

# Women Artists and Book Illustration in Edinburgh 1886-1945

Rosemary Catharine Addison

Diploma in Printing and Publishing, Napier College,  
BA Open University

In Two Volumes

Submitted for the qualification of PhD to  
Edinburgh College of Art, Heriot Watt University

For research conducted in the Centre for Visual and Cultural Studies,  
Edinburgh College of Art

Submission, October 2004

This copy of the thesis has been supplied on condition that anyone who consults it is understood to recognise that the copyright rests with its author and that no quotation from the thesis and no information derived from it may be published without the prior written consent of the author or the University (as may be appropriate).

# Volume I



# CONTENTS

List of Illustrations	xi
Abstract	xxiii
<b>Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
Context	1
Aims	7
Research Issues	8
Selection of Illustrators	9
Printing and Publishing Records	13
Production Methods	14
Broadening the Perspective	15
Directories	17
Synopsis of Chapters	20
Summary	24
<b>Chapter 1: Gender</b>	<b>27</b>
Definitions	27
Reading and Writing Art History	29
Gender in Scotland	37
The Amateur and the Professional – Explorations	39
Canons of Art and Life Classes	46
Gender and Victorian Edinburgh	48
Summary	54
<b>Chapter 2: Art Education in Edinburgh</b>	<b>59</b>
Context - Edinburgh 1889	59
Art and Education in Edinburgh – Precedents	64
Education, Print, Politics	68

Private Art Education	72
The Trustees' Academy	74
The Watt Institution and School of Art and Heriot Watt College	77
The Edinburgh Social Union	81
The Old Edinburgh School of Art	85
The School of Applied Art	87
Edinburgh College of Art	88
Summary	94

### **Chapter 3: Unconventional Spaces and**

#### **International Exhibitions 101**

Context	101
The International Exhibition of Industry, Science and Art, Edinburgh 1886	104
Organisation	106
Buildings and Events	112
The Women's Industries Section Catalogue	115
Elizabeth Gulland, Artist, Printmaker, Illustrator (1857-1934)	119
Corporate Images	128
The International Exhibition of Electrical Engineering, General Inventions and Industries, 1890	130
The Scottish National Exhibition, 1908	132
Summary	134

<b>Chapter 4: Girls, Designers, Illustrators</b>	<b>143</b>
Girls and Boys	144
Design and Illustration	146
Phoebe Anna Traquair (1852-1936)	148
Phoebe Traquair and The RSA	158
Hannah Clarke Preston Macgoun (1867-1913)	162
Summary	171
<b>Chapter 5: Emancipation</b>	<b>179</b>
Greatness, Girlhood, Womanhood	179
WSPU Demonstration, Edinburgh 1909	181
Reformations	184
Mabel Royds (1874-1941)	188
Cecile Walton (1891-1956)	198
Summary	229
<b>Chapter 6: Aesthetics, Culture, Politics</b>	<b>237</b>
Observations	237
Context	240
Female Culture – Hearts and Minds	242
Body Politics	246
Wendy Wood (1892-1981)	234
Joan Hassall (1906-1988)	272
Summary	283
<b>Chapter 7: Conclusion</b>	<b>289</b>
Absence and Presence	289
Women in Public	292
<i>Edinburgh and Texts</i>	292

<i>The Effects of Gender</i>	293
<i>Training and Education</i>	296
<i>Trade and Profession</i>	297
<i>Networks</i>	300
<i>Public Personae</i>	302
<i>Visual and Written Literacy</i>	304
Women's Images	306
Self Images	309
Developments 1886-1945	311
Summary	312

## **APPENDICES**

### **Appendix I – Census Figures 315**

Table 1: Population Figures for Scotland from decennial Census data, 1891-1951	315
---	-----

### **Appendix 2 – Attendance Figures 316**

Table 2: From Heriot Watt Calendars Female Class Applications, 1875-1877	316
---	-----

Table 3: From Heriot Watt Calendars Differentiated Male and Female Class Applications 1878 to 1902-3	317
--	-----

Table 4: From Edinburgh College of Art Reports to the Governors, Day and Evening Classes Specified, Male and Female Applications Undifferentiated 1908-9 to 1914-15	318
--	-----



Table 5: From Edinburgh College of Art Reports to the Governors, Day and Evening Classes Specified, Male and Female Applications Differentiated for Day and Evening Classes 1915-16 to 1924-5 (last available figures)	319
--	-----

**Appendix 3** **320**

Edinburgh International Exhibition of Industry, Science and Art, Fine Art and Loan Section, List of Female Exhibitors, 1886	320
---	-----

**Appendix 4** **326**

International Exhibition of Electrical Engineering, General Inventions and Industries, 1890, List of Female Exhibitors	326
--	-----

**Appendix 5** **332**

The Scottish National Exhibition, 1908, Fine Art Section, Index to Artists in Sale Section (Female Only)	332
--	-----

**Bibliography** 337

Archives 337

Articles 348

Dissertations/Theses 350

General Works 351

    Contemporary Literature 360

Journals/Magazines/Newspapers 363

Reference Works 364

Testimonials 367

Unpublished Papers/Private Collections 368

Websites 369

**Acknowledgements** 371

**VOLUME II**

**List of Illustrations** v

**Illustrations** 1

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

*Image sizes rather than total paper or object sizes given where appropriate*

### Chapter One

- 1.1 'The Sketching Master' from *John Leech's Pictures of Life and Character from the Collection of Mr Punch*, Bradbury Agnew & Co., London, 1897
- 1.2 'Shocking Incident in Real Life', *Punch*, July-December, 1891, p 251
- 1.3 College of Art Types by RD Smith from *The Cairn*, Edinburgh College of Art Magazine, 1911, p 45
- 1.4 Evolution of women and fashion, *Punch*, July 18, 1891 p 6
- 1.5 Design (detail from 1.3 above)

### Chapter Two

- 2.1 Mary Burton (1819-1909) , in *The Young Woman*, 1895-6, p 166 (acknowledgement to Ann Jones, Archivist, Heriot Watt University and also to the National Library of Scotland, NLS Q.122)
- 2.2 Mary Burton, *ibid.*, p 164
- 2.3 Heriot Watt College, Art Department, *Heriot Watt Calendar*, 1905-6, p 189
- 2.4 Flora Stevenson (1839-1905) painted by AI Roche (1861-1921), oil on canvas, 127 x 106.7 cm, funded by subscriptions to *The Scotsman* in the year of her death (acknowledgement to the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, SNPG G643)
- 2.5 Heriot Watt College, Printing Department, Composing Room for Trade Classes, from Heriot Watt Calendar, 1910-11, p 306
- 2.6 Printing Department, Section of Machine Room, *ibid*, p 310
- 2.7 Edinburgh College of Art, ECA 2/1/4/1, Early Staff, c. 1908 (Frank Morley Fletcher, Principal, Front Row, fourth from left; behind him Miss Waterston; Mabel Royds, Second Row, fourth from right)

### Chapter Three

- 3.1 Aerial photograph from the North West, Exhibition Hall of the International Exhibition of Industry, Science and Art, Edinburgh 6 May 1886, RCAHMS Archive B/8666
- 3.2 Plan site map from the *Official Guide to the International Exhibition of Industry, Science and Art, Edinburgh*, T & A Constable, 1886
- 3.3 Convenors of the Women's Industries Section, as noted in the *Women's Industries Section Pamphlet*, designed by Elizabeth Gulland, published by David Douglas and printed by T & A Constable, 1886
- 3.4 Front cover illustration, Catalogue of the Pictures and Works of Art, using the corporate and thematic design of the figurine of Athena and Edinburgh City Arms (three turrets on a central heraldic shield)
- 3.5 Plan diagram of the picture gallery spaces in the Grand Entrance Hall from the Official Guide (see Fig. 3.2 above)
- 3.6 Edinburgh International Festival 1886, Women's Industries Section, *Guide to Irish Exhibits, compiled by her excellency the Countess of Aberdeen*, Hodges, Figgis & Co., Dublin
- 3.7 Front cover illustration for Women's Industries (see Fig. 3.3 above)
- 3.8 Elizabeth Gulland, Cover Designs for the American Authros series published by David Douglas; typeset by compasses and printed at T & A Constable (NLS Collections)
  - (a) A Foregone Conclusion
  - (b) Their Wedding Journey
- 3.9 Advertisements for David Douglas Publications (NLS Collections)
- 3.10 Elizabeth Gulland, *The Queen's Visit 1886*, commemoration booklet printed in red blue and gold by T & A Constable, Edinburgh Public Library Collections  
Queen Victoria; a member of the Queen's Company of Archers, her Scottish Bodyguard, and behind an image of the exhibition site
- 3.11 Title Page from the commemoration booklet (see Fig. 3.10 above)
- 3.12 The Newhaven Fishing Girl (see Fig. 3.10 above)

- 3.13 Elizabeth Gulland, Book Plate dated 17.8.87, print from line drawing, note inscription relating to Votes for Women (Bushey Museum Collections)
- 3.14 *Official Guide with Plan to the Edinburgh International Exhibition*, T & A Constable, Edinburgh, 1890
- 3.15 Site Plan, Meggetland, Edinburgh 1890, from the Official Guide
- (a) The Art Galleries
  - (b) The Japanese Village
- 3.16 The Scottish National Exhibition, 1890, Organisers RCAHMS

## Chapter Four

- 4.1 Advertisement for *The Scottish Art Review*, designed by Selwyn Image, 1888 (Edinburgh Public Library Collections)
- 4.2 Phoebe Anna Traquair (1852-1936), Self-Portrait (c.1910), oil on panel, 29.9 x 34.1 cm (acknowledgement to Scottish National Portrait Galleries) SNPG PG 1594
- 4.3 Phoebe Anna Traquair, *The Psalms of David*, Frontispiece, 18.8 x 14.1 cm, (acknowledgement to the National Gallery of Scotland) DNG 1872, Artist's Bequest 1936
- 4.4 *The Psalms of David*, Folio 49, Images of the artist as crafts worker, at her embroidery and at her desk assisted by angels; angel holding the burning torch of Truth top right
- 4.5 (a) Folio 49, detail of the female artist as craft worker. Engaged in the process of embroidery she is overlooked and guided by an angel whose hand rests on her shoulder. Rays of light from the angel's face illuminate the vision of the artist as she works, thus guiding her vision with divine sources of inspiration. Books shelved behind the artist indicate the importance of literary sources to her work.
- (b) Folio 49, detail of the female artist as scribe, illuminating a manuscript. The artist here makes a self-referential image to indicate her capacity as writer, thinker, serious and dedicated to her vocation. The picture denotes the solitude of her role as she works into the night – as indicated by the crescent moon through her study windows. The ministering angel again projects divine vision through the artist and onto the work she performs. Once again, books, symbols of knowledge, lie behind both figures, stressing the significance of the scriptural word.
- 4.6 *The Psalms of David*, forwarded by Jane Easton and with clasps by JM Talbot. 19.6 x 14.9 cm
- (a) Front Cover book casing, untreated calf, embossed with gold details

