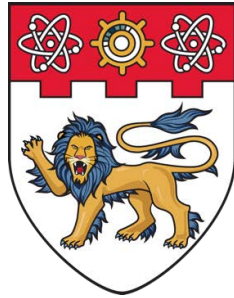


**“A Talented and Decorative Group”:
A Re-examination of London’s Women Artists,
c. 1900-1914**



**NANYANG
TECHNOLOGICAL
UNIVERSITY**

SINGAPORE

Mengting Yu

School of Art, Design & Media
Nanyang Technological University

Michael J. K. Walsh

Associate Professor
School of Art, Design & Media
Nanyang Technological University
Supervisor

A dissertation submitted to the School of Art, Design, and Media
in conformity with requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Nanyang Technological University
Singapore, July 2017

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Acknowledgments

I would like to thank all those individuals who have contributed to the development of this research. In particular, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor, Professor Michael J. K. Walsh, for his initial interest, consistent support and profound knowledge, and for his suggesting numerous improvements to my investigative process. His patience, enthusiasm, commitment and availability, both during and after office hours, have had a significant impact on my research and on me. His advice and encouragement to bring my previous practical artistic experience into the realm of academic studies have led me to perceive art and art history from a very different perspective. With his insightful guidance, I successfully received Research Support Grants from the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art on two occasions in support of my trips to London in April 2015 and December 2016, as well as a dissertation fellowship from the Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin to visit its collections of manuscripts, original paintings and drawings, letters and correspondence, newspapers and journals.

I am truly grateful for the Research Support Grants and must extend my warm thanks to Ms. Mary Smith of the Paul Mellon Centre, who guided me throughout my grant application process. I must acknowledge also the generous assistance I received from UCL (University College London), the Tate Britain, the National Art Library at the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the Women's Art Library at Goldsmiths, University of London, during my trip to the British capital. Special mention must go to Dan Mitchell at the UCL Special Collections, George Richards and Helen Downes at the UCL Art Museum, Robert Winckworth at the UCL Record Offices, and Althea Greenan at the Women's Art Library. George Richards took me to the storage room to visit the Slade women students' collection in person, and Dan Mitchell assisted me throughout my research process for the UCL Special Collection. Finally, I would also like to extend a special thanks to Bridget Gayle Ground in Fellowships and Programs at the Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin, for helping me access the archives, magazines, newspapers and correspondence housed at the center and share research progress with other visiting scholars under the same program. Each and every one was generous, encouraging and supportive of my research project.

I am indebted to many other people who helped broaden and deepen the scope of this work. For their thought-provoking questions, critiques and constructive feedback on my qualifying examination, special mention must go to Professors Dominika Buchowska and Sujatha Arundathi Meegama. I am also deeply thankful to School of Art, Design and Media (ADM) librarian Phoebe Lim Choon Lan, who shared with me both her time and knowledge in database research and archival hunting.

In addition, I would like to extend my sincere thanks to the ADM administrative staff and Hong Bee Kuen for her skills in organizing, communicating and administrating. Special thanks to my office mates in the PhD lab for being so inspiring, warm and supportive. Finally, I would like to thank my husband and my parents for their unconditional love and support.

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Abstract

Alicia Foster's article "Gwen John's Self-Portrait: Art, Identity and Women Students at the Slade School," published in 2000, used the expression "a talented and decorative group" to describe common attitudes towards women artists in late nineteenth and early twentieth century London. The pejorative attribution implied strongly a status less significant to that of their male counterparts and it is this widely held view which I challenge in this dissertation. To do so I have examined women's art education in particular at the Slade School of Fine Art, and the role of its graduates within a selection of London's exhibition groups, societies and publications. This dissertation also reconstructs the role of the Women's International Art Club (WIAC), hitherto entirely overlooked in art historical study of the era, and it is the arrival of this organization in London in 1900 that sets the first of my chronological parameters. The closing date of 1914 was chosen as it marks the broad cultural rupture associated with the outbreak of the Great War. This dissertation demonstrates that women artists inhabited, and contributed to, the capital's vibrant art scene, and that they were influential, high-profile, and widely critiqued in the opening decades of the twentieth century. This study, therefore recalibrates our understanding of the role, output and reception of women artists in London between 1900-1914.

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Abbreviations

AAA	Allied Artists' Association
NEAC	New English Art Club
NUWSS	National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies
RA	Royal Academy of Art
TGA	Tate Gallery Archives
UCL	University College London
WAL	Women's Art Library, Goldsmiths, University of London
WIAC	Women's International Art Club

Chapter 1

Introduction

Many of the painters who dominate the history of British art at the beginning of the twentieth century studied under Frederick Brown (1851-1941) during his professorship at the Slade School of Fine Art,¹ London (1893-1915). After graduation they had gone on to take leading roles in the capital's leading exhibition groups such as the: New English Art Club (NEAC), Camden Town Group, Allied Artists' Association (AAA), London Group, Vorticist Group, Bloomsbury Group and others. Indeed, *The Times* art critic Frank Rutter (1836-1937) observed that the Slade had effectively eclipsed the reputation and influence of the Royal Academy of Arts by this time, and this is a notion borne out in much subsequent research by art historians such as Charles Harrison, Richard Cork, William C. Wees, Paul Edwards, Mark Antliff, Michael J. K. Walsh, Jonathan Black, Frances Spalding, Richard Shone, Lisa Tickner, Grace Brockington, Kenneth McConkey, Sarah MacDougall, and David Peters Corbett.²

¹ Before the foundation of the Slade School of Fine Art in 1871, Royal Academy of Arts (RA) was the only professional institution in London that offered fine art education. There were also the Royal Scottish Academy in Edinburgh and Royal Hibernian Academy in Dublin which offered fine-art education in Britain before the Slade, but all of them either prohibited or did not welcome women students. In late 1850s, there was increasing pressure on RA to open the educational opportunities to women on an equal basis with men, after the campaign was partially successful, women students were accepted to RA on conditional term in 1861. Alternative options for women who wanted to study art were schools that only offered applied-art training, such as the Government School of Design (renamed The National Art Training School in 1860s and Royal College of Art in 1890s, also known as South Kensington Schools).

² David Boyd Haycock, *The Crisis of Brilliance: Five Young British Artists and the Great War* (London: Old Street Publishing, 2009), 2. See also Katy Deepwell, "Training and Professionalism: 19th and 20th Centuries." In *Dictionary of Women Artists*, vol. edited by Delia Gaze. (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1997), 82-83.

Charles Harrison, *English Art and Modernism* (The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1981). Richard Cork, *Vorticism and Abstract Art in the First Machine Age*, vol. 1 (London: Gordon Fraser, 1975); *Art Beyond the Gallery in Early 20th Century England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985); *A Bitter Truth: Avant-Garde Art and the Great War* (New Haven, CT : Yale University Press and Barbican Art Gallery, 1994). Arts Council of Great Britain, ed., "Vorticism and Its Allies," (London: Hayward Gallery, 1974). William C. Wees, *Vorticism and London Avant-Garde* (Toronto, Ont.: University of Toronto Press, 1972). Paul Edwards, *Blast: Vorticism 1914-1918* (Farnham, UK:

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Rigorous studies exist on many male artists who studied at the Slade such as Augustus John, Harold Gilman, Spencer Gore, Ben Nicolson, Wyndham Lewis, Mark Gertler, Edward Wadsworth, Duncan Grant, David Bomberg, Paul Nash, Stanley Spencer, William Roberts and C. R. W. Nevinson. A few others address the work of some key female artists such as Vanessa Bell, Gwen John, and Barbara Hepworth. Yet, the role of the Slade's many other women artists, who participated in these exhibition groups and artistic circles in London in 1900-1914, while acknowledged, had never been systematically explored within a coherent academic study. Worse, their contribution has been trivialized as merely the output of "a talented and decorative group".³ Because of this in 2015 Katy Deepwell suggested a future direction in art historical writing, whereby

it is necessary to move away from seeing these women in a "state of exception" and think about their presence as a regular and normal part of the Edwardian art world.⁴

Ashgate, 2000). Mark Antliff, Vivien Greene, and Paul Edwards, eds., *The Vorticists: Manifesto for a Modern World* (London: Tate, 2010). Jonathan Black, ed. *Blasting the Future! : Vorticism in Britain 1910-1920* (London: Philip Wilson, 2004).

Mark Antliff and Scott W. Klein, eds., *Vorticism: New Perspectives* (Oxford, UK, and New York: Oxford University Press, 2013). Michael J. K. Walsh, *C.R.W. Nevinson: This Cult of Violence* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002); *Hanging a Rebel: The Life of C.R.W. Nevinson* (Cambridge, UK: Lutterworth, 2008). Jonathan Black, *C. R. W. Nevinson: The Complete Prints* (Farnham, UK: Lund Humphries, 2014).

Frances Spalding, *British Art Since 1900* (Thames & Hudson, 1987); Vanessa Bell (Weidenfeld & Nelson, 1983). Richard Shone, *Bloomsbury Portraits: Vanessa Bell, Duncan Grant and Their Circle* (London: Phaidon Press, 1993); *The Art of Bloomsbury: Roger Fry, Vanessa Bell, and Duncan Grant* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002). Lisa Tickner, *Modern Life and Modern Subjects: British Art in the Early Twentieth Century* (The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2000). Grace Brockington, *Above the Battlefield: Modernism and the Peace Movement in Britain, 1900-1918* (The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2011). Kenneth McConkey, *The New English: A History of the New English Art Club* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2006). Sarah MacDougall, *Mark Gertler* (London: John Murray, 2002). David Peters Corbett, *The Modernity of English Art 1914-1930* (Manchester University, 1997).

³ Alicia Foster, "Gwen John's Self-Portrait: Art, Identity and Women Students at the Slade School," in *English Art, 1860-1914: Modern Artists and Identity*, edited by David Peters Corbett and Lara Perry (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2000), 169.

⁴ Katy Deepwell, "Narratives of Women Artists in/out of Vorticism," in *Special Issue: Women Artists and Futurism, International Year Book of Futurism Studies*, edited by Günterte Berghaus, 22-23 (Bristol, UK: Bristol University, 2015), 42.

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Certainly the number of female students educated in art schools, and the ratio of males/females, was surprisingly high. This was certainly the case for the Slade. But as Deepwell and Foster argue, access to institutions did not necessarily mean equal opportunity within the schools themselves and in the professional life that followed.⁵ Quite the contrary, Foster argues, different treatment given to the two sexes in the workplace and competitive exhibition venues “can be traced back to the institution of the Slade, and its demarcation of male and female students and their spaces.”⁶

Accordingly, this research examines the wider role of women students at the Slade School of Fine Art, then follows them into London’s exhibition groups between 1900 and 1914. It shows that having received a professional college education, they consistently created works of art, participated in exhibitions, sat on committees and devoted themselves to London’s bohemian artistic circles in a variety of capacities. This dissertation offers a more robust analysis of their lives, roles, outputs, visual expressions and critical voices in London in the years leading up the First World War than has been presented before.

The following review of relevant literature demonstrates the gap in art-historical research that this dissertation sets out to address. The research presented here, therefore, is largely reconstructive, presenting a body of knowledge previously lacking and working towards the recovery and analysis of the achievements of the inadequately labelled “talented and decorative group”.

⁵ Katy Deepwell, “Training and Professionalism: 19th and 20th centuries,” in *Dictionary of Women Artists*, vol. 1, edited by Delia Gaze (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1997), 84. In the entry for “Britain and Ireland: 20th Century,” Katy Deepwell makes the following claim: “... since the 1890s women have formed the majority of students educated in British art schools, fluctuating between 50 and 75 percent of all art students”. This certainly was the case for the Slade School of Fine Art, where women students accounted for 75 percent of total admissions between 1871 and 1945. Alicia Foster, *Tate Women Artists* (London: Tate, 2004), 60.

⁶ Foster, “Gwen John's Self-Portrait: Art, Identity and Women Students at the Slade School”, 170.

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Early articles on the female students of London's newest school appeared from within a few years of its opening as seen in Charlotte Weeks's "Women at Work: The Slade Girls" (1883) and books such as John Fothergill's *The Slade* (1907).⁷ Then, after an initial interest, it seems, their presence and influence receded in British art-historical studies and academic interest was only intermittently reignited through the publication of autobiographies by Slade alumnae such as Dorothy Brett, Rosa Waugh, Gwen Raverat, Nicolette Devas, or Nina Hamnett.⁸ These offered a partial view of the Slade and its academic priorities. Dorothy Brett's *Lawrence and Brett* (1933), for example, focused on her friendship with the writer D. H. Lawrence and their life in Taos, New Mexico, and touched upon her life in London and her experiences at the Slade only briefly. Nina Hamnett was not a graduate of the Slade at all, but had a close relationship with many Slade artists, both male and female, some of whom are recorded in her *Laughing Torso* (1932) and *Is She a Lady? A Problem in Autobiography* (1955). Rosa Waugh's *An Interplay of Life and Art* (1957) discussed her life and work as well as that of Helen Saunders (later a Slade student); Gwen Raverat's *Period Peace: A Cambridge Childhood* (1960) described the transition from the late Victorian to the early Edwardian era, affording a glimpse at how women's lives were changing as the twentieth century arrived; and *Two Flamboyant Fathers* (1966) and *Susannah's Nightingales* (1978) depict Nicolette Devas' bohemian childhood as part of Augustus John's entourage. Taken together, and treated with the modicum of skepticism

⁷ Charlotte Weeks, "Women at Work: The Slade Girls," *Magazine of Arts* 6 (1883): 324-329. John Fothergill, *The Slade: A Collection of Drawings and Some Pictures Done by Past and Present Students of the London Slade School of Art*. London: Richard Clay, 1907.

⁸ Dorothy Brett, *Lawrence and Brett* (Santa Fe, MN: Sunstone Press, 2006), originally published in 1933. Nina Hamnett, *Laughing Torso: Reminiscences of Nina Hamnett* (New York: Ray Long & Richard R. Smith, 1932) and *Is She a Lady? A Problem in Autobiography* (London: Allan Wingate, 1955). Rosa Waugh, *An Interplay of Life and Art* (Broxbourne, 1957). Gwen Raverat, *Period Peace: A Cambridge Childhood* (London: Faber & Faber, 1960). Nicolette Devas, *Susannah's Nightingales* (London: Collins Harvill Press, 1979) and *Two Flamboyant Fathers* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1985).

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needed when reading retrospective accounts of youth, these sketches offer a first hand account of the everyday life and the changing social context of this remarkable period.

In the late 1970s biographies of the protagonists from this pre-war generation began to appear and concentrated on leading females such as Vanessa Bell, Gwen John, Nina Hamnett, Dorothy Brett, and Dora Carrington.⁹ In the following decades, biographical studies went beyond these high-profile names to instigate original academic research into other individuals such as Helen Saunders, Jessica Dismorr, Gwen Raverat and Wyn George.¹⁰ Frances Spalding's *Gwen Raverat: Friends, Family, and Affections* (2001) presented a portrait of an eminent member of the Darwin family and a Slade-trained woman artist who was active in the Bloomsbury Group while Alison Thomas's *Portraits of Women: Gwen John and Her Forgotten Contemporaries* (1996), drew largely from Edna Clarke Hall's written reminiscences which are held in University College London Special Collections. The same is true for Wyn George's diary which was once held in the UCL Special Collection, then returned later to a relative who subsequently published it as *Wyn George: Traveller and Artist* (2013).¹¹

⁹ Frances Spalding, *Vanessa Bell* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1983; Stroud, UK: Tempus Publishing, 2006). Susan Chitty, *Gwen John, 1876-1939* (London: Franklin Watts, 1987). Denise Hooker, *Nina Hamnett: Queen of Bohemia* (London: Constable, 1986). Wendy Baron, *Miss Ethel Sands and Her Circle* (London: Peter Owen, 1977). Sean Hignett, *Brett, From Bloomsbury to New Mexico: a Biography* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1984). For the information about monographs focusing on Dora Carrington, please refer to footnote 11.

¹⁰ Brigid Peppin, *Helen Saunders: 1885-1963* (Oxford, UK: Ashmolean Museum, 1996). Also see "Two Vorticist Painters" (master's dissertation, Birkbeck College, 1988). Alison Thomas, *Portraits of Women: Gwen John and Her Forgotten Contemporaries* (1996). Catherine Elizabeth Heathcock, "Jessica Dismorr (1885-1939): Artist, Writer, Vorticist" (PhD diss., University of Birmingham, 1999). Frances Spalding, *Gwen Raverat: Friends, Family, and Affections* (London: Harvill Press, 2001). Jessica Christian, *Wyn George: Traveller and Artist* (Dorset: Dovecote Press, 2013).

¹¹ The author of *Wyn George: Traveller and Artist* (The Dovecote Press: 2013) is Wyn George's great-niece, art historian Jessica Christian.

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We may observe that while there is an apparent dearth of studies on most women artists active at this time, there are numerous publications on others. Comparing Ethel Walker and Dora Carrington is a good example,¹² the latter having numerous academic studies, an eponymous feature film about her life, and a play entitled *Carrington* (fig. 1). And yet, Dame Ethel Walker who had a much more distinguished and long-term career as an exhibiting artist “has not yet been the subject of any full biography or monograph”¹³ - a fact made more mystifying given that Grace English’s unpublished manuscript of Ethel Walker’s life-long art career has been held at the Tate for years.

¹² On Carrington: Gretchen Gerzina, *Carrington: A Life of Dora Carrington, 1893-1932* (London: John Murray Publishing, 1990). David Garnett, ed. *Carrington: Letters and Extracts from Her Diaries* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1970). Noel Carrington, *Carrington: Paintings, Drawings and Decorations* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1978). Jane Hill, *The Art of Dora Carrington* (London: Herbert Press, 1994). David Boyd Haycock, *The Crisis of Brilliance: Five Young British Artists and the Great War* (London: Old Street Publishing, 2009), and "Nash, Nevinson, Spencer, Gertler, Carrington, Bomberg: A Crisis of Brilliance, 1908-1922 (12 June–22 September 2013)," edited by Dulwich Picture Gallery (London: Scala Arts and Heritage Publishers, 2013). Christopher Hampton, dir., *Carrington*, 120 min. (Studio Canal and Euston Films, 1995; DVD), starring Emma Thompson and Jonathan Pryce. *Carrington* written by Jane Beeson, directed by Annie Casledine and brought to the stage on June 2-26, 1993, at the Minerva Theatre in Chichester, England. In the theater production, Toyah Willcox starred in the role of Carrington, and Robert Oickavance portrayed Lytton Strachey. In addition to all the studies dedicated to Dora Carrington, there is an influential novel by Pat Baker entitled *Life Class* (New York: Anchor Books, 2007) about art and war featuring on a group of art students at the Slade and the unfolding events in 1914. Although a resource rarely used by art historians of the period, novel can be useful in involving a historical subject into a compelling contemporary context. Barker’s *Life Class* has been criticized for its fictional characters and distortion of their life in 1914 and modern art in Britain. Despite so, the author argues that allowing debates among academic studies, popular treatments as well as critical reviews to play part in the opening chapter could contextualize significance of the subject in contemporary discourse as well as justify the further explanation in the first two chapters of this dissertation. By contrast, no monograph or catalogue focusing on Ethel Walker existed until Katy Deepwell included a 13-page essay on Walker in her book *Women Artists between Wars: A Fair Field and No Favour* (2010) and addressed this oversight in English art history.

¹³ Deepwell, *Women Artists between the Wars: A Fair Field and No Favour*, 9.

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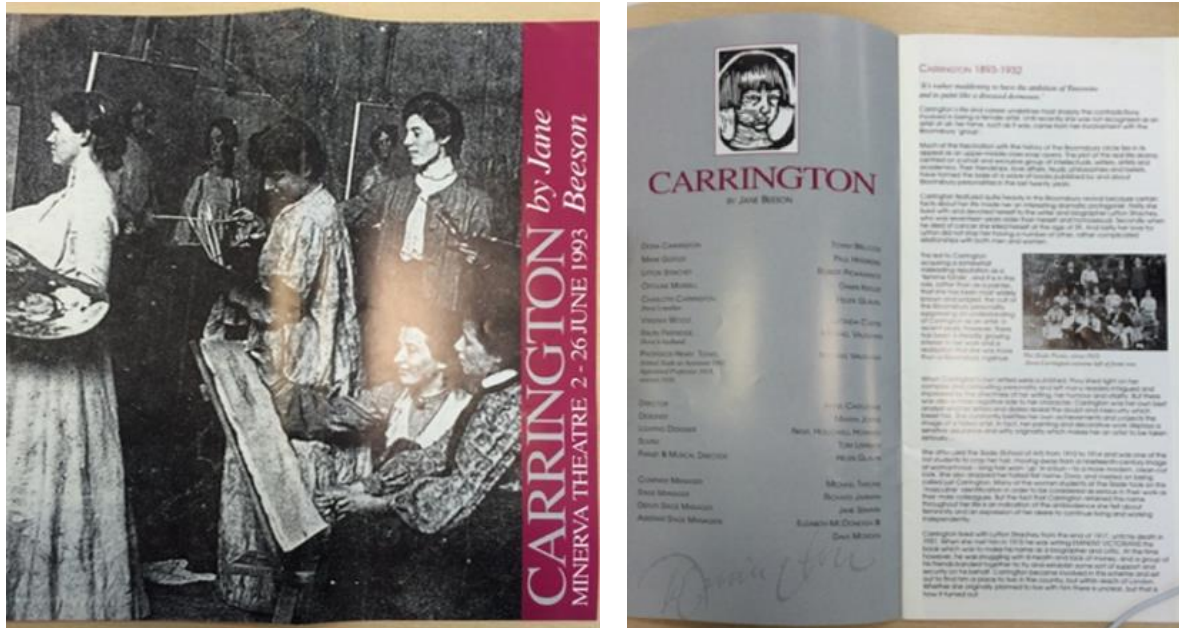


Figure 1. Theater brochure of *Carrington*, June 2-26, 1993, Minerva Theatre, Chichester, England. (UCL Special Collection; photographed by the author in April 2016)

From the 1970s onwards there was also an emergence of research into English modernist movements within the history of art, with a strong focus on exhibition groups and artistic circles in London.¹⁴ Women artists began to reappear in these studies, even if their roles were often marginalized and overshadowed by their male contemporaries.¹⁵ In

¹⁴ For studies on Vorticism and artists associated with the Vorticist Group, see: Cork, *Vorticism and Abstract Art in the First Machine Age*; *Art Beyond the Gallery in Early 20th Century England*; *A Bitter Truth: Avant-Garde Art and the Great War*. Arts Council of Great Britain, ed., "Vorticism and Its Allies". Wees, *Vorticism and London Avant-Garde*. Spalding, *British Art Since 1900*. Shone, *Bloomsbury Portraits: Vanessa Bell, Duncan Grant and Their Circle*; *The Art of Bloomsbury: Roger Fry, Vanessa Bell, and Duncan Grant*. Tickner, *Modern Life and Modern Subjects: British Art in the Early Twentieth Century*. Harrison, *English Art and Modernism*. Corbett, *The Modernity of English Art 1914-1930*.

¹⁵ Deepwell, Katy. "Narratives of Women Artists in/out of Vorticism." In *Special Issue: Women Artists and Futurism, International Year Book of Futurism Studies*, edited by Günterte Berghaus, 21-43. Bristol, UK: Bristol University, 2015, 22. Bridge Peppin. "Women that a Movement Forgot," *Tate* etc. 222 (Summer 2011): 30-35. Jane Beckett and Deborah Cherry, "Modern Women, Modern Spaces: Women, Metropolitan Culture, and Vorticism," in *Women Artists and Modernism*, edited by Katy Deepwell, 36-54 (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1998). Jane Beckett, "(S)Land Narratives: Englishness, Visuality and Vanguard Culture, 1914-1918," in *Modernities and Identities in English Art, 1860-1914*, edited by David Peters Corbett and Lara Perry, 195-212 (Manchester, UK: Manchester University press, 2000). Jane Beckett and Deborah Cherry, "Reconceptualizing Vorticism: Women, Modernity, Modernism," in *Blast: Vorticism 1914-1918*, edited by Paul Edwards, 59-72 (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2000).

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1999, Charles Harrison revisited his groundbreaking study on *English Art and Modernism, 1900-1939* (1981) and claimed, quite surprisingly that such a bias had been a grave error:

Let me come clean, though I risk a certain loss of face in doing so. An interest in the art of Ben Nicholson was the principal motivating force for the work that led to *English Art and Modernism*. He played a central role in the story it was written to tell. The painter Gwen John, on other hand, is not even mentioned in the book. Yet if I were now required to choose a work by one or the other—let us say to live with—it is the picture by Gwen John that I would take.¹⁶

In parallel with this important concession, new theoretical studies dealing with women artists' work has been undertaken, predominantly by female art historians offering both a feminist and modernist evaluation.¹⁷ Alicia Foster, for example, in her *Gwen John* (1999) offered a considered reading of the relationship between her works and her early art training at the Slade and in Paris.¹⁸ Catherine Elizabeth Heathcock's doctoral dissertation

¹⁶ Charles Harrison, "'Englishness' and 'Modernism' Revisited," *Modernism/modernity* 6, no. 1 (1999): 84.

¹⁷ This would not be the trajectory of this research though. Certain scholars in British art history whose main academic target is feminist theory have been considered in detail, see Lisa Tickner, Alicia Foster, Mellisa Hall, Katy Deepwell, Jane Beckett, Deborah Cherry and so on. I wished to make it clear that my work would certainly inform and complementary such priorities, but it would not compete or challenge their conclusions on these terms. I have retained this disclaimer therefore as an important signpost in my work, but added a footnote of this guides the interested readers to published academic works. Melissa Hall, "Modernism, Militarism and Masculinity: Modern Art Discourses and British Official War Art During the First World War." PhD diss., State University of New York at Binghamton, 1993. Alicia Foster, "Gwen John's Self-Portrait: Art, Identity and Women Students at the Slade School," in *English Art, 1860-1914: Modern Artists and Identity*, edited by David Peters Corbett and Lara Perry (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2000). Jane Beckett. "I(S)Land Narratives: Englishness, Visuality and Vanguard Culture, 1914-1918." In *Modernities and Identities in English Art, 1860-1914*, edited by David Peters Corbett and Lara Perry, 195-212. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2000; "Modern Women, Modern Spaces: Women, Metropolitan Culture, and Vorticism." In *Women Artists and Modernism*, edited by Katy Deepwell, 36-54. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1998; "Reconceptualizing Vorticism: Women, Modernity, Modernism." In *Blast: Vorticism, 1914-1918*, edited by Paul Edwards, 59-72. Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2000. Katy Deepwell, "Narratives of Women Artists in/out of Vorticism," in *Special Issue: Women Artists and Futurism, International Year Book of Futurism Studies*, edited by Günterte Berghaus, 22-23 (Bristol, UK: Bristol University, 2015). Katy Deepwell. *Women Artists between the Wars: A Fair Field and No Favour*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2010. Lisa Tickner. *The Spectacle of Women: Imagery of the Suffrage Campaign 1907-14*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988. Richenda M. Roberts, 'Art of A Second Order': *The First World War from the British Home Front Perspective*. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Birmingham, 2012.

¹⁸ Alicia Foster, *Gwen John* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999). Also see "Self-

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Jessica Dismorr (1885-1939): Artist, Writer, Vorticist (1999) reconstructed Dismorr's life and illuminated her diverse creative achievements that had previously been written out of the history of modernism.¹⁹ In *Modern Life and Modern Subjects: British Art in the Early Twentieth Century* (2000), Lisa Tickner used feminist, literary and psychoanalytical theory to broaden a discussion of Vanessa Bell's modernist *Studland Beach* series of 1911-1912,²⁰ while Jane Beckett and Deborah Cherry re-examined the intellectual and aesthetic contributions of the women Vorticists.²¹ Recently Helen Saunders and Jessica Dismorr were scrutinized in a symposium held at the Nasher Museum of Art at Duke University in conjunction with the exhibition *The Vorticists: Rebel Artists in London and New York, 1914-1918* (June 14–September 18, 2011) curated by Mark Antliff and Vivien Greene. While the exhibit displayed some works by women artists associated with the Vorticist movement,²² none of the nine catalogue essays was devoted to the women Vorticists exclusively. Such omissions did not go unnoticed by Katy Deepwell,²³ even if the situation was later rectified by including Miranda Hickman's "The Gender of Vorticism: Jessie Dismorr, Helen Saunders, and Vorticist Feminism" in *Vorticism: New Perspective* (2013), the follow-up publication to

Representation and Constructions of Femininity in the Work of Gwen John: c. 1895-c. 1912" (PhD diss., University of Manchester, 1996).

¹⁹ Catherine Elizabeth Heathcock, "Jessica Dismorr (1885-1939): Artist, Writer, Vorticist" (PhD diss., University of Birmingham, 1999).

²⁰ Lisa Tickner, "Vanessa Bell: Studland Beach, Domesticity and 'Significant Form'" in *Modern Life and Modern Subjects: British Art in the Early Twentieth Century* (Yale University Press, 2000), 117-142.

²¹ Beckett and Cherry, "Modern Women, Modern Spaces: Women, Metropolitan Culture, and Vorticism". Beckett, "I(S)Land Narratives: Englishness, Visuality and Vanguard Culture, 1914-1918". Beckett and Cherry, "Reconceptualizing Vorticism: Women, Modernity, Modernism".

²² Katy Deepwell, "Narratives of Women Artists in/out of Vorticism". Three works by Helen Saunders were recovered, and some rarely shown works by Dorothy Shakespear were displayed. The Vorticism was a short-lived avant-garde movement active in the early twentieth century British art history before the outbreak of the World War I. The group was formed in 1914 with the aim of expressing the dynamism of the modern world in geometric style and abstract form, rather than following the Victorian and Romantic tradition to present natural landscape or nude. The name of the group was coined by Poet Ezra Pound in 1913. Vorticism was indebted to the Italian Futurism, the Cubism as well as British formalism by Roger Fry.

²³ *Ibid.*, 23.

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the same symposium and exhibition.²⁴ In the 2015 *International Year Book of Futurism Studies*, Hickman also revisited Dismorr's and Saunders' roles beyond the framework of Futurism and articulated their feminist approaches within the highly masculinized avant-garde group.²⁵

Another trajectory of art historical research after 1999 turned attention away from individual and private lives to focus rather on approaches and practices as groups. Peter Brooker's *Bohemia in London* (2004) summed it up in one sentence when he declared that those who "attend[ed] the Slade School of Art ... collectively brought a new aspect to London's café society."²⁶ Kenneth McConkey's *The New English: A History of the New English Art Club* (2006) explored the important position the Club held in the development of modern art, but also acknowledged a growing cast of Slade ladies, including Ethel Walker, Clare Atwood, Beatrice Bland, Edna Clarke Hall (née Waugh), Fairlie Harmar and Margaret Fisher Prout.²⁷ Katy Deepwell's *Women Artists Between the Wars: A Fair Field and No Favour* (2010) (though focusing on the years between 1918 and 1946) revealed the important nature of the close friendships between women at the Slade and how the notable clusters of female friends had continued even after they left the school: Gwen John, Ida Nettleship and Ursula Tyrwhitt in the 1890s; Dora Carrington, Barbara Hiles and Dorothy

²⁴ Antliff and Klein, ix. In the Acknowledgments, the editors state that "Vorticism: New Perspective began as a symposium ... with the exhibit." Miranda Hickman, "The Gender of Vorticism: Jessie Dismorr, Helen Saunders, and Vorticist Feminism," in *Vorticism: New Perspective*, edited by Mark Antliff and Scott W. Klein, 119-136 (Oxford, UK: Oxford University, 2013).

²⁵ Miranda Hickman, "Beyond the Frame: Reassessing Jessie Dismorr and Helen Saunders," in *Special Issue: Women Artists and Futurism, International Year Book of Futurism Studies*, edited by Günterte Berghaus, (Bristol: Bristol University, 2015).

²⁶ Peter Brooker, *Bohemia in London: The Social Scene of Early Modernism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 126.

²⁷ McConkey, 98-99. Bland, Harmar and later Prout lived in Cheyne Walk, alongside their mentor Ethel Walker. Their close relationship with their mentor earned them the sobriquet "Cheyne Walkers."

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Brett in the 1910s; and Lady Diana Cooper, Lady Violet Charteris and Iris Tree, also in the 1910s.²⁸ Importantly she also suggests that Slade women artists could/should be researched as circles and clusters, as “it is more than likely that this acted as a mutual support system in the Slade.”²⁹ The idea of researching women artists within circles or clusters is useful to in seeing how exhibitions came to be curated, received and historicized, for example in exhibitions such as; *Jessica Dismorr and Her Circle* (1972), *Slade Ladies* (1986), and *Nicolette Devas (1911-1987) with Three Friends from the Slade* (1987); as well as in significant publications such as Wendy Baron's *Miss Ethel Sands and Her Circle* (1977), and Alison Thomas's *Portraits of Women: Gwen John and Her Forgotten Contemporaries* (1996).³⁰

This dissertation also demonstrates how a certain amount of original / archival information gets recycled, going from art historian to art historian and therefore becoming deeply ingrained in British Art History. It was a priority therefore in this study to search for and examine a much wider range of materials and information from archives held at public institutions and galleries such as the: Tate Archive, the National Art Library at the Victoria and Albert Museum, University College London, the Women's Art Library at Goldsmiths University of London, as well as the Harry Ransom Center at University of Texas at Austin. These research trips were conducted with the assistance of a Singapore Ministry of Education full time scholarship and three external research grants (two from the Paul

²⁸ Deepwell, *Women Artists between the Wars*, 57.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Parkin. For examples and further information, see: *Jessica Dismorr and Her Circle* (an exhibition in 1972), *Slade Ladies: An Exhibition of Paintings, Drawings, Prints and Sculpture by Women Artists at the Slade* (an exhibition in 1986). Alison Thomas, *Portraits of Women: Gwen John and Her Forgotten Contemporaries* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 1996). Nicolette Devas and Rupert Shephard, *Nicolette Devas (1911-1987) with Three Friends from the Slade* (Maidenhead, UK: Sally Hunter Fine Art, 1987). Quentin Stevenson, *Jessica Dismorr and Her Circle: Paintings by Jessica Dismorr, Watercolours by Catherina Giles and Gertrude Leese* (London: Archer Gallery, 1972). Wendy Baron, *Miss Ethel Sands and Her Circle* (London: Peter Owen, 1977).

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Mellon Centre for Studies of British Art, Yale University, and one from the Harry Ransom Center at the University of Texas at Austin). The Tate Archive and National Art Library in particular possess a wealth of material on individual artists as well as on art organizations and exhibiting bodies that played significant roles in Britain in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. University College London Library Special Collections holds important archives and documents concerning the Slade, its day to day running, and details of notable alumni. The sequentially categorized calendars at the Record's Office were also essential for re-creating the Slade school history in the first two chapters of this dissertation. The Women's Art Library is currently part of Goldsmiths Library Special Collection, which contains the vital collection of the WIAC, previously virtually untapped and central to the reconstruction that I present in chapter 4. For the re-evaluation of *Rhythm* and its associated contributors, the Harry Ransom Center's extensive collections of correspondence among artists, art magazines and journals, was essential.

In addition to drawing on different sources and newly located archives, it has also been necessary to triangulate different scholarly treatments and interpretations of the art and artists of London's pre-war: biographical and historical; visual with statistical; and institutional with personal. Cross-referencing sources, and a contrapuntal reading of existing sources, has helped to create a fuller understanding of both individual woman and the collective exhibition groups they participated in or/and were affiliated with. The author has also singled out one or two key women artists in each chapter to personify the study and to offer a lens through which the art world in London may be observed, such as: Evelyn Cheston in the NEAC; Jessie Etchell and Renée Finch in the London Group; Kate Lechmere in the AAA, and Ethel Walker in the WIAC. Again, with each of these mini-case studies, a new

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history emerges—one of competent, dynamic artists whose contributions have largely been overlooked in the history of British Art.

This dissertation, I have made clear, draws significantly on unpublished manuscripts, correspondences, interview notes, and dairies.³¹ But art needs to be ‘read’ in the context of both time and place, and so the author has presented women artists and their works within the social, cultural and intellectual context in which they were created, curated and consumed. For this, an extensive examination of the articles and reviews published in newspapers, art periodicals and magazines of the time are central to the case made in this dissertation. For example, when the unpublished interview notes on Ethel Walker by Grace English are read alongside the press-cuttings from newspapers both national and local, and the factual information contained in exhibition catalogues from the diverse organizations with which she affiliated herself, it is possible not only to create a connection between the Slade’s pedagogical practice in Life Class and Figure Composition Competition, and the depiction of multi-figure paintings created by her after 1912, but also her appreciation of, for example, Russian Ballet. This is more fully explained in Chapter 5. To examine the institutional history of the Slade, understand its pedagogical priorities, and trace the performances of women students there, the author located and examined a variety of low-key published sources that have not knowingly been used in any preceding art historical study. These include *The Critic* magazine (1914), the *University College Gazette* (1896-1904) and the *Union Magazine* (1904-1915) which have proved invaluable for offering first hand testimony about the relationship between the contributor/editor, the university, the faculty

³¹ William Lipike’s interview notes presenting Kate Lechmere’s voice from the Tate Archive [TGA 8223].

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and the other students.³² Through these, information gleaned from Stephen Chaplin's compendium, and also the aggregation of information from disparate sources, the dissertation has been able to present a statistical analysis, clarifying the case being made through charts and graphs. For example, using the annual *University College London Calendars* from 1895 to 1915,³³ student index cards, the NEAC exhibition catalogues from 1905 to 1914 (except 1908 winter exhibition), the AAA exhibition catalogues (1908-1913), WIAC exhibition catalogues (1900-1914), and the London Group exhibition catalogues (1913-1914), an objective, quantifiable and empirical case is presented for the first time. Or by studying school records, a complete list of Slade women students during 1895-1914 was also compiled and the annual ratio of female students to the total intake analyzed. A similar investigation of NEAC exhibition catalogues lead to a numerical understanding of women member-exhibitors, and the often overlooked non-member exhibitors, and this pointed to a surprising decline in the former in contrast to the latter throughout the period (Table 9). A

³² "Aim," *University College London Gazette*, 1 October 1886, 1. The article states: "The Gazette will also take account of what is needed for continued growth and full development of all the powers of the College, the question of the future that arises from its past and enters into almost every detail of its current life. This question also is inseparable from public efforts towards the development in London of a Teaching University."

³³ Stephen Chaplin, *A Slade School of Fine Art Archive Reader: A Compendium of Documents, 1868–1975*, University College London. [MS ADD 400]

It is also worth of notice that the annually published University College London Calendar, which used to be only accessible by appointment during my stay in 2014 had just become available for downloading online in 2016. This calendar contains the list of students and staff at the College for each year. Before 1900, the students at UCL were all listed simply according to the department they belonged to, i.e. Students from the Slade school were listed under the "Faculties of Arts and Laws and of Science" with all other major students, including students' personal info like date of entry, family names, first names (or first name initials) followed by their origins. From 1901 to 1910, the Fine Art student are denoted by the "F. A." in front of their names, but the number of women students at the Fine Art program was still unidentifiable. Only since 1911, was the Slade to be listed as an independent "Fine Art Department" and within which the numbers of both sexes of students were listed. However, based merely on this list, it is difficult to identify the Slade School students before 1910 and the women students among them. What can be examined is the number of international students and how this number changed over time up to 1914, which we will discuss in detail in Chapter 2. The school stopped publishing names of students at the College Calendar in the 1930s.

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methodical exploration of the WIAC archives (which included meeting minutes and annual reports (1912-1915), exhibition catalogues (1899-1914) and press-cuttings covering the entire period of this research) allowed this dissertation to present a partial answer to the contemporary question (asked in 1904) "what is being done in the domain of art by women?"³⁴ It also meant the presentation of a fuller understanding of the WIAC, its structure, management, elections, members, maintenance, committee, exhibitions and financial performances, then permitted a comparison with the NEAC and the AAA. This was revealing as common membership, for example, offered a picture of women artists' connectivity and exclusion between different exhibition societies, and pointed to interconnected flows of ideas from one artist to another, and from group to group. The entire collection of *Rhythm* magazine (1911-1913) held at the Harry Ransom Center was also examined in detail, with particular interest in the graphic content as well as written contributions by female artists such as Jessica Dismorr, Anne Estelle Rice and Georges Banks. Reading these magazines together with the associated catalogues held at National Art Library at the Victoria and Albert Museum lead to a fuller appreciation of the magazine as an alternative space in which to extend aesthetic and ideological influence beyond the gallery. The same method of cross-reading of two or more collections was used in the examination of how women artists performed in innovative and inclusive exhibition groups such as the Allied Artists' Association (AAA). Drawing on *The Art News* magazine (1908-1914) edited by AAA founder Frank Rutter and held at the National Art Library, and complemented by a study of the AAA's exhibition catalogues, the common attitudes of Rutter and J. D. Fergusson, one of the leading graphic contributors for *Rhythm*, towards

³⁴ Women's Art Library (WAL), MAKE/AR/G/001 WIAC press-cuttings collection: "Exhibition by Women Artists (from Our Correspondent)," *Yorkshire Daily*, 16 January 1904.

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inclusiveness of women artists becomes clear. International, national, regional academic and entertainment publications of the day have all been used as sources in this dissertation to create a fuller perception of women artists in exhibitions held from 1900 to 1914 in London, but also of the difficulties the critics had in presenting their works to an often bewildered, and occasionally hostile, public.

In further attempting to recalibrate our understanding of the role, output and reception of women artists in London between 1900-1914, it has been necessary to retrieve art works themselves. This has been an essential component of the research as previous histories have tended to reproduce the same small selection of works over and over again, and it is from this narrow base that conclusions have been drawn. Accordingly, original art works created and stored at the Slade have been located and examined, often for the first time in a century. These were the winners of the prestigious Summer Composition Competition and also the Life Drawing and Life Painting Competitions (see Appendix).

Divided into five chapters, the dissertation opens with a close examination of the Slade School of Fine Art within the wider social context of Edwardian London. Chapter one concentrates on the school's establishment, mission, teaching philosophy, curriculum, and gender related admission policy, then catalogues the diverse achievements of the female students enrolled. Furthermore, the chapter explores women students' experiences in the Antiques Room and the Life Room, the academic relationships with their male classmates, and their interaction with the metropolis. Part of the function of this chapter is to establish a solid foundation for the rest of the dissertation, to establish the limitations, opportunities, and expectations of young female artists in the first decade and a half of the twentieth century. This chapter also traces the influence of France principally through the Slade's drawing method in the Life Room that distinguished it from other schools in London, then

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highlights and explains the consequent link between the Slade and the Francophile New English Art Club. Naturally, gender difference emerges from such an archival study, but so too does the understudied question of class difference within the school. Accordingly, I have devoted a small but representative space in the chapter to the social expectations of women as artists, personified by the experiences of Vanessa Bell and Virginia Woolf. I have also conducted a brief examination of some unpublished animal caricature portraits of staff and students created by Logic Whiteway. Not only does this show Slade women students' sense of humor in their artistic practice, but also dispels the recurrent myth/impression of crying and cowering women students intimidated by the infamous drawing teacher Henry Tonks.

Chapter 2 continues to build an understanding of women students' experiences at the Slade but shifts the focus to the period of 1910-1914, when the Slade was characterized as a "society" that was far from tranquil and harmonious, perhaps a microcosm of the greater, wider discontent evident in the capital in the prewar years. By paying attention to the society outside of the college walls, the "gulf" and "crisis" (terms used by David Boyd Haycock in his 2013 exhibition *Nash, Nevinson, Spencer, Gertler, Carrington, Bomberg: A Crisis of Brilliance, 1908-1922*)³⁵ within the walls can be more fully understood, not least via an examination of the archived *UCL Union* magazines. The reverberations of social, political and artistic change, it becomes clear, were felt every bit as much by female artists as by their male counterparts whose works and lives have been more extensively discussed. This chapter also examines numerically the diversity of the Slade population and quantifies the

³⁵ David Boyd Haycock, *Nash, Nevinson, Spencer, Gertler, Carrington, Bomberg: A Crisis of Brilliance, 1908-1922*. London: Scala Arts and Heritage Publishers, 2013. Published in conjunction with the exhibition shown at Dulwich Picture Gallery in 12 June–22 September 2013.

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ratio of international to local students enrolled between 1900-1914. By identifying at least twenty-six countries of origin of students (Table 3, Table 4 and Table 5) and by monitoring annual trends, some definable understanding can be arrived at concerning the 'internationalism' that was said to pervade in the pre-war years. In a similar manner I conduct an examination of women scholarship/award recipients between 1910-1915 (Table 7), as well as locating and studying the prizewinning artworks themselves. A selection of the original paintings from the storage room have been reproduced in this chapter to facilitate an examination of the impact of or resistance to Europe, and radical movements gaining momentum in London, from an aesthetic (as opposed to a numerical) point of view (Figure 24-28, and Appendix). By uncovering, then combining, these previously incoherent, and somewhat piecemeal, details it is possible to demonstrate the undervalued engagement of these overlooked women artists in their school years.

Chapter 3 follows these women students and their subsequent professional development, concentrating in particular on the exhibition groups that they became affiliated with or participated in between 1900 and 1914. My focus is on the NEAC with its inextricable link to the Slade by ties of tutorship and the aesthetic legacy of France, the liberal and inclusive AAA, and the innovative London Group, as alternative venues to the gender restricted Royal Academy and other mainstream venues. This affinity of the Slade women with the NEAC will also be complemented by statistical analysis (Table 8) derived from cross-referencing the students list published in annual UCL Calendar and Sessions (1900-1915) with annual exhibition catalogues of the NEAC held at the Tate Archive. A common membership among the NEAC and the London Group can also be identified (see Table 10) suggesting harmonies and dissonances both within, and between, radical exhibition groups. This chapter also suggests thematic orientation and a sense of market

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'value' through the collation of information on the titles and prices of art works by these female artists from the exhibitions at the Brighton exhibition 1913-1914 (Table 11), the first exhibition of the London Group in 1914 (Table 12), as well as the AAA annual exhibitions (1908-1913). By way of a personification of this data, I conduct an examination of Kate Lechmere's unpublished Cubist painting exhibited with AAA in 1913 (Figure 34 and Figure 35), her role as a Cubist artist in her own right, and her role as the co-founder and co-director of the Rebel Art Center where the avant-garde Vorticist group was born. René Finch's role as a controversial and ambitious painter in the London Group is also presented as a counterweight to the liberalism suggested in London at this time. The dramatic fate of her painting, removed by force from a liberal exhibition, tells us much about censorship, etiquette and criticism in these pivotal years. The fact that Lechmere was English and Finch was not, invites further discussion on the role of foreign women painters in the English avant-garde in the pre-war years.

Chapter 4 continues the examination of women artists' participation in art groups, but turns to focus on those who exerted their influence through a London-based modernist magazine. Building on recent studies of the British magazine *Rhythm*, this chapter concentrates its focus specifically on female artists and writers associated with the publication and acknowledges their international (German, Russian and Japanese) influences. Using a single group exhibition in 1912 and a selection of artworks published in *Rhythm*, I suggest their centrality to the group and importance to London's art world between 1911-1913. Slade graduate Jessica Dismorr's graphics and subjects are singled out to exemplify this and to suggest a network of knowledge and influence emanating from the *Rhythm* to other female modernists associated with the Slade, Bloomsbury, and the Rebel Art Centre. Through a cross-reading of *Rhythm* magazine with an array of exhibition

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catalogues from the National Art Library a picture emerges of the complexity, intricacy, and significance of these inter-relationships. A second strand within this chapter focuses on the published graphics by female artists emphasizing not only their links to Fauvism and German Expressionism but also to modern dance and the liberation insinuated in the movements of Isadora Duncan and the *Ballet Russe*.

Chapter 5 examines the women-only Women's International Art Club which has receded into virtual obscurity in British art history. Drawing from newly located archives, this chapter constructs a useful body of knowledge then instigates a reevaluation and repositioning of an important gender-centric art group established by, and for, British women artists. It was suggested by critics of the time that WIAC exhibitions represented the general overall achievements of women artists in London at the beginning of twentieth century. Through the experience of one individual, Ethel Walker, the art world in London may be observed and the international spirit of the group more fully understood. This chapter not only presents the existence of a women-run and women-only art society, but demonstrates how effective management ensured its success, and influence internationally. The global network of knowledge among women artists in the era comes as an important facet of this chapter, demonstrating that the WIAC welcomed international women artists exhibitions/societies as part of the regular annual exhibition in London, but also set up branches of the WIAC abroad, and regularly sent out members' works overseas to significant exhibitions in France, America and Canada. It is worthy of note that some of the most high profile and accomplished women artists, known through their association with other exhibition groups (as discussed in chapters 3 and 4) had initially launched their careers with the WIAC.

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In order to re-examine the role, output and reception of women artists in London between 1900 and 1914 collectively, this dissertation sets out: firstly, to approach the study of women artists in a manner other than what Katy Deepwell identified as the existing 'state of exception', both in education and in their professional lives in London between 1900 and 1914; secondly, to examine the nature and efficacy of clusters, circles, and networks of female artists, both academically and professionally; thirdly, to conduct extensive archival work in tandem with an exploration of special collections of unseen paintings as a corrective to existing art history and in order to construct new components within it; lastly, to adopt an alternative methodology prioritizing institutional rather than personal approaches.

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Chapter 1: Women Artists at the Slade School of Fine Art in Edwardian London, 1901-1910

Just as the oysters are enriched by pearls,
So is the Slade dependent on its girls.

—A.A., in "The Slade," *University College Gazette*, October 30, 1901, p. 218

I was standing shyly by the Venus de Milo, sketchbook in hand, when a very tall man [Henry Tonks] came up to me. He asked for my book, glanced through it, and remarked: "So you are going to be a second Burne Jones?" "No," I replied promptly, "A first Edna Waugh."

—Edna Clarke Hall³⁶

I think it is how we are treated that affects us more than we know—to what is expected of us something within us naturally responds.

—Edna Clarke Hall

Debate revolving around the topics of women students at the Slade School of Fine Art, the roles of their teachers and their life at school within the greater context of Slade students in modernist art movements at the beginning of the twentieth century in London has received considerable scholarly attention, as well as more popular treatment. Pat Barker published the influential novel *Life Class* in 2007. Alan Munton, in the essay "Rewriting 1914: The Slade, Tonks, and War in Pat Barker's *Life Class*," criticized this piece of fiction as a travesty and distorted version of Slade student life in 1914 and modern art in Britain.³⁷ He expressed his doubts about the "positive influence" of teacher Henry Tonks (1862-1937) in mentoring a number of the modernists featured in the novel and pointed out the absence in the novel of women artists who were "genuinely active" in 1914: Helen Saunders, Jessica Dismorr and Kate Lechmere, specifically. Interestingly, his discussion of Barker's novel was

³⁶ In Foster, *Tate Women Artists*, 82. This sentence was originally taken from Edna Clarke Hall's (née Waugh) unpublished memoir in which she recalls the conversation with tutor Henry Tonks on her first day at the Slade. Sir Edward Coley Burn-Jones (1883-1893) was a British artist and designer closely associated with the later phase of the Pre-Raphaelite movement.

³⁷ Alan Munton, "Rewriting 1914: The Slade, Tonks, and War in Pat Barker's *Life Class*," in *London, Modernism, and 1914*, edited by Michael J. K. Walsh (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2010), 240.

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critically reviewed by Sarah Victoria Turner in *Art History* in 2012, with whom, however, Munton held different opinions and felt obliged to clarify his position in an official reply where he pointed out Turner's misinterpretation and misrepresentation in her review.³⁸

Debates and discussions such as these often serve more to expose problems than solve them, and in the author's estimation, all these hotly contested areas are worthy of investigation. Therefore, this chapter is set in the corridors and classrooms of the Slade and is concerned particularly with the women students there. The selection of women artists in this chapter is determined by the availability of relatively rich archival sources, memoirs, published archives and an amalgamation of existing academic studies. The chapter cannot claim to be an exhaustive understanding of the entire body of women artists at the Slade in the defined time period. Yet, a thorough search through UCL archives, unpublished diaries and memoirs, low-profile publications and documents pertaining to the running of the school offers new insights into the Slade and both its prominent and forgotten women students. Through them the images of a world of art and education become sharper: from the Antiques Room to the Life Room, communication with their male classmates and professors, navigating the metropolis, capital of the empire, and making sense of themselves as well as the social changes occurring around them. Also, consultation of previously neglected fiction and poetry written about the role of women artists there broadens the view, affording a new, richer view of the school on the eve of great change.

³⁸ Turner's review appeared in Sarah Victoria Turner, "The Edwardians and After," *Art History* 35, no. 1 (2012): 178-181. Munton's reply to Turner's review of his essay "Rewriting 1914: The Slade, Tonks, and War in Pat Barker's *Life Class*" is available online: <http://www.unirioja.es/wyndhamlewis/pdf/welcome/TurnerReviewReply.pdf>.

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The Slade, it was argued, was “probably the best school of drawing ... in Europe,”³⁹ and one which art historians now fully appreciate in terms of value and legacy. T. A. Cross is clear:

During the hundred years of its history, the Slade School has been closely identified with the evolution of English Art, in its advances and withdrawals. Initially it brought a new and independent point of view into art training in Britain and has since supported and encouraged many of the most considerable native talents.⁴⁰

Indeed, Mark Gertler biographer Sarah MacDougall noted: “The quality of both staff and pupils ensured that it [the Slade] soon eclipsed the older school’s [Royal Academy of Art] reputation.”⁴¹ In a later article, MacDougall again praised the Slade as “the finest school for drawing in England.”⁴² Andrew Gibbon Williams, in his 2004 reexamination of the “golden age” of the Slade argued that this was probably “due in part to the relatively enlightened teaching philosophy of the Slade staff” and the “teachers [who] were careful [to] follow the personal progress of each student.”⁴³ Stuart Macdonald, in *The History and Philosophy of Art Education*, shares a similar point of view, noting that the faculty fostered students’ individual talents and deserved credit for building the Slade’s reputation in art education. And yet, there is an inconsistency here and a plot line that needs to be teased out further as it is well documented that students suffered from the school’s “terrible disapproving atmosphere,” which fostered “shyness and uncertainty.”⁴⁴ In fact, some recalled the Slade

³⁹ “Art Periodicals,” *Times*, 10, no. 4417319, 19 January 1926.

⁴⁰ T. A. Cross, “The Slade Tradition: 1871-1921, a Centenary Contribution (11 October-5 November 1971),” (London Fine Art Society, 1971), 16.

⁴¹ MacDougall, *Mark Gertler*, 31.

⁴² MacDougall, “‘Something Is Happening There’: Early British Modernism, the Great War and the ‘White Chapel Boys,’” in *London, Modernism and 1914*, edited by Michael J. K. Walsh (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 123.

⁴³ Andrew Gibbon Williams, *Williams Roberts: An English Cubist* (London: Lund Humphries, 2004), 12-13.

⁴⁴ Cited in Walsh, *C.R.W. Nevinson: This Cult of Violence*, 12. The citation is originally from C. R. W. Nevinson, *Paint and Prejudice* (London: Methuen, 1938), 23.

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as being “more like a typical English Public School seen in a nightmare,” with professors whose “ruthless and withering criticism”⁴⁵ was a source of genuine fear.

What, then, do we know of the relationship that existed between the female students and their professors, or indeed between them and their male counterparts in this school during the period in question? Artist Augustus John, a Slade student himself and brother of Gwen John, praised the exclusive Slade group of women friends—Edna Clarke Hall, Ida Nettleship, Ursula Tyrwhitt, Gwen John and Gwen Salmond—as follows:

[I]n what I have called the Grand Epoch of the Slade the male students cut a poor figure, in fact they can hardly be said to have existed. In talent, as well as in looks, these girls were supreme.⁴⁶

By Professor of Drawing Henry Tonks’s account, Dora Carrington and her friends Dorothy Brett and Barbara Hiles, who were enrolled at the Slade in the 1910s, were among the second and last “crisis of the brilliance.”⁴⁷ Did the transition from this early-epoch generation of women students featured in this chapter to the emancipated “crop-head girls” of the next chapter leave any traceable changes? Was it the case that women students were “in an atmosphere where their male teachers had lower expectations”⁴⁸ regarding the

⁴⁵ Ibid. Paul Nash had this comment and the citation is from S. MacDonald, *The History and Philosophy of Art Education* (London: University of London Press, 1970), 276.

⁴⁶ Cited in Chitty, 40.

⁴⁷ Haycock, *Crisis of Brilliance*, 3, and Haycock, *Nash, Nevinson, Spencer, Gertler, Carrington, Bomberg: A Crisis of Brilliance, 1908-1922 (12 June–22 September 2013)*, edited by Dulwich Picture Gallery (London: Scala Arts & Heritage Publishers, 2013), 13-14. The second “crisis of brilliance” comes from a remark made by drawing teacher Tonks when recalling his students at the Slade between 1908 and 1914. Among many, five British artists were featured by David Boyd Haycock in *Crisis of Brilliance* (2009), and six were featured in the subsequent exhibition *Nash, Nevinson, Spencer, Gertler, Carrington, Bomberg: A Crisis of Brilliance, 1908-1922* held at Dulwich Picture Gallery in 2013. According to Haycock’s research, their contemporaries at the school included other talented young artists, such as Adrian Allinson, John Currie, Maxwell Gordon Lightfoot, Ben Nicholson, William Roberts, Isaac Rosenberg and Edward Wadsworth. The first “crisis” had occurred between 1893 and 1901, coinciding with the arrival of Frederick Brown in 1893 as head of the school, and included the students Harold Gilman, Spencer Gore, Augustus John and his sister Gwen, Percy Wyndham Lewis, Ambrose McAvoy and William Orpen.

⁴⁸ Deepwell, *Women Artists between the Wars*, 42.

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value and purpose of their education, or even considered them to be “wasting time before marriage”?⁴⁹ Or, perhaps, as Munton argues, Tonks’s phrase “There is no drawing without tears” was true for men and women students alike.⁵⁰ Noel Carrington remembered that his sister Dora and her girlfriends were all “entirely serious about their art and their intention to be the equal of men.”⁵¹ So, returning to the epigraph, was Edna Clarke Hall’s sincerity and determination about becoming an independent artist, as opposed to a “second Burne Jones,” an isolated case or a relatively widespread phenomenon among the Slade’s female students? Furthermore, how active or passive were the Slade and its women students as participants in the dynamism and vibrancy of the Edwardian metropolitan area beyond the school walls?

Establishment of the Slade and Its Integration of Women Students

The high numbers of women students at the Slade during the period in question may be traced back to the establishment of the school and its admission policy. Much can be gleaned, too, from understanding the nature of the scholarships offered, prize stipulations and overall teaching philosophy.

When the Slade was founded in 1871, it was conceived as a department within University College London, and as John Fothergill observed, “much was hoped for” regarding the development of the fine arts in England through education.⁵² Previously, the *Magazine of Art* had lamented that the “Government have provided schools of design all

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 41.

⁵⁰ Munton, “Rewriting 1914,” 257.

⁵¹ Noel Carrington, *Carrington: Paintings, Drawings and Decorations* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1978), 21.

⁵² Cited in George Charlton, “The Slade School of Fine Art: 1871-1846,” *The Studio* (October 1946): 2.

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over the kingdom” but no fine arts schools and professors of art at the universities.⁵³ Sir Edward Poynter articulated that very point when he delivered his inaugural lecture at the opening of the Slade on October 2, 1871, reiterating that except for Burlington House (Royal Academy of Art), there was “no school of any importance in London for the study of high art.”⁵⁴ Therefore, a new public school of fine art was deemed necessary for the purpose of improving public taste⁵⁵ at a time when existing traditional art education was being questioned and rethought and the dominant role of the Royal Academy of Art (RA) was already suffering criticism. Later, in 1893, eminent art critic George Moore⁵⁶ declared that a new, vital art could not develop within the “incubus” academy,⁵⁷ John Fothergill pointed out that there were many “anxious for reform in the course of education provided for students at the Royal Academy”,⁵⁸ and Roger Fry complained in 1910, “The Academy

⁵³ Weeks, 325.

⁵⁴ Cited in John Fothergill, *The Slade: A Collection of Drawings and Some Pictures Done by Past and Present Students of the London Slade School of Art* (London: Richard Clay, 1907), 5.

⁵⁵ Weeks, 325.

⁵⁶ George Moore (1852–1933) was an influential Irish novelist, writer, poet and critic. He was one of the earliest proponents of impressionism and modern French art. Originally, he wanted to be an artist and attended art school in London, then moved to Paris to study at the Académie Julian in 1870s. There, he befriended many leading writers and painters of the day, such as Edgar Degas and Edouard Manet. After realizing his slight artistic ability, he turned to literature, and Émile Zola had significant influences on his subsequent career as a naturalist writer. Upon returning to London in the 1880s, Moore turned his attention to writing about art. He contributed regularly to the *Bat*, *Speakers* and *Saturday Review* as an art critic. A selection of these reviews was published in *Impressions and Opinions* (1891) and in *Modern Painting* (1893). He shared many similar views on art with Walter Sickert and nominated him to succeed his position as art critic for *Speakers* when he moved to *Saturday Review*. Moore was among the first to recognize the talents of Dame Ethel Walker, introduced her to French impressionists and even lent her his studio to paint before she joined the New English Art Club. Details of Moore’s life from *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2004) and Robert Upstone, “George Moore 1890–1 by Walter Richard Sickert,” in *The Camden Town Group in Context*, Tate Research Publication, May 2012, available online: <https://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/camden-town-group/walter-richard-sickert-george-moore-r1136820>. For further reading: Malcolm Brown, *George Moore: A Reconsideration* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1955). Adrian Frazier, *George Moore, 1852-1933* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000).

⁵⁷ Wees, 10.

⁵⁸ Fothergill, 5.

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becomes every year a more and more colossal joke played with inimitable gravity on a public which is too much the creature of habit to show that it is no longer taken in.”⁵⁹

Nevertheless, “before 1911,” as explained by David Bomberg, academy art “was still the public conception of What Art Should Be In England.”⁶⁰ Even Sir Edward Poynter’s inaugural lecture for the Slade emphasized that “there was room for another School of Fine Arts in England” but that the new school “could never be considered to come into competition” with the RA—even with its great planned reforms in teaching methodology.⁶¹



⁵⁹ Wees, 10.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Cited in Fothergill, 4-5. Sir Edward Poynter later was president of the Royal Academy of Arts in 1896-1918.

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Figure 2. The earliest unofficial “class photo” at the Slade, c. 1905.⁶² (Downloaded from the Slade Archive Project online: <http://sladearchive.github.io/>) Note: The image shows that the women students at the Slade were predominant.

Thanks to the generous endowments made by Felix Slade (1788-1868), the Slade School of Fine Art was established and quickly developed into one of the most progressive and influential art schools of its time. John Fothergill, a former Slade student and author of an early study of the school (1907), expressed his deep gratitude to Felix Slade at the beginning of his book:

Felix Slade was the man to whom the Slade students, especially the women students, owe too much.⁶³

Slade had been a lawyer, amateur artist and prestigious art collector.⁶⁴ When he died in 1868 he generously left his entire legacy to the nation and bequeathed £35,000 to endow professorships of the fine arts at Oxford, Cambridge and University College London in order to “promote,” “encourage” and “advance” professional study of the fine arts in England.⁶⁵ Sir Edward Poynter was appointed as the first Slade Professor at UCL, while John Ruskin and Sir Matthew Digby Wyatt accepted the chairs at Oxford and at Cambridge. Slade also established scholarships at UCL, not exceeding £10,000, for students under nineteen years of age for proficiency in drawing, painting and sculpture. Importantly, he stipulated that these scholarships were merit-based, “irrespective of sex.”⁶⁶ The oldest and most prestigious

⁶² This “class photo” was taken after the annual Slade Strawberry Picnic on June 23, 1905. It likely represents only some of the students at the Slade at the time.

⁶³ Fothergill, 3.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 4-5. A Felix Slade was the second son of Robert, a protector of Doctors’ Commons. He and his elder brother, William, studied law and later held the office of protector of Doctors’ Commons like their father. After his brother’s death, Felix inherited his mother’s property in Yorkshire and his father’s fortune and a house in Walcot Place, Lambeth. When Felix Slade died in 1868, he bequeathed his magnificent collections of artworks, books, prints and glass to the nation. For details about Felix Slade, please refer to Slade Archives 3Biiib, manuscript on Felix Slade by C. Koe Child (Treasurer of Slade appeal fund).

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ *University College, London: Calendar Session 1908-1909* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1908), 196. On the same page the publication also states: “All candidates shall be younger than twenty-one years

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of these was the Slade Scholarship in Fine Arts, consisting of £50 per annum (tenable for three years) for up to six students. But, there was a variety of others: the Goodall Art Scholarship (1873) and many awards such as the Melvill Nettleship Prize for Figure Composition (1897),⁶⁷ best painting from life, best drawing from life, best drawing from an antique figure, best composition on a designated subject (the Summer Composition Competition), and further prizes of books and/or cash for successful completion of the final anatomy examination given by the professor of anatomy.⁶⁸ All of these were open to men and women.

Continuing with Slade's open admissions and scholarship policy for women students, Poynter took equality as far as was socially acceptable at the time and paid attention to the integration of women. He stated in his first address:

It is my desire that in all the classes, except of course those for the study of the nude model, the male and female students should work together.⁶⁹

old on June 30th in the year of their competition." At UCL, a committee was appointed to oversee the distribution of scholarships to students. According to Fothergill, Edwin Field was among the committee members who had contributed the most. Under the advice of Field, the college also generously voted to set aside £5,000 to build the Slade School as part of the college quadrangle in Gower Street, premises which the school occupies to this day. The spirit of Slade's will was subsequently followed and developed.

⁶⁷ *The University College, London: Calendar Session 1904-1905* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1904), 217. The Goodall Art Scholarship was founded in 1873, valued at £20 a year, tenable for three years, and instituted by subscribers to the memorial fund for Trevelyan Goodall, who had been a pupil at University College School. The scholarship was awarded to a pupil for the execution of the best figure drawing from the Antique Room. The Melvill Nettleship Prize for Figure Composition was founded in 1897 in memory of Henry Melvill Nettleship, a former student of the Slade, and was awarded annually (£20 a year).

⁶⁸ *University College, London: Calendar Session 1908-1909* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1908), 197. For a complete list of scholarship winners and prizewinners, please refer to Table 2.

⁶⁹ Cited in Christian, 24. For her original references, please see E. J. Poynter, *Ten Lectures on Art* (London: Chapman & Hall: 1879), 111. For more information on Poynter, please refer to "The Slade, 1871-1971: A Centenary Exhibition," (London: Royal Academy, 1971). Also see T. A. Cross, "The Slade Tradition: 1871-1921, a Centenary Contribution (11 October-5 November 1971)" (London: London Fine Art Society, 1971).

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The press was quick to notice, at least niche interest press, and so in 1883, the *Magazine of Art* published an article called “Women at Work: The Slade Girls” by Charlotte Weeks and praised the Slade as follows:

Here, for the first time in England, indeed in Europe, a public Fine Art School was thrown open to male and female students on precisely the same terms, and giving to both sexes fair and equal opportunities. And it is to precedent then established that ladies have since elsewhere had the necessary advantages for study placed within their reach.⁷⁰

In addition to men and women being equally eligible for scholarships and prizes and the majority of classrooms being coeducational, the enlightened admission policies ensured proper facilities for the female student body: “Women students were encouraged to enroll by the provision of facilities including their own refreshment room and a female attendant.”⁷¹ Furthermore, the UCL calendar of 1871 announced that “the buildings and their approaches have ... been carefully designed in such a way as to make due provision for the admission of Ladies as Students of the Fine Art School.”⁷²

With Poynter’s recommendation, Alphonse Legros succeeded him as Slade Professors in 1876.⁷³ A Frenchman who spoke poor English, he was a lonely figure, yet his “demonstration” technique was popular with students, as were many of the enlightened

⁷⁰ Weeks, 325.

⁷¹ Philip Attwood, “The Slade Girls,” *British Numismatic Journal* 56 (1986): 148.

⁷² *Ibid.* Also see *University College Calendar 1871-1872* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1871), 45.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 149. In a letter to J. Robson, secretary to the council, dated February 17, 1876, Poynter wrote: “I saw M. Legros this morning, and asked him to act as my substitute for a few weeks, as I find it impossible at this time of year to keep my appointments at the Slade School, and I do not like to leave the students without a head. He will, to begin, take my place tomorrow ... I took the opportunity of mentioning to him that I had recommended him to the Slade Committee, but, of course, was careful to explain to him that it did not follow that he would be elected on that account ... Legros’s taking my duties will not absolve me from attending to give the usual lectures on composition &c. I felt only that I could not give the due amount of *class-teaching* and that it was necessary to provide a substitute in that department.” Extracted from Julie Helen Heyneman, “The Landmark’ on London Schools of Art,” *Brixton Free Press*, 22 February 1935). Please also refer to Slade Archive 3Biiib, “Slade School of Fine Arts: Department of the University.”

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changes he brought to the school. For example, as a founding member of the Society of Painter-Etchers in 1881 and the Society of Medallists in 1885, he successfully introduced etching and modeling to the school syllabus in 1881.⁷⁴ We may note that his students, especially his female students, were responsible for most of the cast medals produced during the 1880s and 1890s, and it was to them that the majority of the competition prizes went.⁷⁵ Additionally, toward the end of the nineteenth century women in UK seemed to be increasingly attracted to sculpture, and medal making was one option available at the Slade.⁷⁶ Young, aspiring artists, now long forgotten, who achieved much in this discipline include: May H. Barker, Maude Berry, Sarah Birch, Alice G. Burd, Ella Casella, Nelia Casella, Alice E. Donkin, Lydia Gay, Feodora Georgina Maud Gleichen, Mary P. Godsall, Elinor Jessie Marie Hallé, Ella K. Martin, Florence Newman, Florence Reason, Hypatia Rodocanachi, Ellen Mary Rope, Florence Harriet Steele, Effie Stillman, Lilian Swainson, Mary Swainson and Maria Terpsithea Zambaco.⁷⁷ However, medal making was not considered a secure career decision, and with Legros' resignation, declined in the 1890s.

After Legros's departure, the next remarkable change that came to the Slade and affected its women students was due, in large part, to the three men who reconstructed the

⁷⁴ Attwood, "The Slade Girls." For more information on Slade curricula on modeling and medals, please refer to University College London calendars for 1880-1881, 1883-1884 (p. 105) and 1884-1885 (p. 105). For information on medals by Alphonse Legros, please refer to Attwood's "The Medals of Alphonse Legros", p. 7. For the Society of Medallists, please refer to Attwood's "The Society of Medallists," 4-11.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 148-150. Attwood argues that Legros invited R. S. Poole to give lectures on medals and the art of making them at University College in 1883 and 1885. Poole offered the students three prizes for medals after his lecture. The winning pieces were shown in a display held within the 1885 International Inventions Exhibition, where all six prizes were taken by women. The *Magazine of Art* commented: "the Slade School competition medals form a goodly class alone."

⁷⁶ Philip Attwood, "The Slade Girls," in *British Numismatic Journal* 56 (1986), 148.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 153-177. Hallé and Gleichen were later active in reviving Society of Medallists activities, including two exhibitions at the Dutch Gallery in Brook Street, Mayfair in 1898 and 1901. Feodora Georgina Maud Gleichen was a leading sculptor in 1920's.

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basic teaching method: Frederick Brown (1851-1941), Henry Tonks (1862-1937) and Philip Wilson Steer (1860-1942). Brown, who became Slade Professor in 1893, remained in his post for nearly twenty-five years,⁷⁸ but it was specifically the triumvirate that “developed its [the Slade’s] maximum vitality and exercised an influence greater than it ever had before,”⁷⁹ leading many to observe that their harmonious and formidably effective partnership educated a generation of painters who dominated British art until the 1930s. In any case, the effect was almost immediate, and Tessa Mackenzie declared with confidence in 1895 that

Since the Slade School has been under the direction of Professor Brown, it has become one of the most important Art Schools in the kingdom.⁸⁰

Brown further developed the liberal regime of Poynter and Legros, giving greater freedom to women students to do figure drawing and nudes at a time when other schools were still afraid of affronting Victorian primness.⁸¹ In fact, Brown’s integration of women students into the Life Room had been first tested as a night class for working men at the old Architectural Museum in Tufton Street, behind Dean’s Yard, Westminster between 1877 and 1892. This was the beginning of the Westminster School of Art, and though it was

⁷⁸ Michael Reynold, "The Slade, the Story of an Art School, 1871-1971," (PhD diss., University College London, 1974), 95. Brown prevailed over nine other candidates, including William F. Yeames (R.A), G. A. Storey (A.R.A), George C. Haitey, Hon. John Collier and Oswald von Glehn, to succeed Legros in 1893. Brown had attended the National Art Training School, London (later the Royal College of Art) in 1868-1877 and studied in Paris under Robert-Fleury and Bouguereau in 1883. He taught at Westminster School of Art 1877-1892. He resigned as Slade Professor in 1917, with Tonks filling his place in 1918.

⁷⁹ UCL Special Collection; Reynold, 87.

⁸⁰ Cited in Foster, "Gwen John's Self-Portrait: Art, Identity and Women Students at the Slade School," in *English Art, 1860-1914: Modern Artists and Identity*, edited by David Peters Corbett and Lara Perry (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2000), 170. Originally appearing in Tessa Mackenzie, ed., *The Art Schools of London* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1895).

⁸¹ Slade Archive 3Biiiib. "Slade School of Fine Arts: Department of the University." In "The Landmark on London Schools of Art," Heyneman remarked: "Professor Brown was also a pioneer; he opened the 'life' classes to women, which was considered in Victorian days a most questionable innovation, and which was referred to by women themselves in whispers." Also see: Charles Aitken, "The Slade School of Fine Arts," *Apollo* 3, no. 13 (1926): 2.

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affiliated with South Kensington Schools, Brown was able to establish and develop his own system of teaching there. Nude models of both sexes posed for men and women students and were under the direct supervision of a “master,” although the women students worked in a separate “life room.” The success of this policy at Westminster School smoothed the way for its introduction at the Slade, and for this reason, many of his former pupils at Westminster chose to continue their studies with him at the Slade. Among these was Ethel Walker (1861-1951). His inclusion of women in the nude drawing class was indicative of an open-mindedness that in time gained the Slade a reputation and resulted in a rapid increase in the number of women students.

By the turn of the century, the ratio of women to men had increased from two to one to approximately three to one, and this was maintained throughout Brown’s tenure.⁸² In terms of actual statistics, the University College Archive Session Calendar for 1895-1896 listed 310 students in the Department of Fine Art, 206 of whom were women. An examination of the Session Calendar for 1910-1911 reveals that 253 students were listed in the Slade, 189 of whom were women. Annual fluctuations and trends are visualized in Table 1. Certainly, despite variations from year to year, the ratio of women to the total number of students remained high at the Slade in the period under review.⁸³ The combination of professional leadership and the established academic reputation of UCL had won the trust

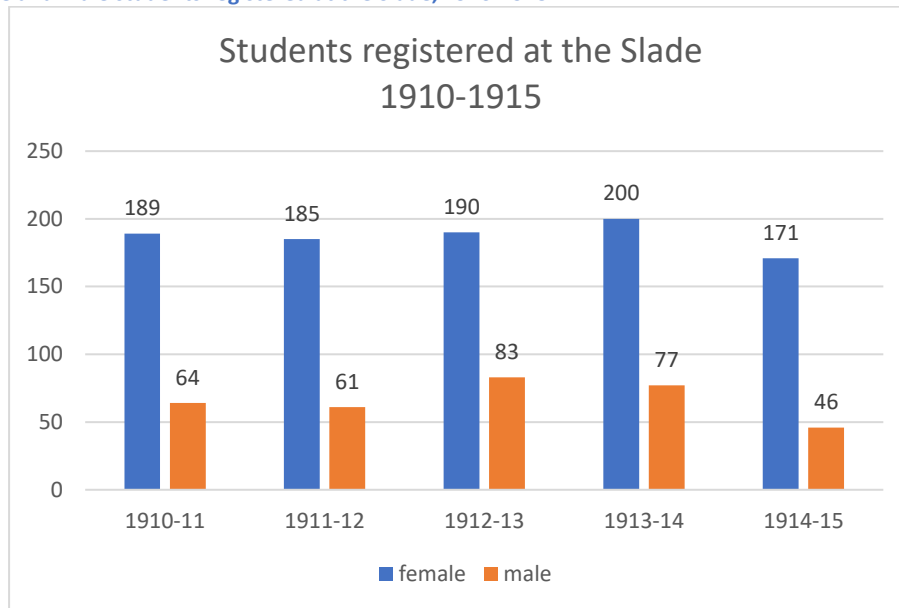
⁸² Christian, 26. Also refer to UCL Special Collection; Reynold, 112.

⁸³ *University College, London: Calendar Session 1911-1912* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1911), 537-539. *University College, London: Calendar Session 1912-1913* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1912), 564-566. *University College, London: Calendar Session 1913-1914* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1913), 571-574. *University College, London: Calendar Session 1914-1915* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1914), 591-594. *University College, London: Calendar Session 1915-1916* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1915), 540-543.

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of middle-class parents and guaranteed a comparatively secure environment for their daughters when attending life class.⁸⁴

Table1. Female and male students registered at the Slade, 1910-1915.



The triumvirate's welcome to women students at the Slade was rewarded by the emergence of a notable group of artists⁸⁵ who received scholarships and prizes and became active in a variety of art groups and exhibition circles. Among these students were: Mary Spencer Edwards (1893-1897, later married to Ambrose McEvoy),⁸⁶ Beatrice Bland (1892-1894), Ida Nettleship (1892-1898, later John Augustus John's wife), Ethel Walker (1893-1896, reentered in 1912-1913, 1916-1917 and 1921-1922), Ursula Tyrwhitt (1893-1898, reentered in 1912-1913),⁸⁷ Gwen Salmond (1892-1897, later wife of Sir Matthew Smith), Edna Clarke Hall (née Waugh, 1893-1898), Logic Whiteway (1893-1898), Louise Salaman

⁸⁴ UCL Special Collection; Reynold, 112.

⁸⁵ Aitken, 2.

⁸⁶ UCL Special Collection; Reynold, 106. Although already engaged to be married when she met Ambrose McEvoy (1878-1928) at the Slade, Mary Spencer Edwards was moved by McEvoy's gentle and poetic expression. As soon as she arrived home, she wrote to her fiancé to break the engagement.

