorff for £150</p>	<p>Ferdinand Freiherr von Lütgendorff (1785–1858)</p>	 <p><i>Edward, Viscount Lascelles (1796–1839)</i></p>	<p>Canvas</p>	<p>130.8 X 102.9</p>	<p>Acquisition arranged through direct correspondence, initial asking price was £1000</p>	<p>Christie's, 13 December 2019, lot 132; unsold. Did not return to Harewood House</p>		<p>204</p>
<p>Purchased in 1931 in Harrogate</p>	<p>Italian School, 18th Century (Carlo Carlone (1686–1775))</p>	 <p><i>Christ Crowned with Thorns</i></p>	<p>Canvas</p>	<p>60 x 41</p>	<p>Previously in the possession of Mr Hutton Croft, Yorkshire; possibly Bernard Thomas Hutton Croft.</p>		<p>Harewood House, Leeds</p>	<p>30</p>
<p>Purchased in 1931 in Harrogate</p>	<p>Italian School, 18th Century (Carlo Carlone (1686–1775))</p>	<p><i>The Childhood of Hercules</i></p>	<p>Canvas</p>	<p>42.9 x 45</p>	<p>Previously in the possession of Mr Hutton Croft, Yorkshire; possibly Bernard Thomas Hutton Croft.</p>	<p>Christie's, 2 July 1965, lot 84</p>		<p>31</p>



Purchased in 1931 in Harrogate	Sebastiano Ricci (1659–1734) (Carlo Carlone (1686–1775))	This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons. <i>The Martyrdom of St Peter</i>	Canvas	74.9 x 73.3	Previously in the possession of Mr Hutton Croft, Yorkshire; possibly Bernard Thomas Hutton Croft .	Christie's, 2 July 1965, lot 83	(p. 103)	52
Purchased in 1931 in Harrogate	Sebastiano Ricci (1659–1734) (Carlo Carlone (1686–1775))	 <i>Minerva in the Clouds</i>	Canvas	74 x 66.5	Previously in the possession of Mr Hutton Croft, Yorkshire; possibly Bernard Thomas Hutton Croft .		Harewood House, Leeds (p. 103)	53
Purchased in 1931 in Harrogate	Sebastiano Ricci (1659–1734) (Carlo Carlone (1686–1775))	 <i>An historical subject (A Victorious General and an Historical Subject)</i>	Canvas	63 x 64	Previously in the possession of Mr Hutton Croft, Yorkshire; possibly Bernard Thomas Hutton Croft .		Harewood House, Leeds (p. 103)	54
Purchased by 1936	Antonio Maria Vassallo (1620–1664)	<i>A Trial Scene</i>	Canvas	185.4 x 133.7				71



Acquired by 1936	David Teniers, Jr. (1610–1690)	 <p><i>The Mystic Marriage of St Catherine, after Veronese</i></p>	Panel	53.5 x 75.7	Previously owned by Sir Matthew White, 1st Viscount Ridley; by descent to 3rd Viscount Ridley.	Christie's, 5 July 1984, lot 84, unsold	Harewood House, Leeds	126
Acquired by 1936	David Teniers, Jr. (1610–1690)	 <p><i>Moses saved by Pharaoh's daughters</i></p>	Panel	18 x 25	Previously Duke of Marlborough, Blenheim sale, Christie's, 26 July 1886, lot 77		Harewood House, Leeds	127
Acquired by 1936. Possibly one of the paintings by David Teniers Jr. formerly in the Blenheim Palace collection acquired from Arthur Ruck on 23 May 1921 (two pictures) or 29 January 1923 (five pictures).	David Teniers, Jr. (1610–1690), after Antonella da Messina	<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.</p> <p><i>St Nicholas of Bari and a Female Saint</i></p>		22.2 x 8.6	Previously Duke of Marlborough, Blenheim sale, Christie's, 26 July 1886, lot 86	(p. 98)		125 (I)



<p>Acquired by 1936. Possibly one of the paintings by David Teniers Jr. formerly in the Blenheim Palace collection acquired from Arthur Ruck on 23 May 1921 (two pictures) or 29 January 1923 (five pictures).</p>	<p>David Teniers, Jr. (1610–1690), after School of Leonardo da Vinci (after Bernardo Luini)</p>	 <p><i>Herodias with the Head of St John</i></p>		<p>22.9 x 15.9</p>	<p>Previously Duke of Marlborough, Blenheim sale, Christie's, 26 July 1886, lot 91</p>		<p>(p. 98)</p>	<p>125 (II)</p>
<p>Acquired by 1936. Possibly one of the paintings by David Teniers Jr. formerly in the Blenheim Palace collection acquired from Arthur Ruck on 23 May 1921 (two pictures) or 29 January 1923 (five pictures).</p>	<p>David Teniers, Jr. (1610–1690), after Primaticcio</p>	 <p><i>Moses striking the Rock</i></p>		<p>22.5 x 16.2</p>	<p>Previously Duke of Marlborough, Blenheim sale, Christie's, 26 July 1886, lot 93</p>		<p>(p. 98)</p>	<p>125 (III)</p>