- (b) Back Cover book casing, initialled by the artist in Celtic style interlacing of the artists' initials (PAT for Phoebe Anna Traquair) and the completion date of 1898
- 4.7 (a) Front Cover illustration by Phoebe Traquair in the manner of a woodblock print, Vol. 1.1, *The Children's Guide*, published by the Rev David Balsillie and printed by T & A Constable, Edinburgh, January 1890 (NLS Collections)
- (b) Traquair illustration for 'The Hermit and the Angel' by J Logie Robertson, *ibid.*, p 65
- (c) Traquair illustration for 'William Tell' adapted by FF Roget, *ibid.*, p 95
- 4.8 Hannah Clarke Preston MacGoun (1867-1913), Self Portrait, Watercolour on Paper (1887), 18.8 x 14.9cm (acknowledgement to the Scottish National Portrait Gallery) SNPG PG 1481
- 4.9 HCP MacGoun in her studio in 130 George Street, Edinburgh (undated, post-1894), from SNPG file 1481
- 4.10 HCP MacGoun, from *Life and Work*, published by David Douglas for the Church of Scotland, 'Mother', 1892, p 10
- 4.11 'Waiting', 1898, p 190 *ibid.*, illustrations for a poem by her father
- 4.12 'The Threshold', 1914, p 12., *ibid.*, accompanied an obituary of the artist written by John Hogben. A use of the mother and child/Madonna motif in social realist mode
- 4.13 *Little Miss Conceit*, published by Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, Edinburgh, 1896
- (a) Cover Design
- (b) MacGoun illustration for Title Page and Frontispiece dated 1895 (pre-publication)
- (c) Title Page design, composite use of florid patterns, ribbons, butterflies and peacock feathers signifying playfulness, mortality and pride combined with the narrative figures of the conceited girl reprimanded by the older female
- 4.14 (a) Title page design by Hannah Clarke Preston MacGoun for *Rob Lindsay and His School*, by William MacGillivray, published by TN Foulis, Edinburgh, 1905
- (b) Illustration (*ibid.*) showing the significance of depicting the characters of a narrative, and giving narrative form to the process of education for children in Scotland. The simple social realism of the artist projects the reality of conditions at the time. The handwriting of the artist in the image, as plain handwriting gives a documentary sense to the picture and signifies her presence

- 4.15 Illustration By Hannah Clark Preston MacGoun from *Cotbank and its Folk*, by William MacGillivray, published by TN Foulis, Edinburgh, 1911. A social realist narrative image, this time of Aunt Tibbie as dominie, showing the education of children in rural Scotland by a woman
- 4.16 *Pet Marjorie*, at her desk. The image of a girl as a student, from recollections written by Dr John Brown, TN Foulis, Edinburgh, 1907
- 4.17 (a) Dr John Brown Booklet series, designed by Jessie M King, inset illustration for the title *Pet Marjorie*, published by TN Foulis
- (a) Envelope Book format, designed by Jessie M King, with inset illustration of *Pet Marjorie* also published by TN Foulis
- 4.18 Hannah Clarke Preston MacGoun, from a Memorial Exhibition Catalogue, New Gallery, Shandwick Place, 1914

## Chapter Five

- 5.1 *Chorus of the Purple, White and Green March*, WSPU, anon., SNPG File PG 2229
- 5.2 *Edinburgh Typographia*, 1897-8 designed by Elizabeth Gulland, from Edinburgh Public Library Collections
- 5.3 *Edinburgh School of Art Sketch Club Member's Card* 1905-6, 16 x 10 cm
- (a) Cover Design (Edinburgh City Coat of Arms and Lamp) by Margaret Dobson
- (b) Office Bearers and Constitution
- 5.4 *Edinburgh School of Art Sketch Club Member's Card* 1906-7, 16 x 10 cm
- (a) Cover Design
- (b) Office Bearers and Constitution

5.5 *Edinburgh College of Art Student's Club*, Session Booklet 1908-9, 12.5 x 8 cm

- (a) Cover Design by Muriel Fry
- (b) Office Bearers and Constitution

5.6 *Edinburgh College of Art Student's Club*, Membership Booklet, 1910-11, 12.5 x 8 cm

- (a) Cover Design by Ethel B Clark
- (b) Office Bearers and Constitution

5.7 *The Cairn*, Edinburgh College of Art Magazine

- (a) Issue for 1911, etching by Margaret Dobson, 1910
- (b) Issue for 1912, Portrait Drawing by Lena Alexander (Mrs Lees Duncan)
- (c) Issue for 1912, Woodblock end-piece by Ethel Clark

5.8 Edinburgh College of Art, Archive Photograph 2/1/3/1 and key to students where known

5.9 Mabel Royds (1874-1941) Self-Portrait, Sketchbook, n.d., (with acknowledgement to Harry Barton)

5.10 Mabel Royds with daughter Marjorie (c.1917), 1.25 cm x .8 cm (with acknowledgement to Harry Barton)

5.11 'Choir Boys' by Mabel Royds (1898), Colour Woodblock 7.2 x 8.9 cm, SNGMA GMA 517A

5.12 'The Stocking' or 'Christmas Morning' by Mabel Royds (1908), Colour Woodblock, 14 x 6 cm, SNGMA GMA 519

5.13 From a series of colour woodblock prints by Mabel Royds of her travels in India and Nepal (1913-17), 'Bathers in Benares', SNGMA GMA 541

5.14 Mabel Royds Colour Woodblock Prints, SNGMA

- (a) 'Foxgloves' (c.1934) 16.9 x 20.8 cm GMA 532B
- (b) 'Dead Tulips' (c. 1934) 22.5 x 18.7 cm, GMA 529



(c) 'Magnolia' (c. 1936) 19.8 x 23.4 cm, GMA 521

(d) 'White Lilies' (1937) 21.2 x 24 cm, GMA 514

(e) 'Artichoke' (1937) 21.2 x 24 cm, GMA 525

5.15 'The Flight into Egypt' by Mabel Royds (1938) Colour Woodblock, 23.6 x 30.7, SNGMA GMA 531

5.16 Cecile Walton (1891-1956), Photograph by Dorothy Johnstone (c. 1923) 16 x 11.5 cm (reproduced with kind permission of Mrs Muriel Robertson)

5.17 Images of Cecile Walton by Eric Robertson (1887-1941)

(a) 'Cecile' (1912) Oil on Canvas, 187.2 x 93.6 cm, private collection, USA

(b) 'Sheba, the Night and the Moon', Oil on Canvas, 59.5 x 64.4 cm, Smith Art Gallery and Museum, Stirling

5.18 Cecile Walton Illustrations for the *Programme of the Scottish Children's League of Pity*

(a) Printed in terracotta ink on vertical folds, 1907 SNGMA GMA A 30 2, 22.5 x 15 cm

(b) Programme, Front Cover, black and white line drawing for the play 'Never Judge by Appearances' 1907 SNGMA GMA A 30 1, 82 x 12.8 cm

5.19 Edinburgh College of Art, ECA 2/1/3/8, Group Photograph, Students Spring Term 1909

5.20 Edinburgh College of Art, ECA 2/1/3/9

(a) Group photograph

(b) Ethel Clark

(c) Margaret Dobson

5.21 Cecile Walton, Illustrations for *Hans Anderson's Fairy Tales*, TC & EC Jack, Edinburgh, 1911

(a) Front Cover, Binding

(b) Endpapers

(c) Frontispiece, The Little Mermaid

(d) The Snow Queen, facing p 72

(e) The Red Shoes, facing p 112

(f) The Story of a Mother, facing p 302

- (g) Thumbelina, facing p 340
- 5.22 (a) Folk fancy dress and (b) Garden Party. Dorothea and Margaret Waterstone c.1918  
(acknowledgements to G Waterstone, Senior)
- 5.23 Cecile Walton, design for Waterstone's Stationery, n.d., 25 x 15.5 cm (acknowledgements to G. Waterstone and Co., Edinburgh)
- 5.24 Etchings by Cecile Walton produced in John Duncan's studio c. 1908, from SNGMA collections,
- (a) Couple, girl holding plant ('Isabella and the Pot of Basil?'), GMA 3725
  - (b) Profile of seated woman, GMA 3724
  - (c) 'The Elegy of the Rose', GMA 3722
- 5.25 Cecile Walton illustrations for *Polish Fairy Tales*, trans. Maude Ashurst Biggs, published by John Lane/Bodley Head, London, 1920
- (a) Endpapers
  - (b) Frontispiece, The Fairy Girls Make the Carpet, from 'The Frog Princess'
  - (c) The Way Home, facing p 13
  - (d) The Dragon with Twelve Heads frightens Princess Miranda, facing p 25
  - (e) The Children Transformed (a version of the story of the Children of Llyr), facing p 29
  - (f) The Princess of the Brazen Mountain, facing p 70
- 5.26 Cecile Walton, 'Romance; self-portrait, oil on canvas, 100,6 x 150.9 (1921) SNPG PG 2995
- 5.27 From John Kemplay, *The Two Companions*, paintings by Cecile Walton. 'Grass of Parnassus' (1919)  
exhibited with the Edinburgh Group 1920, untraced
- 5.28 'And These Also' oil on canvas, untraced, dated 1919, exhibited with the Edinburgh Group, 1920 and at  
the Royal Academy in the same year (op. cit. John Kemplay)

- 5.29 'To Nobody Knows Where', oil on canvas, untraced, painted 1921, exhibited RSA 1921 (op. cit. John Kemplay)
- 5.30 'Suffer Little Children to Come unto me and Forbid them Not', (c. 1922) private collection, USA
- 5.31 Porpoise Press, Logogram for the Broadsheet Series 1, 1922 illustration by Cecile Walton (NLS Collections)
- 5.32 Austin Priestman, *Children's Verses and Poems*, Title Page Design by Cecile Walton 1926 (NLS Collections)
- 5.33 Dorothy Una Ratcliffe, *Nightlights*, Title Page Design by Cecile Walton

## Chapter Six

- 6.1 (a) *School Craft Exhibition Catalogue*, HMSO, Edinburgh, 1936
- (b) Book crafts display for the School Crafts Exhibition, 1936
- 6.2 Wendy Wood, self-portrait, charcoal on paper, n.d., SNPG PG 3146
- 6.3 Gwendolen Meacham, untitled, watercolour on paper, n.d., acknowledgement to the Museum of Childhood, Edinburgh
- 6.4 Gwendolen Meacham, 'Splashing About', watercolour on paper, n.d., Museum of Childhood
- 6.5 'Gwendoline Meacham', Royal Drawing Society Certificate, June 1909, Museum of Childhood
- 6.6 Life Study signed Gwen Meacham, pencil drawing on paper, executed in the studio of Walter Sickert, 1909, (Private Collection)
- 6.7 (a) Marriage of Gwen Meacham to Walter Cuthbert, Cape Town, South Africa, 1913
- (b) Mrs Gwen Cuthbert, photographic portrait, evening dress, 1915
- (c) Portrait photograph for screen test and admission to film studies course in London, 1917