⁸⁷ "Ursula Tyrwhitt, who was an ecstatic, bird-like girl, rather vague. Her father was the vicar of Nazeing, in Essex, and she had to fight him for five years before she could come to Slade. Only when she was twenty-three and presumably past hope of marriage did he let her go. As a result, she was somewhat older than her contemporaries. She had officially left the school before Gwen [John] came, but continued to be closely associated with it and with Ida" (Chitty, 40).

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(1893-1898), Evelyn Buckton (1893-1899), Gwen John (1895-1898), Wyn George (1896-1899, re-entered in 1901),⁸⁸ Rosa Waugh (1897- 1902), Louise Pickard (1898-1903),⁸⁹ Anna Airy (1899-1903), Vanessa Bell (1902-1903, 1904-1905, re-entered in 1912-1913), Thérèse Lessore (1904-1909),⁹⁰ Jessica Dismorr (1902-1906), Helen Saunders (1906-1907), Elsie McNaught (1905-1911), Mary Gwendolen Darwin (Mrs. Raverat, 1908-1911), Dora Carrington (1910-1914), Dorothy Brett (1910-1916), Ruth Humphries (1911-1914), Barbara Hiles (née Bagenal, 1912-1915) and Iris Tree (1913-1914).⁹¹

Slade Faculty and Its Aesthetic Legacy

When Slade graduates were hired to teach at the Slade, the system self-perpetuated, resulting in an “art system,” with a clear emphasis on the influence of France and primacy of the life class. Under the initial direction of Sir Edward Poynter, the Slade adopted French academic attitudes based on drawing and observation of nature, which marked a break with aesthetic emphasis at Royal Academy schools.⁹² Poynter had trained in

⁸⁸ Wyn George’s first day at the Slade was Tuesday, October 6, 1896; she left in the semester of 1898-1899. She went to Paris in the summer of 1899, then reentered the Slade for a final installment of a few weeks during the second half of the spring term of 1901 (Christian, 35, 57).

⁸⁹ The university calendar for 1903-1904 indicates that she had entered in 1898-1899 and 1903 was the last year where her name was listed under “Art, Laws, and Science students.”

⁹⁰ Thérèse Lessore entered the Slade in the semester of 1904-1905 and left in 1908-1909. Her name recorded in the university calendar was “Elaine T. Lessore.” She shared the Melvill Nettleship Prize for Figure Composition in 1909 with W. L. Claus.

⁹¹ The UCL Records Office holds all the official student and staff records; appointment is needed to access to these records. Additional student applications and related papers originally part of the main archive was housed in the Records Office as well when I visited in April 2015. There are NO student records as such held in the library or at the school (apart from the “Signing-In books” still held in the Slade office, which run from 1878 to the present day and the Student Records cards, 1910 to present). Years in parentheses indicate the period they studied at the Slade, which are based on the university calendars from 1893 to 1915.

⁹² Melissa Hall, “Modernism, Militarism and Masculinity: Modern Art Discourses and British Official War Art During the First World War” (PhD diss., State University of New York at Binghamton, 1993), 71. Before the foundation of the Slade School of Fine Art in 1871, Royal Academy of Arts (RA) was the only professional institution in London that offered fine art education. Sir Joshua Reynolds, first president of the Royal Academy of Arts, distrusted nature and emphasized the artistic convention of

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Paris in the Atelier Gleyre in the 1850s and proposed a course at the Slade in which figure drawing/painting held a central place. He asserted:

In the Slade School, the study of the living model will be considered of the first and paramount importance, the study of the Antique being put in second place, and used as a means of improving the style of the students from time to time.⁹³

These academic priorities were intended to give students greater freedom for imagination while being harnessed to the essential art vocabulary of composition. When he resigned from his position in 1876, Poynter recommended his French friend from schooldays in Paris, Alphonse Legros, to take his place.⁹⁴ Legros, who had been one of the circle of younger artists around Manet and a close friend of Whistler and Fantin-Latour, taught by demonstration due to his poor English. This was a master who had exhibited in the “Salon des Refusés” of 1863 with Manet, Whistler and Cézanne, and in 1876 exhibited in the Second Impressionist Exhibition in Paris. His social awareness and connection with Paris undoubtedly affected many of his students and inspired them to visit the French capital and absorb more of what was happening there. D. S. MacColl, who later became the Slade’s first instructor in art history, and Walter Richard Sickert, who went to Paris to continue his studies after one year at the Slade in 1881, were two such cases. Art critic George Moore, one of the earliest supporters of impressionism and modern French art, was also among Legros’s first students, and even Frederick Brown had been Legros’s student once when he was still at South Kensington. Brown later praised Legros’s systematic method and believed

copying art masters, which left his imprint on RA methods. In opposition to RA methods, the Francophile influences from impressionism in the teaching offered at the Slade encouraged their students to observe and draw directly from nature, and it was this fundamental difference that had made the Slade teaching so distinctive from that of elsewhere. For this, an art school led by a group of painters who were practicing impressionism themselves had challenged academic tradition established by RA.

⁹³ Christian, 23.

⁹⁴ Attwood, “The Slade Girls,” 149. Extracted from Heyneman. Please also refer to Slade Archive 3Biiiib, “Slade School of Fine Arts: Department of the University.”

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that his arrival was the most significant feature of the new regime at South Kensington.⁹⁵ Of course, at that time, Brown had little thought that he was destined to be Legros's successor at the Slade in 1893.⁹⁶

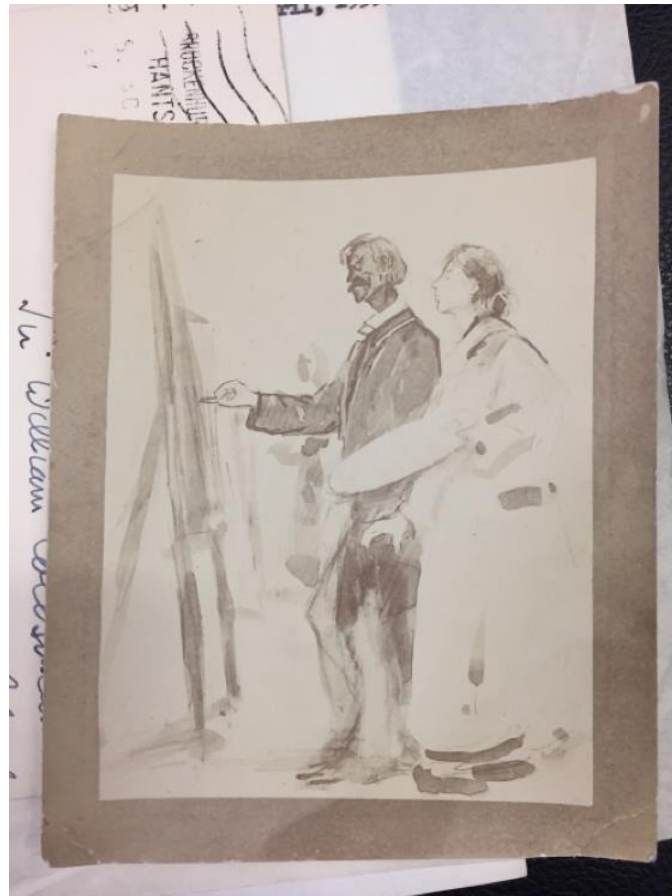


Figure 3. Photograph of a drawing of Slade student Miss Lloyd with Professor Frederick Brown. A letter from the Slade Professor, dated April 20, 1959, was sent to Miss Lloyd to express the school's gratitude for this charming addition to the school record. (Photographed by the author at UCL Special Collection [UCL Special Collection 3cib box] in January 2017)

The Slade's success during Brown's tenure was not through his efforts alone. He was indeed a capable and ambitious teacher, liked and respected by his students. But, it was also the formidably effective partnership between Brown and his two chief assistants, Henry

⁹⁵ UCL Special Collection; Reynold, 91-92. In 1876, when Brown had almost finished his studies at South Kensington, Poynter succeeded Richard Redgrave (1804-1888) as inspector-general for art at South Kensington. Poynter invited Legros, who was already Slade Professor, as visiting teacher of etching.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 95. Frederick Brown defeated nine other candidates to fill Legros's post.

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Tonks and Philip Wilson Steer, that created “the vintage years when Augustus John, Orpen, McEvoy, and other gifted draughtsman were learning there.”⁹⁷ Maribel Rough, a student who studied at the Slade between 1903 and 1908, carefully cut out and collected many of the exquisite drawings hastily applied by her teachers down the margins of her paper. She remembered that all three professors used this method and recalled “personally I learnt more from seeing these drawings done than any other way. What wonderful teachers they all were in their own individual manner.”⁹⁸ It has been suggested that one of the reasons for the striking solidarity of the Slade during that time was owing to its faculty members.

Andrew Forge wrote:

Brown, Steer and Tonks were extremely close to each other, united not only by friendship but by the course of their own work as painters. They were at the centre of a circle of extremely active people, writers, curators, critics as well as other painters: George Moore, D. S. McColl, Augustus Daniel, William Rothenstein, Sargent, Sickert. Furthermore, they had a cause, a flag to salute: the New English Art Club.⁹⁹

It is clear that within the studios of the Slade and radiating out to the galleries of London, their influence would be significant and would realign the overall trajectory of English painting at the turn of the century, thus it is worth pausing at this point to learn a little more about them.

Brown recalled his experience at the Government Art Training School in South Kensington (later the Royal College of Art)¹⁰⁰ as miserable:

... the teaching of drawing was by far the worst ... I spent two to three months on a full-size torso of Laocoon; at the end I knew no more about figure drawing than

⁹⁷ "Henry Tonks at the Slade School," *Manchester Guardian*, 25 November 1937.

⁹⁸ UCL Special Collection; Reynold, 156.

⁹⁹ UCL Special Collection; Reynold, 88.

¹⁰⁰ F. Graeme Chalmers, "South Kensington and the Colonies: David Blair of New Zealand and Canada," *Studies in Art Education* 26, no. 2 (1985): 69-70. The school was the first government school of design, established in 1837 at Somerset House in London. It later became headquarters when many provincial or branch schools joined. In 1857, the headquarters were moved to South Kensington on a site now occupied by the Victoria and Albert Museum.

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when I commenced ...in the life class this method of work proved to be impossible, but the underlying idea of imitating the surface with its local colour remained.¹⁰¹

Brown went to Paris in the winter of 1883-1884, remained there for six months to study at the Académie Julian, “the first professional art school to admit women on an equal basis with men,”¹⁰² and came under the influence of French naturalist painter Bastien-Lepage (1848-1884). Steer, meanwhile, tried unsuccessfully to get into the Royal Academy schools, and instead went to Paris, where he stayed for about one year, studying at the École des Beaux-Arts under Alexandre Cabanel (1823-1889), as well as at Julian’s. Before joining the Slade in 1893, Tonks, a trained surgeon, had, for years, attended Brown’s evening drawing classes at the Westminster School of Art. Though not one of its founders, Tonks became a regular exhibitor at the New English Art Club (NEAC) from 1891 and through it enjoyed the friendship of Steer and John Singer Sargent. When the position of assistant professor was offered to Tonks by Brown in 1893, he did not hesitate in giving up his job as demonstrator of anatomy at London Hospital and indeed his medical career.¹⁰³ Tonks was remembered as “a difficult person to get on with”¹⁰⁴ but “a great teacher” in figure drawing, presumably

¹⁰¹ UCL Special Collection; Reynold, 90.

¹⁰² Catherine Fehrer, “Women at the Académie Julian in Paris,” *Burlington Magazine* 136, no. 1100 (1994): 752. The Académie Julian was found by French painter and etcher Rodolphe Julian (1839-1907) in 1868 to seek changes in an art world dominated by the École des Beaux-Arts and the Salon d’Automne as well as to provide alternative opportunities for women and foreign artists banned by the École. Students were from all parts of Europe, especially England and the United States. In an interview, Julian pointed out that “women were given none of the opportunities which each male artist claims as his right” and that “few artists care to have the responsibility of taking ladies into their ateliers.”

¹⁰³ Gretchen Gerzina, *Carrington: A Life of Dora Carrington, 1893-1932* (London: John Murray Publishing, 1990), 20-21.

¹⁰⁴ “Artist Who Drew New Faces for Wounded Men: Brilliant Teacher of the Slade,” *Herald of Wales*, 17 June 1939. British surgeon Sir Frederick Treves considered Tonks to be the best medical student of his year and did everything to further his career. Even when Tonks gave up medicine for art the friendship remained.

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because of his intimate knowledge of anatomy.¹⁰⁵ He demanded respect during criticism, and in return he referred to them as “artists” rather than “students.”¹⁰⁶

In addition to Tonks, two new staff, both distinguished students at the Slade in their day and both regular NEAC exhibitors, arrived during the Edwardian period: Ambrose McEvoy (1878-1928) and Derwent Lees (1884-1931). McEvoy, a painter, joined in 1908, as did Derwent Lees, a draftsman who greatly strengthened the school in terms of drawing. Another noteworthy addition was Dr. George D. Thane, who taught anatomy from at least 1904. Mabel Culley, who studied at the Slade in October 1898, recalled:

He [Thane] came across from the Hospital with an attendant who prepared diagrams on the blackboard, which Thane rapidly filled in as he talked. He also brought bottles of specimens, pickled in spirit, to illustrate his remarks; and a living model to demonstrate the position and section of the various muscles, and explain how they affected form.¹⁰⁷

Art history courses did not enter the Slade curriculum until 1904 when Dugald Sutherland MacColl became its first lecturer.¹⁰⁸ He had studied at Westminster School of Art and the Slade under Legros, 1884-1892,¹⁰⁹ was art critic for the *Spectator*, 1890–1895, before moving on to the *Saturday Review* in 1896, and was a member of the NEAC from 1896. Roger Fry took over from MacColl in 1909 to lecture on art history until 1913.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁵ “Bust of Prof. Tonks for University College London. From a Special Correspondent,” *Daily Telegraph and Morning Post*, 26 November 1937. A. H. Gerrard executed a bust of Tonks for his memorial and recalled his experiences with the professor: “Tonks was a great teacher, in my experience, the best teacher of figure drawing we have had in this country, and as far as my experience goes, the best I have known outside the country. His work will live after him.”

¹⁰⁶ Suart Macdonald, *The History and Philosophy of Art Education* (Cambridge, UK: Lutterworth Press, 2004), 276.

¹⁰⁷ UCL Special Collection; Reynold, 116.

¹⁰⁸ *University College, London: Calendar Session 1904-1905*, 65.

¹⁰⁹ Mary Chamot, Dennis Farr and Martin Butlin, *Modern British Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture* (London: Oldbourne Book Co., 1964), 116.

¹¹⁰ *University College, London: Calendar Session 1909-1910* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1909), 71. Tancred Borenius later took Fry’s position, listed as the lecturer on the history of art in the *University College, London: Calendar Session 1914-1915*, 91.

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Despite its emphasis on giving women full access as students, the school, according to an archival search for these formative years, never officially employed women instructors. This may be somewhat misleading, however, as in the 1880s, it had been a specific requirement of Slade scholarship holders that they should render any teaching assistance necessary.¹¹¹ Miss Hayward, in 1884, and Miss Praeger, in 1890, for example, were appointed by Legros as student teachers, though their function and status remain unclear. In Brown's term of office we learn, through alternative sources, of a certain May Elder who, though untraceable in the school archives, taught life drawing on Saturdays to women students in 1897.¹¹² It is from the personal diary of student Wyn George that we catch a glimpse of the greater message Elder conveyed to students:

I am certain you will do something some day if you work and peg away at it. But when you feel you know a little, don't be led away by other students and get mannered and conventional. It will be damnation to your work and you must fight against it. Think you know nothing—it is learning to the end. Decide as soon as you can what branch of art you will take—whether figure, animal, landscape, portrait or design etc—and work at that. Man and woman are equal, but man stands on his own ground and woman on hers—a woman cannot compete with a man on his ground. She must find her own line in art. Of course this is very difficult because we have no great women painters to go by. Man has a greater creative and imaginative force than woman, but we have more inventiveness and more refinement, grace and beauty in drawings.¹¹³

One specific record of the appointment of a woman to the staff was Mary Sargant Florence (1857-1954), who taught "Fresco and Tempera Painting," a course of lectures and demonstrations at the Slade beginning in November 1912.¹¹⁴ In the school record, this class

¹¹¹ Christian, 25.

¹¹² UCL Special Collection; Stephen Chaplin, "A Slade School of Fine Art Archive Reader," vol. 2, 5-6.

¹¹³ UCL Special Collection; Reynold, 136. For more information on Wyn George's diary, please also refer to the section titled "The Slade Diary," in Christian, 35-56. George began her diary her first day in London, October 5, 1896, until June 4 1897. It thus recorded her first year at the Slade, her friendships with classmates, her communication with faculty, her exploring of London and so on.

¹¹⁴ *University College, London: Calendar Session 1912-1913*, (London: Taylor & Francis, 1912), 84. The course fee was 10s. 6d. This course is also mentioned in Deepwell, *Women Artists between the Wars*, 188, footnote 184: "Robert Travers at Piano Nobile suggests there was a course of fresco and

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was introduced as “a course of great interest and value,” and the school, as “fortunate in having so able an artist to give instruction in the great and difficult art.”¹¹⁵

Sargant Florence was the leading figure in the revival of mural art in 1910-1914 and active as a fresco painter in 1900-1914.¹¹⁶ She was also the sister of the sculptor F. W. Sargant, who had studied in Paris and at the Slade under Legros. She exhibited frequently with the NEAC and the Women’s International Art Club (WIAC) and was a member of both organizations. Her tempera painting *Children Playing Chess*, exhibited at the fifteenth WIAC annual exhibition in 1914 was praised by Frank Rutter as “strong and simple in drawing and design” and “impressive.” He believed that

Mrs. Sargant Florence has had an experience of mural painting which few living artists can claim, and the magisterial austerity of her designs and her admirable control of her power of modelling are eloquent of her intimate understanding of the art of wall painting.¹¹⁷

Importantly, Ethel Walker reentered the Slade specifically to take this course, and as a result, her works moved off in a new direction after 1912.¹¹⁸ We shall return to mural painting, the importance it plays in understanding Ethel Walker’s oeuvre, and Tonks’s association with it, later in chapters 2 and 5.¹¹⁹

Female staff member Mrs. Dickson (or Dixon) was mentioned frequently in the *College Gazette* but appears nowhere in the official school record. In 1898, correspondence

tempera painting,” in reference to Robert Travers, *Spencer Gore and His Circle: With Special Focus on John Doman Turner* (London: Piano Nobile Publications, 1997), 24. The fresco and tempera class was held on Mondays at 4:00 pm. The fee for this course was 10 shillings and sixpence.

¹¹⁵ "Slade Intelligence," *U.C.L. Union Magazine* (December 1912): 32.

¹¹⁶ Alan Powers, "The Fresco Revival in the Early Twentieth Century," *Journal of the Decorative Arts Society, 1850-the Present*, no. 12 (1988): 38.

¹¹⁷ Frank Rutter, "Round the Galleries," *Sunday Times*, 8 March 1914.

¹¹⁸ Powers, 38.

¹¹⁹ For further reading on British mural paintings, see: Clare A. P. Willsdon, *Mural Painting in Britain, 1840-1940* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2000).

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between Mrs. Dickson and the hall porter (who referred to those at the Slade as “a curious crew”) elicited this humorous retort from her in agreement:

They are an awful set,
Just see my tables and the floor,
All dripping wet
When they were all away, my rooms were clean as clean could be;
But now, O lor! The mess they make by spilling tea.¹²⁰

Several years later she appears again in a Slade sonnet, where she is lauded as kind hearted and empathetic to those engaged in learning, and perhaps less so to those for whom art matters less:

And in the “life” when feeble models faint,
From keeping of the pose while students paint,
Who to rescue then but Mrs. D.
And brings them to with copious bowls of tea!
And who but she provides, between the poses,
Rags for cut fingers, balm for bleeding noses!
But let not student think that he or she
Can safely try to gammon Mrs. D.
No! No! young ladies! You may try your ticks on
Your other friends, but not on Mrs. D-x-n.¹²¹

Slade student Ernest Blaikey recalled her as “comfortable Mrs. Dixon, the caretaker—
who used to keep me supplied with chocolate.”¹²²

Slade Women in the Life Class

¹²⁰ "Slade Notes," *University College Gazette*, 27 October 1898, 10.

¹²¹ "Slade Sonnets," *University College Gazette*, 28 June 1901, 206.

¹²² UCL Special Collection; cited in Reynold, 155.

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Figure 4. Slade drawing class in the Antique Room, c. 1881, date unknown. *Illustrated London News*.

The “life drawing” component, central to the Slade ethos, was one of the key factors that set the school apart from others, but what were the ramifications for women students? All students entering the Slade began drawing studies of casts from the Antique Room until judged competent to progress to the Life Room. Unlike the teaching method adopted by the official Government Schools of Design at South Kensington (later the Royal College of Art),¹²³ there was no need for “elaborately stippled drawing” before gaining admission, and the work period in the Antique Room was shorter.¹²⁴ In the Antique Room, students settled down to draw casts of Greek, Roman and Italian Renaissance sculptures like the Discobolus and the Venus de Milo from ten o’clock in the morning until four in the afternoon. A poem entitled “A Ballad of the Slade,” published in the *University College Gazette* in 1903, vividly depicts the scene:

There’s a faculty known as “The Slade.”
Its students comprise man and maid,

¹²³ Bruce Laughton, "Introduction, the Slade, 1871-1971: A Centenary Exhibition " (London: Royal Academy, 1971), 5.

¹²⁴ Chaplin, 160.

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Some work still their bones ache at Art, for its own sake
...
And its Art! Art! Art!
They try to live up to the part,
There seems to be plenty of *D. far niente* [pleasantly doing nothing]
About their career from the start.
The points they discuss
Of the Discobolus
(With the aid of a muscular chart)
And they draw—ten to four—and progress more and more
In their Art! Art! Art!¹²⁵

Ernest Blaikey, who studied at the Slade from 1901 to 1904, recalled his first day in the Antique Room as being among a large number of “alarming and grown-up women, most of whom obviously moved in fashionable and exalted circles.”¹²⁶ Although perhaps an intimidating first experience in either room, to move from still to life drawing was what all the students desired, and soon they would spend the majority of their time drawing live draped and nude models (according to the genders of the model and the students), progressing to painting the model only when judged sufficiently advanced.¹²⁷

Supplementary lectures on anatomy and perspective were offered, as were a range of other subjects, including Mural Painting, History of Art, Design, Architecture and Associated Subjects, and Physics and Chemistry of Colors. In addition to these formal classes, all

¹²⁵ "A Ballad of the Slade," *University College Gazette*, 13 May 1903, 332.

¹²⁶ UCL Special Collection; Reynold, 154-155.

¹²⁷ The author feels it is no coincidence that writer Pat Barker titled her novel about the Slade *Life Class* (New York: Anchor Books, 2007). Barker set the story in the turbulent prewar years, and it was in the life class where more advanced students (both male and female) who took art training seriously and considered art as their future professions gathered. For this research, it was essential to trace back from the artists who dominated the London art scene at the beginning of twentieth century to their training at the Slade and more specifically to a more advanced training in the Life Room in order to examine the continuity and change of their artistic approaches. The life class was far more than a class but the embodiment of the entire Slade training system that set it apart from other art schools. The Life Room would be the ideal venue where dramatic conflicts took place between young students who observed the influences from Paris and their rigorous, more mature and conservative lecturers, between personal choice and social expectation—and the perfect setting to drive a fictional story.

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students were encouraged at an early stage to learn from the Old Masters, use the print room at the British Museum and the library at the Victoria and Albert Museum, and copy works at the National Gallery.

Every month the Slade professor set out composition subjects for students in the “sketch club” to pursue and in time present. Each year prizes were awarded for figure composition painting (the Summer Composition Competition), figure painting, head painting, figure drawing, antique drawing, sculpture, and fine-art anatomy.¹²⁸ Although in numbers women dominated the classes, how much did they learn and how successful were they? An in-depth analysis of the Slade archive yields some interesting results.



Figure 5. J. R. Brown. “The Life Class in the Slade Room,” *Graphic*, 26 February 1881. (Download from UCL Special Collection)

¹²⁸ For the list of faculty members at the Slade from 1871 to 1915, please refer to Appendix 1.

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Figure 6. HMP, "The Life Class," c. 1883. (Reproduced from Charlotte Weeks, "Women at Work: The Slade Girls," *Magazine of Arts* 6 [1883]: 325)

In 1871, when the Slade opened its doors, women and men were allowed to work together only in the Antique Room, not in the Life Room. Yet, J. R. Brown's etching entitled "The Life Class in the Slade Room," published in 1881 in the *Graphic*, and "The Life Class," published in the *Magazine of Arts* in 1883, tell a different story, depicting a mixed group of men and women studiously drawing a draped male model and surrounded by male instructors. So, it appears that women and men actually were able to work together in the Life Room as long as the male model was partially covered. This contrasted with the majority of schools where women were taught in segregated classes until 1918, a "tradition" that continued in some art schools until 1945.¹²⁹ The change was gradual therefore. Before Brown's arrival, furthermore, it appears that women could attend nude

¹²⁹ Cited in Delia Gaze, ed. *Concise Dictionary of Women Artists* (London: Routledge, 2001): 72.

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life classes only when the model was female or the male model was draped. With the exception of the mixed draped sessions, all live figure classes were single-sex, and such segregation at the Slade continued until 1959.¹³⁰ Professor Brown's encouragement of women students in the Life Room at the Slade and the requirement of a high standard, was a significant change and meant serious business, especially with Tonks at the helm, a professor revered and feared in almost equal measure by the female students. In the Life Room Slade students usually seated themselves on low drawing seats called "donkeys," clipped their Michelet paper onto large portfolios and "drew with enthusiasm and almost invariably in charcoal."¹³¹ Emma Haywood recommended that the inexpensive paper made in France was "best suited with charcoal works," which was extremely convenient for advanced students to capture a living model's pose. The medium could rapidly "catch the action and spirit of the pose" and "bear the impress of life and vitality."¹³² Tonks "had a great affection"¹³³ for this combination. The Life Room itself was to be treated with utmost "solemnity," as Slade graduate Milicent Gough (né Woodhams) recalled:

... even the mice which lived on the crumbs from charcoal drawings erasions [*sic*] came out boldly to eat while the classes were on—all was so silent. The arrival of Tonks with "Little Billee" (Mr. Russell) set most of us in a dither. He would stand at the door, tall and scornful, and look at us with such a long-suffering expression that one could only cringe in anticipation. It was said that his theory was that until he had made a girl cry he could do nothing with her. I remember particularly one student whose drawing he was looking at crumpling up when he said, "Well, I suppose your father can afford to pay for you to come here and waste our time and yours."¹³⁴

There were, it seems, no double standards in terms of male and female students, their seriousness and the demands placed upon them by faculty. And yet, this did not

¹³⁰ Christian, 23.

¹³¹ UCL Special Collection; Reynold, 153.

¹³² Emma Haywood, "Hints on Drawing in Charcoal and Chalk," *Decorator and Furnisher* 12, no. 1 (1888): 10.

¹³³ UCL Special Collection; Reynold, 153.

¹³⁴ Cited in Reynold, 157-158.

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dampen the ardor of young women students who could not wait to progress from the Antique Room downstairs to the Life Room upstairs. This is personified by the case of Wyn George¹³⁵ who entered the Slade in the autumn of 1896 and, unlike those girls who chose to remain in the Antique Room to avoid Tonks's sarcasm, eagerly awaited the "promotion" to the Life Room. Despite personal encouragement by Professor Brown, she was not selected for life class and expressed in a disappointed but determined tone in her diary, "I hope I shall get better soon."¹³⁶ Like George, Edna Clarke Hall was another woman who was not intimidated by Tonks's fearful reputation. She wrote in her memoir:

He never made me cry. I adored him when he was kind and still loved him when he was unkind. But he never told me to go home and do my knitting as he had done to some other girl students.¹³⁷

Milicent Gough seemed to see past the veneer and recollected: "All this was of course not his real nature, we all knew his kindness."¹³⁸ Berta Ruck similarly had no problem with Tonks's scrutiny.¹³⁹ Although she observed that Tonks often reduced other students to

¹³⁵ For more information on Wyn George, please refer to Jessica Christian, *Wyn George: Traveler and Artist* (Dorset: Dovecote Press, 2013). George was Christian's great-aunt. Also refer to George's scrapbook held at UCL Special Collections for some of her drawings. Michael Reynold's unpublished manuscript, "The Slade, the Story of an Art School, 1871-1971" also revived the story of the Slade based on George's diary kept during her first year at the school.

¹³⁶ UCL Special Collection; cited in Reynold, 129.

¹³⁷ UCL special collection; Edna Clarke Hall, "Chapter II: The Slade," edited by University College London (UCL Special Collection, 1981), 1. Clarke Hall's younger sister was Rosa Waugh, who also studied at the Slade, from 1892 to 1902, and afterward privately with Gwen John, a close friend of Edna's. Rosa Waugh started an art studio just for women art students, and Helen Saunders (1885-1963) was among her first students. Her teaching philosophy followed the established Slade pattern: Students progressed from the antique to the life class.

¹³⁸ Cited in Reynold, 157-158.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 143-146. Berta Ruck was born in India, but spent her youth in Caernarvonshire, where her father, after retiring from the army, had been appointed chief constable. She grew up with the idea of having to earn her living. While at school she showed some talent for drawing, and this led her parents to hope that, if properly taught, she might "do something in illustrating children's books." She was sent to London to study, first at Lambeth School of Art, then in 1901, she was awarded an L.C.C. Scholarship entitling her to "free tuition at any Metropolitan School of Art, and to 20 pounds a year, with an option of extension. She chose the Slade. After The Slade, she went to Paris and studied for a time at Calorossi's. Ruck's ambition soon shifted after discovery of her true bent. She became a writer while she was still in Paris and published her first of many novels in 1914.

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tears, “Not me. I was too completely happy to be there.”¹⁴⁰ Tonks had “positive” comments about her, too:

This student’s is the only drawing in the room that remotely resembles the model ... but don’t lay the flattering unction to your soul that it is at all good.¹⁴¹

Ruck’s friend at the Slade, Ernest Thesiger, wrote in a similar vein: “How he frightened everybody, and how they all adored him! ... [B]eneath his hatcher-faced grimness lay a warm, human heart.”¹⁴²

It has been argued that Tonks’s harshness toward first-year students was not personal but rather the antidote to the delusions of would-be artists, male and female alike, in a school that had no entry examination.¹⁴³ Maribel Rough, who attended the Slade starting in 1903 for four years, explained that Tonks’s acid attitude to idlers, irrespective of sex, was to protect the reputation of the school. It was a school for professionals, and his fierceness was to purge it of dilettantes who used it as an excuse to stay at a place like Alexandra House (a fashionable hostel for women art students) and have a good time in London.¹⁴⁴ If a student could take it, Tonks, in return, would tell her all he knew about drawing.¹⁴⁵ George recalled her conversation with Tonks while she was completing a study of the head of Venus:

Tonks: What are all those black lines on the face for?

Wyn George: For the shadow.

Tonks: Why is the shadow there?...

Wyn George: Because it is there!!!

Tonks: Because it is there! If you had a coat covered with blue spots would you get a blue pencil and draw them in? If you only want to be a copyist go to a photographer’s studio. Don’t draw in a parrot like way. You have come here to

¹⁴⁰ Ibid, 145.

¹⁴¹ Ibid, 145.

¹⁴² Cited in Christian, 29.

¹⁴³ Chitty, 37.

¹⁴⁴ UCL Special Collection; Reynold, 156.

¹⁴⁵ Chitty, 37.

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cultivate your brain. Don't say again because it is there! You draw a shadow because you want to express the form of the face ... Try and draw a figure now.¹⁴⁶

Other female students also took Tonks's advice seriously and in recompense would be stimulated by rare glimmers of encouragement, such as "Work on—don't lose courage."¹⁴⁷ In fact, Tonks believed in women's powers of artistic achievement and felt they made better students than men because "speaking generally they do what they are told."¹⁴⁸ This comment should not however be misinterpreted. The Slade women students had independent critical views about what good art should be and were not hesitant in expressing it—even when the subject was Tonks's own work. A visit to the autumn exhibition of the NEAC offered George just such an opportunity, which she recorded in her diary:

The Prof's things weren't at all good—sketches in oil of some castle—and as for Tonks who I thought must be a genius, he was very small. "A lady undressing"—what a queer subject, not at all inspiring. Another was of the fat demi-god Silenus sitting on a donkey—vile.¹⁴⁹

George's diary also reveals the close friendship among fellow women students and a relatively relaxed relationship with teachers. She said: "I think I. Nettleship is simply sweet—so picturesque. Miss Salmond makes me laugh ... A girl named Gwen John asked me if my name was 'Tubby'. Then sketched me munching an apple."¹⁵⁰ This group of women friends had also appeared in hybrid form of human heads with animal bodies in Logic Whiteway's "The Slade Animal Land," a notebook of caricature portraits of Slade students and staff. Alongside each drawing was a written key and humorous commentary to the "animals." Whiteway studied at the Slade from 1893 to 1898 and created this work in February and

¹⁴⁶ UCL Special Collection; cited in Reynold, 130.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 136.

¹⁴⁸ Cited in Christian, 28.

¹⁴⁹ UCL Special Collection; Cited in Reynold, 132-133.

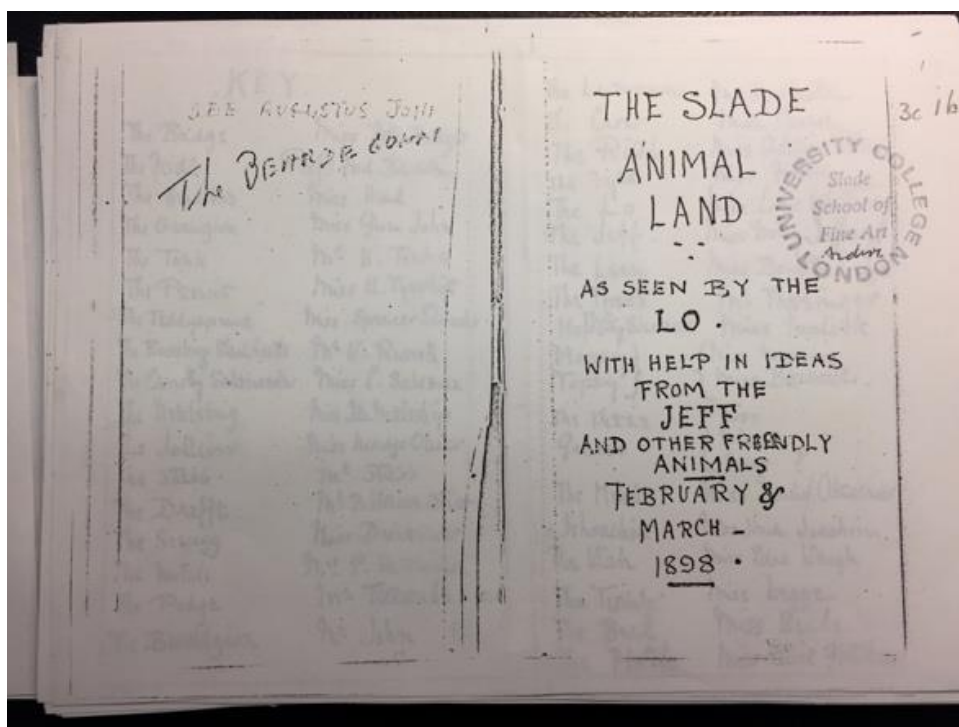
¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 131.

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March of her final year.¹⁵¹ There are a total of forty-one pen-and-ink sketches, and many feature women students. Professor Brown, well respected by his students, also earned his caricature with the accompanying comment: “This learned and kindly creature has a big jaw but it seldom bites.” The most humorous commentary regards Tonks:

This voracious bird lives on the tears of silly girls. Its sarcasms are something awful, but it generally ends “all right, go on.”

Evidently, Whiteway and her girlfriends at the Slade did not take Tonks’s sarcasm seriously or let their enthusiasm for life-drawing practice be dampened. In addition to the life class offered by the Slade, some female students looked for other ways to study life models and practice on their own. Ethel Walker and her friend Clara Christian took life class together with Brown at Westminster School of Art, before following him to the Slade in 1895.¹⁵²



¹⁵¹ UCL Special Collection: Box No. 3cib, Accession No. 02-139. “A note-book of Caricature Portraits of staff and students at the Slade School by woman student called Logic Whiteway in 1898, with a humorous commentary and a key to the ‘Animals’” (5 ½ x 3 ⅜ in.) The portraits include Gwen John (“The Gwengion”), Augustus John (“The Beardgion”), Wilson Steer (“The Draft”), Ida Nettleship (“The Nettlebut”), Henry Tonks (“The Tonks), Frederick Brown (“The Fredd”). Logic Whiteway, the student who created the caricatures, appears as “The Lo.”

¹⁵² TGA 716.81: “Notes on Dame Ethel Walker by Grace English,” 4.

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Figure 7. Logic Whiteway, "The Slade Animal Land," c. 1898. UCL Special Collection: Box No. 3cib, Accession No. 02-139. "A note-book of Caricature Portraits of staff and students at the Slade School by woman student called Logic Whiteway in 1898, with a humorous commentary and a key to the 'Animals'" (5 ½ x 3 ¾ in). (Photographed by the author at UCL Special Collection in January 2017)

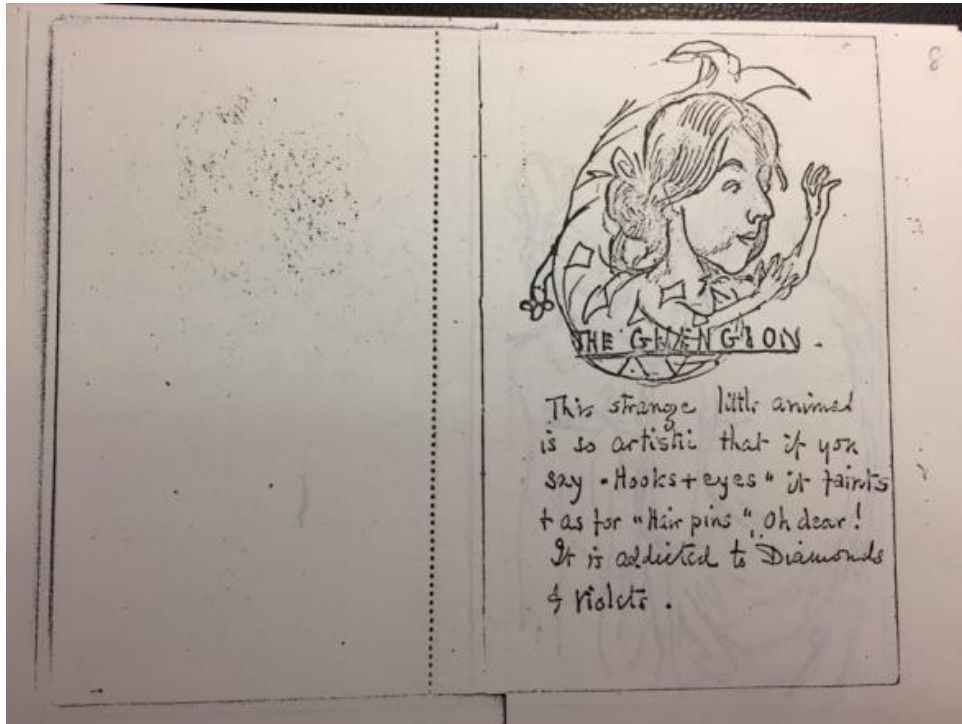
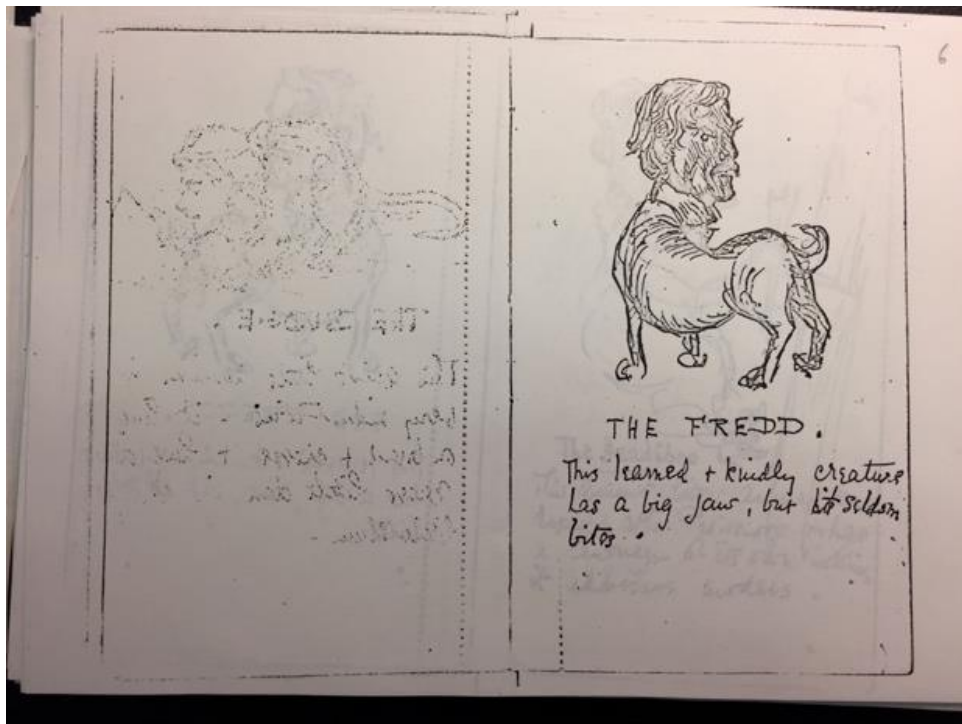


Figure 8. Logic Whiteway, "The Gwengion," caricature of Gwen John, c. 1898: "This strange little animal is so artistic that if you say 'Hooks + eyes' it faints + as for 'hair pin', oh dear! It is addicted to 'Diamonds and violets.'" UCL Special Collection: Box No. 3cib, Accession No. 02-139. (Photographed by the author at UCL Special Collection in January 2017)



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Figure 9. Logic Whiteway, "The Fredd," caricature of Slade Professor Frederick Brown, c. 1898. UCL Special Collection: Box No. 3cib, Accession No. 02-139. (Photographed by the author at UCL Special Collection in January 2017)

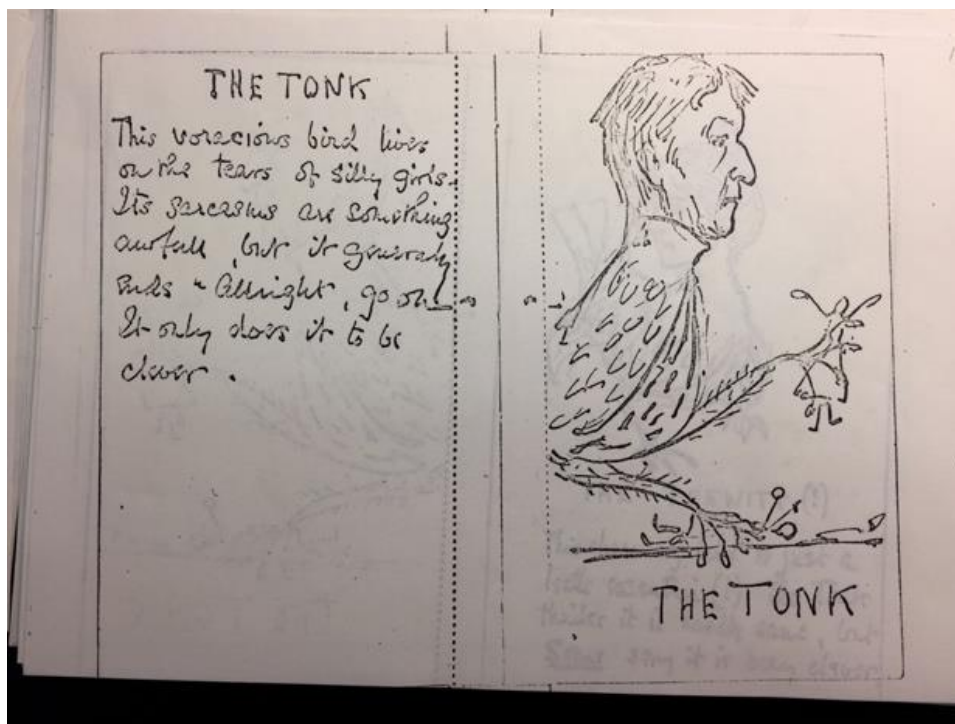


Figure 10. Logic Whiteway, "The Tonk," caricature of Professor Henry Tonks, c. 1898. UCL Special Collection: Box No. 3cib, Accession No. 02-139. (Photographed by the author at UCL Special Collection in January 2017)

After leaving the Slade, Walker attended Walter Sickert's evening class from time to time to draw from life,¹⁵³ then reentered the Slade several times between the ages of thirty-eight and sixty-one to do intensive study of the nude model.¹⁵⁴ Edna Clarke Hall had her own innovative, self-sufficient ideas for life drawing and once borrowed her mother's bedroom and big mirror to study her twisted body. She remembered in her unpublished memoir:

One day we had to do the "Rape of the Sabines" for a competition at the Slade. I said to my mother, who did not know what it was all about: "Would you mind if I used your bed and drew myself in your lovely big looking glass." She was very surprised but she said: "It is all yours." Every now and then she looked in and found me standing on her bed or lying half dressed in awful positions, being raped. But she

¹⁵³ TGA 716.81: "Notes on Dame Ethel Walker by Grace English," 6.

¹⁵⁴ Deepwell, *Women Artists between the Wars*, 153-154.

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never interfered and let me do anything I liked up there and I made her super-tidy bedroom into a glorious muddle sitting for myself.¹⁵⁵

This composition won her a forty-pound prize and was praised by the jury for its vigor.

Clarke Hall also modeled for Ida Nettleship to help her prepare for the Slade composition prize.¹⁵⁶ Besides using their own bodies and posing for each other, Nettleship once secretly brought a male model with her from London to Wales to “study the color of flesh in the sunlight instead of knowing about it in the school where the light was very dull.”¹⁵⁷ As might be expected, this model was hidden from her mother but shared with her Slade friends Clarke Hall and Gwen Salmond, who came along with her for the holiday. Apparently, the Slade women students were adopting, perhaps somewhat scandalously, the French impressionist technique of “plein air” to study color and tone directly from observation and nature, rather than the “high art model or the internalization of established artistic conventions” that Sir Joshua Reynolds had advocated for Royal Academy schools.¹⁵⁸

This initiative shown by Nettleship, Clarke Hall and Salmond is actually significant—and a serious matter. Access to nude models, for male art students, was assured; for women, it was a difficulty that the Slade did its best to fulfill.¹⁵⁹ Linda Nochlin hones in on this in her groundbreaking essay “Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?” emphasizing that without adequate access to opportunities to develop such a central,

¹⁵⁵ Clarke Hall, 7-8. UCL Special Collection 4DiiiC: Edna Hall Clarke unpublished Memoir, Chapter II, pages 7-8, which was received by the Slade School of Fine Arts on June 9, 1981, as indicated in the letter.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 8. UCL Special Collection 4DiiiC: Edna Hall Clarke unpublished Memoir, Chapter II.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 13. In her memoir, Clarke Hall wrote: “We took rooms in a house high above the sea and overlooking a bay. At night, we could see the far off lights of Aberystwyth twinkling in the darkness across the water. Ida's mother came down to see that [we] were all installed in proper lodgings. She then went away but didn't know that we had a model down from London.”

¹⁵⁸ Hall, 71.

¹⁵⁹ Heathcock, 10-11. “... this was a novelty and was heavily responsible for the progressive reputation of the Slade.”

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foundational skill there could be no great works of art. She continues: "It is rather as though a medical student was denied the opportunity to dissect or even examine the naked human body."¹⁶⁰ Yet, in stark contrast to the Slade, women at the Royal Academy of Arts in London, for example, were not permitted to study from the nude until 1903.¹⁶¹ By 1910, even when the nude rather than the draped model was offered to women in most London art schools, many provincial art schools continued the convention of the draped model in the name of "propriety," some until as late as 1945. To one extent or another, all these essential reforms brought about by the Slade removed the obstacles in the path of women art students, and the school was awarded with the emergence of a group of prizewinning women artists.

Slade Women Students in the Edwardian Era

Broadening the panorama beyond the walls of the Slade, London, too, was experiencing significant "waves" of ideas and lifestyles at this time, influences that were brought to bear on the Slade students. One such influence was Paris, which will be studied in a later chapter.

While young British artists had, for some time, flooded into Paris, London now was beginning to attract foreign artists as a new age for the island nation emerged: "[P]eople began to re-think old ideas and explore new ways of living. ... Moreover, he [Edward VII] created an atmosphere in which it was possible for social change to occur and for the arts to flourish."¹⁶² For art, in particular, Joseph Duveen observed:

¹⁶⁰ Linda Nochlin, "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?" in *Women Artists: The Linda Nochlin Reader*, edited by Maura Reilly (London: Thames & Hudson, 2015), 53.

¹⁶¹ Heathcock, 10-11.

¹⁶² Gray, 11.

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I think it first became evident in 1903 that there was a new art spirit abroad in the land. People who care about such things began to realize dimly that there was such a thing as twentieth-century art as distinct from late nineteenth century art.¹⁶³

Cultural historians are more or less in agreement that art, and the London art world, changed and flourished at the turn of the century, especially between 1901 and 1914, compared to what had gone before, and perhaps surprisingly, to what would follow in “the febrile debility of the twenties and the polarized aridity of the thirties.”¹⁶⁴ A glance at the exhibition activity in the British capital is telling in terms of both breadth and depth of change and the reverberations that they created. One important example was the *Exhibition of Irish Art* at the Guildhall, in May and June 1904, organized by Hugh Lane. Another was an exhibition of impressionist paintings in January and February 1905 at the Grafton Galleries, London, organized by Paul Durand-Ruel (315 works exhibited). On the opening, the *Times* praised it as “by far the most representative exhibition of the kind that London has ever seen.”¹⁶⁵ In February 1906, the Lafayette Gallery (London) held an exhibition of *Pictures from the 1905 Salon d’Automne*. In 1907, the informal Saturday “At Homes” gatherings started by Walter Sickert, Spencer Gore and Harold Gilman in a studio at 19 Fitzroy Street became a formal organization known as the Fitzroy Street Group, which promoted and supported artists such as Lucien Pissarro and women artists Nan Hudson (1869-1967), Ethel Sands (1873-1962), and Renée Finch (1876-1954). Hudson and Sands were from the United States; Finch was from Norway but had studied under Sickert. Then, in April 1909, Roger Fry, D. S. MacColl, Charles J. Holmes and Lady Ottoline Morrell began a small, informal

¹⁶³ Joseph Duveen, *Thirty Years of British Art* (London: The Studio, 1930), 55.

¹⁶⁴ Boris Ford, ed., *The Edwardian Age and the Inter-War Years*, vol. 8, *The Cambridge Guide to the Arts in Britain* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 17.

¹⁶⁵ “French Art at the Grafton Galleries,” *Times*, 17 January 1905, 6. “In this exhibition, Paul Durand-Ruel has brought with him 19 examples of Edward Manet, 55 of Claude Monet, 35 of Degas, 59 of Renoir, 40 of Pissarro, 36 of Sisley, 10 of Cezanne, 13 of Mme. Morisot, and 38 of Bondin.”

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“association” dedicated to fostering and exhibiting talented artists and British contemporary art, as “some of the finer artistic talent of our time is imperfectly or not at all represented in the National and Municipal Galleries.”¹⁶⁶ By 1910, the group was launched under its present name, the Contemporary Art Society, and its mission made clear:

During the last century, little or no attempt was made to secure for the nation any vital contemporary painting which has stood the test of time. ... The committee ... believes that pictures by contemporary artists should be purchased in order to supply what may seem to posterity an inexcusable gap in our public museums and galleries, already overloaded with ephemeral work of the age preceding our own.¹⁶⁷

The society, in fact, wanted to supplement the works of the National Art Collections Fund with modern art.¹⁶⁸ Meanwhile, on October 21, 1909, the first issue of *Art News* was published, with the proclamation that it was “the only Art Newspaper in the United Kingdom.”¹⁶⁹

Simultaneous with the rapidly changing art world, London also witnessed increasingly pressing demands for women’s rights and a new social identity in the public sphere. Women emphasized their desire for independence, freedom to access educational and professional opportunities, and a life outside of the domestic realm in the public sphere. Julie Anne Johnson, in an unpublished dissertation complements this study, but focusing on women artists in Paris, suggests that these women artists were often grouped “within the larger cultural and social phenomenon of the ‘new woman’,” and this concept was partly in the context of feminist activism but also in conjunction with the promise of

¹⁶⁶ "Contemporary Art Society Annual Report 1911," Contemporary Art Society, <http://www.contemporaryartsociety.org/about/reports/>.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ "The Contemporary Art Society," *Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 18, no. 92 (1910): 122.

¹⁶⁹ Anna Gruetzner Robins, *Modern Art in Britain, 1910-1914* (London: Merrell Holberton and Barbican Art Gallery, 1997), 181.

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women colleges and college students.¹⁷⁰ Departing from the stereotypical and traditional Victorian woman, the New Woman¹⁷¹ became a cultural icon of a new age in Britain and further afield in Europe. Beginning with campaigns for social reform, in 1903 a leading militant organization campaigning for women's suffrage¹⁷² in Great Britain, the Women's

¹⁷⁰ Julie Anne Johnson, "Conflicted selves: women, art and Paris 1840-1914" (PhD diss., Queen's University, 2008), 5

¹⁷¹ The concept of the new woman emerged in the 1880s and 1890s, "partly in the context of feminist activism but also in conjunction with bohemian artistic circles and rise of women's colleges" (Johnson, 2 & Roberts, 21). This expression of "New Woman" was first coined by British novelist and journalist Sarah Grand in her article "The New Aspect of the Woman Question," published in the *North American Review* in March 1894, and soon spread into public discourse in other European countries. Historian Lucy Bland defined this a term as "a young woman from the upper or middle class concerned to reject many of the conventions of femininity and live and work on free and equal terms with the opposite sex" (Bland, 134). This change of mind for an independent, single and educated woman also requires her physical changes in activity and dress. The bloomers and bicycle were both symbols and real agents of increasing feminine ability to move and to engage with a broader active world (Elliott, 39). However there was contemporary debates about whether the image of the new women was a real person of an ideal character that only appeared in books by the new women writers (including Sarah Grand, Mona Caird, and George Egerton) and avant-garde plays (most notably the works of Henrik Ibsen and George Bernard Shaw) (Johnson, 6). Studies of the new women include Bridget Elliott, "New and Not so 'New Woman' of the London Stage: Aubrey Beardsley's Yellow Book Images of Mrs. Patrick Cambell and Réjane," *Victorian Studies* 1987 31(1): 33-57; Julie Anne Johnson. *Conflicted Selves: Women, Art, & Paris 1880-1914* (Doctoral Dissertation, Queen's University, 2008), 2-6; Mary Louise Roberts, *Disruptive Acts: The New Women in Fin-De-Siècle France* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2002). Aubrey Beardsley's Yellow Book Images of Mrs. Patrick Cambell and Réjane," *Victorian Studies* 1987 31(1): 33-57.

¹⁷² Women's suffrage is the right of women to vote in elections. In order to create a social and political context of London in the period of question, this dissertation briefly touches upon the British women's suffrage from the end of the nineteenth century when the focus became more political to the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 when the whole suffrage campaign was suspended in the face of a greater threat to the nation. This movement for women's right to vote in national elections in the United Kingdom had two wings (the suffragists and the suffragettes) and were dominated by three campaign organizations. The first and largest was the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS), consolidated from sixteen local groups in 1897. It was non-party and non-militant (using peaceful tactics) and its magazine was the *Common Cause* (1909-20). The second was the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU), which was born out from the NUWSS and formed by Emmeline Pankhurst in 1903. It was the principle militant society and its magazine was *Votes for Women* (1907-18), and *Suffragette* (1912-15). Their members became known as the suffragettes, a name given by newspaper *The Daily Mail* in 1906. The third was the Women's Freedom League (WFL), the result of a split within the WSPU in 1907. It also described itself as a militant society although its tactics were non-violent (e.g. picketing, tax resistance), and its magazine was the *Vote* (1909-33). Suffragist is a more general term for members in suffrage movement. Suffragettes is more associated with the militant activists in WSPS. For more information of British women's suffrage, please also refer to the following sources: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/bitesize/higher/history/britsuff/suffrage/revision/1/> accessed on December 15 2017. <http://womansuffragememorabilia.com/woman-suffrage-memorabilia/suffrage-journals/>,

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Social and Political Union (WSPU), was formed. Three years later, the term *Suffragette* appeared for the first time in the pages of the *Daily Mail*.

As mentioned at the beginning of the section, on the one hand, London was confronted with demands for a radical realignment of women's social identity and a political articulation for women's rights, while, on the other, the capital still observed the legacy and impact of a culturally ingrained Victorian reality. This tug of war was not won overnight. Women might yet "ask whether their sole purpose was ministering to the man of the household. Husbands were still responsible for their wives and a father had absolute authority over his children."¹⁷³ Unsurprisingly, Vanessa Bell lamented that she "had to be home by four-thirty every afternoon to serve tea to Leslie's (Sir Leslie Stephen, the father of Vanessa Bell and Virginia Woolf) visitors" and "[t]hough the twentieth century had begun, life at 22 Hyde Park Gate was still locked into the mid-Victorian age."¹⁷⁴ Virginia Woolf observed: "The cruel thing was that while we could see the future, we were completely in the power of the past."¹⁷⁵ Was this the case at the Slade and also within the emerging artists' coteries of the capital? When the women students graduated from the Slade and

accessed on December 16 2017. Tickner, Lisa. *The Spectacle of Women: Imagery of the Suffrage Campaign 1907-14*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988, 6-7. Laura E. Nym Mayhall. "Defining Militancy: Radical Protest, the Constitutional Idiom, and Women's Suffrage in Britain, 1908-1909." *Journal of British Studies* 39, no. 3 (2000): 340-71. Heloise Brown, "The Physical Force Objection to Women's Suffrage." In *'The Truest Form of Patriotism': Pacifist Feminism in Britain, 1870-1902*, 13-25. Manchester University Press, 2003. Megan Smitley, "New Views of the Women's Suffrage Campaign: Liberal Women and Regional Perspectives." In *The Feminine Public Sphere: Middle-class Women and Civic Life in Scotland, C. 1870-1914*, 109-28. Manchester University Press, 2009. Liddington, Jill. "Era of Commemoration: Celebrating the Suffrage Centenary." *History Workshop Journal*, no. 59 (2005): 194-218. Trevor Lloyd, *Suffragettes International: The Worldwide Campaign for Women's Rights* (New York: American Heritage Press, 1971).

¹⁷³ Gray, 39.

¹⁷⁴ Spalding, *Vanessa Bell*, 43. Sir Leslie Stephen was father of Vanessa Bell (née Stephen) and Virginia Woolf (née Stephen).

¹⁷⁵ Virginia Woolf, *Moments of Being* (New York: Pimlico, 2002), 126.

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became active in London's artistic avant-garde, were they still confronted with discriminatory treatment from their male colleagues? Citing from Maria Tamboukou,

As feminist theorists have persuasively argued, the European bohemian circles were saturated by strong classed and gendered discourses and practices. It is within this *assemblage* of patriarchal *segmentarities* and in the continuous interface of life trajectories have to be mapped and analyzed.¹⁷⁶

Examination from the Slade women's perspective seemingly supports this portrait of London in the period in question as not only a male-dominated society but also as a class-driven one. One Slade student recalled to her great embarrassment that she was obliged to go to and from the school every day in a cab, as "her mother would not hear of her making the journey alone on a bus."¹⁷⁷ Slade parents preferred it over the South Kensington schools, as the latter had students "who were thought to be lower class origin."¹⁷⁸ In this period, from the perspective of parents, there was probably a common perception that an art college could provide their daughters with proper college education and suitable feminine accomplishment before they became mothers or wives. However, this attitude brought with it two problems. First, it could result in idlers and students lacking in sincere interest, which Professor Tonks, as mentioned earlier, could not abide:

[Those]
Who saunter down in Paris at half-past two,
Merely because they've nothing else to do.
And trust to find some men when they arrive,
With whom to flirt and kill the time till five.¹⁷⁹

Secondly women who worked as artists at the turn of the century had to confront the common notion that proper college art education, while suitable for feminine

¹⁷⁶ Maria Tamboukou, *Nomadic Narratives, Visual Forces: Gwen John's Letters and Paintings* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2010), 5.

¹⁷⁷ UCL Special Collection; cited in Reynold, 158.

¹⁷⁸ Heathcock, 8.

¹⁷⁹ "The Slade," 218.

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accomplishment before becoming mothers or wives, would rarely be perceived as potentially professional. As Deborah Cherry has argued:

[P]rofessionalism was most vociferously claimed as masculine by the upper strata of middle-class men. In the language and institutions of art, femininity was positioned as the very antithesis of the professional artist.¹⁸⁰

In addition, archival research demonstrates clearly that there were, indeed, young women who were deeply embedded in a patriarchal society and just “want[ed] to kill time” at school until marriage. But, there were also those who had serious ambitions, both in art and in life, such as: Wyn George, Ethel Walker, Edna Clarke Hall, Gwen John, Ida Nettleship, Gwen Salmond, Madge Oliver, Elinor M. Monsell, Evelyn Buckton and Evelyn Cheston in the 1890s, and Anna Airy, Essil Elmslie, Berta Ruck, Ada M. L. Wilson, Beatrice Whateley, Maribel Rough, Elinor Proby Adams, Revy V. Waddington, Dorothy Stevens, Edith Lush, Jessica Dismorr and Helen Saunders in the Edwardian era. As the same “Slade” poem concluded,

But let it be no subject for surprise,
That 'mongst the bees there should be butterflies:
It takes some specimens of every shade,
And some of all sorts to make up a Slade.¹⁸¹

Within the Slade—firmly linked to the progress of London’s intellectual and early artistic modernization and the overarching sociopolitical, artistic and cultural context that was catalyzing it—change was also afoot. Indeed, as may be observed, female students enrolled at Slade during this period were no longer so closely associated with the NEAC. Some, such as Anna Airy, Essil Elmslie, Elsie McNaught and Dorothy Stevens, continued to exhibit there,¹⁸² but others sought more radical venues and coteries. There were now more

¹⁸⁰ Cited in Heathcock, 8.

¹⁸¹ “The Slade,” 218.

¹⁸² Please refer to Table 8 in Chapter 3 regarding the exhibitions they participated in.

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exhibition groups and societies from which to choose, such as the Allied Artists Association (AAA), established in 1908 by Frank Rutter, or the modernist groups that were slowly emerging. Before long, the London Group would have such members as Thérèse Lessore (1913), and the Vorticist Group would count among its number Jessica Dismorr and Helen Saunders (1914). And, in this period, the transition manifested itself as a seemingly contradictory dissonance, a chasm between “nostalgic longing” and “revolutionary modernity.”¹⁸³

Both Katy Deepwell and Alicia Foster concur that receiving professional art education was clearly no longer the major obstacle to a career as an artist (especially for those women who could afford the tuition) at the turn of the twentieth century. However, access to institutions did not necessarily equate to equal opportunities within the schools themselves and the subsequent professional life that followed.¹⁸⁴ George Charlton remarked that “prize-winning at the Slade has borne more relation to success in after life than prize-winning is usually credited with,”¹⁸⁵ and this was certainly true for male artists such as Augustus John, Charles T. Stabb, William Orpen, Albert Rutherston, Randolph Schwabe, Wyndham Lewis, James Dickson Innes and Stanley Spencer. What is often overlooked, however, is that there was also a significant number of women students receiving scholarships from as early as admission (after having proven merit through past art studies and a developed portfolio) and then winning competitions during their school

¹⁸³ Angus Trumble, Andrea Wolk Rager, and A. Cassandra Albinson, *Edwardian Opulence: British Art at the Dawn of the Twentieth Century* (New Haven, CT: Yale Center for British Art, 2013), 7.

¹⁸⁴ Katy Deepwell, “Training and Professionalism: 19th and 20th Centuries,” in *Dictionary of Women Artists*, vol. 1, edited by Delia Gaze (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1997), 84. Foster, *Tate Women Artists*, 60. Foster presents the situation as follows: “[I]n Britain during the twentieth century access to art school was no longer the problem it had been (for those women who could afford it), although finding compatible work afterwards was much more difficult (for example, there were no women teachers at all at the Royal Academy until the 1960s).”

¹⁸⁵ Charlton, 4.

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years. It is less clear how these prizewinning female artists did in their own “after life” (post-graduation). For instance, in the ten years of the watercolor competition, between 1897 and 1906, three women students were awarded the first prize: M. A. Wilson (1902), B. P. Whately (1903) and E. Proby Adams (1906). Edna Waugh (later Clarke Hall) was the second prizewinner in 1897.¹⁸⁶ When we broaden the search, we find that five Slade scholarships and twenty-two prizes were carried off by women students between 1871 and 1883, leading one contemporary observer to comment that “the proportion of prizes gained by ladies is not insignificant.”¹⁸⁷ Furthermore, E. M. Wild and B. A. R. Spencer, both women, won the first two scholarships to the Slade in 1872,¹⁸⁸ an event that is now regarded as pivotal in the history of women in art institutions.¹⁸⁹ In 1874, the Slade Scholarship went to Evelyn Pickering, who had also gained the first prize for Painting from the Antique in 1873 and first prize for Painting from Life in 1874.¹⁹⁰ In fact, of the Slade Scholarship holders during the period 1882-1892, seven of the sixteen listed were women. Examining the prizewinners and scholarship recipients published in the school calendars between 1895 and 1915, therefore, suggests that the number of women artists receiving scholarships and awarded prizes is surprisingly high. An examination of the Slade Summer Composition Prize recipient list from in 1895 to 1915 indicates that, in twenty-one years, nine out of twenty-seven prizewinners were women, seven of whom won first prize.¹⁹¹ Table 2 (in Chapter 1)

¹⁸⁶ Hubert L. Wellington, "The Slade School Summer Composition since 1893," in *The Slade*, edited John Fothergill (London: Richard Clay, 1907), 22-29. Hubert L. Wellington was a student at the Slade in 1899-1900, later a landscape painter in his own right. His passage in book particularly draws my attentions to the performances of women artists at the Slade.

¹⁸⁷ Weeks, 329.

¹⁸⁸ Deepwell, *Women Artists between the Wars*, 43. Originally from Reynold, 48.

¹⁸⁹ Reynold, 45.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 49.

¹⁹¹ A complete Slade Summer Composition Prize recipient list (1897-1965) was compiled in 1966 by K. Myers and stored as a separate file folder in the UCL Art Museum Collection. The list includes recipients' full names, the assigned subject/theme of the year and a short description of each

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and Table 6 (in Chapter 2) together represent a complete list of prizewinners and Slade scholarship recipients in the periods of 1895-1909 and 1910-1915, respectively.

Slade scholarship candidates were required to pass an examination in General Knowledge, which established a satisfactory knowledge of the English language, English history, Greek and Roman history, ancient and modern geography, arithmetic, and a foreign language or a book of Euclid. In other words, fine arts students were expected to have knowledge beyond their own disciplines. Slade students were educated to become professional artists within the greater UCL educational philosophy. A 1913 article from *U.C.L. Union Magazine* explored this idea. It suggested that before proceeding to graduation, every UCL student should “pass an examination in general culture,” and students from other faculties were encouraged to have an intelligent knowledge of “modern movements in art.”¹⁹² The author argued that UCL should educate “artists,” “a lord of creation” in its broadest sense, as

the man who can work or play specialism without soiling his fingers or losing his soul, he has discovered life and himself, in so doing he has detached himself from both. ... It is the artist who reaches this position, from which he can appreciate the complexity and wonder of the universe and in a spirit of philosophic detachment taste of its pleasure and pains as one who is free from it all rather than a mere cog among the whirling wheels.¹⁹³

Both the exam as part of the scholarship application process and the article cited immediately above reveal the determination of UCL and the Slade to educate artists who question from multiple perspectives, see beyond sight, recognize the larger picture, and

awarded piece. The author accessed this file during her visit to UCL in May 2015. As the file recorded, the Slade record of Summer Composition prizewinners dated back to 1895. UCL also has the collection of award-winning pieces. In some years, there were first and second prize or two recipients of first prize.

¹⁹² "Artist or Idiot: A Plea for Culture," *U.C.L. Union Magazine* (March 1913): 59-60.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*

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contribute to the vigorous and vibrant contemporary society they live in, as opposed to the soulless “specialist,” the imitative draftsman.

Returning to the Slade women who were awarded prizes and scholarships under the rigors of the university educational philosophy, some students’ paths may be followed in order to chart their successes in terms of these prizes and scholarships. Other students’ stories recede into the shadows after graduation. As a sample, the fortunes of Anna Airy, Maribel Rough and Elinor Proby Adams prove insightful: In their student years, all three women were formidable artists, yet of their post-Slade careers only Airy’s has been documented (Airy became an accomplished war artist, while Rough and Adams have virtually been expunged of art histories of the era).

Recalling his first day in the Antique Room, Ernest Blaikey described Airy as an eye-catching student “who used to arrive early and take up her position on a window-seat overlooking the grounds. She was, one might say, a ‘V.I.P.’ and I was very much in awe of her in those days.”¹⁹⁴ Airy attended the Slade 1899-1903 and was a scholarship recipient in 1902 and prizewinner for Head Painting in 1902 and 1903. She also won the prize for Figure Painting in 1901. Airy exhibited with the NEAC as a non-member in the summer and winter of 1909 and the summers of 1910, 1911, 1912 and 1913.¹⁹⁵ Rough started at the Slade in 1903 and stayed there for four years, during which she received several art awards: second prize in Figure Painting in 1905, first prize in Figure Painting (fig. 11) in 1906, first prize in

¹⁹⁴ UCL Special Collection; cited in Reynold, 154-155.

¹⁹⁵ Tate Archives, New English Art Club exhibition catalogues, 1895-1915.

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Figure 11. Maribel Rough, *Male Figure Standing*, 1906. Oil on canvas, 76.2 x 50.8 cm. Awarded first prize in Figure Painting in 1906. (© UCL Art Collection. Reproduced from Emma Chambers, ed., *UCL Art Collections: An Introduction and Collections Guide* [London: UCL Art Collections, 2008], 66)

Painting from the Cast in 1906 and second prize in Head Painting in 1907. She was also a scholarship recipient in 1905. She recalled the day she was notified. The professors were waiting to speak to her in their room, but the topic of discussion afforded her much food for thought:

Professor Brown began: “we thought perhaps – er – er – er,” and looked helplessly at Tonks. “Yes, we thought perhaps – er – er – you would not mind putting your hair up. You see, as Scholar, you have to take a certain position, and you look – and are – so very young. You may have to deal with awkward situations, and anyway, we thought perhaps it would make you look a little older.” Needless to say, I went straight off to Chaventre and told them to make me look as old as possible. I was not too young to appreciate and be touched by the human-ness and almost fatherliness

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of my revered Professors, and almost overawed to think my pigtail and youth should have caused the great ones embarrassment.¹⁹⁶

Adams had the distinction of winning in just one year, 1906, prizes in almost every category available to students: first prize of the Summer Composition Competition for *Mammon* (fig. 15), second prize in Figure Painting for *Female Figure Seated* (fig. 16), second prize in Head Painting, second prize in Painting from the Cast and second prize in Figure Drawing. In 1908, her *Portrait of a Moroccan* (fig. 20) and *Portrait of a Man Wearing a Fez* both received second prize in the Head Painting competition.



Figure 12. Women students at the Slade painting portrait studies, c. 1904 (Reproduced from Michael Parkin, *Sladey Ladies: An Exhibition of Paintings, Drawings, Prints and Sculpture by Women Artists at the Slade (4 June-5 July 1986)* [London: Michael Parkin Gallery, 1986], page facing the back cover)

The photograph above (Fig. 12) captures women students at the Slade at work painting portrait studies in the spring term of 1904. Standing from left to right are Essil

¹⁹⁶ Cited in Reynold, 157. The use of term “fatherliness” implies a generational difference, as well as a gender one, while simultaneously advocating the idea of family hierarchy.

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Elmslie (at Slade 1898-1906), Helen Anderson (1903-1904), Helen Burton (1900-1904), Evelyn Gatley (1899-1905) and Ena Wertheimer (1902-1905). Seated are Edith Ellis (1899-1905), Margaret Wilson (1903-1904) and an unidentified woman. The same image was reproduced in the catalogue for a 1986 exhibition entitled *Slade Ladies*, which focused exclusively on women artists who received training at the Slade from the 1890s to the 1950s.¹⁹⁷ Among the thirty-six featured artists, some had been well researched, while others had rarely received attention. Burton, standing in the center, won second prize in the Head Painting competition of 1904. Elmslie, standing on the far left, received second prize in Head Painting for *Portrait of an Old Man* (fig. 13) in 1901 and the Melvill Nettleship Prize for Figure Composition in 1905. Later she was closely associated with the NEAC together with other Slade women artists such as Airy, Rough and Dorothy Stevens. Stevens also had won several prizes during her studies at the Slade (1904-1909), such as second prize in the Figure Painting competition of 1907 and then first prize the following year. In 1909, she won the Figure Drawing prize. Another notable Slade prizewinner, concurrent with Stevens, was Edith M. Lush, who took third prize in Head Painting in 1908 and two first prizes, in Figure Painting and in Head Painting (fig. 17), in 1909.

From the UCL archives may be gleaned the following statistical analysis (Table 2) for the women painters (highlighted in red) of the Slade and their success rates over the years 1895-1909. This chapter ends here with a specially designed table to highlight the previously less examined facets of the Slade women students' in the Edwardian Era. This casts new

¹⁹⁷ The women artists featured in the *Slade Ladies* exhibition were Mary Adshead, Eileen Agar, Anna Airy, Diana Armfield, Joan Ayling, Enid Bagnold, Elinor Bellingham Smith (Eleanor Best), Wendela Boreel, Barbara Carr, Dora Carrington, Katharine Church, Edna Clarke Hall, Ursula Edgcumbe, Gwen Evans, Daphne Fedarb, Mary Fedden, Margaret Fisher Prout, Kate Greenaway, Elsie Henderson, Gwen John, Annrid Johnstone, Karin Jonzen, Lady Kathleen Kennet (Lady Scott), Eve Kirk, Edith Lawrence, Thérèse Lessore, Marjorie Lilly, Kathleen Mann, Trice Martin, Eileen Mayo, Joan Moore, Mary Porter, Gwen Raverat, Peggy Ryan, Margaret Thomas, Ethel Walker and Nan West.

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light on those who have receded into obscurity over the past decades, their education and artistic achievements, and provides a context for the next chapter that focuses on the Slade women artists in the pre-war years and examine continuities and differences.

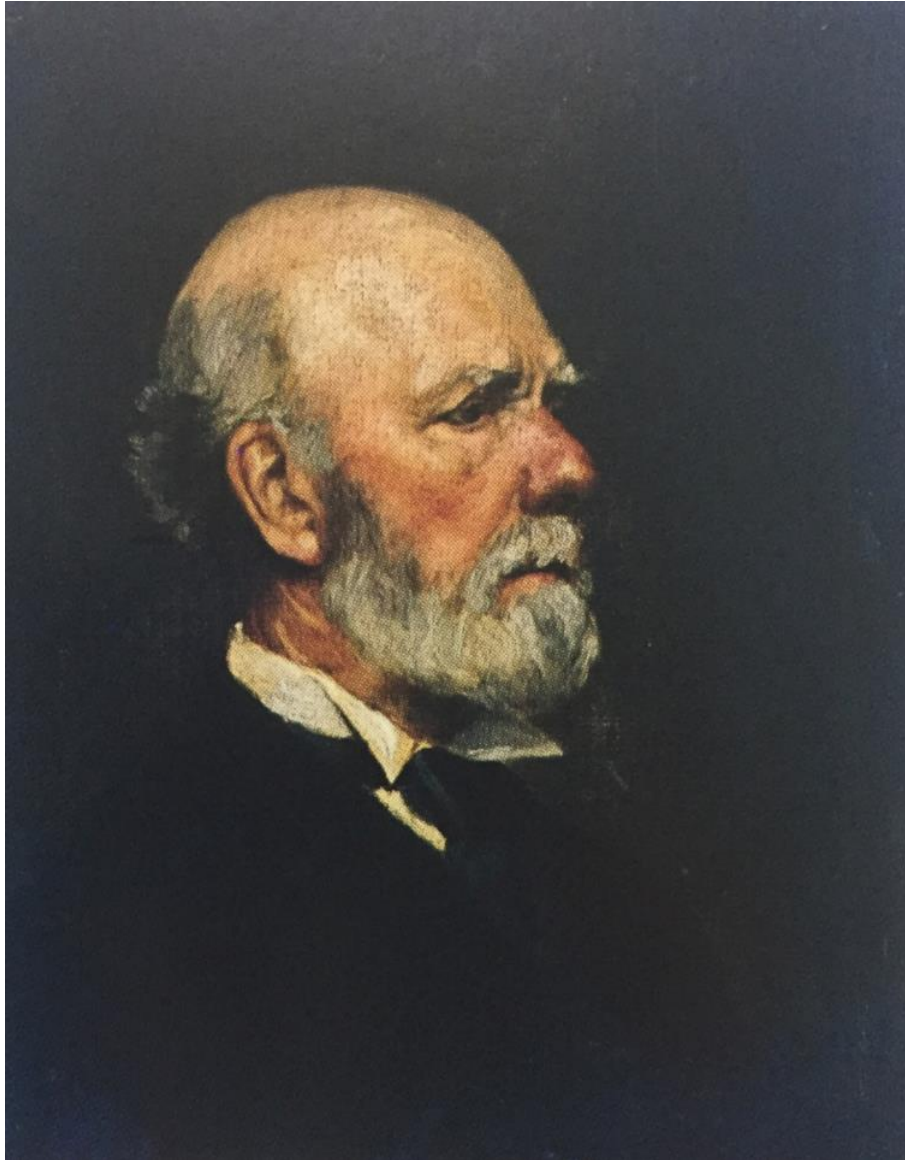


Figure 13. Essil Elmslie, *Portrait of an Old Man*, 1901, Oil on canvas, 50.8 x 40.7 cm. Awarded second prize in Head Painting in 1901. (@ UCL Art Collection. Reproduced from Emma Chambers, ed., *UCL Art Collections: An Introduction and Collections Guide* [London: UCL Art Collections, 2008], 26).