<p>Acquired by 1936. Possibly one of the paintings by David Teniers Jr. formerly in the Blenheim Palace collection acquired from Arthur Ruck on 23 May 1921 (two pictures) or 29 January 1923 (five pictures).</p>	<p>David Teniers, Jr. (1610–1690), after Annibale Carracci</p>	 <p>[Photo © The Courtauld] <i>Cupid subduing Pan</i></p>		<p>22.2 x 16.8</p>	<p>Previously Duke of Marlborough, Blenheim sale, Christie's, 26 July 1886, lot 115</p>	<p>To Count Seilern by 1978</p>	<p>The Courtauld Gallery, London (p. 98)</p>	<p>125 (IV)</p>
<p>Acquired by 1936. Possibly one of the paintings by David Teniers Jr. formerly in the Blenheim Palace collection acquired from Arthur Ruck on 23 May 1921 (two pictures) or 29 January 1923 (five pictures).</p>	<p>David Teniers, Jr. (1610–1690), after Titian</p>	 <p><i>St James the Elder</i></p>		<p>22.2 x 16.2</p>	<p>Previously Duke of Marlborough, Blenheim sale, Christie's, 26 July 1886, lot 95</p>		<p>(p. 98)</p>	<p>125 (IX)</p>



<p>Acquired by 1936. Possibly one of the paintings by David Teniers Jr. formerly in the Blenheim Palace collection acquired from Arthur Ruck on 23 May 1921 (two pictures) or 29 January 1923 (five pictures).</p>	<p>David Teniers, Jr. (1610–1690), after Polidoro Veneziano</p>	 <p><i>Holy Family</i></p>		<p>20.6 x 30.2</p>	<p>Previously Duke of Marlborough, Blenheim sale, Christie's, 26 July 1886, lot 106</p>		<p>(p. 98)</p>	<p>125 (V)</p>
<p>Acquired by 1936. Possibly one of the paintings by David Teniers Jr. formerly in the Blenheim Palace collection acquired from Arthur Ruck on 23 May 1921 (two pictures) or 29 January 1923 (five pictures).</p>	<p>David Teniers, Jr. (1610–1690), after Titian</p>	 <p><i>Aegina</i></p>		<p>20.6 x 27.9</p>	<p>Previously Duke of Marlborough, Blenheim sale, Christie's, 26 July 1886, lot 109</p>		<p>(p. 98)</p>	<p>125 (VII)</p>
<p>Acquired by 1936. Possibly one of the paintings by David Teniers Jr. formerly in the Blenheim Palace collection acquired from Arthur Ruck on 23 May 1921 (two pictures) or 29 January 1923 (five pictures).</p>	<p>David Teniers, Jr. (1610–1690), after Lorenzo Lotto</p>	<p><i>Portrait of a Gentleman holding a claw</i></p>	<p>Canvas stretched on wood</p>	<p>15.9 x 10.8</p>	<p>Previously Duke of Marlborough, Blenheim sale, Christie's, 26 July 1886, lot 119</p>		<p>(p. 98)</p>	<p>125 (VIII)</p>



<p>Acquired by 1936. Possibly one of the paintings by David Teniers Jr. formerly in the Blenheim Palace collection acquired from Arthur Ruck on 23 May 1921 (two pictures) or 29 January 1923 (five pictures).</p>	<p>David Teniers, Jr. (1610–1690), after Titian</p>	 <p>[Photo © The Courtauld] <i>Portrait of a man (called the Elector of Saxony)</i></p>		<p>22.6 x 17</p>	<p>Previously Duke of Marlborough, Blenheim sale, Christie's, 26 July 1886, lot 122</p>		<p>The Courtauld Gallery, London (p. 98)</p>	<p>125 (X)</p>
<p>Acquired by 1936</p>	<p>David Teniers, Jr. (1610–1690), after Tintoretto</p>	 <p><i>Niccolò de Ponte, Doge of Venice</i></p>		<p>22.2 x 16.8</p>			<p>(p. 98)</p>	<p>125 (XI)</p>



<p>Acquired by 1936. Possibly one of the paintings by David Teniers Jr. formerly in the Blenheim Palace collection acquired from Arthur Ruck on 23 May 1921 (two pictures) or 29 January 1923 (five pictures).</p>	<p>David Teniers, Jr. (1610–1690), after Tintoretto</p>	 <p><i>Portrait of a Lady</i></p>		<p>22.5 x 16.2</p>	<p>Previously Duke of Marlborough, Blenheim sale, Christie's, 26 July 1886, lot 127</p>		<p>(p. 98)</p>	<p>125 (XII)</p>
<p>Acquired by 1936. Possibly one of the paintings by David Teniers Jr. formerly in the Blenheim Palace collection acquired from Arthur Ruck on 23 May 1921 (two pictures) or 29 January 1923 (five pictures).</p>	<p>David Teniers, Jr. (1610–1690), after Pordenone</p>	 <p><i>Lazarus being carried out of the Tomb</i></p>		<p>35.6 x 48.9</p>	<p>Previously Duke of Marlborough, Blenheim sale, Christie's, 26 July 1886, lot 137</p>		<p>(p. 98)</p>	<p>125 (XIII)</p>



<p>Acquired by 1936. Possibly one of the paintings by David Teniers Jr. formerly in the Blenheim Palace collection acquired from Arthur Ruck on 23 May 1921 (two pictures) or 29 January 1923 (five pictures).</p>	<p>David Teniers, Jr. (1610–1690), after Andrea Schiavone</p>	 <p><i>The Infancy of Jupiter</i></p>		<p>22.2 x 16.5</p>	<p>Previously Duke of Marlborough, Blenheim sale, Christie's, 26 July 1886, lot 181</p>		<p>(p. 98)</p>	<p>125 (XIV)</p>
<p>Acquired by 1936</p>	<p>David Teniers, Jr. (1610–1690), after Palma Giovane</p>	 <p><i>St John the Baptist</i></p>		<p>25 x 15.8</p>			<p>(p. 98)</p>	<p>125 (XIX)</p>