- 6.8 (a) Book Case of *The Baby in the Glass*, written and illustrated by Gwen Cuthbert and published by Alexaner Moring at the De La More Press, London, 1923
- (b) Title Page
- (c) Preface by Jessie M King
- 6.9 David Foggie, Portrait of Wendy Wood, pencil on paper, signed by the sitter according to the habit of the artist, 1926, SNPG PG 2678
- 6.10 (a) *The Chickabiddies Book*, published by The Children's Companion Office, London
- (b) Title page design by Gwen Meacham
- 6.11 Illustration for the children's magazine, *Little Dots*, published by DC Thomson, 1925
- 6.12 Opening page of Account Book, June 1927, NLS Collections
- 6.13 (a) Copy of *The Secret of Spey*, text and illustrations by Wendy Wood with a preface by J. Lewis Spence, The Moray Press, Edinburgh, 1930 (NLS Collections)
- (b) The Old Carr Bridge, line illustration by Wendy Wood
- 6.14 (a) Copy of *A Lad of Dundee* written by Gwen Cuthbert and Elizabeth Mariott King, Harrap & Co., London, 1935
- (b) Illustrations by Canadian artist, Hélène Carter
- 6.15 Wendy Wood, 'The Children of Lir', pencil and blue ink on paper, 1939, Museum of Childhood
- 6.16 Wendy Wood, Cartoon 1939, 'Scottish Nationalist (to Unionist) "Cut that hawser (Treaty of Union) and We'll make harbour on our own course' (acknowledgement to Cora Cuthbert)
- 6.17 'Butter is bad enough but...' suggesting butter would not melt in the mouth of Hugh MacDiarmid (seated) as he watches women (possibly Wendy Wood and her two daughters). A commentary on the economic arguments about the priority of food or armaments – Guns or Butter – of the 1950s (acknowledgements for this image to Carola Gordon)

- 6.18 Florence St John Cadell (1877-1966), Portrait of Wendy Wood, 1959, SNPG PG 2673
- 6.19 Wendy Wood, cartoon self-parody in poem 'Saxty' in *Astronauts and Tinklers*, 1981
- 6.20 Wendy Wood, sketch of running deer (acknowledgement to Cora Cuthbert) indicative of a changing style in the 1960s onwards
- 6.21 Issue of *The Patriot* commemorating the death of Wendy Wood, 1981, from Huntly House Museum, Edinburgh
- 6.22 Copy of the First Constitution of the Saltire Society, 1937, NLS Collections
- 6.23 Letter from Joan Hassall to Alison Cairns, Secretary of the Publications Committee of the Saltire Society, NLS Collections
- 6.24 Joan Hassall, designs for Saltire Chapbook 8, *Old Scottish Christmas Hymns*, chosen by Agnes Mure Mackenzie
- (a) Dummy designs for front and back cover
  - (b) First proof, front and back cover
  - (c) Draft design by Joan Hassall (above) for double-page spread and
  - (d) (d) (below) first proof, pp 6-7
- 6.25 Draft and proof of angels, p 8
- 6.26 (a) Printed copy of Saltire Chapbook 4, *The Marriage of Robin Redbreast and the Wren*, designed by Joan Hassall and chosen by George Scott-Moncrieff
- (b) Double page spread, pp 2-3
  - (c) Decorative head and tail pieces designed for the final page, p 8
- 6.27 Images designed by Joan Hassall for *Sealskin Trousers*, written by Eric Linklater, published by Rupert Hart-Davies, London, 1947
- (a) From Edinburgh Castle Ramparts

(b) Edinburgh Castle from the Grassmarket

(c) Sealskin Trousers

6.28 Title page, elaborately engraved device by Joan Hassall for John Oliver and JC Smith, *A Scots Anthology*, published by Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh, 1949

6.29 *Robert Burns and Scottish Literature*, Head piece designed by Joan Hassall

## ABSTRACT

This thesis documents a range of visual and textual records of women artists and illustrators in Edinburgh (1886-1945). It considers how women trained and applied skills to illustrate unique and multiple images for Edinburgh's printing and publishing houses. Research by Dr Elizabeth Cumming into the Arts and Crafts Movement in Edinburgh, studies by Professor Janice Helland of Professional Women Artists in Scotland and work by Professor Sian Reynolds into the cultural industries in Edinburgh, provide fundamental models of enquiry into women's occupations in this period.

The following chapters discuss the ways in which women presented images of themselves. They generated images in book form, in design, illustration and the interpretation of texts. Nineteenth century debates about the necessity of roles for women in art, education, religion and politics challenged gendered norms of the political culture. In order to stress the agency of women illustrators, as scribes who wrote themselves into their culture, the thesis also marks the currency of changing attitudes about womanhood. Interaction between women as cultural facilitators, campaigners for women's rights and artists as illustrators emerges in a critical phase of Scottish history.





## INTRODUCTION

‘Women – capital W – is a fiction and a myth...Texts, images and discursive practices have to be analysed historically and in their cultural diversity as sites where the category “women” is made by the very discourses and practices which produce and speak these signs as part of the constitution of regimes of class and race as well as gender and sexuality...’.

Griselda Pollock, *Differencing the Canon*, p 99<sup>1</sup>

### Context

If, as Griselda Pollock points out (above) ‘women’ are a fiction and a myth, their presence must be consciously made, constructed and reconstructed. Feminist writers since the 1960s have exposed male biases in discourses on art and politics across the spectrum of the arts and sciences as discussed in Chapter One on ‘Gender’.<sup>2</sup> The relationship between bourgeois ideology that moved women into a separate sphere from men, blocked their paths to direct access to jobs and to political representation. Issues of nationality complicated but did not solve the contested relationship women had with cultural or political power. My approach to the material in the following study is conducted from a feminist standpoint to add to the historical record of women’s activities. It constitutes a dialogue between the present and past.

Where ‘ideology’ is significant to this study is in a general application of feminist consciousness that women have working lives. In *The Cultural Devolution: Art in Britain in the late Twentieth Century*, Neil Mulholland has noted that current discourse relates to ‘the competition for power over the production and interpretation of art’ (p 3). This discourse, Mulholland notes, refers back to concerns of class and gender, to debates about Marxist and feminist ideologies (‘feminisms’) of the 1960s onwards.

This is a legacy of the way Marxist critics such as Victor Burgin and TJ Clark interpreted 'signification' or the language, meaning and purpose of art. Feminists expressed their exclusion and sense of alienation from both the ideological, semantic and practical places in such discourse. As indicated from the quotation at the beginning of this chapter, feminists felt their language differed from that of men. They believed male discourses in art often signified different political goals and a different consciousness. They believed they could not obtain sufficient recognition from institutions of education and art and in the workplace to make their case plain. Mulholland has also pointed out, in projects related to photography, members of *Camerawork* and *Feministo* adopted new strategies of the production and distribution of their work in order to change conventional concepts of women and racial groups excluded from the dominant discourses (op. cit. pp 41-5).<sup>3</sup>

Feminist concerns remain in the following study. If patriarchy shaped art production, power relations remain contested. The priority given to fine art rather than arts and crafts, the priority of jobs for white men rather than a range of racial groups or women, the pay differentials established by gendered employment and the consequent monopoly of political decision-making continues to affect current decisions and policies. I wish to consider, with some cultural specificity, the evolution of the processes in which women in Edinburgh between 1886 and 1945 identified active, working and political roles. This is therefore a matter of art history rooted in the present. I wish to show how their working lives were 'made' rather than 'given' and how levels of activity, work and politics changed their status. Their opportunities differed from those of men. Beyond this, more complex discussions of the relationship between women, power and ideology are discussed in Chapter One on Gender. Discourses on the relationship between ideology and political movements remain with others.<sup>4</sup>

I shall argue that women negotiated changes in their working roles. By moving between private and public spheres, searching for the means to establish their place as professional artists and illustrators, they contributed to the evolution of women as wage-earning workers. Their physical and intellectual presence in Edinburgh (1886-1945) has to be actively extracted from the records by locating their images and self-images in illustrated works. These works, shaping the real and imaginative lives of a book-buying, print-centred culture, indicate that they incorporated female consciousness into significant spheres of Scottish culture. Women actively sought work as artists and gained limited visibility in texts.

It may seem contradictory to suggest that, by conventional standards, minor works by women in a published corpus form the basis of an argument that their presence was significant. On the one hand what appeared in print from the women discussed in the following chapters could be considered marginal to canonical and mainstream art and letters. On the other hand, what remains of their work shows significant preliminary, if limited – and severely restricted - signs that they sought emancipation on political and professional levels as artists and illustrators. If their development was partly unconscious, partly intuitive and only barely discussed openly, the absence of explicit texts serves to prove that they worked in very different conditions to the present. Their activity was nevertheless a significant constituent for the art market, for art education and for their contemporaries.

I limit my study to an under-researched period of women's history in Scotland from 1886 to 1945. Following a preliminary review of historical debates past and present about gender and education, my study begins with the Edinburgh International

Exhibition of Industry Science and Art in 1886 where women artists exhibited in a more popular and accessible site than before. Given evidence about the evolution of a range of women artists in Edinburgh, I conclude the thesis in 1945, the end of the Second World War, when women achieved new status because of their contributions to the war effort. Moreover 1944-5 marked the effective end of the legal prohibitions that prevented married women from working as teachers.<sup>5</sup> During this period, major changes in concepts of political organisation took place among women. Nevertheless institutional conditions and the extent to which women could free themselves from social conditioning remained relatively fixed in a city like Edinburgh, where the administration of society depended on the continuity of civic order.

Because the dominant belief systems of patriarchy, predominantly Christian, determined the basic behavioural rules of Scottish Society, they also determined political behaviour.<sup>6</sup> Women joined male-determined work patterns. Political organisations and civic societies run by men across the spectrum of far right to far left - Conservative to Socialist - ensured that most women had no public role in civic life. The moral imperatives of religious belief moved from the church to secular civic political groups, but attitudes to gender remained dogged by convention.

Nationalism formed a layer of male discourse to the political framework. To right-wingers (such as Eric Linklater) nationalism reasserted conservative patriotic loyalties. To left-wingers (such as Hugh MacDiarmid), nationalism formed a necessary constituent of local democratic socialist principles (see Chapter Six). Political affiliation could be both formed in different permutations of patriarchal association from Christian Conservative to Socialist Christian, as well as to a gnostic and a theist secular political membership of Conservative, Liberal and Labour parties. Catholic,

Protestant, non-conformist and non-religious groups could share common views of the roles of the sexes. Views could be held in common in so far as the moral imperatives of religion for social justice could become the moral imperatives of socialist politics for social justice. Serious discussion of religion and politics remained in the male domain. Most women had no formal place in decision-making and policy-making processes. For women, the macro-economic organisation or direction of resources lay firmly in the gift of men. Some women had limited influence in the organisation of charity and fundraising in micro-economic projects usually through philanthropic church organisations.<sup>7</sup>

Callum Brown, through research into *The Death of Christian Britain*, has argued that Christianity in Britain established and maintained gender roles mainly by glorifying the domestic functions of women. The hegemony of religious institutions and practices, although varying between Christian denominations, sustained a religious and social consensus centred on marriage and the family. But in the 1960s, he argues, women questioned, challenged and rejected the limitations of Christian tenets. He has noted,

‘If this analysis is correct, the keys to understanding secularisation in Britain are the simultaneous de-pietisation of femininity and the de-feminisation of piety.’<sup>8</sup>

The process of ‘secularisation’ ran parallel to the technologies of birth control. Moreover it enhanced the process of ‘politicization’ of women. Beyond the restraints of hegemonic Christian belief-systems, women had greater physical freedom. They could act as agents for change in political development. They obtained acknowledged status as professionals.