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Figure 14. A display of life painting in the Slade, c. 1906. Women students study and critique portrait and figure paintings created by their peers. (Reproduced from Negley Harte and John North, *The World of UCL, 1828-2004* [London: UCL Press, 2004], 139)



Figure 15. Elinor Proby Adams, *Mammon*, c. 1906. Oil on canvas, 128.8 x 153.7 cm. Awarded first prize in the 1906 Summer Composition Competition. (© UCL Art Collection)

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Figure 16. Elinor Proby Adams, *Female Figure Seated*, c. 1906. Oil on canvas, 75.7 x 63.6 cm. Awarded second prize in Figure Painting in 1906. (© UCL Art Collection)

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Figure 17. Edith M. Lush, *Portrait of a Middle-Aged Man*, c. 1909. Oil on canvas, 50.8 x 40.7 cm. Awarded first prize in Head Painting in 1909. (© UCL Art Collection)

List of Slade scholarship recipients and prizewinners (1895-1909)
(Women recipients/winners appear in red)

Table 2 List of Slade scholarship recipients and prizewinners (1895-1909).

School Term	Slade Scholarship in Fine Arts Established in 1870 under the will of Felix Slade (£35 a year for two years)	Melvill Nettleship Prize for Figure Composition Established in 1897 in memory of Henry Melvill Nettleship, a former student, by his mother (£20 a year)	Summer Figure Composition Competition ¹⁹⁸ (£25)	Slade School of Fine Art Prize Lists			
				Figure Painting	Head Painting	Painting from the Cast	Figure Drawing
1894-1895	Ida M. Nettleship (1892-1898) Mary G. Salmond (1892-1896)		Figure Composition (1894-1895) Evelyn Buckton (1893-1899)				
1895-1896	Augustus E. John (1894-1898) Madge Oliver (1894-1898)		Figure Composition (1895-1896) Mary G. Salmond (1892-1897)				
1896-1897	Elinor M. Monsell (1896-1899)	N/A	Figure Composition (1896-1897) Subject: <i>The Rape of the Sabine Women</i> 1 st : Maxwell Balfour <i>The Rape of the Sabine Women</i> 2 nd : Edna Waugh (Clarke Hall) (1895-1898) <i>The Rape of the Sabine Women</i> (destroyed in World War II)				

¹⁹⁸According to Fothergill, 22 "...earlier than 1897 the work was not of remarkable interest and has not been preserved in the School". However, the Slade record of Summer Composition prizewinners actually goes back to 1895.

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School Term	Slade Scholarship in Fine Arts Established in 1870 under the will of Felix Slade (£35 a year for two years)	Melvill Nettleship Prize for Figure Composition Established in 1897 in memory of Henry Melvill Nettleship, a former student, by his mother (£20 a year)	Summer Figure Composition Competition ¹⁹⁸ (£25)	Slade School of Fine Art Prize Lists			
				Figure Painting	Head Painting	Painting from the Cast	Figure Drawing
1897-1898	W. W. Myers (1895-1899) Edna Waugh (1893-1898)	N/A	Figure Composition (1897-1898) Subject: <i>Moses and the Brazen Serpent</i> 1 st : Augustus Edwin John (1894-1898) <i>Moses and the Brazen Serpent</i> 2 nd : Charles T. Stabb (1894-1898) <i>Moses and the Brazen Serpent</i>	1 st G. Jackson (1893-1898) 2 nd prize shared equally: Evelyn Cheston (1894-1899) <i>Female Figure Seated</i> Augustus Edwin John (1894-1898) <i>Male Figure Standing by a Pale Brown Curtain</i>			
1898-1899	Charles Julian Tharp (1895-1900)	N/A	Figure Composition (1898-1999) Subject: <i>Hamlet</i> 1 st : William Orpen (1897-1899) <i>The Play Scene from Hamlet</i>	1 st William Orpen (1897-1899)	1 st William Orpen (1897-1899) <i>Portrait of a Girl Wearing a Green Dress</i>		
1899-1900	P. Wyndham Lewis (1898-1901) Albert D. Rothenstein (1897-1902)	Prize shared equally: Elinor M. Monsell (1896-1899) M. H. Salaman (1896-1899)	Figure Composition (1899-1900) Subject: <i>Bathers</i> 1 st prize shared equally: Charles Julian Tharp (1895-1900) <i>Bathers: Women Bathers by a River</i> Max West (1899-1901) <i>Bathers</i>	1 st Charles Julian Tharp (1895-1900) 2 nd prize shared equally: Max West (1895-1900) M. Williams (1895-1900)	1 st Charles Julian Tharp (1895-1900) <i>Portrait of an Old Man</i> 2 nd prize shared equally: F. W. Walter (1898-1903) Albert D. Rutherston (1897-1902) <i>Portrait of a Young Man</i> (£2 each)		
1900-1901	M. C. Carr (1898-1903) F. W. Walter (1898-1903)	N/A	Figure Composition (1900-1901) No set subject 1 st : Albert D. Rutherston (1897-1902)	1 st prize shared equally: Albert Rutherston (1897-1902) Anna Airy (1899-1903) Mabel Culley	1 st W. Richards (1898-1901) 2 nd prize shared equally: C. W. L. Dashwood (1896-1902)		

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School Term	Slade Scholarship in Fine Arts Established in 1870 under the will of Felix Slade (£35 a year for two years)	Melvill Nettleship Prize for Figure Composition Established in 1897 in memory of Henry Melvill Nettleship, a former student, by his mother (£20 a year)	Summer Figure Composition Competition ¹⁹⁸ (£25)	Slade School of Fine Art Prize Lists			
				Figure Painting	Head Painting	Painting from the Cast	Figure Drawing
			<i>The Confession of Claude: an interior with figures</i>	(1898-1901) W. Richards (1898-1901)	Essil Elmslie (1898-1904) <i>Portrait of an Old Man</i> (£2 each)		
1901-1902	Anna Airy (1899-1903) C. Hamilton (1899-1903)	N/A	Figure Composition (1901-1902) Subject: <i>Musicians</i> 1 st Ada M. L. Wilson (1902-1908) <i>The Musicians: The interior of a barn with figures</i>	1 st F. W. Walter (1898-1903) 2 nd F. Shepherd 3 rd prize shared equally: M. C. Carr (1898-1903) D. Wells	1 st No award 2 nd prize shared equally: Anna Airy (1899-1903) Margaret Andrews (£2 each) 3 rd prize shared equally: F. W. Walter D. Wells		
1902-1903	J R. Pinches G. R. Wolseley	Violet M. Anderson	Figure Composition (1902-1903) Subject: <i>The Good Samaritan</i> 1 st : Beatrice Whateley (1897-1903) <i>The Good Samaritan: Helping the wounded man off the donkey</i>	1 st G. Wolseley 2 nd prize shared equally: M. C. Carr (1898-1903) B. Nicholls N. Rooke (£2 each)	1 st Philip Dadd <i>Portrait of a Woman Wearing a Green Jersey and Portrait of a Woman Wearing a Hat with a Feather</i> Anna Airy (1899-1903) F. W. Walter (1898-1903)		
1903-1904	Randolph Schwabe (1900-1906) William Strang (1902-1906)	Ethel Carrick (1898-1903)	Figure Composition (1903-1904) Subject: <i>Workers</i> 1 st : Harold K. Oakley (1904-1905) <i>Workers: women bagging hops</i>	1 st W. Care 2 nd Sybil Emerson (£2 each)	1 st W. Cave 2 nd prize shared equally: Helen Burton B. D. Taylor G. Wolseley (£2 each)		
1904-1905	Maribel Rough (1903-1907) S. Boyd	Essil Elmslie (1898-1904)	Figure Composition (1904-1905) Subject: <i>"Suffer little children to come unto me"</i>	1 st Harold Oakley (1904-1905) 2 nd prize shared equally: Maribel Rough	1 st No award 2 nd prize shared equally: Harold Oakley (1904-1905)		

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School Term	Slade Scholarship in Fine Arts Established in 1870 under the will of Felix Slade (£35 a year for two years)	Melvill Nettleship Prize for Figure Composition Established in 1897 in memory of Henry Melvill Nettleship, a former student, by his mother (£20 a year)	Summer Figure Composition Competition ¹⁹⁸ (£25)	Slade School of Fine Art Prize Lists			
				Figure Painting	Head Painting	Painting from the Cast	Figure Drawing
			1 st prize shared equally: Randolph Schwabe (1900-1906) <i>"Suffer little children to come unto me"</i> W. I. Strang (1902-1906) <i>"Suffer little children to come unto me"</i>	(1903-1906) Katherine Boyd (£2 each)	Freda Oxley (£2 each)		
1905-1906	W. E. Arnold-Foster D. G. MacLaren (1903-1908) Elinor Proby Adams (1903-1908) (One year £20)	N/A	Figure Composition (1905-1906) Subject: <i>Mammon</i> 1 st prize shared equally: Edward Morris <i>Mammon</i> Elinor Proby Adams (1903-1908) <i>Mammon</i>	1 st prize shared equally: Randolph Schwabe (1900-1906) Maribel Rough (1903-1907) <i>Male Figure Standing</i> (£4 each.) 2 nd prize shared equally: Elinor Proby Adams <i>Female Figure Seated</i> (1903-1908) William I. Strang (1902-1906) Reby V. Waddington (1903-1907) (£2 each)	1 st prize shared equally: Alice M. Odgers (1903-1907) Reby V. Waddington (1903-1908) (£4 each) 2 nd prize shared equally: Elinor Proby Adams (1903-1908) W. H. Waddington (1904-1907) (£2 each)	1 st Maribel Rough (1903-1907) (£2) 2 nd Elinor Proby Adams (1903-1908) (£1 10s)	1 st D. G. MacLaren (£3 10s) 2 nd prize shared equally: Edwin Morris Elinor Proby Adams (1903-1908) (£2 each)
1906-1907	J. D. Innes M. Symons	D. G. MacLaren	Figure Composition (1906-1907) Subject: not recorded 1 st Mark L. Symons (1904-1909) <i>Children Playing in an Interior, Polishing Armour</i>	1 st No award 2 nd prize shared equally: Vera Howard Dorothy Stevens Mark Lancelot Symons (£2 each)	1 st No award 2 nd prize shared equally: W. Bagshawe Donald Graeme Maribel Rough (1903-1907) (£2 each)		
1907-1908	F. C. Britton A. W. F. Norris	N/A	Figure Composition (1907-1908) Subject: not recorded	1 st prize shared equally: D. G. MacLaren (1903-1908)	1 st Donald G. MacLaren (1903-1908) <i>Portrait of a Girl with Red</i>		1 st G. Summers (£4)

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School Term	Slade Scholarship in Fine Arts Established in 1870 under the will of Felix Slade (£35 a year for two years)	Melvill Nettleship Prize for Figure Composition Established in 1897 in memory of Henry Melvill Nettleship, a former student, by his mother (£20 a year)	Summer Figure Composition Competition ¹⁹⁸ (£25)	Slade School of Fine Art Prize Lists			
				Figure Painting	Head Painting	Painting from the Cast	Figure Drawing
			1 st prize shared equally: James Dickson Innes <i>A scene in a Theatre: A Performance Seen from a Box in which Three Figures are standing</i> Winifred Philips <i>The Players (Music)</i>	G. Summers Dorothy Stevens (£5 each)	<i>Hair</i> 2 nd Elinor Proby Adams (1903-1908) <i>Portrait of a Moroccan and Portrait of a Man Wearing a Fez</i> (£4 10s each) 3 rd Edith M. Lush (£3)		2 nd prize shared equally: R. Inlee A. W. F. Norris (£3 each)
1908-1909	Mark Gertler F. A. Helps	Prize shared equally: Elaine Thérèse Lessore (1904-1909) W. L. Claus	Figure Composition (1908-1909) Subject: not recorded 1 st Maxwell Gordon Lightfoot (1908-1910) <i>The Interior of a Barn with Two Labourers Resting and an Old Man about to Embrace a Child</i> <i>Accompanied by a Woman</i>	1 st prize shared equally: Edith M. Lush Maxwell Gordon Lightfoot (£5 each) 2 nd prize shared equally: W. L. Claus R. Inlee (£2 each)	1 st prize shared equally: Edith M. Lush <i>Portrait of a Middle-Aged Man</i> Maxwell Gordon Lightfoot <i>Portrait of a Bearded Man</i> (£4 10s each) 2 nd W. L. Claus (£2)	Maxwell Gordon Lightfoot (£2)	1 st R. Inlee (£5) 2 nd prize shared equally: Dorothy Stevens Maxwell Gordon Lightfoot (£3 each)

Note: Women recipients/winners appear in red.

Names are followed by years of study at the Slade, when known.

The years in the first column are the academic years beginning in autumn of the first year listed and ending in spring of the following year.

Chapter 2

Chapter 2: Women Artists at the Slade School of Fine Art in the Pre-war London, 1910-1914

It must have been an exciting period in which to be a student, exciting but rather bewildering.

—Michael Reynold¹⁹⁹

Art historian Melissa Hall stated in her unpublished PhD dissertation that the Slade became the training ground for the prewar generation of modernists.²⁰⁰ The end of the Edwardian era found the Slade in one of several “triumphal flows,”²⁰¹ and a prominent group of students became very well known: Stanley Spencer, Mark Gertler, William Roberts, Edward Wadsworth, C. R. W. Nevinson and others. Can a parallel narrative be constructed that includes women artists at the Slade as part of that “triumphal flow”?

¹⁹⁹ Reynold, 168.

²⁰⁰ Hall, 71. The assumption is based not only on the doctoral dissertation of Mellisa Hall, but also the on the scholarship such as Emma Chambers, "Slade School Influences on the Camden Town Group, 1896–1910," in *The Camden Town Group in Context*, edited by Helena Bonett, Ysanne Holt, and Jennifer Mundy (London: Tate Research Publication, 2012), available online: <https://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/camden-town-group/emma-chambers-slade-school-influences-on-the-camden-town-group-1896-1910-r1104373>. Accessed 22 December 2016. Chamber argues, “The Slade School of Fine Art’s influence on the development of the Camden Town Group is evident not only in the impact of its training on individual artists, but also in the way that it created the conditions in the London art world in which Camden Town Group subject matter and alliances became possible. Over half of the Camden Town Group members trained at the Slade. Walter Sickert spent a term there in 1881 before leaving to study with Whistler; Harold Gilman, Spencer Gore, Augustus John and Wyndham Lewis studied at the Slade in the 1890s; while Malcolm Drummond, James Dickson Innes and Maxwell Gordon Lightfoot trained there in the 1900s.” Frances Spalding, *British Art Since 1900*, Thames and Hudson, 1986, 24. Spalding indicates the far-reaching influence of the Slade and its professors Steer and Walter, Russell together with Brown and Tonks had in training a generation of students to become prominent in the foremost the New English Art Club of the day. David Boyd Haycock, *The Crisis of Brilliance: Five Young British Artists and the Great War* (London: Old Street Publishing, 2009). This entire book features five young Slade-trained British artists who later dominated the British art scene in the early twentieth century. Michael Walsh, *CRW Nevinson: This Cult of Violence* (Yale University Press, 2002), 21. Walsh argues “History records how [Slade trained] Richard, Wadsworth, Lewis, Roberts, Bomberg, Gertler and Paul Nash, upon whom the English avant-garde was soon to depend, attended, learned from and emulated these foreign masters.”

²⁰¹ Paul Nash, cited in Walsh, *C.R.W. Nevinson*, 13.

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Scholars of the Slade have often reiterated the notion that there was “an unbridgeable gulf” between the students and their teachers, in particular for the generation of 1908-1912.²⁰² David Boyd-Haycock used Professor Henry Tonks’s own exasperated reference to a “crisis of brilliance” for both the title of his book, *A Crisis of Brilliance: Five Young British Artists and the Great War* (2010), and the subsequent exhibition at the Dulwich Picture Gallery in 2013.²⁰³ The “crisis” manifested itself in various ways for young artists at the Slade: an internal crisis of self-criticism, an external crisis both provoked by the arrival of the influences of international modern art and the social turbulence within London, and the crisis of navigating between the two. Haycock elaborated at length in an interview:

It was not enough to be talented. You had to be able to produce something that was new, original, [and] distinct with that. There is also personal crises, personal struggles, as an artist. ... And the crises in the wider art world, the Post-Impressionists explosion, how they were going to absorb that? Tonks wanted them to have nothing to do with it.²⁰⁴

Nevinson, as Michael Walsh argued, was confronted with the “gulf” and “crisis” both at school and at first sight of the European avant-garde in the *Manet and Post-Impressionist*

²⁰² Walsh, C.R.W. *Nevinson*, 12. “... Chaplin has also highlighted a gulf between tutors and students, stating ‘Indeed with the student generation of 1908-1912, it was unbridgeable.’ Here, Walsh is citing from Stephen Chaplin’s unpublished manuscript “A Slade School of Fine Art Archive Reader: A Compendium of Documents, 1868-1975 in University College London” (UCL Special Collection, University College London, 1998), 123.

²⁰³ Haycock, *The Crisis of Brilliance*, 3. In *A Crisis of Brilliance*, Haycock focuses on five artists from the Slade—Mark Gertler, C. R. W. Nevinson, Dora Carrington, Paul Nash and Stanley Spencer—who were intimately interconnected while they were students at the school. These five closely-linked, successful artists were part of what their professor of drawing, Henry Tonks, later described as the school’s second and last “crisis of brilliance.” According to Tonks, the first generation exhibiting a crisis of brilliance included Augustus John, Ambrose McEvoy, William Orpen and Wyndham Lewis. For the exhibition, see the catalogue Haycock, *Nash, Nevinson, Spencer, Gertler, Carrington, Bomberg: A Crisis of Brilliance, 1908-1922 (12 June–22 September 2013)*, edited by Dulwich Picture Gallery (London: Scala Arts and Heritage Publishers, 2013).

²⁰⁴ Rosalind Ormiston, “An Interview with David Boyd Haycock,” *Cassone* (September 2013), available online: <http://www.cassone-art.com/magazine/article/2013/09/david-boyd-haycock-a-crisis-ofbrilliance-from-book-to-exhibition/?psrc=interviews>. Accessed 15 March 2014.

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exhibition in 1910 in London. He struggled to live up to what he wanted to be as a student artist and what was expected from his art master, Tonks, who tried to persuade him to quit his career in art. Then, having graduated, during 1912-1913, Nevinson was exposed to avant-garde movements in Paris and London, particularly Italian Futurism, before he and other artists of his generation descended into a new moral and artistic crisis: the Great War. Looking at Nevinson's transition from student to artist allows us a glimpse of the "unbridgeable gulf" not merely between the students and professors of the Slade but also in the development of modernization (and modernism), gender relations, social hierarchy and nationalism within the wider social order in British society. The "crisis" and "gulf," it becomes clear, affected much more than the arts.

The Slade, 1910-1914

London in 1910-1914 was a city of excitement and a vortex for sociopolitical, economic, artistic and cultural change. Hence, if the Slade was not entirely tranquil and harmonious as a "society," it may well have been a microcosm of a greater, wider discontent. Walsh's book *London, Modernism and 1914* (2010), in particular, directs attention back to the artistic turbulence and social chaos in the prewar years and argues that London was alive with "smaller wars" even before the outbreak of total war on August 5, 1914.²⁰⁵

Within this social crisis, art in a variety of forms as well as associated art criticism were also experiencing a seismic shift. The surge came from without and from within the Slade. F. T. Marinetti's *Futurist Manifesto* made its first appearance in Britain in August

²⁰⁵ Queen Victoria died on January 22, 1901, and her son became King Edward VII. Edward ruled for nine years and was succeeded to the throne by his son, George V. The Edwardian era ended with Edward VII's death on May 6, 1910.

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1910,²⁰⁶ in the same year that he had delivered his first public lecture in England entitled “Un Discours futuriste aux anglais” (in French) to the all-female audience of the Lyceum Club at 138 Piccadilly, London. In the latter, he attacked John Ruskin’s “sick dream of a primitive pastoral life” and his “hatred of machine, steam and electricity.”²⁰⁷ Among the many female attendees of that lecture was the secretary of the Lyceum Club and active suffrage campaigner, Margaret Wynne Nevinson, C. R. W. Nevinson’s mother, who then wrote an article in *The Vote* on December 31 in which she perceptively commented on the radical anti-feminism developing within avant-garde doctrine of Futurism:

Marinetti declares that above and beyond everything else Futurism looks forward to a machine-governed and womanless world—a world in which even the human race may be generated by mechanism, and where everybody will be of masculine gender.²⁰⁸

Margaret pointed out as well that Marinetti admired merely the Suffragette method of enforcing demands rather than respecting their desire for liberty. She continued, the Futurists believed that while

women were responsible for what they considered a degenerate type of woman, the Suffragettes maintain that the erotic woman is a product of man’s absolutism—a product that is declining rapidly along with man’s unlimited control of things that matter.²⁰⁹

Though they did not agree on much, Marinetti and Margaret Nevinson were still “at one in deploring the existence of the serpent-of-old-Nile type of women.”²¹⁰

²⁰⁶ Walsh, *C.R.W. Nevinson*, 46. Filippo Marinetti’s *Futurist Manifesto* was first published in the Italian newspaper *Gazzetta dell’Emilia*, followed in French, as *Manifeste du futurisme*, in the leading newspaper *Le Figaro* on February 20, 1909, in Paris. *The Futurist Manifesto* made its appearance in Britain in August 1910 in *Tramp* journal.

²⁰⁷ Jonathan Black, ed., *Blasting the Future! Vorticism in Britain, 1910-1920* (London: Philip Wilson, 2004), 105.

²⁰⁸ Margaret Wynne Nevinson, “Woman the Spoilt Child of the Law,” *The Vote*, 31 December 1910, 112.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*

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Nevinson's comments raise an important question upon which to reflect: How can we interpret women's participation in a setting in which modernity was equated with a hyper-masculinized and anti-feminist posture? Not surprisingly, Marinetti and his supporters were "fascinated by London, a modern metropolis which took them to its heart with warmth that Paris never displayed," and that as a result, "the English received the full force of the Futurist campaign."²¹¹ Indeed, Marinetti was a household name in London by 1912. But, in addition to Futurism, other provocative, innovative and unsettling art forms were making their way to London.

On June 25, 1910, *The Firebird* was staged for the first time at the Paris Opera, performed by the Ballets Russes, with choreography by Michel Fokine and music by Igor Stravinsky.²¹² Labeled as wild, bizarre, naive, barbaric, entrancing and beautiful, *The Firebird* was a tremendous success among both audience and critics and brought about a transformation in the world of contemporary dance and music.²¹³ Fokine believed that "dancing should be a truly expressive medium and not mere gymnastics, and that the type of movement, music and design should reflect the time and place of the subject."²¹⁴ This groundbreaking philosophy was shared by the Futurists and then the Vorticists, who believed that artworks should be aggressive, violent, mechanized, subversive and volcanic,

²¹¹ Walsh, *C.R.W. Nevinson*, 45.

²¹² It was the first of Stravinsky's ballets to be performed in London. See Jane Pritchard, "The Firebird: A 'Riot of Rich Colour and Fantastic Movement,'" Royal Opera House, available online: <http://www.roh.org.uk/news/the-firebird-a-riot-of-rich-colour-and-fantastic-movement>. Accessed 27 June 2017.

²¹³ Sergei Bertensson, "Forkie: A Memory," *American Slavic and East European Review* 12, no. 3 (October 1953): 383.

²¹⁴ "20th Century Ballet Revolution," Victoria and Albert Museum, available online: <http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/0-9/20th-century-ballet-revolution/>. Accessed 2 October 2014.

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rather than lightweight.²¹⁵ So, when The Ballets Russes brought the performance to the London stage, English painters flocked there for inspiration.

All the seismic moments in 1910, however, nothing surpassed Roger Fry's "explosive"²¹⁶ exhibition *Manet and the Post-Impressionists*, which opened on November 8 at the Grafton Galleries. Christina Walsh captured firsthand the nature of the social, sexual, political and artistic rebellion in the *Daily Herald*:

The Post-Impressionists are in the company of the Great Rebels of the World. In politics the only moments worth considering are Women Suffrage and Socialism. They are both Post-Impressionism in their desire to scrap old decaying forms and find for themselves a new working ideal.²¹⁷

Referencing the shock of this exhibition and a variety of other historical and artistic events, Virginia Woolf later wrote: "On or about December, 1910, human character changed."²¹⁸ This rebellious spirit, of course, traveled from the galleries to the schools and crept over the walls into the Slade and its studios. According to Walsh, C. R. W. Nevinson attended this exhibition in 1910 with his father, art critic Charles Lewis-Hind, and his schoolmate Gertler. He also notes how Nevinson and his male friends from the Slade were soon displacing evidence of influence by this exhibition and learning from these foreign masters, even though their Slade teacher Tonks was disappointed and indeed very worried, about this turn of events.²¹⁹ Paul Nash remembered that Tonks "could not ... prevent our visiting the Grafton Galleries; he could only warn us and say how very much better pleased he would be if we didn't risk contamination but stay away."²²⁰ Tonks was not the only one who showed

²¹⁵ Cork, *Art Beyond the Gallery*, 193.

²¹⁶ Peter Stansky, *On or About December 1910: Early Bloomsbury and Its Intimate World*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 2.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 7.

²¹⁸ Virginia Woolf, *Mr Bennett and Mrs Brown* (London: Hogarth Press, 1924), 4-5.

²¹⁹ Walsh, *C.R.W. Nevinson*, 21.

²²⁰ Cited in *ibid.* Originally from Paul Nash, *Outline: An Autobiography and Other Writings* (London: Faber & Faber, 1945), 93.

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concerns about this radical exhibition. The *U.C.L. Union Magazine's* response to Fry's post-impressionist exhibition, published in the following year, also reveals to what extent the movements outside the walls of the Slade had infiltrated inside. The author, believing there was nothing new in the post-impressionist exhibition, stated within this magazine:

Are we indeed to be thankful for living in this century? Certain it is that some of us are ready to sign for placid days of Sir Joshua Reynolds. Not Every student can bear with equanimity the burden of dozens of semi-digested principles, the bewilderment of theories innumerable, each claiming for itself superiority over all others. Let our consolation be this, that the real artist will show himself, no matter what school he follows. They are not schools that matter, but individuals.

Even critics lose their heads. Quite recently we were treated to a choice display of this propensity. Some of the brotherhood go to extremes of frothiness in their ecstatic appreciation of the Post Impressionist Exhibition, though some, on the other hand, denounced the work in terms both violent and caustic. From such extremes, the poor layman has to choose his guide, philosopher, and friend.

The principles advanced in the catalogue of the Exhibition at the Grafton Galleries were certainly interesting, but surely more as a revival than as an innovation. They express nothing more than has been the aim of artists from the time immemorial. A new phase of thought has not been created, but old truths merely emphasized at a time when there seems a danger of their being forgotten.²²¹

This hesitation and conservativeness is also evident in women students' prizewinning works that show little immediate impact from this exhibition.

Taking Woolf's comment as a starting point, then, we may observe an escalation, an acceleration, of events and exhibitions in London that made the city a cultural vortex during these years. Select highlights for 1911-1914 might include the first Camden Town Group exhibition, which opened in London on June 14, 1911; the first Futurist exhibition, *Italian Futurist Painters*, which opened in March 1912 at the Sackville Gallery;²²² and Fry's *Second Post-Impressionist Exhibition*, also in 1912. Running concurrently with Fry's exhibition in

²²¹ "Faculty Notes: Slade Notes," *U.C.L. Union Magazine* (June 1911): 242.

²²² Black, *Blasting the Future!* 105.

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October 1912, and perhaps somewhat eclipsed by it, was the first exhibition of works by contributors to a quarterly journal on the arts entitled *Rhythm*,²²³ an event that will be explored in greater detail in Chapter 4.

As 1912 gave way to 1913, avant-garde art in London seemed to become more militant and polemical and certainly provoked more extreme reactions. In Paris, *The Rite of Spring*, with music by Stravinsky, choreographed by Vaslav Nijinsky and performed by the Ballets Russes at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, caused a riot on May 29, 1913. Soon the Ballets Russes opened in London. The Omega Workshop opened on July 8, 1913 in Fitzroy Square near UCL, while the *Post-Impressionist and Futurists* exhibition was held at the Doré Gallery, 35 New Bond Street, in October.

In 1914, London was exposed to even more home-grown as well as international art exhibitions, among which male and female Slade students both featured. As Dominika Buchowska has observed, the London art world in 1914 experienced a gradually changing attitude toward foreign artists and developed an increasing interest toward radical and provocative works.²²⁴ The *Second Grafton Group Exhibition*, held January 2-30, 1914, at the Alpine Club, displayed works by various English post-impressionists such as Roger Fry, Duncan Grant, Nina Hamnett, Vanessa Bell, Winifred Gill and William Roberts as well as works by French artists such as Henri Gaudier-Brzeska, Jean-Hippolyte Marchand, Andre Lhote, Othon Friesz, André Derain, M. Vilette and Pablo Picasso (works by him were loaned by Fry). T. E. Hulme argued that English post-impressionism was progressing and advanced

²²³ The participating artists were the Rhythmists. The periodical *Rhythm* was the launchpad for the group in the summer of 1911. Contributors included John Middleton Murry and Katherine Mansfield, with J. D. Fergusson as art editor and Jessica Dismorr as illustrator.

²²⁴ Dominika Buchowska, "Around the Galleries: Art Exhibitions in London in 1914 through the Eyes of the Critics," in *London, Modernism and 1914*, edited by Michael J. K. Walsh, 214-234 (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University, 2010).

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but only showed “a certain change of direction,” which could be more aggressive and violent, especially in form and structure.²²⁵ Then, on February 25, *Modern German Art* opened at the Twenty-One Gallery, including works of art by Wassily Kandinsky and Franz Marc of Der Blaue Reiter (The Blue Rider group) and with a catalogue introduction by Wyndham Lewis.²²⁶

The first official exhibition of the London Group took place in March at William Marchant’s Goupil Gallery in Regent Street.²²⁷ This exhibition contained 116 paintings and drawings by 26 artists, seven of whom were women, as well as eight works by two sculptors.²²⁸ The selected artists were former members of the Camden Town Group (Harold Gilman, Spencer Gore, Charles Ginner and Robert Bevan) and others inspired by, the Post-Impressionists, Cubists and Futurists which included David Bomberg, Wyndham Lewis, Henri Gaudier-Brzeska, Edward Wadsworth, Cuthbert Hamilton, Frederick Etchells, C. R. W. Nevinson, William Roberts, Jacob Epstein. Critical responses to the “Cubist Room” varied from outright rejection to intellectually accommodating remarks and incredulity, as Sir Claude Philips’s remark demonstrates:

... suddenly even the extremists of the Camden Town Group are made to look serious and almost academic by contrast with the onrushing Kaleidoscopists.²²⁹

Observer art critic P. G. Konody found the Cubist Room, holding contributions by the leading avant-garde artists, to be more spontaneous, adventurous and challenging. He noted that “the very aggressive blue of the invitation card” was an “indication of the defiant attitude of

²²⁵ Ibid., 216.

²²⁶ Robins, 184.

²²⁷ Sarah MacDougall, "Uproar! The Early Years of the London Group, 1913-28," in *Uproar! The First 50 Years of the London Group, 1913-1963*, edited by Sarah MacDougall and Rachel Dickson (London: Lund Humphries, 2013), 25.

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ Cited in Buchowska, 218.

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the members"²³⁰ and observed that "even the once disconcerting, jigsaw puzzles of the Italian Futurists would appear childishly simple beside the latest geometrical obfuscations upon which Mr. Bomberg and Mr. Wyndham Lewis have expended their energies."²³¹ The *Times* critic, however, failed to appreciate the untamed energy and importance of the Cubist works, rather situating them as patterns or mere decorations in the applied arts, a lower strata within the hierarchy of genres.²³² The *New Age* journal also reacted. In March 1914, T. E. Hulme edited "Contemporary Drawings," which included Gaudier-Brzeska, Bomberg, Roberts, Nevinson and Wadsworth, later in the same issue, Walter Sickert launched an attack on the English Cubists, which was then countered one week later (on April 2) by Wyndham Lewis.

Other key events followed. *The Exhibition of Italian Painters and Sculptors* opened at the Doré Gallery in April 1914. Its catalogue contained the "Initial Manifesto of Futurism," itself the foundation for future public speeches by Marinetti in London. The *Twentieth-Century Art: A Review of the Modern Movements* exhibit was held at Whitechapel Art Gallery from May 8 to June 20. It included four main trends in modern painting and a fifth group consisting of Jewish artists. *The Summer Show of the New English Art Club* of May and June 1914, as always, did what it could to challenge the Royal Academy of Arts.²³³ So, too, did the *Seventh London Salon of the Allied Artists' Association Exhibition*, which was held at Holland Park Hall on June 12. Twelve "noise-tuner" concerts were performed June 15-20 at the Coliseum and Albert Hall by Marinetti, Russolo and Piatti, and, provoked a (mild) riot.

²³⁰ Cited in MacDougall, "Uproar!" 24.

²³¹ Cited in Buchowska, 219.

²³² *Ibid.*, 220.

²³³ *Ibid.*, 227.

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Art criticism and theory in London evolved accordingly, and complex commentaries were presented through highbrow publications, such as Clive Bell's *Art*, published at the beginning of 1914, Michael Sadler's translation of Kandinsky's *The Age of Spiritual Harmony*, Ezra Pound's *Des Imagists* and T. E. Hulme's "The New Art and Its Philosophy."²³⁴ Some groups also felt the need to create public awareness through the written word and manifestos: Marinetti and Nevinson published *Vital English Art: A Futurist Manifesto for England* in the *Observer*, and then in early July, 1914, the Vorticists' first issue of *Blast* came into circulation a month before the outbreak of World War I.²³⁵

It is clear that the world of art in London flourished beyond the walls of the Slade between 1910 and 1914 with respect to not only the variety of work created, the multiple exhibitions staged and the international artists presented, but also the new commentaries and critiques that were stimulated. Whether or not this dynamism in London was replicated at the Slade in Gower Street and could be felt among the student population and in the works of art they produced at this time remains to be explored. The most prominent accounts of this Slade era of influence are by, or are about, its young rebel males: Stanley Spencer, Mark Gertler, William Roberts, Edward Wadsworth, C.R.W. Nevinson. Nevinson described his experience at the Slade as "full with a crowd of men such as I have never seen before or since."²³⁶ Can a parallel narrative be constructed that suggests that Slade women students were also part of the "triumphal flow" referenced earlier? This chapter will take a journey through the same years and the same school to examine whether/how women navigated the "crisis" in their works of art at this time, and if they indeed did, how?

Internationalism at the Slade

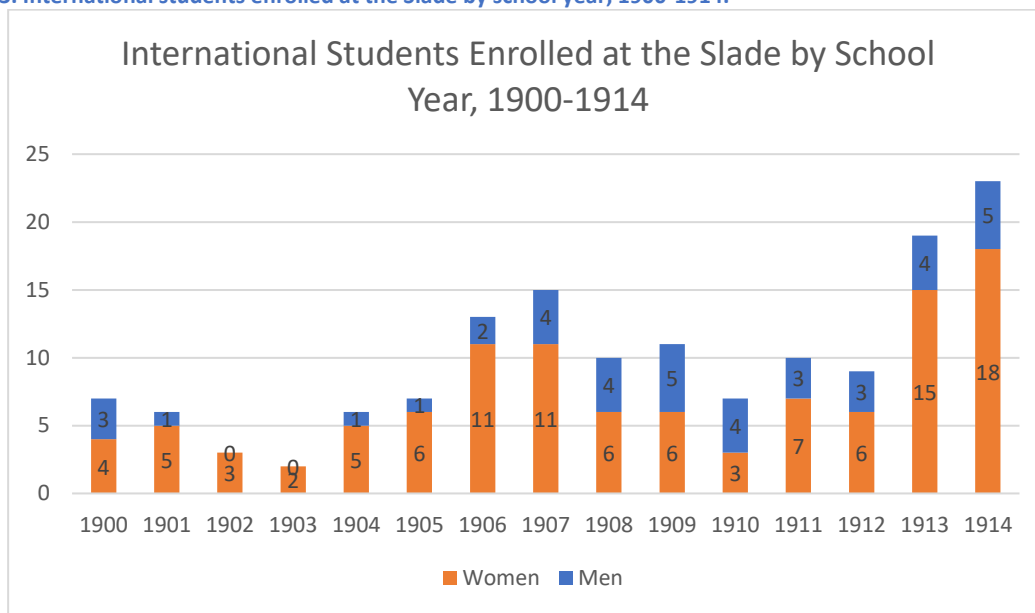
²³⁴ Walsh, ed. *London, Modernism, and 1914*, 2-3.

²³⁵ Ibid.

²³⁶ Walsh, *C.R.W. Nevinson*, 12.

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Table 3. International students enrolled at the Slade by school year, 1900-1914.



Note: This person-time visualization of annual international student enrollment at the Slade in 1900-1914 presents the flow of international students. As this table was designed and created by the author to show the number/ratio of women and men students simultaneously enrolling in each year throughout the period in question, the numbers are calculated by person-time rather than by number of persons. This method choice takes into account students who enrolled for more than one year, such as Fanny Van Leer, who enrolled at the Slade for four years (1908-1909, 1909-1910, 1910-1911 and 1911-1912) and was considered as one person-time in each year and counted four times in total.

An assessment of the extent to which internationalization of the London arts world was replicated at the Slade is in due order. Some scholars have suggested that London before 1910 had a surprisingly conservative attitude toward art, remaining virtually unconnected to the ferment on the Continent.²³⁷ Splendid isolation certainly seemed to prevail, even to resist, outside influences coming from Paris, Vienna, Berlin and Russia. Was this also the case at the Slade? Examination of the student lists from 1900-1901 to 1914-1915 reveals a growing number of international students during the time period, as is perhaps reflected in the lines of a poem published in the *University College Gazette*:

And oh! What various nations lend their aid
 To swell the credit of immortal Slade!
 Even as I write a pair before me stand—
 ...

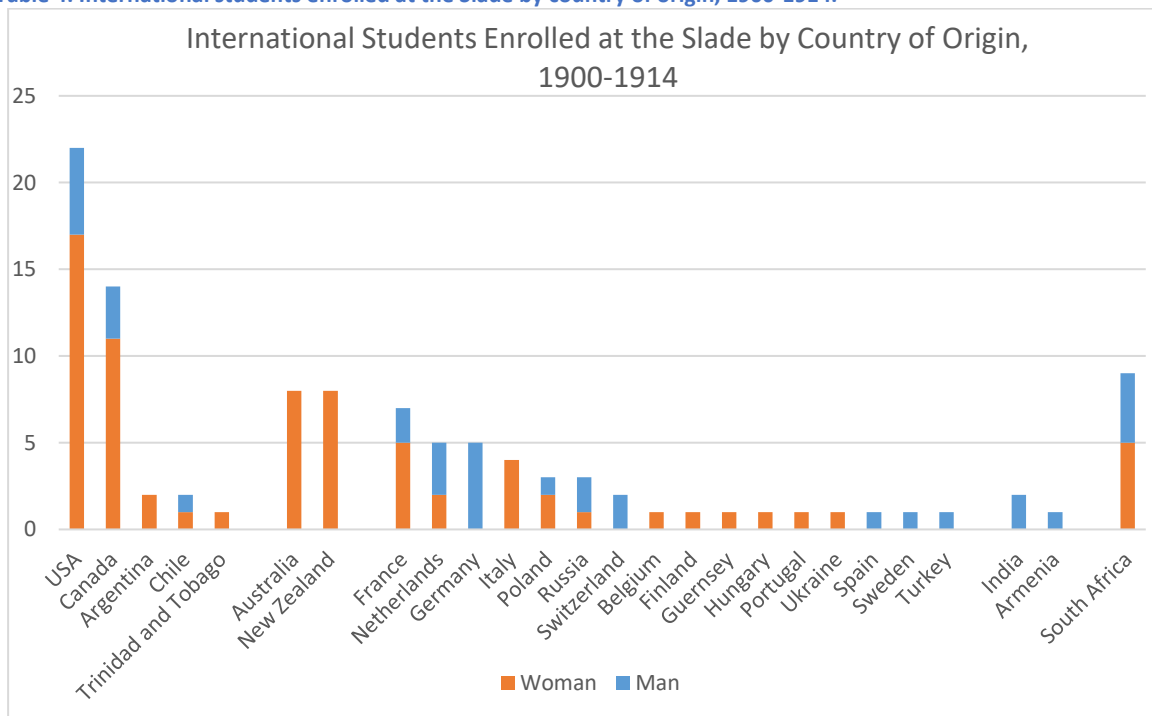
²³⁷ Virginia Nicholson, *Among the Bohemians: Experiments in Living, 1900-1939* (London: Penguin Books, 2002), 226.

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Dear little R*cht*r from the Vaterland;
 And Bl*ch, a charming girl upon the whole,
 Earth's last phenomenon her Eastern Pole.
 And many more whom thirst of fame invites,
 Persians and Parthians, Medes and Elamites²³⁸

These impressions are statistically quantified in Table 3 above, which visualizes the ebb and flow of overseas students, rising sharply in 1913 and 1914 and marking merely the beginning of a greater growth in numbers of Slade students who came from abroad after World War I.²³⁹ The table also demonstrates that women international students were superior in number to their male counterparts throughout the period.

Table 4. International students enrolled at the Slade by country of origin, 1900-1914.



Note: This table is derived from the same data as used for Table 3 but arranged and designed by the author in a different manner to show the origins of international students at the Slade during the same period. Unlike the Table 3, figures here are calculated from the actual number of persons, meaning Fanny Van Leer will only be counted once disregarding her four years of enrollment. The countries in this chart are arranged according to their continent: (from left to right) America, Oceania, Europe, Asia and Africa. A comparison of ratio of male to female students in each country and continent is also included.

²³⁸ "The Slade," 218.

²³⁹ UCL Special Collection; Chaplin, vol. II, 9.

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Table 4, meanwhile, shows that the United States and Canada were the top-two countries of origin for Slade foreign students, in particular for foreign women students. All those students who came from Australia and New Zealand and enrolled at the Slade from school year 1900-1901 to school year 1914-1915 were women. The high ratio of American women students at the Slade is not surprising when considering the large number of American artists (including many women artists) who were involved in English exhibition societies during the same approximate period, such as Anna Hope (Nan) Hudson (1869-1957) and Ethel Sands (1873-1962), who were founding members of the London Group, and Anne Estelle Rice (1877-1957) and Marguerite Zorach (née Thompson, 1887-1968), who were the active members of the group along with William Zorach (1887-1966), Marguerite's husband. American-born artist Jacob Epstein, who moved to London at the beginning of twentieth century and decided to become a British citizen in 1911, and American imagist poet Ezra Pound²⁴⁰ were both active in the development of the Vorticist Group.

Table 4 also reflects to some extent the active communication between London and various aforementioned countries during the period in question. As noted earlier, London was experiencing a gradually changing attitude toward foreign artists and radical and provocative works in the prewar years.²⁴¹ In addition to the many exhibitions, manifestos and performances in London by Italian Futurists, German Expressionists, French Fauves, the Ballets Russes, etc., England was exposed to individual woman artists of note from diverse countries—Polish artist S. de Karłowska (1876-1952) and Swedish experimental painter Renée Finch (1876-1954), who were involved in the London Group; prestigious landscape painter Frances Hodgkins (1868-1947) from New Zealand; Russian avant-garde painter

²⁴⁰ Ezra Pound coined the term Vortex to describe London in 1913.

²⁴¹ Buchowska.

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Natalia Goncharova (1881-1962)—their work introduced via *Rhythm* magazine in December 1912 (volume 2, number 11).

Table 5. List of international students enrolled at the Slade by school year, 1900-1914

List of International Students Enrolled at the Slade by School Year, 1900-1914				
School year	Name	Origin	No. of women/men students	No. of countries
1900-1901	Kupger, W.	Bern, Switzerland	3/4	7
	Lombard, (Mrs.) K. W.	Boston, USA		
	Macklem, H. B.	Toronto, Canada		
	Martelli, Clementina	Lucca, Italy		
	Palme, C. A	Sweden		
	Ullner, Anna C.	Finland		
	Weinert, E.	Berlin, Germany		
1901-1902	Dixon, M. Agnes	Christchurch, New Zealand	4/2	3
	Emerson, Sybil	Christchurch, New Zealand		
	Lombard, (Mrs.) K. W.	Boston, USA		
	Macklem, H. B.	Toronto, Canada		
	Wade, Emily M.	Toronto, Canada		
	Whittle, C. de Q.	San Francisco, USA		
1902-1903	McNicoll, Helen G.	Montreal, Canada	3/0	3
	Marchi, Adelaide	Florence, Italy		
	Palmer, Marjory	Colorado, USA		
1903-1904	McNicoll, Helen	Montreal, Canada	2/0	2
	Schwartz, (Mrs.) Eleanor C.	Boston, USA		
1904-1905	Chalkley, Ethel A.	Kansas, USA	5/1	4
	Cannaday, (Mrs.) Alice W.	Berkeley, USA		
	Delale, (Mrs.) M.	Paris, France		
	Horsnail, Edith D.	Canterbury, New Zealand		
	Palmer, Marjory	Colorado, USA		
	Shenorkian, M.	Constantinople, Turkey		
1905-1906	Chalkley, Ethel A.	Kansas, USA	6/1	7
	Gabain, Ethel L.	Havre, France		
	Hamersley, Constance	Vancouver, Canada		
	Horsnail, Edith D.	Canterbury, New Zealand		
	Midson, Mabel	Brisbane, Australia		
	Schichmanoff, Fanny	St. Petersburg, Russia		
	Shenorkian, M.	Constantinople, Turkey		
1906-1907	Arnold, Marjory	Sydney, Australia	11/2	10
	Asten, Aureli	New Jersey, USA		
	Baldock, Joan	St. Petersburg, Russia		
	Chalkley, Ethel A.	Kansas, USA		
	De Mascarenhas, Violet L. G.	Lisbon, Portugal		
	Gabain, Ethel L.	Havre, France		
	Hamersley, Constance	Vancouver, Canada		
	Horsnail, Edith D.	Canterbury, New Zealand		
	Jackson, Muriel	Buenos Aires, Argentina		
	Kropveld, D. G. J. F.	Amsterdam, Netherlands		
	Norris, Bessie	Melbourne, Australia		
	Reybekiol-Schapiro, Helene	Warsaw, Poland		
	Young, Gladys G.	Colorado, USA		
1907-1908	Arnold, Marjory	Sydney, Australia	11/4	9
	Asten, Aureli	New Jersey, USA		
	Bauer, L.	Munich, Germany		
	De Mascarenhas, Violet L. G.	Lisbon, Portugal		
	Fell, Marian	Florida, USA		

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	Gabain, Ethel L.	Havre, France		
	Golz, E.	Stuttgart, Germany		
	Henderson, Elsie M.	Guernsey		
	Jackson, Muriel	Buenos Aires, Argentina		
	Kropveld, D. G. J. F.	Amsterdam, Netherlands		
	Meybrock, Greta	Amsterdam, Netherlands		
	Norris, Bessie	Melbourne, Australia		
	Proctor, Katharine W.	Wyncote, USA		
	Stowkowski, S.	Warsaw, Poland		
	Young, Gladys G.	Colorado, USA		
1908-1909	Asten, Aureli	New Jersey, USA	6/4	9
	Frost, Lillian	Perugia, Italy		
	Green, Agnes I.	Sydney, Australia		
	Guezoumi, C.	Erzeroum, Armenia		
	Jackson, Muriel	Buenos Aires, Argentina		
	Kropveld, Dr. D. C. G. F.	Amsterdam, Netherlands		
	Lum, Gladys L.	Port of Spain, Trinidad		
	Stokowski S.	Warsaw, Poland		
	Van Leer, Fanny	Amsterdam, Netherlands		
	Weinmayer, K.	Munich, Germany		
1909-1910	Bekassy, Antonia H. E.	Ram, Hungary	6/5	10
	Currie, Edith	Melbourne, Australia		
	Ewerbeck, A.	Brake, Germany		
	Frost, Lillian	Perugia, Italy		
	Gwyn, R. F.	Quebec, Canada		
	Kellogg, Florence E. S.	Attadena, USA		
	Lum, Gladys L.	Port of Spain, Trinidad		
	Nachenius, J. C.	Amsterdam, Netherlands		
	Stokowski, S.	Warsaw, Poland		
	Suarez, J.	Madrid, Spain		
Van Leer, Fanny	Amsterdam, Netherlands			
1910-1911	Gwyn, R. F.	Quebec, Canada	3/4	6
	Lum, Gladys L.	Port of Spain, Trinidad		
	Poor, H. V.	Kansas City, USA		
	Rothberg, Slawa	Warsaw, Poland		
	Stokowski, S.	Warsaw, Poland		
	Van Leer, Fanny	Amsterdam, Netherlands		
	Vuerchoz, G. H.	Geneva, Switzerland		
1911-1912	Armour, Phyllis,	Toronto, Canada	7/3	8
	Brooks, Jessie	Sydney, Australia		
	Goodbody, Hannah F.	Haledon, USA		
	Lee, R. G.	Bombay, India		
	Long, Mck. R.	Statesville, USA		
	McLeod, Margaret S.	Dunedin, New Zealand		
	Rowland, Etta	Toronto, Canada		
	Roworth, E.	Cape Town, South Africa		
	Van Leer, Fanny	Amsterdam, Netherlands		
While, Marjorie F.	Hughesoffka, Ukraine			
1912-1913	Allan, Marjorie L.	Montreal, Canada	7/2	5
	Allen, Mary C.	Melbourne, Australia		
	Barker, Esther S.	Canterbury, New Zealand		
	Brooks, Jessie	Sydney, Australia		
	de Renzi, Frances E.	Christchurch, New Zealand.		
	Fudger, R. R.	Toronto, Canada		
	Lee, R. G.	Bombay, India		
	Smith, Hazel D.	Ontario, Canada		
	Walton, Helene B.	Port Elizabeth, South Africa		
1913-1914	Blackstock, Harriet	Toronto, Canada	15/4	8
	Brehm, W.	Cloverdale, USA		
	Carstairs, J. S.	Paris, France		

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	Cerimboli, Teresa V.	Florence, Italy		
	Chalkley, Ethel A.	Kansas, USA		
	de Renzi, Frances E.	Christchurch, New Zealand		
	Ford, Marjorie G. E.	Worcester, South Africa		
	Goodbody, Kate H.	Brooklyn, USA		
	Heckscher, Anna M.	Philadelphia, USA		
	Kilpatrick, (Mrs.) A. S.	Georgia, USA		
	Lambe, Beverley	Toronto, Canada		
	McEldowny, Iva H.	Wellington, New Zealand		
	Netcher, Ethel	Chicago, USA		
	Peterson, Fredericka	New York City, USA		
	Petty, Mary L.A.	Buenos Aires, Argentina		
	Poznanski, V.	Paris, France		
	Roworth, E.	Cape Town, South Africa		
	Steytler, Eilleen	Johannesburg, South Africa		
	While, Marjorie	Hughesoffka, Ukraine		
1914-1915	Barker, Esther S.	Canterbury, New Zealand	17/6	11
	Bevan-Petman, H. C.	Lahore, India		
	Billion, Pauline	Dinard, France		
	Blackstock, Dorothy M. G.	Toronto, Canada		
	Blackstock, Harriet	Toronto, Canada		
	Dethy, (Mrs.) Marie E.	Brussels, Belgium		
	Fauvel, René L.	Paris, France		
	Gayley, Mary	Berkeley, USA		
	Goodbody, Kate	Brooklyn, USA		
	Greatbatch, Amy M.	Kimberley, South Africa		
	Guevara, Alvaro	Valparaiso, Chile		
	Kendi, (Mrs.) Angela	Paris, France		
	Laubser, Magdalenn	Cape Town, South Africa		
	Lazzaro, Irene	Petrograd, Russia		
	Lewis, A. N.	Cape Town, South Africa		
	Macqueen, Mary E.	Valparaiso, Chile		
	Ockendem, A. L.S.	Johannesburg, South Africa		
	Secord, Lena	Edmonton, Canada		
	Steylter, Eilleen	Johannesburg, South Africa		
	Swinden, R. L.	Meriden, USA		
	Tait, (Mrs.) Bess	Melbourne, Australia		
	Visick, O. M.	Pietermaritzburg, South Africa		
	Young, Helen G.	Wellington, New Zealand		

Note: Women students are indicated in red. Created and designed by the author.

Enrollment of students from different cultures brought new inspirations for art and life experiences to the Slade and its students. Paul Nash wrote about his Mexican friend Rupert Lee from the Slade in his autobiography *Outline* (first published in 1948), who was gifted in music as well as art. According to Nash, Lee was

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far more intellectually mature than any of my other friends and he possessed or very successfully assumed, a philosophic detachment by which he carried off his crippling circumstances with an air.²⁴²

Lee modeled for Nash's painting project of *Lavengro and Isopel in the Dingle* (fig. 18) for his "gypsy" look as well as "intellectual" structure. By that time, Nash had already left the school. A studio visit by Nash convinced him that most of Lee's art works were sound scholarly studies.²⁴³

Another international student who made a deep impression among his Slade friends was Alvaro Guevara (1894-1951), "a student of exceptional promise" from Valparaiso, Chile.²⁴⁴ He was also an accomplished dancer, who taught Barbara Hiles the tango in the entrance hall of the Slade without any musical accompaniment, and together with Hiles, he was loosely associated with the Bloomsbury circle. In 1915, Guevara received the Melvill Nettleship Scholarship and took first prize in Figure painting and in Head Painting, the latter for his *Portrait of a Moroccan* (fig. 19).

²⁴² Paul Nash, *Outline: An Autobiography* (London: Columbus Books, 1988), 102-103.

²⁴³ Ibid. The author was unable to locate Rubert Lee from Mexico in the University College London Calendar collections. It is possible that Lee was a part-time student who only took courses rather than being officially enrolled. It is also possible that Nash got his nationality wrong, as there was an "R. Lee" from Bombay listed in Table 5.

²⁴⁴ Reynold, 186.

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Figure 18. Paul Nash, *Lavengro and Isopel in the Dingle*, c. 1912–1913. Ink, pencil and wash on paper mounted on cardboard, 46.5 x 37 cm. (Tate Gallery)

Interestingly, a comparison of this international male student's painting with another prizewinning piece on the same subject, but from 1908 by a native-born woman student at the Slade, yields intriguing observations. Elinor Proby Adams's *Portrait of a Moroccan* (fig. 20), despite a seven-year gap, offers no significant differences in technique, composition, color texture or expression of emotion when observed next to Guevara's. Judging by the appearances of the sitters, the two painters might even have depicted the same model. It seems that variations in nationality, culture or gender might be felt less in works of art, in particular school works, than in students' life experiences and styles.

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Figure 19. Alvaro Guevara, *Portrait of a Moroccan*, c. 1915. Oil on canvas, 78.8 x 63.5 cm. Awarded first prize in Head Painting in 1915. (© Art UK. Downloaded from https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/portrait-of-a-moroccan-42110/search/actor:guevara-alvaro-18941951/page/1/view_as/grid)



Figure 20. Elinor Proby Adams, *Portrait of a Moroccan*, 1908. Oil on canvas, 68.6 x 55.9 cm. Awarded second prize in Head Painting in 1908. (@ UCL Art Collection)

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Female Slade Prizewinners

Much as archival information has established that foreign students were consistently present throughout the early years of the twentieth century, and especially so in the years just before the Great War, and that women were well represented numerically among the student body of the Slade, documentation of Slade scholarships, fellowships and prizewinners in 1910-1914 may also prove useful in establishing the prowess of these women and permit an analysis of their “success” at school.

During the period under review, mounting admiration for the artworks created by Slade women students was observed from 1910 to 1914. A laudatory poem (“The Slade Maid: Ode (Owed) to her”) appearing in the December 1912 issue of *U.C.L. Union Magazine* bore witness to this change in regard:

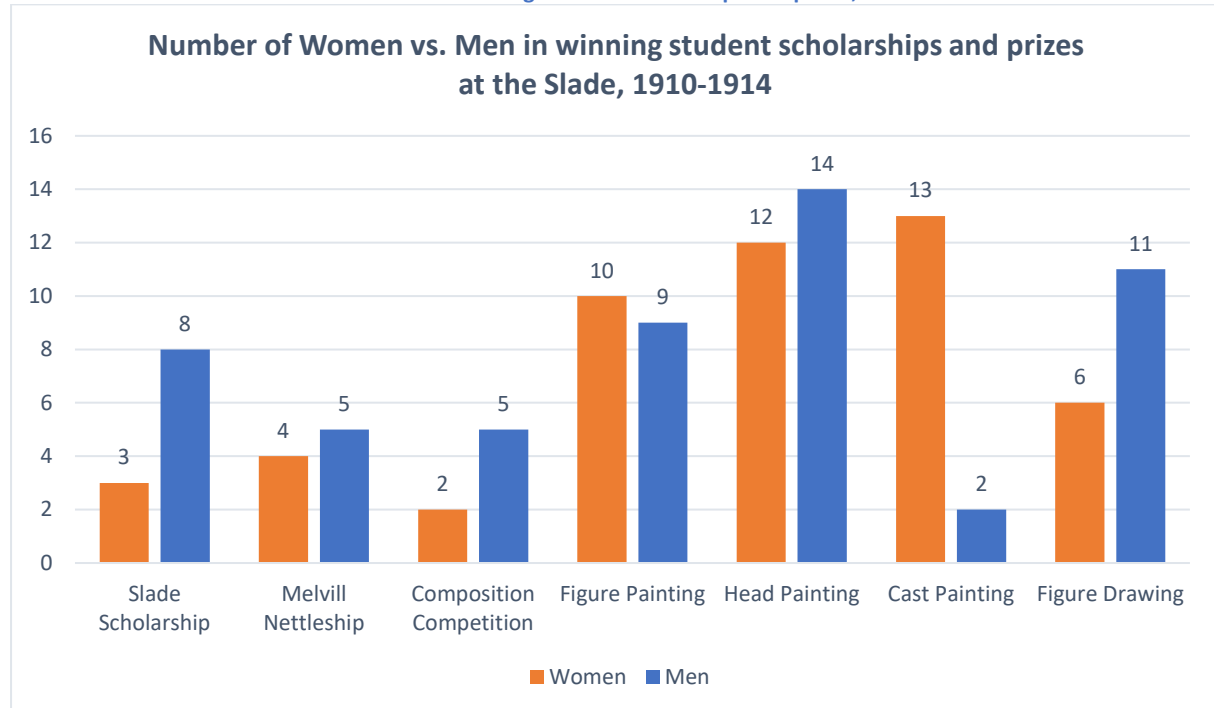
Yet still by your ART I am swayed;
And I think (how atrocious my spelling!)
You ought to be Slayed.²⁴⁵

This observation is quantified in the graph below (Table 6). It illustrates the continuity of the prominence of Slade women students in receiving scholarships and prizes in the period of 1910-1914. In the categories of the Melvill Nettleship Prize for Figure Composition and the Figure Painting and Head Painting prizes, women performed equally well with their male peers. In the categories of the Slade Scholarship and the Summer Composition Competition and Figure Drawing prizes, the number of women recipients was not significantly less than of their male peers. In the category of the Painting from the Cast competition, women students notably outnumber their male peers almost seven to one.

²⁴⁵ "The Slade Maid," *U.C.L. Union Magazine* (December 1912): 24.

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Table 6. Number of Slade women vs. men in winning student scholarships and prizes, 1910-1914.



It also had become strikingly noticeable that some women artists did significantly well in terms of nearly sweeping up the scholarships and prizes in a given year. Dora Carrington (1899-1932), who studied at the Slade from 1910 to 1914, was a prominent example. Like many female students at the Slade, Carrington dropped her first name upon joining the school, but unlike most of the others, she never readopted it, even after her marriage. Michael Reynold suggested in his manuscript that it “was a gesture of revolt—against her middle-class background, and against her sex.”²⁴⁶ In 1912 Carrington won the Slade Scholarship, the Melvill Nettleship Prize for Figure Composition and second prize in Figure Painting (fig. 23) in 1912. In 1913 she took the first prizes in Figure Painting (fig. 21) and in Painting from the Cast. Surprisingly, however, but for Carrington, whose life and art has been very well studied in published biographies, academic research, popular films and

²⁴⁶ Reynold, Michael. "The Slade, the Story of an Art School 1871-1971." University College, London, 1974, p. 180.

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theater over the last century, most women award recipients, including Carrington's close friends, have become shadowy figures of whom much less is known, especially when considering their achievements at school.

Carrington's friend Elsie McNaught is one example. She was the first prize winner in Figure Painting and in Figure Drawing in 1910 and in Painting from the Cast in 1911. She also won the Summer Figure Composition Competition for the academic year 1909-1910 (fig. 24). As can be seen in Figure 22, her prizewinning figure painting clearly shows that it was done from observation in the studio in a very scientific and academic manner: The figure is well proportioned, the facial expression of the model is relaxed and the color tone is natural and realistic. The figure is seated on a cloth-covered block with her upper body twisted slightly to the left to allow her left arm to rest on a taller table behind. This body position is a typical seated pose passed down from hundreds of years ago and still used presently for long-pose academic painting study. The model can easily hold the position for a longer period, and the student can observe and learn muscle in detail as some rhythms are shown from the twisting movement. In her study, McNaught positioned the figure in the center with an extra blank area around to breathe and create a three-dimensional space in which to locate the sitter.

McNaught's piece shares artistic talents similar to Carrington's prizewinning *Female Lying on Her Back* (fig. 23) and *Female Figure Standing* (fig. 21). All three works show solid training in art, anatomy, color, form, composition and technique. Their finished quality perfectly justified their awards. These sincere academic painting studies suggest little influence from the post-impressionist exhibition or other radical movements that were flourishing outside of the Slade and were reflected in the works of their immediate elders

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who had already left the institution, such as Vanessa Bell, Duncan Grant, Jessica Dismorr, Helen Saunders, and Spencer Gore.



Figure 21. Dora Carrington, *Female Figure Standing*, c. 1913. Oil on canvas, 50.8 x 76.2 cm. Awarded first prize in Figure Painting in 1913. (© The Slade Art Museum. Photographed by the author in UCL Art Museum storage room)

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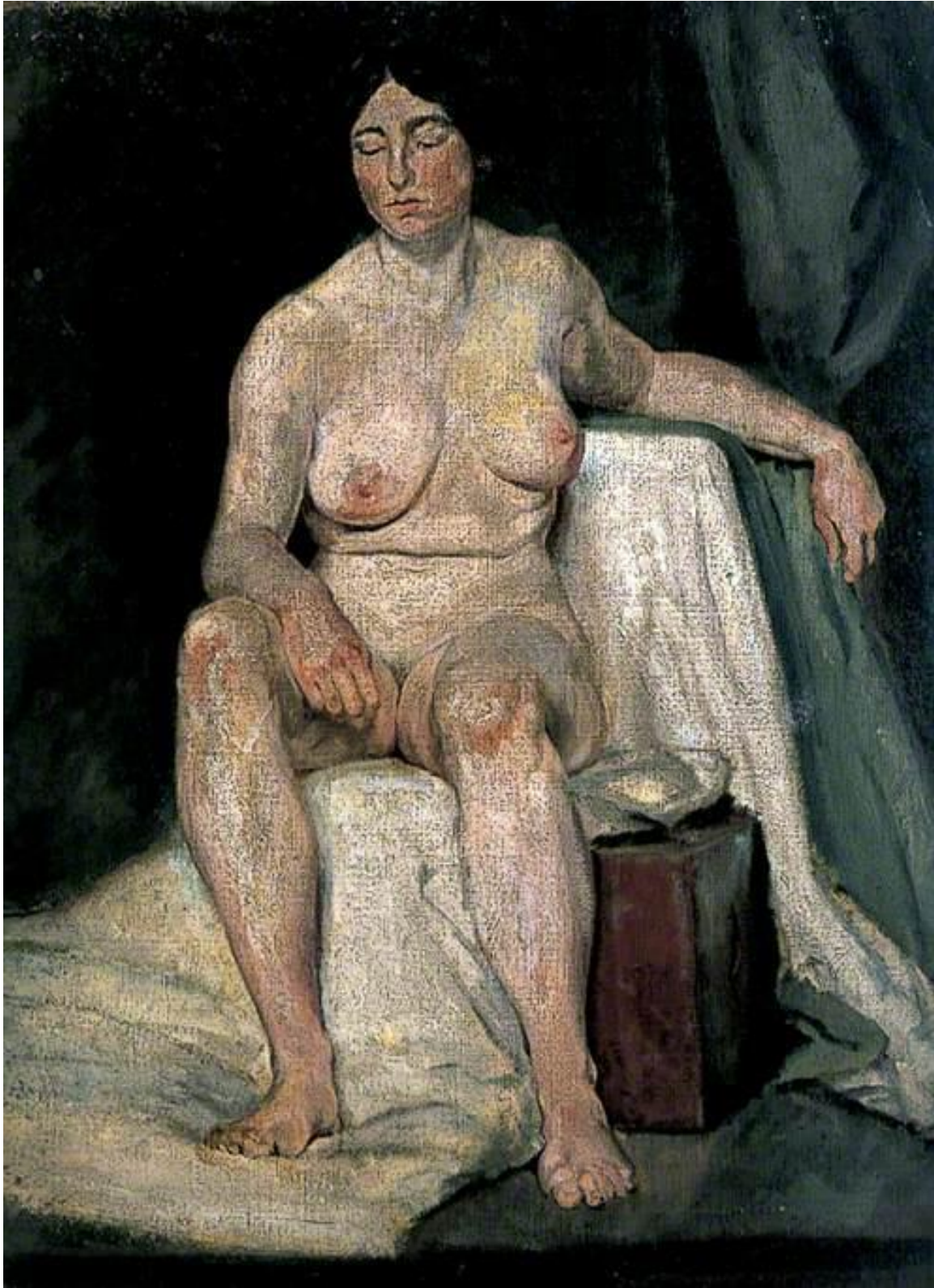


Figure 22. Elsie McNaught, *Female Figure Seated*, c. 1910. Oil on canvas, 76.2 x 50.8 cm. Awarded first prize in Figure Painting in 1910. (© The Slade Art Museum)

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Ruth Humphries, also a close friend of Carrington's, is another example. She won four different prizes in two school years, including the first prize in Painting from the Cast in 1912, second prize in Figure Drawing in 1912, first prize in Figure Painting in 1912, and first prize in Figure Composition for 1912-1913 for *A Group of Figures Standing in a Landscape* (fig. 27). Another notable win in 1913 was Dorothy Brett, who received the first prize in Figure Painting. Reynold's study records that also in 1914, soon after the outbreak of war, Barbara Hiles won second prize in the Summer Composition Competition with her painting on the set subject of "Summer," drawing praise from Professor Brown himself.²⁴⁷



Figure 23. Dora Carrington, *Female Figure Lying on Her Back*, c. 1912. Oil on canvas, 50.8 x 76.2 cm. Awarded second prize in Figure Painting in 1912. (© The Slade Art Museum)

²⁴⁷ Reynold, 187. Professor Brown praised the prize-winning painting by Hiles by declaring "I can no longer deny you." Before this begrudging recognition of her work, Tonks used to have harsh criticism regarding her drawings, and suggested her to go back home to make dresses. The author could not locate Barbara Hiles's painting in the UCL art collection, since only first-prize paintings were listed.

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Table 7. List of Slade scholarship recipients and prizewinners (1910-1915).

School Term	Slade Scholarship in Fine Arts <small>Established in 1870 under the will of Felix Slade. (£35 a year for two years)</small>	Melvill Nettleship Prize for Figure Composition <small>Established in 1897 in memory of Henry Melvill Nettleship, a former student, by his mother (£20 a year)</small>	Summer Figure Composition Competition (£25)	The Slade School of Fine Art Prize Lists			
				Figure Painting	Head Painting	Painting from the Cast	Figure Drawing
1909-1910	P. Allinson Stanley Spencer (1907-1912)	prize shared equally: R. Inlee Maxwell Gordon Lightfoot	Figure Composition (1909-1910) Subject: not recorded 1 st Elsie McNaught (1906-1911) <i>A Frieze of Figures standing in a Landscape</i>	1 st prize shared equally: Elsie McNaught (1906-1911) <i>Female Figure Seated</i> Margaret G. Mc I. Taylor (£3 10s each) 2 nd prize shared equally: S. W. Carline H. F. Garrett (£2 each)	1 st prize shared equally: Dorothy A. Cadman Faith M. Fell Mark Gertler (£3 each) 2 nd prize shared equally: Mary Healey R. Inlee Margaret G. Mc I. Taylor (£2 each)	1 st No award 2 nd Mark Gertler (1908-1912) Mary Healey (£2 each)	1 st Margaret A. A. Hannay (£3) 2 nd prize shared equally: S. W. Carline Honor C. Doyle (£2 each)
1910-1911	Ethel K. Cole C. U. Gill	prize shared equally: G. B. Solomon Stanley Spencer (1907-1912)	Figure Composition (1910-1911) Subject: not recorded 1 st Gilbert Bernard Solomon (1908-1913) (£25) <i>A Biblical Super</i>	1 st prize shared equally: Edward A. Wadsworth H. F. Garrett Faith M. Fell (£3 10s each) 2 nd prize shared equally: Winifred Lynton Margaret A. A. Hannay (£2 10s each)	1 st prize shared equally: H. F. Garrett Jean W. Byrne (£3 each) 2 nd prize shared equally: Gilbert B. Solomon Winifred M. Wilson (£2 10s each)	1 st Elsie McNaught (1906-1911) (£2 10s) 2 nd Winifred M. Wilson (£2)	1 st prize shared equally: Stanley Spencer (1908-1912) T. Nash H. F. Garrett (£2 each)
1911-1912	Dora Carrington (1910-1914) W. P. Roberts (1910-1913)	Dora Carrington (1910-1914)	Figure Composition (1911-1912) Subject: The Nativity 1 st Stanley Spencer (£25) (1907-1912) <i>The Nativity</i>	1 st T. S. Nash (£3 10s) 2 nd Dora Carrington (1910-1914) (£3) 3 rd Eileen Lambton (£2 10s)	1 st prize shared equally: Margaret Dagliesh Dorothy S. Meyer <i>Portrait of a Girl</i> (£3 each) 2 nd prize shared equally: Katherine C. Lloyd I. Rosenberg (£2 10s, each) 3 rd prize shared equally: A. P. Atkinson Elsie M. Barker (£2 5s, each)	1 st Katherine C. Lloyd (£2 10s) 2 nd prize shared equally: Margery C. J. M. Willcox (£2 each)	1 st prize shared equally: Ethel K. Cole T. S. Nash (£3 each)

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School Term	Slade Scholarship in Fine Arts Established in 1870 under the will of Felix Slade. (£35 a year for two years)	Melvill Nettleship Prize for Figure Composition Established in 1897 in memory of Henry Melvill Nettleship, a former student, by his mother (£20 a year)	Summer Figure Composition Competition (£25)	The Slade School of Fine Art Prize Lists			
				Figure Painting	Head Painting	Painting from the Cast	Figure Drawing
1912-1913	No scholarship awarded this year	W. P. Roberts (1910-1913)	Figure Composition (1912-1913) Subject: not recorded 1 st Ruth Humphries (1911-1914) <i>A Group of Figures Standing in a Landscape</i>	1 st prize shared equally: Dora Carrington (1910-1914) <i>Female Figure</i> Ruth Humphries (1911-1914) (£3 each) 2 nd prize shared equally: Fanny J. Fletcher <i>Female Figure Standing</i> Dorothy S. Meyer (£2 10s each)	1 st prize shared equally: C. V. Gill Ruth Humphries (1911-1914) (£3 each) 2 nd prize shared equally: W. Cartledge M. Goldstein (£2 10s each)	1 st Dora Carrington (1910-1914) Ruth Humphries (1911-1914) (£2 each) 2 nd Dorothy M. Adams Dorothy S. Meyer (£1 10s each)	1 st prize shared equally: Thomas Tennant Baxter (1912-1914; 1925-1930) W. P. Roberts (1910-1913) (£3 each) 2 nd Ruth Humphries (1911-1914) (£2)
1913-1914	A. Guevara (1912-1916) T. L. Poulton Dora T. Clarke	Nora L. M. Cundell	Figure Composition (1913-1914) Subject: <i>Summer</i> 1 st Gilbert Spencer (Jan.-June 1913; 1919-1920) <i>Summer: Composition with Three Children Seated in a Meadow</i> Thomas Tennant Baxter (1912-1914; 1925-1930) <i>Landscape with a woman in a Donkey Cart</i> 2 nd Barbara Hiles Title unknown	1 st prize shared equally: Dorothy E. Brett (1911-1916) Thomas Tennant Baxter (1912-1914; 1925-1930) (£4 each) 2 nd prize shared equally: Marjorie I. Somerscales (1912-?) A. Outlaw (1912-?) (£3 each) 3 rd prize shared equally: Cicely J. Callaway (1910-1914) Dorothy McWilliam (£2 10s each)	1 st No award 2 nd prize shared equally: Thomas Tennant Baxter (1912-1914; 1925-1930) Arthur Outlaw (1912-?) Alvaro Guevara (1912-1916) (£2 10s each)	1 st Moyra M. A. Barry (£2) 2 nd Marjorie I. Somerscales (1912-?) (£1 10s)	1 st Gilbert Spencer (Jan.-June 1913; 1919-1920) (£4) 2 nd Alice D. Davies (1911-1915?) (£3)

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School Term	Slade Scholarship in Fine Arts <small>Established in 1870 under the will of Felix Slade. (£35 a year for two years)</small>	Melvill Nettleship Prize for Figure Composition <small>Established in 1897 in memory of Henry Melvill Nettleship, a former student, by his mother (£20 a year)</small>	Summer Figure Composition Competition (£25)	The Slade School of Fine Art Prize Lists			
				Figure Painting	Head Painting	Painting from the Cast	Figure Drawing
1914-1915	G. J. Charlton (1914-?) H. C. Bevan-Petman (1914-?)	prize shared equally: Alice D. Davies (1911-1915?) Alvaro Guevara (1912-1916)	Figure Composition (1914-1915) Subject: Not recorded 1 st Violet Hamilton Bradshaw <i>The Flight into Egypt</i>	1 st Alvaro Guevara (1912-1916) (£4) 2 nd J. A. Dodgson (£3) 3 rd prize shared equally: Alice D. Davies (1911-1915?) Dorothy Paton (1913-?) (£2 each)	1 st Alvaro Guevara (1912-1916) (£3) 2 nd prize shared equally: James Wilkie (1913-?) Ruth B. Wake-Walker (1911-?) (£2 each)	1 st Ruth B. Wake-Walker (1911-?) (£3) 2 nd Dorothy McWilliam (£1 10s)	1 st Alice D. Davies (1911-1915?) (£3) 2 nd J. Wilkie (1913-?) (£2 10s) 3 rd prize shared equally: Marjorie I. Somerscales (1912-?) A. N. Lewis (1914-?) (£2 each)

Note: Women recipients/winners appear in red.

Names are followed by years of study at the Slade, when known.

The years in the first column are the academic years beginning in autumn of the first year listed and ending in spring of the following year.

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When one sees the numbers and names of the many women students who were awarded prizes and scholarships, it becomes all the more mystifying that they would be neglected in their time and/or in subsequent art histories. A more extensive search of women prizewinners across other departments and faculties at UCL demonstrates a similar phenomenon. According to an article published in 1901 titled "Women as Prize Winners," which concentrated entirely on results released from the Prize Distribution center for Prizes and Medals, women had taken twenty-two. The unidentified author raised several possible reasons for such a high ratio and his comments offer significant context for us to understand the case at the fine arts school. The author stated:

[I]t is noticeable that the very fact of finding a woman educating at a University is in itself sufficient evidence that she has satisfied herself or her guardians that her abilities are distinctly enough marked to warrant a further development of the education usually given to a woman.

The author then argued that men did not take college education as seriously as women because degrees for men were more "ornamental than useful" in their post-graduation life. Women, on the other hand, appreciated it more and were more hard-working as

Physically ... she is weaker, but though not actually superior in intellectual powers, and, it must be said without prejudice, usually inferior, she makes more headway by dint of a dogged perseverance and an indomitable energy which often supplement the more brilliant gift of nature. When a woman is engaged in education she is not expected to be domesticated, and her mind is given up undistractedly to its pursuit. The men are as a rule, not so entirely engrossed in their education.

The author also suggested that women's hard work was due to "ambition on behalf of the sex"; in other words, when women were given opportunities to compete with their male peers on a level playing field, they understood their responsibilities:

She is, of course, working for herself but also to be the medium of honour to her sex, and it will perhaps be not too unchivalrous to point out that this feeling is merely a subtly veiled form of selfishness.

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The author continued in his analysis of the subjects in question in a pseudo-scientific manner to explain why passing tests and winning prizes was no real measure of learning:

Her mind absorbs information very readily, and keeps it until the examination is over. Opinions differ as to whether her mind possesses the second characteristic of a sponge, which is brought into play when pressure is applied. ... It remains finally to observe one other element which leads to the success of women in prize-winning. The average age of women students is probably greater than that of men students. Moreover, at the age of twenty-one, an average age for students, the woman's brain is far more mature than that of the man at the same age. The man's brain probably does not reach maturity until the age of twenty-five at least, and by that time the woman's brain has usually passed its zenith.²⁴⁸

In the following issue of the *University College Gazette*, a humorous letter was published in response to this article, which is worth reproducing here as serious sentiments are often conveyed in jest. Perhaps surprisingly, there is more than a passing resentment at the preferential treatment shown to women students.

"Women as Prize winners" ²⁴⁹

W.W.S. writes "When a woman is engaged in education she is not expected to be domesticated, and her mind is given up undistractedly to its pursuit. The men are as a rule, not so entirely engrossed in their education."

—University College Gazette, Oct. 1901

My sister's attending a College,
To study and get her degree,
But while she is gaining the knowledge
The home duties fall upon me.