<p>Acquired by 1936. Possibly one of the paintings by David Teniers Jr. formerly in the Blenheim Palace collection acquired from Arthur Ruck on 23 May 1921 (two pictures) or 29 January 1923 (five pictures).</p>	<p>David Teniers, Jr. (1610–1690), after Andrea Schiavone</p>	 <p><i>Allegorical Subject</i></p>		<p>16.5 x 22.9</p>	<p>Previously Duke of Marlborough, Blenheim sale, Christie's, 26 July 1886, lot 183</p>		<p>(p. 98)</p>	<p>125 (XV)</p>
<p>Acquired by 1936</p>	<p>David Teniers, Jr. (1610–1690), after Domenico Feti</p>	 <p><i>St Margaret</i></p>		<p>22.2 x 16.5</p>			<p>(p. 98)</p>	<p>125 (XV)</p>
<p>Acquired by 1936. Possibly one of the paintings by David Teniers Jr. formerly in the Blenheim Palace collection acquired from Arthur Ruck on 23 May 1921 (two pictures) or 29 January 1923 (five pictures).</p>	<p>David Teniers, Jr. (1610–1690), after Andrea Schiavone</p>	 <p><i>Allegorical Subject</i></p>		<p>16.5 x 22.9</p>	<p>Previously Duke of Marlborough, Blenheim sale, Christie's, 26 July 1886, lot 190</p>		<p>(p. 98)</p>	<p>125 (XVI))</p>

<p>Acquired by 1936. Possibly one of the paintings by David Teniers Jr. formerly in the Blenheim Palace collection acquired from Arthur Ruck on 23 May 1921 (two pictures) or 29 January 1923 (five pictures).</p>	<p>David Teniers, Jr. (1610–1690), after Padovanino Varotari</p>	 <p><i>Mater Dolorosa</i></p>		<p>11.1 x 16.5</p>	<p>Previously Duke of Marlborough, Blenheim sale, Christie's, 26 July 1886, lot 146</p>		<p>(p. 98)</p>	<p>125 (XVI)</p>
<p>Acquired by 1936</p>	<p>David Teniers, Jr. (1610–1690), after Francesco Bassano</p>	 <p>[©KHM-Museumsverband] <i>A Piping Boy</i></p>		<p>17 x 12.5</p>		<p>By 1977</p>	<p>Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (p. 98)</p>	<p>125 (XVI II)</p>

<p>Acquired by 1936. Possibly one of the paintings by David Teniers Jr. formerly in the Blenheim Palace collection acquired from Arthur Ruck on 23 May 1921 (two pictures) or 29 January 1923 (five pictures).</p>	<p>David Teniers, Jr. (1610–1690), after Palma Vecchio</p>	 <p><i>Portrait of a Woman</i></p>		<p>22.5 x 16.2</p>	<p>Previously Duke of Marlborough, Blenheim sale, Christie's, 26 July 1886, lot 163</p>		<p>(p. 98)</p>	<p>125 (XX)</p>
<p>Acquired by 1936. Possibly one of the paintings by David Teniers Jr. formerly in the Blenheim Palace collection acquired from Arthur Ruck on 23 May 1921 (two pictures) or 29 January 1923 (five pictures).</p>	<p>David Teniers, Jr. (1610–1690), after Palma Vecchio</p>	 <p><i>Sacra Conversazione</i></p>	<p>Canvas stretched on wood</p>	<p>21.3 x 30.5</p>	<p>Previously Duke of Marlborough, Blenheim sale, Christie's, 26 July 1886, lot 176</p>		<p>(p. 98)</p>	<p>125 (XXI II)</p>

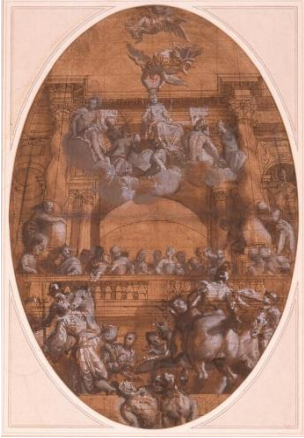
<p>Acquired by 1936. Possibly one of the paintings by David Teniers Jr. formerly in the Blenheim Palace collection acquired from Arthur Ruck on 23 May 1921 (two pictures) or 29 January 1923 (five pictures).</p>	<p>David Teniers, Jr. (1610–1690), after Jacopo Bassano</p>	 <p><i>Portrait of a Premonstratensian (White Augustinian Canon)</i></p>		<p>15.9 x 11.43</p>	<p>Previously Duke of Marlborough, Blenheim sale, Christie's, 26 July 1886, lot 147</p>		<p>(p. 98)</p>	<p>125 (XVI I)</p>
<p>Acquired between 1936 and 1947</p>	<p>Jan Wellens de Cock (c. 1480–1527)</p>	<p><i>St Jerome in Penitence</i></p>	<p>Panel</p>	<p>69.9 x 55.2</p>		<p>Christie's, 2 July 1965, lot 87</p>	<p>(p. 108)</p>	
<p>Acquired between 1936 and 1947</p>	<p>David Teniers, Jr. (1610–1690), after Palma Vecchio</p>	 <p><i>Portrait of a Lady</i></p>					<p>(p. 98)</p>	


<p>Purchased in 1937 by Princess Mary from W. E. Duits for £40</p>	<p>David Teniers, Jr. (1610–1690), after Palma Giovane</p>	 <p><i>St Peter</i></p>					<p>(p. 98)</p>	
<p>Purchased in 1937 by Princess Mary from W. E. Duits for £80</p>	<p>David Teniers, Jr. (1610–1690), after Titian</p>	 <p><i>Diana and Actaeon, also known as The Bridgewater Titian</i></p>					<p>(p. 98)</p>	