In contrast to the 1960s, the extent to which late nineteenth and early twentieth-century women engaged in rhetorical discourse at any level was more diverse. In this sense they

have to be treated as individuals. With hindsight, one can argue that they worked towards collective ideals which can loosely be described as egalitarian. The importance and significance of their commissions varied. Behaviour dictated and bounded the limits of the expectations of women, and the expectations of women themselves. If female artists fulfilled the terms of contracts for book illustration and design they conformed to expectations. They reinforced gendered norms. They completed briefs according to instructions. However, to become a practising woman artist in Edinburgh, as elsewhere, entailed forceful opposition to conditioning and social prejudice. The process of becoming a woman artist engaged each woman in extensive negotiations with her family and society in order to establish and then maintain her identity as an artist. As such, women artists who became illustrators performed a number of complex and even contradictory tasks. They asserted their need to work when conditioning contained them in the home.

.

If art history is to have a function, it needs to examine the root causes and the historical conditions of the absence of emancipation and liberation experienced by previous generations. This thesis attempts to show how, at the end of the nineteenth century and in the years before and after the First World War, women broached the problem of performing a role as artists in conditions that effectively opposed their role as independent working entities. They defied exclusion from the benefits of male-ness and opposed inequalities to be found in their society at large. But they did not have the terms of reference or the means of communication with which later female writers could analyse their predicament. The few that found or had sufficient resources to obtain education are often categorised as middle-class or aspirational. Such 'accusations' of privilege and class are redolent of repressive strategies to contain and marginalise

women's creativity. The claims by Pollock (cited above) as to the need for making and remaking the art history to include different class, race and gender, remain valid.

The valuation and evaluation of the way women participate in their culture remains piecemeal. To see the works of the artists, be they ever so minor, is evidence in itself that they wanted to participate as artists on equal terms with others. There are still constituencies of women across the globe, undervalued and written out of their own national histories, who encounter similar problems. With these issues in mind, I wish show how women in Edinburgh from 1886 to 1945 countered opposition to their will and desire to be artists, illustrators and scribes.

## **Aims**

One aim of writing about women illustrators in Edinburgh in the period of 1886 to 1945 is to find out about them in purely historical terms. Another is to attempt to change their 'mythical' status. If women are excluded from serious discourses in art practice and theory, the records remain unrepresentative. Writing about their work is an active, conscious and necessary way to restore them to such discourses. This is not a sentimental expression of female desire for identity. It augments the efforts of others to transform and change attitudes towards women. It is a restatement of the unsatisfactory way records about them are collected. Women's place in the history of book production is hardly mentioned in conventional histories. What made Sian Reynold's study of female compositors (called 'compasses') who typeset *Encyclopaedia Britannica* for Nelson's Publishers in Edinburgh at the beginning of the twentieth century so surprising was that it acknowledged the working lives of a significant number of women in a

printing trade dispute. Ultimately the women deferred to the claims of male priority in the workplace. They accommodated soldiers who returned to Edinburgh after the First World War (1914-18) and submitted their jobs to these male composers.<sup>9</sup> But the cultural industries in Victorian and Edwardian Edinburgh generated remarkable quantities of printed material. As will be discussed in further, while Glasgow has provided a rich vein of design material by women in the works of Janice Helland and the late Jude Burkhauser for example (see Chapter One), Edinburgh continues to be neglected as a significant site of the history of female artists in design.

### **Research Issues**

Female illustrators worked at a time when art books and popular mass-produced literature was significant to the Scottish economy.<sup>10</sup> But information about women artists as illustrators has been piecemeal and diverse. Lacunae in the records exist for art history as for women's history because of innate biases in the retention and collection of records. Literacy and visual literacy had been a privilege rather than a common right. As John Berger pointed out some time ago, concentration on élites, their status, roles, possessions and property, has distorted the interpretation of common experiences of art and its histories.<sup>11</sup> In spite of this he has paid little attention to gender and ethnicity. The absence of information or *aporia* tends to prove that women artists were underrated, discouraged and discarded from the record. Some women were agents of visual expression in their culture. The following study does not depend on one individual, on one valuable text or on one valued source of artwork. Nor does it rely on the 'greatness' of one illustrator or her works (see also Chapter One).



Since there was no systematic record of women illustrators who worked for publishers in Edinburgh in the given period, it was necessary to adopt several strategies to retrieve information. Early research referred to general and secondary material, to dictionaries such as Harris and Halsby. Books by James Caw and Stanley Cursiter discussed some female artists; printmaking by some women was discussed by Duncan Macmillan.<sup>12</sup> Duncan of Jordanstone library listed 'Books and Typography' as a subject while they did not identify illustrators as a category. Alphabetic catalogues from the National Galleries of Scotland and other major galleries in Edinburgh named individual artists. *A Dictionary of Artists and their Works in the Annual Exhibitions of the Royal Scottish Academy 1826-1990* indicated the women artists who were consistent exhibitors.

### **Selection of Illustrators**

From a number of these lists therefore, some women artists who illustrated books appeared to become viable subjects of study. As representatives of individual experience in the given period, of necessity their biographies serve to show the varying extent to which each conceived of their role as artists and illustrators as part of a growth in female consciousness. This growth evolved over different generations of artists from 1886 to 1945. It was not systematic, mechanistic or premeditated. The following artists represent aspects of what was, overall, essentially romantic rather than modernist art practice over the given period. The main point is that they remained convinced of their roles as artists and applied their skills to book illustration.

#### *Elizabeth Gulland (1857-1934)*

Overlooked as a graphic artist and illustrator, Gulland studied at the Female School of the Trustees' Academy in Edinburgh. She appeared as the illustrator of catalogues for

the Edinburgh International Exhibition of Industry, Science and Art of 1886. Since the exhibition formed a focus for political and artistic activity and because Gulland left evidence of her own commitment to the campaign for female suffrage, she presented a viable subject for this study.

*Phoebe Traquair (1852-1936)*

Elizabeth Cumming identified Phoebe Traquair as a significant artist in the development of the Arts and Crafts movement in Scotland. Her exhibition and catalogue of the works of the artist provided a detailed list of her illuminated manuscripts, collotype books and printed books and magazines. As an active artist in Edinburgh, Traquair's letters in the National Library documented her illustrations and the significance of literary works to them.

*Hannah Clarke Preston MacGoun (1864-1913)*

A student in Edinburgh's Trustees' Academy, MacGoun became a commercial artist for illustrated books for the publisher TN Foulis. Like Traquair, much of her work referred to religious ideals. Her 'social realism', the desire for justice for ordinary people is partly documentary and partly narrative, expressed through watercolour paintings and cartoon drawings.

*Mabel Royds (1874-1941)*

Although, like MacGoun, a daughter of a clergyman, Mabel Royds was not born in Scotland but came to Edinburgh to teach at Edinburgh College of Art. By specialising in methods of colour printmaking in the Japanese style, Royds represents a professional woman artist, eager to develop and share her expertise. She was able to seize working opportunities in Edinburgh.

*Cecile Walton (1891-1956)*

A daughter of artists, Walton knew and met artists all her life. She met, worked with and married the artist Eric Robertson and joined the 'Edinburgh Group'. In the hothouse atmosphere of book-production and art-production in the city, Walton learned techniques of etching and printing from John Duncan. She defined her own identity as an artist, learning by doing rather than from formal training, and left an autobiographical account of her life, now in the National Library.

*Wendy Wood (1892-1981)*

Trained in London, Wood worked in Ayr and Dundee before settling in Edinburgh. Wood's later celebrity (or notoriety) largely drew on strong political views about Scotland. Many of her illustrations stem from the need to earn a living, but her self-image was rooted in concepts of her attachment to the idea of being 'an artist'.

*Joan Hassall (1906-1988)*

Hassall taught and produced engravings while she taught in Edinburgh during the Second World War. Her reputation as an engraver and book illustrator grew during this time in her life in Edinburgh. She was dedicated to the specialised craft of the engraver and applied the values of the craft worker to private press work.

The illustrators discussed therefore represent women engaged in the printing and publishing industries in Edinburgh. While it would have been interesting to find untrained female illustrators and more explicitly working-class women in their ranks in the industries in Edinburgh, the nature of the records remain directed towards those with education and training. None of their narratives take 'class' as an issue. The privileges of education and of skilled work of necessity engaged women in negotiating hierarchies,

so that working-class roots could be hidden, denied and positively rejected in order to qualify to belong in those hierarchies. 'Piety' was a bargaining counter in the hierarchical religious social framework. Women expressed concerns about poverty, pain and health. In order to obtain work from publishers and printers women needed to be recognised as artists.

Biographical and where possible, autobiographical information indicates how patrons commissioned them to work. More often than not, their commissions were gained with the support of friends and family. The significance of biographical information therefore demonstrates the importance of the informal networks of friends and family in the production of artwork for print.

Where possible, it was important to see primary documents, manuscripts and artwork produced by the artists. With regard to the books they illustrated however, the boundaries between primary and secondary information merged. If women illustrated mass-circulated catalogues or books, these secondary printed sources became the only surviving primary material available. Printed materials such as these could run into several editions, and rarer, earlier editions were therefore scarcer than later ones. But in both cases neither edition might be 'valuable'. Popular editions were valuable simply for the traces of the work that they contained. This work therefore calls for an acknowledgement of extra-canonical, marginal works in order to establish clearer definition of the social contribution of women artists as illustrators to a social framework which would otherwise obscure them. Art history needs to account for a supportive role for women as participants in the underlying currents of the bigger histories of art and life in Scotland.

## Printing and Publishing Records

One avenue of research was to try and find illustrators listed in the records of printing and publishing houses. Some appeared in the records of Constable's printers and Nelson's publishing house. Other publishing houses such as Collins and TN Foulis were difficult to access. Blackie's illustrators records are now in the hands of an enthusiastic accountant, Mike Miller, currently a Director of Geddes and Grossart, who salvaged some of the firm's documents. Given the limits of time and personal resources, there is still more scope for further research about printers and publishers.