For she is excused all things trivial
And she gets her whole time to think,
While I have to do the convivial
And ask my friends out for a drink.

I have to go out with my mother
To pay afternoon duty calls,
And make paper kites for my brother,
And dance with the girls at the balls.

²⁴⁸ "Women as Prize Winners," *University College Gazette*, 30 October 1901, 216.

²⁴⁹ "'Women as Prize Winners,'" *University College Gazette*, 18 December 1901, 231.

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As I am a man they all take it
That study and College for me
Mean nothing at home—but they make it
As easy for her as can be.

So / darn the socks for my father,
And / keep his buttons on tight,
And dress, when I'd very much rather
Have time for my study at night,

And so when my sister wins prizes,
(I don't wish her pleasure to mar,)
The thought in my bosom arises,
That we are not placed quite on a par.

I hope this explains my position,
Pray think I'm not really an ass;
But that is how she gets the Honours;
While I scramble through with a Pass.

By M.S.

Special attention to one specific prize between the years of 1910 and 1914, however, may shed further light on the Slade's standout women students.

Summer Composition Competition

With the appointment of Frederick Brown as Slade Professor in 1892, a new painting prize, the Summer Composition Competition, was introduced. Students were given a set subject and expected to produce a large-scale multi-figure work over the summer vacation, which would be judged publicly at the beginning of the autumn term.²⁵⁰ Large-scale "history" paintings had traditionally been considered the most prestigious and ideal subject matter for artists completing training at the established academies in Europe. For several hundred years it had been customary that a young artist would be judged on his ability to

²⁵⁰ "Oil Paintings in Public Ownership in London: The Slade School of Fine Art and University College London Art Collection," edited by the Public Catalogue Foundation (London: Public Catalogue Foundation, 2005).

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execute a large scale, multi-figure paintings composition based on a given subject from history, the Bible or the Classics.²⁵¹ The Slade's Summer Composition Competition carried on that tradition, though further examination of the prizewinning works and the general tendencies undertaken by the Slade students reveals a radical redefinition of this tradition, often in adherence to current aesthetic discourses.

Emma Chambers's research on art education, and in particular the relationship between the artists of the Slade School of Fine Art and the Camden Town Group, draws our attention to the importance of history paintings in subject matter and technique.²⁵² She observed that over half of the Camden Town Group members received their training at the Slade, and so by conducting a comparative study of their works at the school and after graduation, she was able to demonstrate a direct link between the character of the Camden Town Group, the Slade curriculum and the Summer Composition Competition prizewinning works. Employing a similar methodology, the author has examined the Summer Composition Competition prizewinning works to establish if and how the Slade curriculum influenced the character of Slade women artists' works produced after their graduation. Hubert L. Wellington's detailed chapter on this competition in John Fothergill's 1907 book serves as a useful starting point:

... [Student] achievement in this direction marks the end of the first stage in the painter's education, the stage of pure studentship. In such a work a student may display all that he has learnt in school, and elsewhere, of drawing and painting from

²⁵¹ Emma Chambers, "Redefining History Painting in the Academy: The Summer Composition Competition at the Slade School of Fine Art, 1898-1922," *Visual Culture in Britain* 6, no. 1 (2005): 79-100. Hubert L. Wellington, "The Slade School Summer Composition since 1893," in *The Slade*, edited by John Fothergill, 22-29 (London: Richard Clay, 1907).

²⁵² Emma Chambers, "Slade School Influences on the Camden Town Group, 1896-1910," in *The Camden Town Group in Context*, edited by Helena Bonett, Ysanne Holt, and Jennifer Mundy (London: Tate Research Publication, 2012), available online: <https://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/camden-town-group/emma-chambers-slade-school-influences-on-the-camden-town-group-1896-1910-r1104373>. Accessed 22 December 2016. Chambers, "Redefining History Painting in the Academy."

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life, of the setting of figures in space, of the design and construction of a picture. In addition to this he is afforded a scope for original and imaginative creation.²⁵³

An overview of the titles of the competition paintings reveals little in the way of surprises at the outset, although gradual change, perhaps in response to developments in France, may be observed at around the turn of the century. Early winners were works such as *The Rape of the Sabine Women* (1897), *Hamlet* (1899) and *Moses and the Brazen Serpent* (1898). The early years of the twentieth century see topics such as *Musician* (1902), *Worker* (1904) and *Summer* (1914), driven, up to 1905, by naturalistic subjects and “a feeling of the necessity for an artist to paint the life of his own time.”²⁵⁴ After 1905, a distinct change of direction may be observed “towards a manner of conception that does not illustrate everyday life, a direction towards a more decorative effect than had been yielded lately by naturalism.”²⁵⁵ Perhaps here, echoes of the 1870s Ruskin-Whistler debate on “truth to nature” versus “art for art’s sake” are manifested in choice of subject matter. Ruskin had emphasized the social and moral function of art, while Whistler had insisted that art should be free from narrative function and social responsibility. These issues were to emerge repeatedly in the years just before World War I in controversies surrounding Bloomsbury formalism, the Omega Workshop and its rival avant-garde communities, such as Camden Town Group and followers of Futurism and Vorticism, as well as the artists affiliated with *Rhythm*. The leading critics of the Bloomsbury Group, Roger Fry and Clive Bell, stressed the autonomy of art and called for an art aesthetic of disinterestedness.²⁵⁶ Walter Sickert and the Camden Town Group believed art should be deeply rooted in modern urban life.

²⁵³ Wellington, 21.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 22.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁶ Hall, 44. Frances Spalding has argued vigorously against reducing Roger Fry to a pure formalism in “Roger Fry and His Critics in a Post Modern Age”, *Burlington*, 128 (July 1986): 489-92.

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Followers of Futurism and Vorticism demanded an engagement with modern life in the machine age.²⁵⁷

Significantly, in the prewar years, two prizewinning works by women students seem to embody ideas current at the Slade: Elsie McNaught's *A Frieze of Figures Standing in a Landscape* (fig. 24), which took the first prize in 1910 for the Summer Composition Competition of school term 1909-1910, and Ruth Humphries's *A Group of Figures Standing in a Landscape* (fig. 27), which was awarded the same prize, but in 1913.²⁵⁸



Figure 24. Elsie McNaught, *A Frieze of Figures Standing in a Landscape*, c. 1910. Oil on canvas 101.6 x 132.1 cm. Awarded first prize in the Summer Composition Competition for 1909-1910. (© UCL Art Collection Museum)

²⁵⁷ Ibid., 44-45.

²⁵⁸ Subjects in 1907-1914, with the exception of the Nativity of 1912 and Summer of 1914, were left entirely to the discretion of the students. Subjects in those years, therefore, were not recorded.

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Figure 25. Detail of *A Frieze of Figures Standing in a Landscape*: three figures on the left. (Photographed by the author at the UCL Art Collection in January 2017)



Figure 26. Detail of *A Frieze of Figures Standing in a Landscape*: three figures in the center. (Photographed by the author at the UCL Art Collection in January 2017)

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Elsie McNaught was enrolled at the Slade from 1906 to 1911, and as previously mentioned, won various prizes before her triumph in the Summer Composition Competition. *A Frieze of Figures Standing in a Landscape* undoubtedly makes reference to classic narrative in the drapery and gestures of the figures, even if the narrative is not entirely clear. Rather than interpreting the meaning of the subjects, the viewer is encouraged to “respond to aesthetic qualities such as the rhythmic interactions of the figures and their disposition in an ideal landscape.”²⁵⁹ McNaught presents the “decorative quality” advocated by Walter Crane in a composition that “appeals to the eye” and “a subject matter removed from daily life and given classical or primitive treatment.”²⁶⁰ By emphasizing the “decorative quality,” Chambers suggests a shift from the Slade’s tradition of student history paintings toward aestheticism (form) and intellect (content). Similarities to the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood’s embrace of spiritual and creativity integrity and French painter Puvis de Chavannes’s (1824-1898) modernist mural paintings can also be drawn, further detaching it from the history painting tradition and marking a step toward simplification and rhythmical composition. Jennifer L. Shaw argued in *Dream States: Puvis de Chavannes, Modernism, and the Fantasy of France* (2002) that

The caricaturist recognized that Impressionism focused on attempts to capture fleeting and momentary sensory effects on canvas, whereelse Puvis de Chavannes’s work divorced sensation from its subject matter and from the immediacy of time, Puvis’s painting emphasized the way decorative rhythms of paint might cause sensations in viewers’ minds and provoke their imaginations. This shift from the

²⁵⁹ Chambers, 93.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 92. Walter Crane wrote in 1891 that the “term decorative painting implies the existence of painting which primarily and pre-eminently appeals to the eye.” Chambers, who used to work at the Slade School of Fine Art, wrote many articles about art education, women artists and in particular artists associated with the Slade school and their roles in British art in the early twentieth century, such as Emma Chambers, ed., *UCL Art Collections: An Introduction and Collections Guide* (London: UCL Art Collections, 2008), and Emma Chambers, *Oil Paintings in Public Ownership in London: The Slade School of Fine Art and University College London Art Collections* (London: Public Catalogue Foundation, 2005).

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momentary and fleeting to the time-less and perhaps ever shareable was one of the things that drew artists attempting to update Impressionism to Puvis' art.²⁶¹

McNaught exhibited with the NEAC between 1910 and 1920, presenting *Abersoch* in winter 1910; *Sandown* and *Lynmouth* in summer 1911; *Women's Head*, *The Quay* and *Newquay* in winter 1911; and *The Black Lake* and *Blaenan Festiniog* in summer 1914, among other works. An examination of the titles of these paintings suggests that the subjects of her artworks exhibited in the NEAC were not unrelated to the studio practice of Slade women or of other members of the NEAC. They were primarily landscapes depicting villages in Britain or portraits. The very limited existing reviews of her works come from her exhibition at the Alpine Club Gallery with the Friday Club in 1918, where her work was praised by Ezra Pound as "pleasant."²⁶² McNaught continued this tendency toward the graphic arts and worked as a designer for the Tootal company in the 1920s under T. C. Dugdale.²⁶³

Ruth Humphries was enrolled the Slade between 1912 and 1914, entering immediately after McNaught left. Unlike McNaught's prizewinning painting, which prioritized rhythm and arrangement over narrative content, Humphries's *A Group of Figures Standing in a Landscape* features life of her own time and reflects a social reality. Here she presents a scene of a large family not far outside the industrial city, where tall smoking chimneys can be vaguely identified in the distance (fig. 28), suggesting that Humphries may have been commenting on the industrialized and mechanized modern metropolis that

²⁶¹ Jennifer L. Shaw, *Dream States: Puvis de Chavannes, Modernism, and the Fantasy of France* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002), 187.

²⁶² B. H. Dias, "Art Notes," *New Age* 22, no. 26 (1918): 503. "B. H. Dias" was the pseudonym Ezra Pound used to publish art criticism in the *New Age*.

²⁶³ Lesley Jackson, *Twentieth-Century Pattern Design: Textile and Wallpaper Pioneers* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2002), 61. A wood engraving by McNaught is held at the collection of Central St. Martin's College of Art and Design.

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Figure 27. Ruth Humphries, *A Group of Figures Standing in a Landscape*, c. 1913. Oil on canvas, 34 x 42 in. Awarded first prize in the Summer Composition Competition for 1912-1913. (© UCL Art Collection 5265)



Figure 28. Detail of *A Group of Figures Standing in a Landscape*: two figures on the left in the distance. Note the tall smoking chimneys behind the two figures. (Photographed by the author in the UCL Art Museum storage room)

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London had become through this mixed cast of characters. The painting is reminiscent of Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood paintings, as well as the realism of Jean-François Millet and Gustave Courbet in France, evoking Courbet's *Burial at Ornans* (fig. 29), for example. Together, these two paintings by McNaught and Humphries suggest a different approach from their radical male contemporaries Wyndham Lewis, C. R. W. Nevinson or David Bomberg whose works reflected the impact of Cubism,²⁶⁴ also suggest two discourses (although akin to Pre-Raphaelitism) undertaken by women students in their school studies in the prewar years under stress of Post-Impressionism. Although, their works might not be as extreme as the Bloomsbury formalists or Walter Sickert's gritty depictions of the dark side of urban life that emphasized art's involving role in society, these canvases are nevertheless worthy of our contemplation as a reflection of currents inside and outside school as well as an evidence to examine the pace of acceptance within the Slade by women students in their academic works.



Figure 29. Gustave Courbet (1819-1877), *A Burial at Ornans*, (*A Painting of Human Figures, the History of a Burial at Ornans*), 1849-1850. Oil on canvas. 315 x 668 cm. Paris, Musée d'Orsay. Gift of Miss Juliette Courbet, 1877. (© RMN-Grand Palais (Musée d'Orsay)/Hervé Lewandowski)

²⁶⁴ Charles Aitken, "The Slade School of Fine Arts", 5.

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Through recorded recollections we know that Slade professor Henry Tonks would have preferred his students to focus on academic training rather than becoming “infected” by post-impressionist exhibitions. It was suggested by Desmond MacCarthy in 1939, however, that at the end of his life, Tonks

came to regard it as inevitable: “Cubism, in particular, could not have been avoided, because it reflected so clearly the impression made by the dull mechanism of the modern world on sensitive minds.” But as long as it had anything to do with the training of the young, he was not going to let them begin by producing attractive smears.²⁶⁵

It is evident in their artwork, nonetheless, that the avant-garde exhibitions had less impact on Slade women students than it did on their immediate elders who had already left the school, in part because the former were still art students and their works produced in the period in question were for scholarships/prizes that were designed to enhance academic training. For those who could not bear the “disapproving” atmosphere or conservative Tonks, Paris was always an inspiring option for Slade artists to round off and further develop what they had already learned.

The Slade and Private Academies in Paris

Since the mid nineteenth century Paris had been a thriving center for the arts and creative activities that welcomed and encouraged the exchange and exploration of ideas, thus becoming a magnet for art students from all over Europe. As examined in the previous chapter, both the vibrant Parisian atmosphere and the increasingly intimate connection between the Slade and the French capital, initiated by successive Slade teachers, had spurred Slade students to cross the Channel year after year. It was quite typical, for

²⁶⁵ Desmond MacCarthy, “The World of Books. Henry Tonks: Painter and Professor,” *Sunday Times*, 21 May 1939, 6.

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example, to spend a few months at one of the great private art academies in France, such as the Académie Colarossi, Académie Carmen, Académie Julian, Académie de la Palette, or Académie Delecluse, after graduation as the perfect way to “round off” a Slade education in art.²⁶⁶ It also became increasingly fashionable among independent women art students from wealthy families. Toward the end of nineteenth century, the dominating role of the École des Beaux-Arts and the Salon d’Automne in Paris inspired many leading artists in Paris to establish private art academies as an alternative to the government-sanctioned ones, which offered restricted access to foreign artists and women and in the eyes of many promising young artists had become too conservative. The Académie Julian, founded by French painter and etcher Rodolphe Julian (1839-1907) in 1868, was among the most progressive of these private schools, providing studios exclusively for women students, and was soon recognized as the rival to the École des Beaux-Arts, earning it the sobriquet of the “École des Beaux-Arts de la Rive Droite” (Fine Arts School of the Right Bank). Students came from all parts of Europe but especially from England, as well as in significant numbers from the United States. Other private schools included the Académie Colarossi, founded in Paris in the nineteenth century by Italian sculptor Filippo Colarossi (1841-1906), and the Académie Delecluse, established in the French capital by painter Auguste Joseph Delecluse (1855-1928).

Slade friends Ida Nettleship, Gwen John and Gwen Salmond, like their professors and male contemporaries, traveled together to Paris in 1898 to study painting. Nettleship enrolled at Julian’s, while Salmond and John took courses at James McNeil Whistler’s

²⁶⁶ Fehrer, 752.

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Académie Carmen.²⁶⁷ Upon their return to London, John and Salmond exhibited with the NEAC. Berta Ruck also went to Paris after leaving the Slade and studied for a time at Colarossi's, where she found the professors to be very encouraging. Barbara Hiles, in reverse order, studied in Paris first and then joined the Slade in 1912, where she befriended Dora Carrington, Dorothy Brett, Elsie McNaught and Ruth Humphries. In fact, even a very brief overview demonstrates the key role of Paris among English artists and its impact when they returned from the French capital to London.

For example, an art exhibition club formed by a group of enterprising English art students enrolled at Delecluse's in 1899 successfully developed into the London-based Women's International Art Club (WIAC), which facilitated the careers of women artists over decades. In fact, WIAC quickly became *the* appropriate professional circle for women artists, especially for international women artists who intended to exhibit works in London but were confronted with reduced opportunities due to gender bias or their experimental art approaches. WIAC proved an alternative opportunity to bring their works to a more international audiences. Many international experimental women artists started their career in London at WIAC before associating themselves with smaller modernist circles. (Chapter 5 fully explores WIAC and its achievements.)

Jessica Dismorr is another example of this cross-Channel impact. After her training at the Slade in 1903-1906, Dismorr continued her artistic education in France, first with the artist Max Bohm (1868-1923) until 1908, then in 1910 and 1912 at the Académie de la Palette, where Jean Metzinger (1883-1956), André Dunoyer de Segonzac (1884-1974), John Duncan Fergusson (1874-1961) and Jacques-Émile Blanche (1861-1956) were instructors.

²⁶⁷ Chitty, 47. At the time, the Académie Carmen was headed by American painter James Abbott McNeill Whistler (1834-1903).

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While in Paris, Dismorr had contact with contemporaries such as American modernist artist Marguerite Thompson (later Zorach), British painter Kate Lechmere and Russian avant-garde artists Sonia Delaunay, Nadezhda Udiltsova, Varvara Stepanova and Lyubov Popova. In 1910 and 1911, Thompson and Dismorr shared a studio and traveled together. The pair gravitated to British Fauvism, reflected in their becoming contributors of bold drawings and block prints to modernist magazine *Rhythm* in 1911 and 1912. In 1914, Dismorr joined the Rebel Art Centre, which had been cofounded by Lechmere and Wyndham Lewis, and became involved in the development of the Vorticist Group.

Marriage and Motherhood

A comprehensive survey of both published and archival sources also reveals certain constants or continuities between many women artists throughout the first two chapters of this dissertation, including the idea that marriage and motherhood could be detrimental to the success of an aspiring artist. Wyn George (1880-1951), for example, while studying at the Slade in the 1890s, wrote in her diary when she learned that she was not going to be promoted yet to the life class: “I hope I shall get better soon. None of the masters are married!”²⁶⁸ This declaration was made as but a teenage girl and represents a concern she lived with for the rest of her life despite her success, exhibiting extensively with NEAC, WIAC and AAA from 1908 to 1921.²⁶⁹ After the Slade, she went to Paris, then worked with a

²⁶⁸ Cited in Reynold, 129.

²⁶⁹ Christian, 70. Her work was included in all but one of the WIAC shows between 1908 and 1921 (WIAC exhibitions were not held in 1916 or 1918 due to the war). Works by George exhibited at WIAC, 1908-1915, are as follows (compiled from the collection of WIAC exhibition catalogues (1908-1915) held at the Women’s Art Library): 1908 (128: *Thomas*, 129: *A portrait*, 130: *Baby Bunting*, 131: *Baby*, 132: *Petit Pierre*, 133: *Grandpère*); 1909 (137: *Bébé*, 158: *Yvonne*, 160: *Thérèse*, 161: *Etudes-Trois Têtes*, 162: *Effet du Soleil*); 1911 (213: *Jan* (pastel), 229: *A Dutch Boy* (pastel), 230: *La Grandmère* (pastel), 243: *Louis et son petit Mouton*); 1912 (81: *Le Petit Ours*, 135: *Bambino Timido*, 142: *Maternita*); 1913 (14: *La Terrace*, 31: *El Nino*, 137: *A Fisher-boy*, 206: *El Gitano*, 207:

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Spanish painter, Ramón Garrido. During her trip to France, she sent her artworks back to London to be exhibited at WIAC. In the winter of 1913-1914, Wyn journeyed through France to Algeria, a territory under French control at the time. The exoticism and elegance of French North Africa attracted George. In 1914, she drew *Laadj et Saïd* (fig. 30) and *L'Enfant Sauvage* (fig. 31), exhibited in WIAC's sixteenth annual exhibition, at Grafton Galleries, February 25-March 30, 1915. Both pieces depicted a private and intimate scene from a local women's world.²⁷⁰

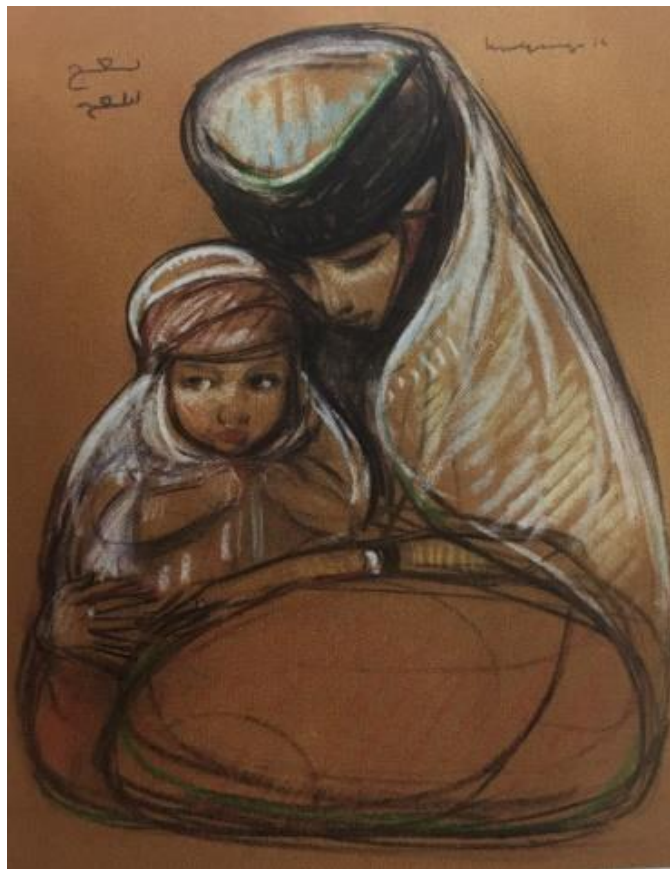


Figure 30. Wyn George, *Laadj et Saïd*, c. 1914. Pastel. (Reproduced from Jessica Christian, *Wyn George: Traveller and Artist* [Dorset, UK: Dovecote Press, 2013], figure 95

Annunziata); 1914 (146: *La Coiffeuse*, 154: *Flute Player*), 1915 (166: *L'Enfant Sauvage*, 167: *Ergoya* (pastel), 169: *Méchant Saïd*, 170: *Femme Arabe (spinning)* pastel, 171: *Le Kohl* (pastel), 172: *Laadj et Saïd* (pastel).

²⁷⁰ Christian, 81-84.

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Figure 31. Wyn George, *L'Enfant Sauvage*, c. 1914. Pastel. (Reproduced from Jessica Christian, *Wyn George: Traveller and Artist* [Dorset, UK: Dovecote Press, 2013], figure 98.

George's art life was soon interrupted by World War I, in which she drove an ambulance. Afterward, she resumed painting, left England in 1923 and made her first visit to India alone. There she became fascinated with the Ajanta cave paintings and surrounding countryside. She went from India to Singapore, then to Anghor and Peking (Beijing), then to Japan and on to Honolulu. She stayed in each of the countries she visited from six months to a year, sketching the people with whom she came in contact. Most of the portraits were of women and children, in their private world. She had especially interests into "oriental types" of models that she loved to draw and learned "oriental" art styles, for example, Japanese wood block prints when she was in Kobe and Chinese painting in Peking. Her determination in and ambition of becoming an artist eventually paid off. Her works were

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displayed in London, Paris, Japan (Kobe) and New York.²⁷¹ However, the travel and long-term residency in foreign countries required independence and flexibility, which was particularly difficult for a woman in the early twentieth century. So, one essential prerequisite in George's eyes was to remain single and not have children.

Marriage and motherhood could be a burden for women artists in the period in question, especially for those whose ambition was to have their voice heard, and Wyn George certainly was not the only one in this research who chose to avoid both. Ethel Walker and her friend Clara Christian were both regarded as being extremely good-looking. During their trip to Spain around 1890, they were proposed marriage by two Spanish grandees but realized that "married life in such exalted circles meant complete loss of independence for a woman" and so returned to England.²⁷² In 1900, Christian did marry an Irishman but died a few months after from the premature birth of her child. Walker, on the other hand, chose to devote her entire life to art with no personal strings attached. Ida Nettleship died after giving birth to her fifth child with Augustus John.²⁷³ Like Nettleship, Edna Clarke Hall struggled for a balance between being an artist and a mother. Clarke Hall was married December 22, 1898, at 19 years of age and then devoted much of the rest of her life to gardening and child-rearing to conform to a traditional wifely role. She was tortured by her artistic ambitions and her husband's expectations. As early as her time at the Slade, she showed her great talent in drawing and was one of Tonks's favorite students. When she suffered a nervous breakdown in 1919, Tonks, with psychologist Henry Head, helped her with her marriage problems and to reassert her artistic identity. Gwen John's

²⁷¹ This information about Wyn George is gleaned from her scrapbook and many press cuttings held at the UCL Special Collection.

²⁷² TGA 716.81: "Notes on Dame Ethel Walker by Grace English," 4.

²⁷³ Clarke Hall, 13.

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biographer Susan Chitty argues that “[Edna’s] incomplete set of ink illustrations to *Wuthering Heights* housed at the Tate is a proof of what was lost to art when she turned her back on it.”²⁷⁴

This idea of marriage constituted a desertion of a woman’s artistic ambitions was also indirectly implied in the WIAC exhibition catalogues, which show that nearly all the names at the end of each catalogue have “Miss” before them, the married names amounting to only a few among the approximately 150 members per year. As noted in *Builder* magazine in 1904, “Marriage ... takes a lady from the studio to the nursery.”²⁷⁵ A case in point is “Miss” G. M. Curtis, who resigned her post as secretary in 1913 owing to her marriage.²⁷⁶ Even Slade professor Tonks, who believed women students were easier to teach because they absorbed and improved rapidly from sixteen to twenty-one, also expressed, “the genius that you have discovered goes off” when marriage became part of the equation.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁴ Chitty, 37.

²⁷⁵ WAL, MAKE/AR/G/001 WIAC Press-Cuttings Collection; “Women’s International Art Club,” *Builder*, 6 December 1904.

²⁷⁶ WAL, WIAC Annual Report, 1913-1914.

²⁷⁷ Chitty, 37.

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Chapter 3: Women Artists and English Exhibiting Societies

The previous chapters have established that from 1876 to 1914, the majority of students enrolled at the Slade were women, many of whom won scholarships and awards. During their time at the school, these women not only received the education specially designed under Slade ideology but also experienced the convergence and indeed collision of different modern art movements in London. And yet, despite the success of women students at the Slade, there were still considerable challenges for women artists after graduation as they tried to translate their early academic successes into success and stature as professional artists in the public forum. Statistically and numerically one might expect to observe a large percentage of Slade women graduates becoming active in the London art scene in 1900-1914, but was this the case? McConkey suggested otherwise: "Early exhibitions were dominated by men and when, by the 1930s, women's work was being shown in equal numbers, some older male exhibitors were dismayed."²⁷⁸

Perhaps the post-graduation experiences of Slade women epitomized the larger social and political picture of London. Women may well have made up the majority of art students numerically, yet few could transpose that potential into the modernist scene for which they seemed so well prepared.²⁷⁹ Outside the walls of the Slade, in the macrocosm of the capital, vibrant with the upheavals associated with the Suffragette movement, the introduction of foreign modern art movements and the rapid growth of local radical political demands, women artists still had to confront the pressures of dated social conventions and gender bias. Perhaps then, in order to win a place in a competitive field and continue to

²⁷⁸ McConkey, 18.

²⁷⁹ Deepwell's *Women Artists between the Wars* offers a detailed study of this topic.

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create and exhibit their works, it was necessary for individual female artists to join groups, coteries and exhibition societies. This is what this chapter sets out to investigate.

Much has been gleaned from the press of the era and the work of a limited number of contemporary art historians, while newly located archives, after a long silence, now hold crucial clues as to the role of women artists within select groups. The latter offers the historian a chance to interpret and form opinions about the complex role of women artists within, between, and in spite of certain groups. As such, this chapter examines female participation and leadership in significant (and lesser-known) exhibiting groups between 1910 and 1914, at a time when modernist art in London was widely characterized by its stereotypically male attributes such as: power, strength and aggression.²⁸⁰ Particular attention is given to the New English Art Club (1886), the Allied Artists' Association (1908) and the London Group (1913), as well as its predecessors, the Fitzroy Street Group (1907) and the Camden Town Group (1911). The Women's International Art Club (1900), although pertinent here, will be examined in depth in chapter 5, as it is, in the author's opinion, not only important but largely ignored in the scholarship of the era. These groups have been selected because of their inextricable link to the Slade by ties of tutorship and an inherited aesthetic legacy and French allegiance (see previous chapter) and because of their apparent inclusiveness in allowing women artists to join, exhibit and even participate in hanging

²⁸⁰ There have been studies exploring of masculinity and militarism in the discourse of British War art and modern art, such as Melissa Hall's doctoral dissertation *Modernism, Militarism and Masculinity: Modern Art Discourses and British Official War Art During the First World War* (State University of New York at Binghamton, 1993). Sue Malvern's book *Modern Art, Britain and the Great War: witnessing, testimony and remembrance* (New Haven and London: The Paul Mellon Centre for studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 2004). Jonathan Black's doctoral dissertation '*Neither Beasts, Nor Gods, But Men.*': *Constructions of Masculinity and the Image of the ordinary British Soldier of 'Tommy' in the First World War Art of: C. R. W. Nevinson (1889-1946); Eric Henri Hennington (1888-1960) and Charles Sargeant Jagger (1885-1934)* (University College London, 2003).

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committees and other decision-making bodies. In addition, they all at one time or another represented new trends in reform and showed their opposition to the status quo. It is therefore crucial to examine the relationships between these exhibition groups—the inclusiveness/exclusiveness of certain members and the itinerant alliances or rivalries—and in particular the interactions between women members and the various factors (both professional and personal) that made them either divisive or cohesive. Individual artist's life experiences are also examined in an attempt to understand the artistic motivations of women artists associated with art exhibition societies, as well as noting where clusters developed and events that occurred outside of and among these groups simultaneously. Writing in late 1910, Frank Rutter, art critic of the *Sunday Times*, remarked on the exchange and exploration of ideas between London and Paris and mused:

England and French [*sic*] for centuries have reacted each on the art of the other, and it is idle to deny that the most eventful features of the past artistic year have been the two exhibitions of modern French art held respectively at the Corporation Art Gallery in Brighton and at the Grafton Galleries in London. What the effect of these exhibitions will be on our own contemporary artists it would be unwise at this date to prophesy, but already they have had a fine stimulating effect on those few British artists who have the courage to be themselves, and they have also opened our eyes to the banality of much that passed too easily in the crowd as being original work.²⁸¹

At the time, a wave of British artists (including many women) had gravitated to the French capital and, after studying, living and working in Paris, came back and contributed to London's art scene. Paris was an influence in another way too: a wave of French artists and Paris-trained foreign artists had settled in London and subsequently found success in both cities. In addition to French influences, there was also a more general internationalism and cosmopolitanism in London continuously felt through art exhibitions and art criticism. Some change in London, therefore, will not just be found in the day's headlines but also in the

²⁸¹Frank Rutter, "Round the Galleries: 1910," *Sunday Times*, 1 January 1911, 12.

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exhibition societies, art groups and art clubs—and with women artists who participated in them.

New English Art Club and Its Women Artists

The New English Art Club (NEAC) held its inaugural exhibition on April 12, 1886, and with its high-profile opposition to the Royal Academy became one of the foremost exhibiting societies of its time in the UK.²⁸² Interestingly, the original name of the club was “The Society of Anglo-French Painters.” The constitution, which was drafted by Frederick Brown, was used and reprinted in catalogues up to the Great War. All matters relating to membership and the selection of exhibits were decided by a majority vote.²⁸³ In the period 1910-1914, the NEAC still held regular biannual exhibitions of both members and other artists;²⁸⁴ however, its reputation was increasingly subject to accusation of banality. Some critics bemoaned, “the society is approaching middle age and has reached years of discretion,” while a frustrating lack of impulse and spontaneity failed “to puzzle, to surprise, and sometimes to shock the normal eye and the mind of normal training.”²⁸⁵ No longer did

²⁸² Deepwell, *Women Artists between Wars*, 131. Deepwell argued, “The two characteristics of the NEAC which distinguished it from the R. A. were the power of the jury to reject the work of any member of the Club and a rule which permitted all exhibitors at the previous exhibition to elect the hanging and selection committee for the succeeding one.”

²⁸³ McConkey, 15. According to the constitution: 1. Candidates for election to Membership of the New English Art Club shall not be required to submit work, but their names, duly proposed and seconded, by members of the Clubs, must be submitted to every Member of the club.

2. Members shall be elected by votes of members of the Club, and a majority of two-thirds of the votes actually received on the candidature shall constitute election. The Executive Committee of the Club shall consist of eight Members of the Club, together with Hon. Secretary and Treasurer, all of whom shall be eligible for re-election.

²⁸⁴ Charles Baile de Laperriere and Joy Cole, eds., *New English Art Club Exhibitors, 1886-2001: A Dictionary of Artists and Their Works in the Annual Exhibitions of the New English Art Club*, vol. 1 (Calne, UK: Hilmarton Manor Press, 2002), xxxvii-xxxviii. There were a total of ten exhibitions held during 1910 and 1914, two exhibitions (summer and winter) per year, and they were all held at galleries of the Royal Society of British Art (RSBA).

²⁸⁵ “The New English Art Club,” *Times*, 24 May 1910, 9.

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it represent a united front either, as from 1910 distinct factions ranging from the antiquarian to the avant-garde had emerged within the NEAC,²⁸⁶ and these soon developed into new groups in the years that followed.

This evolution merits a closer look. An example is provided by the NEAC artists who associated with Walter Sickert and some of the artists from his Fitzroy Street Group (originally Sickert's Saturday "At Homes" at 19 Fitzroy Street), who included Lucien Pissarro, Augustus John, Frederick Gore, Harold Gilman, Frank Rutter, and sometimes Robert Bevan and his wife, Stanislaw de Karlowka. Dining together at a restaurant in Gordon Square, the group put forward a proposal to "reform the club" or "secede ... and start a rival society."²⁸⁷ Accordingly, shortly after the *Manet and the Post-Impressionists* exhibition, curated by Roger Fry at the Grafton Galleries in Bond Street, the Fitzroy Street Group artists distanced themselves and formed the Camden Town Group, with Walter Sickert and Spencer Gore. Among its sixteen members, thirteen had withdrawn from the NEAC.²⁸⁸

Yet, already by the time of the Camden Town Group's third exhibition, entitled *An Exhibition of The Camden Town and Others* (held December 16, 1913-January 14, 1914, at The Public Art Galleries in Brighton), another conversation had begun about reforming the group to include women members from the Fitzroy Street Group as well as the Futurists and Cubists.²⁸⁹ Thus, an enlarged and reformed Camden Town Group reemerged as the London Group and held its first official exhibition in March 1914. How did women artists within the NEAC, and without, react to such new groups, and did they regard them as a threat or an opportunity?

²⁸⁶ McConkey, 112.

²⁸⁷ Ibid., 110-111.

²⁸⁸ Ibid., 112-113.

²⁸⁹ National Art Library, catalogue, "Exhibition by the Camden Town Group and Others" (December 16th, 1913 to January 14th, 1914) Public Art Galleries, Brighton.

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Early in Chapter 1 the author alluded to the institutional relationship of the Slade with the wider art world in London at this time. The author suggested that the close relationship between the Slade and the NEAC was crucial in understanding the influence of the Slade and the opportunities it afforded its female students is. Slade Professor Frederick Brown took a prominent part in the formation of the NEAC, was its first secretary and drafted its constitution, which relied on the principle of the elective juries. The first wave of members included a group of plein-air painters: Thomas Gotch and H. S. Tuke (both former Slade students), Stanhope Forbes, and Henry La Thangues. Soon, Walter Sickert, Wilson Steer, Brown, Theodore Roussel, Sidney Starr and others controlled the group and held an exhibition in 1889 at the Goupil Gallery under the title of "The London Impressionists." The steady flow of students learning at, and graduating from, the Slade indicated the increasing influence of the educational institution within the NEAC. Melissa Hall argued in her unpublished dissertation that

... the New English Art Club also had an important impact on the development of modernism through its infiltration of the Slade School of Art, which became the training ground for the pre-war generation of modernists.²⁹⁰

Hall's argument, while ideologically consistent with the author's point, albeit with a different approach, was based almost exclusively on male students. Augustus John, A. A. McEvoy and William Orpen not only became Executive Committee members of the NEAC for 1913-1914 but also sat on the Selecting Jury for the winter exhibition in 1913 and the Hanging Committee together with Slade faculty members Henry Tonks, Steer and W. W. Russell. What concerns us here, therefore, is the nature and importance of the NEAC-Slade relationship for their female counterparts and the careers that could be nurtured for

²⁹⁰ Hall, 71.

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women students after graduation. It is important to note that among those artists who enthusiastically embraced the teachings of Gower Street, the influence of Paris and the opportunities afforded by the NEAC were a significant number of women (Table 8), including: Ethel Walker, Alice Fanner, Evelyn Cheston, Clare Atwood, Ursula Tyrwhitt, Anna Airy, Beatrice Bland, Eveleen Buckton, Ethel H. Elder, Essil Elmslie, Edna Waugh (Clarke Hall), Fairlie Harmar, Gwen John, Margaret Fisher Prout, Louise Pickard (Cheyne Walkers), Mary Spencer Edwards (later Mrs. Ambrose McEvoy), Elsie McNaught, Josephine Mason, Louise Pickard, Ethel H. Elder, Sybil Emerson, Marbel Atkins and Gwen Salmond. Not only is this list lengthy, but it includes the names of many artists who have long since receded from art history. Evelyn Cheston, however, is an exemplary exception.²⁹¹

²⁹¹ Also worthy of notice are the many women members who no longer exhibited with the NEAC in the period of 1910-1914, such as Elizabeth Amstrong (later Mrs. Stanhope Forbes, 1886-1889), Annie Ayrton (1889), Millie T. Dow (1889), Amy C. Draper (1894), Miss Jean Inglis (1888), Miss Laidley (1887, who was elected but did not exhibit), Miss Marian Logsdail (1886) and Bertha Newcombe (1889). This list has been compiled from different sources including NEAC exhibition catalogues held at TATE, as well as published book Charles Baile de Laperriere and Joy Cole. *New English Art Club exhibitors 1886-2001: a dictionary of artists and their works in the annual exhibitions of the New English Art Club*, (Calne: Hilmarton Manor Press, 2002). And this list has also been confirmed by cross-referencing Katy Deepwell's list published in *Women Artists between the Wars* (2010) on page 132.

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Figure 32. Evelyn Cheston, *Female Figure Seated*, c. 1898. Oil on canvas, 76.2 x 50.8 cm. Awarded second prize in Figure Painting in 1898. (© UCL Art Collection)

Born Evelyn Davy (1875-1929) at Ranmoor, Sheffield, Cheston studied at the Slade from 1894 to 1899. While there, she won second prize in Figure Painting in 1898 for *Female Figure Seated* (fig. 32). She married fellow artist Charles Sidney Cheston (1882-1960) in 1904. She became a member of the NEAC in 1909,²⁹² and her husband, in 1917.²⁹³ Cheston was mainly a landscape painter who worked in England. After her death, her husband produced a memorial volume, *Evelyn Cheston: Member of the New English*

²⁹² NEAC Exhibition Catalogue, Summer 1909, 44.

²⁹³ Baile de Laperriere and Cole, *New English Art Club Exhibitors*, vol. 1, xxxvii.

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Art Club, 1908-1929, which was published in 1931 and can still be found in secondhand book catalogues.²⁹⁴

The following table, based on data retrieved from Slade and NEAC archives specifically for the years 1905-1914, facilitates an understanding of women artists such as Cheston's presence in the NEAC, if not their influence within the club. Table 8 visually suggests that the Slade, in educating women students in an innovative, inclusive, yet competitive manner, prepared them for the London art scene in which they would soon have to compete openly with their male counterparts. By cross-referencing the list of Slade students and NEAC exhibitors in 1905-1914, statistics suggest that the first wave of Slade women students to become closely associated with the NEAC after graduation were those enrolled at the Slade around 1892-1894 coinciding with the beginning of Professor Frederick Brown's term of office.

²⁹⁴ Charles Sidney Cheston, *Evelyn Cheston: Member of the New English Art Club, 1908-1929* (London: Faber & Faber: 1931).

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Table 8. Slade women artists who exhibited with the NEAC between 1905 and 1914. (w = winter exhibition; s = summer exhibition)

Slade women artists who exhibited with the NEAC, 1905-1914																							
M: Exhibited as members N: Exhibited as nonmembers																							
	Year of birth	Year of death	Years enrolled at the Slade	Member since	NEAC 1905W	NEAC 1906S	NEAC 1906W	NEAC 1907S	NEAC 1907W	NEAC 1908S	NEAC 1909S	NEAC 1909W	NEAC 1910S	NEAC 1910W	NEAC 1911S	NEAC 1911W	NEAC 1912S	NEAC 1912W	NEAC 1913S	NEAC 1913W	NEAC 1914S	NEAC 1914W	
Walker, Ethel	1861	1951	1893-1896	1900(s)	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M
Fanner, Alice	1865	1930	1892-1896	1900(s)	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M
Cheston, Evelyn	1875	1929		1909(s)		M	M	M	M		M	M		M	M	M	M	M	M	M			
Sargant Florence, Mary	1857	1954		1911(s)										M	M		M	M		M	M	M	M
Atwood, Clare	1866	1962		1912(w)				N	N		N	N	N		N	N	N		M	M	M	M	M
Tyrwhitt, Ursula	1872	1966	1893-1898	1913(s)				N		N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	M	M			M
Airy, Anna	1882	1964	1899-1903								N	N	N		N		N		N				
Atkins, Mabel E.			1898-1903					N				N		N				N					
Bland, Beatrice	1864	1951	1892-1894	1926(s)				N			N	N	N	N	N	N			N	N	N		
Brett, Dorothy	1883	1977	1910-1916																				N
Buckton, Eveleen	1872	1962	1893-1899											N	N	N	N		N		N		
Carrington, Dora	1893	1932	1910-1914																				N
Elder, Ethel Harriet			1892-1898											N		N		N	N	N	N	N	N
Elmslie, Essil	1880	1952	1898-1902				N		N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N				N
Gere, Margaret	1878	1965	1905- ?	1925										N	N	N			N	N	N		
Clarke Hall, Edna	1879	1979	1893-1898					N			N	N	N		N	N					N	N	
Harmer, Fairlie Viscountess Harberton	1876	1945	1893-1989	1917(s)		N		N	N	N	N	N	N		N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
John, Gwen	1876	1939	1895-1898							N		N	N			N							
McEvoy, Mary	1871	1941	1893-1897			N	N	N		N	N			N									
McNaught, Elsie			1905-1911											N	N	N		N		N	N		
Mason, Josephine												N	N	N	N				N				
Pickard, Louise	1865	1928	1898-1903	1923(w)							N				N				N	N	N	N	N
Prout, Margaret Fisher	1875	1963	1894-1897	1926(w)							N	N	N	N	N	N	N		N	N			
Raverat, Gwendolen	1885	1957	1908-1911																N	N			
Salmond, Gwendolen	1877	1958	1892-1897							N													
Stevens, Dorothy	1888	1966	1904-1909											N	N				N	N			

Source: Data from catalogues of the exhibitions of Modern Pictures by the New English Art Club ranging from 1905 to 1914 summer, TGA 20067/5/17-36.

Note: Data for the winter 1908 exhibition is not included in this table as it is missing from the Tate Gallery Archives. Names are followed by years of birth and death, years of study at the Slade, and years of enrollment of NEAC membership, when known.

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To exhibit with the NEAC was one thing, but to be elected a member was quite another. It is enlightening that, with the exception of one member (Annie Louisa Swynnerton, elected in winter 1909), all remaining six women elected to the NEAC between 1900 and 1914 had been educated at the Slade. They were Alice Fanner (summer 1900), Ethel Walker (summer 1900), Evelyn Cheston (summer 1909), Mary Sargant Florence (summer 1911), Clare Atwood (winter 1912) and Ursula Tyrwhitt (summer 1913).²⁹⁵ Of the NEAC's forty-nine members in summer 1913, seven members were women (see Table 9).²⁹⁶ It is important to note here that women were never excluded from membership or participation in NEAC exhibitions because of their gender,²⁹⁷ and indeed, women non-members were also invited to exhibit, many of whom had also graduated from the Slade. Beatrice Bland, for example, who studied at the Slade under Tonks and Brown, exhibited seven times during 1910-1914, but only in summer 1926 did she become a member of the NEAC. Fairlie Harmer, who participated in almost all of the NEAC exhibitions held in 1910-1914 only joined the club in 1917. There were many other women artists who first exhibited and later became members, among them: Eveleen Buckton, Marjorie Brend, Ethel Harriet Elder, Essil Elmslie, Louise Pickard and M. Fisher Prout. Interestingly, the number of non-member women exhibitors was proportionately much higher than the number of overall non-member exhibitors and progressively grew with each year. The total number of women exhibitors (both member and non-member) increased from five in 1905 to forty-four in

²⁹⁵ Baile de Laperriere and Cole, eds., xxvi-xxxvi.

²⁹⁶ An examination of NEAC exhibition catalogues from 1905 to 1914 shows that there were some artists enrolled as members but didn't exhibit in some years. Therefore, for the consistency of the text, Table 9 is specially designed to show the numbers of the exhibitors (excluding those members who didn't exhibit in each year), but for more details of the numbers of members (including exhibitors and non-exhibitors) and a complete version of Table 9, please refer to Appendix 2.

²⁹⁷ TGA 20067/5/26-36; "Catalogues of the exhibitions of Modern Pictures by the New English Art Club exhibition catalogue from 1910 summer to 1914 winter."

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1914, with the ratio of women exhibitors to all exhibitors growing from eight percent to thirty-seven percent in the same period.

If we use 1910 as the watershed to compare the data before and after, we observe a slow decrease of member exhibitors starting in summer 1910 and a tremendous increase in the number and the ratio of non-member exhibitors, especially of non-member women exhibitors. Both the number of male and female non-member exhibitors peaked in the 1910 winter exhibition. It is possible to attribute the slow decline of member exhibitors to the fact that some artists resigned from the NEAC to form new, independent art groups more closely aligned to the priorities of the avant-garde. Roger Fry, for example, who had previously identified himself with the NEAC and exhibited his works with it, wrote in the *New Age* in 1910:

The New English Art Club picture has tended to be a composite product in which an educated color vision has been applied to themes already long approved and accepted in this country. A glance around the walls of any New English Art Club exhibition does certainly not give us the sensation of a page torn from the book of life.²⁹⁸

A further split can then be observed between students who remained loyal to the ethos of the NEAC, which clearly no longer seemed quite so “New,” and those who became associated with exhibition societies such as Rutter’s Allied Artists’ Association, the Bloomsbury Group and Fry’s Omega Workshop, at which Vanessa Bell was the director and

²⁹⁸ T. A. Cross. "The Slade Tradition: 1871-1921 a Centenary Contribution (11 October-5 November 1971)." (London: London Fine Art Society, 1971), 4.

Also see Reynold, 197-198. Although Fry had been a member of the NEAC since 1893 and had championed the New English style of painting, he had never been really in sympathy with Impressionism (either in its French form or in its British form) and felt it to be “too concerned with the representation of natural appearances at the expense of structural design”. For this, he had not aligned himself with the club’s left wing - then led by Wilson Steer and Walter Sickert and including Frederick Brown and Henry Tonks. Later, when Fry discovered the qualities he admired in examples of modern French paintings that had previously overlooked, he gradually formulated his ideas on “aesthetic emotion” and “significant form”, and presented in his *Essays in Aesthetics* published in 1909.

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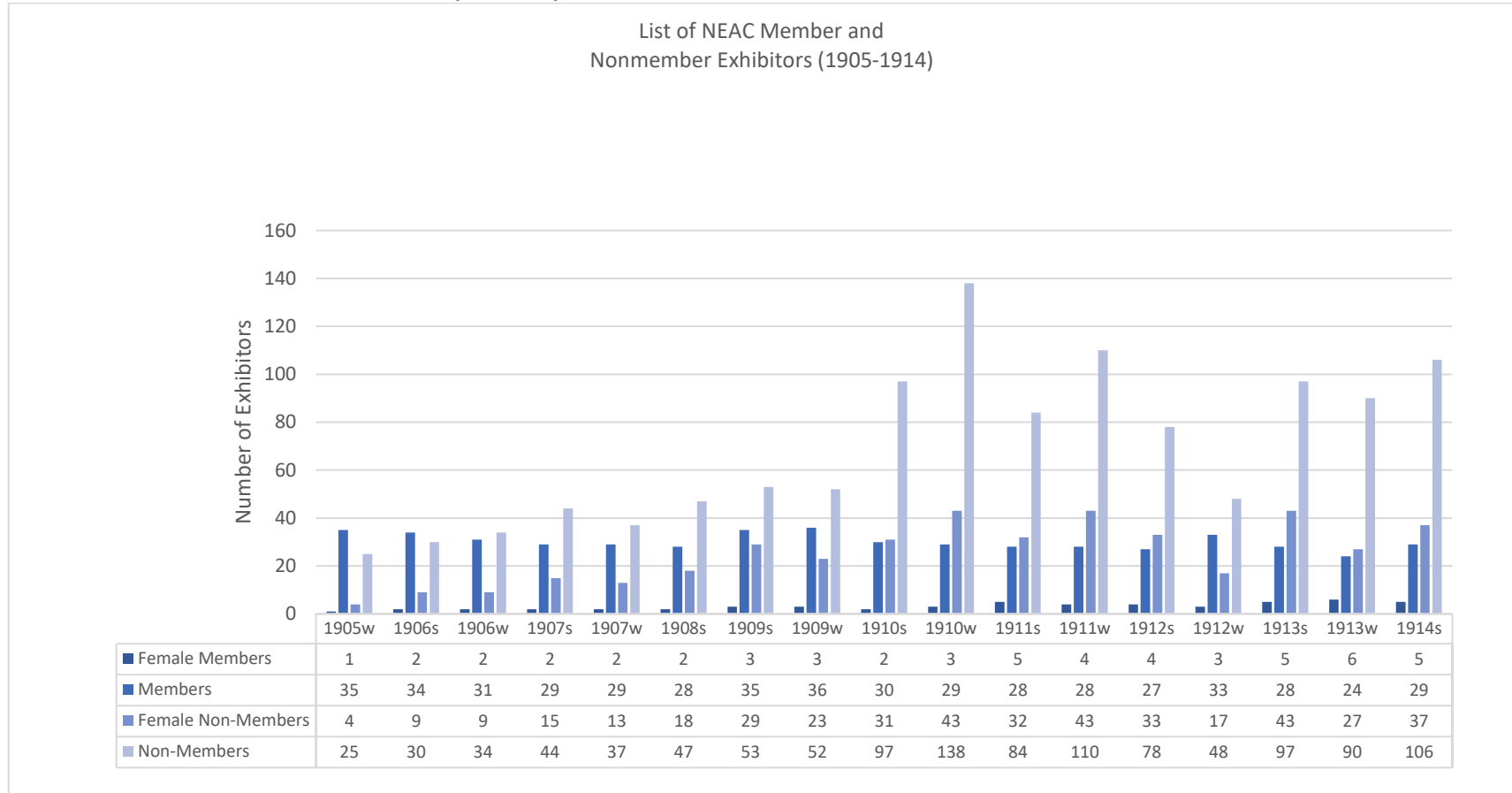
ex-Slade students such as Barbara Hiles, Dora Carrington and Dorothy Brett showed an interest. From another point of view, the sharp increase of women non-member exhibitors could suggest that between 1910 and 1914 the NEAC had won both the trust and appreciation of women artists who considered it a relatively tolerant platform.

While the New English Art Club was certainly open-minded regarding women as potential exhibitors, it must be mentioned that no women artists were elected as NEAC officers throughout the period 1910-1914. When compared with the WIAC and AAA, the NEAC, Katy Deepwell claims, was less democratic and “remained a male-run and male dominated exhibiting group” in which women had only “a token role in the decision-making process of the Club.”²⁹⁹ Around the same time, fewer female students enrolled at the Slade between 1900 and 1914 exhibited with the NEAC exhibitions in 1905-1914. Some, such as Anna Airy, Essil Elmslie, Elsie McNaught and Dorothy Stevens continued to exhibit there, but others were seeking alternative venues, such as the London Group (see Table 10). There were now exhibition groups and societies that allowed women’s participation in hanging committees, had abandoned restrictive jury systems (specifically the AAA, founded in 1908) and even excluded men entirely in the case of the WIAC (1900), as well as other, more radical movements that were emerging. Before long, the London Group would include members such as Thérèse Lessore, and as like the Vorticist Group would count among its members Jessica Dismorr and Helen Saunders.

²⁹⁹ Deepwell, *Women Artists between the Wars*, 138-139.

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Table 9. List of NEAC member and nonmember exhibitors (1905-1914).



Source: Data from catalogues of the exhibitions of Modern Pictures by the New English Art Club ranging from 1905 to 1914 summer, TGA 20067/5/17-36.

Note: w = winter exhibition; s = summer exhibition.

Data for the winter 1908 and winter 1914 exhibitions are not included in this table as they are missing from the Tate Gallery Archives. Table 9 is specially designed merely to show the numbers of the exhibitors (excluding those members who didn't exhibit in each year), but for more details of the numbers of members (exhibitors and non-exhibitors) and a complete version of Table 9, please refer to Appendix 2.

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Table 10. London Group women members who exhibited with the NEAC between 1910 and 1914.

Exhibit No	Year/season	Clare Atwood (NEAC 1912w)	Evelyn Cheston (NEAC since 1909s)	Alice Fanner (NEAC since 1900s)	Mary Sargent Florence (NEAC since 1911s)	Annie Louisa Swynnerton	Ursula Tyrwhitt (NEAC since 1913s)	Ethel Walker (NEAC since 1900s)
43	1910s	234: <i>St. Paul's Church, Covent Garden</i> 238: <i>The Embroiderers</i>		164: <i>Spring</i> 170: <i>The Riverside</i> 244: <i>The Haycart</i> 281: <i>The Old Mill, Montreuil-sur-mer</i> 287: <i>La Fontaine de carpeau</i>			84: <i>Wild Flowers</i> 112: <i>Jardin du Luxembourg</i> 113: <i>A Fountain in the Luxembourg Gardens</i> 186: <i>Sea Shells</i>	59: <i>A Summer's Evening</i> 72: <i>A Study</i> 76: <i>Seagulls</i>
44	1910w		56: <i>Crech Barrow</i> 70: <i>The Blue Pool</i>	7: <i>The Evening Promenade</i> 13: <i>The Morning Drive</i> 111: <i>Morning at Sea</i> 140: <i>Le Quai Blavet, St Valery sur Somme</i> 145: <i>Beating up the Hamble River</i>	28: <i>A Game of Chess</i> 319: <i>Working Cartoon for One of the Oskham Old School Frescoes Subjects: The Victory of Gareth</i>		181: <i>Flowers Against a Window Blind</i> 215: <i>Dahlia's</i>	35: <i>The Tea-Table</i> 72: <i>A Study</i> 107: <i>Portrait of a Lady</i> 245: <i>The Bathers</i> 247: <i>Morning</i>
45	1911s	162: <i>Billingsgate Fish Market</i> 172: <i>Spring in Buck's Place</i>	154: <i>The Edge of the Wood</i> 165: <i>Early Summer</i>	138: <i>A Cloud Shadow on the Sea off Cowes</i> 155: <i>Sky Clearing After Rain, Mouth of the Hamble River</i> 239: <i>La Fontaine, Jardin du Luxembourg</i>	89: <i>Cartoon for Figure "Endeavour"</i> 104: <i>Design for Part of a Procession of "The Hours"</i>	139: <i>The Southing of the Sun</i> 186: <i>From the Heights of Tusculum</i>	13: <i>Garden, Santa Margherita Ligure</i> 34: <i>Camelias</i> 42: <i>Silhouette, Flowers on Window Sill</i>	187: <i>The Window Seat</i> 235: <i>Girl in Yellow</i>
46	1911w	2: <i>The Three Musicians</i> 93: <i>In a Chelsea Garden</i>	31: <i>Stone Quarries, Langton Maltravers</i> 55: <i>The Allotment Gardens</i> 129: <i>Purbeck</i>	53: <i>Six-meter Yachts, Racing on the Crouch</i> 78: <i>A Study of the Sear, Lee on the Solent</i> 102: <i>A Sketch on Ramsgate Sands</i> 111: <i>A May Morning, Datchet</i> 134: <i>Low Tide, Ramsgate Sands</i>		6: <i>Portrait</i>	154: <i>Petunia, Phlox and Evening Primrose Against a Green Window Blind</i> 201: <i>Flowers on a Window Sill</i> 307: <i>Trout Stream</i>	60: <i>In the Gardens</i> 91: <i>A July Afternoon</i> 107: <i>Halycon Morning</i> 108: <i>A Summer Crowd</i>
47	1912s	144: <i>Portrait</i>	28: <i>Blackmoor Vale</i> 82: <i>A Mountain Town</i> 171: <i>The Pond</i> 173: <i>A Country Churchyard</i>	141: <i>On the Pier, Yarmouth, Isle of Wight</i> 157: <i>The Solent, Stormy Weather</i> 190: <i>The Sea Side</i>	24: <i>Tempera Study for a Fresco Painting</i> 106: <i>Tempera Study for a Fresco Painting</i>		91: <i>Santa Trinita at Anchor in Portofemi Harbour</i>	80: <i>The Toilet</i> 132: <i>The Ravine</i> 182: <i>The Shore</i> 216: <i>A Summer's Evening</i>
48	1912w		4: <i>The Ash Tree</i> 71: <i>Trees in a Park</i> 88: <i>A Grey Day</i> 108: <i>A Wooded Landscape</i> 137: <i>Sedgemoor</i>	139: <i>A View of Southampton Water and the Solent from Hamble</i> 148: <i>A Breeze off Ramsgate</i> 158: <i>Six-metre Yachts Manoeuvring for a Start on the Crouch</i>	140: <i>Study of Roses—Tempera</i> 154: <i>Figure Study—Tempera</i> 176: <i>A Study of Costume—Tempera</i>		58: <i>Crossing Rocks</i> 68: <i>Nosegay</i> 89: <i>At the Flagstaff, Before Storm</i>	32: <i>In the Garden of Images</i> 104: <i>Of the Ravine</i> 125: <i>Decoration for Spring, One of the Four Seasons</i>
49	1913s	240: <i>Roses</i>	13: <i>Withies by a Stream</i> 110: <i>Swanage Sands</i> 124: <i>In Somerset</i> 243: <i>Nude</i>	194a: <i>Ramsgate, Inner Harbour</i> 238: <i>On the Medway, Near Stangate Creek</i> 252: <i>Windy Day, Southampton Water</i>			195: <i>Le Cap</i> 220: <i>Convolvulus</i>	98: <i>Design for Panel "The Angels of the Resurrection"</i> 116: <i>Fragment for Frieze</i> 133: <i>Motif, for Frieze "The Meeting"</i> 136: <i>The Woman and the Fun</i> 165: <i>Design for Tapestry, "Spring"</i>
50	1913w	111: <i>Still Life</i>	112: <i>Trees Over the Farm</i> 144: <i>Stream by the Wayside</i> 157: <i>Across the Marshes</i> 191: <i>A Walnut Tree</i> 233: <i>Beer Quarry</i> 237: <i>View from a Paradise Mill</i>	4: <i>Sunshine and Breeze in the Solent</i> 21: <i>Early Morning, Cape Town</i> 77: <i>A Sketch at Lowestoft</i>	178: <i>Working Cartoon for Fresco in Bournville School Hall, "The Baptism"</i> 183: <i>Colour Study for "Baptism"</i> 188: <i>Working Cartoon for Fresco in Bournville School Hall, "Suffer the Little Children"</i>		163: <i>Flowers</i> 223: <i>Flowers II</i> 256: <i>Flowers III</i>	37: <i>On the Moor</i> 97: <i>The Invocation</i> 221: <i>The Waking Earth</i>

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					195: <i>Colour Study for "Suffer the Little Children"</i>			
51	1914s	176: <i>Piccadilly</i> 191: <i>Chez Madame Fournier</i> 239: <i>The Herbalists</i>		159: <i>A View of Ramsgate</i> 170: <i>An April Afternoon</i> 240: <i>Sea Pont, Cape Town</i> 242: <i>The Valley of the Crouch</i> 257: <i>The Afternoon Sun</i>	157: <i>Working Cartoon for Chelsea Town Hall, "Chelsea Celebrities in Science, Religion and Politics"</i>	195: <i>Reflections</i> 205: <i>The Ripple</i>		41: <i>Drawing</i> 168: <i>Decoration for a Yellow Room (belonging to Miss AMB)</i>
52	1914w	92: <i>Shallot Pickers</i> 134: <i>St. Paul's Church, Covent Garden</i>		64: <i>The Open Window</i> 69: <i>Spring in Hyde Park</i> 78: <i>Evening, the Downs and the South Foreland</i> 89: <i>Between Decks on an Ocean Liner</i> 136: <i>A Thundercloud Coming Up Against the Wind, Walton on the Naze</i>	6: <i>Kneeling Figure—Black and White</i> 198: <i>Watercolour Study for Bournville Fresco, "Pentecost"</i>		210: <i>On the Road Between Luxor and Karnak—Watercolour</i> 227: <i>Court of Amenophis, Temple of Luxor—Watercolour</i> 239: <i>Tombs by the Waside, Uper Egypt—Watercolour</i> 240: <i>Corn in Egypt—Watercolour</i> 248: <i>View from Citadel, Cairo—Watercolour</i> 249: <i>The Salute from the Campanile—Watercolour</i>	

Note: w = winter exhibition; s = summer exhibition. This chart is compiled by the author from NEAC exhibition catalogues 1900-1914 held at Tate Gallery, London.

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Women Artists in the Allied Artists' Association

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the previously iconic NEAC had lost much of its vitality and originality, particularly in the opinion of younger artists. As a result, there was a rising demand for a new, independent and inclusive forum for women artists as they felt themselves were still, frustratingly, under-represented. In 1908, for example, "only 22% of works hung at the NEAC were by women, lower than the 27% of pictures at the Royal Academy that year."³⁰⁰ One of the exhibiting societies that became prominent in filling this gap was the Allied Artists' Association (AAA), or London Salon, as it came to be known, which was modeled on the French Société des Artistes Indépendants and characterized by the absence of a jury. Its approach was explained clearly in the foreword to the catalogue for the AAA's inaugural exhibition, held in summer 1908 at the Royal Albert Hall:

Each exhibitor has the right to exhibit works, not exceeding five in number, without submitting them to any selecting jury. The members have elected forty of themselves to act as a hanging committee, and to obviate any possible chance of favouritism or the reverse, that committee decided that lots should be drawn for the order in which the works should be hung or placed, and that the members of the hanging committee should also ballot for the sections [that] it was their duty to hang. All exhibitors accordingly have been given equal opportunities, and the position of their works is the result of fortune, and not that of personal preferences of influence.³⁰¹

Founder member Frank Rutter also declared on the opening page of the catalogue that

"everyone except the connoisseur was a judge of painting."³⁰² He continued:

[I]n the ordinary exhibitions, like the Academy, there is a jury whose favorable opinion must be obtained by the artists before he is allowed to make his bow. The jury is invariably chosen not from neophytes, but from men of some reputation and standing in their art; that is to say, in most cases, from men of an earlier generation than that of the youngest artists who may wish to exhibit. It is at least to be hoped that these young men have other ideals than those of their fathers.³⁰³

³⁰⁰ Christian, 70. Originally from Deepwell, *Women Artists between the Wars*, 130-138.

³⁰¹ V&A; Frank Rutter, Foreword to *The London Salon of the Allied Artists' Association (July 1908-Aug. 12, 1908)* (London: Royal Albert Hall, 1908), 5-6.

³⁰² Ibid.

³⁰³ Ibid., 5.

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Predictably, the democratic absence of a selection procedure had consequences. Frances

Spalding noted:

Inevitably a mass of amateur work got in, making it difficult for the more avant-garde artists to make a significant impact.³⁰⁴

Due to the large number of submissions in 1908 (approximately 4,000), the maximum per exhibitor was reduced from five to three in the following year, while some other rules were modified to embrace inclusiveness and artistic freedom.³⁰⁵ Denys J. Wilcox acknowledged that in doing so, the London Salon was “the first British exhibiting society to introduce an absolutely liberal constitution along the lines of the Salon des Indépendants in Paris,”³⁰⁶ and this attracted radical experimental works and works by women artists. Accordingly, of the 800 exhibitors in 1908, 300 were women, and this ratio remained high throughout the period 1908-1914. Furthermore, women had the opportunity to be members of the hanging committee and took their turns in alphabetical order with men.³⁰⁷ The first seven annual exhibitions of the AAA were held at the Albert Hall (from 1908 to 1915), were open to artists “irrespective of their position or reputation”³⁰⁸ and attracted submissions by Jacob Epstein, Constantin Brancusi and Wyndham Lewis. Following the precedent of the Salon d’Automne in Paris, and in similar manner of the special foreign section adopted by the WIAC, the management committee for the AAA also put up a special display each year of a designated foreign country’s art. The first year focused on the art of Russia, was organized by Princess

³⁰⁴ Frances Spalding, *British Art since 1900* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1986), 38.

³⁰⁵ V&A; Frank Rutter, *The London Salon of the Allied Artists’ Association* (London: Royal Albert Hall, 1909), 5.

³⁰⁶ Denys Wilcox, *The London Group 1913-1939: The Artists and Their Works* (Aldershot, UK: Scolar and Ashgate, 1995), 1.

³⁰⁷ V&A; Rutter, *The London Salon of the Allied Artists’ Association* (1909), 5.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

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Marie Tenicheff³⁰⁹ and exhibited painters such as Wassily Kandinsky in South Galleries III and IV.³¹⁰

An examination of AAA exhibition catalogues from 1908 to 1913 demonstrates that many of the women artists who exhibited with the NEAC and the WIAC, and who would go on to join the London Group, *Rhythm* and the Vorticists, exhibited with the AAA. Slade women students and graduates Wyn George, Gwen Salmond and Edna Clarke Hall each exhibited five pieces in the inaugural exhibition in 1908.³¹¹ Frances Baker, Vanessa Bell, Elsie Druce, Ethel Walker, Ethel Wright and Hilda Wright exhibited simultaneously with the NEAC, WIAC and AAA. And, as Rutter published an advertisement for the AAA in the WIAC exhibition catalogue encouraging women artists' submissions, further cross-listing between 1908 and 1914 is far from surprising. Names include M. E. Atkins, Amy Atkinson, Clare Atwood, Mary Barton, Edith Bateson, Beatrice Bland, Dora Boughton-Leigh, Gertrude Curtis, Dering Curtois, Janet Fisher, Maude Gutteres, Agatha C. Hall, Ethel Q. Henriques, Robertine Heriot, Edith Hope, Henrietta Isabella Hope, Maude D. Hurst, Jessie King, Mabel Laying, Gertrude Leese, Mary McCrossan, Margaret Moscheles, Aimee Muspratt, Elsie Thompson, Helen Russell Wilson, Emmie Stewart Wood and others.³¹² Interaction between the WIAC and the London Salon could also be observed in the lengthy reviews of WIAC shows published in *Art News*, which in itself was considered "The Official Organ of the Allied Artists' Association" and edited by Rutter.³¹³

³⁰⁹ V&A; Rutter, *The London Salon of the Allied Artists' Association* (1908), 6.

³¹⁰ A Polish art exhibition was proposed for the third London Salon (1910) but was canceled for technical reasons.

³¹¹ Christian, 70.

³¹² This list is compiled by cross-referencing AAA and WIAC exhibition catalogues in 1908-1914. It is not a complete list.

³¹³ This subtitle appeared under the magazine's title in every single issue of *Art News*.

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Similar overlaps can be seen with other “rival” societies. For example, the following women artists from the London Group exhibited with the AAA between 1908 and 1914: Renée Finch, Sylvia Gosse, S. de Karlowka, Thérèse Lessore, Ethel Sands and Nan Hudson. In fact, Gosse and Karlowka exhibited with the AAA every year from 1909 to 1913, and Sands and Hudson, from 1909 to 1911 and again in 1913. Lessore exhibited only in 1913. Finch also exhibited with the AAA between 1910 and 1914³¹⁴ and provoked a controversy with her submission depicting a male nude with blue pubic hair in 1913, to the point that it had to be withdrawn from the exhibition.³¹⁵

Women artists who would be active in the Rebel Art Centre and the Vorticist Group also took advantage of the opportunity to show with the AAA. They included Helen Saunders (1885-1963), Jessica Dismorr (1885-1939) and Kate Lechmere (1887- 1976). In 1912, Saunders exhibited *Figure Composition, Portrait and Sketch*, and Jessica Dismorr submitted *Italian Landscape and Landscape*. In 1913, Saunders’s *The Oast-house* and Dismorr’s *Portrait Study-Girl, Portrait Study—Woman and Portrait Study—Little Girl* were exhibited. In fact, it was Dismorr’s paintings exhibited at the AAA in 1913 that led to her meeting with Wyndham Lewis, subsequent enrollment in the Rebel Art Centre and

³¹⁴ According to the AAA exhibition catalogues, Renée Finch artworks exhibited in the AAA, 1910-1913, are as follows: 1910: *Portrait of Mme. M. Pichon* (736), *Les Poupées* (727), *Kensington Palace* (738); 1911: *Femme au Perroquet* (308), *Un Coin d’Atelier* (309), *Vase Japonais* (310); 1912: *Les Deux Amies* (444), *A Little Girl and Her Doll* (445), *Manhood: Tempera Painting* (446); 1913: *A Decoration* (240), *“La Jalousie”* (1,025). The author was not able to trace the name of Finch’s exhibited artworks in the 1914 AAA exhibition, but the *Daily Herald* critic believed that her works “must be taken seriously.” Cited from Tate Archives, TGA 7311/2, Album of press cuttings on C. R. W. Nevinson (17 Jan. 1914-13 Mar. 1918); “Allied Artists and Others. Visit to Some of the London Exhibitions,” *Daily Herald*, 12 June 1914.

³¹⁵ Deepwell, *Women Artists between the Wars*, 162, footnote 228. This withdrawn work is currently missing. The AAA exhibition catalogue for 1913 lists only two pieces of art under Finch’s name: “*A Decoration* £30 (240)” and “*La Jalousie* £100 (1025).” As the title of the offending painting was not recorded, it is unclear whether the withdrawn painting was one of the two included in the exhibition catalogue. V&A; *The London Salon of the Allied Artists Association, Ltd, Sixth Year*, (London: Royal Albert Hall, 1913).

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preparation of the first issue of Vorticist magazine *Blast* (published in early July 1914).

Lechmere later recalled Dismorr and Lewis spending mornings transcribing *Blast* to “a puzzled and bewildered typist.”³¹⁶

Lechmere joined the AAA in 1912, and her name was listed in the exhibition catalogue, but she did not submit artworks that first year. In the next exhibition, she showed three pieces, *Study (man)*, *Lady in Furs* and *Buntem Vogel*, in the main gallery. They have all been lost, but two black-and-white photographs, of *Buntem Vogel* (fig. 33) and *Lady in Furs* (fig. 34), remain, bearing witness to her Cubist tendencies and offering an early glimpse of her role as a Cubist painter in her own right. The recently discovered, and previously unpublished, photograph of a postcard of *Lady in Furs*, from 1913, certainly suggests a connection to Paris, a welcoming of the ideas proposed by Picasso from as early as 1907 in *Les Femmes d'Alger* and a willingness to embrace the shattered picture plane propounded not only by the Cubists but also by the Futurists.³¹⁷

Lechmere was co-founder, co-director and financial backer of the Rebel Art Centre, established at 38 Great Ormond Street (now demolished), which proclaimed itself to be “devoted to aesthetic revolution.”³¹⁸ The Rebel Art Centre later served as the launchpad for the Vorticist Group and the venue where the movement was “conceived, hatched and finally hurled at the world outside.”³¹⁹ Lechmere later stated in an interview that the whole

³¹⁶ Jeffrey Meyers, “Kate Lechmere's “Wyndham Lewis from 1912”,” *Journal of Modern Literature* 10, no. 1 (1983): 163.

³¹⁷ The postcard (fig. 34) consists of a photograph of *Lady in Furs*.” Figure 35 is a photograph of the reverse side of the postcard. Handwriting in pencil on the back reads: “1913, exhibited, Allied Artists, Pted in Longbridge Rd.” and “Woman with Furs.” The piece pictured in the postcard shows similarities to Lechmere’s *Buntem Vogel* in terms of its Cubist manner, simplicity and subject matter, which is why the author suggests it is, indeed, a postcard of Lechmere’s *Lady in Furs*.

³¹⁸ Cork, *Art Beyond the Gallery*, 190.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*

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notion of the Rebel Art Centre might never have entered Wyndham Lewis's head had it not been for her.³²⁰



Figure 33. Photograph of Kate Lechmere seated on a divan at the Rebel Art Centre with her lost painting *Buntem Vogel*, 1914. (Reproduced from Richard Cork, *Art Beyond the Gallery in Early 20th Century England* [New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985], 198)

Considering her career and achievements, it is no coincidence that she studied in Paris at the Académie de la Palette between about 1910 and 1912,³²¹ where Jean Metzinger, André Dunoyer de Segonzac, John Duncan Fergusson and Jacques-Emilie Blanche were her teachers. Metzinger encouraged students to study Cubist works in the galleries, salons and studios of Paris, so Fry's Post-Impressionist exhibitions of 1910 and 1912 were probably not terribly revolutionary for Lechmere. She first met Lewis in 1912. Believing him

³²⁰TGA 8223; William Lipke Collection. In an interview with William Lipke on December 8, 1964, while discussing the Rebel Art Centre, she said: "It was my suggestion. I had something in mind like the French atelier."

³²¹ Heathcock, 16.

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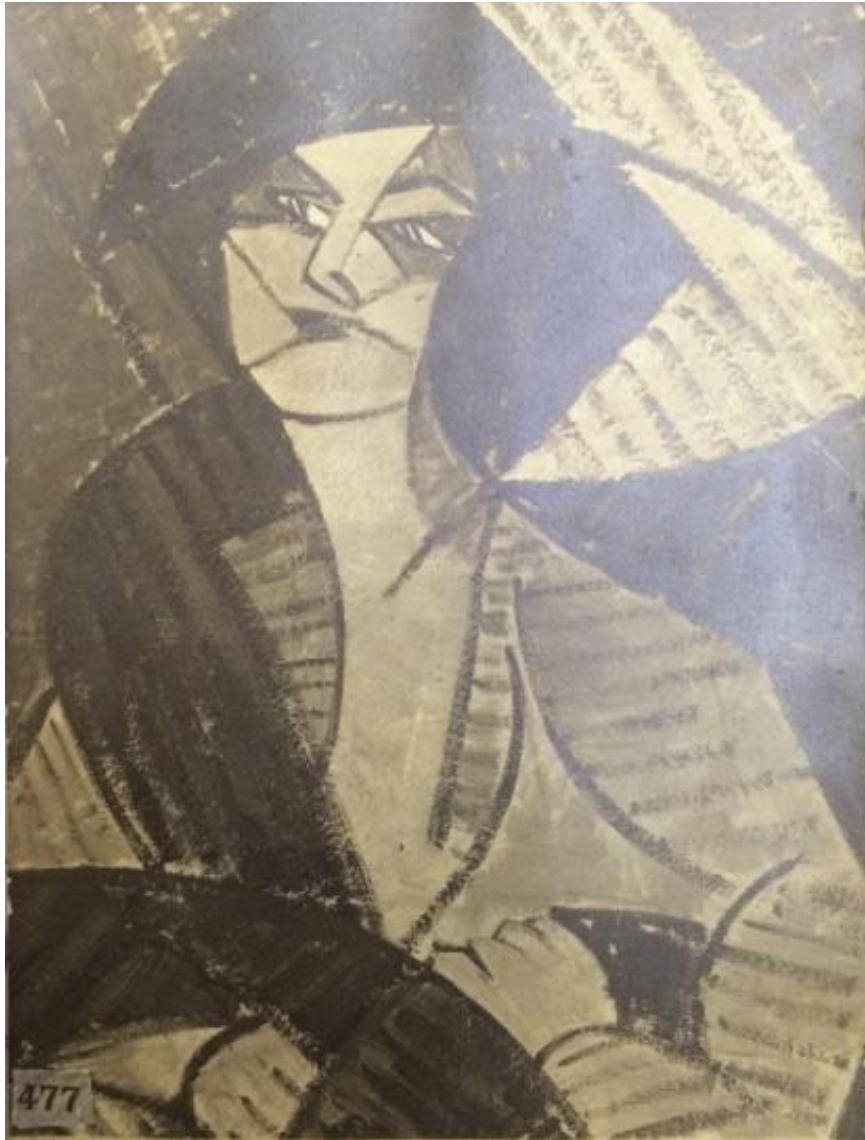


Figure 34. Photograph of *Lady in Furs*, c. 1913, by Kate Lechmere, from a black-and-white postcard of a Cubist portrait of a lady in the William Lipke Collection. (TGA 8223, William Lipke Collection; photographed by the author in January 2017)

to be a “man of genius,”³²² she wrote him a letter in January 1914 from Nice, suggesting that they could use her financial resources to start a modern atelier in London. Lewis thought it time to create a viable alternative, and so, the Rebel Art Centre was founded within “sniping distance” of the Omega Workshop and its Bloomsbury foes.³²³ Lechmere

³²² Jeffrey Meyers, “Kate Lechmere’s ‘Wyndham Lewis from 1912,’” *Journal of Modern Literature* 10, no. 1 (March 1983): 158, 161, 164.

³²³ “Miss Kate Lechmere,” *Times*, 26 February 1976, 16; Cork, *Art Beyond the Gallery*, 177. Lewis was previously a member of the Omega Workshop but left after a public quarrel with Fry. Lewis found himself unable to take a leading role in creating the Omega room at the Ideal Home Exhibition.