		This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.						
Purchased on 2 June 1938 by Tancred Borenius for the 6th Earl from Christie's for 10 guineas	Jan Philip Spalhof, or Joannes Philippus Spalthoven (c. 1680–c. 1722)	<i>An extensive wooded landscape with a herdsman and a peasant girl watering animals at a pool</i>	Canvas	91.5 x 114.3	Previously Charles Rowles, Stroud.	Christie's, 12 July 1985, lot 76	(p. 108)	
Purchased on 22 June 1938 by Princess Mary for the 6th Earl from W. E. Duits for £105 (along with Teniers' copy after Giorgione, <i>Christ in the House of Simon</i>)	David Teniers, Jr. (1610–1690), after Jacopo Bassano	<i>The Procession to Calvary</i>			Previously Augustus Roselt, of Alicante, and later William Cole Cole, of Exeter, 1835.		(p. 98)	
Purchased 22 June 1938 by Princess Mary for the 6th Earl from W. E. Duits for £105 (along with Teniers' copy after Jacopo Bassano, <i>The Procession to Calvary</i>)	David Teniers, Jr. (1610–1690), after Giorgione	This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.			Previously Augustus Roselt, of Alicante, and later William Cole Cole, of Exeter, 1835.		(p. 98)	
Purchased by Princess Mary on or shortly after 23 July 1938, Christie's (sale of Robert Nesham), lot 156	David Teniers, Jr. (1610–1690), after Dosso Dossi	This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.				Christie's, 10 March 1978, lot 27	(p. 98)	
		<i>St Jerome</i>						



Purchased 9 July 1945 from The Arcade Gallery for £25	David Teniers, Jr. (1610–1690), after Paris Bordone	Not given						(p. 98)	
---	---	-----------	--	--	--	--	--	---------	--


B.iii. Continental old master drawings


Acquisition	Artist (latest attribution in brackets)	Title (recent title)	Ground	Size (HxW inches)	Provenance	Sold	Current location (and page reference in current thesis)	1936 Cat. No.
Purchased 2 August 1917 from Agnew's for £1815	Paolo Veronese (1528–1588)	 <p><i>Venice Triumphant</i></p>	Pen and ink; brush and bistre and Chinese white	Oval, 54 x 36.2	Previously Sir Peter Lely, P.H. Lankrink, and the Earl of Pembroke. From the collection of the Earl of Pembroke, whose sale 10 July 1917, lot 438. The drawing sold for £1650 to Agnew's, with the 6th Earl (via Tancred Borenius) as underbidder at £1600. He purchased the drawing soon afterwards from Agnew's, giving them 10% profit.	2016, export ban placed until June 2016	(pp. 112, 114–115)	74


<p>Purchased 24 April 1918 from Sotheby's, lot 93, for £960, with Agnew's acting on commission (additional £48)</p>	<p>Bartolomeo Montagna (1459–1523)</p>	<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.</p>	<p><i>Study of a draped female figure (Standing figure of a woman)</i></p>	<p>Brush on blue paper, heightened with white</p>	<p>34.6 x 23.5</p>	<p>From the collection of Sir Edward J. Poynter Bt, whose sale at Sotheby's 24–25 April 1918. Previously William Major.</p>	<p>Christie's, 2 July 2019, lot 10</p>	<p>(p. 114)</p>	
<p>Purchased 24 April 1918 from Sotheby's, lot 34, for £42, with Agnew's acting on commission (additional £2.2)</p>	<p>Benvenuto Cellini (1500–1571)</p>	<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.</p>	<p><i>Design for a fountain (Design for a nautilus cup)</i></p>	<p>Pen and brown ink</p>	<p>17.5 x 14.9</p>	<p>From the collection of Sir Edward J. Poynter Bt. Previously William Major.</p>	<p>Christie's, 6 July 1965, lot 119</p>	<p>(p. 110)</p>	
<p>Purchased 24 April 1918 from Sotheby's, lot 133, for £34, with Agnew's acting on commission (additional £1.14)</p>	<p>Giovanni Antonio da Pordenone (c. 1484–1539)</p>		<p><i>Susannah and the Elders before Daniel</i></p>	<p>Bistre, pen and wash, heightened with white, on grey paper</p>	<p>38.9 x 55.6</p>	<p>From the collection of Sir Edward J. Poynter Bt, whose sale at Sotheby's 24–25 April 1918. Previously Paul Sandby, Sir Edward J. Poynter Bt, and possibly A.G.B. Russell</p>	<p>Christie's, 6 July 1965, lot 133</p>	<p>Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (p. 115, fn. 696)</p>	

<p>Purchased 24 April 1918 from Sotheby's, lot 52, for £40, with Agnew's acting on commission (additional £2)</p>	<p>Guercino (1591–1666)</p>	<div data-bbox="719 196 1025 387" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> <p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.</p> </div> <p><i>The infant Moses in the ark of bulrushes (The Christ child in a basket of straw)</i></p>	<p>Red chalk</p>	<p>19.4 x 28.6</p>	<p>From the collection of Sir Edward J. Poynter Bt, whose sale at Sotheby's 24–25 April 1918. Previously E. Bouverie.</p>	<p>Christie's, 6 July 1965, lot 115</p>	<p>(p. 115)</p>	
<p>Purchased 24 April 1918 from Sotheby's, lot 53, for £56, with Agnew's acting on commission (additional £2.16)</p>	<p>Guido Reni (1575–1642)</p>	<div data-bbox="719 504 1025 775" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> <p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.</p> </div> <p><i>A nude female figure holding a vase (Liberality; an allegorical female figure, full length, naked, holding a wand and a flat dish)</i></p>	<p>Red chalk</p>	<p>36.5 x 24.4</p>	<p>From the collection of Sir Edward J Poynter Bt, whose sale at Sotheby's 24–25 April 1918. Previously Ercole Lelli, Robert Udney; Thomas Banks.</p>	<p>Christie's, 6 July 1965, lot 136</p>	<p>(p. 112)</p>	