Nevertheless, discussion of this period seeks to open up political, social and artistic developments in printing and publishing trades in Edinburgh between 1886 and 1945. The subject of education offered one major area of enquiry. Women's education became a more pressing, more popular issue in the nineteenth century. Literature about campaigns for Women's Education in Scotland arose from diverse sources. The Scottish National Library contains publications from individual writers such as Anna Jameson.<sup>13</sup> The issue of women's education is further discussed with reference to the work of the late Leah Leneman in Chapter Two. Journals (such as *The Attempt*) and minutes of the Edinburgh Social Union in the Edinburgh Room of Edinburgh Public Library also add to the record of pro-active educationalists in the city. It is here that I found the records of Edinburgh's International Exhibitions where women exhibited and advertised their work. The more educated and the more visible women artists became, the more likely it was that they gained commissions for book illustration. Edinburgh College of Art and Heriot Watt also provided many clues about the day-to-day implementation of educational policy.

## Production Methods

Preparation of artwork for bookbinding or the processes of printing and publishing, as well as specifically Scottish methods, are dealt with extensively and often repeated elsewhere as each new author re-approaches the subject.<sup>14</sup> They are the subject of written as well as oral testimonies.<sup>15</sup> Miriam Allott has identified a specific period of craft design and binding by women between 1885 and 1920 and has discussed variations of techniques and styles in her book on Women Bookbinders. Significantly Elizabeth Cumming has also shown that an Edinburgh style evolved during this period.<sup>16</sup> Intaglio (letterpress), relief (lithography) and planographic (screen-printing) processes of print production tended to vary according to methods and machinery established in different printing and publishing houses during the period discussed. Where possible I mention the particular methods used. Engraving, and its critical impact in the nineteenth century has recently been reviewed in depth by Joanna Selbourne.<sup>17</sup>

The impact of design styles of artists' books in the twentieth century can be read in a range of works by Johanna Drucker.<sup>18</sup> Individual histories of hand presses, printing and publishing houses, particularly in Scotland, grow apace.<sup>19</sup> I have tried to interpret the materials which have come to hand from libraries and galleries in a pragmatic way. I have been concerned to analyse connections between women in institutions and as practitioners of art in order to show that books provided women artists with a valuable outlet for their skills.

## Broadening the Perspective

By 1886, since 'the book' could be both an art object and a means of communication it is not possible to account for women's designs and illustrations for books as separate from a wider context of 'knowledge'. To define 'the book' is complex where it entails the work of an author, illustrator, typographer, printmaker and binder. A book can be a tool in the pursuit of knowledge and a container of factual information. Where knowledge and information circulated freely in male élites, where authorship and authority merged, how could women take part in the process? Where the transmission of knowledge was through male-dominated institutions, how could it filter through to women? If work was organised on the lines of established trade practices, in guilds and apprenticeships for men, how did women become part of industrial life?

As a matter of gender, as discussed in Chapter One and as a matter of education as outlined in Chapter Two, social mores excluded many women in Edinburgh before 1886 from any agency in conceptualisation, nomination or genesis of publication. They had to struggle to define their identity. By writing the content, visualising illustrations and binding books, they gained access to restricted preserves of knowledge.

Elizabeth Cumming has catalogued and explained the evolution of Arts and Crafts artists and their works in Scotland and has been responsible for writing and exhibiting the works of Phoebe Traquair.<sup>20</sup> She has drawn attention to a vein of work not only by one woman artist, but has also indicated how associations between artists in the cities of Edinburgh and Dublin signified a deeper visionary source of inspiration for circles of the Celtic Twilight.<sup>21</sup> For Traquair, as for other craft workers, the status of painting,

sculpture and architecture over craft skills relegated them to ranks other than ‘fine artists’.

This movement for Celtic identification emerged from writers and artists who had a commitment to the aesthetic code of art for art’s sake – in Scotland, Elizabeth and William Sharp and in Ireland George William Russell (‘AE’) for example. The purely aesthetic strand of national identity is also at the root of James Caw’s work on *Scottish Painting*, although he applied his own estimation that she was not Scottish, because she was born in Ireland, and that painters in the traditional sense were more significant than arts and crafts workers. He therefore marginalised the work of Traquair.<sup>22</sup> But ‘Celticism’ also had nationalistic overtones referring to Ireland and Irish politics, as expressed by Maude Gonne and WB Yeats.<sup>23</sup> Connecting national freedom with artistic freedom was essential to some Celtic patriots. Traquair was born and trained as an artist in Dublin and her subsequent work as an artist in Edinburgh referred back to the Celtic manuscripts and ecclesiastical styles she had seen in Dublin. She emphasised religious aesthetic causes rather than a nationalist cause. Her views on politics remained low-key, conservative and not narrowly nationalistic in outlook. Nevertheless she shared Celtic sources of vision and symbolism with contemporaries.<sup>24</sup>

The issue of cultural identity in Scotland and Ireland arises in varying degree to the social and political conduct of the lives of artists during the period of 1886 to 1945. Women artists discussed here varied in their desire to discuss or display a specifically Scottish cultural consciousness. Marxist art historian John Berger has argued that the drift of the meaning of pictures in represented the property, position and power of the capitalists who commissioned it. ‘Cultural politics’ thus dictated the interests of privileged élites in the images that art historians viewed and analysed. If women did



not belong to mainstream art production, they surely belonged to a different set of cultural politics and values. If women's artwork in the intimate spaces of their own home gave creative meaning to familiar life, should they be considered complicit in the propagation of capitalist ideology? For the purposes of this study one cannot ignore both the complicity of women artists to belong to privileged groups. Nor can one ignore that they needed to make a living. It is also not possible to ignore the role of women workers in the drive for a more equal and just society.

If 'political culture', traditionally that of Parliamentary Politics depended on masculine discourses alone, women needed to transform both culture and politics and the interpretation of both in visual terms. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, women forcibly altered the biases of Parliamentary control. For many Scottish artists the ultimate issues of nation and state as expressed in their work varied. Women as artists and illustrators of books only obtained a sense of their place in society gradually. It is a matter of present construction that they built up a collective identity.

## **Directories**

*Edinburgh Postal Directories* from 1886 to 1945 hold extensive information about the city and its inhabitants. When women advertised their skills in the directories, they sought paid work. A woman who advertised her skills took a step into public, civic commerce. 'Artists' were 'Painters' and appeared in a number of subsections as Animal painters, Historical painters, Landscape painters, Miniature painters and Portrait painters. In each category of painter, numbers of men and women declined significantly after 1900 leaving only one or two specialist miniature and portrait painters thereafter. Numbers of women listed as 'Historical' and 'Portrait' painters increased during the

decades of the 1890s and again in the 1920s. Numbers of artists and painters in general declined between 1910 and 1918. From 1938 onwards, women painters and artists disappeared from the listings.

Different professional workers described themselves as artists. Categories other than 'Artist' or 'Painter' comprised only one or two workers at a time. Jane Hay, an illustrator for Patrick Geddes' publications took the initiative to advertise her role as an 'Art Metal-worker' from 1903-12. Geddes sanctioned her use of his address at the Old Edinburgh School of Art based in The Outlook Tower on Castle Hill and also allowed Miss Jessie Matthew to advertise her availability as an 'Artist' in three directories from 1903-5. Meanwhile, of 17 wood-engravers in Edinburgh in 1886, Miss EP Burton advertised as an independent 'Wood Engraver' in 1887 for four years. She had a female predecessor, Miss CM Stewart who appeared in directories from 1875-80 and she was succeeded by a Miss JH Gray from 1893-6. As yet, nothing more is known about these women.

In 1886 no women's names appeared in the category of 'Engravers and Lithographic Printers' although 102 firms operated in the city. Of 150 booksellers and stationers, 55 were publishers. Only four women ran bookshops. Women advertised as drawing teachers, some of who were also listed under 'Artist' such as Mrs William Sinclair in 1886. The only occurrence of the category of 'Book Illustrator' appeared once in 1897. This referred to a Mr JR Sinclair who ran his business from 29 Queen Street in Edinburgh. Apparently women did not wish to classify their skills in this category. The category of 'book illustrator' therefore belongs to the present rather than the past.

Directories record the active presence of women involved in philanthropic projects in the city. Biblewomen had roles both as evangelists and, in a more commercial sense directly related to book distribution, they issued copies of the Bible to those they helped.<sup>25</sup> In 1886, 41 Biblewomen administered different sectors of the city. Their ministry indicates an unwritten record of the dissemination of Christian religion in the distribution of bibles as books, and of education to workers in the city.

On the one hand Biblewomen's activities could be viewed as politically and socially conservative in maintaining the established interests of religion, simultaneously supporting the industrial interests of bible publishers and printers as 'Book Reps' or book representatives. On the other hand, in the absence of state-organised social services, they formed a support group for women and their families so they were critical female role models, mentors and women with influence. They therefore had a progressive identity in that they represented female interests and had a recognised social role. A Mrs Hay conducted bible classes for the Printing Works at St Leonards. Nelson's printing works conducted their business in this area.

So from the Directories, the presence of Biblewomen also formed a significant element in the rise of literacy, book-handling and book-ownership. These brief lists of networks of women in Edinburgh indicate the relationship between the interests of the cultural industries in the city and religious organisations. The connections between both indicate the limits in which women worked.<sup>26</sup>

## Synopsis of Chapters

The first chapter of this study offers a definition of ‘gender’ and a summary of recent feminist debates in art history. After a review of associated literature in Scotland, the chapter also explores the meaning of ‘amateur’ and ‘professional’ to Victorian artists. Guidance from a ‘master’ was required. Acknowledged artists needed to know how to ‘draw from life’. The chapter summarises the steps taken by women to obtain this training. Satirical images from *Punch* document Victorian views that men were aware that women wanted to be artists: the images can be interpreted now to confirm that ‘masters’ controlled and directed woman artists, even if this was in friendship (‘Punch’, **Fig.1.1**) or in the family (‘the brother’, **Fig. 1.2**). Similarly cartoons that document Victorian women defining their interests in fashion and sport (**Fig.1.4**) can be interpreted as proof that women asserted their need for pleasure and physical freedom. If women were conceived as ‘designers’ (**Figs. 1.3 & 5**) they could be sidelined from full recognition as fine artists and yet they were trained equally and formed a distinctive membership and constituency in the institutions of art.

The second chapter considers the discourses that promoted women’s education in the nineteenth century. The chapter charts the growth and development of art education in Edinburgh prior to and beyond 1886 in private and public institutions and highlights the role of women educationalists as ‘cultural facilitators’. Their presence remains a significant element throughout this thesis. Several campaigners, Flora Stevenson, Mary Burton and Ishbel Gordon (Lady Aberdeen) for instance, were implacable protagonists for women’s education and work. They encouraged and enabled women artists to cultivate a purposeful view of their skills. Women such as Anna Jameson and specifically in Edinburgh, Isabella Scott Lauder and Amelia Paton Hill set precedents as

campaigners for educational and cultural transmission of women's work while cultivating their own careers.