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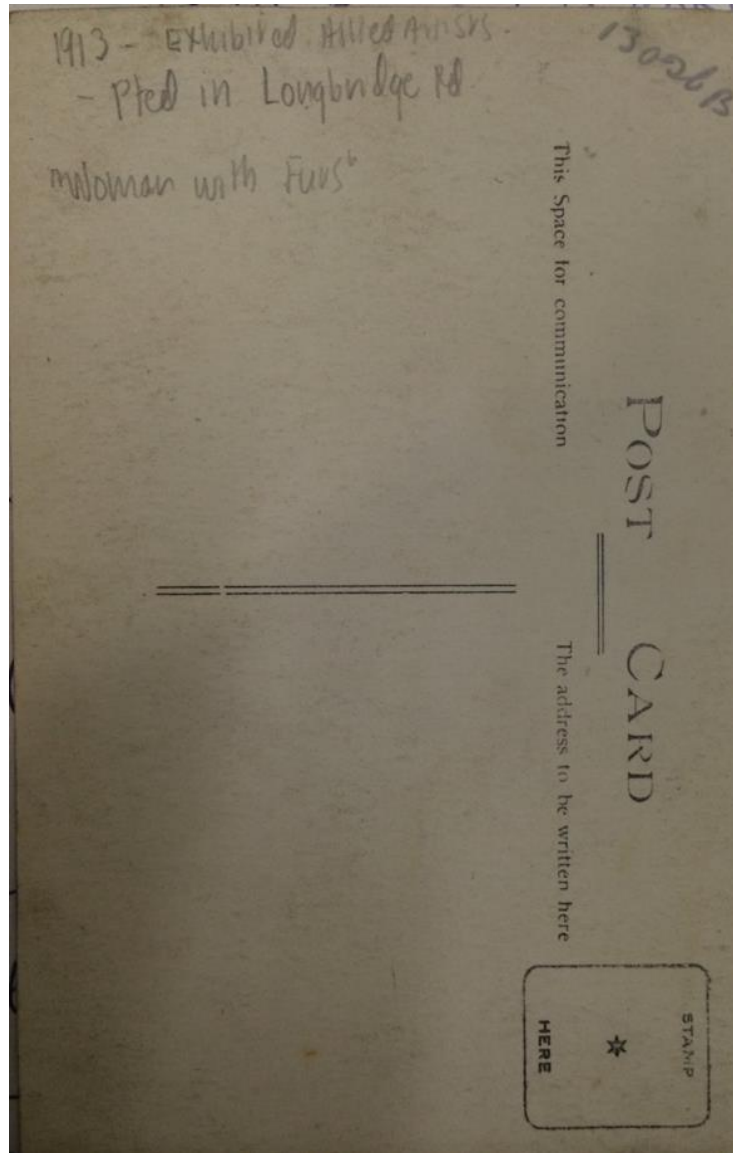


Figure 35. Reverse of postcard of Kate Lechmere's *Lady in Furs*, c. 1913. Handwriting in pencil reads: "1913, exhibited, Allied Artists, Pted in Longbridge Rd." and "Woman with Furs." (TGA 8223, William Lipke Collection; photographed by the author in January 2017)

took a small flat on the top floor of the same building as the Rebel Art Centre, where she installed window boxes and painted in "strident abstract patterns."³²⁴ A correspondent from *Vanity Fair* argued that Lechmere's flat was even more radical than the Rebel Art Centre downstairs, saying:

Miss Lechmere ... has gone further and has decorated a whole flat—her own—in Futurism (the only one in London), in order to show the possibilities of the new decoration. It ... contains black doors in cream walls, and black curtains in addition to

³²⁴ Ibid., 199.

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the usual orgies of colour. I am told she is engaged in planning a Cubist rock garden, with strange, stunned trees from Japan.³²⁵

Lewis had also expressed his admiration of how Lechmere decorated her apartment,³²⁶ but the first floor was left to the Rebel artists and turned into an arena-like space where rooms and walls were all enlarged and re-installed to be functional working spaces. Lechmere paid for the refurbishment and recalled in her memoir, “The studio walls were painted pale lemon yellow and the doors Chinese red. We had an office and an extra room for Lewis and prospective pupils to paint in.”³²⁷



Figure 36. (From left to right) Wyndham Lewis, Cuthbert Hamilton, Edward Wadsworth and Kate Lechmere pictured at the Rebel Art Centre. This photograph was taken by the *Daily Mirror* in March 1914. (TGA 8726.8.38; photographed by the author at the Tate Gallery Archive in April 2015)

³²⁵ Ibid.

³²⁶ TGA 8223; William Lipke Collection. In the first interview with Lechmere, on December 8, 1964, she told Lipke in the interview that her decorations in the flat was seen and admired by Lewis.

³²⁷ Meyers, 161. This had been recorded in her memoir, written in 1971.

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The photograph in Figure 36, from the *Daily Mirror*, captures Rebel artists at the Centre in March 1914: Lewis and Lechmere sit on a divan facing each other, with Cuthbert Hamilton reclining between them, facing the camera, and Edward Wadsworth standing behind. The Rebel Art Centre in London was, according to Lechmere, “smarter” than the others (even in Paris),³²⁸ offering lectures by Pound, Schoenberg, Scriabin, Marinetti, Ford Madox Hueffer (later Ford Madox Ford) and T. E. Hulme. Open to students and the general public, the center aimed to catalyze “the great modern revolution in Art”³²⁹ through exposure to the Cubist, Futurist and Expressionist movements.³³⁰ And, at its helm was a talented woman artist who had absorbed the full energy of avant-gardism in Paris (and Milan), shown this “Cubist spirit” in her paintings exhibited in the AAA and fused radical art with daily life in her living space.

The *Rhythm* women artists, among them Anne Estelle Rice, Jessica Dismorr and Ethel Wright, also exhibited with the AAA (Rice in 1912 and 1913; Wright from 1909 through 1913). Rutter and the group founder J. D. Fergusson were friends, and so a new complementarity was established whereby Fergusson wrote reviews for the AAA while Rutter included Rhythmists’ artworks in *Art News*. For example, Dismorr’s drawing representing the newly launched *Rhythm* magazine was published in *Art News* in 1911. (fig. 37). Dismorr’s piece depicts the back view of a female nude with an exotic hairband and captures the fleeting moment of turning her head to look over her shoulder coyly. In its original context in *Rhythm*, Dismorr’s drawing ran vertically alongside Arthur Crossthwaite’s poem “*Songe d’été*” (Summer dream) (fig. 38). Fergusson’s own expressive and simplified

³²⁸ Ibid.

³²⁹ Cork, *Art Beyond the Gallery*, 210. The Rebels behind this revolution was Lewis, Fredrick Etchells, Cuthbert Hamilton, Wadsworth, Saunders and Dismorr.

³³⁰ Ibid., 191.

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curvilinear drawing of a lady's profile with a hat (fig. 39) was later included as a header in the October 16, 1911, issue of *Art News*. These two drawings were selected as representative of the magazine for their rhythmical composition and because the empty spaces also speak about the forms. Rutter also singled out Rice's and Fergusson's works exhibited at the Salon d'Automne in 1910 and praised them had "expressed in strong personal colour that has the intensity and luminosity of old stained glass."³³¹ This positive press was welcome at a time when Rice's *Two Egyptian Dancers* (see fig. 67 in Chapter 5) was causing an uproar in French and British media, provoking one critic to actually spit at it.³³² In addition to introducing Rhythmists in *Art News*, Rutter spared no effort in introducing Fauvism via his reviews of AAA exhibitions as art critic of the *Sunday Times*, mentioning the Fauvist allies based in London (i.e., the Rhythmists), with their illustrative magazine *Rhythm*, as the "expression to new movements and new philosophies of the Arts."³³³ In a review in 1911, Rutter highlighted Rice and Jessica Dismorr.³³⁴ For the exhibition in 1912, Rutter encouraged the public to understand and appreciate artists' intentions in modernist painting before forming any opinion when facing unfamiliar primitive simplicity or bright color shapes with bold contours in the exhibitions. He then singled out the members associated with *Rhythm* magazine together with Wyndham Lewis and Jacob Epstein, for their modern paintings, and sculpture and highlighted the "gifted" ones: Fergusson, S. J. Peplow, Joseph Simpson, Rice, Wright and C. King.³³⁵

³³¹ Robins, 109.

³³² Ibid.

³³³ Rutter, "Round the Galleries," *Sunday Times*, 6 August 1911.

³³⁴ Ibid.

³³⁵ Frank Rutter, "An Art Causerie," *Sunday Times*, 7 July 1912.

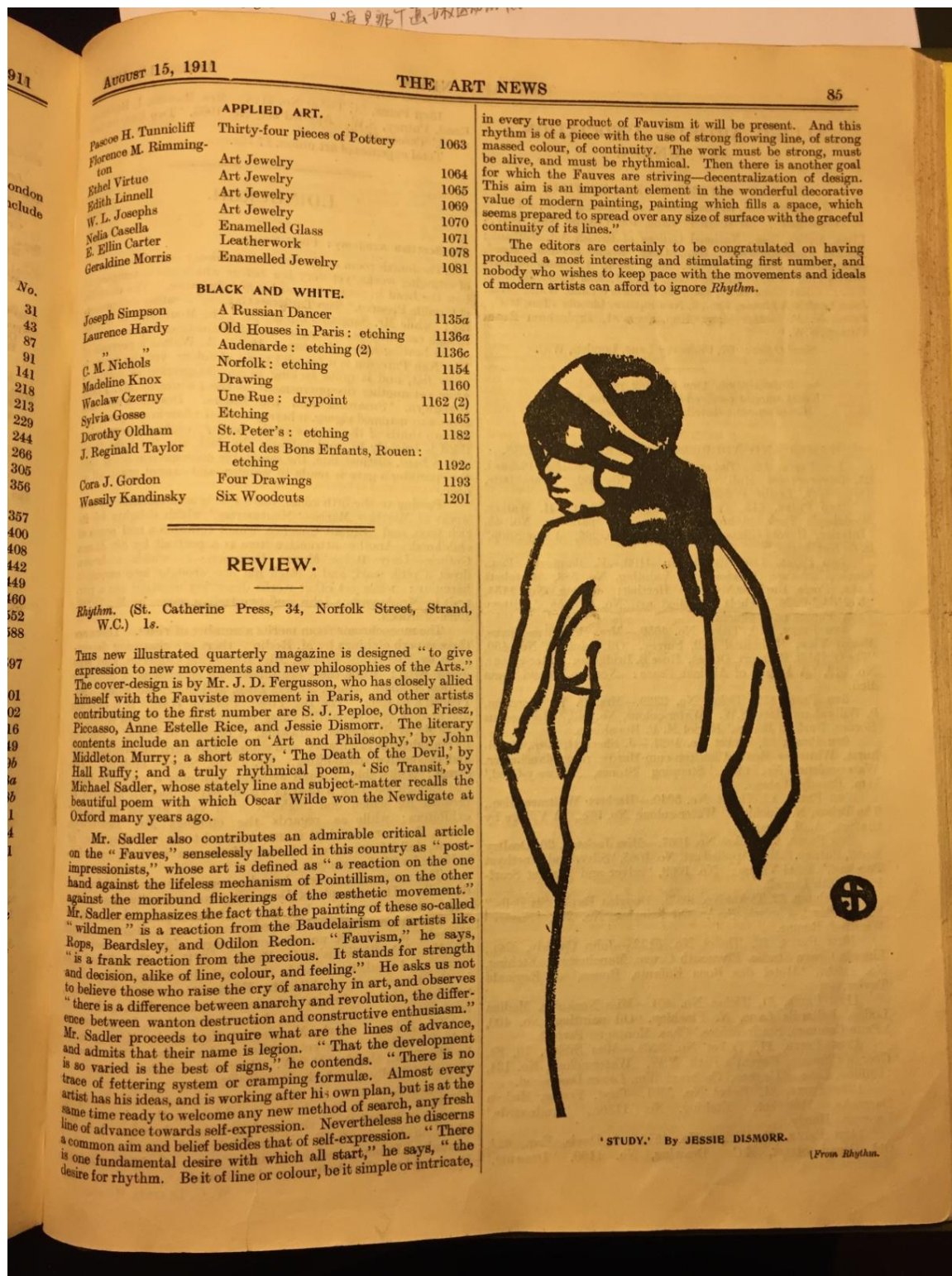


Figure 37. Jessica Dismorr, *Study*, in *Art News*, August 15, 1911. (Photographed by the author at the Victoria & Albert Museum, National Art Library in 2017)

SONGE D'ÉTÉ

Crimson anemones
Flame in the shade of the trees;
The fountains seem
Scarce to rise or fall,
But to poise
In a motionless dream.
Crimson anemones,
Flaming under the trees.

In a dream the voice of a bird
Makes music unheard,
And the sheen
Of the flowers is a music unseen
By the eyes—
Only to feel
As the quivering senses reel
And sink in a passionless dream.
Crimson anemones
Fading beneath the trees.

In a dream the dragon-flies
Whirr in a golden haze
Of lights that flicker and dance,
As the rays
Strike like the point of a lance
On the ripple that dies
Silvery green in the sedge.
The skies
Drowsily sink on the eyes
That close; and the trees and the
flowers
Suddenly seem
To flash, and the sun towers
White for a moment and hard,
And all is a dream.

ARTHUR CROSSTHWAITE



STUDY JESSIE DISMORR

Figure 38. Jessica Dismorr, *Study*, c. 1911, in the first issue of *Rhythm* magazine, placed vertically alongside Arthur Crossthwaite's "Songe d'été." (*Rhythm* 1, no. 1 (Summer 1911): 13)

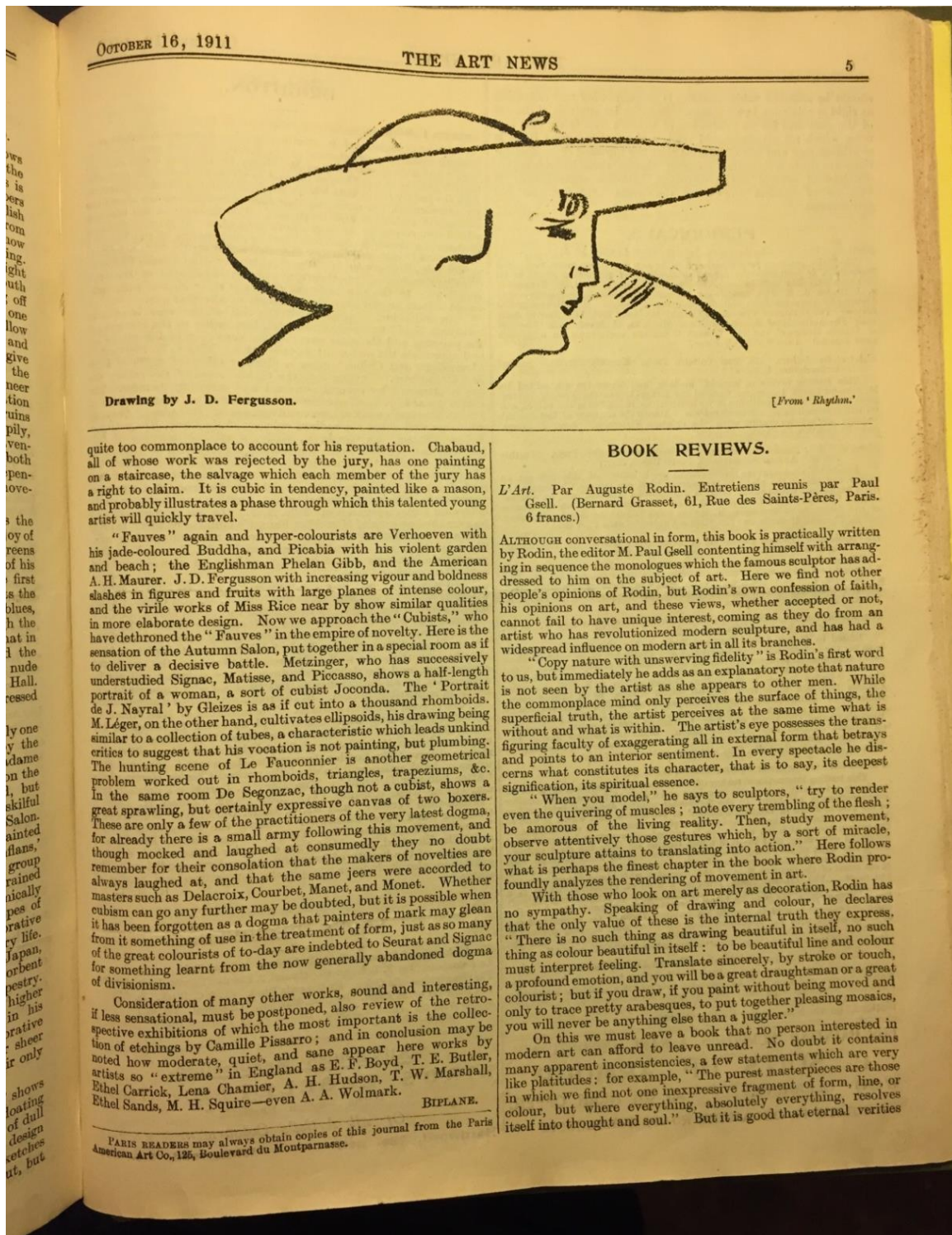


Figure 39. J. D. Fergusson, *Drawing*, in *Art News*, October 16, 1911. This same image originally appeared in *Rhythm* magazine. (Photographed by the author at the Victoria & Albert National Art Library in January 2017)

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Although the AAA was frequently scorned for opening doors to “a large percentage of absolute rubbish,”³³⁶ which meant that many experimental works of quality were swamped by a mass of mediocrity, the *Manchester Daily Guardian* reminded its readers that “no Manet nor Whistler nor Degas in the new generation can be excluded from the public view. It is entirely our own fault if we do not recognize him.”³³⁷ And, Walter Sickert pointed out that at the time

... it was urgent in the present ferment of opinion on art, that all students and painters should have equality of opportunity to exhibit. ... for the growing artist an annual audience is a necessity. And a large, impartial, indifferent audience it should be, too diffused to be a clique ... The Allied Artists' Association has this superiority over the Indépendants, that it has not had to apply to the State for premises. Is the exhibition now open at the Albert Hall perhaps not a working object-lesson of the best element of Socialism? Is it not a solvent, going concern founded by the poor to help themselves?³³⁸

Frances Spalding also made this connection and argued that “The AAA served an important purpose, bringing to Sickert’s attention new recruits for the Fitzroy Street Group.”³³⁹ Denys Wilcox detected a link between the AAA and the London Group by suggesting that “The spirit of tolerance derived from the AAA was even the dominant inspiration for the London Group.”³⁴⁰ This, as we have seen, was especially so for women artists.

Women Artists in the London Group

Established in 1913, the London Group was also founded “as a reaction to the stranglehold which the Royal Academy had on exhibiting new work.”³⁴¹ It was additionally

³³⁶ Walter Sickert, “The Allied Artists’ Association,” *Art News*, 24 March 1910, 161.

³³⁷ Cited in “Further Press Opinions on the London Salon,” *Art News*, 8 September 1910, 266. Originally published in the *Manchester Daily Guardian* (July 12, 1910).

³³⁸ Cited in “Some Press Opinions on the London Salon,” *Art News*, 4 August 1910, 259. Originally published in the *New Age* (July 14, 1910).

³³⁹ Spalding, *British Art since 1900*, 38.

³⁴⁰ Wilcox, 1.

³⁴¹ Deepwell, *Women Artists between the Wars*, 218.

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created in opposition to the NEAC,³⁴² set out “to advance public awareness of contemporary visual art,”³⁴³ and was “determined [to] embrace the new practice and movements arriving from Europe and from France in particular, to set a new agenda for a new century.”³⁴⁴ The London Group emerged from an amalgamation of several smaller groups of painters, the Fitzroy Street Group (1907-1914), the male-member-only Camden Town Group (1911-1913), the loosely collaborative English Post-Impressionists, the emergent Futurists and the English Cubists (later known as the Vorticists).³⁴⁵

An analytical study of the complex participation of women artists in the London Group first requires background research into its predecessor to observe changing priorities and trajectories in flux, not least in regard to membership of women artists. The Camden Town Group, after all, excluded women artists of the Fitzroy Street Group as members and then re-embraced women artists when developing into the gender-blind and more diverse London Group. The binding factor behind the Camden Town artists was their knowledge and appreciation of the modern French painters, principally Cézanne, Gauguin and Van Gogh.³⁴⁶ In spring 1907, Walter Sickert, Spencer Gore and others had rented a studio at 19 Fitzroy Street to store works, hold informal displays and host Saturday “At Homes.”³⁴⁷ They

³⁴² David Redfern, "The History of the London Group," *The London Group: Visual Arts since 1913*, available online: <http://www.thelondongroup.com/history.php>. Accessed 4 October 2014.

³⁴³ “London Group,” Tate website, available online: <http://www.tate.org.uk/learn/online-resources/glossary/l/london-group>. Accessed 18 February 2016.

³⁴⁴ David J. Glasser, "Ben Uri Chairmen's Forward," in *Uproar!: The First 50 Years of the London Group 1913-1963*, ed. Sarah MacDougall and Rachel Dickson (London: Lund Humphries, 2013), 12.

³⁴⁵ Hyman Krietman Research Centre, TGA 7311/2, Album of press cuttings on C. R. W. Nevinson (17 January 1914-13 March 1918); “Art and Artists: The London Group,” *Observer*, 8 March 1914. The opening sentence of this newspaper article reads: “‘The London Group,’ which appears to me made up of the former ‘Camden Town Group,’ the seceders from Mr. Roger Fry’s ‘Omega Workshops,’ and other English Post-Impressionists, Cubists and Futurists, is holding its first exhibition at the Goupil Gallery.”

³⁴⁶ Wilcox, 2.

³⁴⁷ National Art Library, Rare Book Collection, J. B. Manson, "Exhibition of the Work of English Post Impressionists, Cubists, and Others, Introduction," edited by Public Art Galleries (Brighton, UK: Public Art Galleries, 1913).

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eventually became known as the Fitzroy Street Group and promoted and supported the works of members, including Harold Gilman, Lucien Pissarro, William Rothenstein, Albert Rutherston, and women artists such as Ethel Sands (1873-1962) and Nan Hudson (1869-1967). Member J. B. Manson noted:

‘At Homes’ of the society became widely known. ... Distinguished foreign visitors made the Studio in Fitzroy Street a meeting place, regarding it as an oasis in the desert of British Art. There they discovered the modern movement in art, whose very existence in this country was unsuspected, so had it been ignored or inadequately recognized by official art institutions.³⁴⁸

Paintings of the two aforementioned women artists had been exhibited at the Salon d’Automne in Paris in 1906 and were greatly admired by Sickert. The painting Hudson had exhibited was of the *Giudecca Canal*, and it was hung by Sickert in Fitzroy Street the following year,³⁴⁹ where it would be “seen and slowly rubbed in, week by week, to all our congregation.”³⁵⁰ Sickert recalled meeting Sands and Hudson in Paris:

... it was refreshing to find someone spiritually & intellectually on the slightly higher level for which I have always had a sneaking snobbish & perhaps pedantic hankering ... Ethel was silent but I concluded she was probably amazing & took her on trust into my immediate affections as well.³⁵¹

Sands, a native of Newport, Rhode Island, moved to London in 1874, studied painting in Paris under Eugène Carrière (1896-1901) and was influenced by the work of Édouard Vuillard. In Paris, she met New Yorker Anna (Nan) Hope Hudson, who would become her life partner, and together they became well-known society hostesses,

³⁴⁸ Ibid., 7.

³⁴⁹ Tate Gallery Archives. Papers of Ethel Sands: TGA 9125.5.97, Letter from Sickert to Ethel Sands, dated 1906-1907. The letter concerns the Nan Hudson painting that he saw at the Salon d’Automne in which he offers his admiration as well as advice.

³⁵⁰ Wendy Baron, *The Camden Town Group* (London: Scholar Press, 1979), 13.

³⁵¹ Cited in Nicola Moorby, "Tea with Sickert c. 1911–12 by Ethel Sands," in *The Camden Town Group in Context*, edited by Helena Bonett, Ysanne Holt, and Jennifer Mundy (London: Tate Research Publication, 2012), available online: <https://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/camden-town-group/ethel-sands-tea-with-sickert-r1139308>. Accessed 9 May 2016.

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important art patrons and collectors,³⁵² “providing venues and [a] congenial atmosphere for artists, writers and other members of England’s cultural elite to meet, converse and exchange ideas.”³⁵³ Nicola Moorby argues that the invitation for the two women to join the Fitzroy Street Group “reflected his [Sickert’s] eagerness to secure their financial assistance and social connections as well as his admiration of their artistic merits.”³⁵⁴

In 1911, however, member male artists of the Fitzroy Street Group formed a new men-only art society called the Camden Town Group, named after the neighborhood of north London where Sickert and Gore lived and painted. The Camden Town Group held its first exhibition in June 1911 at the Carfax Gallery in fashionable St. James’, London, and thereafter in December 1911 and December 1912. Aside from Sickert and Gore, constituted the core group: Wyndham Lewis, James Dickson Innes, Augustus John, Henry Lamb, Harold Gilman and John Doman Turner. Maxwell Gordon Lightfoot, who participated in the first exhibition, and Duncan Grant, who participated in the second and third exhibitions, were occasionally associated with the group.³⁵⁵

³⁵² David J. Glasser, Foreword to *Uproar! The First 50 Years of the London Group, 1913-1963*, edited by Sarah MacDougall and Rachel Dickson (London: Lund Humphries, 2013), 12.

³⁵³ Nicola Moorby, "Ethel Sands, 1873–1962," in *The Camden Town Group in Context*, edited by Helena Bonett, Ysanne Holt, and Jennifer Mundy (London: Tate Research Publication, 2012), available online: <https://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/camden-town-group/ethel-sands-r1105348>. Accessed 9 May 2016.

³⁵⁴ Nicola Moorby, "Nan (Anna Hope) Hudson 1869–1957," in *The Camden Town Group in Context*, edited by Helena Bonett, Ysanne Holt, Jennifer Mundy (London: Tate Research Publication, 2012), available online: <https://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/camden-town-group/nan-anna-hope-hudson-r1105358>. Accessed 9 May 2016.

³⁵⁵ Sarah MacDougall and Rachel Dickson, eds., *Uproar: The First 50 Years of the London Group, 1913-1963* (London: Ben Uri and Lund Humphries, 2013), 186. For more information on the history of the Fitzroy Street Group and Camden Town Group, see Valerie Webb, *The Camden Town Group: Representations of Class and Gender in Paintings of London Interiors* (Guildford, UK: Parker Art, 2007). Also see the Tate online publication *Camden Town Group in Context*, edited by Helena Bonett, Ysanne Holt, Jennifer Mundy (<https://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/camden-town-group/>), which brings together a wealth of materials from the Tate Archive. For information on Camden Town Group exhibitions and catalogues, please refer to "Exhibitions," in *The Camden Town Group in Context*, edited by Helena Bonett, Ysanne Holt, and Jennifer Mundy (London: Tate Research Publication, 2012), available online: <https://www.tate.org.uk/art/research->

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The ban on women artists in the Camden Town Group was originally put forward by Gilman in December 1911 and supported by Sickert. According to Deepwell's research, there were various explanations for this seemingly inconsistent move. Gilman explained that it was due to a concern that the "wives or lady friends" of some members "might not come up to the standard aimed at by the group."³⁵⁶ J. B. Manson, secretary to the new group, argued bluntly that the rule existed "for the definite purpose" of "disinclination."³⁵⁷ Sickert explained personally to Hudson and Sands: "As you probably know, the Camden Town Group is a male club, and women are not eligible, there are a lot of two sex clubs, and several one sex clubs, and this is one of them."³⁵⁸

In 1913, the Camden Town Group rescinded the ban on women artists for its exhibition *Work of English Post-Impressionists, Cubists and Others* [cover title: *Exhibition of Camden Town Group and Others*], which was held from December 16, 1913, to January 14, 1914, at the Public Art Galleries in Brighton. This exhibition was a significant transitional moment in British modern art history,³⁵⁹ especially in relation to the important contributions made by women painters. The Camden Town Group under the presidency of Spencer Gore was invited to curate this exhibition, and in fact, suggestions for selection were probably made by the entire Fitzroy Street Group, in other words by the founding members of the London Group. Manson's introduction to the exhibition reveals the inclusiveness of the group in its manner of artistic expression, as he believed that "the vital qualities in modern art should be concentrated in one definite group, instead of being

publications/camden-town-group/exhibitions-r1129418.

³⁵⁶ Cited in Wendy Baron, "Introduction: Origins of the London Group," in *Uproar: The First 50 Years of the London Group 1913-1963*, edited by Sarah MacDougall and Rachel Dickson (London: Lund Humphries, 2013), 20. Originally in Deepwell, *Women Artists between the Wars*, 160.

³⁵⁷ Wendy Baron, *Miss Ethel Sands and Her Circle* (London: Peter Owen, 1977).

³⁵⁸ Cited in Deepwell, *Women Artists between the Wars*, 161.

³⁵⁹ Baron, *The Camden Town Group*; Baron, "Introduction: Origins of the London Group."

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scattered.” This, he stated, was the exhibition where “all modern methods may find a home, Cubism meets Impressionism, Futurism and Sickertism join hands and are not ashamed.”³⁶⁰

The Brighton show consisted chiefly of British artists, featured different factions of the avant-garde and was divided into three rooms, two of which were taken up by the Camden Town Group painters, or the “neo-realists,” as they later called themselves. The third “Cubist Room” was occupied by machine-inspired works contributed by Wyndham Lewis, David Bomberg, Frederick Etchells, C. F. Hamilton, C. R. W. Nevinson and Edward Wadsworth.³⁶¹ The exhibition included eight women (see Table 11), seven of whom were founding members of the London Group (Fanny Eveleigh was the exception). Of the exhibit’s 192 artworks, contributed by thirty-seven artists, thirty-eight pieces were contributed by women artists. Ethel Sands, Nan Hudson, Sylvia Gosse and Renée Finch showed their full quota of six works.

The about-turn of the Camden Town Group, from excluding women members to reembracing them for membership, and subsequent development of the group into a larger and more diverse exhibiting society (the London Group) was likely more than a pragmatic decision and suggests strongly the accelerating social changes in 1913 and 1914, not least of which was the agitation of the Suffragette movement. Regardless of the reasons, Sickert wrote to Hudson, explaining, “Any rules about the sexes *ipso facto* lapse distinctions having become, not only invidious but impossible!”³⁶²

³⁶⁰ Manson, 8.

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 12. There were also three drawings contributed by Jacob Epstein.

³⁶² Cited in Deepwell, *Women Artists between the Wars*, 160-161.

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There were seven women among the thirty-two founding members of the London Group: Jessie Etchells (1892-1933), Renée Finch (1876-1954), Sylvia Gosse (1881-1968), Nan Hudson, Stanislawa de Karlowaska (1876-1952), Thérèse Lessore (1884-1945), and Ethel

Table 11. Women artists and their works of art in *Work of English Post-Impressionists, Cubists and Others* (Brighton Exhibition) 1913-1914.

Women Artists and Their Works of Art in <i>Work of English Post-Impressionists, Cubists and Others</i> (Brighton Exhibition), 1913-1914		
Ethel Sands	1: <i>The tea pot</i> (oil) 2: <i>Autumn flowers</i> (oil) 3: <i>The red azalea</i> (oil) 4: <i>The story book</i> (oil) 78: <i>The Japanese slippers</i> (oil) 79: <i>The Venetian interior</i> (oil)	Not for sale £6 £12 £20 £10 £10
Sylvia Gosse	5: <i>Companions of the bath</i> (oil) 6: <i>Camberwell beauties</i> (oil) 7: <i>The green bed</i> (oil) 8: <i>Sweet rocket</i> (oil) 88: <i>La route de San Nicholas</i> (watercolor) 89: <i>The passing cloud</i> (watercolor)	£8 8s £10 10s £8 8s £10 10s £6 6s £6 6s
Renée Finch	14: <i>La jeune fille de Chioggia</i> (oil) 15: <i>Max Laube, siffleur</i> (oil) 16: <i>Femme vénitienne</i> (oil) 17: <i>Portrait de femme</i> (oil) 18: <i>Tête d'homme</i> (oil) 108: <i>Dessin</i> (watercolor)	£30 £18 £20 £20 £15 £2 2s
Anna Hope Hudson	72: <i>Newington Gates, Spring</i> (oil) 73: <i>The Dome of Harrod's</i> (oil) 74: <i>The wool basket</i> (oil) 75: <i>Knightsbridge</i> (oil) 76: <i>Newington Gates, Autumn</i> (oil) 77: <i>The Dogana, Venice</i> (oil)	£10 £15 £10 £10 £10 £15
Thérèse Lessore	113: <i>Blackwell</i> (watercolor) 114: <i>Ironers</i> (watercolor) 115: <i>Amiens Market</i> (watercolor) 119: <i>Omnibus riders</i> (watercolor) 120: <i>The cottage</i>	£10 £15 £25 £15 £10
S. de Karlowaska	134: <i>Still life</i> 135: <i>Interior, Poland</i> 136: <i>Geraniums</i> 137: <i>Regents Canal</i>	£15 15s £25 £10 £15
Fanny Eveleigh	152: <i>A head</i> (oil) 164: <i>La Maison en Bretagne</i> (oil) 188: <i>Café</i>	£3 s3 £12 12s £3 3s
Jessie Etchells	166: <i>A dance</i> (oil) 183: <i>A dance</i>	£10 £3

Note: Compiled by the author from the Catalogue of Pictures (first room) in the original exhibition catalogue

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Sands.³⁶³ These women artists, in addition to the Brighton show, contributed to the London Group's first official exhibition in early March 1914 at William Merchant's Goupil Gallery in Regent Street.³⁶⁴ Their works (Table 12) accounted for a quarter of the exhibit's 116 paintings and drawings, contributed by a total of twenty-six artists.³⁶⁵ Additionally, Finch sat on the London Group's first seven-member Hanging Committee.³⁶⁶ As members of the Fitzroy Street Group, Finch, Sands and Hudson had automatically become members of the London Group³⁶⁷ and contributed from the very beginning. Sands and Hudson were present at the first meeting on October 25, 1913, together with ten other artists.³⁶⁸ Finch joined the

³⁶³ Ibid. Denys Wilcox also states there were thirty-two founding members; however, the complete list only shows thirty artists marked as "FM" (founding members). Founding members of the London Group were Bernard Adeney, Walter Bayes, Robert P. Bevan, David Bomberg, Malcolm Drummond, Jacob Epstein, Frederick Etchells, Jessie Etchells, Renée Finch, Douglas Fox Pitt, Henri Gaudier-Brzeska, Harold Gilman, Charles Ginner, Spencer F. Gore, Sylvia Gosse, Duncan Grant, Cuthbert F. Hamilton, Anna Hope (Nan) Hudson, Stanisława de Karłowska, Thérèse Lessore, Wyndham Lewis, J. B. Manson, John Nash, C. R. W. Nevinson, Lucien Pissarro, William Ratcliffe, Ethel Sands, Walter Sickert, Harold Squire, Harold Sund, Walter Taylor and Edward Wadsworth. In Wilcox, Sickert and Grant, who attended the early meetings and played an active part in the formation of the group, were omitted as founding members on pages 32-25. Sickert often took the chair at the early meetings, resigned from the group before the first exhibition in March 1914 but rejoined in 1916. The author believes that although Sickert and Grant were actual contributors to the founding of the London Group, they were not officially listed as "FM" due to their absence from the first exhibition.

³⁶⁴ Hyman Krietman Research Centre, Tate Archive; "The London Group. First Exhibition at the Goupil Gallery. Business of Art," in an unidentified paper. See also Deepwell, *Women Artists between the Wars*, 163. The exact date of the first London Group exhibition is unknown.

³⁶⁵ MacDougall, "Uproar! The Early Years of the London Group, 1913-28," 25, footnote 6. The 26 participating artists were W. B. Adeney, Walter Bayes, Robert Bevan, David Bomberg, Spencer Core, M. C. Drummond, Jacob Epstein, Jessie Etchells, Renée Finch, Henry Gaudier-Brzeska, Harold Gilman, Charles Ginner, Sylvia Gosse, C. F. Hamilton, A. H. Hudson, S. de Karłowska, Percy Wyndham Lewis, Thérèse Lessore, J. B. Manson, John Nash, C. R. W. Nevinson, W. Ratcliffe, Ethel Sands, Harold Squire, Harald Sund, and Edward Wadsworth.

³⁶⁶ Katy Deepwell interprets the event differently, arguing that "Women artists ... were involved in selecting works for exhibition but always as the token or only woman on each year's hanging committee" (*Women Artists between the Wars*, 161).

³⁶⁷ "Minutes of the Second London Group Meeting, 15 November 1913," in *The Camden Town Group in Context*, edited by Helena Bonett, Ysanne Holt, and Jennifer Mundy (London: Tate Research Publication, 2012), available online: <http://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/camden-town-group/minutes-of-the-second-london-group-meeting-r1104661>. Accessed 31 January 2016.

³⁶⁸ "Minutes of the First London Group Meeting 25 October 1913," in *The Camden Town Group in Context*, edited by Helena Bonett, Ysanne Holt, and Jennifer Mundy (London: Tate Research Publication, 2012), available online: <http://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/camden-town-group/minutes-of-the-first-london-group-meeting-r1104642>. Accessed 15 February 2016. The

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London Group from the second meeting on November 15, 1913.³⁶⁹ It was at this meeting that the name of the society as "The London Group" was resolved.³⁷⁰ The other four founding women members (Karlowska, Etchells, Gosse and Lessore) joined the group through the election of new artists at the sixth London Group meeting on January 3 1914. The election procedure ensured that "one adverse vote should cancel one favorable vote and that to secure election a member must finally receive the votes of at least one third of the total number of members of the Group."³⁷¹ As the voting tally sheet for the sixth London

twelve members present were Walter Bayes, Robert Bevan (Treasurer; Stanislaw de Karlowska's husband), Malcolm Drummond, Jacob Epstein, Harold Gilman (President), Spencer F. Gore, Duncan Grant, Percy Wyndham Lewis, James Bolivar Manson (Secretary of the Camden Town and London Groups and responsible for the meeting records), Walter Sickert, Anna Hope Hudson and Ethel Sands. Six Camden Town Group members were not in attendance for the first meeting: James Dickson Innes, Augustus John, Henry Lamb, Lucien Pissarro, William Ratcliffe and John Doman Turner.³⁶⁹ "Minutes of the Second London Group Meeting, 15 November 1913."

³⁷⁰ Ibid. Charles Ginner wrote in his reminiscences: "a large meeting eventually took place at No. 19, Fitzroy Street. Here, unless my memory has played truant, I have a vision of Jacob Epstein, during a discussion on the naming of this new society, leaning against the mantelpiece and saying to the assembled company, amidst general approbation, 'Let us call it "The London Group."'" Duncan Grant and Nan Hudson, present at the first meeting, were absent from this one. But, eleven new names appeared in the minutes: William Ratcliffe, Harold Sund and his wife Renée Finch, C. R. W. Nevinson, W. Bernard Adeney, Cuthbert Hamilton, Henry Lamb, Harold Squire, Edward A. Wadsworth, Charles Ginner and Fredrick Etchells.

³⁷¹ "Minutes of the Fourth London Group Meeting, 29 November 1913," in *The Camden Town Group in Context*, edited by Helena Bonett, Ysanne Holt, and Jennifer Mundy (London: Tate Research Publication, 2012), available online: <http://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/camden-town-group/minutes-of-the-fourth-london-group-meeting-r1104576>. Accessed 16 February 2016.

"Minutes of the Sixth London Group Meeting, 3 January 1914," in *The Camden Town Group in Context*, edited by Helena Bonett, Ysanne Holt, and Jennifer Mundy (London: Tate Research Publication, 2012), available online: <http://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/camden-town-group/voting-list-for-the-sixth-london-group-meeting-r1104645>. Accessed 16 February 2016.

"Minutes of the Seventh London Group Meeting, 7 February 1914," in *The Camden Town Group in Context*, edited by Helena Bonett, Ysanne Holt, and Jennifer Mundy (London: Tate Research Publication, 2012), available online: <https://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/camden-town-group/voting-list-for-the-seventh-london-group-meeting-r1104651>. Accessed 24 February 2016.

"Voting List for the Eighth London Group Meeting, 7 March 1914," in *The Camden Town Group in Context*, edited by Helena Bonett, Ysanne Holt, and Jennifer Mundy (London: Tate Research Publication, 2012), available online: <http://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/camden-town-group/voting-list-for-the-eighth-london-group-meeting-r1104653>. Accessed 24 February 2016.

"Minutes of the Eighth and Ninth London Group Meetings, 7 and 14 March 1914," in *The Camden Town Group in Context*, edited by Helena Bonett, Ysanne Holt, and Jennifer Mundy (London: Tate Research Publication, 2012), available online: <http://www.tate.org.uk/art/research->

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Group meeting (fig. 40) shows, only nine out of twenty-six candidates were elected: David Bomberg (12 votes), Karlowska (12 votes), Etchells (12 votes), Douglas Fox Pitt (9 votes), Eric Gill (10 votes), Gosse (9 votes), Lessore (12 votes), John Nash (10 votes) and Walter Taylor (11 votes).³⁷² The procedure was relatively simple, and women candidates were successful in terms of the number of votes they received.

publications/camden-town-group/minutes-of-the-eighth-and-ninth-london-group-meetings-r1104652. Accessed 24 February 2016.

The fourth meeting took place on November 29, 1913, and was predominantly concerned with election procedures. It was decided that "one adverse vote should cancel one favorable vote and that to secure election a member must finally receive the votes of at least half the total number of members of the Group." However, when the first election took place at the fifth meeting on December 6, no one was elected, as no candidate gained over half the number of votes needed for election and all 14 candidates failed to secure selection. The fourteen candidates were Thérèse Lessore, Hamilton Hay, W. Rothenstein, Fanny Eveleigh, Stanisława de Karlowska, Darsie Japp, A. Rothenstein, Walter Taylor, Douglas Fox Pitt, Mark Gertler, Sylvia Gosse, Jessica Etchells, David Bomberg and Charles Winzer. This situation was believed to perhaps be owing to "the divergent artistic allegiances of the various members", which led Jacob Epstein to suggest that a candidate could be elected by only one-third of the total number of members rather than half. Therefore, by the sixth London Group meeting on January 3, 1914, the new amendment of election rule was adopted, and the number of candidates (including fourteen from the previous election) put forward for the election increased to twenty-six. They were Thérèse Lessore, Hamilton Hay, W. Rothenstein, Fanny Eveleigh, Stanisława de Karlowska, Darsie Japp, A. Rothernstein, Walter Taylor, Douglas Fox Pitt, Mark Gertler, Sylvia Gosse, Jessie Etchells, Charles Winzer, Miss Davison, Miss Lancaster, Eric Gill, H. S. Teed, E. Verpilleux, Hilda Trevelyan, C. Maresco Pearce, John Nash, Paul Nash, Joseph Simpson, J. S. Currie, Miss Middleton and David Bomberg. Of these twenty-six candidates, only nine were elected in the meeting: Bomberg, Karlowska, Etchells, Fox Pitt, Gill, Gosse, Lessore, John Nash and Walter Taylor. Eric Gill later declined the offer. At the seventh London Group meeting on February 7, 1914, ten candidates were proposed for election, seven of them from the previous election (Hilda Trevelyan, Paul Nash, Hamilton Hay, Charles Winzer, Fanny Eveleigh, H. S. Teed and E. Verpilleux) and three new candidates (Geoffrey Allfree, Hilda Hassell and Henri Gaudier Brzeska). Only Gaudier Brzeska (15 yes, 3 no) was elected. At the eighth London Group meeting on March 7, 1914, six candidates were proposed for election: Eric Forbes-Robertson, H. Brodzky, W. Robert, A. Wolmark, S. Spencer and Mervyn Lawrence. Stanley Spencer was the only one elected, but he resigned shortly afterward.

³⁷² "Minutes of the Sixth London Group Meeting, 3 January 1914." The twenty-six artists were Thérèse Lessore, Hamilton Hay, W. Rothernstein, Fanny Eveleigh, Stanisława de Karlowska, Darsie Japp, A. Rothernstein, Walter Taylor, Douglas Fox Pitt, Mark Gertler, Sylvia Gosse, Jessie Etchells, Charles Winzer, Miss Davison, Miss Lancaster, Eric Gill, H. S. Teed, E. Verpilleux, Hilda Trevelyan, C. Maresco Pearce, John Nash, Paul Nash, Joseph Simpson, J. S. Currie, Miss Middleton and David Bomberg. David Bomberg (16 yes, 4 no), Stanisława de Karlowska (16 yes, 4 no), Jessie Etchells (15 yes, 3 no), Douglas Fox Pitt (11 yes, 3 no), Eric Gill (15 yes, 5 no), Sylvia Gosse (12 yes, 3 no), Thérèse Lessore (14 yes, 2 no), John Nash (13 yes, 3 no) and Walter Taylor (13 yes, 2 no).

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In fact, the process of founding the London Group lasted several months: In total, thirty-five artists put themselves forward for election, ten of which were women and four of whom were successful. According to the voting tally sheet, the women who were not selected were Hilda Trevelyan, Fanny Eveleigh, Hilda Hassall, Miss Middleton, Miss Lancaster and Miss Davison. Wendy Baron argues that the recruitment of certain male members but not others was “a random pattern guided more by personal preference than communal ideology” and gives examples of their network of personal and professional contacts (i.e., close friends, tutors, disciples).³⁷³ This tendency may also have been applicable to the selection and rejection of certain women members in the London Group, not least through personal relationships (i.e., love affairs, partnerships and marriages). Deepwell suggests much the same: “Examining the gendered relations within the group highlights the way that informal networks and associations included some women while excluding others.”³⁷⁴

Personal interest aside, it is evident that from the beginning, the London Group aimed at inclusivity. As Wendy Baron puts it, “Its title, The London Group, as opposed to the neighborhood inferences conveyed in terms the Fitzroy Street Group or the Camden Town Group, is in a sense a metaphor of wider embrace.”³⁷⁵ Roger Fry, in 1928, characterized its formation as “striking evidence of the open-mindedness of the Camden Town Group” as they were willing to expand and include other artists.³⁷⁶ Katy Deepwell pointed out that

³⁷³ Cited in Wilcox, 6, 32-35. Baron said: “For example, Gore brought in his deaf pupil, John Doman Turner (c. 1872-1938); Gilman his Letchworth neighbor, William Ratcliffe (1870-1955); Pissarro his disciple J. B. Manson (1879-1945); Sickert his pupil Malcolm Drummond (1880-1945); Gilman and Gore argued in favour of their Slade contemporary, Wyndham Lewis; and Augustus John recruited his painting companion J. D. Innes (1887-1914).”

³⁷⁴ Baron, "Introduction: Origins of the London Group," 19.

³⁷⁵ Wilcox, 73, 77, 92, 99, 101, 08, 43.

³⁷⁶ Baron, "Introduction: Origins of the London Group," 18.

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central to this “open-mindedness” was the consent of former Camden Town Group members, the backbone of the London Group, to include women artists for membership. Alfred Thornton commented that “it was this decision which changed the Society into the London Group.”³⁷⁷

Table 12. List of women artists and their works of art exhibited in the first London Group exhibition, March 1914.

Women Artists and Their Works of Art in the First London Group Exhibition, March 1914		
Jessie Etchells	50: <i>The Dancers</i>	£3
	51: <i>The Ribbon Shop</i>	£3
	54: <i>The Motor Race</i>	£3
	77: <i>The Dancers</i>	£10
Renée Finch	2: <i>A Tramp</i>	£15
	15: <i>Un Cirque</i>	£30
	37: <i>An American Music Hall</i>	£30
	46: <i>Dessin</i>	£22
	104: <i>Jalousie</i>	£60
Sylvia Gosse	9: <i>The Border</i>	£8 8s.
	16: <i>The Green Bed</i>	£8 8s.
	17: <i>Still Life</i>	£5 5s.
	98: <i>The Mantelpiece</i>	£8 8s.
	99: <i>Sweet Rocket</i>	£8 8s.
Nan Hudson	41: <i>Newington, Autumn</i>	£25
	100: <i>Bedford Square</i>	£15
	101: <i>The Garden, Newington</i>	£25
S. de Karlowaska	26: <i>Beryll</i>	£20
	28: <i>Geraniums</i>	£10
	65: <i>Summer Drinks</i>	£15
	85: <i>The Canal</i>	£15 15s
Thérèse Lessore	20: <i>Chartres</i>	£25
	57: <i>The Cat</i>	£3
	61: <i>A Seated Woman</i>	£3
	70: <i>Omnibus Riders</i>	£15
	71: <i>Washer-woman</i>	£25
Ethel Sands	32: <i>The Pink Box</i>	£12
	66: <i>The China Swan</i>	£12

Source: Sarah MacDougall, "Uproar! The Early Years of the London Group, 1913-28," in *Uproar! The First 50 Years of the London Group, 1913-1963*, edited by Sarah MacDougall and Rachel Dickson [London: Ben Uri Lund Humphries, 2013], 25)

³⁷⁷ Cited in Deepwell, *Women Artists between the Wars*, 160. Originally from Alfred Thornton, "History of the London Group," in *London Retrospective 1914-1928*, n.pp.

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Compared to the NEAC where the vast majority of women artists had been educated at the Slade, and where over one-third of their male colleagues in the same group had also trained at the Slade, the art schools that the London Group's women artists had attended were more diverse and international. For example, Gosse had attended the RA schools between 1903 and 1906, after studying at St. John's Wood School of Art. Only Lessore had attended the Slade, between 1904 and 1909 (when Jessica Dismorr, Paule Vézelay and Ethel

3/1/14?
no

LONDON GROUP
Candidates for Election

12	1.	Therèse Lessore...✓	14	2
4	2.	Hamilton Hay	10	6
-10	3.	W. Rothenstein	4	14
-1	4.	Fanny Kvaleigh	8	9
12	5.	S. de Karłowska ..✓	16	4
3	6.	Darsie Japp	10	7
-8	7.	A. Rothenstein	5	13
11	8.	Walter Taylor	13	2
8	9.	Fox-Pitt	11	3
-7	10.	Mark Gertler	6	13
9	11.	Miss Gosse	12	3
12	12.	Miss Jessie Etchells ✓	15	3
-8	13.	Charles Winzer	3	11
-3	14.	Miss Davison	4	7
-1	15.	Miss Lancaster	6	7
10	16.	Eric Gill	15	5
-8	17.	H. S. Teed.....	3	11
-1	18.	E. Verpilleux	5	6
7	19.	Miss Hilda Trevelyan	12	5
-3	20.	C. Maresco Pearce ..	6	9
10	21.	George Nash	13	3
7	22.	Paul Nash	11	4
-15	23.	Joseph Simpson	1	16
-1	24.	J. S. Currie	2	14
2	25.	Miss Middleton	6	4
12	26.	David Bomberg	16	4

Figure 40. Voting tally sheet for the sixth London Group meeting, held on January 3, 1914. (TGA 806.10.6 © Estate of James Bolivar Manson)

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Walker were also there). Sands and Hudson had both attended Eugène Garrière's school in Paris in addition to studies under Sickert at the Westminster Polytechnic and Byam Shaw School of Art. Karłowska, born in Poland in 1876, was educated in Warsaw and Krakow before attending the Académie Julian in Paris.³⁷⁸ The active involvement of foreign women participants with diverse educational backgrounds in the London Group mirrored other art groups in London in the same period, such as the single-gendered Women's International Art Club, where "international spirit" was the tenet of the group, or the *Rhythm* group, where female and male artists and writers from Britain, the United States, Russia, Germany, France and Japan commingled.³⁷⁹ These two collectives will be explored more fully in Chapters 4 and 5.

³⁷⁸ Deepwell, *Women Artists between the War*, 165.

³⁷⁹ "Aims and Ideals," *Rhythm* 1, no. 1 (1912): 36.

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Figure 41. Renée Finch, *Femmes au Bain*, (Exhibited 1913, NEAC). (Reproduced from Katy Deepwell, *Women Artists between the Wars: A Fair Field and No Favour* [Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2010], 56)

In order to understand the importance of these women artists to the London Group, we must also look at their artistic practice individually, their participation in exhibitions inside/outside the group and their relationship with members within and beyond the group. Compared with the women artists in the NEAC, the women in the London Group appear to have been more determinedly experimental in spirit, which predictably led to controversy. London Group founding member Renée Finch makes a fine starting point for such a study.

Finch was by all accounts a controversial artist who exhibited and was reviewed extensively in 1913-1914 but has had very few studies dedicated to her since. She exhibited in the Brighton exhibition, which opened in late 1913 and then with the London Group in 1914 and 1916. She was the only woman on the first hanging committee of the group for

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the March 1914 exhibition. Like many of her female contemporaries, she exhibited not only with the art groups she was associated with but also with others: the NEAC between 1911 and 1916; the AAA in 1910, 1911, 1912 and 1913; the WIAC in 1913; and in Paris at the Salon des Indépendants.³⁸⁰ Her work received mixed reviews between 1910 and 1914. For example, her *Portrait of an Old Woman*, exhibited with the NEAC in 1911, was highly praised as it “both catches the eye and satisfies the mind with its truth and simplicity,”³⁸¹ while her *Femmes au Bain* (fig. 41), exhibited with the NEAC two years later, provoked intriguing reactions: One critic found her work very Dutch, and the nudes, awkward, like “Lucas Cranach’s quaint grace mixed with Simon Bussy’s colouring”³⁸² (fig. 42 and fig. 43), while another critic regarded her attempt as “sincere and trying to do something new.”³⁸³ The three naked woman depicted in *Femmes au Bain* (fig. 41) were neither nymphs nor biblical figures, but the prosaic body of everyday women in an act of “la toilette”,³⁸⁴ a private moment of women’s routine in preparing for the day. For this, Finch’s approach was no less radical than that of Cézanne. Finch seemed also embraced this classic composition/subject matter with Simon Bussy’s expressive colour, and presented viewers with an intimate yet ordinary scene in a frankly bold manner. An individualism and psychological pleasure could also be felt from their relaxing gestures of combing, wiping, and getting ready to be dressed that provoked an emotion beyond the mere imitative representation. In the 1913 AAA

³⁸⁰ Deepwell, *Women Artists between the Wars*, 164.

³⁸¹ “The New English Art Club,” *Times*, 22 November 1911, 11.

³⁸² Deepwell, *Women Artists between the Wars*, 162.

³⁸³ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁴ An exhibition held at the Musée Marmottan Monet in entitled *La Toilette: the birth of Privacy* brought together over 100 pieces of art works to reflect the private moments of women in bathing. An article by Alissa J. Rubin helped me with tracing the context of women in bath from thirteenth century to the twentieth century to understand Finch’s *Femmes au Bain*. Alissa J. Rubin, “‘La Toilette’: 500 Years of Watching Women Undress in Art” in *New York Times* (June 22, 2015), available online: <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/06/23/arts/design/la-toilette-art-show-explores-womens-bathing-rituals-through-history.html>. Accessed 14 June 2017.

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exhibition at the Royal Albert Hall, her submission depicting a male nude with blue pubic hair gained her further notoriety. The AAA had no jury selection system purposefully to encourage radical experimental works that might not be exhibited elsewhere; however, even in such an exhibition, Finch was threatened with police action on the grounds of immorality and withdrew the painting.³⁸⁵ Based on the description of this currently missing piece, Finch's painting was expressive and bold both in color and subject matter, inviting possible comparisons with Jessica Dismorr's nude female drawing reproduced in *Rhythm* in 1911, where the pubic hair was made the main feature (fig. 44),³⁸⁶ and Henri Matisse's Fauvist *Odalisque* series (fig. 45), where underarm hair was deliberately emphasized. In 2010, Faith Binckes argued in *Modernism, Magazines, and the British Avant-Garde: Reading Rhythm, 1910-1914* that by making the pubic hair, "a representational taboo," the main feature for the delineation of the nude female body, the women artists were "deliberately flaunting their originality," as opposed to presenting the conventional "familiar figure of the patriarchal male modernist."³⁸⁷ A contemporary of the show, however, observed in *The Daily Express* that of the splendid works displayed by the AAA,

... the majority of the pictures exhibited there could not possibly be exhibited anywhere else. Most of these err in the direction of over-originality, and in the case of some it is almost impossible to draw the dividing line between insanity and genius.³⁸⁸

³⁸⁵ Deepwell, *Women Artists between the Wars*, 162, footnote 228. This work is currently missing. In the AAA 1913 exhibition catalogue, two pieces were listed under Finch's name: *A Decoration* £30 (240) and *La Jalousie* £100 (1025). The title of the withdrawn painting was not recorded, so it is unclear if it was either of the paintings included in the exhibition catalogue *The London Salon of the Allied Artists Association, Ltd, Sixth Year*.

³⁸⁶ *Rhythm* 1, no. 4 (Spring 1911): 31. The print runs alongside the poem "Le Petit Comptable" by Jean Pellearin.

³⁸⁷ Faith Binckes, *Modernism, Magazines, and the British Avant-Garde : Reading Rhythm, 1910-1914* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2010), 159.

³⁸⁸ Cited in "Further Press Opinions on the London Salon," 266. Originally published in the *Daily Express* (July 8, 1910).

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Finch's painting, while certainly original, floundered somewhere between this "insanity and genius" and was therefore difficult to accept. Hilton Carter, "the most kind and lenient" manager of the Albert Hall, was also "persuaded to order its removal under threat of police intervention."³⁸⁹ This "indecent" painting episode was recorded in detail in Frank Rutter's *Since I Was Twenty-five* (1925), but the name of the artist was omitted. Not long after the intervention, avant-garde sculptor Jacob Epstein expressed his sympathy for the fate of the painting and disappointment with the compromise of the AAA:

I don't think the Committee should have compromised over Mme Finch's picture, and to call in the police is ridiculous. ... It seems to me that we have created a sort of Frankenstein monster that will turn and destroy us, if things are to be done in the way shown at this last exhibition. The objection at bottom is really against the work "as a work of art". Those rascals thought the picture ugly as well as indecent, and if they have their way the show won't be different in time from the R.A. or the New English.³⁹⁰

³⁸⁹ Deepwell, *Women Artists between the Wars*, 190-191.

³⁹⁰ Cited in Malcolm Easton, "The Camden Town Group into the London Group: Some Intimate Glimpses of the Transition 1911-14," in *The Camden Town Group in Context*, edited by Helena Bonett, Ysanne Holt and Jennifer Mundy (London: Tate Research Publication, 2012), available online: <https://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/camden-town-group/malcolm-easton-the-camden-town-group-into-the-london-group-some-intimate-glimpses-of-the-r1104360>. Accessed 12 May 2016. According to Easton's research, the accusation of "immorality" actually had been made by the business committee of the Allied Artists' Association. This quotation is originally from the Elizabeth Manson Collection (dated probably July 23, 1913), containing papers of James Bolivar Manson, a painter and a secretary to the Camden Town Group and later the London Group. Within the society there were the Business Committee as well as the Hanging Committee. Frank Rutter articulated his idea of setting two committees in *Since I Was Twenty-five* (1925) on page 182 that "the business affairs of the society should be managed by a small committee of business men, and the artistic affairs by a larger committee of artists." Also see Frank Rutter, *Since I Was Twenty-five* (London: Constable & Co, 1927) for more detailed information on the fate of Finch's "immoral" painting on page 195. Frank Rutter recalled, "In 1913 it had a most successful year at the Royal Albert Hall – too successful, because since it had been visited by Royalty several members had visions of turning the Private View into a great social event. Meanwhile there had already arisen trouble between the artists and the business men. The latter – quite wrongly – objected to the exhibition of a certain painting of the nude which they considered 'immoral,' and the most foolishly dragged in poor dear Hilton Carter, the manager of the Royal Albert Hall – who had always been most kind and lenient in his dealings with Holeywinski and myself – and persuaded him to order its removal under threat of Police intervention. Both sides wired frantically to me at Leeds. My view was that everything should be hung and remain hung till the police themselves came and took it done. (What an advertisement the exhibition would have had if the police had done so!) But before I could get down to London the harm was done and was irremediable."

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Figure 42. Lucas Cranach, *The Three Graces*, c. 1593. Oil on wood, 49 x 34 cm. (Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City)

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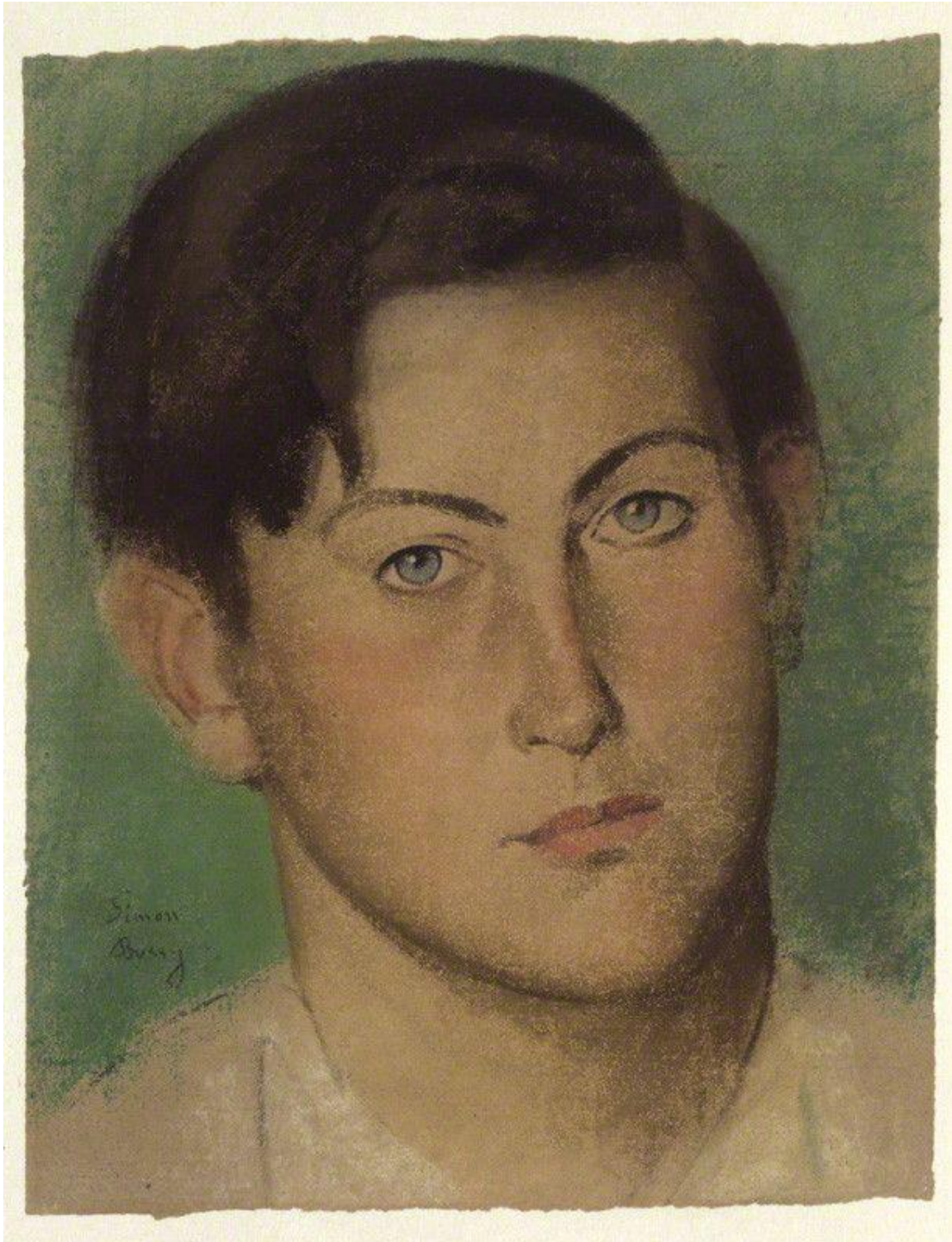
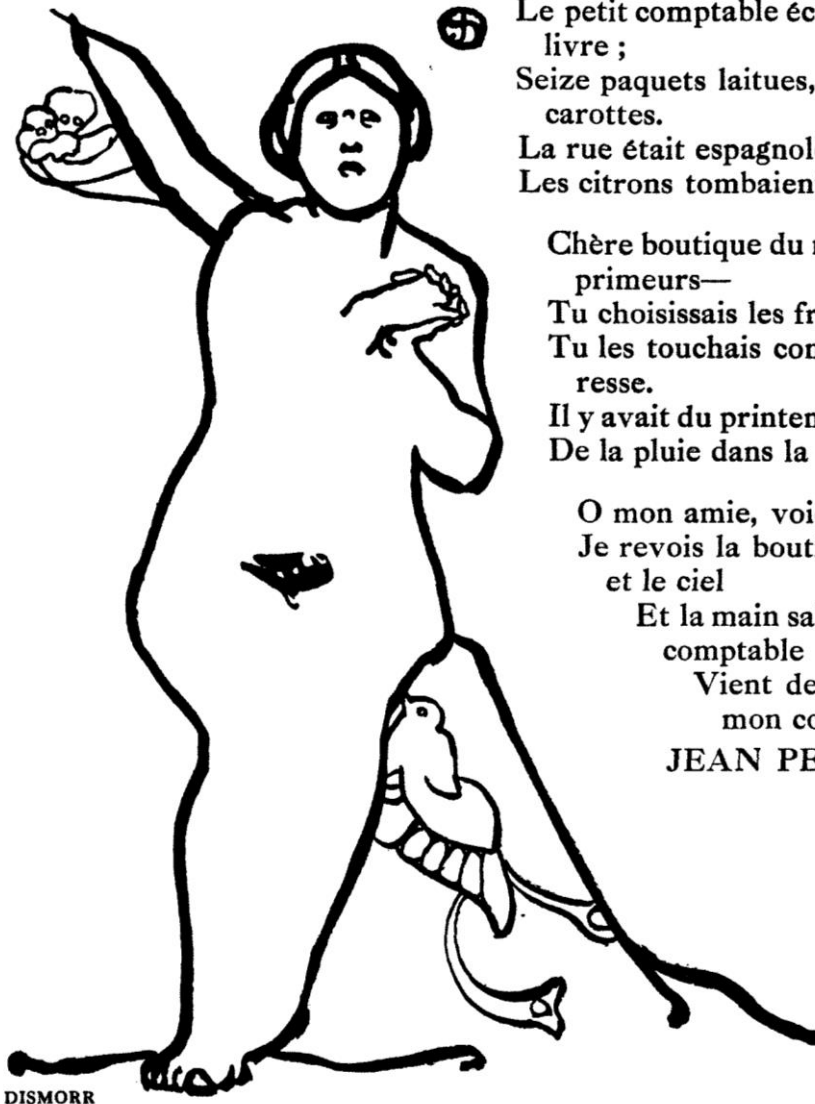


Figure 43. Simon Bussy, *Portrait of George Leigh Mallory*, c. 1910. Pastel, 29.2 cm x 22.9 cm. (© National Portrait Gallery, London)

LE PETIT COMPTABLE



Ⓢ Le petit comptable écrivait sur son livre ;
Seize paquets laitues, douze (dito) carottes.
La rue était espagnole et fraîche.
Les citrons tombaient des paniers.

Chère boutique du marchand des primeurs—
Tu choisissais les fruits ;
Tu les touchais comme je te caresse.
Il y avait du printemps sur le ciel,
De la pluie dans la rue.

O mon amie, voici la pluie.
Je revois la boutique et la rue
et le ciel
Et la main sale du petit comptable
Vient de se poser sur
mon cœur.
JEAN PELLERIN.

Figure 44. Jessica Dismorr, *Female Nude*, c. 1911, in the fourth issue of *Rhythm* magazine (Spring 1911), alongside a poem by Jean Pellerin on page 31. (Downloaded from The Modernist Journals Projects: <http://www.modjourn.org/journals.html>)

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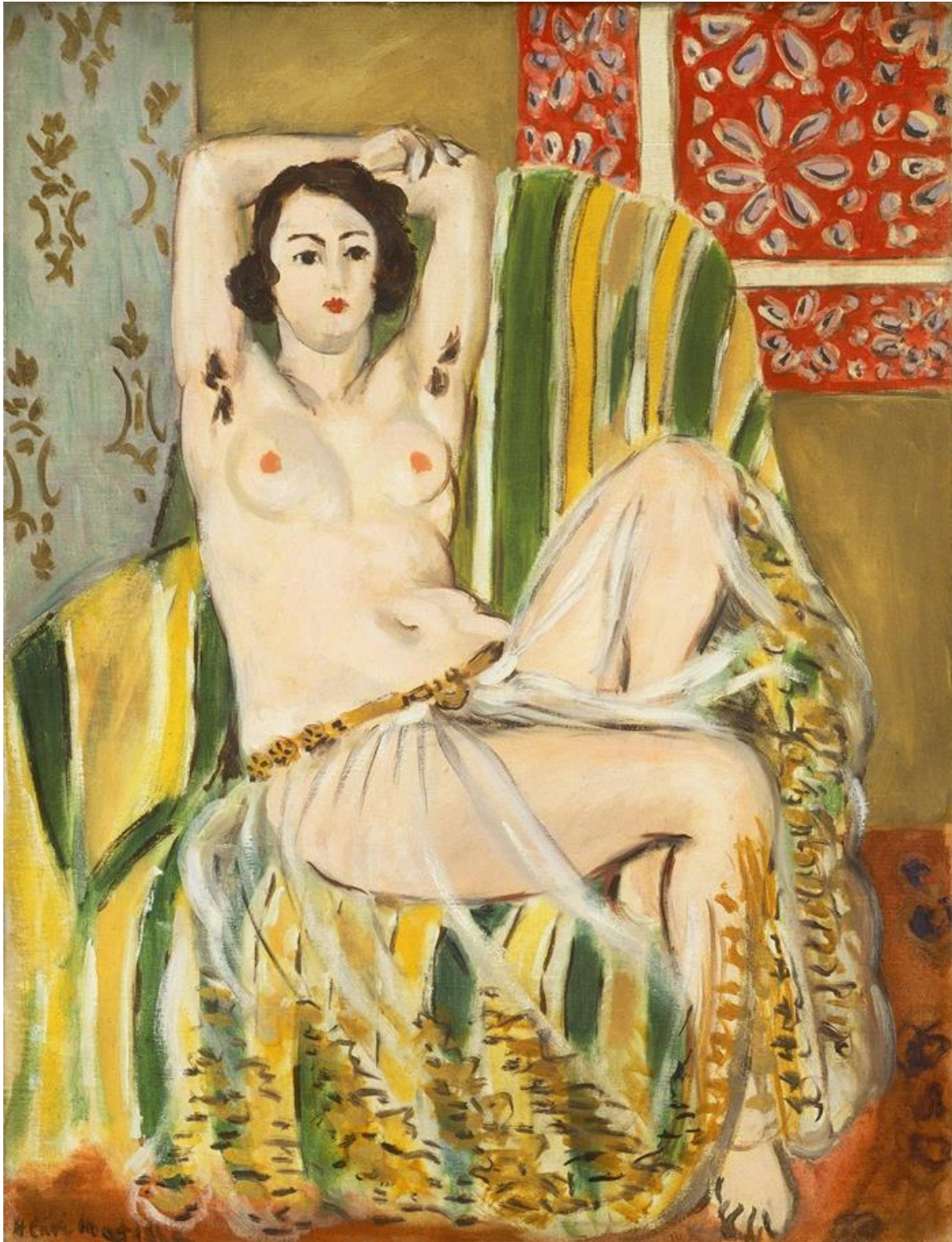


Figure 45. Henri Matisse, *Odalisque with Raised Arms*, c. 1923. Oil, 68 x 64 cm. (© National Portrait Gallery of Art)

The dramatic fate of the painting also opened a discussion as to whether it had been the gender of the artist or the subject of the work that had caused such a response. The Cubist painters had also created scandals at the Indépendants and Autumn salons, and

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Londoners had been offended by Luigi Russolo's (1885-1947) Futurist music, leading Milton A. Cohen to conclude that "public scandal heightens artistic subversion."³⁹¹ Can a link, therefore, be drawn between Finch's "scandalous" work and the intention to create similar publicity? After all, the AAA was an association/platform proclaiming its keynote of "inclusion," and Finch's male contemporaries had found success through scandal in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as Marinetti told journalists before the travelling Futurist Exhibition of 1912:

Reasonable behavior... draws relatively little attention. It is because we want to succeed that we get straight to the point with exhibitionism, that we situate ourselves violently against the grain of good taste and ordinary moderation.³⁹²

The first official London Group exhibition launched in March 1914 was specifically designed to drive home the lesson that "the business of art is not to inform or to please—in the eye-tickling sense, but to move, exalt, disturb, or, at lowest, amuse."³⁹³ In this exhibition, another of Finch's experimental works had certainly served this purpose. In fact, *A Tramp* (2) was believed to set a good note for the spirit in which to enjoy the exhibition. One critic wrote:

Finch has seized upon the essential characteristics of the tramp—thirst and garrulity. He is all mouth and black, unshaven chin. He might be saying: "Beg pardon, Sir, but I s' pose you don't 'appen to know of a 'arf pint that wants a good 'ome?"³⁹⁴

The subject matter here is also important, as it depicts the dark side of the modern urban scene and ordinary life, very much in the manner of Walter Sickert. Finch's *Jealousy* (104), however, seemed to critics to have gone a little far, described by one newspaper as having

³⁹¹ Milton A. Cohen, *Movement, Manifesto, Melee: The Modernist Group, 1910-1914* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2004), 16.

³⁹² Ibid.

³⁹³ Hyman Krietman Research Centre, TGA 7311/2; "The London Group. First Exhibition at the Goupil Gallery. Business of Art."

³⁹⁴ Ibid.

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“almost destroyed her art in her effort to make it more interesting to the mind than to the eye.”³⁹⁵ Although one writer was skeptical about how Finch balanced her radical thinking and visual representation and argued that “a sharp effort of adaption both for the eye and for the mind” was needed, the reviewer nonetheless recognized her considerable talent while noting

... her *Jealousy* is simply a representation of a plain nude woman in a rage with a background of cacti. It is only the title *Jealousy*, that explains it all, and it cannot redeem it from violent commonplace. We feel sure that Mme. Finch’s talent, which is considerable, is not by nature dramatic, any more than Mr. Etchells’s is by nature a cubist; and we hope that both will find themselves again.³⁹⁶

The criticism of being lost or disoriented was commonly made against progressive male painters such as C. R. W. Nevinson, Wyndham Lewis, and David Bomberg, almost as if it was a temporary, possible, foreign, condition. It was the concept of a “‘lost’ generation before the Lost Generation,” youth who had lost their direction were before World War I.³⁹⁷

Interestingly, when the AAA exhibition took place in June 1914, Finch—along with Charles Ginner and Harold Gilman (neo-realists) and C. R. W. Nevinson and Phelan Gibb (out-and-out Futurists), Wyndham Lewis and Nina Hamnett—were specifically mentioned in the *Daily Herald* as “the most assertive exhibitors, whose work must be taken seriously.”³⁹⁸

Regarding the same exhibition, Frank Rutter, a progressive modern art supporter and art critic for the *Sunday Times*, believed Finch’s attempt in her work to be representative of a spirit shared by many “vital” younger artists. He wrote:

What is there in common between Mr. Lucien Pissarro’s landscapes (33-38), Mr. Gilman’s neo-realist portrait (107), Mr. Horace Brodsky’s “Group” (101), Mme.

³⁹⁵ Ibid.

³⁹⁶ Ibid.

³⁹⁷ Please refer to Michael Walsh’s “Introduction” in Walsh, *London, Modernism, and 1914*, As well as his *C.R.W. Nevinson: This Cult of Violence*

³⁹⁸ Tate Archives, TGA 7311/2, Album of press cuttings on C. R. W. Nevinson (17 Jan. 1914-13 Mar. 1918); “Allied Artists and Others. Visit to Some of the London Exhibitions,” *Daily Herald*, 12 June 1914.

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Renée Finch's "Portrait" (149), Mr. Edward Wadsworth's "Cape of Good Hope" (113), Mr. Alfred Maurer's head of a girl (509), Miss Ethel Walker's "Ravine," and Mr. J. D. Fergusson's "Chinese fan" (797)? Yet all these works are not only of interest in themselves, but also represent aims by which many of the most vital of our younger artists are animated.³⁹⁹

In using the word *vital* in the early days of 1914, Rutter strays into vocabulary soon to be associated with one of the most dynamic manifestos associated with London in the prewar years—Marinetti and Nevinson's "Vital English Art."⁴⁰⁰ Though it was designed as a rallying cry and a call to arms, the tract, in fact, went a considerable way in dividing the avant-garde and isolating its authors from the mainstream. Finch did indeed represent a group of young artists who had the courage to be themselves and challenge the perceived unstimulating banality of British art. Later, another enthusiastic post-impressionist art supporter and critic, Charles Lewis Hind from the *Daily Chronicle*, argued on June 25, 1914, that her work *Reginald* was as "repulsive as it is clever."⁴⁰¹ That same year, her contemporary, avant-garde artist Henri Gaudier-Brzeska, in critiquing her work, wrote: "I recognized here a greater talent than I have ever met in a woman artist."⁴⁰²

Finch, Hudson and Sands were well connected to the London Group through personal relationships even before they officially joined as members. Etchells, too, had a

³⁹⁹ Tate Archives, TGA 7311/2, Album of press cuttings on C. R. W. Nevinson (17 Jan. 1914-13 Mar. 1918); "Round the Gallery. By Frank Rutter," *Sunday Times and Sunday Special*, 21 June 1914.

⁴⁰⁰ Filippo Tommaso Marinetti and C. R. W. Nevinson, "Futurism and English Art," in *Futurism: An Anthology*, edited by Lawrence Rainey, Christine Poggi and Laura Wittman (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 194.

⁴⁰¹ Tate Archives, TGA 7311/2, Album of press cuttings on N. R. W. Nevinson (17 Jan. 1914-13 Mar. 1918); Lewis Hind, "Rebel Art. Exhibits by the Philistines. From the Ordinary to the Extraordinary," *Daily Chronicle*, 25 June 1914. Charles Lewis Hind (1862-1927) wrote regular for the *Art Journal* and the *Daily Chronicle*. He was among the most enthusiastic supporters of Fry's 1910 post-impressionist exhibition at Grafton Gallery. His preferred for lyrical Landscape painting, and for an intense spirituality, however resisted to the harder edge versions of modern abstract. For biographical background on Hind, see Hall, 98.