<p>Purchased 24 April 1918 from Sotheby's, lot 23, for £380, with Agnew's acting on commission (additional £19)</p>	<p>Vittore Carpaccio (1465–1525)</p>	 <p><i>A religious procession met by a group of ecclesiastics (Two groups of ecclesiastics, facing one another)</i></p>	<p>red chalk and pen and ink</p>	<p>21.4 x 27.8</p>	<p>From the collection of Sir Edward J. Poynter Bt, whose sale at Sotheby's 24–25 April 1918. Previously Thomas Hudson; Sir Joshua Reynolds; Thomas Banks.</p>	<p>Christie's, 6 July 1965, lot 118, subsequently to Captain Norman Colville, from whom to Fitzwilliam</p>	<p>The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (p. 114)</p>	
<p>Purchased 24 April 1918 from Sotheby's, lot 31, for £125, with Agnew's acting on commission (additional £6.5)</p>	<p>Lodovico Carracci (1555–1619) (Pietro da Cortona (1596–1669))</p>	 <p><i>Head and arms of a female figure holding out a vase (Woman holding up the papal tiara)</i></p>	<p>Black and red chalk</p>	<p>22 x 27.7</p>	<p>From the collection of Sir Edward J. Poynter Bt, whose sale at Sotheby's 24–25 April 1918. Previously Robert Udny; Thomas Banks; probably Lavinia Banks and Ambrose Poynter.</p>	<p>Christie's, 6 July 1965, lot 123, to Colnaghi, subsequently purchased by the Trustees of the Morgan Library</p>	<p>The Morgan Library & Museum, New York (p. 114)</p>	




<p>Purchased 25 April 1918 from Sotheby's, lot 180, for £26, with Agnew's acting on commission (additional £1.6)</p>	<p>Tintoretto (1518–1594)</p>	<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.</p>	<p><i>Studies from group of sculpture, recto and verso (Samson slaying the Philistine, recto and verso)</i></p>	<p>Black and white chalk on grey (or blue) paper</p>	<p>40 x 24.4</p>	<p>From the collection of Sir Edward J. Poynter Bt, whose sale at Sotheby's 24–25 April 1918. Previously B. Grahame.</p>	<p>Christie's, 12 December 2019, lot 112</p>	<p>(p. 112)</p>	
<p>Purchased 25 April 1918 from Sotheby's, lot 174, for £400, with Agnew's acting on commission (additional £20)</p>	<p>Luca Signorelli (1441–1523)</p>		<p><i>Studies from the nude (Four demons inspecting a book)</i></p>	<p>Charcoal</p>	<p>35.5 x 28.4</p>	<p>From the collection of Sir Edward J. Poynter Bt, whose sale at Sotheby's 24–25 April 1918. Previously Nathaniel Hone, Sir J. Reynolds, Thomas Banks.</p>	<p>Christie's, 6 July 1965, lot 141, to Colnaghi, subsequently purchased by the Trustees of the Morgan Library</p>	<p>The Morgan Library & Museum, New York (p. 114, 151)</p>	




Purchased 25 April 1918 from Sotheby's, lot 186, for £44, with Agnew's acting on commission (additional £2.4)	Titian (c. 1485/1490–1576)	This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.	<i>Back of a draped male figure (Kneeling figure seen from the back)</i>	Black chalk	25.1 x 18.1	From the collection of Sir Edward J. Poynter Bt, whose sale at Sotheby's 24–25 April 1918. Previously probably Nicholas Lanier, Thomas Banks, Mrs Lavinia Forster, Ambrose Poynter, E.J. Poynter.	2016, export ban placed until December 2016	(p. 112)	
Purchased 3 June 1919 from Carfax & Company for £150	Tintoretto (1518–1594) (Domenico Tintoretto (1560–1635))		<i>Drawing (The Mocking of Christ)</i>	Black chalk, brush and brown ink, grey and white oil paint, on blue paper	23.7 x 40.6		Christie's, 6 July 1965, lot 143	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (p. 112)	
Purchased 6 July 1921 from Sotheby's, lot 24, for £11.10, with Agnew's acting on commission (additional £0.11.6)	Alonso Cano (1601–1667)	This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.	<i>Angels stilling the winds</i>	Pen and sepia wash	27.3 x 21	From the collection of John, Lord Northwick, by descent to Edward George Spencer–Churchill, whose sale 5–6 July 1921.	Christie's, 6 July 1965, lot 117	(p. 111, fn. 670)	




<p>Purchased on 6 July 1921 from Sotheby's, lot 8, for £395, with Agnew's acting on commission (additional £19.15)</p>	<p>Benozzo Gozzoli (1420–1497)</p>	 <p>[© The Trustees of the British Museum] <i>Madonna and Angels (studies of angels (recto); Virgin and Child with angels (verso))</i></p>	<p>Pen and ink and brush on pink prepared surface, heightened with white</p>	<p>16.5 x 17.2</p>	<p>From the collection of John, Lord Northwick, by descent to Edward George Spencer–Churchill, whose sale 5–6 July 1921. Previously Jonathan Richardson Senior; John Rushout, 2nd Baron Northwick; thence by descent.</p>	<p>Accepted by H.M. Government in lieu of Inheritance tax and allocated to the British Museum, 2017</p>	<p>British Museum, London</p>	
<p>Purchased 6 July 1921 from Sotheby's, lot 16, for £13, with Agnew's acting on commission (additional £0.13)</p>	<p>Giovanni Antonio da Pordenone (c. 1484–1539)</p>	<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.</p> <p><i>Study of a child (A putto supporting an escutcheon)</i></p>	<p>Red chalk</p>	<p>24.8 x 16.2</p>	<p>From the collection of John, Lord Northwick, by descent to Edward George Spencer–Churchill, whose sale 5–6 July 1921. Previously Sir Peter Lely; Hon. John Spencer.</p>	<p>Christie's, 6 July 1965, lot 132</p>	<p>(p. 115, fn. 696)</p>	