Since industrial exhibitions formed a flash-point for the display of information and artefacts, the third chapter reviews the extent to which women found greater physical mobility and expressive freedom in these unconventional, extra-academic, communal spaces. The Edinburgh International Exhibition of Industry, Science and Art of 1886 for example, opened up new and dynamic environments for the exchange of ideas and goods. This, and later exhibitions mentioned briefly, broke the bounds of traditional and static institutions. The display of inventions and manufactures at fashionable sites created marketplaces for countries in the Northern hemisphere. The presence of the 'Women's Industries' Section of 1886 gave the first display of articles made by women in Scotland. It preceded the women's exhibition areas of the 1888 Glasgow Exhibition. Further, it accommodated goods designed and made by Irish Home Industries. Designs produced in and for the 1886 exhibition in Edinburgh signified more than the plain activity of Scottish economic development although, evidently, this was a core aim. Female iconography and graphic designs by Elizabeth Gulland formed a strong element in the projection of female images at the exhibition.

The public nature of major exhibitions in Edinburgh raised consciousness of national interest both for the hosts and its exhibitors. So the sensitive issue of Home Rule for Ireland generated interest in the concept of Home Rule for Scotland. When the Irish Home Industries exhibitors set out their wares they also set out aesthetic and political aspirations. Russia and Japan exhibited goods in pavilions in the exhibition of 1890, indicating that Scotland was also cultivating a role as an arbiter of international trade. By 1908, national identity became an issue and defined the outlook of the exhibition.

As yet there is no quantitative data to register how women were affected from exposure to the heady mixture of politics and aesthetics in these sites.

Chapter four examines the use of the terms ‘boys’ and ‘girls’ as applied to artists. It also considers the relevance of the production of popular books in Edinburgh. As examples of women illustrators, the chapter examines in some detail the lives and book illustrations of Phoebe Traquair and Hannah MacGoun practising in Edinburgh before and after the turn of the nineteenth century. So chapter four proposes that there a generation of artists in Edinburgh developing at the same time as women in Glasgow.

Subsequently, chapter five proposes that a second generation of women artists practised in Edinburgh from the beginning of the twentieth century. They differ in their outlook and approach from their predecessors in that they take on public, paid roles for public institutions. Although the career spans of Elizabeth Gulland, Phoebe Traquair and Hannah MacGoun overlapped with their successors, nevertheless Mabel Royds and Cecile Walton worked in a changing social context. Royds worked in a public role as a tutor in Edinburgh College of Art. Walton took up paid employment in a commercial market as a theatre designer and presenter for the BBC.

Chapter six examines the growth of political and sexual awareness among female academics, writers and artists in Edinburgh. Writers and academics formed the basis for female networks to support the wider participation of women in public life. Wendy Wood and Joan Hassall benefited from these specifically political developments in the city. On the one hand, for Wood, political nationalism, issues of patriotism as well as nationhood rooted in earlier Liberal debates about Home Rule, fired her imagination and propelled her into political activism. Her training as an artist lay behind her work

as an illustrator, a journalist and a political activist. By contrast, Hassall did not easily engage with public debate and polemic. She directed her energies into engraving. Replacing Kingsley Cook as a tutor at Edinburgh College of Art during the Second World War, Hassall had to contend with opposition to her appointment and ill health. When she became involved in projects for the Saltire Society, she had to become more aware of political issues in Scotland. She had to understand the sensitive issues that led to the rise of nationalism during this period.

In conclusion, Chapter seven discusses what happened to women illustrators in Edinburgh over the period of 1886 to 1945. It seeks to explain why women failed to participate in wholesale political activity, but worked towards what might now be called forms of 'female inscription'. The chapter provides a closure on what has been considered a relatively empty period prior to the rise of modernism and seeks to assess the effects of place and tradition on women artists in Edinburgh.

## Summary

Defining 'gender' as a significant aspect of this thesis may seem outmoded, since issues of inequality have been addressed. Legislation for women's property ownership, the right to vote, their right to abortion, to equal pay to equal rights in the workplace have been addressed.<sup>27</sup> Fundamental issues of inequality persist. Claims of convention and the ways in which conditioning works can be seen in the history of women illustrators. From a more recent point of view, Johanna Ducker has noted that,

'Every book is a metaphor, an object of associations and history, cultural meanings and production values, spiritual possibilities and poetic spaces, and all are part of the field from which the book derives its identity, its shared connections and distinguishing features as a book whose realised forms and thematic intentions are only the most evident aspects of its totality as an idea.'<sup>28</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Griselda Pollock, *Differencing the Canon: Feminist Desire and the Writing of Art's Histories*, Routledge, London/New York, 1999

<sup>2</sup> The legacy of Simone de Beauvoir, Kate Millett and Germaine Greer, see Chapter One

<sup>3</sup> Neil Mulholland, *The Cultural Devolution: Art in Britain in the late Twentieth Century*, Ashgate, Aldershot, 2003

<sup>4</sup> For further definitions of 'ideology' see Alan Bullock and Oliver Stallybrass, *The Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought*, Fontana/Collins, London, 1977, p 298; the use of the term 'ideology' has changed since its first uses by Destutt de Tracy in *Éléments d'idéologie* who argued that the 'science of ideas' could elucidate the sources of social biases and prejudice. 'Ideology' as it applies to the gist of feminist ideas in this study supports the idea that women gradually came to realise the importance of engagement in political discourse and activity. Hence ideology in the general sense of 'learning political consciousness' is not used as Marx argued in *The German Ideology* (1929) to distort propositions about reality

<sup>5</sup> See Helen Corr, 'Home Rule in Scotland: the teaching of Housework in Schools' in Paterson and Fewell, *Girls in their Prime*, p 52

<sup>6</sup> There were Church of Scotland missions for the conversion of Jews at the end of the nineteenth century

<sup>7</sup> For more information see Olive Checkland, *Philanthropy in Scotland: Social Welfare and the Voluntary Principle*, John Donald, Edinburgh, 1980 and Olive and Sydney Checkland, *Industry and Ethos in Scotland 1832-1914*, Edward Arnold, London, 1984

<sup>8</sup> Callum G Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain*, Routledge, London/New York, 2001, p 192

<sup>9</sup> Sian Reynolds, *Britannica's Typesetters*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1989

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> John Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, Viking, New York, 1973

<sup>12</sup> Given the groundwork of James Caw in *Scottish Painting Past and Present 1620-1908*, TC & EC Jack, Edinburgh, 1908 the existing records related back to his analysis of what constituted 'Scottish' art and the biographical details of an exclusively male list of Scottish artists, in spite of the author's



---

acknowledgements to Mrs Louey Chisholm for her assistance and the occasional reference to women artists as noted in subsequent chapters

<sup>13</sup> See Bibliography here; see also Judith Johnson, *Anna Jameson: Victorian Woman of Letters*, Ashgate, Aldershot, 1997

<sup>14</sup> For example:

Accounts of printing, woodcutting and engraving for the period 1886-1945 are described by Hubert Herkomer, *Etching and Mezzotint Engraving*, Macmillan, London, 1892; Brothers Dalziel: a record of fifty years work of the period 1840-1890; John Ruskin, *Ariadne Florentina: lectures on Wood and Metal Engraving*, George Allen, London, 1907; John R Beedham, *Wood Engraving*, Faber & Faber, London, 1921; Frank Morley Fletcher, *Wood block Printing: a description of the craft of woodcutting and colour printing*, John Hogg, Edinburgh, n.d; Clare Leighton, *Wood-engraving and Woodcuts*, 1932,; for accounts prior to 2002, refer to

Stanley Morrison, *Four Centuries of Fine Printing*, Benn, London, 1949; George Herbert Bushnell, *Scottish Engravers: a biographical Dictionary*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1949; Bernard Stone, *Preparing Art for Printing*, Reinhold, New York, 1965; Michael Rothenstein, *Linocuts and woodcuts and related ways of print making*, Studio, London, 1962 and *Frontiers of Printmaking: new aspects of relief printing*, Studio Vista, London, 1966, *Shall we Join the Ladies? Wood Engraving by women artists of the Twentieth Century*, Studio One Gallery, Oxford, 1979. More recent accounts include Michael Twyman, *Printing 1770-1970: An Illustrated History of its development and uses*, Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, 1970; Colin Franklin, *The Private Presses*, Scholar Press, London, 1991.

Accounts of binding processes for the period 1886-1945 are found in *Picture Book of Bookbinding Part I and Part II*, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1933, Douglas Cockerell, *Bookbinding and the care of books: a text-book for book-binders and Librarians*, London, 1925 and Miriam Allott (see footnote 4 below)

For accounts of bookbinding prior to 2002 refer to,

PJM Marks, *British Library Guide to Bookbinding: History and Techniques*, BL, London, 1998.

For Scottish Bookbinding

see William Smith Mitchell, *A History of Scottish Bookbinding 1432-1650*, Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh and London, 1955 in which he states 'the monastic or clerical bookbinder disappears as a result of the Reformation [1530ff], his place usually being taken by the professional binder, usually a burgess or guild brother of his town, jealous of any infringement of his rights...combining bookbinding with printing or bookselling or both...' (p 68). This assumes that binding was performed by men rather than women. Smith points out the existence of female binders in the Carmelite Convent of Aberdeen who developed a style of incorporating daisies, leaves and quatrefoil motifs in diamond frames. The image of the thistle appeared from bindings by St Andrew's Priory in 1539 (the Order of the Thistle was founded in 1540), where binders also employed the fleur de lys, rose and scallop shell as tooling on their book-cases. After 1538 a Helen Ross, embroiderer appears in Royal Account Books for bookbinding. Subsequent Scottish bindings include 'Scottish type' rolls (circles), motifs of flowers such as lilies and thistles and hunting scenes including dogs and deer.

There is little written on Scottish bookbindings of the period between 1650 to 1880. For what little there is, see footnote below.