⁴⁰² Cited in Ezra Pound, *Gaudier Brzeska: A Memoir* (New York: New Directions Books, 1970), 35. Originally from a critical review written by Gaudier-Brzeska, "The Allied Artists' Association Ltd., Holland Park Hall," *Egoist*, no. 12 (15 June 1914): 228.

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personal link: She was the sister of another founding member, artist Frederick Etchells, who was selected and invited by Clive Bell to exhibit with Camden Town Group members as part of “the English Group” in the *Second Post-Impressionist Exhibition* in October 1912 and joined the Omega Workshops in 1913. Karlowska, meanwhile, was a Polish painter, not educated in England, but her marriage to English painter Robert Bevan. She too a founding member of the London Group, had brought her to London, and so she became a founding member, in 1914. Karlowska exhibited with the NEAC, the Fitzroy Street Group, the AAA, and the WIAC as well. Art critic Huntly Carter spoke highly of her work, saying that it was

frank and honest, and not disposed of with a few fierce dashes of the brush, but in a complete, substantial, and emphatic way. What S. de Karlowska has to say she tells us lucidly in pure and harmonious colour. Her two studies of still life speak in the broadest, simplest, and most convincing terms.⁴⁰³

Thérèse Lessore was married to the painter Bernard Adeney (1878-1956), who was a tutor at the Central School of Arts and Crafts, where the Vorticist artist Helen Saunders later took courses after leaving the Slade. Brigid Peppin argued that “It may have been through her [Saunders’s] connection with artists at the Central that Saunders entered Fry’s circle of English Post-Impressionists” before she joined the Rebel Art Centre and the Vorticist Group.⁴⁰⁴ Adeney was associated with the Bloomsbury Group and became a founding member of the London Group, in 1913. Not long after Adeney and Lessore divorced, she married Walter Sickert, in 1926, becoming his second wife. She was described as Sickert’s “feminine counterpart in artistic attitude to life.”⁴⁰⁵ Lessore had attended the Slade from 1904 to 1909, and in her final year was awarded the Melvill Nettleship Prize for Figure

⁴⁰³ "Art and Reality," *Times*, 8 May 1914, 8.

⁴⁰⁴ Peppin, *Helen Saunders: 1885-1963*, 8.

⁴⁰⁵ MacDougall and Dickson, eds., *Uproar*, 179. Thérèse Lessore was born into an artistic family in Southwick, West Sussex. Her parents were the French painter Jules Frederick Lessore and his wife, Ada Louise Cooper. Her brother Frederick Lessore was a sculptor who founded and ran the Beaux Arts Gallery in London, and her elder sister Ada Louise Powell was a Wedgwood pottery designer.

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Composition. She exhibited with the AAA in 1912 and was associated with the Camden Town Group from 1911 to 1913, exhibiting at the Brighton Exhibition. In the same year, she was a founding member of the London Group, exhibited at their first official exhibition in early March 1914 and there attracted some important critical reviews:

... the really original work of Miss Thérèse Lessore, Mr. Harold Squire, Miss Jessie Etchells, and Mr. Adeney (especially his magnificent “Yew”) will convince an intelligent public that the “latest thing” in Art can also be the most lasting.⁴⁰⁶

Lessore also exhibited in the *Twentieth Century Art: A Review of Modern Movements* at Whitechapel Art Gallery in 1914, where her close friend Sylvia Gosse’s work was hung.

Gosse was a member and an active exhibitor in the NEAC (from 1911), as well as the London Group (from 1914). She was also Walter Sickert’s “favorite and best known pupil,” regarded as “belonging to the Sickert School.”⁴⁰⁷ She met Sickert in 1908, two years after she had finished her art education at the RA schools (1903-1906). In 1909, she sent work to be included in the third AAA exhibition, and in 1910, she joined Sickert’s etching classes at Rowlandson House, Hampstead Road, which he ran in partnership with a certain Miss M. Knox. Within a year, Gosse had become a partner in Rowlandson House, teaching classes there until 1924. She established her own reputation as an artist at one-person exhibitions at the Carfax Gallery in 1914 and 1916 and many more in later years.⁴⁰⁸

Thus, the women artists in the London Group were active both within and beyond the group, building formal and informal networks with members (male and female) inside and outside of exhibiting societies. They are indicative of the women artists surveyed

⁴⁰⁶ Tate Archives, TGA 7311/2, Album of press cuttings on C. R. W. Nevinson (17 Jan. 1914-13 Mar. 1918); “Reflections by G.R.S.T,” in an unidentified paper. The article commented on the first show of the London Group.

⁴⁰⁷ Deepwell, *Women Artists between the Wars*, 166.

⁴⁰⁸ Her one-person exhibitions were at the Carfax Gallery in 1914 and 1916, the Goupil Gallery and Colnaghi’s in 1925, Tooth’s in 1927, Lefèvre in 1931 and the Beaux Art Gallery in 1937.

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throughout this chapter, an active yet somewhat disparate “group” in London in the turbulent prewar years. There were others, however, as the following chapter indicates, whose stories are little told, much like the organization at the heart of Chapter 5, virtually unstudied yet crucial to an understanding of women artists and art in London in this period.

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Chapter 4: Women Artists and the *Rhythm* Magazine, London 1911-1913

While a vibrant literature on the avant-garde in London between 1910 and 1914 certainly exists, some of it pertaining to the role of women, there is nevertheless a clear need for a more comprehensive re-evaluation of their role within it. The previous chapters have established that women artists played essential roles in the development of modern art in London, ideologically, aesthetically and organizationally. However, there were alternative spaces beyond the gallery where women could “extend the scope and influence of avant-garde art and writing,” especially in the creation and circulation of “little magazines.”⁴⁰⁹ For example, through consultation of recently located archives, a case study of women artists within the *Rhythm* circle and its publication, *Rhythm* magazine, may be developed. Yet, any new research in this area would be incomplete without including a study of the international women artists who formed an essential part of the avant-garde in England. Small groups and their associated publications played a pivotal role in creating the reverberations that were felt beyond England’s shores, and our understanding of this, especially of the role of women within such organized activity, must be contextualized within the emergent internationalism in England at this time. This chapter, therefore, will conduct an analysis of the exhibition by art contributors to *Rhythm* magazine – *Pictures by J. D. Fergusson, S. J. People, Joseph Simpson, Anne Estelle Rice, Georges Banks, Jessie Dismorr, Ethel Wright, Clarence King, etc.*, in October 1912, somewhat overshadowed then and now by Roger Fry’s *Second Post-Impressionist Exhibition* of the same year; the individual women

⁴⁰⁹ Binckes, 16.

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exhibitors, their works and critical reception; and *Rhythm* magazine and the works contained therein.

Before doing so, however, we must first turn our attention to the much more high-profile Bloomsbury Group and the Vorticists to examine the competitive, possibly combative, context that existed in London. Some indication of this was felt when animosity toward the artists associated with *Rhythm* magazine spread widely through Fry's Bloomsbury networks.⁴¹⁰ A good case in point was that no members from *Rhythm* were included in Fry's Post-Impressionist exhibition in 1912. Another case would be the fate of John Duncan Fergusson's image for the cover of Katherine Mansfield's short story "Prelude," published by Hogarth Press in 1918, was removed by Virginia Woolf after she expressed "an extreme aversion" to it.⁴¹¹ One is left to conjecture regarding the grounds of such objection: aesthetic, political, personal or professional?

Jane Beckett and Deborah Cherry, meanwhile, have claimed that "Vorticism was the only avant-garde grouping in Western Europe before 1914 to include women among its members."⁴¹² But, was Vorticism really the only avant-garde group to afford women a place in their numbers? Recent research has begun to indicate otherwise, requiring a revisiting of this assumption.

Contributors to *Rhythm*, a group of international artists who had close contact with earlier Fauvists André Derain, Henri Matisse and Maurice Vlaminck, aimed to bring significant reform to art in Britain. But, unlike the original group of Fauves, which did not significantly include women artists,⁴¹³ there was a strong female presence in the graphic

⁴¹⁰ Ibid., 139.

⁴¹¹ Ibid., 140. This anti-*Rhythm* group sentiment was enough to make Rhythmist Anne Estelle Rice still fear in the early 1920s that no gallery with any link to Fry would show her work.

⁴¹² Beckett and Cherry, "Modern Women, Modern Spaces," 36.

⁴¹³ Robins, 112.

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contributors to *Rhythm*, which included Jessica Dismorr, Anne Estelle Rice, Ethel Wright, Georges (Dorothy) Banks and Marguerite Thompson Zorach.⁴¹⁴ In addition to painters, there were other women instrumental to the group, such as editor and writer Katherine Mansfield, who devoted all of her allowance to publishing *Rhythm*. This chapter, while acknowledging and incorporating recent research and publications on the *Rhythm* group, sets out to supplement this scholarship with archival investigation specifically pertaining to the women of the group and their significant role within it. It brings to light, too, some important points raised in a variety of unpublished dissertations.

A glance at the bibliography pertaining to the *Rhythm* and its publication demonstrates that existing studies tend to go in fairly predictable directions. Art-historical studies in particular tend to focus on the group exhibition *Pictures by J. D. Fergusson, S. J. People, Joseph Simpson, Anne Estelle Rice, Georges Banks, Jessie Dismorr, Ethel Wright, Clarence King, etc.* (hereafter be shortened as *Pictures by J. D. Fergusson, Anne Estelle Rice, and Others*), held at Stafford Gallery in October 1912, which ran concurrently with Fry's *Second Post-Impressionist Exhibition*, and some of the debates raised by the illustrations and artworks reproduced in *Rhythm*. Elizabeth Cumming, John Drummond and Sheila McGregor's short study of 1985,⁴¹⁵ Anna Gruetzner Robins's exhibition catalogue of 1997,⁴¹⁶

⁴¹⁴ Contributors in graphics to the *Rhythm* group included John Duncan Fergusson, Jessica Dismorr, Anne Estelle Rice, Ethel Wright, Marguerite Thompson (later Marguerite Thompson Zorach), Georges (Dorothy) Banks, Samuel John Peploe and William Zorach. Their literary allies included Katherine Mansfield, Michael Sadleir, Huntley Carter, J. M. Murray, Francis Carco and *Tristan Derème*.

⁴¹⁵ Elizabeth Cumming, John Drummond, and Sheila McGregor, *Colour, Rhythm and Dance: Paintings and Drawings by J.D. Fergusson and His Circle in Paris* (Edinburgh: Scottish Arts Council, 1985).

⁴¹⁶ Anna Gruetzner Robins, *Modern Art in Britain, 1910-1914* (London: Merrell Holberton and Barbican Art Gallery, 1997).

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and Catherine Elizabeth Heathcock's dissertation of 1999,⁴¹⁷ have created, or at least reinforced, this trend.

Cumming, Drummond, and McGregor's *Colour, Rhythm and Dance: Paintings and Drawings by J.D. Fergusson and His Circle in Paris* situated J. D. Fergusson as the leader of the circle. A decade later, Robins, in *Modern Art in Britain 1910-1914*, traced the wider series of leading exhibitions of European modern art held in Britain in the prewar years and examined avant-garde artists active at this early stage. While Robins did mention Anne Estelle Rice and Jessica Dismorr, she entirely omitted any mention of the contributions of Ethel Wright or Georges Banks. Intriguingly, however, she also uncovered and announced Rice's leadership in the group and redressed her misleading subordination in a disciple role to Fergusson. The status of the *Rhythm* and its members in the context of the British avant-garde had clearly, she suggested, been underestimated, as had the prominence of women artists within it. An important, more recent development in foregrounding the artists associated with *Rhythm* magazine, particularly concerning the role of little magazines, was Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker's *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines* (2009).⁴¹⁸ Further progress along these lines was made in *Modernism, Magazines, and the British Avant-garde: Reading Rhythm 1910-1914*, which was published in 2010. In it, Faith Binckes drew attention to the periodical *Rhythm* and its successor, *Blue Review*, developed a wider discussion of the context of rivalry and relationships for such publications, and devoted a chapter to a study of the graphics contained therein and their creators. Binckes's interdisciplinary readings of the periodicals has led, the author would

⁴¹⁷ Catherine Elizabeth Heathcock, "Jessica Dismorr (1885-1939): Artist, Writer, Vorticist" (PhD diss., Birmingham University Press, 1999).

⁴¹⁸ Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker, "General Introduction," in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, edited by Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker (Oxford, UK: Oxford University: 2009).

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argue, to an important revision of the histories of early British modernism, and identified *Rhythm* as a modernist microcosm and platform that played an important role.

A final significant lead in this inquiry is the unpublished 1999 doctoral dissertation of candidate Catherine Elizabeth Heathcock at Birmingham University. This important study of Jessica Dismorr explores the artist's experience with *Rhythm* and her significant influence within the group exhibition and magazine, including her close collaboration with Rice and Thompson Zorach. Heathcock offered an introductory analytical study of Dismorr's illustrations in relation to both the French Fauves and the Ballets Russes, resulting in the emergence of several significant issues. Germane to this study in particular are questions raised about feminist readings of Henri Bergson's gender-based theories on creativity, which were central to the core definition of the group members. Bergson's philosophy postulated that women expressed their creativity primarily through natural activities such as childbirth and nurturing (*élan vital*), while men expressed their creativity through intellect and cultural activities.⁴¹⁹ However, as Heathcock observed, "this identification of woman with nature implies her exclusion from intellectual and cultural spheres of activity. Creativity is thus envisaged as an exclusively masculine prerogative."⁴²⁰ Nevertheless, the group members embraced the Bergsonian idea that intuition was a creative force to intellect and that this

⁴¹⁹ Mark Antliff, *Inventing Bergson: Cultural Politics and the Parisian Avant-Garde* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993). Mark Antliff argued that Bergsonian philosophy had reinforced this female-as-nature/male-as-culture traditional dichotomy in society.

According to Michael Walsh, in *C.R.W. Nevinson*, "Henri Bergson (1859-1941). French philosopher, professor at the College de France, and Nobel Prize winner for literature (1927). He contrasted the fundamental reality of the dynamic flux of consciousness with the inert physical world of discrete objects, which was a convenient fiction for the mechanistic descriptions of science. He propounded the idea of the *élan vital* or 'creative impulse', implying that impulse and intuition are at the heart of evolution, not analysis. Key works include *Time and Freewill* (1889), *Matter and Memory* (1896) and *Creative Evolution* (1907). His chief apologist in England was T.E. Hulme who lectured on the reinvention of the artist as 'discoverer' as opposed to 'creator'" (217).

⁴²⁰ Heathcock, 27.

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was a “traditionally characteristically ‘feminine’ attribute.”⁴²¹ Indeed, the *Rhythm* artists interpreted this to their advantage, so that intuition harnessed to intellect, working collaboratively as opposed to appositionally, could create a special, feminine and extremely “modern” mode of expression. Bergson’s elevation of the importance of (feminine) intuition over (male) intellect can therefore be seen as potentially enabling and empowering to women artists. The “feminine” characteristics advocated by Bergson might account for the prominence of women artists within the group, the dominance of female subjects in the illustrations to *Rhythm* and a changing paradigm as to what was considered “modern.” By advocating intuition as a positive force, Bergson overturned its negative connotations and promoted the term as one of praise rather than of derision.⁴²²

We might surmise then that while Rice and Fergusson were each praised individually by contemporary admirers such as Frank Rutter or Michael Sadleir, there nevertheless remains a gender-based asymmetry in subsequent historical accounts of their achievements and roles in the avant-garde. Existing retrospective accounts are somewhat sparse, consisting of a few essays, five exhibition catalogues and one PhD dissertation devoted to Dismorr,⁴²³ some art exhibition catalogues and one article on Rice;⁴²⁴ and several journal

⁴²¹ Ibid, 27.

⁴²² Ibid., 25-33.

⁴²³ The five catalogues about Jessica Dismorr are *Jessica Dismorr* (London: Mayor Gallery, 1925); *Jessica Dismorr, 1885-1939: Paintings and Drawings*, (London: Mayor Gallery, 1965); Quentin Stevenson, *Jessica Dismorr and Her Circle: Paintings by Jessica Dismorr, Watercolours by Catherina Giles and Gertrude Leese* (London: Archer Gallery, 1972); Quentin Stevenson, *Jessica Dismorr, 1885-1934: Oils, Watercolours, Drawings* (London: Mercury Gallery, 1974) and *Jessica Dismorr and Catherine Giles* (London: Fine Art Society, 2000). The unpublished dissertation is Catherine Elizabeth Heathcock, "Jessica Dismorr (1885-1939): Artist, Writer, Vorticist" (PhD diss., University of Birmingham, 1999).

⁴²⁴ Anne Estelle Rice and Oscar Raymond Drey, *Anne Estelle Rice (1879-1959): Paintings [27 January-15 February 1969]*, edited by Malcolm Easton (Kingston upon Hull, UK: University of Hull, 1969). Anne Estelle Rice, *Anne Estelle Rice, 1879-1959 (9 June-15 July 1978)*, edited by Annexe Gallery (Wimbledon, UK: Annexe Gallery, 1978). Anne Estelle Rice and C. Nathanson, *The Expressive Fauvism of Anne Estelle Rice [April 29th to July 26th 1997]* (New York: Hollis Taggart Galleries, 1997). Carol A. Nathanson, "Anne Estelle Rice: Theodore Dreiser's 'Ellen Adams Wrynn,'" *Woman's Art Journal* 13,

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articles and catalogues on Thompson Zorach.⁴²⁵ Remarkably, Ethel Wright has never been the focus of any published research even though she (in addition to Fergusson, Dismorr and Rice) was singled out by Rutter as one of the most talented artists in the 1912 exhibition. Georges (Dorothy) Banks, who contributed extensively to *Rhythm* (articles accompanied by illustrations), remains a mysterious figure about whom not much is known, often characterized merely as “Fergusson’s close friend.”⁴²⁶

Communication and friendship between the women *Rhythm* members and other women artists and writers is worthy of notice as well, as are the leadership qualities of these women within the group and within the larger picture of English modernism. The complexity, intricacy and significance of such relationships are evident even from a superficial overview: Rice was a friend of the Slade’s Dorothy Brett, who was associated with the Bloomsbury Group, and Katherine Mansfield was also Rice’s lifelong friend; Dismorr knew Thompson Zorach and Kate Lechmere from their days at the Académie de la Palette; Dismorr shared a studio with Thompson Zorach in the winter of 1910-1911. These networks underscore the notion that any study of art is necessarily an interconnected phenomenon, with flows and migrations of ideas from individual to individual, group to

no. 2 (1992).

⁴²⁵ Journal articles on Marguerite Thompson Zorach include Elizabeth Thompson Colleary, "Marguerite Thompson Zorach: Some Newly Discovered Works, 1910-1913," *Woman's Art Journal* 23, no. 1 (2002): 24-28 and Efram L. Burk, "The Graphic Art of Marguerite Thompson Zorach," *Woman's Art Journal* 25, no. 1 (2004): 12-17.

Exhibition catalogues on Marguerite Thompson Zorach include M. Thompson Zorach, *Marguerite Zorach: The Early Years 1908-1920. Text by Roberta Tarbell Catalogue of Exhibition Held at the Smithsonian Institute* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1973); *William and Marguerite Zorach: The Maine Years [11 July 1980-2 August 1981]. Text by Roberta Tarbell. Catalogue to an Exhibition Shown in Maine and Masschusettes* (1979); and *Marguerite and William Zorach--the Cubist Years: 1915-1918, Ed. Marilyn Friedman Hoffman. Catalogue to an Exhibition at the Currier Gallery of Art*, (Manchester, NH: Currier Gallery of Art, 1987).

⁴²⁶ Caroline Maclean, "Russian Aesthetics and British Periodicals: Kandinsky, Sadleir and Rhythm," in *The Vogue for Russia: Modernism and the Unseen in Britain, 1900-1930*, edited by Caroline Maclean (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), 70.

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group and culture to culture. Specific case studies will indicate how these ideas were visibly played out in exhibition and publication in relation to the *Rhythm* group.

***Rhythm* Magazine and the Rhythm Exhibition of 1912**

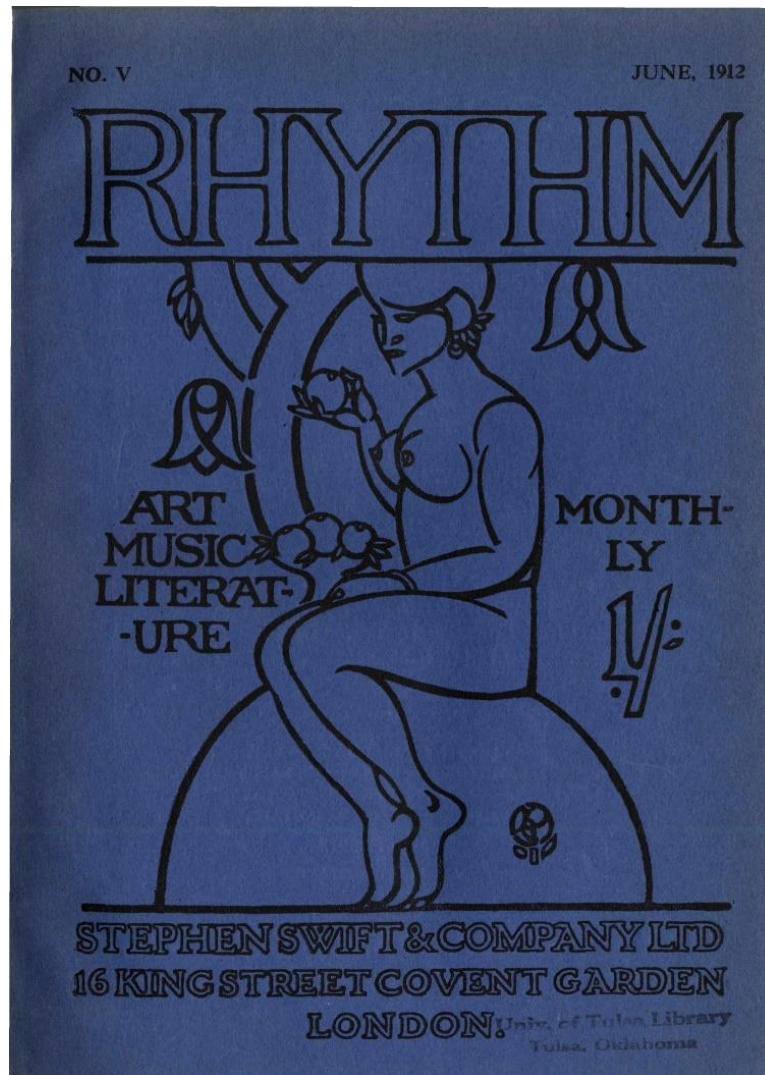


Figure 46. This cover of *Rhythm*, with the blue background, was used starting from the fifth issue (vol. 2, no. 5, June 1912) until the last/fourteenth issue (vol. 2, no. 14, March 1913). (Downloaded from Modernist Journals Project; http://www.modjourn.org/render.php?view=mjp_object&id=1159905483482363)

The London-based journal *Rhythm*, published from 1911 to 1913, was arguably one of the more aesthetically radical of the prewar magazines and accordingly, has shaped our understanding of the modernist period. It was founded by English writer John Middleton Murry and Scottish painter John Duncan Fergusson in the summer of 1911 as the platform

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of the *Rhythm* and more generally as the “literary voice of the British Fauves.”⁴²⁷ The periodical had been inspired by Murry’s trip to Paris in 1910, which had offered insight into “a cosmopolitan republic of art very different from the scene either in London, or in Oxford.”⁴²⁸ Initially it was co-edited by Murry and British publisher and writer Michael Sadleir, and then from the fifth issue, in July 1912, by Murry and his life partner, the writer Katherine Mansfield. Ferguson was the art editor until November 1912. The first four issues of *Rhythm* were published quarterly, after which it became a monthly publication until it ceased with the March 1913 issue. The last three numbers, somewhat less experimental in nature, were published in May, June and July 1913 and were entitled *Blue Review*. Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker labeled *Rhythm* a “modernist magazine” when they included it in their 2009 critical and cultural history of such publications.

In addition to *Rhythm*, there were other avant-garde “little magazines” in Britain, such as *Blast* and the *Egoist*, as well as the “more neutral sounding” periodicals, journals, and reviews such as the *New Age* and the *Athenaeum*.⁴²⁹ None of them, however, included as many talented women contributors as *Rhythm* did. Even its own successor, *Blue Review*, listed only one female artistic contributor, Frances Jennings.⁴³⁰ Heathcock’s doctoral study cited Fergusson’s definition of the origin of the magazine’s title as “the profound and eloquent idea that ‘rhythm’ was the characteristic and universal element in all the arts.”⁴³¹ And, it seemed to have the desired effect, as Frances Spalding would later write that the

⁴²⁷ In an interview with Margaret Morris (wife of J. D. Fergusson) and O. R. Drewy (husband of Anne Estelle Rice) conducted by William Lipke on March 1, 1965, Morris agreed that *Rhythm* was “literary voice of the British Fauves” (TGA 8223, William Lipke Collection).

⁴²⁸ Binckes, 1.

⁴²⁹ Brooker and Thacker, “General Introduction.” Maclean, 69.

⁴³⁰ Binckes, 146.

⁴³¹ Heathcock, 22.

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title of this avant-garde magazine “denoted modernity.”⁴³² Beyond the title, editor Murry declared that the purpose of the magazine was

to provide art, be it drawing, literature or criticism, which shall be vigorous, determined, which shall have its roots below the surface, and be the rhythmical echo of the life with which it is in touch. Both in its pity and its brutality it shall be real.⁴³³

The subtitle of the publication was “Art Music Literature” and so elided genre, generational and geographical boundaries to bring the ideas of André Derain, Henri Matisse and Maurice Vlaminck to London. It is essential to acknowledge, however, that whatever its inspiration, its focus was clearly the English avant-garde.

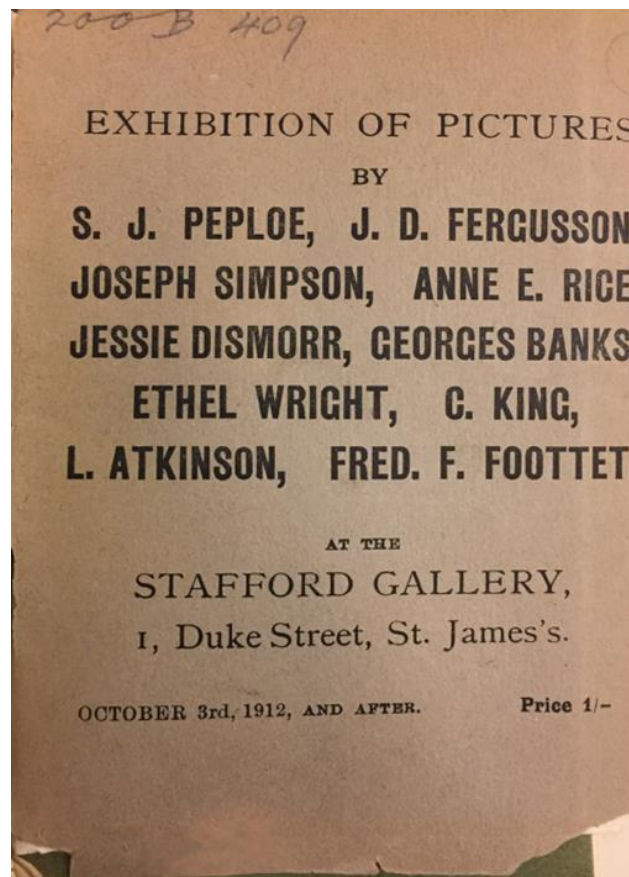


Figure 47. Catalogue cover of *Exhibition of Pictures by S. J. Peploe, J. D. Fergusson, Joseph Simpson, Anne E. Rice, Jessie Dismorr, Georges Banks, Ethel Wright, C. King, L. Atkinson, Fred. F. Foottet*, at Stafford Gallery, October 3, 1912. (Photographed by the author at Victoria & Albert National Art Library in January 2017)

⁴³² Frances Spalding, *Roger Fry: Art and Life* (Norwich, UK: Black Dog Books, 1999), 141.

⁴³³ "Aims and Ideals," 36. The author of "Aims and Ideals," from the first issue of *Rhythm*, is not listed, which possibly indicates agreement among all the contributors as a sort of group manifesto.

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The group exhibition, officially titled *Exhibition of Pictures by S. J. Peploe, J. D. Fergusson, Joseph Simpson, Anne E. Rice, Jessie Dismorr, Georges Banks, Ethel Wright, C. King, L. Atkinson, Fred. F. Foottet*, opened on October 3, 1912, at the Stafford Gallery and featured ten British and American artists who were regular graphic contributors to *Rhythm* magazine. Four of them were women.⁴³⁴ The Stafford Gallery, in St. James's, was best known for its exhibitions of modern art in the 1910s, including shows devoted to the work of Gustave Courbet, Walter Sickert, Paul Cézanne and Paul Gauguin.⁴³⁵ Earlier in 1912, in February 1912, the gallery had held an exhibition for Samuel John Peploe and in March another for Fergusson. Table 13 details the contributions of the four women artists featured in the *Pictures by J. D. Fergusson, Anne Estelle Rice, and Others, 1912*: Dismorr (six pieces), Rice (eight pieces), Wright (six pieces) and Banks (six pieces). The catalogue for the exhibition was a simple booklet (fig. 47), the color of its cover elephant gray in keeping with the cover color of the first four issues of *Rhythm* (see fig. 48) before it changed to a bright blue (fig. 46).

Pictures by J. D. Fergusson, Anne Estelle Rice, and Others ran concurrently with Fry's *Second Post-Impressionist Exhibition*, in October 1912. Many contemporary critics apparently thought that the contributors to *Rhythm* should have been included in Fry's exhibition. Charles Lewis Hind asked publicly: "Why was this branch of British Post-

⁴³⁴ *Exhibition of Pictures by S. J. Peploe, J. D. Fergusson, Joseph Simpson, Anne E. Rice, Jessie Dismorr, Georges Banks, Ethel Wright, C. King, L. Atkinson, Fred. F. Foottet*, edited by Stafford Gallery (London: Stafford Gallery, 1912). The four women were Anne Estelle Rice, Jessica Dismorr, Georges (Dorothy) Banks and Ethel Wright.

⁴³⁵ *Gustave Courbet*, edited by Stafford Gallery (London: Stafford Gallery, 1911); *An Exhibition of Pictures by Walter Sickert*, edited by Stafford Gallery (London: Stafford Gallery, 1911); *Exhibition of Pictures by Camille Pissarro*, edited by Stafford Gallery (London: Stafford Gallery, 1911); *Exhibition of Pictures by Paul Cezanne and Paul Gauguin*, edited by Stafford Gallery (London: Stafford Gallery, 1911); *Exhibition of Pictures by Joseph Simpson*, edited by Stafford Gallery (London: Stafford Gallery, 1911); *Exhibition of Drawings by Pablo Picasso*, edited by Stafford Gallery (London: Stafford Gallery, 1911)

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Impressionism ignored by the directors of the Grafton Gallery—this branch that is so fresh and alive?”⁴³⁶ Paul Konody opined that the English artists at the *Second Post-Impressionist Exhibition* were “dull and colourless” compared to the Stafford Gallery Fauves, “who apply the new principles as passionately and fearlessly as their French fellow worker.” He continued: “It is difficult to understand why no place should have been found in Grafton-Street for their interesting work.”⁴³⁷ Subsequent scholarship has honed in on a possible reason why the group was placed on the periphery: the

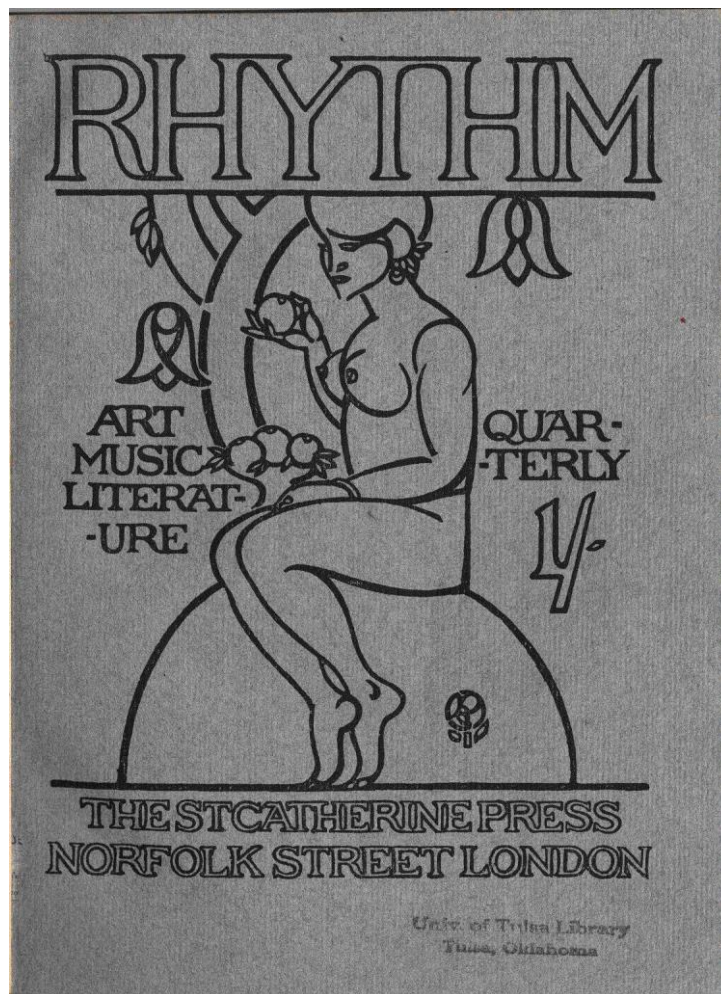


Figure 48. Cover of the first issue of *Rhythm* (vol. 1, no. 1, Summer 1911). The following three issues also have the same elephant gray as the background color. A radical Fauvist blue was used as the cover background color starting with the fifth issue (vol. 2, no. 5, June 1912) until the final issue (vol. 2, no. 14, March 1913). (Downloaded from Modernist Journals Project; http://www.modjourn.org/render.php?view=mjp_object&id=1159905483482363)

⁴³⁶ Cited in Robins, 108.

⁴³⁷ Ibid.

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group maintained that art should have the vital force to “strike deeper” and touch a profounder reality, meaning that it would fix a socially engaged eye on the present.⁴³⁸

Neither the Fauves in France nor Roger Fry agreed with this notion of social responsibility and/or obligation. The result was their exclusion, not only then, but also in the subsequent historical reconstruction of modernism in Britain.⁴³⁹ Peter Brooker observed

The exclusion of a group of painters ... is evidence of a set of cultural attitudes and further associated formation, which, however cosmopolitan it appeared, took a still very “English” perspective on Parisian-based art movements. It tells us something therefore of the wider modernist context of which *Rhythm* was a part.⁴⁴⁰

Anna Gruetzner Robins has offered a contrary reading, suggesting that the exclusion might have been self-imposed and directly antagonistic. She wrote:

It is highly possible that Sadleir persuaded the director of the gallery, John Neville, to plan the exhibition to coincide with Fry’s show.⁴⁴¹

Her interpretation remains unsubstantiated, but it is known that Peploe and Fergusson had already exhibited at the Stafford Gallery earlier that same year, so it would seem reasonable that “Neville would have been inclined to support the group with which they were associated.”⁴⁴² Furthermore, a reexamination of *Rhythm* magazines and its advertisement pages reveals that the exhibition was originally planned for June 1912, as published in *Rhythm*, volume 2, number 5.⁴⁴³ In fact, in the following four issues, it was announced four

⁴³⁸ "Aims and Ideals," 36.

⁴³⁹ Binckes, 132. For more information on the issue of Fry versus the members associated with *Rhythm*, please also see pages 138 and 139. Binckes argued that the confrontational environment the art contributors to *Rhythm* experienced was also felt later when animosity toward that was spread widely across Bloomsbury’s networks at the behest of Roger Fry.

⁴⁴⁰ Peter Brooker, "Harmony, Discord, and Difference: *Rhythm* (1911-13), the *Blue Review* (1913) and the *Signature* (1915)," in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, vol. 1: *Britain and Ireland, 1880-1955*, edited by Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker, (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2009), 325.

⁴⁴¹ Robins, 108.

⁴⁴² Ibid. John Neville was the director of the Stafford Gallery.

⁴⁴³ "Stafford Gallery Old and Modern Pictures," *Rhythm* 2, no. 5 (June 1912), iv.

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times that first the exhibition would be rescheduled and then that it was postponed till the autumn.

Table 13. Women artists and their works of art in the *Pictures by J. D. Fergusson, Anne Estelle Rice, and Others, 1912*.

Women artists and their works of art in the group exhibition, 1912		
Anne Estelle Rice	11: <i>Woman with red hair</i> 12: <i>"Schehezade"</i> [sic] 13: <i>Springtime, Jardin du Luxemburg</i> 14: <i>The bouquet</i> 15: <i>Afternoon tea, Chateau Madrid, Paris</i> 16: <i>Anemones and tulips</i> 17: <i>The white house</i> 18: <i>The white cart</i>	£ 40 £ 60 £ 60 £ 60 £ 50 £ 40 £ 15 £ 15
Ethel Wright	28: <i>Golders Green</i> 29: <i>Yellow tulips</i> 30: <i>The music room</i> 31: <i>"Equihen"</i> 32: <i>An August day, 6.30 o'clock</i> 33: <i>The blue Kimimo</i>	£ 15 15s £ 15 15s £ 26 10s £ 7 7s £ 6 6s £ 20 00s
Jessie Dismorr	37: <i>Night scene, Martigues</i> [fig. 49] 38: <i>The school, Siena</i> 39: <i>Sunlight, Martigues</i> 40: <i>In the garden</i> [fig. 50] 41: <i>The steps, Avignon</i> 42: <i>Boat building, Venice</i>	£ 8 8s £ 8 8s £ 6 6s £ 10 10s £ 8 8s £ 8 8s
Georges Banks	43: <i>Huntley Carter</i> 44: <i>The Queen of the Fauves</i> 45: <i>J. Middleton Murry</i> 46: <i>Hal Ruffy</i> 47: <i>Stevenson</i> 48: <i>Katherine Mansfield</i>	£ 4 4s £ 4 4s £ 4 4s £ 4 4s £ 4 4s £ 4 4s

Source: *Exhibition of pictures by S. J. Peplow, J. D. Fergusson, Joseph Simpson, Anne E. Rice, Jessie Dismorr, Georges Banks, Ethel Wright, C. King, L. Atkinson, Fred. F. Foottet* (London: Stafford Gallery, 1912), held at the Victoria and Albert Museum, National Art Library.

Although conventional subjects such as landscapes, still-lives and portraits still dominated the exhibition, reactions to the exhibition *Pictures by J. D. Fergusson, Anne Estelle Rice, and Others, 1912* were positive. Charles Lewis Hind praised it for being “so fresh” and “alive.”⁴⁴⁴ W.R., in his “Round the Gallery” column in the *Sunday Times*, congratulated the management of the Stafford Gallery and concluded that the exhibition

⁴⁴⁴ Cited in Heathcock, 20.

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was brought together for showing “what is best and most alive in modern art.”⁴⁴⁵ Also, he did not seem to draw any distinction between the male and female exhibitors:

All these artists express modernity; each of them belongs to today; and it is to-day and the informing spirit of it which are interpreted.⁴⁴⁶

In terms of the prices listed in the catalogued (table 13), women artists’ works showed no significant difference from their male contemporaries.

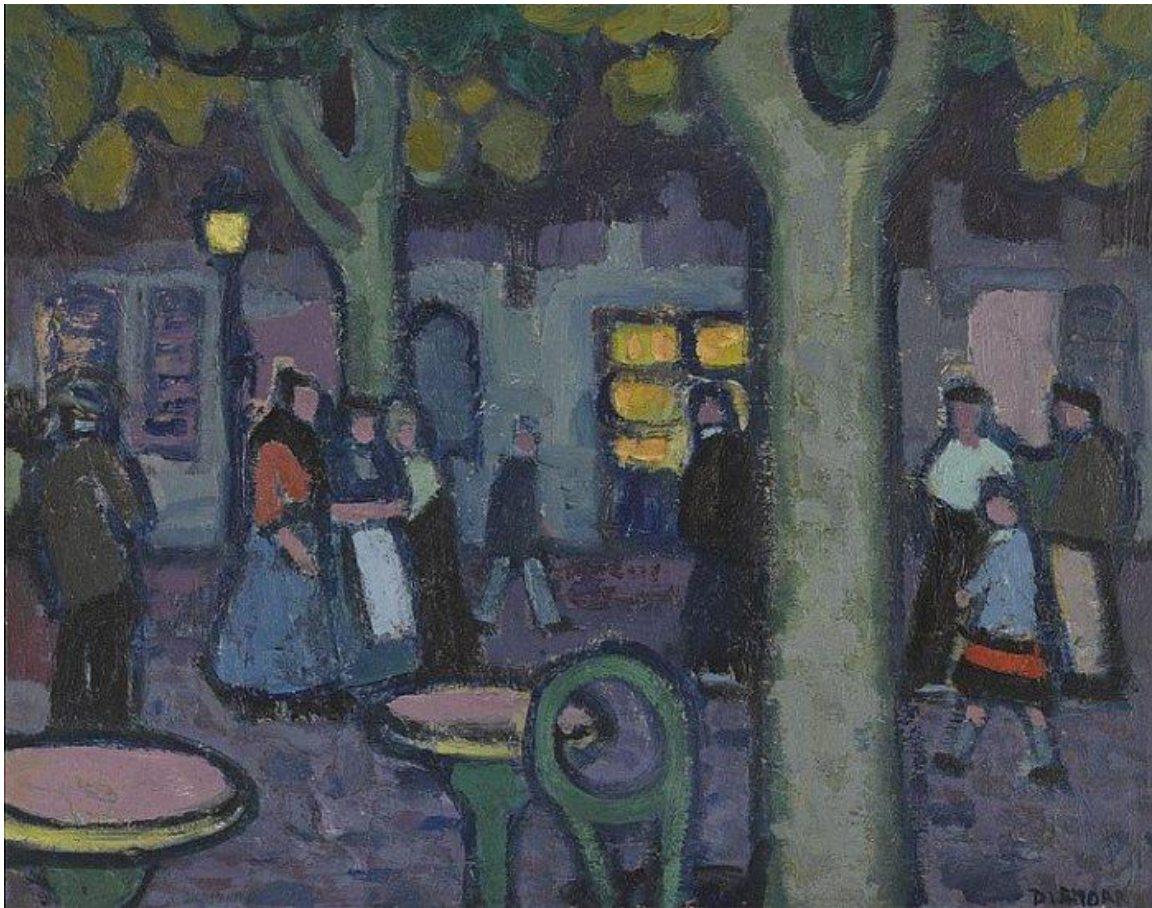


Figure 49. Jessica Dismorr, *Night Scene, Martigues* c. 1911-1912. Oil on panel, 33.5 x 42 cm, signed bottom right. Private Collection. First exhibited at the Stafford Gallery in October 1912 as part of the group show *Pictures by J. D. Fergusson, Anne Estelle Rice, and Others*, 1912. This is one of seven panels given to the artist’s youngest sister, Margaret Thompson, between 1912 and 1924. (Downloaded from <http://www.artnet.com/artists/jessica-dismorr/night-scene-martigues-HO7-zQ5IE54E5aHPIG9dNg2>)

⁴⁴⁵ W.R., "Round the Galleries. The Stafford Gallery," *Sunday Times*, 13 October 1912, 15.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid.

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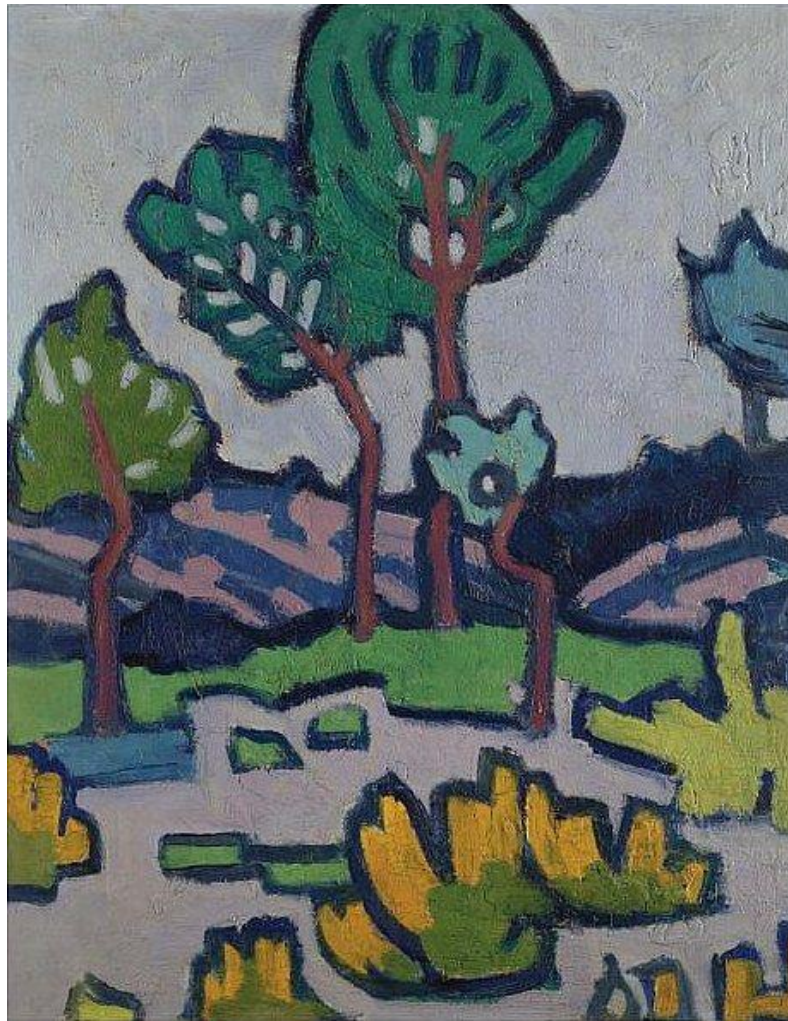


Figure 50. Jessica Dismorr, *In the Garden*, c. 1912. Oil on panel, 43 x 34.5 cm. Private collection. Exhibited at Stafford Gallery October 1912 as part of the group show. This was painted in the south of France in 1912 and given by the artist to her youngest sister, Margaret Thompson, from whom it was acquired by the present owner. (Downloaded from <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/lot.27.html/2008/20th-century-british-art-108141>)

W.R. gave special mention to Rice, praising her as “the most interesting painter of the group,” and argued the intimate decorations she interpreted of life were

so personal and so revealing of a distinct individuality that the merely decorative quality seems almost accidental. “Springtime, Jardin du Luxemburg” is a vivid rendering of actual facts presented to us in a convention of bright spaces of colour outlined by simple firm lines. And yet there is an extraordinary quality of depth in it; we have a decoration of the garden gay with flowers, but decoration for itself has not been the end aimed at. The picture is a symbol of an emotion which fundamentally has nothing to do with paint at all ... “Schehazade” (12) [fig. 51], “The Bouquet” (14) and “Afternoon Tea, Chateau Madrid, Paris” (15), are all characteristic canvases which not to see will mean the loss of a very genuine pleasure indeed.⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid.

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An American, Rice was already an established artist in Paris six or seven years before she became active in London in 1913. Her first one-person show at the Baillie Gallery on Bruton Street had taken place from April 22 to May 12, 1911, three years before Fergusson's first solo London show at the Doré Gallery. Significantly, the prices of her works of art in the group exhibition were as high as those of the works of Fergusson, who was considered the leader of the group. Critically too, she seemed to hold her own, as the co-editor of *Rhythm*, Michael Sadleir, wrote, "like every other leader of the Fauvist movement, [Rice] is too individual to allow her being classed wholly with anyone else." He went on to say that the Fauves were "united by their desire for rhythm, strong, flowing line, strong massed colour, decentralized design," and there was "no better example ... than that of Anne Estelle Rice's work."⁴⁴⁸

Frank Rutter, meanwhile, particularly admired Dismorr's six small oil landscape paintings in the group show as "the pleasantest things in the gallery," "genuine and true."⁴⁴⁹ Among them, *Night Scene, Martigues* (fig. 49) and *In the Garden* (fig. 50) were sensitively rhythmic though did not necessarily sacrifice or distort forms to be abstract. Subjects appear to be of secondary importance though, the bright areas of color with bold contours—whether depicting the decoration of a garden, flowers, landscapes or figures—merely a means to express harmony.

Banks, who was mistaken by some reviewers to be a man, was accredited with "power and perception in the majority."⁴⁵⁰ The title of her piece *The Queen of the Fauves* intrigued, prompting speculation about the identity of the sitter. Carey Snyder makes the

⁴⁴⁸ Cited in Robins, 109.

⁴⁴⁹ Cited in Heathcock, 21.

⁴⁵⁰ W.R., 15. Georges (Dorothy) Banks was often referred to with "Mr." in front of her name.

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argument that an important facet of the show was “in elevating the trivialized genre of caricature,”⁴⁵¹ with no small contribution from Banks’s portraits. Banks was the Paris theater correspondent (together with Rice) of *Rhythm* magazine and contributed many illustrations and articles on subjects such as Diaghilev’s *Petrushka* (volume 2, number 2, July 1912, 57-63), as well as reviews of, among others, Léon Bakst’s design for the Ida Rubinstein production of Oscar Wilde’s *Salome* (volume 2, number 8, September 1912, 169-172).⁴⁵²

Wright has never been the focus of any published research due to the dearth of archives and existing artworks. Even her identity remains unclear.⁴⁵³ However, Table 14, compiled from assorted sources, does demonstrate that she exhibited extensively and simultaneously with the NEAC, the WIAC, and the AAA between 1908 and 1913. Critical response to the group Show indicates that she was an established artist of interest, such as in W.R.’s “Round the Galleries” section in the *Sunday Times*:

Miss Ethel Wright’s work is always interesting ... “An August Day, 8:30 o’clock” (32), I liked much the best, for it strikes one as having more of the artist’s real individuality in it than any of the others.⁴⁵⁴

Looking at an exhibition is an obvious way to try to understand the contribution of the women artists, as it often takes place at a high-profile venue and the related exhibition catalogues and critical reviews can be read and examined. However, in the case of the

⁴⁵¹ Carey Snyder, “Introduction to Rhythm and the Blue Review,” *Modernist Journals Project* (2012), available online: http://www.modjourn.org/render.php?id=mjp.2005.00.118&view=mjp_object. Accessed 13 March 2017.

⁴⁵² Ibid.

⁴⁵³ There is a confusing of her identity, as there was another Ethel (Mrs. Ethel Barclay) Wright (1866-1939) in the record. The Ethel Wright was born in London and studied with Seymour Lucas, then at Julian’s in Paris. After returning to London, she regularly exhibited with the Royal Academy and Royal Institute of Oil Painters. She painted a portraiture of the leading militant suffragette Christabel Pankhurst and exhibited 1909 in an exhibition organized by Pankhurst’s Women’s Social and Political Union, which is currently held at the National Portrait Gallery. For information on this painting, please see <http://www.npg.org.uk/blog/suffragette-painter-discovering-ethel-wright>. This biographical information comes from the *Modernist Journals Project* website.

⁴⁵⁴ W.R., 15.

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artists associated with *Rhythm*, especially that of the women artists, what might be considered less conspicuous, less high-profile, but equally worthy of study, are the graphics contained in its magazine; an arena in which women members of the *Rhythm* participated and dominated.

Women *Rhythm* group members and Graphics

I now turn my attention to the graphics reproduced in *Rhythm*, and in particular to the illustrations contributed by the women members. Almost every article in *Rhythm* magazine was accompanied by specially designed headers and footers and generally had an illustration printed either underneath or on the facing page of each article. While other magazines such as the *Sketch* and the *Studio* had graduated toward the use of photography to provide their graphic content, *Rhythm* used illustrations to function as far more than mere decoration or descriptive of the text they accompanied. As Binckes pointed out, editor John Middleton Murry insisted that the graphics “succeeded in a way that its text did not.”⁴⁵⁵ Binckes also summarized the contributions of the key female participants as follows: Rice and Dismorr’s drawing of female nude showed strong personality; Thompson Zorach supplied “exotic and witty woodcuts” and firsthand depictions of local life during her trip to the Indian subcontinent, the Middle East and the Far East which lasted from October 1911 to April 1912; Banks served as a flâneuse who invited readers to join her adventures exploring theatrical interiors and modern city streets, while also submitting vivid cartoon

⁴⁵⁵ Binckes, 131. F. A. Lea, in *The Life of John Middleton Murry* (London: Methuen, 1959), wrote: “He [Murry] wanted *Rhythm* to do in word what the Post-Impressionists had done in paint and though he was disappointed – for the literary side was never up to the artistic ... the numerous black and white illustrations ... went far towards justifying their claims” (27).

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images of modern free-spirited women such as the dancer Ida Rubinstein and the writer Katherine Mansfield.⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid., 159.

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Table 14. List of works by Ethel Wright shown in NEAC, WIAC, AAA and Rhythm exhibitions 1908-1914.

List of Exhibited Works by Ethel Wright, 1908-1913				
	NEAC	WIAC	AAA	Rhythm
1908		9: <i>Portrait Study in Brown and Grey</i> Address: 24 Stratford Place Studios, Buckingham Gate		
1909		48: <i>Sketch portrait of Mrs. James Buckley</i> 71: <i>Open air portrait sketch of the Artist</i> 284: <i>Portrait of Miss King</i> Address: 24 Stratford Place Studios, Buckingham Gate	81: <i>Open-air Portrait Study</i> 82: <i>Portrait of Lady in Brown and Grey</i> 83: <i>The Fencer</i> No address listed	
1910		69: <i>The Hon. John Ashburnham</i> 72: <i>Portrait of Miss King</i> 373: <i>Miss Tiny Annan Bryce</i> Address: 3 Cheniston Gardens Studios, Kensington	270: <i>The Fencer</i> 271: <i>Miss King</i> No address listed	
1911	Summer 214: <i>Tulips</i> Address: 56 Glebe Place, Chelsea	56: <i>Glebe Place, Chelsea</i> 73: <i>The Arbour</i> Address: 56 Glebe Place Chelsea	302: <i>Decorative Panel</i> 303: <i>Portrait of the Artists</i> 960: <i>The Music Room (£105)</i> No address listed	
1912			55: <i>Peonies (£21)</i> 56: <i>Rhythm (£21)</i> 1010: <i>Trust (£52 10s)</i> No address listed	28: <i>Golders Green</i> 29: <i>Yellow Tulip</i> 30: <i>The Music Room (£26 4s)</i> 31: <i>"Equiheu"</i> 32: <i>An August day, 6:30 o'clock</i> 33: <i>The Blue Kimino (£20)</i> No address listed
1913			577: <i>Decorative Study, Early morning mists, Venice</i> 578: <i>Ditto on lake Maggiore</i> 579: <i>Ditto, St. George's Island, Venice</i> Address: 56 Glebe Place, Chelsea	

Note: Titles in red indicate possibly repeated artworks as they share same/similar key words in titles of works exhibited in different exhibitions. This chart is compiled from exhibition catalogues of the NEAC, WIAC, AAA and *Rhythm* group, held at the Tate Gallery, National Art Library and Women's Art Library, London.

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In an attempt to complement the scholarship recently published by Binckes (2010), the author would like to highlight the important, and largely overlooked, character of Jessica Dismorr, which helps complete the picture and adds some diversity to our understanding of Fauvism and Expressionism. Through Dismorr, the influences of Germany, France, Russia and Japan may also be identified, which is why she receives particular attention here. Though a single painter, she offers much in terms of influences and suggests a cross-fertilization between countries and groups, as well as eventual rivalries between groups in England.



SCHÉHÉRAZADE. BY ANNE ESTELLE RICE

Figure 51. Anne Estelle Rice, *Schéhérazade*, c. 1911. This image accompanied an article, “Fauvism and a Fauve,” by Michael Sadleir that appeared in the first issue of *Rhythm* (Summer 1911). In it, Sadleir wrote: “Miss Rice has most kindly made a special drawing ... to express as plainly as possible the rhythm for which she strives.” (Reproduced from *Rhythm* 1, no. 1 [Summer 1911], 14)

Dismorr studied first at the Slade, then at the Académie de La Palette in Paris, where she befriended American artist Marguerite Thompson, she later became a pupil of J. D. Fergusson, thus commencing her association with the “English Fauves” who would later

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form the *Rhythm* group. She was friends with Kate Lechmere (whom she met in 1909 or 1910), later joined Lechmere's Rebel Art Centre and contributed to the Vorticist Group in 1914 where, together with Helen Saunders, she became one of only two women to appear as signatories on the manifesto⁴⁵⁷ in *Blast* (1914).

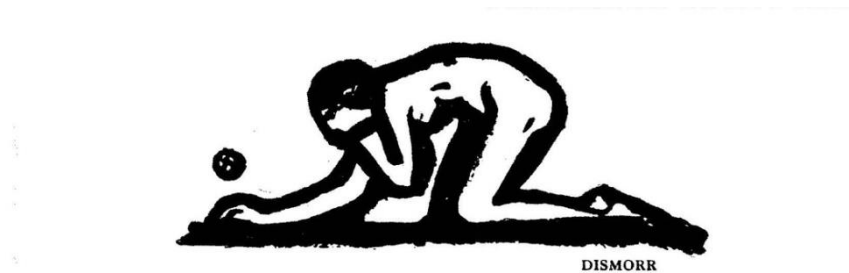


Figure 52. Jessica Dismorr, *Decorative Heading (kneeling)*, c. 1911, (Reproduced from *Rhythm* 1, no. 1 [Summer 1911], 3)



Figure 53. Erich Heckel (German, 1883–1970), *Kneeling Nudes (Kniende Akte)*, cover of the portfolio *Brücke 1910*. Woodcut, 30.5 x 40.4 cm. (© 2016 Erich Heckel/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York/VG Bild-Kunst, Germany. Downloaded from https://www.moma.org/s/ge/collection_ge/artist/artist_id-20090_role-3_sov_page-9.html)

⁴⁵⁷ Dismorr's works in *Rhythm* show early signs of both international references and an abstract tendency manifested in her later involvement with Vorticism. And this argument has been convincingly examined and studied in published books, articles as well as doctoral dissertations that concerning Dismorr's achievements in Vorticism, such as Catherine Elizabeth Heathcock, "Jessica Dismorr (1885-1939): Artist, Writer, Vorticist" (PhD diss., University of Birmingham, 1999); Katy Deepwell, "Narratives of Women Artists in/out of Vorticism." In *Special Issue: Women Artists and Futurism, International Year Book of Futurism Studies*, edited by Günterte Berghaus, 21-43. Bristol, UK: Bristol University, 2015.

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As is often the case in black-and-white prints, the principal graphic used in *Rhythm* magazine, is less seductive than colorful and textured oil paintings. This is especially true for members of a group whose use of expressive bright color was its hallmark. Dismorr's prints from *Rhythm*, however, extend our understanding of Fauvism in its expressiveness of line, form, shape and composition. In Dismorr's *Decorative Headings (Kneeling)* featured in Figure 52, for example, the female figure is kneeling on the ground, with one arm extended in front of her to support her bending torso while the other arm rests neatly under her chin. She looks like she is confined in limitless space and examining something very carefully lying in front of her. Compared with Rice's or Fergusson's female nude drawings, which used a more curvilinear vocabulary, with fruit and flowers in the background to emphasize "nature's fecundity" (see fig. 51), and as a reference to the Bergsonian *élan vital*, Dismorr's block prints with their thick and solid lines were more simplified in form, abstract in manner and expressive in composition. The simplicity and powerful texture of the woodcuts were also more reminiscent of Expressionism in Germany such as the *Die Brücke* group than of Fauves.⁴⁵⁸ Dismorr's kneeling woman in particular is suggestive of Erich Heckel's woodcut *Kneeling Nudes* (fig. 53) from 1910, which depicts two nudes kneeling on a stage and a row

⁴⁵⁸ *Die Brücke* (The Bridge), a German Expressionist group founded in Dresden in 1905 and dissolved in 1913, is considered one of the major art groups and artistic contributions to the history of the twentieth century art. Their intention of bridging gaps between artists and society, artists and patrons, and artists and nature is indicated by the group name. Their manifesto published in 1906 stated, "we want to achieve freedom of life and action against the well established older forces". In terms of art, *Die Brücke* blended elements from old German art and "tribal art" with Post-impressionism and fauvism to create a distinctive non-naturalistic and emotional modern style. Chief artists were Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Karl Schmidt-Rottluff, Fritz Bleyl and Erich Heckel, joined in 1910 by Otto Müller. Emil Nolde was also briefly a member. Tate Gallery, <http://www.tate.org.uk/art/art-terms/b/brucke>, accessed on Jan. 4 2018. Harrison, Charles, Francis Frascina, and Gillian Perry. *Primitivism, cubism, abstraction: the early twentieth century*. New Haven: Yale University Press, in Association with the Open University, 1993.

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of spectators in geometric voids and solids in the lower part of the composition. Heather Hess argues that “the garish yellow paper [on which the woodcut was printed] suggests the glare of the lights.”⁴⁵⁹ This possible influence on Dismorr would not be altogether surprising, as Dismorr, like her sisters, may have studied in Germany for a while⁴⁶⁰ and seen there the works of Heckel (1883-1970) or other Die Brücke artists, such Fritz Bleyl (1880-1977), Ernst Ludwig Kirchner (1880-1938) and Karl Schmidt-Rottluff (1884-1976), whose work were exhibited widely and reproduced in *Der Sturm*.⁴⁶¹ In keeping with the Die Brücke concern of presenting human figures or portraits that expose “the inner soul of the sitter,”⁴⁶² Dismorr’s female nude figure is insulated and isolated from external surroundings, and the viewer’s attention is drawn exclusively to the sitter and her emotional state. Heathcock agrees that while Dismorr’s paintings could be indebted to the Fauves in their heavy outlining of forms in strong color, frieze-like compositions and flatness of texture, such as in *Sunlight, Martigues* (fig.54), her work also echoes that of German Expressionism, such as Schmidt-Rottluff’s landscapes of the 1910s, in her expressive palette and semi-abstract handling of form and color in compositions such as *Landscape with Figures* (fig. 55).⁴⁶³

⁴⁵⁹ Heather Hess, German Expressionist Digital Archive Project, German Expressionism: Works from the Collection (2011), available online:

https://www.moma.org/s/ge/collection_ge/artist/artist_id-20090_role-3_sov_page-9.html. Accessed 22 May 2017.

⁴⁶⁰ Stevenson, *Jessica Dismorr and Catherine Giles*, 5. According to Heathcock, Dismorr’s two sisters also attended University College London. Violet Blanche took a course in German from 1900 to 1901. Beatrice Mary studied Egyptology from 1904 to 1905 (8).

⁴⁶¹ Cohen, 197.

⁴⁶² Wolf-Dieter Dube and Stephanie Barron, eds., *German Expressionism: Art and Society, 1909-1923* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1997), 23.

⁴⁶³ Heathcock, 31.

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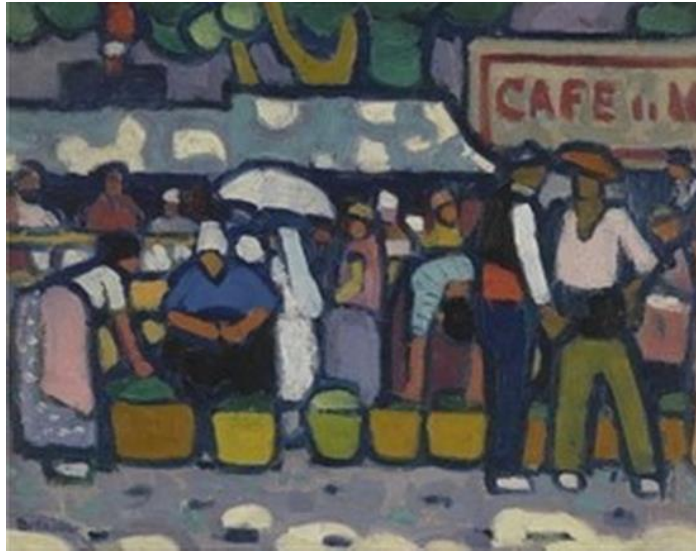


Figure 54. Jessica Dismorr, *Sunlight, Martigues*, c. 1911-1912. Oil on panel, 31.8 x 40.6 cm, signed bottom left. Private collection. First exhibited at Stafford Gallery in October 1912 as part of the group show *Pictures by J. D. Fergusson, Anne Estelle Rice, and Others*. (Downloaded from http://www.artnet.com/artists/jessica-dismorr/sunlight-martigues-1-_xRHDGKEo0t_Jjdmhy-Q2)



Figure 55. Jessica Dismorr, *Landscape with Figures*, c. 1911-1912. Oil on board, 31 x 39.5 cm. (Museums Sheffield)

The network of aesthetics of the *Rhythm* included many international members (from Russia, Germany, America, France, Japan and others), reaching far beyond an original alliance with French Fauvism and Bergsonian philosophy. “Agents for Rhythm Abroad” were

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found in Paris, New York, Munich, Berlin, Warsaw, Krakow, and Helsinki, but influences in other, perhaps less-expected, parts were also at work in *Rhythm*.⁴⁶⁴

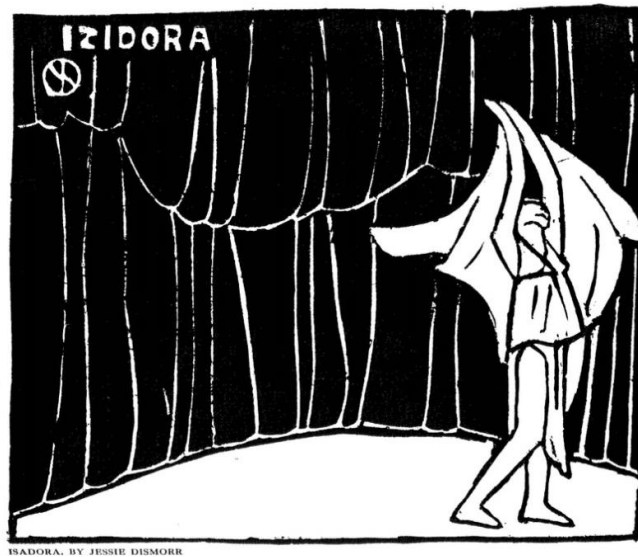


Figure 56. Jessica Dismorr, *Isadora*, c. 1911. Ink. (Reproduced from *Rhythm* 1, no. 2 [Autumn 1911], 20)

Many of the female nude studies in *Rhythm* remain ambiguous, and their movements, open to conjecture. Others are much more certain in their subject or inspiration, especially when they relate to modern dance and dancers, the embodiment of the “modern spirit,” the modern woman and the modernist aesthetics of the Ballets Russes. Dismorr depicted Isadora Duncan (fig. 56) in *Rhythm* and in so doing, pulled together many of the undercurrents prevalent in these experimental years. Anna Gruetzner Robins observed:

Through intuition artists are producing inspired pieces of music, putting together new pictorial material, composing lyrics in colour, lyrics in line, lyrics in light to the new deity rhythm.⁴⁶⁵

In this ink drawing, Dismorr simplified Duncan’s facial expression but captured her representative simplicity of movement, dancing alone on the right side of the stage, in front

⁴⁶⁴ Maclean, 70.

⁴⁶⁵ Robins, 109-112.

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of a traditionally plain blue background, and barefoot. In this image, she bends gently, arms raised over her head, and is loosely wrapped in a flowing Greek robe.⁴⁶⁶ American dancer Isadora Duncan (1878-1927) was one of the great pioneers in the modern “free dance” movement of the early twentieth century. She was an internationalist, a socialist who understood that art possessed political power. She also talked of divine spirit and her “art” not merely being entertainment: It was spiritual, instinctive, intuitive—characteristics that can also be traced to the English avant-garde writings of the time by Roger Fry and Clive Bell, etc.⁴⁶⁷ Duncan’s performances throughout Europe at the turn of the century radically altered the idea of dance as a simply physical activity as she sought inspiration from nature and perceived bodies as expressive instruments of creativity: ocean waves and wind, for example, were developed as dances of simple flowing movement that reflected the universal rhythms of nature.⁴⁶⁸

Dismorr’s choice of subject matter was therefore significant in that it was responsive to contemporary trends in both dance and painting. The pro-freedom, natural form of modern dance reflected new thoughts among certain painters who wanted to achieve a comparable liberation in their works.⁴⁶⁹ French artist André Dunoyer de Segonzac, for example, was extremely interested in the human form in motion and exhibited eleven line drawings in ink of Duncan dancing at the Salon d’Automne in 1911 that illustrated a “wonderful skill and a profound sense of rhythm.”⁴⁷⁰ In the same year, Émile Antoine

⁴⁶⁶ Kimerer LaMothe, *Nietzsche's Dancers: Isadora Duncan, Martha Graham, and the Revaluation of Christian Values* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 7. Isadora Duncan was famous for solo dances to live classical music in front of a blue and green-gray velvet curtain.

⁴⁶⁷ Roger Fry, “An Essay in Aesthetics,” *New Quarterly*, 2 (April 1909), 171-90. Reprinted in *Vision and Design* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1928), pp. 16-38. Clive Bell, *Art* (Champaign: Book Jungle, 2009).

⁴⁶⁸ Ann Daly, “Isadora Duncan's Dance Theory,” *Dance Research Journal* 26, no. 2 (1994): 27.

⁴⁶⁹ *Ibid.*; LaMothe.

⁴⁷⁰ Heathcock, 24.

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Bourdelle executed dozens of drawings of Duncan dancing at Le *Châtelet*. A decade earlier, in 1901, sculptor Auguste Rodin had created drawings based on Duncan at his studio.

American modern artist Abraham Walkowitz created thousands of images of her dancing during his lifetime.⁴⁷¹ Dismorr's ink drawing was the work of a woman artist depicting one of the world's most recognized woman dancers; and the result was unique.



Figure 57. Eadweard Muybridge, "Women Dancing (Fancy): Plate 187 from *Animal Locomotion*," 1887. Collotype, 18.4 x 42.5 cm. (MOMA; downloaded from <https://www.moma.org/collection/works/44243>)

However, Dismorr's choice of subject matter for the *Rhythm* issue was also significant in that it functioned as a visual counterpart to the text it accompanied:

To treat what is being done to-day as something vital in the progress of art, which can't fix its eyes on yesterday and live; to see that the present is pregnant for the future, rather than a revolt against the past; in creation to give expression to an art that seeks out the strong things of life; in criticism to seek out the strong things of that art—such is the aim of RHYTHM.⁴⁷²

Dismorr could thus attempt to pull together the words and images of *Rhythm* through images such as *Isadora*, the subject of which had herself stated her vision of the future and her role within it in *The Dance of the Future*. In her manifesto, Duncan declared:

My intention is to found a school, to build a theatre where a hundred little girls shall be trained to study in my art ... I shall not force them to study certain definite

⁴⁷¹ Ann Cooper Albright, *Modern Gestures: Abraham Walkowitz Draws Isadora Duncan Dancing* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2010). Walkowitz met Duncan at the studio of sculptor Auguste Rodin. This book includes only fifty of his drawings.

⁴⁷² "Aims and Ideals," 36.

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movements; I shall help them to develop those movements which are natural to them ... I intend to work for this dance of the future.⁴⁷³

In Duncan's humble vision for dance at the turn of the century existed the acknowledgment that whatever the future might hold, it was rooted in the present, and the dancer "cannot possibly be the dancer of the future or perform the dance of the future, for she exists in the present." What could be anticipated, however, was the sowing of seeds in the present, and in so doing, "giving 'birth' to dancers of the future, to movements that will move forward into new movements."⁴⁷⁴ Parallels can here be drawn with *Rhythm*:

Our protest is creative. We believe we have given the world better drawing than has been seen in one magazine before... We believe we have something to say that no other magazine has ever said or had the courage to say. Those who are really for us, listeners or doers, know that the life of art depends on free expression, not on the methods by which that freedom is secured.⁴⁷⁵

In a speech given in 1903, Duncan, adopted a rhetoric of revitalized arts that was in many ways parallel to that of the *Rhythm* group and the Futurists, Symbolists and other avant-garde visual arts and literary movements.⁴⁷⁶ Duncan declared:

The dancer of the future will be one whose body and soul have grown so harmoniously together that the natural language of the soul will have become the movement of the body. The dancer will not belong to a nation but to all humanity ... the dancer of the future: the free spirit ... The highest intelligence in the freest body!⁴⁷⁷

As Michael Walsh has noted,

⁴⁷³ Cited in "What We Have Tried to Do," *Rhythm* 1, no. 3 (1911): 36.

⁴⁷⁴ Cited in Mary Simonson, "Dancing the Future, Performing the Past: Isadora Duncan and Wagnerism in the American Imagination," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 65, no. 2 (2012): 527-528.

⁴⁷⁵ "What We Have Tried to Do," 36.

⁴⁷⁶ Carolyn Sinsky, "Isadora Duncan: Life and Literary Connections (1877-1927)," Modernist Lab at Yale University, available online: https://modernism.research.yale.edu/wiki/index.php/Isadora_Duncan. Accessed 23 October 2016. Also see: Isadora Duncan, *The Dance of the Future* (Leipzig, Germany: Eugen Diedrichs, 1903).

⁴⁷⁷ Isadora Duncan, *The Dance of the Future* (Leipzig, Germany: Eugen Diedrichs, 1903), 24-26.

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[I]n keeping with the ideology of French philosopher Henri Bergson, the intuitive capturing and depiction of a 'vital life force' or impulse, seeking freedom in the face of the resistance of matter, was the goal.⁴⁷⁸

There is yet another way in which Dismorr's depiction of Isadora Duncan is significant. It shows an international connection in gestures of ancient Egyptian dance that are also present in *Rhythm* colleague Georges Banks's cartoon of Ida Rubinstein (fig. 58), which accompanied her review of Rubinstein's production of *Salome*, and simplified line drawing portrait of Katherine Mansfield.

⁴⁷⁸ Walsh, C.R.W. Nevinson, 44.