<p>Purchased 6 July 1921 from Sotheby's, lot 22, for £21, with Agnew's acting on commission (additional £1.1)</p>	<p>Paolo Veronese (1528–1588)</p>	<div data-bbox="719 217 1003 488" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> <p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.</p> </div> <p><i>Camels' heads, people and hands</i></p>	<p>Pen and sepia</p>	<p>15.2 x 15.9</p>	<p>From the collection of John, Lord Northwick, by descent to Edward George Spencer–Churchill, whose sale 5–6 July 1921. Previously Jonathan Richardson; Thomas Hudson; Sir Joshua Reynolds</p>	<p>Christie's, 6 July 1965, lot 147, subsequently to Armide Oppe in 1965</p>	<p>Last known with Sotheby's, 5 July 2016, lot 12 (p. 114)</p>	
<p>Purchased 6 July 1921 from Sotheby's, lot 12, for £9.15, with Agnew's acting on commission (additional £0.9.9)</p>	<p>School of Giorgione (1477–1510) (Venetian School, early 16th century)</p>	<div data-bbox="719 574 1003 893" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> <p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.</p> </div> <p><i>Landscape study (A landscape with houses by a river, seen through trees and bushes in the foreground)</i></p>	<p>red chalk with wash</p>	<p>24.1 x 20.3</p>	<p>From the collection of John, Lord Northwick, by descent to Edward George Spencer–Churchill, whose sale 5–6 July 1921. Previously Sir Peter Lely; Jonathan Richardson</p>	<p>Christie's, 6 July 1965, lot 146</p>		

<p>Purchased 6 July 1921 from Sotheby's, lot 95, for £26, with Agnew's acting on commission (additional £1.6)</p>	<p>Rembrandt van Rijn (1606–1669)</p>	<div data-bbox="719 233 1003 501" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> <p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.</p> </div> <p><i>Studies of the Head of an Old Woman (recto); and A woman standing by a table (verso)</i></p>	<p>Pen and brown ink</p>	<p>10.1 x 8.9</p>	<p>From the collection of John, Lord Northwick, by descent to Edward George Spencer–Churchill, whose sale 5–6 July 1921.</p>	<p>Christie's, 6 July 1965, lot 134</p>		
<p>Purchased before 1925, likely included in the lot purchased 6 July 1921 from Sotheby's, lot 95, for £26, with Agnew's acting on commission (additional £1.6)</p>	<p>Rembrandt van Rijn (1606–1669)</p>	<div data-bbox="719 659 1003 927" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> <p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.</p> </div> <p><i>An actor declaiming</i></p>	<p>Pen and brown ink</p>	<p>10.1 x 8.6</p>	<p>From the collection of John, Lord Northwick, by descent to Edward George Spencer–Churchill, whose sale 5–6 July 1921.</p>	<p>Christie's, 6 July 1965, lot 135</p>	<p>(p. 111, fn. 670)</p>	
<p>Purchased 6 July 1921 from Sotheby's, lot 31, for £41, with Agnew's acting on commission (additional £2.1)</p>	<p>Claude Lorrain (1600–1682)</p>	<div data-bbox="719 971 1070 1240" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> <p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.</p> </div> <p><i>Sta Trinita dei Monti</i></p>	<p>Pen and sepia wash</p>	<p>19.1 x 24.8</p>	<p>From the collection of John, Lord Northwick, by descent to Edward George Spencer–Churchill, whose sale 5–6 July 1921.</p>	<p>Christie's, 5 July 2016, lot 45</p>	<p>(p. 111, fn. 670)</p>	

<p>Purchased 6 July 1921 from Sotheby's, lot 45, for £35, with Agnew's acting on commission (additional £1.15)</p>	<p>Charles de Wailly (1730–1798)</p>	 <p>[© Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal] <i>Piazza del Popolo, Rome</i></p>	<p>Pen and ink and watercolour</p>	<p>20.3 x 32.4</p>	<p>From the collection of John, Lord Northwick, by descent to Edward George Spencer–Churchill, whose sale 5–6 July 1921.</p>		<p>Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal</p>	
<p>Purchased 6 July 1921 from Sotheby's, lot 48, for £205, with Agnew's acting on commission (additional £10.5)</p>	<p>Jean–Antoine Watteau (1684–1721)</p>	 <p><i>Head of a boy with a plumed baretta (Head of a child in a feathered hat)</i></p>	<p>Black and red chalk heightened with white</p>	<p>12.9 x 10.5</p>	<p>From the collection of John, Lord Northwick, by descent to Edward George Spencer–Churchill, whose sale 5–6 July 1921.</p>	<p>Christie's, 5 July 2016, lot 46</p>	<p>(p. 111, fn. 670)</p>	
<p>Purchased 6 July 1921 from Sotheby's, lot 66, for £100, with Agnew's acting on commission (additional £5)</p>	<p>Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640) (Jan Cossiers (1600–1671))</p>	 <p><i>Head of a young man in profile</i></p>	<p>Black and red chalk heightened with white</p>	<p>18.5 x 17.6</p>	<p>From the collection of John, Lord Northwick, by descent to Edward George Spencer–Churchill, whose sale 5–6 July 1921. Previously John Richardson Snr.</p>	<p>Christie's, 5 July 2016, lot 38</p>	<p>(p. 111, fn. 670)</p>	