<sup>15</sup> For example, the oral testimonies from employees of Orrock and Sons, an Edinburgh bookbinding company, have been the subject of a study by Dr Heather Holmes at Napier University in 1998-9

<sup>16</sup> Miriam Allott, *Women Bookbinders 1880-1920*, British Library/Oak Knoll Press, London/New Castle, USA., 1996

<sup>17</sup> Joanna Selbourne, *British Wood Engraved Book Illustration 1904-1940: a break with tradition*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1998

<sup>18</sup> Johanna Drucker, *The Century of Artists' Books*, Granary Books, New York, 1995

<sup>19</sup> For example, David HJ Schenck, *Directory of the Lithographic Printers of Scotland, 1820-1870, Their Locations, Periods and a guide to Artistic Lithographic Printers*, Edinburgh Bibliographical Society & Oak Knoll Press in association with the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh/New Castle, USA, 1999; George Fairfull Smith, *The Foulis Press and the Foulis Academy*, The Glasgow Art Index in association with The Friends of Glasgow University Library, 2001

<sup>20</sup> Elizabeth Cumming, *Phoebe Anna Traquair 1857-1936*, National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1993

<sup>21</sup> Nicola Gordon Bowe and Elizabeth Cumming, *The Arts and Crafts in Dublin and Edinburgh 1880-1925*, Irish Academic Press, Dublin, 1998

<sup>22</sup> James Caw, op. cit., defined Scottish art in a number of ways according to a list of male artists. In a chapter entitled 'Résumé and Conclusion' he pointed out the difficulty of defining Scottish painting and the Scottish character. He defined the Scots as 'a race...combining idealism and practical achievement' (p 470) noting that 'if Scottish Art has been deficient in the faculty which creates a world of beauty or terror or mystery afar off, it has been gifted with dramatic instinct, imaginative insight, pictorial power

---

and exceptional feeling for colour' (p 473). He gives no one single aspect of Scottish painting to indicate what Scottish art is, but the impetus to define aspects of Scottish painting creates the impression that underlying his aesthetic preoccupations lay the impulses of political nationalism and the desire for some self-definition in Scottish art circles. Evidently, women played little part in the canonical construction of Scottish art

<sup>23</sup> For further discussions see RF Foster, *WB Yeats: A Life*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1998

<sup>24</sup> As will be discussed later, James Caw op. cit., while referring to Traquair's murals for the Sick Children's hospital in Edinburgh (p 209) dismisses her role in Scottish painting noting 'she has illustrated a few volumes, and executed many charming illuminations, has found the true *métier* for her fine talent in mural decoration. As she is of Irish birth and her art has no direct connection with Scottish painting, no detailed analysis of her work will be made in this book...' (p 355)

<sup>25</sup> Olive Checkland, *Philanthropy in Scotland*, op. cit., p 40

<sup>26</sup> Edinburgh Directories, 1886-1945, Edinburgh Public Library

<sup>27</sup> The legal issues of the Education Act of 1872, Married Women's Property Act 1882, The Representation of the People Act 1918, The Abortion Act of 1968, Equal Pay Act 1970 and Sex Discrimination Act of 1975 are the more visible indicators of gendered changes in state policy. For a history of the major separate campaigns see Margaret Forster, *Significant Sisters: the Grassroots of Active Feminism 1839-1939*, Martin Secker and Warburg, London, 1984

<sup>28</sup> Johanna Drucker, p 42

## CHAPTER 2: ART EDUCATION IN EDINBURGH

‘What art does or ought to do, is not to go against nature, but to join with nature for the attainment of the beautiful...I believe in utility as well as in art, and that the highest art is that which shapes and adorns what is beautiful.’

Mary Burton, ‘Art and Teaching in Elementary Schools’, 1889<sup>1</sup>

### Context - Edinburgh 1889

The Congress of the National Association for the Advancement of Art and its Application to Industry to Arts and Crafts artists was held in Edinburgh in 1889. The occasion was, according to Elizabeth Cumming, a formative moment for the Arts and Crafts movement in Scotland and for the capital.

‘The formal beginnings of Edinburgh Arts and Crafts may be said to have taken place in 1889, and may even be precisely dated to a single month. In October, one of the most important, and certainly the most illustrious, gatherings in the entire history of the British Arts and Crafts movement took place in the city when the Second Congress of the National Association for the Advancement of Art and its Application to Industry met in the new Scottish National Portrait Gallery in Queen Street.’<sup>2</sup>

Speakers to the Congress clarified the unifying aims of art and craft as distinct from fine art alone, connecting aesthetics with social improvement. They argued for the necessity of the social purposes of art and crafts. Each reiterated a range of political, artistic and practical imperatives for design and art. Without better education and craft skills social awareness, wellbeing and improvement could not develop. Each speaker to the Congress emphasised the importance of education. They argued for new approaches to art well as to the revival

## CHAPTER 1: GENDER

‘A “gender role” is a role assigned on the basis of biological sex, which defines specific personality traits and behavioural responses as appropriate to a person of that sex. Biologically, people are male or female; culturally they are pressured to become masculine or feminine.’<sup>1</sup>

### Definitions

Gender moulds the roles of women in private and public. It affects the formulation of cultural and visual expression of cultural issues. Katy Deepwell has argued, ‘The significance of gender cannot be ignored despite our understandings of our own cultural complexities in terms of race, sexuality, generation and ethnicity.’<sup>2</sup> Selection processes and the differentiation between the sexes affect the public circulation of artists and their works. Ann Oakley has defined the relationship between gender and work in *Sex, Gender and Society* as the ‘cultural patterning of the division of labour’.<sup>3</sup> She has explained the ‘structural ambivalence’ between ideas of ‘women as a sex category, a fact which results in the allocation of them to traditional feminine roles’ and, by contrast, the ways in which ‘liberal-democratic values theoretically apply to all human beings regardless of sex.’<sup>4</sup> Tensions between the role of women in the home and the role of women as thinking beings expose the gendered difference of their experience from that of the male who has been led to expect personal freedom and the rewards of a career. This has applied to artists as to other professional and manual workers.

Victorian expectations that a woman remain in the home, with parents or relatives or children, or all three, could conflict with her desire to become an educated, skilled wage-

earner. Until the nineteenth century, the nature of a gendered cultural outlook in the arts in Europe reinforced the psychological and biological difference or otherness of female artists from male artists.<sup>5</sup> Legacies of Victorian working patterns remain in institutions where behaviours are dictated by convention to sustain differences and inequalities in pay and conditions by failing to value what women do for their culture. The 'damage' inflicted on women relates to art and its histories.<sup>6</sup> Thus gender problematises the cycle of work in conventional institutions. It affects the circulation of commissions to work. It affects the choice of exhibitors, what they exhibit and how they present views of the female body.<sup>7</sup> Where women are excluded from both the material and symbolic formulation of institutions, they remain marginal. Cornelius Castoriadis has pointed out,

'Institutions cannot be reduced to the symbolic, but they can only exist in the symbolic...each institution constitutes its own symbolic network.'<sup>8</sup>

He has explained that 'central imaginary' elements create and reinforce the social construction of institutions. Without altering the imagined and desired social institutions of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, women could not gain access to them.

## Reading and Writing Art History

Reading and writing about gender and art are part of a process of retrieval and adjustment of history and art history. An axiomatic question posed by Linda Nochlin in 1971, 'Why are there no Great Women Artists?' demonstrated women's desire to be located in canons of art.<sup>9</sup> As Oakley has argued, 'The definition of masculinity and femininity varies between different societies and also historically within each society', accordingly reading and writing about women and art demands reassessment.<sup>10</sup> The reassessment applies to histories of ordinary, not necessarily 'Great' women, since both belonged in the constituencies of art history.

When, on 3 January 1969, the kinetic artist Takis withdrew an exhibit from the Museum of Modern Art in New York, a group of fellow artists calling themselves The Art Workers' Coalition supported his action and issued '13 demands' to the Museum authorities in the following month. Lucy Lippard, among the Coalition members, drafted a Statement of Demands that included the proposition:

'Museums should encourage female artists to overcome centuries of damage done to the image of the female as an artist by establishing equal representation of the sexes in exhibitions, museum purchases and on selection committees.'<sup>11</sup>

The Art Workers' Coalition challenged established institutional organisation. Their claims ran parallel to other American feminist civil rights campaigners who questioned institutional views of sexual, occupational and underlying political decision-making. They conceived traditional selection policies as a form of systematic discrimination.<sup>12</sup>

### *Contemporary Views*

Unlike previous generations, contemporary artists, particularly female artists, project images of women that need not and often do not offer the female body as an object of male desire, as a paragon of virtue or as an example of domestic bliss. New works tested conventional assumptions as to works by and of women and consequently challenged public reaction. In *New Feminist Art Criticism*, Debbie Duffin pointed out,

‘The search for a new language, new contexts, new ways to express ideas and explore identity have led women to seek new paths through alternative media such as tape/slide, film, video, installation and use unconventional materials, combinations and juxtapositions.’<sup>13</sup>

Feminist exploration for modes of visual expression has gone beyond traditions of conventional containment of women and their work. After the 1960s there was a fresh approach by women not to seek approval of the authorities by resisting traditional expectations. Maureen Paley pointed out that art institutions in Britain were slow to accept female dealers as intermediaries in this process.<sup>14</sup> Additionally, Carol Duncan argued that modern galleries selected and collected images that reduced the female form to ‘masculinized’ reifications of female icons, citing images by Picasso and de Kooning as artists that perpetuated and reinforced entrenched systems of patrimony.<sup>15</sup>

### *Psychological Approaches*

Imaginative and imaginary spaces and consequently the place of the female in these spaces have been defined and redefined through the presentation in the media. Following Freudian models, Laura Mulvey discussed how films conveyed the presentation of passive images of women to gratify the fantasies of the voyeuristic, scopophilic, active male ‘gaze’.

Reinforcing artificial stereotypes of what Mulvey has referred to as the 'pre-existing patterns of fascination already at work within the individual subject and the social formations that have molded [sic] him' she has argued that images of the female and her body have been reduced to passive objects of the male gaze.<sup>16</sup> The language of the image of the female form in history transferred the static females of painted iconography to the motile images of the screen to activate narratives of submission and subjection which Mulvey has explained.

Jacqueline Rose argued, in response to the linguistic theories of Lacan and Sausure, that women were placed 'outside language and history'. They were 'fractured sexual objects', constructs of myth and meaninglessness to which Pollock referred – as cited in the previous introduction. Rose stated,

'It has been men, or almost exclusively men, in modern times at least who have produced and elaborated at all levels, from the pornographic photo to high art, what the authors call the common places of their desire'<sup>17</sup>

Rose and her colleague Juliet Mitchell have indicated a 'fundamental imposture' in Lacanian and Sausurian formulations of the role of women in the psychological recesses of language itself.

To Julia Kristeva, the effect of language on the reformulation of the idea of the female was a political act of revolutionary change and noted,



'The text is a practice that could be compared to political revolution: the one brings about in the subject what the other introduces into society. The history and political experience of the twentieth century have demonstrated that the one cannot be transformed without the other...'.<sup>18</sup>

This political conception of the idea of women as they worked in and through texts has confirmed feminist views that 'the personal is political' and as will be pointed out this the basis of modern ideology, different from concepts of femininity in the Victorian era.

### *The Female Body*

Feminist artists and writers have reclaimed the female body, its physical spaces, its projection as a site of women's own pleasure and pain. They have readjusted interpretations of the role of the female body in art as a subject rather than an object. Women reclaimed the 'autos' or self, the authority and the authorship in their own language. Judy Chicago has re-told and re-interpreted women's experience to engage in a dialogue about the meaning of women and their work as artists in the present and the past. Re-presenting a paradigm of classical religious art practice, *The Last Supper*, she rearranged earlier version in her own way, making the table a different shape (triangular rather than oblong), creating place-settings that emphasised the absence of the human bodies to which they referred. Each place-setting recreated female histories but also evoked interior monologues as to the sites of female pleasure and pain in labial and clitoral motifs. Chicago's emphasis on the incorporation of female narratives in her artwork acknowledged traditional ideas of narrative painting, but changed the narrative to feminist terms. She changed the language, feminised the forms and showed that making images could be re-worked entirely by a woman.