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RHYTHM



GEORGES BANKS

Figure 58. Georges Banks, *Ida Rubenstein*, c. 1912. (Reproduced from *Rhythm* 2, no. 8 [September 1912], 50)

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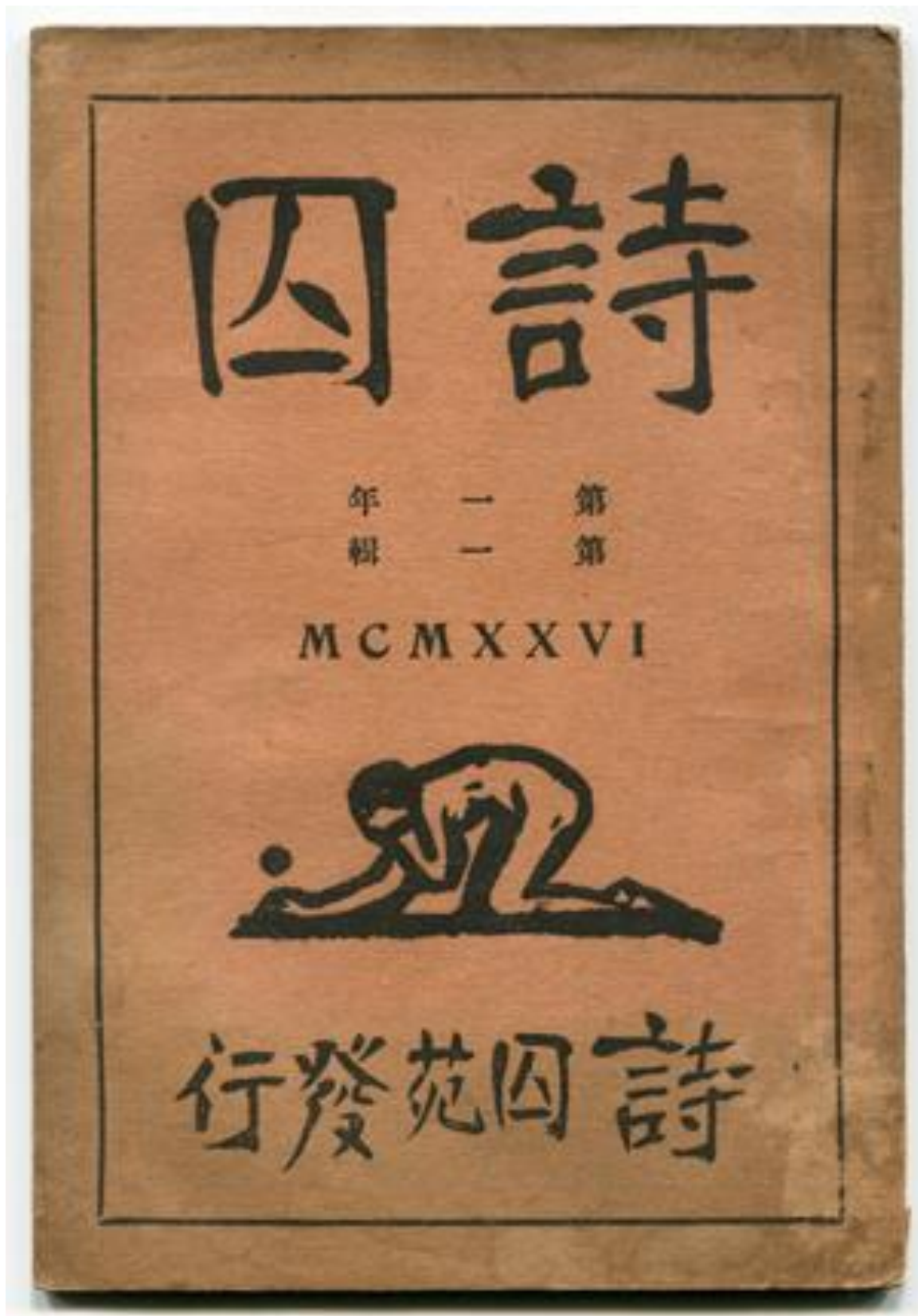


Figure 59. Cover of the Japanese magazine *The Poetry Prisoner*, 1926. (Downloaded from <http://sumus.exblog.jp/17940119/>)

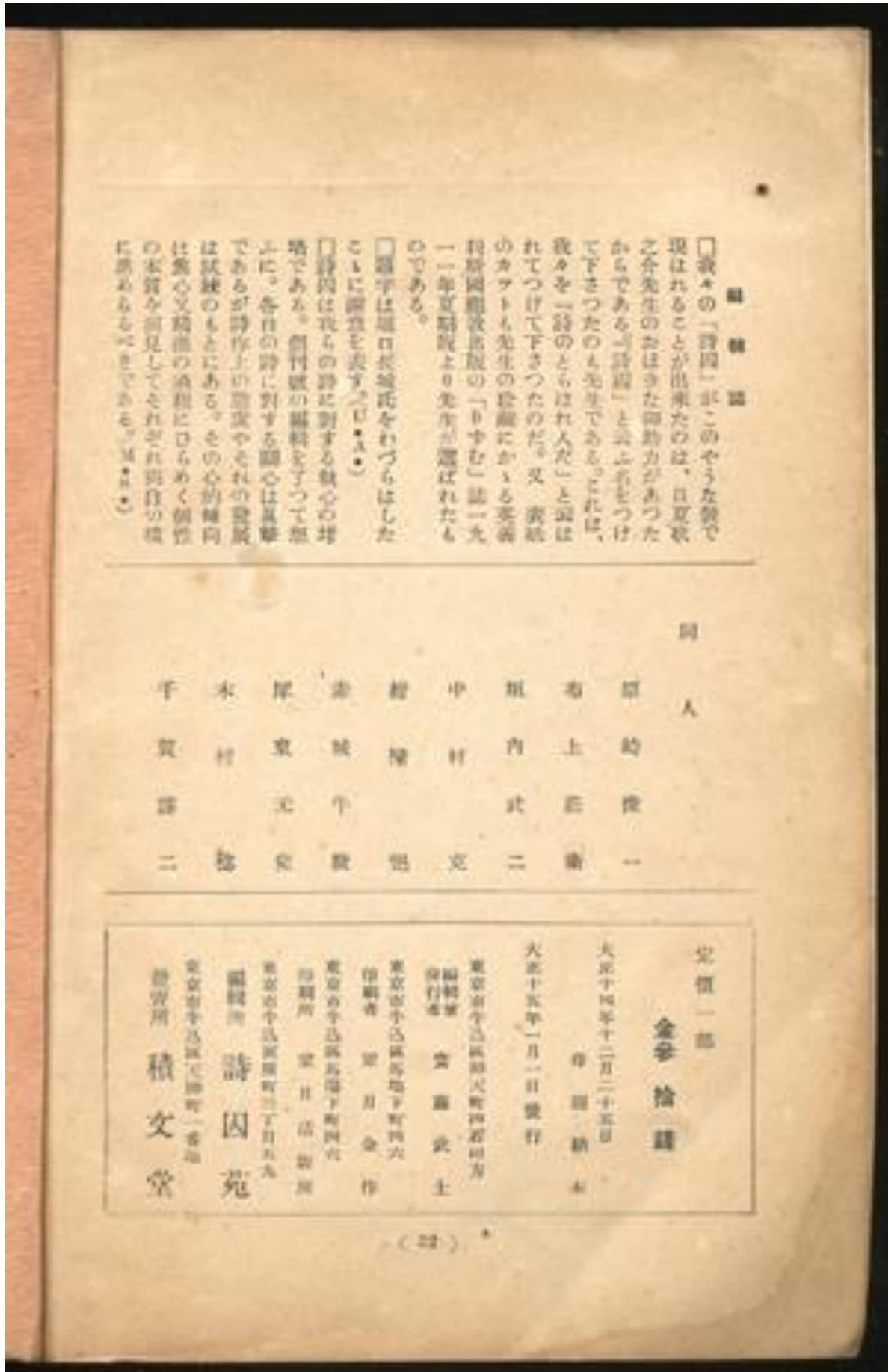


Figure 60. Introductory page of *The Poetry Prisoner*, 1926. (Downloaded from <http://sumus.exblog.jp/17940119/>)

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Of these foreign connections, Russian influences were prominent and is well understood in histories of British modernism.⁴⁷⁹ Connections with Japanese influences have been less well examined but represent a possible topic for future research.⁴⁸⁰ One example relevant to this discussion might be that a connection may be traced between *Rhythm* and Japanese modernist poetry and the radical Japanese art group MAVO⁴⁸¹ through Dismorr's *Decorative Heading (kneeling)* (fig. 52). This was used as the cover image for the first two issues of *The Poetry Prisoner* (January and February 1926), a modern poetry magazine

⁴⁷⁹ Studies on *Rhythm* and Russian aesthetics: Caroline Maclean, "Russian Aesthetics in Britain: Kandinsky, Sadleir, and Rhythm," in *Russia in Britain, 1880-1940: From Melodrama to Modernism*, edited by Rebecca Beasley and Philip Ross Bullock, 145-161 (Oxford, UK: Oxford University, 2013); Caroline Maclean, "Russian Aesthetics and British Periodicals: Kandinsky, Sadleir and Rhythm." In *The Vogue for Russia: Modernism and the Unseen in Britain, 1900-1930*, edited by Caroline Maclean (Edinburgh University Press, 2015), 69-102. Katherine Mansfield, as co-editor of *Rhythm*, contributed poems to the magazine using a male Russian pseudonym Boris Petrobsky, as well as a female one, Lili Heron. Anne Estelle Rice wrote an article on "Les Ballets Russes" for *Rhythm* and included her own illustrations of *L'après-midi d'un Faune*, *Scheherazade*, *La Spectre de la Rose* and *Le Dieu Bleu*. Michael Sadleir's article for *Rhythm* "After Gauguin," a critique of Kandinsky's new book, *Über das Geistige in der Kunst*, introduced Russian aesthetics to the British public for the first time. The December 1912 issue of *Rhythm* also included two lithographs by the Russian woman painter Natalia Goncharova: *La Vendange*, now known as *Women with Basket of Grapes*, and *Men with Basket of Grapes*.

⁴⁸⁰ Yone Noguchi (1875-1947), as a gifted Japanese American poet and a regular contributor to *Rhythm* published many articles on Japanese aesthetics and various aspects on Japanese culture to introduce them to British readers. Despite the interest in Yone Noguchi's role in introducing and interpreting Japanese poetry to an English audience at the beginning of twentieth century, little has been said about his contributions to *Rhythm*. See Yoshinobu Hakutani, "Ezra Pound, Yone Noguchi, and Imagism." *Modern Philology* 90, no. 1 (1992): 47. Yoshinobu Hakutani, "Yone Noguchi's Poetry: From Whitman to Zen." *Comparative Literature Studies* 22, no. 1 (1985): 67.

⁴⁸¹ For more information on MAVO, see: Gennifer Weisenfeld, *Mavo: Japanese Artists and the Avant-Garde, 1905-1931* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002). This is the first book-length study in English on Mavo, provides a critical evaluation of this movement within the context of a broader historical and intellectual frameworks of modernist art world-wide at the beginning of the early-twentieth-century. MAVO was a Japanese self-proclaimed avant-garde constellation of artists and writers roared into new art forms and criticism during the 1920s, with a great diversity of artistic activity, including painting, theatrical performance, book illustration, and architectural projects, as well as an engagement in global connections. And according to Weisenfeld, the group's ideological and personal connections to international developments also indicate a much wider and broader time parameter that covers the entire dynamic period between the end of the Russo-Japanese war in 1905 and the beginning of Japan's war in China in 1931.

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established by graduates of Waseda University in Tokyo (fig. 59). The introduction (fig. 60) stated:

The Poetry Prisoner was christened by Mr. Kōnosuke Hinatsu, meaning “a person who was imprisoned by poetry.” For this issue, he also provided a cover image, which was taken from the magazine *Rhythm* (summer 1911), published in London, England. ...⁴⁸²

Hinatsu’s choice of image is noteworthy, even if we are not clearly informed as to why he selected it. Conjecture might lead to the suggestion that Dismorr’s image conveyed the relevance and strength, imagery and universality that the group sought to project, even on the other side of the world and more than a decade after Dismorr created it. Could it be the image of the imprisoned female, the mode of delivery or the artist herself that offered the rationale for the selection? When one considers the images produced in London in 1911, there was certainly plenty from which to choose. However, clues to this mysterious connection may be uncovered by examining other artists who contributed graphics to the same Japanese magazine. Among them was Yoshimasa Tsunekawa (恒川 義雅), who was a prominent avant-garde artist and whose mother ran Café Suzuran, near Gokokuji, which was closely associated with MAVO and identified in the press as its “base of operation.”⁴⁸³

MAVO was a radical Japanese art movement founded in 1923 as a “re-institution of the

⁴⁸² 《□我々の「詩囚」がこのやうな装で現はれることが出来たのは、日夏耿之介先生のおほきな御助力があつたからである。「詩囚」と云ふ名をつけて下さつたのも先生である。これは我々を「詩のとらはれ人だ」と云はれてつけて下さつたのだ。又 表紙のカットも先生の珍蔵にかゝる英義利斯国龍敦出版の「りずむ」誌一九一一年夏期版より先生が選ばれたのである。

□題字は堀口長城氏をわづらはした こゝに謝意を表す。(U・A)》

Translation from Japanese into Chinese contributed by Ding Wen Bo, a PhD candidate from Department of Japanese Studies, Beijing Foreign Studies University, May 2017. Translation from Chinese into English by the author.

⁴⁸³ Artworks of Yoshimasa Tsunekawa (恒川 義雅; 1905-1929) are available online: <http://inoha.net/archive/showa/page3/26-3104.htm>. Gennifer Weisenfeld, *Mavo: Japanese Artists and the Avant-Garde, 1905-1931* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002), 202-204.

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Japanese Association of Futurist Artists,” which shared many similarities with the *Rhythm* group. MAVO artists published their own magazine, *Mavo*, to encourage a variety of art forms (literature, painting, illustration, theater, performing arts and architecture) and to share and integrate art into daily life. Inclusion of Jessica Dismorr’s expressive kneeling figure on the front cover suggests that it was more than a decorative decision, perhaps even on the homage on a larger scale to the *Rhythm* group, its affiliated publication and as an embodiment of a modern spirit of “sticking deeper and touching profound reality,” which had flourished conspicuously London during the prewar years. The graphics of the women *Rhythm* members, in particular, conveyed that spirit more successfully than any other.

As scholarship returns the *Rhythm* group and its publication to its rightful position of importance in the art-history accounts of London of years before the First World War, this chapter has tried to take this further by focusing almost exclusively on the women members of the group and their international influences, through a single exhibition as well as a selection of images published in *Rhythm* magazine, to suggest *their* centrality within the group.

Chapter 5: Women's International Art Club: Inclusivity, Diversity and Femininity, 1900-1914

Women have to some extent interests, emotions, and values different from those of men, and they are most likely to succeed in art if they do not try to conceal this difference and if they do not overstrain their powers from excessive ambition.

— "The Women's International Art Club," *Times*, 4 March 1912, 12

A painter must be brave—must never hesitate.
—Ethel Walker⁴⁸⁴

As observed in the previous chapters, the influence of Paris could be felt within the Slade School of Fine Art, as well as beyond its walls, in various exhibition groups and societies such as the NEAC, the AAA, and the London Group. Additionally, and perhaps somewhat more surprisingly, the preceding chapter has shown that these influences did not flow one way only, as increasing numbers of women artists who had studied in Paris and elsewhere decided to settle in London to launch their careers. In this chapter, we now turn our attention to an important art club that existed in prewar London to the outbreak of WWI, the history of which has been almost entirely forgotten and, even more importantly, has an archive. The Women's International Art Club, or WIAC, was originally founded in Paris but quickly moved its headquarters to London. It was committed to embracing diversity, inclusivity, and "femininity" or "feminine strength," as defined in critical reviews at the time.⁴⁸⁵ This mission was in marked contrast to the "masculinity" associated with some modernist groups, such as Vorticists and Futurists in the prewar years and provided a voice that has been omitted from the well-researched debate about avant-garde art in Britain at the

⁴⁸⁴ Cited in John Rothenstein, *Modern English Painters*, vol. 1 (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1952), 79.

⁴⁸⁵ "Picture Exhibition," *Times*, 4 March 1911, 11.

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beginning of twentieth century. The final phase of my research, is therefore aligned with questions commonly raised in newspapers in early-twentieth-century England: "What is being done in the domain of art by women,"⁴⁸⁶ and what might "the true aspect of women's art" be?⁴⁸⁷ A study of WIAC exhibitions during the period under review help form a fuller picture of what the French feminist newspaper *La Fronde* described as

International and feminine, it is doubly interesting. This is a successful attempt and deserves to be encouraged ... In sum, this is a charming exhibition, full of promises for the future.⁴⁸⁸

Importantly, a policy of the club was also to encourage communication between women artists of all nations. As Margaret Geddes noted in 1950, "It is perhaps this international side of its activities that is of the greatest interest and importance."⁴⁸⁹ Compared with the mixed-gender NEAC, a study of this women-only group, its exhibitions, members, artistic thoughts and critical reception helps us to gain a greater understanding of the achievements of early-twentieth-century women artists and form a more complete understanding of the complexity of the society in which they worked.

Establishment of the Women's International Art Club

Though young British artists flooded in to Paris toward the end of the nineteenth century, the national academy there gave little access to foreign artists in general and to

⁴⁸⁶ Women's Art Library (WAL), MAKE/AR/G/001 WIAC press-cuttings collection: "Exhibition by Women Artists (from Our Correspondent)," *Yorkshire Daily*, 16 January 1904.

⁴⁸⁷ WAL, MAKE/AR/G/001 WIAC press-cuttings collection: "Sussex Lady Artists: The Grafton Street Galleries," *Sussex Daily News*, 20 January 1904.

⁴⁸⁸ WAL, MAKE/AR/G/001 WIA C press-cuttings collection: "Une Exposition Féminine à Londres," *La Fronde*, 21 March 1901, n.p. The original text reads: "*Internationale et féminine, elle nous intéresse doublement; c'est là une heureuse tentative et mérite d'être encouragée... En résumé, c'est là une Exposition charmante, plein de promesses pour l'avenir.*" Translation by the author.

⁴⁸⁹ WAL, MAKE/AR/P/010: Margaret Geddes, "The Women's International Art Club," *Studio* 139, no. 684 (1950): 65.

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women artists in particular. The *École des Beaux-Arts*, for example, did not admit women students until 1897.⁴⁹⁰ Alternatives could be found, nonetheless, in private art academies founded by the leading practicing artists of the day, such as the *Académie Delécluse*, established by Auguste Joseph Delécluse (1855-1928) in Paris. In these private academies not only were open to women but provided them a suitable studio setting to study the nude. As early as 1868, it was recorded that there were eight or nine English women enrolled at the *Académie Julian*.⁴⁹¹ In both Paris and London, however, while a fine arts education was certainly attainable, the opportunity to exhibit remained to some extent elusive. In response to this, in 1899, the idea of establishing a club for the exhibition of works by women artists in Paris was initiated by Maud D. Hurst, an enterprising English art student at the *Delécluse* studio. Hurst and the other cofounders, Gertrude Badnall, Spence Bate and Catherine Howard, all agreed that it was “infinitely more difficult for women artists to get a ‘show’ in the ordinary exhibitions than for men,” even if they had “already exhibited in the Salon.”⁴⁹² The association they founded was called the “Paris Club: International Society of Women Artists,”⁴⁹³ and it held its first exhibition under that name in 1899 (see fig. 63). By 1900 the club had moved to London. To avoid being confused with the existing Society of Women Artists (SWA),⁴⁹⁴ yet determined to maintain the

⁴⁹⁰ Fehrer, 752.

⁴⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹² WAL, MAKE/AR/G/001 WIAC press-cuttings collection: “Women’s International Art Club. Exhibition at the Grafton Galleries,” *Daily News*, 18 January 1904. This is an interview with Evelyn Howard, honorary secretary of the club. Katy Deepwell gives an account of the establishment of WIAC in the *Delécluse* studio in *Women Artists between the Wars*, 152. *Women’s International Art Club Second Annual Exhibition (March 15-April 3)* (London: Grafton Galleries, 1901) contains a WIAC committee list.

⁴⁹³ WAL, MAKE/AR/G/001 WIAC press-cuttings collection: “Women’s International Art Club,” *Ladies’ Field* (1901). See also WAL, MAKE/AR/P/010: Geddes, 65.

⁴⁹⁴ WAL, MAKE/AR/P/010: Geddes, 65. The Society of Women Artists (SWA) was founded as the Society of Female Artists and held its first exhibition in 1857. Between 1869 and 1899, it was known as the Society of Lady Artists, and after 1899, as the SWA. Unlike WIAC, which was independent of

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“international spirit which was one of the essential tenets of the Society,”⁴⁹⁵ its name was changed to the Women’s International Art Club, or WIAC. The name remained unaltered from the second exhibition in London in 1900 until the WIAC closed in 1976. Membership requirements were based firmly on “artistic merit,” though many journals and magazines of the day questioned the need for a gender specific exhibition society.⁴⁹⁶ In 1904, the illustrated weekly periodical *Black and White* wondered why “the sexes may not be allowed to meet on the common ground.”⁴⁹⁷ In the same year the *Sheffield Telegraph* expressed similar concerns:

I can’t think that there is much profit to the women painters themselves in confining their exhibition to their own sex, for if the show is inferior to the ordinary mixed exhibition it proclaims an inferiority of the sex.⁴⁹⁸

Nevertheless, the WIAC stood its ground, asserting its women-only policy and strong French influence while it “reinforced the growing professionalism of women artists internationally.”⁴⁹⁹ It should be noted that the WIAC claimed to be “the first to take the name ‘International.’”⁵⁰⁰ It is also not insignificant that just before the club was moved to London and rechristened, the English capital had hosted the 1899 International Congress of Women, which focused on such issues as women’s lives and professionalism. Indeed, one of the founding members of the WIAC, Mary Ella Dignam,⁵⁰¹ was also the Helena

royal patronage, the SWA modeled itself on the Royal Academy and other royal societies, sought royal patronage and formed a more hierarchical structure with an elected council, officers, members and associate members. For more information on the SWA, see Katy Deepwell’s *Women Artists between the Wars: ‘A Fair Field and No Favour,’* 197-220.

⁴⁹⁵ Mrs. E. F. Abbot, chair of WIAC from 1920 to 1928, cited in Deepwell, *Women Artists between the Wars*, 209. Originally from the Foreword in the WIAC Exhibition Catalogue (Goupil Gallery, 18 March–8 April 1922).

⁴⁹⁶ Accessed 18 June 2016.

⁴⁹⁷ WAL, MAKE/AR/G/001 WIAC press-cuttings collection:

⁴⁹⁸ WAL, MAKE/AR/G/001 WIAC press-cuttings collection: No title, *Sheffield Telegraph*, 20 January 1904.

⁴⁹⁹ "Remarkable Women," in *In Good Hands, the Women of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild*, edited by Ellen Easton McLeod (Montreal, Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999), 40.

⁵⁰⁰ "Women's International Art Club," *Times*, Thursday Dec. 13 1906, 17.

⁵⁰¹ Mary Ella Dignam (1857-1938) founded the Women’s Art Club in 1886, which later became the Women’s Art Association of Canada (WAAC), registered in 1892. The most important aim of the group was to support women in the fine arts. Dignam was the “most progressive woman in art in Canada” for bringing the nude class to women students as well as for forging links among international women artists. As one of the founding members of the WIAC, throughout the period of this research she was also the head of WIAC Committee in Canada. For biographical information on Dignam, see: "Remarkable Women," in *In Good Hands, the Women of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild*, edited by Ellen Easton McLeod (Montreal, Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999).

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Bonett, "Stanislawa De Karłowska, 1876–1952," in *The Camden Town Group in Context*, edited by Helena Bonett, Ysanne Holt, and Jennifer Mundy (London: Tate Research Publication, 2012), available online: <https://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/camden-town-group/stanislawa-de-karłowska-r1105347>.

"Women's Art Club," *Black and White* (1904).

head of the WIAC Committee in Canada since its establishment (Table 15), and is known to have spoken at the international congress in London on visual arts and crafts. The *Times* reported on this enormous ten-day meeting at which some 360 papers were delivered, seeking "a consensus of universal knowledge and experience from a woman's point of view."⁵⁰² So, the WIAC, now based in London, the global center of trade and a thriving artistic and cultural hub, was positioned to take full advantage of a truly international metropolitan environment for the women's group. Evelyn Howard, honorary secretary of the club, explained the WIAC vision in an interview in the *Daily News* on January 18, 1904. In addition to showing women artists' works, the object of the WIAC was also

to bring into existence a co-operative society for helping one another ... [T]he organizing members worked hard to interest the women of different nationalities in their scheme, and all the leading feminine [*sic*] artists in Sweden, Holland, Russia, and other countries were communicated with for that purpose. The notion of the Club was universally welcomed, for the great ambition of the foreign painter is to exhibit in London.⁵⁰³

It was argued that the "WIAC is ... the only society undertaking this international work as a regular feature of its annual exhibitions."⁵⁰⁴ Certainly, providing access to international contacts offered much in the way of encouragement to young, curious and experimental artists.

⁵⁰² Deepwell, *Women Artists between the Wars*, 209. For information on the International Congress of Women, see: "The International Congress of Women," *Times*, 19 May 1899, 15.

⁵⁰³ WAL, MAKE/AR/G/001 WIAC press-cuttings collection: "Women's International Art Club. Exhibition at the Grafton Galleries."

⁵⁰⁴ WAL, MAKE/AR/P/010: Geddes, 71.

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In 1900, WIAC membership was primarily composed of British women artists (such as Lucy Kemp-Welch, Mrs. Joplin, Rose Barton and Lucy Galton) but also had some international members, such as Cecilia Beaux from France, Kate Carl from the United States, Mary Ella Dignam from Canada, Mrs. Mendag (van Houten) from Holland and Anna Nordgren from Sweden.⁵⁰⁵ A critic writing of one of the exhibitions in the early years of the club's life remarked: "It is always worth going to, being eminently broad and cosmopolitan in its interests."⁵⁰⁶

Structure of the WIAC

Initially the WIAC was not seen favorably—at least not by everybody. Evelyn Howard, secretary of the WIAC from 1901 to 1910, told the *Daily News* in 1904:

In the beginning [the Club was received] with great scorn, numbers of people advising their friends not to join as they said that the club would soon "go down". Then the press sneered at us because we were women. One journal called the Club "a dismal project" and another characterized our first exhibition as "dull and uninteresting", a third was good enough to admit that the show included some "ingenious" works. Still in the spirit of all this opposition we grew and grew until at present we are a hundred and fifty strong.⁵⁰⁷

Not only did it not "soon 'go down;'" it was not dissolved until 1976. The longevity of the WIAC can be attributed to its effective management and robust constitution from the outset, which established rules for electing members, Executive Committee members, and Hanging Committee members. Its annual meeting minutes and annual reports depict a club determined to self-examine, adapt and keep tight control over general business such as the selection of members, financial performance, and reflection and serious critique relating to

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid., 65-66.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid., 66.

⁵⁰⁷ WAL, MAKE/AR/G/001 WIAC press-cuttings collection: "Women's International Art Club. Exhibition at the Grafton Galleries."

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ongoing discussions in the press. All the while it never lost sight of future planning. It was argued in 1906 that

Thanks to a very proper severity on the part of the committee, a really high average has been maintained, so that the present exhibition is by far the best of the series. We would go further and say that it is the best exclusively women's exhibition that we remember to have seen in London.⁵⁰⁸

The WIAC was run predominantly by an executive committee, with an elected chair and treasurer. It held two meetings a year which were open to all members and at which decisions related to general business and affairs of the club, as well as committee elections, were determined by majority vote. A majority was needed to gain membership, too, and the annual report for 1912-1913 indicated a low ratio of successfully elected new members to the total candidates put forward: In the two elections for membership that took place, only three members were elected in November and eleven in February from total of forty to fifty submissions.⁵⁰⁹ In 1913-1914, forty-six candidates presented themselves for election to the WIAC, and out of these, only seven new members were elected.⁵¹⁰

An examination of WIAC income statements reveals that the club was very well self-funded, relying heavily on members' subscriptions and proceeds from the sale of exhibits, with a small amount earned also from entrance fees and annual exhibition peripherals such as admission, sale of catalogues and advertisements. The fourteenth annual report of the WIAC (1912-1913) indicated that the committee was highly satisfied by the income statement (fig. 61), which reflected a greatly increased amount in credit and an increase in

⁵⁰⁸ "Women's International Art Club," *Times*, 13 December 1906, 17.

⁵⁰⁹ WAL, MAKE/AR/G/001 WIAC general meeting minutes and annual reports collection: "Report 1912-1913, written in June 1913 by G. M. Curtis, *Hon. Secretary*, WIAC (5, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S. W.)"

⁵¹⁰ WAL, MAKE/AR/G/001 WIAC general meeting minutes and annual reports collection: "Report 1913-1914, written on May 25, 1914 by U. W. A. Parkes, *Secretary*, WIAC (5, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S. W.)" In 1913-1914, there were eight resignations, leaving 131 members in the club.

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sales from the previous year.⁵¹¹ The income statement published in the fifteenth annual report (1913-1914) was thoroughly satisfactory as well, showing a very slight increase in sales from the previous year.⁵¹² This sound financial performance allowed the WIAC to be economically, and to some extent artistically, independent. Katy Deepwell has observed that the membership of the WIAC also “remained largely separate”⁵¹³ from other functioning groups in London at that time, despite the fact that many had royal patronage.

SUMMARY OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE.
SEASON 1912-1913.

RECEIPTS.				EXPENDITURE.							
		£	s.	d.			£	s.	d.		
1912.	May 31. To Balance brought from last season—				1913.	May 20. By					
	At Bank	35	9	8		Rent of Grafton Galleries	150	0	0		
	Petty Cash in Hand	3	10	6		Advertising	32	2	2		
						Carriage of Pictures, less received	7	12	3		
				39	0	2					
1913.	May 20. To Members' Subscriptions					Hanging and Unhanging Pictures	12	3	2		
	Entrance Fees					Hire of Cases, less received	2	17	4		
	ANNUAL EXHIBITION, LONDON—					Paid Exhibitors for Pictures, etc., sold	73	14	3		
	Admission Money	33	10	0		Printing & Stationery	25	5	4		
	Sale of Catalogues	22	9	7		Secretary's Salary	24	0	0		
	Advertisements in Catalogues	8	13	0		Fares, Tips, and Sundries	5	18	9		
	Sale of Exhibits	83	10	6		Postage & Telegrams	14	6	0		
						Law Costs—Preparation of Lease	4	2	6		
				148	3	1	Half Subscriptions returned	3	8	3	
						Insurance, Turin, less recovered			16	11	
						Audit Fee			2	2	0
						Balance at Bank	62	19	4		
						Petty Cash in Hand	3	12	3		
									66	11	7
									£425	1	3

Audited with the Books and Vouchers and found correct,
WILLIAM W. FUTCHER,
Chartered Accountant.

20th May, 1913.

Figure 61. WIAC income statement dated May 20, 1913, from its annual report for 1912-1913. Comparing the column on the left (income) with the column on the right (expenses) shows a well-balanced financial performance of the club for the fiscal year. (Scan of the original; requested by the author from the Women’s Art Library in January 2017)

There are some parallels between the WIAC and the NEAC in their democratic form of organization. Indeed, the WIAC shared many women members with the NEAC and some

⁵¹¹ WAL, MAKE/AR/G/001 WIAC general meeting minutes and annual reports collection: “Report 1912-1913.”

⁵¹² WAL, MAKE/AR/G/001 WIAC general meeting minutes and annual reports collection: “Report 1913-1914.”

⁵¹³ Deepwell, *Women Artists between the Wars*, 209-210.

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with the London Group. WIAC members who were also prominent in NEAC exhibitions included: Ethel Walker, Alice Fanner, Annie Lousia Swynnerton, Mary Sargant Florence, Clare Atwood, Marbel Atkins, Beatrice Bland, G. M. Curtis, Elsie Druce, Muriel Fewster, Hester Froom, Margaret Hannay, Mary Headlam, Frances Hodgkins, Ethel Henriques, Ruth Hollingsworth, Helen Innes, Norma Labouchere, Rowley Leggett, Julian Lousada, Mabel Nicholson, Louise Pickard, Evelyn Fothergill Robinson and E. Steward Wood. Deepwell suggested that women artists exchanged information with their member friends, thereby providing support to one another.⁵¹⁴ It is also worth noting here, too, that although many of the WIAC members attended the Slade, they did not dominate WIAC membership or its committees as they tended to do in the NEAC.⁵¹⁵ Regarding the relationship between WIAC and London Group members, Stanislaw de Karłowska (Mrs. R. Bevan) and Renée Finch both exhibited with the WIAC: Karłowska in 1905-1909 and 1911-1913, as well as serving on the WIAC Hanging Committee in 1913,⁵¹⁶ and Finch in 1913. Given this “overlap” with exhibition societies that have received respectable coverage within the history of art such as the NEAC and the London Group, the WIAC and its significance within the London art scene have been undervalued and left in obscurity.

One final connection may be made between the WIAC and other exhibition groups through Anne Estelle Rice, the American Fauvist painter who was closely associated with a group of artists contributing to *Rhythm* magazine. Rice exhibited her piece *The Egyptian Dancers* (fig. 67) with the WIAC in 1911, before her drawings first appeared in *Rhythm*

⁵¹⁴ Ibid., 217.

⁵¹⁵ Ibid., 218.

⁵¹⁶ *Women's International Art Club Fourteenth Annual Exhibition (February 28-March 29)* (London: Grafton Galleries, 1913).

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magazine. She was but one example of how the WIAC served as an important platform for international modern women artists could launch their careers in London.

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Table 15. WIAC committee members, 1900-1914.

	Executive Committee	Honorary Treasurer	Honorary Secretary	Committee Heads in Other Countries	Honorary Solicitors	Hanging Committee	Juries	Foreign Section
1901-1902	Gertrude Badnall E. G. Cohen Arthur Copping Lilian Edmonds Gweny Griffiths F. E. Haig Catherine Howard Lancaster Lucas Blanche Mathewes F. Molony E. M. Rope	M. D. Hurst	Evelyn Howard	USA: Alice Hay Canada: Mary Ella Dignam France: Kate Carl				
1902-1903	Gertrude Badnall B. Clarke E. G. Cohen Arthur Copping Lilian Edmonds Gweny Griffiths F. E. Haig Catherine Howard Lancaster Lucas E. M. Lister Blanche Mathewes F. Molony M. Naylor E. M. Rope	M. D. Hurst	Evelyn Howard	USA: Alice Hay Canada: Mary Ella Dignam France: Kate Carl Hon. Sec.: F. Molony				
1903-1904	Gertrude Badnall Anna Birch Dora Boughton-Leigh Bethia Clarke E. G. Cohen Gweny Griffiths E. Hayter Maud D. Hurst Lancaster Lucas E. M. Lister Blanche Mathewes F. Molony M. Naylor E. C. Woodward	F. E. Haig	Evelyn Howard	USA: Alice Hay Canada: Mary Ella Dignam France: Elizabeth Nourse Hon. Sec.: F. Molony				
1904-1905	Clare Atwood Anna Birch Dora Boughton-Leigh Bethia Clarke Gweny Griffiths Maud D. Hurst Ethel Kirkpatrick	F. E. Haig	Evelyn Howard	Hon. Sec. for France: F. Molony				

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	Executive Committee	Honorary Treasurer	Honorary Secretary	Committee Heads in Other Countries	Honorary Solicitors	Hanging Committee	Juries	Foreign Section
	Lancaster Lucas E. M. Lister M. Naylor M. V. Wheelhouse E. C. Woodward							
1905-1906	Clare Atwood Anna Birch Dora Boughton-Leigh Bethia Clarke Mrs. Eastlake Mrs. Deric Hardy Lancaster Lucas E. M. Lister M. V. Wheelhouse E. C. Woodward	F. E. Haig	Evelyn Howard	Canada: Mary Ella Dignam Hon. Sec. for France: M. D. Hurst				
1906-1907	Amy Atkinson Clare Atwood Bethia Clarke Deric Hardy Fortunee De Lisle Mrs. Eastlake F. E. Haig Borough Johnson Norna Labouchere Lancaster Lucas Marie Naylor E. C. Woodward	Gwenny Griffiths	Evelyn Howard	Canada: Mary Ella Dignam				
1907-1908	Austen Brown Clare Atwood B. Clarke E. M. Lister Lancaster Lucas F. E. Haig Borough Johnson Norna Labouchere E. C. Woodward G. Leese Martin White	Gwenny Griffiths	Evelyn Howard	Canada: Mary Ella Dignam				
1908-1909	B. Clarke L. Defries G. Griffiths E. Q. Henriques E. Howard Borough Johnson Lancaster Lucas M. Royds M. V. Wheelhouse Ethel Wright Martin White	M. Gutters	Evelyn Howard	Canada: Mary Ella Dignam	Elkin and Henriques			

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	Executive Committee	Honorary Treasurer	Honorary Secretary	Committee Heads in Other Countries	Honorary Solicitors	Hanging Committee	Juries	Foreign Section
1909-1910	B. Clarke Mrs. Dods Withers G. Griffiths M. Gutters Deric Hardy E. Q. Henriques Borough Johnson Norna Labouchere E. Lister Lancaster Lucas M. V. Wheelhouse E. C. Woodward	G. M. Curtis	Evelyn Howard	Canada: Mary Ella Dignam Hon. Sec. for France: Frances Hamilton	Elkin and Henriques			
1910-1911	E. Q. Henriques (Chair) Amy B. Atkinson Clare Atwood Mrs. Austen Brown Mrs. Dods Withers M. Gutters H. Halhed Norna Labouchere E. M. Lister M. V. Wheelhouse E. C. Woodward Ethel Wright	Bethia Clarke	G. M. Curtis	Canada: Mary Ella Dignam	Elkin and Henriques	Amy B. Atkinson Mrs. Austen Brown Mrs. Dods Withers Mrs. Deric Hardy Julie Heynemann E. M. Lister Mrs. Randall Miss Virtue M. V. Wheelhouse H. M. Wilson E. C. Woodward		
1911-1912	Norna Labouchere (Chair) Amy B. Atkinson Mrs. Dods Withers H. Halhed Mrs. Deric Hardy E. Q. Henriques Julie Heynemann Mrs. James Jardine Mrs. Borouch Johnson M. V. Wheelhouse E. C. Woodward Ethel Wright	Bethia Clarke	G. M. Curtis	Canada: Mary Ella Dignam Hon. Sec. for France: Mrs. James R. Hopkins	Elkin and Henriques	Norna Labouchere (Chair) Amy B. Atkinson Mrs. R. P. Bevan (Stanislawa de Karlowska) Bethia Clarke Mary Creighton Mrs. Dods Withers Muriel Fewster Fridlander Alice Kinkead Stewart Wood E. C. Woodward		

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	Executive Committee	Honorary Treasurer	Honorary Secretary	Committee Heads in Other Countries	Honorary Solicitors	Hanging Committee	Juries	Foreign Section
1912-1913	E. Q. Henriques (Chair) M. V. Wheelhouse (Duty Chair) Amy B. Atkinson Mrs. Dods Withers Maude Guttheres Edith Hope Mrs. Borough Johnson Norna Labouchere E. M. Lister Ethel Walker E. C. Woodward H. R. Wilson	Bethia Clarke	G. M. Curtis	Canada: Mary Ella Dignam	Elkin and Henriques	M. V. Wheelhouse (Chair) Amy B. Atkinson Mrs. R. P. Bevan (Stanislawa de Karłowska) M. I. Button Bethia Clarke Mrs. Dods Withers A. M. Fox Mrs. Borough Johnson Bertha Johnson E. M. Lister E. C. Woodward	Paris Jury: Florence Esté Mlle. Betty de Jong Jessie King	Hungarian Craft Section Selected by Professor Robert Nädler (of Budapest) Chairman of the Hungarian Applied Art Society
1913-1914	M. V. Wheelhouse (Chair) M. E. Atkins Amy B. Atkinson M. I. Button Maude Guttheres E. Q. Henriques Edith A. Hope Borough Johnson Norna Labouchere Ethel Walker E. C. Woodward	Bethia Clarke	Uellina W. A. Parkes	Canada: Mary Ella Dignam	Elkin and Henriques	M. V. Wheelhouse (Chair) Bethia Clarke M. Greighton Muriel Fewster Catherina Giles Ruth Holingsworth Edith A. Hope Alice Kinkead Janet Procter E. Forthergill Robinson Ethel Walker E. C. Woodward		

Source: Compiled by the author from WIAC annual exhibition catalogues.

a. In addition to its international memberships, the London-based WIAC established committees abroad: The United States, Canada and Paris, France.

b. This table includes a complete list of committee members as well as committee heads in each country.

Note: The information contained in this table is according to what was available or listed in the WIAC catalogues, without omissions.

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The WIAC exhibited on loan works by talented international women artists from previous centuries and also pursued an active interest in promoting foreign contemporary women artists. Geddes stated in 1950:

It is the club's policy to invite each year a selection of work from one or more countries abroad. This work is hung as a separate section, and provides a most interesting comparison of the differences or similarities of outlook of other nations.⁵¹⁷

This proposal was similar in concept to policy at the Salon d'Automne in Paris, where a special foreign section would be featured within the regular annual exhibition. As noted in the previous chapter, similar attempts at embracing internationalism were made by the AAA at its inaugural exhibition in 1908, which included artworks by Russian artists, while the London Group accepted foreign women artists such as Renée Finch, Ethel Sands and Nan Hudson as members. This internationalism reflected in the Club's inclusivity and diversity, and which it shared with other English exhibition societies, certainly merits attention. For example, an examination of WIAC annual reports and exhibition catalogues reveals inclusion of works from France and Holland in 1904,⁵¹⁸ a Hungarian Craft Section in the fourteenth annual exhibition (selected by Robert Nadler of Budapest, who was chairman of the Hungarian Applied Art Society)⁵¹⁹ and Swedish works in the fifteenth annual exhibition in 1914 thanks to a collaborative effort with the Svenska Konstnärinnors (Association of Swedish Women Artists) in 1913.⁵²⁰ In the same 1914 exhibition, a section featuring

⁵¹⁷ WAL, MAKE/AR/P/010: Geddes, 69.

⁵¹⁸ WAL, MAKE/AR/G/001 WIAC press-cutting collection: "Pictures by Women Artists: A Walk Round the Galleries," *Daily News*, 13 December 1904.

⁵¹⁹ *Women's International Art Club Fourteenth Annual Exhibition*.

⁵²⁰ Delia Gaze, ed., *Dictionary of Women Artists* (London and Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 1997), 114. The Svenska Konstnärinnors (Association of Swedish Women Artists) was founded in 1910 and held its first exhibition in 1911. Its establishment was motivated by the fact that Swedish women artists were excluded from Sweden's artistic circle, especially after the avant-garde group De unga (Young ones) was organized and banned women members in 1907.

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beadwork and embroidery by North American Indian women proved extremely popular.⁵²¹

In the wake of the success of this particular show, the WIAC Executive Committee planned to include a section concentrating on another foreign country for its 1915 exhibition and began work with Madame Brand-Krieghammer of Vienna. However, this arrangement fell through owing to the outbreak of war.⁵²²

Another priority of the WIAC was to send works by British women artists to foreign countries. According to the 1912-1913 annual report, the Executive Committee was invited to arrange the British Section of Fine Art at the second Turin *Esposizione Internazionale Femminile di Belli Arti* (International Women's Exhibition of Fine Arts) featuring British women's Art and not confined only to members of the club. Sixty pictures and crafts were dispatched in response to the invitations made by the committee. The exhibition was held from May 20 to June 20, 1913 (fig. 62).⁵²³

In addition to adopting the "foreign section" policy in its annual exhibitions, the WIAC also included international women artists' works from historical collections, which brought a cross-regional, cultural and generational conversation of women's artworks to a modern London audience. *Art News* commented:

This inclusion of the women artists of the past is not without its values, for besides attesting to the distinguished work done by them, it also draws attention to the prevailing fashion amongst the modern painter, that is an undue affection for debased tones.⁵²⁴

In the eleventh WIAC exhibition, for example, loaned artworks on display featured several iconic women painters, such as Mary Beale (1632-1697), who was introduced as "the first

⁵²¹ *Women's International Art Club Fourteenth Annual Exhibition.*

⁵²² WAL, MAKE/AR/G/001: WIAC general meeting minutes and annual reports collection: "Report 1913-1914."

⁵²³ WAL, MAKE/AR/G/001: WIAC general meeting minutes and annual reports collection: "Report 1912-1913."

⁵²⁴ S.M., "Women's International Art Club," *Art News*, 3 March 1910, 139.

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Figure 62. Poster of the *IIª Esposizione Internazionale Femminile di Belle Arti* (Second International Women's Exhibition of Fine Arts), Turin, May 20-June 20, 1913. Artist: Casanova Giulio (1875-1961). The WIAC Executive Committee was invited to arrange the exhibition's British section including women's art, not confined to members of the club. (Civic Graphic and Photographic Collections. Achille Bertarelli Civic Collection of Prints. Downloaded from <http://www.lombardiabeniculturali.it/stampe/schede/H0110-02712/>)

woman portrait painter of any note in England” in the catalogue⁵²⁵ and whose *Portrait of the Artist in her Studio* (9) was exhibited. Two paintings by the Italian Renaissance painter Sofonisba Anguisciola (1532-1625) were exhibited: *Portrait of the Artist* (10) and *Portrait of*

⁵²⁵ *Women's International Art Club Eleventh Annual Exhibition (Feb 24-March 22)* (London: Grafton Galleries, 1910), 8.

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a *Silk Merchant and his wife* (61).⁵²⁶ Also, there were opportunities to view *Ispala before Psthanio* by Swiss neoclassical painter Angelica Kauffman (1741-1807), *The Bull and Chevaux au Pâturage* by French artist Rosa Bonheur (1822-1899), and *Portrait of a Young Man* by Aleyda Wolfson (1648-1692).⁵²⁷

For its twelfth exhibition, the WIAC included a notable piece by Japanese woman artist Shunkiokusai Hokumei⁵²⁸ entitled *Tokiwa sheltering her children in the snow*. The story of Tokiwa was introduced in detail in the Grafton Gallery catalogue:

Tokiwa was the consort of Minamoto no Yoshitomo, father of Yoritomo, who became the first Shogun. After the defeat and death of Yoshitomo at the hands of his enemies, the Taira Clan, in the years 1159, Tokiwa fled through a night and day of snow with her three children, the youngest an infant one year old. This infant afterwards became the famous Yoshitsume, the Bayard of Japan.⁵²⁹

This exhibition was held shortly after the *Japan-British Exhibition* at Shepherd Bush which closed on October 29, 1910, and had received favorable reviews, especially for the Japanese garden works and women's artworks.⁵³⁰ WIAC inclusion of Hokumei's piece may have been an acknowledgement of the positive public reaction to the earlier exhibition.

⁵²⁶ Sofonisba Anguisciola was born in Cremona, was a pupil of Bernardino Gatti and was considered one of the most eminent portrait painters of her time. Such was her fame that Philip II of Spain invited her to Madrid to paint a portrait of Queen Isabella, which was given to Pope Pius IV. The self-portrait included in the eleventh WIAC exhibition was brought to England from Spain by Major Otway. It then passed into the possession of Lady Pomfret and was bought before 1760 by the second Earl of Ashburnham. It was shown on loan by the current Earl of Ashburnham.

⁵²⁷ Aleyda Wolfson (more commonly, Aleijda Wolfson) was a celebrated Dutch portrait painter, pupil of Caspar Netscher and lived in The Hague during the second half of the seventeenth century. She is best known for her portrait of the Prince of Orange (later William III) in 1674. The painting included in the exhibition was on loan by James Labouchere.

⁵²⁸ Shunkiokusai Hokumei's exact dates of birth and death are not listed in the catalogue (*Women's International Art Club Twelfth Annual Exhibition (March 3-March 30)* [London: Grafton Galleries, 1911], 42), but she worked in the early part of the nineteenth century and was a pupil of the famous Hokusai.

⁵²⁹ *Women's International Art Club Twelfth Annual Exhibition (March 3-30)*, (London: Grafton Galleries, 1911). This piece was on loan by Arthur Morrison.

⁵³⁰ Count Hirokichi Mutsu, "The Japan-British Exhibition, 1910," *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 58, no. 2983 (1910) : 232-243. "Review of Official Report of the Japan-British Exhibition, 1910," *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 60, no. 3080 (1911): 67. "Japan-British Exhibition," *Art News* 1 (1910), 97. It was reported that the section devoted to women's works featured cloisonné, wood

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Catalogue Advertisements

In the advertisement section of WIAC exhibition catalogues, in addition to general information about frame making, quality paints and an adjustable watercolor desk, for example, can be found announcements for art classes organized by WIAC members. Evelyn Howard, for one, committee secretary for WIAC from 1901 to 1910, promoted her summer lessons in watercolor and sketching on the North Devon Coast in 1901, 1902 and 1903.⁵³¹ Julia M. Crowhurst (pupil of Madame Delillemont-Chardon) also gave lessons, but in miniature painting, at her studio, 39A Bedford Court Mansions, in 1902 and 1903.⁵³² Flood Jones held sketching classes in London and its neighboring areas during summer 1903.⁵³³ Maud Hurst, the founder of the WIAC, and Dora Boughton-Leigh, both exhibitors in oils, watercolors and miniatures in the Paris salons and various English and American exhibitions, held a summer class in landscape and figure work at Burford Priory and Little Barrington, on the Cotswold Hills, during July, August and September 1902. In 1903, Hurst also announced a watercolor class (on Saturdays) in Paris, through the winter and in summer at Barrington, in Cotswold, for outdoor work.⁵³⁴

The exhibition catalogues were generally circulated among members and paying visitors to the exhibitions. Any material that appeared between its covers (even the advertisements) had to be consistent with the spirit of the group and worthy of

carvings, lace, embroidery, and other specimens of needlework, as well as paintings and many beautiful costumes.

⁵³¹ *Women's International Art Club Second Annual Exhibition (March 15-April 3)* (London: Grafton Galleries, 1901) and *Women's International Art Club Third Annual Exhibition (March 15-25)* (London: Grafton Galleries, 1902).

⁵³² *Women's International Art Club Third Annual Exhibition*. Also see the Advertisement Section of *Women's International Art Club Fourth Annual Exhibition (January 12-27 1903)* (London: Grafton Galleries, 1903).

⁵³³ *Women's International Art Club Third Annual Exhibition*.

⁵³⁴ *Women's International Art Club Fourth Annual Exhibition*.

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dissemination. In the WIAC catalogue of 1910, *The Englishwoman's Review of Social and Industrial Questions*, edited by Antoinette M. Mackenzie, published an advertisement for subscriptions, which turned out to be the very last one before its demise in 1910.⁵³⁵ At the time the quarterly placed its advertisement, it represented the longest-lived (1866-1910) "feminist" publication in England and "provided information, inspiration, and direction crucial to the formation of the Victorian women's movement."⁵³⁶ Also in 1910 the WIAC catalogue contained advertisements for the recently founded (1908) AAA, which was calling for artworks.⁵³⁷ The AAA showed a similar inclusiveness to women artists, enabling submission without restriction or judgment. The same announcement also encouraged readers to subscribe to *Art News*, "The Official Organ of the Allied Artists' Association,"⁵³⁸ edited by Frank Rutter, which proclaimed itself to be essential reading for all those interested in the arts: offering news and articles, current issues, fair criticism, exhibition openings, etc.. Another published advertisement in WIAC catalogues was for the *Art Chronicle*, an illustrated weekly journal devoted to the interests and goings-on of individuals concerned with painting, sculpture and the fine arts and crafts. It proclaimed itself to be the only illustrated weekly art paper, with contributions from the most prominent artists of the day, broad and sound criticism, gossip from the studios, glances through studio windows, to the palettes of modern painters, overviews of current and forthcoming exhibitions, a Who's

⁵³⁵ *Women's International Art Club Tenth Annual Exhibition (Feb 22-March 17)* (London: Grafton Galleries, 1909).

⁵³⁶ Kathryn Summers, "Epideictic Rhetoric in the 'Englishwoman's Review,'" *Victorian Periodicals Review* 34, no. 3 (2001): 263. *Englishwoman's Review* was the successor to the *English Woman's Journal* (March 1858-1864).

⁵³⁷ *Women's International Art Club Eleventh Annual Exhibition*.

⁵³⁸ "(The official organ of the Allied Artists' Association)" appeared in each issue, printed in a different font and smaller size under the title "*The Art News*," which was in boldface

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Who in art, art competition announcements, news, concerning art schools and a wealth of illustrated articles.⁵³⁹

Exhibitions and Reviews

With the exception of two breaks during the Great War, the club's annual exhibitions were held consistently from its foundation in 1900 to its dissolution in 1976.⁵⁴⁰ During 1900-1914, these exhibitions were generally held in February and/or March. Oil paintings predominated at the WIAC exhibitions, though there were also craft items, prints, sculptures and watercolors on display. The early exhibitions were held at the Grafton Galleries (1900-1920) then later at the Goupil Gallery (1922, 1923). Both galleries were, in their day, renowned for holding exhibitions of avant garde art and are now recognized as playing a central role in the emergence of modern painting in Britain. For example, the first major impressionist exhibition in Britain was staged at Grafton Galleries in 1905, as were Roger Fry's two milestone exhibitions of post-impressionist works, *Manet and the Post-Impressionists* in 1910 and *The Second Post-Impressionist Exhibition* in 1912. The Goupil Gallery, on the other hand, had been started as a branch of the Parisian firm of Goupil & Cie. in 1857 and subsequently became increasingly prominent in the West End of London, focusing on contemporary art and featuring many British modernist artists and groups. The Goupil Gallery was also known for its connection with international networks, thereby coinciding with one of the fundamental tenets of the WIAC.⁵⁴¹

⁵³⁹ *Women's International Art Club Twelfth Annual Exhibition.*

⁵⁴⁰ Deepwell, *Women Artists between the Wars*, 211. The WIAC was unable to organize exhibitions in 1916 and 1918 during the World War I.

⁵⁴¹ For more on the Goupil Gallery, see Anne Helmreich, "The Socio-Geography of Art Dealers and Commercial Galleries in Early Twentieth-Century London," in *The Camden Town Group in Context*, edited by Anne Helmreich, Ysanne Holt, and Jennifer Mundy (London: Tate Research Publication, 2012), available online: <https://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/camden-town-group/anne-helmreich-the-socio-geography-of-art-dealers-and-commercial-galleries-in-early-r1105658>.

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An examination of the newspaper articles on WIAC exhibitions reveals some surprising results, especially when we consider the silence surrounding the WIAC in current scholarship: The WIAC and its annual exhibitions were widely reported and hotly discussed in international, national and regional “quality” and entertainment publications of the day.⁵⁴² Both the *New York Herald* and the French *La Fronde* brought news of the latest WIAC exhibition across the Atlantic and the English Channel.⁵⁴³ National quality newspapers such as in the *Guardian*, *Times*, *Sunday Times*, *Daily Telegraph*, *Observer* and *Daily Chronicle* published lengthy reviews, as did middle-market newspapers such as the *Daily Mail* and *Daily Express*. Critiques and reports of WIAC exhibitions were also widely distributed throughout the kingdom via numerous larger-circulation regional newspapers and special-interest publications. What follows is but a sample derived from analysis of the archives: *Paul Mall Gazette*, *St. James’ Gazette*, *Saturday Review*, *Morning Post*, *Aberdeen Gazette*, *Belfast News Letter*, *Birmingham Post*, *Brighton Gazette*, *Brighton Society*, *Glasgow Herald*, *Kensington Liverpool Courier*, *Leicester Post*, *Liverpool Mercury*, *Liverpool Post*, *Liverpool Whig Courier*, *Manchester Guardian*, *Nottingham Guardian*, *Northern Daily Telegraph*, *Northern Whig*, *Scotsman*, *Sheffield Telegraph*, *S. Wales Daily News*, *Star*, *Southern Weekly News*, *Sussex Daily News*, *West Sussex Gazette*, *Western Daily Press*, *Western Press*, *Westminster Gazette*, *Yorkshire Daily Post*, *Yorkshire Post*, etc. Within the popular press articles appeared in *Black and White* and the *Daily Mirror* as well as in mass-market periodicals and newspapers. These publications reflected women’s interests and/or its

⁵⁴² Press cuttings were collected from a wide range of sources and now rest in the WIAC Press-cuttings Collection at the Women’s Art Library (MAKE/AR/G/001). Newspapers and periodicals not listed in the main text include *Elgin Courant and Courier*, *Jewish Chronicle*, *Globe*, the *Queen*, *Court Circular*, *Life*, *Onlooker*, *Bazaar*, *Court Journal*, *Morning Leader*, *Speaker*, *Sunday Special*, *Ethnics*, *Today*, *English and American Gazette*, *City Press*, *Echo*, the *Morning Adventure*, *The Daily*, *Daily Paper*, *The World* and *Dramatic World*.

⁵⁴³ *La Fronde* was a French feminist newspaper run and written exclusively by women.

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female readership. They included *Lady's Pictorial*, *Madame*, *The Lady*, *Ladies' Field*, *Gentlewoman*, *Vanity Fair*, *Lady's Companion*, *Churchwoman*, *Ladies' Review* and *Health and Home*. Within the more specific field of art, thorough critiques were contributed by art periodicals such as the *Academy*, *Graphic*, *Art Journal*, *Artist*, *Art News*, *Art Record*, *Athenaeum* and *Sketch*, and also even by *Literature*, *Literary World*, *Architectural Review*, *Builder* and *Building News*.

For some, the WIAC was less international than the club might have wished to believe. However many WIAC members gravitated toward the lessons in Paris, the majority were actually British by nationality and residence. This was evident in the second WIAC annual exhibition in 1901, in which 92 of its 119 members met this description, a fact that *La Fronde* was not slow to notice and remark upon: "... there seems to be regret among the ladies that [WIAC] members on the Continent have sent only a few pictures."⁵⁴⁴ This point aside, newspaper reports for the second exhibit were generally positive, *Academy* even proclaimed that the WIAC

Is by far the best art society that this country has, so far, given us for the exhibition of paintings by women, and it is full of promise, as it is full of hope, that woman is shedding the Ruskin sentimentality and coming to find that she is capable of creating more subtle and vigorous emotions than the stippled teazy [*sic*] wiry little flower-piece.⁵⁴⁵

Meanwhile, the *Times*, in 1909 wrote: "this Grafton Gallery display is better than last year."⁵⁴⁶ Yet, by 1911, it was declaring:

⁵⁴⁴ "Une Exposition Féminine à Londres." The original is as follows: "A la joie très légitime de ces dames, se mêle, paraît-il, un regret: les membres du continent n'ont envoyé que peu de tableaux." Translation by the author.

⁵⁴⁵ WAL, MAKE/AR/G/001 WIAC press-cuttings collection: Haldane Macfall, "Women in Art," *Academy*, 17 December 1904.

⁵⁴⁶ WAL, MAKE/AR/G/001 WIAC press-cutting collection: "The Women's International," *Times*, 23 February 1909, 14.

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The level of their work is just as high in accomplishment as the level of work at most exhibitions, and rather higher in artistic interest.⁵⁴⁷

The WIAC profile among critics remained positive, although its international element continued to be a topic of discussion. In 1906, the club's eighth annual exhibition was praised as "by far the best of the series," although the reviewer made the observation that "the club is not so very international ...There are some French, some American, and a very few German members, but the large majority are English, though Paris has had a hand in the training of many of them."⁵⁴⁸ The tenth exhibition, held in 1909, provoked similar comments: "... the club is international only in the sense that it shows, in common with other societies of the day, a strong French influence."⁵⁴⁹ In fact, newspaper notices of annual WIAC annual exhibitions continued in the same vein from 1908 to 1914, noting the primacy of French influence and a notable lack of global flavor, such as "very few of the exhibitors are foreigners"⁵⁵⁰ and the exhibition "contains very few things that justify the use of the word international."⁵⁵¹ Although the number of international members and invited guests from abroad was numerically meagre, nevertheless the WIAC had a very diverse membership with exhibitors from: France, Scandinavia, the United States, Holland, Germany, North American Indians, Italy, Japan, Austria and Australia among others.

Newspaper coverage of WIAC exhibitions for 1912-1913 increased in number, and especially positive ones arrived courtesy of the American press.⁵⁵² Notices for 1913-1914

⁵⁴⁷ "Picture Exhibition."

⁵⁴⁸ "Women's International Art Club," *Times*, 13 December 1906, 17.

⁵⁴⁹ "The Women's International."

⁵⁵⁰ "Art Exhibitions. Women's International Art Club," *Times*, 4 March 1913, 5.

⁵⁵¹ Antliff, Greene, and Edwards, 16.

⁵⁵² WAL, MAKE/AR/G/001 WIAC general meeting minutes and annual reports collection: "Report 1912-1913."

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though slightly reduced in numbers were actually much better, longer and of greater significance than in former years.⁵⁵³

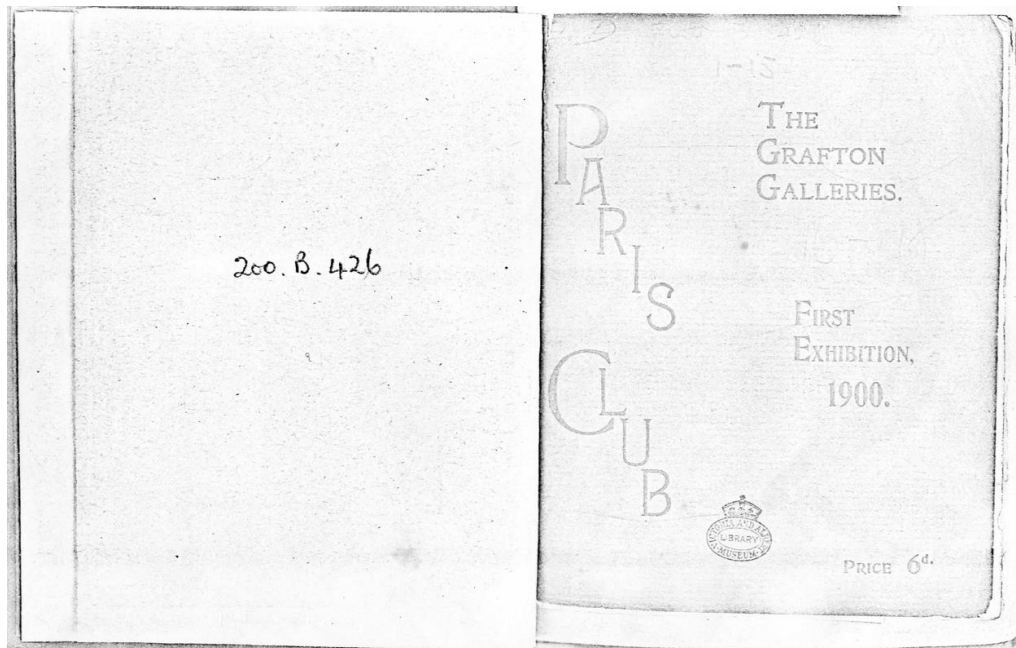


Figure 63. Cover page of the catalogue for the first exhibition of the Paris Club at the Grafton Galleries in London, 1900. This was the first and only cover design of the club under this name before it was rechristened the Women's International Art Club in 1901. (Black-and-white scan of the original catalogue cover from the WIAC collection, held at the Women's Art Library. Requested by the author in January 2017)

⁵⁵³ WAL, MAKE/AR/P/010 WIAC general meeting minutes and annual reports collection: "Report 1913-1914." Eight resignations were registered in the club's fiscal year 1913-1914, leaving 131 members in the club. The annual exhibition took place in February and March 1914, specially featuring invited work from Sweden. By request of the Executive Committee, Muriel Fewster, who had been traveling in Sweden the previous year, undertook a visit to the Studio of the Swedish Artists and selected the invited works.

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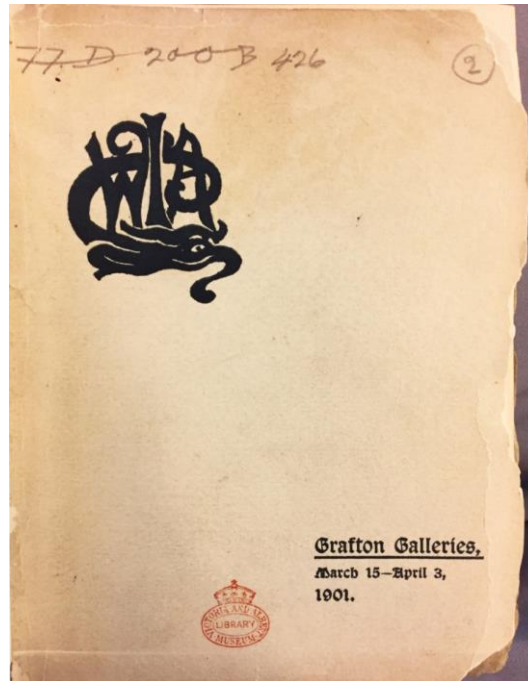


Figure 64. Second cover design used by the WIAC for exhibition catalogues between 1900 and 1904: second annual exhibition (March 15-April 3, 1901), third annual exhibition (March 12-25, 1902), fourth annual exhibition (January 12-27, 1903) and fifth annual exhibition (January 18-31, 1904). Featured in the left upper corner is a black dragon-shaped letter C coiling around WIA, together making up the abbreviation of the club's name. (Photographed by the author at the Victoria & Albert National Art Library in January 2017)

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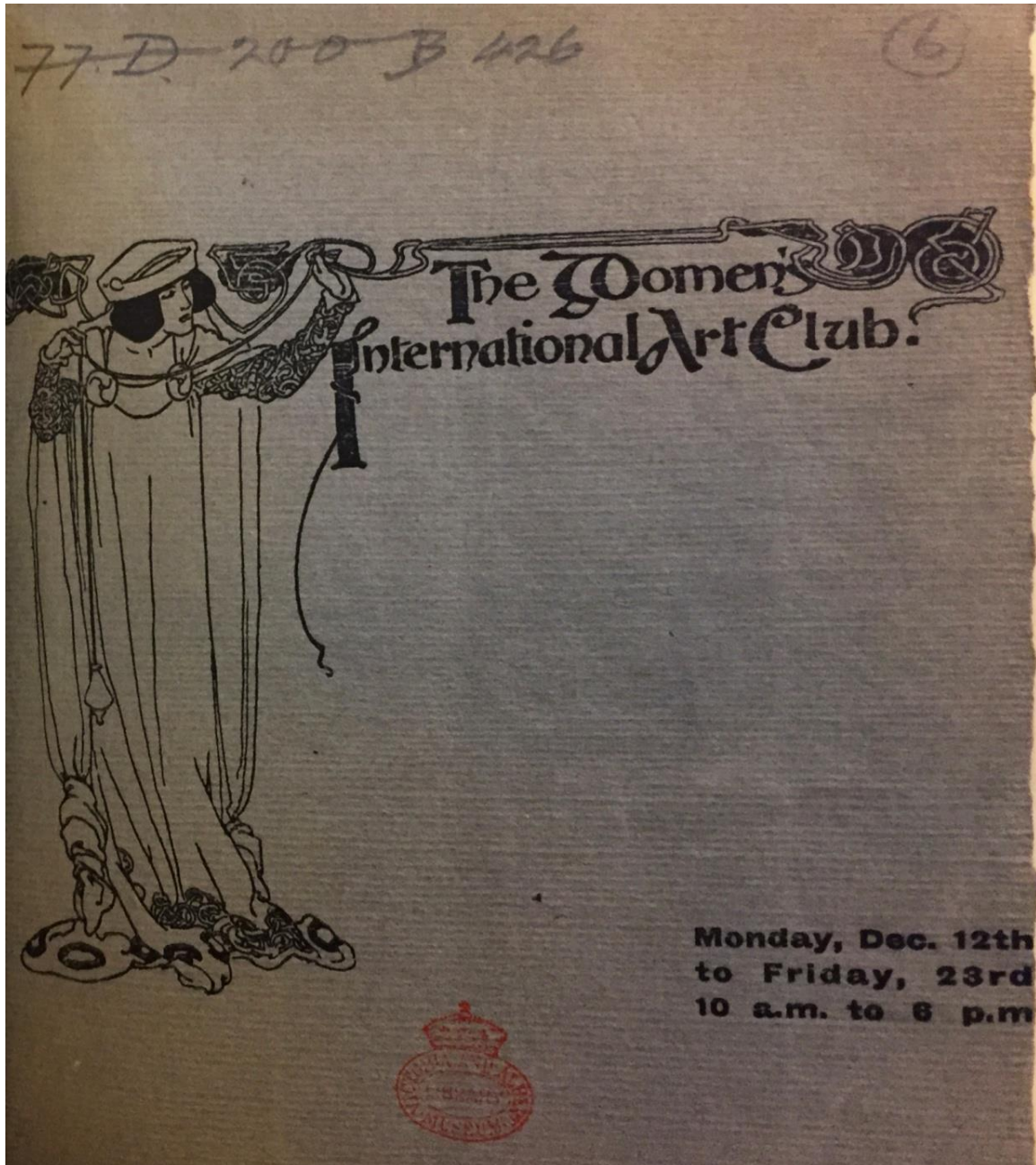


Figure 65. Third cover design used by the WIAC exclusively for the catalogue of its sixth annual exhibition (December 12–23, 1904) held at Grafton Galleries. No record of its designer exists. (Photographed by the author at the Victoria & Albert National Art Library in January 2017)

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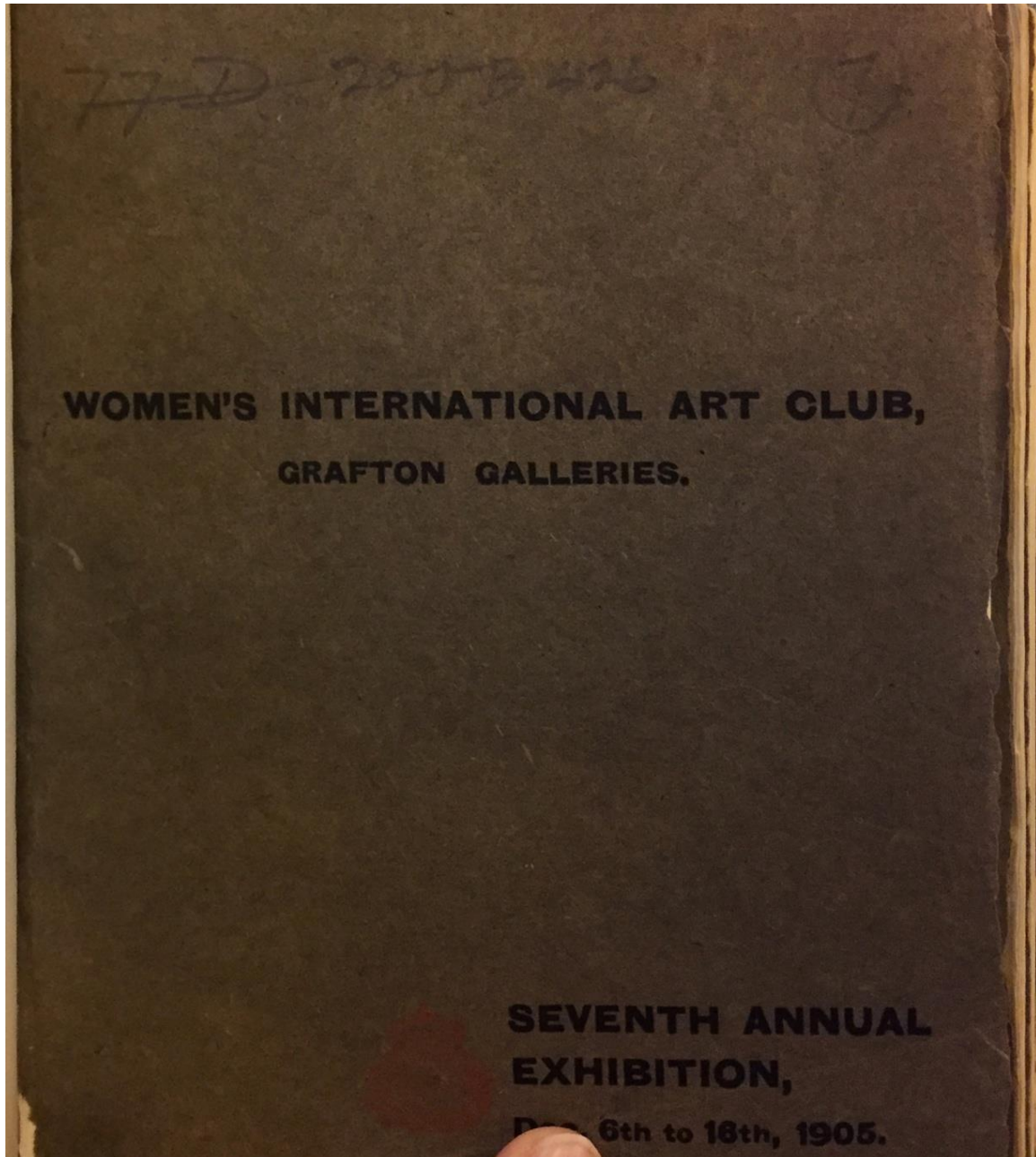


Figure 66. Fourth catalogue cover design used by the WIAC for its exhibitions held between 1905 and 1914: seventh annual exhibition (December 6-16, 1905), eighth annual exhibition (December 12-22, 1906), ninth annual exhibition (January 1908), tenth annual exhibition (February 22-March 17, 1909), eleventh annual exhibition (February 24-March 22, 1910), twelfth annual exhibition (March 3-30, 1911), thirteenth annual exhibition (March 4-30, 1912), fourteenth annual exhibition (February 28-March 29, 1913), and fifteenth annual exhibition (February 26-March 30, 1914). (Photographed by the author at the Victoria & Albert National Art Library in January 2017)

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WIAC, 1910-1914

It was suggested in 1910 that the WIAC was “a club that aspired to be at the forefront of modern artistic activity.”⁵⁵⁴ An even earlier indication of such aspirations may be evident in the 1905 redesign of the cover of WIAC exhibition catalogues to reflect modernist simplicity (fig. 66). An earlier catalogue cover design used between 1900 and 1904 (fig. 64) suggested an air of mystery, created mainly by the black dragon-shaped letter C that coiled around the letters WIA, together forming the abbreviation of the club’s name. This impression was heightened by the contrasting white background and Gothic font used elsewhere on the cover. An interim design that included an Aubrey Beardsley-style figure of a young woman and curved font was used for the exhibition catalogue in December 1904 (fig. 65) then later abandoned. WIAC’s new catalogue cover from the seventh annual exhibition catalogue (fig. 6.6) featured a very simple design that included only the title, printed in the center in a boldfaced sans-serif font, and the venue information. The choice of a dark olive-green background was not as radical as the rebellious blue of *Rhythm* magazine but nevertheless enlightened and refreshing enough to mark the Club taking a step toward embracing a form of modernist design.

Research conducted by the author into the critical reception of the WIAC and its women artists by audiences and reviewers also strongly suggests an increasing expectation of “feminine strength”⁵⁵⁵ with an accompanying shift of attention from visual representation to the expression of emotion at some point around 1910. The *Times* first raised this issue briefly in 1904, declaring in a sweeping generalization about WIAC artists that “neither their nation nor their sex has any distinct expression in their work.”⁵⁵⁶ In the

⁵⁵⁴ Cited in Bonett. Originally quoted in Huntly Carter, “Art,” *New Age*, 10 March 1910, 452.

⁵⁵⁵ “Picture Exhibition,” 11.

⁵⁵⁶ WAL, MAKE/AR/G/001 WIAC press-cuttings collection: “Sussex Lady Artists: The Grafton Street

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same year, *The World: A Journal for Men and Women*, published an article raising several important points about what had been and what, it hoped, might lie ahead:

Though I do not believe in a division of the sexes in art, wherein only the actual merit of the work accomplished is of the smallest importance, and the sex of the artist of none at all, still, if women do choose to specialise themselves apart in an International Art Club, it is as well that their work should be of a quality which could hold its own elsewhere as well ... There are surprisingly few sins of the "pretty-pretty" sentimental order which is usually the curse of feminine art; the majority of the pictures are sincere, direct, and show proof of vigorous and earnest study.⁵⁵⁷

The article congratulated the WIAC for its impressive exhibition and believed it "justifies the existence of the club as none of its preceding exhibitions succeeded in doing," singling out Miss Cameron's big canvases dealing with Spanish subjects for being both "hard and unbeautiful, [and] show[ing] considerable strength and ambition."⁵⁵⁸ Intriguingly, a different critic reflected on what elements might define the "feminine quality" of the same exhibition while arguing that Barbara Porter's works was "the most remarkable and powerful piece" in the show, as it had no "fake" or "false sentiment." The writer continued, she was the artist who

knows what art means, who realizes that it is not mere careful drawing or a mere transcript from nature—women who have listened to the meaning, the song, of life, and who try to state its emotions in terms of colour ... the picture sings of the meadows and is fragrant with the scent of the summer's day—the sky is full of light airs of heaven, the waters swirl languidly. And there is not a blade of grass dissected—there is the whole emotion set down with a largeness and a mastery and a beauty of statement in which strength and subtlety are splendidly balanced—its joyous expression is sheer delight. Across the great gallery—a gallery full of forceful work—it calls like a live thing. Close to it one revels in the beauty of its technical detail.⁵⁵⁹

Galleries."

⁵⁵⁷ WAL, MAKE/AR/G/001 WIAC press-cuttings collection: "The Women's International Art Club," *The World: A Journal for Men and Women* (1904).

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁹ WAL, MAKE/AR/G/001 WIAC press-cuttings collection: Macfall.

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In its 1904 article, the *Times* had questioned whether women painted differently from men, whether they managed to express any distinctively feminine qualities in their art while giving a rather disappointing review of the WIAC exhibition of that year:

there are not many pictures which seem to have any distinctively feminine qualities ... we look for pictures that have feminine strength in them.⁵⁶⁰

Unfortunately, the writer did not provide a concrete definition of what such “feminine strength” might be, although he/she did feel that it was present in Maria Caspar-Filser’s

Frühlingshügel:

There is no sentimental prettiness about it [the painting] whatever, yet it expresses a peculiarly feminine delight in the play and happiness of children with great simplicity and force ... The picture has an unforced unity as if the artist had seen it all and made it without invention or manipulation; and yet there is not literal statement of fact in it anywhere. Every detail is transformed by her mood; and expressed it.⁵⁶¹

By 1912, perhaps owing to the impact of post-impressionism, this avoidance of the sentimental prettiness had become much more commonplace, and one critic complained that there was no longer any “distinctively feminine character” in the WIAC annual exhibition: “[O]ne might walk through the galleries from end to end without discovering or even suspecting that it was a woman’s exhibition if one was not aware of the fact beforehand.”⁵⁶² The writer went on to make the significant suggestion that there should be obvious differences between the art of the two genders and women artists should explore their distinctive character more thoroughly:

[W]omen have to some extent interests, emotions, and values different from those of men, and they are most likely to succeed in art if they do not try to conceal this difference and if they do not overstrain their powers from excessive ambition.⁵⁶³

⁵⁶⁰ "Picture Exhibition," 11.

⁵⁶¹ Ibid.

⁵⁶² "The Women's International Art Club," *Times*, 4 March 1912, 12.

⁵⁶³ Ibid.

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It seems that a meaning of “feminine character” was beginning to emerge and could be represented in two distinct aspects. The first was the literal meaning, that the gender of the artist should be identifiable through the subjects and techniques shown from his/her artworks. The second had to do with the “originality” of the work of art, artworks that derived from the distinct moods and interests of the women artists, thereby yielding a so-called feminine expression. In any case, the general belief was that women artists should refrain from mimicking the works of male artists.

At the extremes, the same critique labeled Laura Knight’s *A Picnic* as “incompetent,” because the artist “sacrificed all expression” to representation, while it asserted that “the most completely satisfactory picture in the exhibition” belonged to M. I. Button’s *The Ram Yard*.⁵⁶⁴ In the latter,

This artist has some of Van Gogh’s power of giving significance to a scene which in reality would look quite dull to most eyes.⁵⁶⁵

This review, therefore, would suggest that so-called feminine qualities were somewhat in keeping with the apparent priorities of the new wave of post-impressionism that was arriving in London at the very moment. In other words, personal rendering as response. And yet, to follow the lead of male artists of the day, to strive for a similar strength and direction, would surely lead to accusations of women artists engaging in imitation and displaying lack of independent judgment in subject matter, as well as technique.

This post-impressionist spirit continued to be manifest around the galleries of London in 1913, as indicated in reviews of the fourteenth WIAC exhibition. The *Times* critic felt that contradictory forces were at work as “a large proportion of the pictures are modern

⁵⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid.

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of the moderns, influenced by the painters of the Salon d'Automne and the Post-Impressionists," and among many, Renée Finch's *La Fille Mère* was "a remarkably fine example."⁵⁶⁶ Others, such as W.R., shrugged indifferently:

In other spheres of art women are more and more expressing the distinct outlook of the sex in life, presenting the world as seen through feminine eyes and giving a fresh meaning to things. No doubt in time some woman will come along and say something in paint that only a woman could say; most likely she will not be the most capable of painters, but there will be no misunderstanding her intention. In the meantime, we must possess our souls in patience.⁵⁶⁷

So, while the 1913 WIAC exhibition as whole might have come across as "conventionally tame,"⁵⁶⁸ it remained a club that aspired to experiment with modern artistic activity. With more than a hundred participants in each show, there would quite naturally be claims that the few outstanding works were swamped by conservative or incompetent submissions. Also, because the group was not bound by a common theoretical or aesthetic priority, it was to be expected that each show would present a panorama of art movements of the day. The following extract, for example, though lengthy, allows an appreciation of the nature and magnitude of the offerings at a WIAC exhibition (in this case, the twelfth annual exhibition, held in 1911) and the difficulty critics had in coming to terms with the current terminology associated with such work:

A feature of the large centre gallery is the so-called—but really misnamed—"post-impressionist" wall, devoted to works which have in common pure bright colour and simplified design. ... Miss A. E. Rice's glowing decorative panel of "Egyptian dancers," [see fig. 67] ... [and] Miss Ethel Wright's portrait "The Arbour," ... are ideal rather than realistic in treatment, belonging to that land of dreams. ... [The] still-lives and portrait by Miss Elsie M. Henderson ... have surely more in common with Monet and Renoir than with Cezanne or Gauguin. ... Miss Henderson's portrait of a young lady ... has not that simplified abstraction which is the kernel of Post-Impressionism ... but is on the contrary a very vivid, personal and engaging impression of an actuality. ... "The Fried Fish Shop" [see fig. 68] by S. de Karlowka

⁵⁶⁶ "Art Exhibitions. Women's International Art Club."