Presented in 1922 by Colnaghi on the occasion of the 6th Earl's marriage	Claude Lorrain (1600–1682)	 <p><i>Jacob and Laban</i></p>	Brush drawing in bistre over black chalk	20.1 x 30.2		Christie's, 25 June 1968, lot 74, to Robert M. Light, Boston, for Dorothy Braude Edinburgh. Given to the Art Institute, 1998	The Art Institute of Chicago, (p. 111, fn. 670)	90
Acquired before 1925	Claude Lorrain (1600–1682)	 <p><i>View of Tivoli</i></p>	Brush drawing in bistre over black chalk	21.3 x 31	Previously Dr Henry Wellesley (1866–1883), whose sale Christie's, 15 June 1883, lot 152	Christie's, 25 June 1968, lot 73	J. Paul Getty Museum, Miami, (p. 111, fn. 670)	89
Presented in 1933 as a Christmas gift by Tancred Borenius	Antonio Zucchi, A.R.A. (1726–1795)	 <p><i>Landscape with Ruins</i></p>	Pen and ink with wash	38.9 x 55.8			Harewood House, Leeds (p. 11)	83

Presented in 1933 as a Christmas gift by Tancred Borenius	Antonio Zucchi, A.R.A. (1726–1795)	 <p><i>Landscape with Ruins</i></p>	Pen and ink with wash	39.5 x 51			Harewood House, Leeds (p. 11)	84
Acquired by 1936	Claude Lorrain (1600–1682)	 <p><i>The Ponte Lucano near Tivoli with the Tomb of the Plautii</i></p>	Pen and ink with wash on blue paper	22.8 x 38.1	From the collection of Mr G. Bellingham Smith; previously owned by Joseph Farington, R.A.		Harewood House, Leeds (p. 111, fn. 670)	
Purchased, possibly on 10 July 1936 at Christie's, lot 76	Pietro da Cortona (1596–1669)	 <p><i>A girl crowning a boy with a chaplet of flowers, with subsidiary studies of the heads (Study for two figures from the Age of Gold)</i></p>	Black chalk	32.3 x 24.7	From the collection of Henry Oppenheimer, whose sale at Christie's 10–14 July 1936. Previously Sir Joshua Reynolds, Thomas Lawrence, William Mayor, and J.P. Heseltine.	Christie's, 6 July 1965, lot 124	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (p. 151)	

<p>Purchased, possibly on 13 July 1936 at Christie's, lot 177</p>	<p>Il Sodoma (1477–1549) (Follower of Il Sodoma)</p>	<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.</p> <p><i>A group of standing women, one holding a child</i></p>	<p>Black chalk, pen and brown ink, brown wash, touches of white heightening, touches of green and blue watercolour</p>	<p>37.4 x 21.5</p>	<p>From the collection of Henry Oppenheimer, whose sale at Christie's 10–14 July 1936. Previously Philip Herbert, 4th Earl of Pembroke and 1st Earl of Montgomery, or Thomas Herbert, 8th Earl of Pembroke and 5th Earl of Montgomery, Wilton House, and by descent; sold at Sotheby's, London, 5–6 and 9–10 July 1917, lot 345</p>	<p>Christie's, 13 December 2019, lot 111</p>	<p>(p. 112)</p>	
<p>Purchased 4 May 1938 at Sotheby's, lot 107, for £85, to Borenius for the 6th Earl</p>	<p>Giovanni Battista Tiepolo (1696–1770)</p>	<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.</p> <p><i>Study for a self portrait (Head of the artist, bust-length, in a cap, looking towards the right)</i></p>	<p>Black chalk touched with white on grey paper</p>	<p>27.7 x 19.1</p>	<p>Previously Giovanni Domenico Bossi, by descent to Maria Theresa Karoline Bossi. Karl Christian Friedrich Beyerlen; H.G. Gutekunst, Stuttgart, whose sale 27–28 March 1882. E. Sack.</p>	<p>Christie's, 5 July 2016, lot 26</p>	<p>(p. 115)</p>	

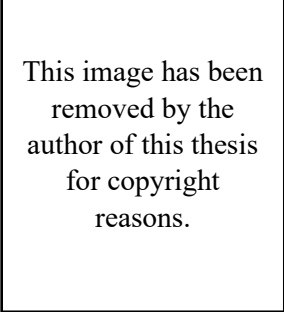
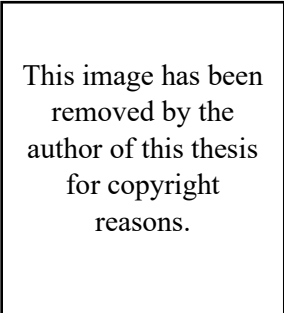
Purchased 4 May 1938 at Sotheby's, lot 111, to Borenius for the 6th Earl	Giovanni Battista Tiepolo (1696–1770)	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> <p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.</p> </div> <p><i>Study of a woman's head looking upwards (Head of a boy in a cap looking up to the left)</i></p>	Red chalk touched with white on blue paper	24.9 x 20.2	Previously Giovanni Domenico Bossi, by descent to Maria Theresa Karoline Bossi. Karl Christian Friedrich Beyerlen; H.G. Gutekunst, Stuttgart, whose sale 27–28 March 1882. E. Sack.	Christie's, 5 July 2016, lot 25	(p. 115)	
Purchased 16 October 1946 at Sotheby's	Perino del Vaga (1501–1547)	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> <p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.</p> </div> <p><i>Centaur and Lapiths</i></p>	Black chalk, pen and brown ink	19.9 x 36.2		Christie's, 6 July 1965, lot 144		
Acquired by 1947	Benedetto Diana (1460–1525)	<i>Altarpiece (A Study for an Altarpiece with St James the Greater in the centre with kneeling donors, the Angel of the Annunciation and a Bishop on one side and the Virgin and a Saint on the other)</i>	Pen and brown ink with brown wash	34.9 x 22.9		Christie's, 6 July 1965, lot 125		