⁵⁶⁷ W.R. "Round the Galleries." *The Stafford Gallery*, *Sunday Times*, 9 March 1913, 16.

⁵⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

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(Mrs. R. P. Bevan) is a delightful and wholly personal rendering of a common Whistler subject transfigured by a delicate into Caesar the things that are Caesar's, but do not let us label as Post-Impressionist every painting which has the distinction of originality and the charm of clean design and pure colour.⁵⁶⁹



Figure 67. Anne Estelle Rice, *The Egyptian Dancers (Two Egyptian Dancers)*, 1910. Oil on canvas, 57 x 73 in. (144.8 x 185.4 cm). Rice's painting was inspired by the avant-garde Ballets Russes production of *Cleopatra*. (Brooklyn Museum, Dick S. Ramsay Fund, 2007, © artist or artist's estate; downloaded from <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/183814>)



⁵⁶⁹ "Exhibitions--Women's International Art Club," *Art News* 2, no. 6 (15 March 1911), 43-44. Elsie M. Henderson (1880-1960) exhibited five pieces in the 1911 WIAC exhibition: *A Study in Sunshine* (56), *In the Conservatory* (66), *Fruit* (67), *Still Life* (72) and *Thames Barges* (106).

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Figure 68. Stanisława de Karłowska, *Fried Fish Shop*, c. 1907. Oil on canvas, 33 x 39 cm. Inscribed "S. de Karłowska" on the bottom right. (© Tate, presented by the artist's family, 1954, N06238)

Ethel Walker

Despite the tendency toward collective expectations of women artists at the time and the universal qualities inherent in their art, it is important to consider their "personal engaging" and "rendering" (or so-called feminine quality) on an individual basis. Were women artists' works distinctive from those of their male contemporaries? Ethel Walker (1861-1951) proves a subject suited to individual investigation in order to pursue and personify this particular inquiry, especially given that she was greatly involved in the London art scene and yet has never been the subject of any published biography or the focus of extensive scholarly research.⁵⁷⁰

Over her career, Walker affiliated herself with a diversity of organizations in order to broaden her artistic networks. In addition to exhibiting with the WIAC in 1908, 1912, 1913 and 1914, serving as its president in the 1950s and becoming an honorary member, she was made an honorary life member of the NEAC, having regularly shown in its exhibitions from 1899. She was also a member of the London Group,⁵⁷¹ the Society of Women Artists (SWA), the Royal Society of British Artists, the Royal Society of Portrait Painters, and the Society of Mural Painters. She was elected associate member of the Royal Academy (A.R.A.) in 1940 and named a Dame Commander, Order of the British Empire (D.B.E) in 1943. Ethel Walker exhibited widely and was often entrusted with additional important tasks relating to the

⁵⁷⁰ The exception is a section focusing on her experiences between the world wars by art historian Katy Deepwell in *Women Artists between the Wars: 'A Fair Field and No Favour'* (2010). In contrast, the present study, relying on the collection of archives housed at the Tate, focuses specifically on Walker's life and art in the pre-World War I years.

⁵⁷¹ Deepwell, *Women Artists between the Wars: A Fair Field and No Favour*, 219.

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hanging and selection of works within exhibitions. She was one of the few women artists among the NEAC members to be regularly identified as “our greatest woman artist.”⁵⁷²

During the pre-World War I years, Walker vacillated between the academic training she had received at the Slade (1893-1896, re-entered in 1912-1913, 1916-1917 and 1921-1922) and the international influences manifesting themselves in the social and artistic upheaval of London. From 1912 her style broke away from the Impressionist tradition embraced by the NEAC toward a more personal, radical approach. Her influences intrigued critics, and her demonstration of the “feminine strength” they seemed to seek in her art her prominent in both the NEAC and the WIAC. Her genre scenes exhibited with the WIAC in 1912, for example, were considered “to have a more original sense of character” compared to “imitations” or mere representations of what appeared before the eyes.⁵⁷³ In the same exhibition, Frank Rutter praised her as a “gifted woman painter,” adding that

Her interior ‘Confidences’ is one of the most important works Miss Walker has exhibited in recent years, a lyrical painting of hearth, charming both in sentiment, colour and general arrangement.⁵⁷⁴

Her smaller paintings of portraits, flowers and seascapes were highly praised in her time in various newspapers. But it is her large-size “decorations” of 1912 that reveal the prewar shift in style mentioned above.

The year 1912 was pivotal to the history of art in London in almost every conceivable way. In January, art critic Huntly Carter published *The New Spirit in Drama and Art*, which discussed emerging modern groups: Italian Futurism, the French Fauves, Cubism, and the

⁵⁷² Ibid., 146.

⁵⁷³ "The Women's International Art Club," *Times*, 4 March 1912, 12.

⁵⁷⁴ , "Round the Galleries," *Sunday Times*, 31 March 1912, 13.

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Anglo-American Fauve-inspired graphic content in *Rhythm*.⁵⁷⁵ Then Michael Sadleir's review of *Concerning the Spiritual in Art* by Kandinsky was published in *Art News*. Meanwhile, F. T. Marinetti, who had perfected the skill of utilizing media and public scandal to propagandize art, had arrived in London. When the *Exhibition of Works by the Italian Futurist Painters* opened in London in March 1912 at the Sackville Gallery, it was accompanied by a lecture Marinetti delivered on March 19 at Bechstein Hall, and it was hard to ignore that something radical and important had arrived. Dorothy Shakespear was at the Gallery to hear Marinetti, Ezra Pound learned about the event directly from his wife, and Margaret Nevinson, mother of the English Futurist C. R. W. Nevinson, wrote passionately after the event on Marinetti and his ideology. In addition to the eye-catching Futurists, on April 23, *Exhibition of Drawings by Pablo Picasso* opened at Stafford Gallery; in May, *Paintings and Drawings by Walter Sickert* took place at the Carfax Gallery; while *Quelques Artistes Indépendants Anglais*, organized by Roger Fry and presenting the works of Vanessa Bell, Frederick Etchells, Jessie Etchells, Roger Fry, Charles Ginner, Spencer Gore, Duncan Grant, Charles Holmes, Wyndham Lewis and Helen Saunders opened at the Galerie Barbazanges, Paris, (May 1-15, 1912). As mentioned in the previous chapter, in October, *Exhibition of Pictures by S. J. Peplow, J. D. Fergusson, Joseph Simpson, Anne E. Rice, Jessie Dismorr, Georges Banks, Ethel Wright, C. King, L. Atkinson, Fred. F. Foottet* (Stafford Gallery) run concurrently with Roger Fry's *Second Post-Impressionist Exhibition*. For this, Anna Gruetzner Robins has argued that Frank Rutter, the critic who lent his considerable weight and influence to promote the

⁵⁷⁵ In *The New Spirit in Drama and Art*, Huntly Carter discussed Umberto Boccioni, Auguste Chabaud, André Derain, Dunoyer de Segonzac, Lyonel Feininger, J. D. Fergusson, Othon Friesz, Phelan Gibb, Spencer Gore, Samuel Peplow, Pablo Picasso, Anne Estelle Rice, Gino Severini and Alfred Wolmark.

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former group, “saw himself in competition with Fry as the British critic who was the most up-to-date with current developments”.⁵⁷⁶

How did Ethel Walker fit into this watershed year awash with groups, artists and critics vying for a unique position and identity? To find the answer we must trace the trajectory and pace of her diverse strands of influence in other artists and also recognize her ambition to insert her unique voice and style in this competitive context.

Walker was born in Edinburgh on June 9, 1861, and her early education included drawing and painting.⁵⁷⁷ It has been suggested that after visiting a private collection of Asian art in her native city, she decided to become an artist.⁵⁷⁸ By 1883, Walker had settled in London,⁵⁷⁹ where she enrolled at the Westminster School of Art and became a pupil of

⁵⁷⁶ Robins, 112.

⁵⁷⁷ Ethel Walker was born in Edinburgh on 9th June, 1861, daughter of Arthur Walker, a Yorkshireman, one of a family of iron-founders, and Isabella Roberson, the second wife of Arthur, the widow of a Presbyterian minister. Like many girls of the time born into higher social class families, Ethel Walker received classes in drawing and painting from an early age. Her talent, however, attracted the attention of her art tutor Hector Caffieri, who encouraged her growing interest in painting. Gradually she turned to entire focus to art, and in about 1878, she paid her first visit to France. For further biographical information on Walker, see Tate Gallery Archives, TGA716/81: Grace English File; Rothenstein, 75-84; Mary Chamot, "Ethel Walker," *Apollo, a Journal of the Arts* 13 (January-June 1931): 307-308; H.F., "Recent Paintings by Ethel Walker at the Lefevre Galleries," *Apollo, a Journal of the Arts* 21 (1935): 110; "Gabriel Van Schnell by Ethel Walker," *Apollo, a Journal of the Arts* 26 (1937): 356; Mary Sorrell, "Dame Ethel Walker, A.R.A.," *Apollo, a Journal of the Arts* 45 (January-June 1947): 119-121; T. W. Earp, *Ethel Walker, Frances Hodgkins, Gwen John: A Memorial Exhibition, 7 May to 15 June, 1952*, (London: Tate Gallery & Arts Council, 1952), 2-5. Lilian Browse, *Distinguished British Paintings, 1875-1950: An Accent on Ethel Walker: 9 May to 15 June 1974* (London: Roland, Browse & Delbanco, 1974); Brian Louis Pearce, *Dame Ethel Walker: An Essay in Reassessment* (Calgary, Canada: Stride Publications, 1997); Deepwell, *Women Artists between the Wars*, 146-159. Katy Deepwell's short section on Ethel Walker is by far the latest and most thorough academic research on this distinguished woman artist.

⁵⁷⁸ Mary Sorrell, "Dame Ethel Walker, A.R.A.," *Apollo, a Journal of the Arts* 45 (January-June 1947): 119. According to Sorrell's article, the private collection was held at a lady's house who had lived forty years of her life in India and China, and who had brought home masterpieces of painting from those countries. Ethel Walker said, "As I looked at them I was seized with violent despair, and the uselessness of ever trying to paint, though in those few years I had never previously been conscious of wanting to do so. Later I used to go and study the Ajanta Tomb paintings in the South Kensington Museum, and the Chinese paintings in the British Museum, but that was long before I entered the Slade School."

⁵⁷⁹ In Lilian Browse, *Distinguished British Paintings, 1875-1950: An Accent on Ethel Walker: 9 May to 15 June 1974* (London: Roland, Browse & Delbanco, 1974). Browse was an art dealer and art

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Professor Frederick Brown. In 1892, she followed him to the Slade School of Fine Arts, where she stayed for two years.⁵⁸⁰ About this time, she visited Spain to study the works of Diego Velázquez in the Prado Museum,⁵⁸¹ on her journey back, she stopped in Paris and met art critic and collector George Moore, who introduced her to Impressionism and the paintings of Édouard Manet.⁵⁸² In time, in addition to Manet, she became indebted to the works of Gauguin and French muralist Puvis de Chavannes.⁵⁸³ Moore loaned his flat in Victoria Street in London to Walker to paint her first oil painting *Angela*, which was exhibited in the 1899 NEAC exhibition. *Angela*, depicting “a quietly lit interior with a lady standing before the fire painted with great sensitiveness for beauty of tone” and containing “the grey hominies introduced by Whistler,” marked her first success.⁵⁸⁴ After leaving the Slade, she attended Walter Sickert’s evening classes from time to time to draw from life.⁵⁸⁵ She reentered the Slade several times to continue her intensive study of the nude model.⁵⁸⁶ The University College London Record Office indicates she attended the school in 1912-1913, 1916-1917, 1919-1920 and 1920-1921.⁵⁸⁷ In 1912, a government-funded Rome

historian, who was also a partner in two London galleries: Roland, Browse & Delbanco and Browse and Derby.

⁵⁸⁰ TGA716 /81 Grace English File: Notes on Dame Ethel Walker by Grace English, 4. Walker, together with her close friend Clara Christian, started life class with Fred Brown, then followed him to the Slade in 1892, when he was made the professor there. See also: John Rothenstein, *Modern English Painters*, vol. 1 (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1952), 82.

⁵⁸¹ Mary Woodall, "Ethel Walker," in *Dictionary of National Biography, 1951-60*, edited by E. T. Williams and Helen M. Palmer (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1971), 1019-1020.

⁵⁸² *Ibid.*, 1019. “George Moore was a well-known writer, art critic and collector, one of the first to notice Ethel’s work and brought it to the notice of others. He himself had studied painting in Paris with the Impressionist School, and was a friend of Manet and Monet and had added their pictures to his collection. He had also published an essay on Manet.” Cited from TGA 716/81 Grace English File: “Dame Ethel Walker. D.B.E. A.R.A 9 June 1861-3 March 1951” by Grace English, 4-5.

⁵⁸³ Mary Chamot, "Ethel Walker," *Apollo, a Journal of the Arts* 13 (January-June 1931): 307-308.

⁵⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 307.

⁵⁸⁵ TGA 716/81, Grace English File: “Dame Ethel Walker. D.B.E. A.R.A 9 June 1861-3 March 1951” by Grace English, 6

⁵⁸⁶ Deepwell, *Women Artists between the Wars*, 153.

⁵⁸⁷ University College London, Official Student and Staff Records at UCL Record Office.

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Scholarship in Decorative Painting was established to encourage students to compete for public mural commissions. In the same year, Mary Sargent Florence, a leading figure in the revival of mural art in London in 1910-1914, started a fresco and tempera painting course at the Slade.⁵⁸⁸ Walker's enrollment in this course coincided, perhaps not accidentally, with her shift in direction toward the large decoration series exhibited at both the WIAC and at the NEAC in 1912-1914. At the NEAC she exhibited *Decoration for spring, one of the Four Seasons* in 1912; *Design for Panel "The Angels of the Resurrection"*; *Fragment for Frieze; Motif, for Frieze "The Meeting"*; *Design for Tapestry "Spring"* also with the biblically themed design *The Invocation* in 1913; and *Decoration for a yellow room* (fig. 69) in 1914.⁵⁸⁹ She also exhibited in 1914 *Decoration for Spring, Silence of the Ravine, The Waking of the Earth* and *The Angels of the Resurrection* at the WIAC. Frank Rutter argued that Walker's *Decoration for Spring* "catches the eye as soon as we enter the large gallery" for its "graceful composition" and "the wealth of floral accessories."⁵⁹⁰ Table 16 offers a complete list of her works exhibited in NEAC and WIAC exhibitions between 1908 and 1914.

⁵⁸⁸ Powers, 38.

⁵⁸⁹ After the title, the exhibition catalogue notes explicitly: "(belonging to Miss A.M.B.)" This painting is better known by the title *Decoration for an Ivory Room: The Invocation to the Dance*.

⁵⁹⁰ Rutter, "Round the Galleries," *Sunday Times*, 8 March 1914.

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Figure 69. Ethel Walker, *Decoration for an Ivory Room: The Invocation to the Dance*, c. 1913. Also known as *Decoration for a yellow room*. Oil on canvas, 107 x 168 cm. (© the artist's estate. All Rights Reserved 2010/Bridgeman Art Library; downloaded from <https://www.artfund.org/supporting-museums/art-weve-helped-buy/artwork/5584/decoration-for-an-ivory-room-invocation-to-the-dance-dame-ethel-walker>)

Table 16. List of works by Ethel Walker exhibited in the NEAC and WIAC, 1908-1914.

Exhibition Date(s)	Exhibiting Society	Artworks by Ethel Walker
January 1908	WIAC	52: <i>Playhours</i>
March 2–30, 1912	WIAC	1: <i>The Toilet</i> 20: <i>A September Morning</i> 27: <i>Portrait of a Lady</i> 30: <i>Portrait of Mrs. Davies, Washerwoman of Albert</i> 32: <i>Confidences</i> 34: <i>Old Letters</i>
Summer 1912	NEAC	80: <i>The Toilet</i> 132: <i>The Ravine</i> 182: <i>The Shore</i> 216: <i>A Summer's Evening</i>
Winter 1912	NEAC	32: <i>In the garden of Image</i> 104: <i>Of the Ravine</i> 125: <i>Decoration for spring. One of the Four Seasons</i>
February 28–March 29, 1913	WIAC	12: <i>On the Veranda (Miss May and Miss Effie Creamer)</i> 30: <i>Portrait of Miss Anna Bateson</i> 40: <i>A Summer Crowd</i> 54: <i>Woman holding a Rose</i> 58: <i>Portrait Sketch</i> 124: <i>Set of Four Drawings</i> (a) <i>The Dance</i> (b) <i>Reverie</i> (c) <i>The Summer</i> (d) <i>Study</i>

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Summer 1913	NEAC	98: <i>Design for panel "The Angels of the Resurrection"</i> 116: <i>Fragment for frieze</i> 133: <i>Motif, for frieze "The Meeting"</i> 136: <i>The woman and the faun</i> 165: <i>Design for tapestry, Spring</i>
Winter 1913	NEAC	37: <i>On the moor</i> 97: <i>The Biblical theme The Invocation</i> 221: <i>The waking earth</i>
February 26 – Mar 30, 1914	WIAC	27: <i>Decoration for Spring</i> 62: <i>Silence of the Ravine</i> 90: <i>The Waking of the Earth</i> 91: <i>The Angels of the Resurrection</i>
Summer 1914	NEAC	41: <i>Drawing</i> 168: <i>Decoration for a yellow room (belonging to Miss A.M.B.)</i>

Note: Compiled by the author from NEAC and WIAC exhibition catalogues

Walker's handling of oil paint in *Decoration for an Ivory Room: The Invocation to the Dance*, a.k.a. *Decoration for a yellow room*, is loose and fresh, transparent, even shimmering, and employed a dazzling light; the color purity is decreased and less contrasted. Shapes of colors and the soft sparkle of pigment are all organized and rhythmically arranged. Her decoration shows a steady simplification of the problem of depth, and the bodylines are all depicted with subtlety. Her work is dreamlike in its realization of the subject and indeterminate in time and place. This unique "unfinished" style could possibly be traced back to her time at the Slade. Walker's friend Grace English,⁵⁹¹ a talented painter in her own right who received the Slade first prize in Figure Painting in 1916 (fig. 70), remembered Walker's spontaneous pencil drawings at the Slade which was sometimes faintly touched with color "to fix the pencil,"⁵⁹² and displayed similar watercolour qualities presented in her mature oil paintings. Certainly, Walker's handling of paint was very different from the technique generally adopted by her contemporaries in which they laid strong and opaque paint with thick brush strokes to create expressive

⁵⁹¹ Grace English (1891-1956) and Ethel Walker were Slade students together and close lifelong friends. English greatly admired Walker's work. Her unpublished manuscript about Walker's life story is currently held the Tate Gallery Archives and is the primary source for this section.

⁵⁹² TGA716/81 Grace English File: Notes on Dame Ethel Walker by Grace English, 7.

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emotions and dimensions. Evident in Walker's painting is the trace of training from the Slade, in Brian Louis Pearce's words, the "Slade tradition,"⁵⁹³ especially the Summer Composition Competition, where students were required to produce a large-scale multi-figure painting composition, usually on a set subject, often derived from history, the Bible or the Classics. In addition, the training in the Life Room at the Slade clearly enabled Walker to capture the essence and spirit of a living model's pose and convey the impression of life and vitality.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, 1912 was also a pivotal year at the Slade, where a shift towards a more "decorative" style took place in students' prizewinning works, such as Elsie McNaught's *A Frieze of Figures Standing in a Landscape* (fig. 24) which encouraged the viewer to focus on the imaginative rhythmical color and composition rather than on the narrative. Slade students were comfortable with both using literary references or the classics as inspiration as well as involving the individual imagination to create artworks



⁵⁹³ Brian Louis Pearce, *Dame Ethel Walker: An Essay in Reassessment* (Calgary, Canada: Stride Publications, 1997), 7.

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Figure 70. Grace English, *Female Figure Lying on a Couch*, c. 1916. Oil on canvas, 50.8 x 76.2 cm. Awarded first prize in Figure Painting in 1916. (© UCL Art Collection)

either referencing society or provoking aesthetic experiences. Accordingly, a classical education handled in a modern way is also manifested in Walker's painting. She had familiarized herself with Impressionism on her trips to Paris, embraced its technique in her early portraits and landscapes and then rejected its momentary or fleeting reality in favor of a rhythmical and aesthetic essence. She also flatly rejected the "fussy anecdotal detail and literary pretensions [that] failed to acknowledge the inherent properties of the medium" and which is her opinion discredited academic history painting.⁵⁹⁴ Instead, she favored a conversion of the allegorical/classical narrative into a state somewhere between dream and realism. Mary Chamot retrospectively also argued this point in an article published in *Apollo* in 1931 and highlighted Walker's imaginative approach and rhythmical rendering with seemingly realistic depictions:

Ethel Walker's decorations are almost unique in being neither definitely illustrative nor (as many modern effect) more or less disjointed combinations of things seen and realistically represented, they are in fact, translations of a state of mind into terms of design, that are musical in their abstraction, and they are carried out with perfect consistency; no jarring note of excessive realization is allowed to destroy the imaginative completeness of the whole.⁵⁹⁵

Through Walker's work we can see the influence of continental styles. Frank Rutter highlighted some features that he found particularly important, namely the "internationalism" of this "decorative design for mural decoration," and in particular, the "oriental spirit":

In this there is a sense of archaism in the treatment of the figures, both Greece and Egypt having influenced the designer ... The composition is admirably balanced and there is considerable beauty of line. The colour is restrained, almost dull, but quite

⁵⁹⁴ Cited in Hall, 70.

⁵⁹⁵ Mary Chamot, "Ethel Walker," *Apollo, a Journal of the Arts* 13 (January-June 1931), 308.

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harmonious, and will in all probability form an excellent panel in a yellow [or ivory] room for which it is destined.⁵⁹⁶

This “oriental spirit” became more pronounced in Walker’s *Study for a frieze: Decoration in oils: Zone of Hate* (fig. 71), which she started to paint within a week of the outbreak of war in 1914. This painting represents

... 5 Forces, Hate, Life, Death, Destiny, the World Sorrow. The 2 figures on the left and right completing arabesque symbolize (1) The Mother of the Race, (2) The Earth covering the dead.⁵⁹⁷

Chamot agreed with Rutter’s observation of an Oriental spirit but was more specific that the inspiration and the language employed were traceable to the Indian cave paintings of Ajanta, “merged in the modern envelopment of light and colour.”⁵⁹⁸ T. W. Earp followed the criticism and argued in the introduction to the catalogue of the memorial exhibition for

⁵⁹⁶ Frank Rutter, "Round the Galleries," *Sunday Times*, 28 March 1915, 19.

⁵⁹⁷ "The Zone of Hate: Decoration," Tate, available online:

<http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/walker-the-zone-of-hate-decoration-n05669>. Accessed 23 April 2017. Originally from the NEAC exhibition catalogue for summer 1917.

⁵⁹⁸ Chamot, 308. For Ajanta, please see also footnote 578. According to Sorrell’s article ("Dame Ethel Walker, A.R.A," *Apollo*, 45 (1947): 119), Walker studied the Ajanta Tomb paintings in the South Kensington Museum, and the Chinese paintings in the British Museum before she entered the Slade School. Rupert Richard Arrowsmith. "'An Indian Renaissance' and the Rise of Global Modernism: William Rothenstein in India, 1910—11." *The Burlington Magazine* 152, no. 1285 (2010): 228-35. The copies of Ajanta paintings made by John Griffiths and his students from the Sir Jamsetjess Jeejebhoy School of Art in Bombay during the late 1870s and early 1880s were sent back to London and put on show at the South Kensington Museum in 1885. According to Arrowsmith’s article, I would argue these copies might be what Ethel Walker had visited. In the same article, we know that British artist William Rothenstein, however, went to India to view the original Buddhist cave frescos at Ajanta himself in August 1910. By the time, his friend Eric Gill and Jacob Epstein had already employed the aesthetics and techniques of Indian Stone carving in the production of their modernist sculptures.

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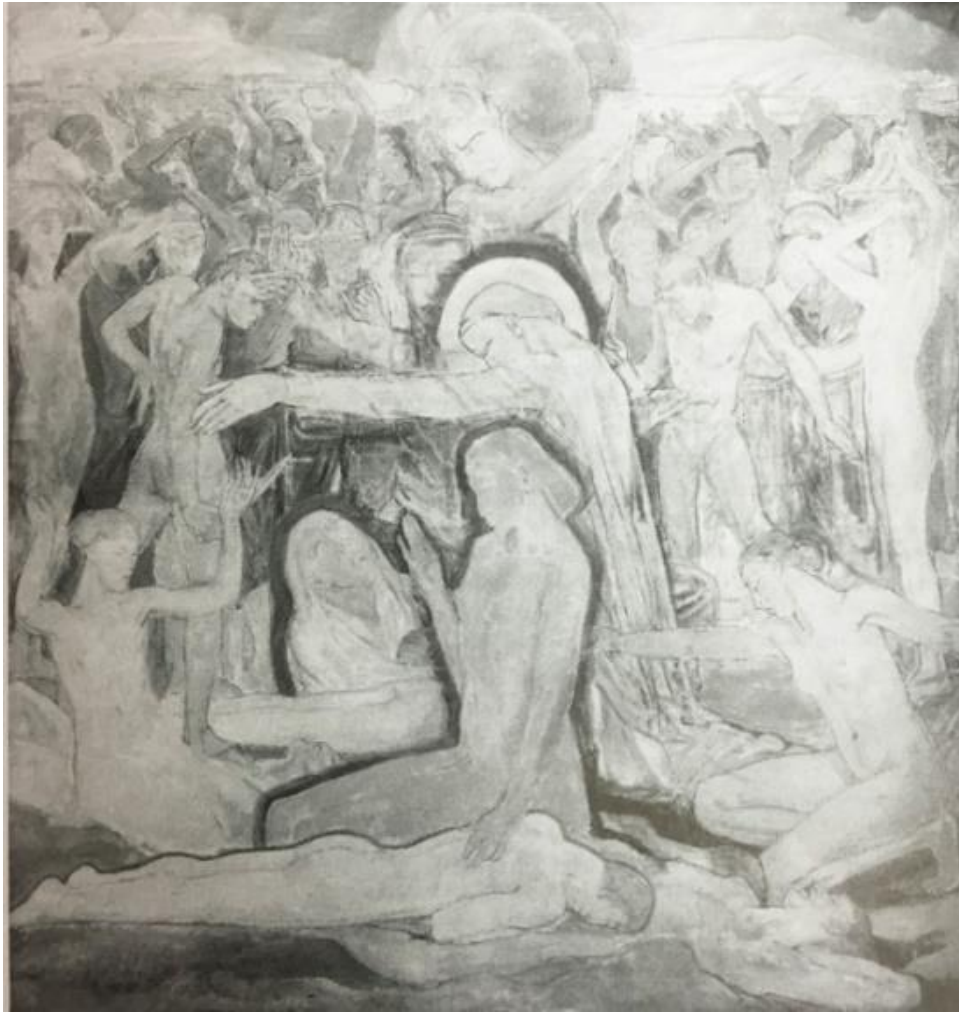


Figure 71. Ethel Walker, *Study for a frieze: Decoration in oils: Zone of Hate*, c. 1914-1915. Oil on canvas, 245x246.5 cm. (© Tate)

Walker and two other artists held by the Arts Council at the Tate Gallery in 1952 that her large decoration paintings

are tinged with a suggestion of orientalism even when dealing with a Homeric theme. They are exquisitely evocative of a classic Golden Age and of the myths of the East, in which Ethel Walker was deeply interested. ... A new kind of vision was in play, a new visual poetry was captured, in these large, flowing compositions whose grace of line made so sensitive a mould for the artist's thought, while the deceptive ease of her construction yet revealed a controlled harmony of form.⁵⁹⁹

⁵⁹⁹ T. W. Earp, *Ethel Walker, Frances Hodgkins, Gwen John: A Memorial Exhibition, 7 May to 15 June, 1952* (London: Tate Gallery & Arts Council, 1952), 3.

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Walker's interest in musical "translation" and "abstraction" may be more significant in defining her style than at first apparent. While 1912 was the year in which Kandinsky's *Concerning the Spiritual in Art* was published in English and reviewed extensively, it was also the year in which the Ballets Russes, influenced by Oriental art influences, took London by storm. Anne Estelle Rice, who was active in Paris and London from 1906 to 1914, wrote an article about the Russian ballet troupe for *Rhythm* magazine and also published illustrations of *L'après-midi d'un Faune*, *Schéhérazade* (fig. 51), *La Spectre de la Rose* and *Le Dieu Bleu* which appeared in the magazine in August 1912 (volume 2, number 3). The Ballet *Schéhérazade*, choreographed by Michel Fokine, designed by Léon Bakst and composed by Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov premiered on June 4, 1910, at the Opera Garnier in Paris. It created a sensation in Europe as orgy scene involving Zobeide and the slaves. Vaslav Nijinsky played the Golden Slave who seduced Zobeide, one of the Shah's many wives, played by Ida Rubinstein. The figure with the dark skin tone and right hand raised on the left side of Walker's *Invocation to the Dance* (fig. 69) is reminiscent of Nijinsky in his role of the black slave in Ballet *Schéhérazade*.⁶⁰⁰ Grace English later recalled the excitement and the cultural schism that developed in London with arrival of the Ballets Russes, and Walker's prominent place among the early supporters of the dance company who would punctually arrive at five pm at Covent Garden to see *L'après midi d'un Faune*, with Nijinsky, and also Stravinsky's *Sacre du Printemps*.⁶⁰¹ Both Walker and the Ballets Russes gravitated toward the genuine, sincere and emotive nature of so-called "primitive art."

⁶⁰⁰ In "Decoration for an Ivory Room; Invocation to the Dance by Dame Ethel Walker," Art Fund, available online: <https://www.artfund.org/supporting-museums/art-weve-helped-buy/artwork/5584/decoration-for-an-ivory-room-invocation-to-the-dance-dame-ethel-walker>. Accessed 10 June 2017. In 1995, Art Fund assisted the Clifton Park Museum, in South Yorkshire, in buying Walker's *Decoration for an Ivory Room; Invocation to the Dance* through Sotheby's.

⁶⁰¹ TGA, Grace English Collection on Ethel Walker. In English's memoir, fellow Ballets Russes fans included avant-garde sculpture Jacob Epstein (1880-1959), modernist theater practitioner Edward

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Walker's work also displays similarities to paintings by Odilon Redon (1840-1916), who was one of the great defenders of the Ballets Russes in France.⁶⁰² In addition to his celebrated *noirs*, dark and cryptic lithographs and charcoals of the 1880s and 1890s, he produced a considerable number of large-scale decorative paintings and tapestry designs between 1900 and 1914.⁶⁰³ As a symbolic painter, Redon emphasized the subjectivity and imagination of the artist and the transcendence of the beauty of the spiritual world. This contrasted with the transparent, ephemeral realities of impressionism and naturalism.⁶⁰⁴ The colorful flowers and plants lying on the ground in Walker's *Invocation to the Dance* (fig. 69) evoke Redon's cryptic and poetic flowers in *The Buddha* (fig. 72), highlight in the dreamy background and to bring together various tones to create a harmoniously overall effect.

Gordon-Craig (1872-1966) and other celebrities.

⁶⁰² Vicki Woolf, *Dancing in the Vortex: The Story of Ida Rubinstein* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2013), 161.

⁶⁰³ Natalie Adamson, "'Circles of Belief': Patronage, Taste, and Shared Creativity in Odilon Redon's Decorative Painting," *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 3, no. 2 (1996): 107.

⁶⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 108.

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Figure 72. Odilon Redon (1840-1916), *The Buddha*, 1904. Tempera on canvas, 159.8 x 121.1 cm (© Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam; downloaded from <https://www.vangoghmuseum.nl/en/collection/s0465N1996>)

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Figure 73. Photograph of Ethel Walker in her studio on the first floor of 127 Cheyne Walk. She is shown at work on one of her many portraits. Behind her is her *Study for a frieze: Decoration in oils: Zone of Hate*, painted at the outbreak of World War I and used by her as a background for many of her portraits and nude studies. This image appeared in the catalogue for a 1952 memorial exhibition of the works of Gwen John, Frances Hodgkins and Dame Ethel Walker. (Reproduced from TGA 716.87: "Three Women Painters (May 7 to June 15 1952)")

Walker always said that Velázquez made her a painter; however, it is difficult to see any of his direct influence in her work. She also stated that she owed everything to

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Frederick Brown and Walter Sickert,⁶⁰⁵ the latter quipped, “Yes, but she never takes any notice of what I say.”⁶⁰⁶ In fact, Walker stated that she was influenced by many artists, and indeed, many critics detected complex transcultural references and contexts in her works, especially that of the Ajanta cave paintings, Chinese ink painting as well as artists such as Whistler, Puvis de Chavannes, Gauguin and the French impressionists. Her absorption of the works of others, however, did not lead to her “copying” any one artist in particular but rather helped her to shape her own signature style and create her own artistic vocabulary. However, her unique style, derived from multiple sources and created by her own relationship with the modern movement, did lead to a “lack of appreciation.”⁶⁰⁷ As Deepwell points out, in spite of an increasingly high profile during her lifetime, Walker’s paintings “were not sold and stayed in her studio for many years.”⁶⁰⁸

Julian Freeman’s closing words in the Slade’s 1971 centenary exhibition publication ring true in the case of Ethel Walker:

Taste will change with, or behind, the time, and these artists proved it so. As luminaries and component parts of a changing scene their merits vary, but their parts ... in a kaleidoscope century of developments in English paintings are of importance.⁶⁰⁹

This brief overview has presented a self-confident young woman who in many ways captured the essence of the prewar years and received accolades throughout her career, yet

⁶⁰⁵ TGA716/81 Grace English File: Notes on Dame Ethel Walker by Grace English, 7; Rothenstein, 79.

⁶⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁷ TGA716/81 Grace English File: Notes on Dame Ethel Walker, Postscript, 2. English wrote: “I remembered just before the War, a show was organized in Paris (at the Louvre I believe) of the greatest British Painters, and she was not invited. When I saw her in London I said, ‘but Ethel, why were you not represented in that Show?’ –‘The French were so delighted and surprised at it, and your work was not there.’ She sighed and said it is always like that.” Lilian Browse argued in *Distinguished British Paintings, 1875-1950: An Accent on Ethel Walker* that the large decorations were “born before their time when private buyers were only interested in smallish canvases and industrial firms had not yet become art conscious” (2).

⁶⁰⁸ Deepwell, *Women Artists between the Wars*, 150.

⁶⁰⁹ *The Slade, 1871-1971: A Centenary Exhibition* (London: Royal Academy, 1971).

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over time has faded from memory and been overlooked within the annals of art history. Yet, comments from the period under review indicate that both she and her works attracted notice for representing what the current notion of “feminine” might have been. In Sir John Rothenstein’s opinion, a “feminine quality” would have been manifested as an observation frankly transformed by “a poetic imagination.”⁶¹⁰ W.R. in a review of a 1913 exhibition highlighted the feminine quality in her works:

By far the most interesting painter in the present show is Miss Ethel Walker. If any of the exhibitors have a point of view that is distinctly individual it is certainly this artist. Miss Walker sees delicately and paints delicately. She has made up her mind in a very definite way and expresses it without hesitation. Her work is the strongest in the gallery, and it is also the most unmistakably feminine. In “Portrait of Miss Anna Bateson” (30) she shows her ability to summarise a sitter’s individuality and character, to give a frank statement of personality so that there is no forgetting it. This picture is searched out; it is not a mere indication. But perhaps Miss Walker is at her very best in the smaller work, “Woman holding a Rose” (54). Here is lightness and farce and that quality which comes from interested intimacy with the subject matter of the picture.⁶¹¹

Regardless of how views on ‘the feminine’ at that time may now seem somewhat clichéd in terms of the reference to ‘delicacy’ and ‘intimacy’, it is evident that critics had no problem in taking this woman artist seriously and reviewing her works with the same rigor as they applied to her male peers.

Ethel Walker emerged in the pre-First World War years of London as an exemplar of a woman artist forging her own path and vision. She combined a modern academic training in London with lessons from French Impressionism, Post-Impressionism and Orientalism then fused them with personal preoccupations to create an important and singular aesthetic. She rejected the path into abstraction that would be adopted by Jessica Dismorr and Helen Saunders in their future Vorticist works. As John Rothenstein argued in his book *Modern*

⁶¹⁰ Rothenstein, 83.

⁶¹¹ W.R., “Round the Galleries,” *Sunday Times*, 9 March 1913, 16.

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English Painters (1952),

Ethel Walker was the first in point of seniority of those English painters who were impelled, by an imaginative temperament, to reject Impression; or, rather to modify it radically to suit her own highly personal ends. In her sense of the primacy of light she was innately Impressionist, but the Golden Age of her highest imaginations could not be represented with sufficient clarity by a system of tones; it demanded contours.⁶¹²

By studying, then rejecting impressionism, and then embracing epic themes or those derived from foreign philosophies as an escape from reality, Walker's avant-garde spirit was manifested in her creative efforts through which she asserted her own voice as a critic of contemporary society. For instance, *Zone of Hate* (fig. 71) is a fine example of her pacifism that simultaneously pushed the boundaries of painting beyond mere illustration and representational imitation. The ambition that drove Walker as an artist is conveyed in the following passage from Rothenstein's last studio visit:

I stood by the door and turned for a last look at the small figure [Ethel Walker] in the red jacket and gilt buttons, white blouse and black bow tie crouched once again over the fire, at the amphitheatre of pictures and all the disorderly accumulations of forty years, scarcely visible now in the failing light, she spoke again, quietly, without looking around: "A painter must be brave—must never hesitate."⁶¹³

In *Movement, Manifesto, Melee: The Modernist Group, 1910-1914*, Milton Cohen argued that the act of artists banding together to meet and exchange aesthetic ideas and to present their art and aesthetic philosophy through a recognizable shared style as a collective enterprise for the public was nothing new within Europe of the early twentieth century. However, what became so noticeable and significant in the years just before World War I was the increasing impact of how collective enterprise had facilitated artists,

⁶¹² Rothenstein, 75.

⁶¹³ *Ibid.*, 79.

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especially women artists in defining their artistic identity gaining public recognition for their works and even securing well-deserved places within Western European history of art.⁶¹⁴

⁶¹⁴ Cohen, 2.

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Conclusion

By adhering to the suggestion made by Katy Deepwell that female artists should no longer be studied as a “state of exception”⁶¹⁵, but as a normal part of early twentieth century British art history, a new understanding of their role and contribution has been presented in this dissertation, not only within academic institutions but also in key exhibition groups. By returning to sources, it has been possible to quantify the extent of their achievements, to recover not only the names of artists now forgotten but also the works they created, and to review the often positive reception they experienced at the time. For instance, Chapters 1 and 2 demonstrated not only the numerical dominance of women art students (many of whom were international) but drew attention to the overlooked prominence of their academic prowess in winning scholarships and academic prizes (presented statistically in Table 2 and Table 3). The large number of women non-member exhibitors, their active participation and the positive reception they received in the NEAC annual exhibitions, was uncovered in Chapter 3. In addition, and perhaps more significantly, Chapter 5 presented an entirely overlooked women-run and women-dominated organization whose exhibitors and works of art were widely perceived and critiqued, but whose history had become obscured. The reconstruction in Chapter 5 was made possible only by conducting an exhaustive analysis of a previously untapped archive housed at the Women’s Art Library, Goldsmiths University, London.

Secondly, Katy Deepwell suggested that there must have been systems of support and networks of influences to sustain female artists both at college and in their professional

⁶¹⁵ Deepwell, "Narratives of Women Artists in/out of Vorticism," 42.

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lives.⁶¹⁶ By combining a thorough overview of both biographical and autobiographical secondary sources and conducting a comprehensive analysis of statistics derived from exhibition catalogues, these networks, allegiances and rivalries are now more fully understood. For example, by returning to the archives and cross-referencing the list of Slade students and NEAC exhibitors between 1905-1914, a statistical analysis has concluded that the Slade women who become closely associated with the NEAC after graduation were the same women who were enrolled at the Slade around 1892-1894 (Table 8 in Chapter 3). The inextricable link between education institution and profession by ties of tutorship, friendships and an inherited aesthetic legacy, has become clearer. To radiate out from academic networks, a similar study has also been made within and between professional groups in London. This interconnectedness was presented throughout Chapters 3, 4 and 5. In some cases, the networks extended beyond London, especially when considering the liberal Allied Artists' Association and the Rebel Art Center in Chapter 3, the formation of members associated within *Rhythm* magazine in Chapter 4, and the significant but unnoticed international "clusters and circles"⁶¹⁷ among students of the WIAC in Chapter 5.

Thirdly, the importance of returning to the archives, both those well-known and others previously un-consulted, is hard to over-emphasize. It has offered an opportunity to quantify and/or challenge long-held beliefs, and present what might be described as a first-histories, for example, by affording a fuller study of the performances of women artists at the Slade, not merely their enrollment statistics, but their successes that have since been overlooked (presented statistically in charts and tables in Table 2 and Table 3). In so doing,

⁶¹⁶ Deepwell, *Women Artists between the Wars*, 57. Gwen John, Ida Nettleship and Ursula Tyrwhitt in the 1890s; Dora Carrington, Barbara Hiles and Dorothy Brett in the 1910s; and Lady Diana Cooper, Lady Violet Charteris and Iris Tree, also in the 1910s.

⁶¹⁷ Deepwell, *Women Artists between the Wars*, 57.

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the names of many artists long-forgotten have been returned to the discussion, such as Evelyn Cheston, Maribel Rough, Essil Elmslie, Elinor Proby Adams, Edith M. Lush, Elsie McNaught, and Ruth Humsphries. On a larger scale, Chapter 5 reconstructed a first history of an entire women's organization. Returning to the archives also meant that original research could be conducted relating to a key publication *Rhythm*, and presented as a timely extension to that presented by Faith Binckes' *Modernism, Magazines, and the British Avant-Garde: Reading Rhythm, 1910-1914* (2010).⁶¹⁸

Fourthly, I adopted an innovative research trajectory for studies in British art by focusing on the history of institutions – via their own archives – in order to locate individuals and to evaluate their roles within and beyond them. In the opening two chapters this methodology is presented to good effect by looking at the Slade which distinguished itself by offering more equal opportunities for women, training them not simply to be technically proficient artists but individuals with “cultivated intellects”.⁶¹⁹ In Chapters 3 and 4, this methodology also offered a lens through which to understand how the inclusive nature revealed from the diverse institutional histories of the NEAC, the AAA, the London Group and the formation of *Rhythm* could have drawn on and supported women artists' participation and leadership within the groups. In Chapter 5, this methodology is also presented with the examination of the WIAC, a long-lived women-run and women-oriented art exhibition group.

This dissertation was not intended to be a comprehensive or exhaustive art history of women artists in Britain in these pre-war years. Indeed, if anything, it has raised more

⁶¹⁸ Faith Binckes, *Modernism, Magazines, and the British Avant-Garde : Reading Rhythm, 1910-1914* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2010).

⁶¹⁹ Martin Postle, "THE FOUNDATION OF THE SLADE SCHOOL OF FINE ART: FIFTY-NINE LETTERS IN THE RECORD OFFICE OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON" in *The Volume of the Walpole Society* 58 (1995): 142.

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questions than it has answered. Therefore, in drawing this study to a close, the author would like to suggest some future paths for future art historians to take.

The time period for this research concentrates on the years leading up to the Great War and comes to a halt with its outbreak, a watershed moment in the cultural history of Britain.⁶²⁰ As with their male counterparts, the women artists featured in this dissertation traversed this chasm from peace to war, and adapted in a variety of ways to the new circumstances in which they now found themselves - on the home front, as un/official war artists, as conscientious objectors or as proponents of “aesthetic of disinterestedness”⁶²¹. Wyn George’s creative life, for example, was temporarily interrupted when she abandoned art to drive an ambulance on the Western Front. She was only able to resume painting after the Armistice. Anna Airy and Clare Atwood became Official War Artists engaged by the Visual Art Section of the Ministry of Information, concentrating on such topics as munitions factories and seen in composition such as Airy’s *Women Working in a Gas Retort House: South Metropolitan Gas Company London* (1918).⁶²² Other women artists created extremely diverse works such as Lady Feodora Gleichen’s model *Taking a Radioscope of a Wounded Soldier on the Italian Front* (1918) based on her sister Lady Helen Gleichen’s experience in a travelling radiography unit in 1915, or Ethel Walker’s painting *Zone of Hate: Decoration* created within a week of the outbreak of war in 1914 and described in the NEAC catalogue (summer 1917), as representing “...5 Forces: Hate, Life, Death, Destiny, the World Sorrow.” Some foreign artists, such as Anne Estelle Rice, left London to pursue their careers

⁶²⁰ The key scholars who hold this argument included Michael Walsh, Charles Harrison, and Richard Cork. However, this argument has been recently challenged by James Fox in his book *Business Unusual: art in Britain during the First World War, 1914-1924* (Cambridge University Press, 2015).

⁶²¹ Hall, 44.

⁶²² Deepwell, *Women Artists between the Wars*, 72-73.

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elsewhere⁶²³ while others such as Jessica Dismorr moved closer to the centre by joining the Vorticist group and participating in the first Vorticist exhibition in 1915. (In association with the Vorticist group Helen Saunders also created semi-abstract pieces that responded both in form and subject to the living experiences of the modern world in the shadow of War).

Vanessa Bell moved to the Sussex countryside shortly before the outbreak of the First World War, and worked for the Omega Workshops to peacefully protest against the increasingly militaristic society in wartime Britain. Even from this very brief sample it is clear that the topic, i.e. female artists and the Great War, is certainly worthy of another doctoral study along the lines of Deepwell's PhD *Women Artists in Britain between the two World Wars* (1991) or Richenda M. Roberts' dissertation '*Art of A Second Order': The First World War from the British Home Front Perspective* (2012).⁶²⁴

Additionally, and as a parallel to Elizabeth Melanson's doctoral study *The Patronage of Modern Art by the High Society Women of Paris, 1871-1914* (2013), the author strongly recommends a similar in-depth exploration for London. Melanson declared that her research "constructs an alternative history of early twentieth-century art, and allows a more nuanced definition of modernism that considers lesser known artists and styles."⁶²⁵

Traversing London from the Victorian to the Edwardian to the Georgian eras, I have encountered names such as: Madame Strindberg, Kate Lechmere, Helen Saunders, Jessica Dismorr, Katherine Mansfield, Lady Ottoline Morrell, Nancy Cunard, Lady Constance Hatch, Lady Lavery, Lady Diana Manners, Lady Margery Manners, Lady Iris Tree, and Lady

⁶²³ Carol A. Nathanson, "Theodore Dreiser's 'Ellen Adams Wrynn'" in *Woman's Art Journal*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (Autumn, 1992 - Winter, 1993), 7.

⁶²⁴ See: Katy Deepwell, *Women Artists in Britain between the two World Wars* (Doctoral dissertation, London: Birkbeck College, 1991) and M. Roberts '*Art of A Second Order': The First World War from the British Home Front Perspective* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Birmingham, 2012).

⁶²⁵ Elizabeth Melanson, "The Patronage of Modern Art by the High Society Women of Paris, 1871-1914" (PhD diss., University of Delaware, 2013), xxiii.

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Desborough. The significance of their patronage and the extent of influence of the organizations they founded and funded, is a study that needs to be undertaken at the highest level.

A third strand would be to follow up Peter Brooker's study of avant-garde geographies of London (*Bohemia in London: The Social Scene of Early Modernism*, 2004), but this time specifically as they relate to female artists. It was in these micro-societies centering around a list of well-known venues that London's avant-garde thrived and social, and where artistic networking played an essential role in integrating women artists into a rapidly changing cultural milieu. The briefest of glances will help make my point: The ABC restaurant in Chancery Lane was the editorial meeting place for the *New Age*; Ella Abbott's teashop in Holland Street and the old-fashioned yet pivotal Café Royal were the rendezvous point for the 'Coterie', a group of young and fashionable English aristocrats with Lady Diana Manners at the helm and including members such as Nancy Cunard, Iris Tree and others; The Cave of the Golden Calf nightclub at 9 Heddon Street, was conceived by Frida Strindberg in the summer of 1912 as her ideal for an avant-garde point of encounter, allowing a confluence of popular culture and experimental artistic activities and an integration of art forms; Rudolph Stulik's Restaurant de la Tour Eiffel in Percy Street boasted an upstairs "Vorticist Room," painted by Wyndham Lewis in 1915-16 with the assistance of Helen Saunders.

A final suggestion would be for future studies to include artists and groups working at other schools as well as in other urban centers such as: Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Cardiff. These schools and cities contained rich artistic ecosystems of their own, and their archives contain a wealth of art-historical knowledge

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that could greatly enhance our understanding of the arts in Britain on the eve of the Great War.

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Appendix 1. Slade Faculty As Listed in School Session Calendars, 1871-1915

	Slade Professor	Assistant Professor	Assistant	Assistant Teacher of Painting	Lecturer on History of Art	Lecturer in Perspective	Anatomy	Assistant Teacher of Drawing	Sculpture	Assistant Teacher of Perspective	Lecturer on Ornamental Design
1871	Sir E. J. Poynter										
1876	Alphonse Legros										
1891	Frederick Brown	Henry Tonks	W. Russell	P. W. Steer	J. H. Middleton						
1893	Frederick Brown	Henry Tonks									
1894	Frederick Brown										
1895	Frederick Brown										
1896	Frederick Brown										
1897	Frederick Brown										
1898	Frederick Brown										
1899	Frederick Brown										
1900	Frederick Brown										
1901	Frederick Brown										
1902	Frederick Brown										
1903	Frederick Brown	Henry Tonks	W. Russell	P. W. Steer							
1904	Frederick Brown	Henry Tonks	W. Russell	P. W. Steer	D. S. MacColl	G. Thompson	Dr. George D. Thane				

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	Slade Professor	Assistant Professor	Assistant	Assistant Teacher of Painting	Lecturer on History of Art	Lecturer in Perspective	Anatomy	Assistant Teacher of Drawing	Sculpture	Assistant Teacher of Perspective	Lecturer on Ornamental Design
1905	Frederick Brown	Henry Tonks	W. Russell	P. W. Steer	D. S. MacColl	G. Thompson	Dr. George D. Thane				
1906	Frederick Brown	Henry Tonks	W. Russell	P. W. Steer	D. S. MacColl	G. Thompson	Dr. George D. Thane				
1907	Frederick Brown	Henry Tonks	W. Russell	P. W. Steer	D. S. MacColl	G. Thompson	Dr. George D. Thane				
1908	Frederick Brown	Henry Tonks	W. Russell	P. W. Steer	D. S. MacColl	G. Thompson	Dr. George D. Thane	D. Lees			
1909	Frederick Brown	Henry Tonks	W. Russell	P. W. Steer	Roger Fry	G. Thompson	Dr. George D. Thane	D. Lees			
1910	Frederick Brown	Henry Tonks	W. Russell	P. W. Steer	Roger Fry	G. Thompson	Dr. George D. Thane	D. Lees			
1911	Frederick Brown	Henry Tonks	W. Russell	P. W. Steer	Roger Fry	G. Thompson	Dr. George D. Thane	D. Lees	Havard Thomas		
1912	Frederick Brown	Henry Tonks	W. Russell	P. W. Steer	Roger Fry	G. Thompson	Dr. George D. Thane	D. Lees	Havard Thomas		
1913	Frederick Brown	Henry Tonks	W. Russell A. McEvoy	P. W. Steer	Roger Fry	G. Thompson	Dr. George D. Thane	D. Lees	Havard Thomas		
1914	Frederick Brown	Henry Tonks	W. Russell A. McEvoy	P. W. Steer	Tancred Borenius		Dr. George D. Thane	D. Lees	Havard Thomas	J. Poole Addey	Sidney Mawson
1915	Frederick Brown	Henry Tonks	W. Russell A. McEvoy	P. W. Steer	Tancred Borenius		Dr. George D. Thane	D. Lees	Havard Thomas	J. Poole Addey	Sidney Mawson

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Appendix 2: List of NEAC Member and Nonmember Exhibitors (1905-1914)

Exhibit No.	Year/Season	Schedule	Members			Nonmembers		Total Works of Art
			Exhibitors		Female Members/Total Members	Exhibitors		
			Female	Total		Female	Total	
34	1905	October and November 1905	1	35	2 / 38	4	25	127 items
35	1906s	June and July 1906	2	34	2 / 38	9	30	131 items
36	1906w	November and December 1906	2	31	2 / 36	9	34	140 items
37	1907s	May and June 1907	2	29	2 / 35	15	44	156 items
38	1907w	Autumn 1907	2	29	2 / 37	13	37	123 items
39	1908s	Spring 1908	2	28	2 / 34	18	47	140 items
41	1909s	Summer 1909	3	35	4 / 38	29	53	341 items
42	1909w	Winter 1909	3	36	4 / 38	23	52	326 items
43	1910s	Summer 1910	2	30	4 / 39	31	97	293 items
44	1910w	Winter 1910	3	29	4 / 39	43	138	371 items
45	1911s	Summer 1911	5	28	5 / 42	32	84	247 items
46	1911w	November and December 1911	4	28	5 / 43	43	110	320 items
47	1912s	May and June 1912	4	27	5 / 45	33	78	217 items
48	1912w	Winter 1912	3	33	6 / 49	17	48	205 items
49	1913s	Summer 1913	5	28	7 / 49	43	97	254 items
50	1913w	November and December 1913 and January 1914	6	24	7 / 49	27	90	282 items
51	1914s	June and July 1914	5	29	7 / 48	37	106	278 items

NOTE: List of NEAC member and nonmember exhibitors (1905-1914). (w = winter exhibition; s = summer exhibition)

Data for the winter 1908 and winter 1914 exhibitions are not included in this table as they are missing from the Tate Gallery Archives. Women exhibitors appear in red.

Women members (including exhibitors and non-exhibitors) appear in blue.

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Appendix 3: Complete List of Prizewinning Artworks from the Slade Summer Composition Competitions, 1897-1915

1897



Figure 74. Maxwell Balfour, *The Rape of the Sabine Women*, 1897. Oil on canvas, 80.0 x 139.7 cm. Awarded first prize. (© UCL Art Collection; photographed by the author at UCL Art Museum)

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The painting was destroyed during World War II.

Edna Waugh (later Clarke Hall), *The Rape of the Sabine Women*, 1897. Oil on canvas. Awarded second prize. NOTE: The painting was destroyed during World War II. In 1927 it was exhibited in the *Exhibition of Works of Art by Teachers and Students of the Slade School, 1871-1927*.

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1898



Figure 75. Augustus John, *Moses and the Brazen Serpent*, c. 1898. Oil on canvas, 149.9 x 213.4 cm. Awarded first prize. (© UCL Art Collection)

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1899



Figure 76. William Orpen, The Play Scene from "Hamlet," c. 1899. Oil on canvas. Awarded first prize. (© Private collection)

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1900



Figure 77. Charles Julian Tharp, Bathers: Women Bathers by a River, c. 1900. Oil on canvas, 110.5 x 152.4 cm. Awarded first prize (shared with Max West). (© UCL Art Collection; photographed by the author at UCL art museum)

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Figure 78. Max West, Bathers, c. 1900. Oil on canvas, 152.4 x 182.9 cm. Awarded first prize (shared with Charles Julian Tharp). (© UCL Art Collection)

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1901⁶²⁶



Figure 79. Albert Rutherston, *The Confessions of Claude*, c. 1901. Oil on canvas, 74.9 x 97.8 cm. Awarded first prize. (© UCL Art Collection)

⁶²⁶ According to Hubert L. Wellington in "The Slade School Summer Composition since 1893," The rule regarding canvas size, which had been fixed at 4 feet by 3 feet, was altered in 1901 to "not less than" 4 feet by 3 feet. The only time that the dimensions for this competition were allowed to be smaller was during World War I due to the shortage of materials.

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1902



Figure 80. Ada Wilson, *The Musicians: The interior of a barn with figures*, c. 1902. Oil on canvas, 91.5 x 122.0 cm. Awarded first prize. (© UCL Art Collection)

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1903



Figure 81. Beatrice Whateley, *The Good Samaritan Helping the Wounded Man off the Donkey*, c. 1903. Oil on canvas, 91.5 x 122.0 cm. Awarded first prize. (© UCL Art Collection)

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1904⁶²⁷



Figure 82. Harold Oakley, *Workers: Workmen Bagging Hops*, c. 1904. Oil on canvas, 91.5 x 122.0 cm. Awarded first prize. (© UCL Art Collection; photographed by the author at UCL Art Museum)

⁶²⁷ Hubert L. Wellington states, in "The Slade School Summer Composition since 1893":
"... the naturalistic tendencies found their frankest expression in 1904. The subject *Workers* sanctioned this."

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1905⁶²⁸



Figure 83. Randolph Schwabe, "Suffer little children to come unto me," 1905. Oil on canvas, 91.5x122.0 cm. Awarded first prize (shared with William I. Strang). (© UCL Art Collection)



Figure 84. William I. Strang, "Suffer little children to come unto me," c. 1905. Oil on canvas, 91.5 x 122.0 cm. Awarded first prize (shared with Randolph Schwabe). (© UCL Art Collection)

⁶²⁸ "The competition of 1905 is interesting as giving a complete change from the realistic point of view" (Hubert L. Wellington, "The Slade School Summer Composition since 1893").

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1906



Figure 85. Elinor Proby Adams, *Mammon*, c. 1906. Oil on canvas, 128.8 x 153.7 cm. Awarded first prize (shared with Edward Morris). (© UCL Art Collection)

Edward Morris, *Mammon*, c. 1906. Awarded first prize (shared with Elinor Proby Adams).
NOTE: K. Myers compiled a list of Summer Composition Competition (1897-1965) paintings held at the Slade Art Museum in 1966. Morris's painting was not among them.

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1907



Figure 86. Mark L. Symons, *Children Playing in an Interior, Polishing Armour*, c. 1907. Oil on canvas, 111.8 x 142.2 cm. Awarded first prize. (© UCL Art Collection)

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1908



Figure 87. James Dickson Innes, *A Scene in a Theatre: A Performance Seen from a Box in which Three Figures are Standing*, c. 1908. Oil on board, 54 x 42 in. Awarded first prize (shared with Winifred Philips). (© UCL Art Collection)

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Figure 88. Winifred Philips, *The Players*, c. 1908. Oil on canvas, 127.0 x 105.4 cm. Awarded first prize (shared with James Dickson Innes). (© UCL Art Collection)

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1909



Figure 89. Maxwell Gordon Lightfoot, *The interior of a barn, with two labourers resting and an old man about to embrace a child accompanied by a Woman*, c. 1909. Oil on canvas, 40 ½ x 50 in. Awarded first prize. (© UCL Art Collection)

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1910



Figure 90. Elsie McNaught, A Frieze of Figures Standing in a Landscape, c. 1910. Oil on canvas, 40 x 52 in. Awarded first prize. (© UCL Art Collection)

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1911

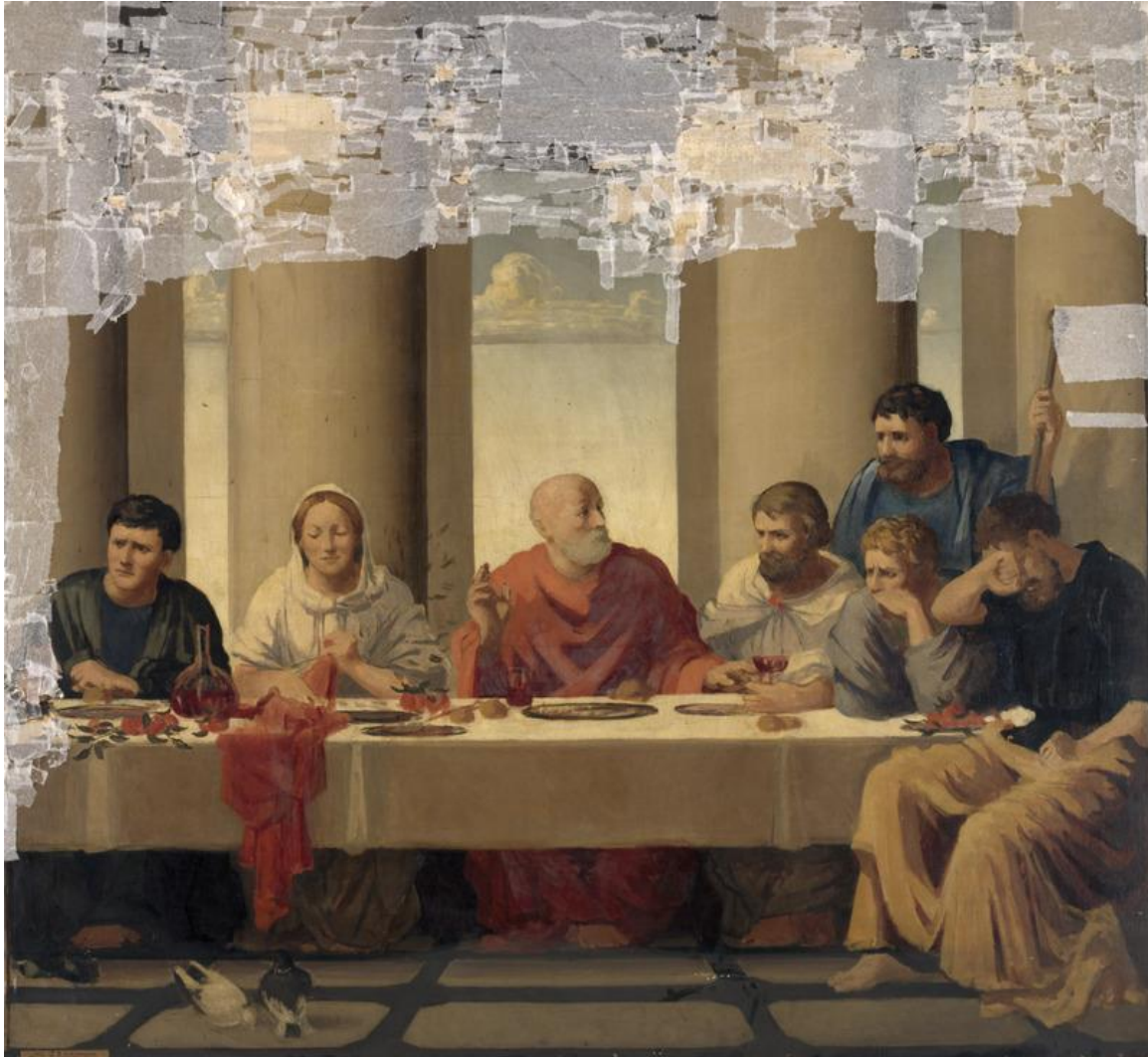


Figure 91. Gilbert Bernard Solomon, A Biblical Supper, c. 1911. Oil on canvas, 40 x 52 in. Awarded first prize. (Slade Art Museum: 5522. © UCL Art Collection)

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1912



Figure 92. Stanley Spencer, *The Nativity*, 1912. Oil on panel, 40 ½ x 60 in. Awarded first prize. (Slade Art Museum: 5245 © UCL Art Collection)

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1913



Figure 93. Ruth Humphries, *A Group of Figures Standing in a Landscape*, 1913. Oil on canvas, 34 x 42 in. Awarded first prize. (© UCL Art Collection)

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1914



Figure 94. Thomas Tennant Baxter, *A Landscape with a woman in a donkey cart*, c. 1914. Oil on canvas, 114.3 x 153.7 cm. Awarded first prize (shared with Gilbert Spencer). (© UCL Art Collection)

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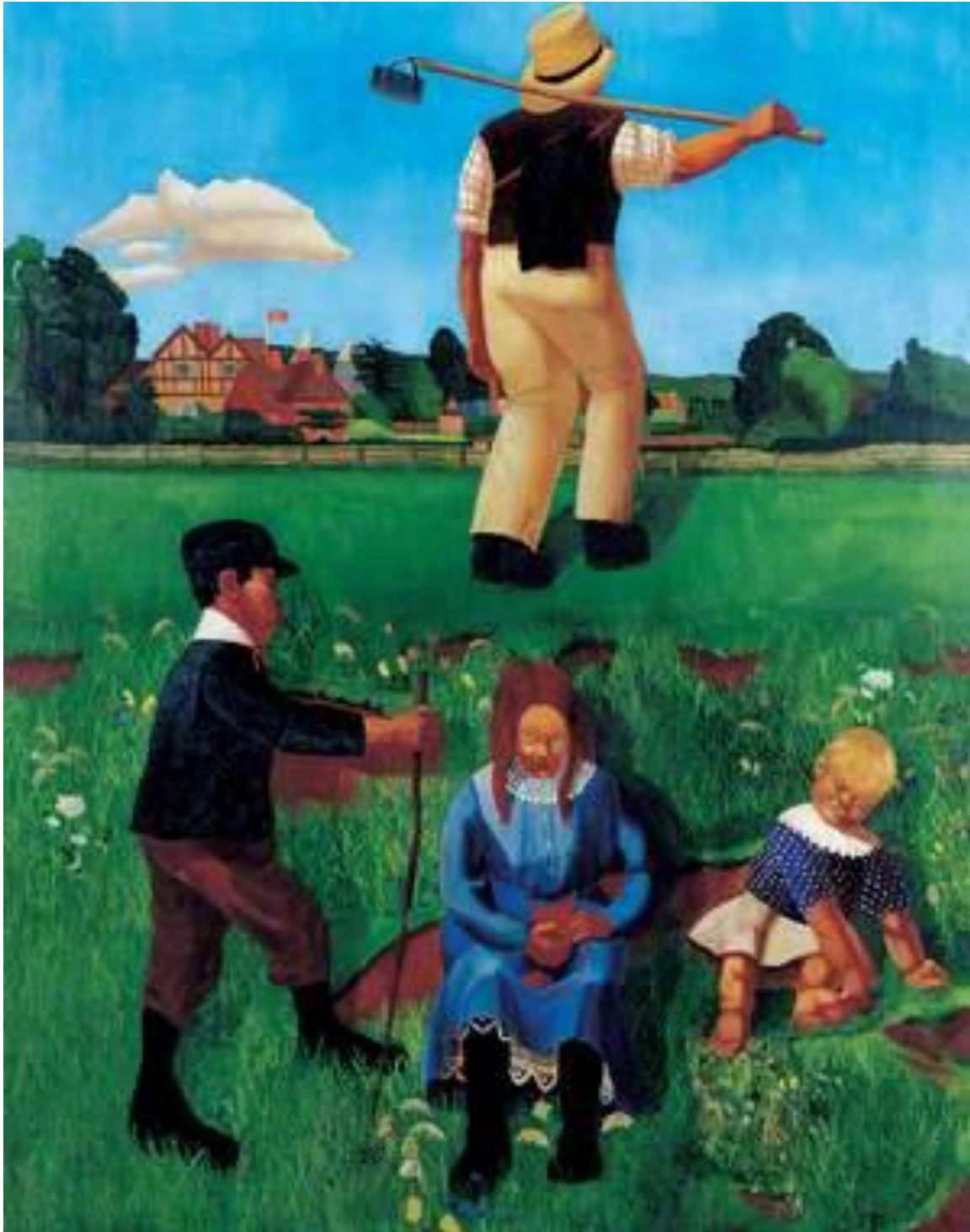


Figure 95. Gilbert Spencer, Three children seated in a meadow (a gardener walking away from them, a house in the background), c. 1914. Oil on canvas, 152.4 x 121.9 cm. Awarded first prize (shared with Thomas Tennant Baxter). (© UCL Art Collection)

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1915



Figure 96. Violet Hamilton Bradshaw, *Flight into Egypt*, c. 1915. Oil on canvas, 91.5 x 122.0 cm. Awarded first prize. (© UCL Art Collection)

Libraries and Archives

University College London

UCL Special Collections at UCL Science Library on the Main Campus

1. "The Slade: The Story of an Art School: 1871-1971" by Michael Reynold [MS ADD 250]
2. Stephen Chaplin, "A Slade School of Fine Art Archive Reader: A Compendium of Documents, 1868–1975," University College London. [MS ADD 400]
3. Edna Clarke Hall's unpublished memoir: Chapter 2
4. Wyn George's scrapbook
5. University College of London Calendars, Sessions 1880-1881, 1883-1884, 1884-1885, and from 1895-1896 to 1914-1915

6. *The University College Gazette* (1886-1904)
 - The University College Gazette*, 1901
 - vol. 2, no. 32, 4 February 1901 (165-176)
 - vol. 2, no. 33, 21 March 1901 (177-188)
 - vol. 2, no. 35, 28 June 1901 (201-212)
 - vol. 3, no. 36, 30 October 1901 (214-224)
 - vol. 3, no. 37, 18 December 1901 (225-236)
 - The University College Gazette*, 1902
 - vol. 3, no. 38, 20 February 1902
 - vol. 3, no. 39, 21 March 1902
 - vol. 3, no. 40, 26 May 1902
 - vol. 3, no. 41, 4 July 1902 (269-280)
 - vol. 3, no. 42, 12 November 1902
 - vol. 3, no. 43, 12 December 1902
 - The University College Gazette*, 1903
 - vol. 3, no. 44, 4 February 1903 (305-316)
 - vol. 3, no. 45, 18 March 1903
 - vol. 3, no. 46, 13 May 1903 (330-340)
 - vol. 3, no. 47, 17 June 1903
 - vol. 3, no. 48, 11 November 1903
 - vol. 3, no. 49, 9 December 1903
 - The University College Gazette*, 1904
 - vol. 3, no. 50, 20 February 1904
 - vol. 3, no. 52, 20 May 1904
 - vol. 3, no. 53, 16 June 1904
7. *The Critic*, no. 1, January 1914
8. *U.C.L Union Magazine* vols. 5-7 (1911-1916)
9. UCLCA/SS/3 C (I b): An Almost complete photocopy of the Slade Animal Land album by Logic Whiteway

Libraries & Archives

Slade School of Fine Arts, London

Official Student and Staff Records at UCL Record Office

1. Students Index Cards (Ann Airy, Dorothy Eugenie Brett, Vanessa Stephen, Gwendolen Mary R. E. Darwin, Jessie Stuart Dismorr, Dora Carrington, Ethel Walker)
2. Students Papers

UCL Art Museum

K. Myers, Award list of Summer Composition Competition (1897-1965), 1966.

Original Works of Art by Slade Women Students

- 3451: Gwen John, *Portrait Group*, 1897
- 3451b: Gwen John, *Studies after Michelangelo*, 1897
- 4796: Edna Waugh (Clarke Hall), *Study of a Boy, Standing*, date unknown
- 6032: Dora Carrington, *Standing Male Nude*, 1912
- 6033: Dora Carrington, *Standing Female Nude*, 1913
- 6042: Dora Carrington, *Standing Female Nude* (right arm outstretched), 1914
- 6529: Ida Nettleship, *A Study of a Nude Male Figure*, c. 1895
- 8738: Ethel Walker, *Two Kneeling Male and Female Figures*, date unknown
- 8739: Ethel Walker, *Reclining Female Nude*, 1921
- 8755: Edna Waugh (Clarke Hall), *Nude Woman facing Left*, date unknown

Tate Gallery Archives, London

Vanessa Bell (TGA8010), Dorothy Brett (TGA911/49, TGA8910/1/2/333, TGA8910/1/2/1061, TGA8910/13/2/1, TGA8910/13/2/5), Dora Carrington (TGA797, TGA813), Edna Clarke Hall (TGA728, TGA8226), Jessica Dismorr (TAM1, TG4/2/279), Sylvia Gilman (TGA 20067/3/2), Sylvia Gosse (TGA8120/6), Barbara Hiles (TGA797, TGA8910/1/2/1091), Nan Hudson (TGA9125/1/1-19), Gwen John (TGA838/1-3), Kate Lechmere (TGA8726/8/38), Ida Nettleship (TAM21E, F, G; TGA8226/2/5), Ethel Sands (TGA9125), Helen Saunders (TG4/2/926, TGA8223, TGA8223/1), Frida Strindberg (TGA8314/1/2/13-21), Ursula Tyrwhitt (TG4/2/1046/1), Paule Vézelay (TGA 9027, TGA 8615), William C. Lipke (TGA 8223), and Album of press cuttings on C. R. W. Nevinson (17 January 1914-13 March 1918) (TGA 7311/2).

New English Art Club

TGA 20067/5/17–36: 18 catalogues of the exhibitions of Modern Pictures by the New English Art Club ranging from 1905 winter to 1914 summer.

London Group

London Group exhibition catalogues (TGA 7713).

Ethel Walker

TGA 716.1-96: Grace English Files on Ethel Walker and press-cuttings

TGA 716. 81: "Notes on Dame Ethel Walker by Grace English."

Libraries & Archives

TGA 817.31-65: Thirty-four letters from Ethel Walker to J. B. de Graaf and Madame de Graaf
TGA 8726/2/105: A copy of Grace English's monograph on Walker
TGA 7621/6: A letter from Grace English to Mary Chamot re. "The Washer Woman of Abba"
by Ethel Walker

Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Jessica Dismorr Archives (TG 4/2/279/1)
Friday Club Exhibition Catalogues (1911-1914) 200.B.168
Allied Artists' Association Exhibition Catalogues (1908-1913)
Art News, edited by Frank Rutter (1909-1912) PP.18.H
Catalogue of an exhibition held at the Brighton Public Art Galleries, 16 December 1913-14
January 1914

Women's Art Library, Goldsmiths, University of London

MAKE/AR/G/001: Women's International Art Club (1901-1914)
Press-cuttings Collection (1901-1914)
National Association of Women Artists (USA) collection of "Who's who in the exhibition?"
WIAC Executive Committee Meeting Minutes and WIAC Annual Reports (1912-1913, 1913-
1914, 1914-1915).
Exhibition catalogues of Women's International Art Club (1900-1939) 200.B.426
Margaret Geddes, "Women's International Art Club," *Studio*, 139 (March 1950), 65-71

Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin

Periodicals

Athenaeum (1900, 1921)
The Blue Review (May, June, July 1913)
The Little Review (1914-1915)
Blast (No. 1 1914, War number 1915)
New Statesman (Vol. 2 1914 no.44)
Rhythm (1911-1913)
The Egoist (1914)
The Freewoman (1911-1912)
The Studio (Vol. 48 – Vol. 63 1915)
Punch (Vol. 138 1910 – Vol. 147 1914)

Dorothy Brett (1883-1977) Collection

Art collection: Accession Number: 65.207, 65.271 65.396, 68.38, 69.37, 70.77.1, 7.77.2,
70.77.3, 73.106, 87.103.2, 87.103.1, 79.333. Dorothy Brett literary file consists of thirty
photographs. Accession/P number: PH:LF Brett, D.; PH:LF:OV Box, Medium. Dorothy Brett's
correspondences: This collection includes a large accumulation of letters written to Brett,
especially correspondence with Frieda Lawrence, her Slade friend Mark Gertler (7.7-8.1, 92
to Brett), Katherine Mansfield (from Brett 1.6), and the *Lawrence and Brett* typescripts with
author revisions (Box 1 folder 2-5).

Libraries & Archives

Dora Carrington (1893-1932) Collection

Four Boxes of Correspondence, including love letters, prints, postcards, sketches and a small handmade notebook containing twenty woodcut prints by Carrington. Incoming correspondence includes letters Carrington received from friends like Henry Lamb, C. R. W. Nevinson, Ralph Partridge, Albert Rutherston and Augustus John. (Container number: 1.2, 1.6, 1.7, 1.8, 1.9, 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 2.4, 2.7, 2.8, 3.1, 3.3, 3.6, 3.8, 4.1, 4.7)

Augustus John (1878-1961) Collection

This collection includes one portrait painting of Ottoline Morrell (67.25) and a portrait of Nancy Cunard (16.1).

Lytton Strachey (1880-1932) Collection

Correspondence with Dora Carrington, 1893-1932 – 5.9

Ottoline Morrell (1873-1938) Collection

Correspondence of letters: Barbara Hiles Bagenal, 2.1 (seven items); Clive Bell, 2.3 (thirty-one items), 35.5 (three items); Vanessa Bell, 2.4 (eighteen items); Dorothy Brett, 3.3-5 (111 items); Dora Carrington, 4.1 (twenty-five items); Jacob Epstein, 6.2; Mark Gertler, 7.6-8 (142 items), 35.5 (three items); Duncan Grant, 8.5 (sixty-six items); Augustus John, 10.7-11.3 (166 items), 35.5 (three items); D. H. Lawrence, 12.6 (forty-two items), C. R. W. Nevinson, 16.4 (two items); William Orpen, 36.7; Ezra Pound, 17.1 (two items); Ethel Sands, 28.2 (eight items), 35.7; Walter Richard Sickert, 29.6 (three items); Stanley Spencer, 30.6 (twenty-four items); Lytton Strachey, 31.3-32.2 (259 items), 35.7; Iris Tree, 32.5 (four items); Virginia Woolf, 34.5-7 (173 items), 35.7 (seven items).

Dame Edith Sitwell (1887-1964) Collection

Arts Council of Great Britain (container 90.2), Nina Hamnett's painting of Edith Sitwell (container 95.1)

Eric Walter White Collection

Slade Centenary Exhibition Catalogue of Edna Clarke Hall Drawings and Waters, 1971 (Container 36.9).

Newspapers and Periodicals

Newspapers: *Daily Chronicle, Daily Mirror, Guardian, Observer, Sunday Telegraph, Times, Sunday Times, Morning Post, Nottingham Guardian.*

Magazines/journals: *Apollo, Art Critic, Art News, Art Weekly, Athenaeum, Colour, Colour Magazine, Criterion, Academy, Art Journal, Listener, National Review, New Age, Sketch, Saturday Review, Speaker, London Mercury, Nation, New Statesman, Magazine of Art, Spectator, Times Literary Supplement, Vanity Fair.*

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