Acquired by 1947	Domenico Tintoretto (1560–1635)	<i>The Entombment</i>	Brown chalk touched with an oil wash		Previously in the collection of R. Houlditch	Possibly the sheet, or linked to the sheet, sold at Christie's, 7 December 2005, lot 308		
Acquired by 1947	Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720–1778) (Francesco Piranesi (c. 1758–1810))	<i>An Italian River Scene with bridge and buildings (A town gate and bridge with ruins)</i>	Pen and bistre	12.1 x 18.4		Christie's, 6 July 1965, lot 131		
Acquired by 1947	Giovanni Battista Tiepolo (1696–1770)	<div data-bbox="719 826 1003 1209" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> <p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.</p> </div> <i>A study for the figure of Neptune</i>	Pen and bistre	29.8 x 20	Previously in the collection of Ludwig Zatzka (b.1857) of Vienna	Christie's, 6 July 1965, lot 142	(p. 115)	

Acquired by 1947	Guercino (1591–1666)	<div data-bbox="719 193 1032 405" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> <p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.</p> </div> <p><i>A study for the Scourging of Christ or Betrayal of Christ</i></p>	Pen, bistre and wash	22.2 x 26.7	Previously in the collection of Sir Edward J. Poynter	Christie's, 6 July 1965, lot 116	(p. 115)
Acquired by 1947	Giulio Romano (1499–1546)	<i>A Study for a lunette with a male figure taking an ewer from an eagle and a dragon on each side (Psyche Dipping her pitcher in the water of the River Styx)</i>	Bistre wash touched with white on grey paper	20.6 x 36.8	Previously William Mayor; J. Macgowan of Edinburgh; J.P. Heseltine.	Christie's, 6 July 1965, lot 138	(p. 115, fn. 696)
Acquired by 1947	Giulio Romano (1499–1546)	 <p><i>St Andrew on a cloud with three angels (Apparition of St Andrew in Glory)</i></p>	Pen, bistre and wash touched with white on grey paper	18.6 x 26.7	Previously Sir John Charles Robinson	Christie's, 6 July 1965, lot 137	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (p. 115, fn. 696)

Acquired by 1947	Giulio Romano (1499–1546)	<div data-bbox="719 288 1012 560" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> <p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.</p> </div> <p data-bbox="719 568 1088 783"><i>Study for a Procession of Horsemen (A Roman Officer with mounted musicians, a study for a frieze in the Sala degli Stucchi, Palazzo Te, Mantua)</i></p>	Pen and brown ink, brown wash	24.1 x 26.7	Previously Nathaniel Hone, Comte Moritz von Fries, and probably T. Thane	Christie's, 6 July 1965, lot 139, withdrawn. Christie's, 5 December 2012, lot 511, unsold. Christie's, 5 July 2016, lot 4.	(p. 115, fn. 696)	
Acquired by 1947	Palma Giovane (1544–1628)	<div data-bbox="719 791 1057 994" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> <p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.</p> </div> <p data-bbox="719 1002 936 1032"><i>Venus and cupid</i></p>	Pen and bistre	17.8 x 25.4		Christie's, 6 July 1965, lot 129	(p. 115, fn. 696)	

Acquired by 1947	Palma Giovane (1544–1628)	This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.	<i>Adam and Eve (A male and female figure in a landscape)</i>	Pen and bistre	23.2 x 20.3		Christie's, 6 July 1965, lot 127	(p. 115, fn. 696)	
Acquired by 1947	Palma Giovane (1544–1628)	This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.	<i>St Jerome reading in a landscape, 1615</i>	Pen, bistre and wash touched with white	38. x 26.7		Christie's, 6 July 1965, lot 128	(p. 115, fn. 696)	
Acquired by 1947	Pietro da Cortona (1596–1669)	This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.	<i>A Study for a Triumph of the Church (The Vision of St John the Evangelist)</i>	Charcoal, pen and p bistre and grey and white wash	45.7 x 35.8		Christie's, 6 July 1965, lot 122		

Acquired by 1947	Pietro Vallati (19th century)	<i>Seven dogs attacking a boar (Hounds pulling down a boar)</i>	Monochrome oil wash on fawn coloured prepared paper	27.9 x 43.2		Christie's, 6 July 1965, lot 145		
Acquired by 1947	Salvator Rosa (1615–1673)	 <i>Alexander the Great (Alexander the Great and Apelles)</i>	Engraving			Christie's, 6 July 1965, lot 140, drawing and engraving together	(p. 115)	
Acquired by 1947	Salvator Rosa (1615–1673)	 <i>Alexander the Great</i>	Pen, bistre and wash	43.8 x 27.3	Possibly from the de Clementi collection of Florence. A preparatory drawing for the print, reversed and scored for transfer, is in the Gabinetto nazionale delle Stampe, Rome (F.N.125794). This drawing may be a copy of the Rome sheet.	Christie's, 6 July 1965, lot 140, drawing and engraving together	(p. 115)	

Acquired by 1947	Santo Peranda (1566–1638)	<i>Two men (Two studies for St Mary Magdalene in the Wilderness)</i>	Pen, bistre and wash on brown paper	31.8 x 20.3		Christie' s, 6 July 1965, lot 130		
------------------	------------------------------	--	--	----------------	--	--	--	--