Confronting the issue of gendered roles of women in maternity, Mary Kelly's *Post Partum Document* (1983) stressed the significance of the written testimony of her own experience of creation and loss. Her inscription of the act of birth and its meanings wrote her role as an artist into the artistic canon, associating her own narrative experience with artistic traditions, changing them in the process. So too, Mona Hatoum formed a different approach to her own narrative, by making a photographic record an internal medical examination in *Corps Etranger* (1994). Endoscopic images of her inner organs expressed the reality of her flesh. The images formed a reinterpretation of the beautiful and the good in new ways, exposing ambiguous interpretations of physical reality to reify the essence of female blood and bone. She challenged the idea of what women really were, presenting her own view of her own body.

For Mara Witzling by challenging normative forms of artwork, women artists have expressed their feminist practices and she has noted,

'The decentring, de-stabilising aim of feminist artistic practice has been compared to similar practices in postmodernism. Just as postmodern artists and writers have challenged the hegemony of Western culture and its master-narratives, so too have feminist artists questioned the Western privileging of the authority of the visible and its equation with "Male-ness".'<sup>19</sup>

Although issues of pornography are beyond the scope of this thesis, the gendered relationship between the female body and its representation in the processes of male and female gratification are discussed elsewhere.<sup>20</sup>

### *Current Construction and Reconstruction*

Gender bias has therefore operated at the level of institutional misunderstanding of women and their artwork. Writers such as Frances Borzello counter entrenched biases in the arts. Her publication, *Seeing Ourselves*, presenting a range of self-portraits by women artists, provided a stratagem in which women were no longer victims of the art world. They returned the female gaze in the traditional form of portraiture, but did not offer themselves merely as objects of male gratification.<sup>21</sup>

Re-visioning and re-imagining the environment as a legitimate sphere of female activity meant that architects like Joan Rothschild advocated specifically feminist conceptions of architecture, design and product design. Rothschild noted the importance of 're-visioning, to change, to reinterpret, even to subvert accepted meanings'.<sup>22</sup> Like Rothschild, Pat Kirkham asserted the connections between the way spaces and objects were used differently by women. She has written, 'we sometimes fail to appreciate the effects that particular notions of femininity and masculinity have on the conception, design, advertising, purchase, giving and uses of objects as well as on their critical and popular reception.'<sup>23</sup> So women as represented in and through their material surroundings, in objects such as books and illustration figure as significant aspects of their personalities, their way of life - their *zeitgeist*.

By the late 1970s Germaine Greer argued that living women painters were 'forcing the world to notice them on their own behalf and on their own terms' and that therefore there was a need to broach the issue of the gendered nature of art history. She conceived the necessity of constructing women's history to see women as a group:

'If we look fearlessly at the works of dead women and do not attempt to erect for them a double standard in the mistaken notion that such distortion of the truth will benefit women living and working today, we will understand by analogy a good deal about our own oppression and its pathology. We will see all the signs of self-censorship, hypocritical modesty, insecurity, girlishness, self-deception, hostility to one's fellow strivers, emotional and sexual dependency on men, timidity, poverty, ignorance.'<sup>24</sup>

Greer's own work in *The Obstacle Race* raised the pressing issue women's participation in the arts had been overlooked. It did, however, make competitive claims for the priority of women artists and not simply press for their collective presence as professional artists. This thesis does not wish to claim 'greatness' for artists being studied, nor to place them before or after male artists. My intention is to dispense with categories of major and minor rankings and to follow the processes of women's inscription as part of the historical processes of social interaction. Arguments as to the priority of the fine-arts over crafts, of painting over decorative art merely underpin the ways in which making marks, designs, writing and interpreting narratives have been used in the past. Evidence of women artists in Scotland, more specifically in Edinburgh, simply becomes part of a wider narrative in the construction of history and art history that is practically and socially inclusive.

Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock noted the difficulties the issue of gender posed to art historians and to the nature of historiography:

'To discover the history of women and art is in part to account for the way art history is written. To expose its underlying values, its assumptions, its silences and its prejudices is also to understand the way women artists are recorded and described is crucial to the definition of art and the artist in our society...'<sup>25</sup>

In their work, *Old Mistresses*, the authors re-worked an artistic canon based on women's needlework and craft practices as an alternative canon to the prioritisation of fine art practices. They analysed the role of the artist, stressing the impact of Romantic concepts of the male artist/painter/fine artist on modern views:

'A mixture of genetic factors and social roles distinguish the artist from the mass of ordinary mortals, creating new myths, those of the prophet and above all the genius, and new social personae, the Bohemian and the pioneer...The transformation began with the striving of craftsmen to become respected members of the intellectual community and cultural élite. These developing notions reached new heights with the genesis of the Romantic myth of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when the artist not only inherited the mantle of priests and became the revealer of divine truths, but also assumed the semi-divine status as an heir to the original "Creator" himself...'<sup>26</sup>

This historical view identified a shift in the persona of the artist/painter, from maker to heroic savant. The alteration of the role of the artist from technical knowledge in a hierarchy of religious beliefs to the sacerdotal primacy in that hierarchy, charts changes in the role of an artist over centuries, from being a manual labourer to becoming a different model of the distinguished mystical seer. Ironically, the alteration of the role of the artist over the last two centuries has transferred the sacramental role of the artist to the secular, politicised male hero. Assessing the beliefs of the female artists in the following chapters is therefore an opportunity to disentangle why religion and politics shaped so much of their working lives.

Historical explanations as to the auratic role of artists indicate that some women wished to emulate and share the unequally distributed visual powers and rewards granted to men. The gendered nature of competitive priority suggests that some women artists wanted

exactly the same status and rewards as their male colleagues in an unequal society. Alternatively, Pollock has argued that many women artists had essentially different and original views of the nature of art and the nature of power. Consequently this placed them outside stereotypical categories and beyond conventional artistic discourse.<sup>27</sup> Katy Deepwell has argued ‘women artists are still not properly represented in history books.’<sup>28</sup> Her statement indicates concern of female art historians of entrenched positions in reading and writing history and art history.

### **Gender in Scotland**

As a commentator on Scottish women artists, Janice Helland has stressed the importance of historical reassessment of the role of women artists, pointing out:

‘Until feminist historians and art historians write about the nineteenth century artist as a working woman, that is, until her place within an economy of production and consumption is insisted upon, women will continue to inhabit an insecure space within society. Our place is still underwritten by the historical ideology of the separate spheres which functioned to stabilize patriarchal capitalism...’.

Members of the Scottish Women’s History Network (SWHN) address the issue of the under-representation of women in Scottish History at national and international levels. At a SWHN Conference in May 2001, Fiona Watson, presenter for a BBC 2 series ‘In Search of Scotland’ and author of an accompanying book, *Scotland: A History 8000BC to 2000AD* confirmed the limitations she faced in presenting women as participants in a general history of Scotland. She wrote,

'The mainstream may not even necessarily have represented the views or experiences of sizeable minorities: it has, for example, proved difficult to integrate the activities and outlook of Scottish women into a history of Scotland.'<sup>29</sup>

She admitted the difficulty of the absence of evidence about women in the conventional construction of extant narratives. Contrary to her inference that women were a 'sizeable minority' in Scotland, however, Census Figures for 1881 to 1951 indicate that they were constantly a majority (see Appendix 1). Sian Reynolds has argued that 'Women's history itself has a history' and she works to prove this both in the context of SWHN and her accounts of working women. Most recently the publication of Ishbel Gordon in *Gendering Scotland: an International Approach* indicates one aspect of the scope of her work in gendering historical records.<sup>30</sup>

Since the 1970s attempts to account for a Scottish female presence in their culture have been made. Rosalind Marshall in *Virgins and Viragos: a History of Women in Scotland from 1080 to 1980* traced the cultural development of women in Scotland.<sup>31</sup> For the period 1886 onwards, the late Leah Leneman accounted for a surge in late Victorian and early Edwardian suffragist activity in Scotland. She gave a comprehensive account of the collective force among many Scottish women for equal Parliamentary representation and consequently for issues related to the needs of women in Scotland.<sup>32</sup> Alliances between women in the institutions of art and activists for Votes for Women will be discussed further in this thesis.

## The Amateur and the Professional - Explorations

‘Although the ladies of Scotland who dabble in art “in number many may be” there are only a few entitled to be called professional women artists, and of these, Edinburgh and Glasgow can claim about an equal number. In the city of St Mungo [Glasgow], the names of Miss MacNicol, Miss Kate Cameron, Mrs Provan, Miss [Helen] Walton, Miss Crawford and Miss Perman are the most familiar in exhibition catalogues, while in Edinburgh, Mrs Traquair, Miss Ross, Miss Wright, Miss M Cameron, Miss Macgown [Hannah Clarke Preston MacGoun], Mrs Lauder Thomson and Miss Macpherson occur to the memory as a bevy of talented women.’

from *The Scots Pictorial*, 1899<sup>33</sup>

Previous sections of this chapter have briefly charted the rise of current feminist attitudes to history and art history. Female critics exposed the problems of confronting habitual, gendered behavioural attitudes. It is now possible to refer to the period of 1886-1945 to examine the history of the period in Edinburgh in more detail. In many senses Scotland did not remain separate from broader tendencies to relegate and obscure women in life or the practices of art. The use of ‘amateur’ and ‘professional’ separated and relegated works of women to minor status and their use is discussed further below.

The citation from *The Scots Pictorial* (above) acknowledged the existence of ‘professional women artists’ and balanced the numbers between Glasgow and Edinburgh. The anonymous author admitted that their work was ‘most familiar in exhibition catalogues’, and indicated that the display of artists’ works in public exhibitions proved the mark of a professional artist. *Sub rosa*, the tone of the article was of surprised astonishment. It betrayed the conventional expectation that serious women artists were rare creatures. The author distinguished between scarce professionals and numerous ‘dabblers’. The correction



of the misapprehension that women were not capable of being professional artists suggests there was a conventional belief in their ineptitude. If, as the author implied, many women artists were amateurs, nominating several women from Edinburgh and Glasgow as skilled artists therefore generated a frisson of amazement. The author's use of the word, 'bevy' – a word to signify groups of maidens, groups of birds and also groups of rowdy carousers – acknowledged that women had moved into public spaces. They were 'talented' in so far as their skills could be acknowledged in public. The author therefore, by default, exposed prejudices of the time in relation to practising women artists.

Pamela Gerrish Nunn has discussed the category of the Victorian 'amateur' artist. The term applied to women who worked in the home, unpaid, for philanthropic purposes. In her book *Victorian Women Artists* she wrote,

'Since it was taken for granted that woman's primary interest should be in marriage and a family, and only secondarily might she be drawn to some additional complementary activity (probably philanthropic), that other activity would necessarily be subject to the demands of breeding, nurturing and servicing which was the wife and mother's lot in the Victorian middle-classes....traditional opinion assumed it would be for Christian, altruistic purposes (doing good for others, showing a womanly compassion and charity for those less fortunate than herself) not for personal gain...'.<sup>34</sup>

Conventional views of the genteel woman, compelled her to remain in amateur pursuits suited the concept of women as polite, discreet, fragile figures. For polite society in metropolitan centres of art such as Edinburgh women were contained and socialised to be modest and self-deprecating. They dared not trespass on the privileged working territories of the male. Gerrish Nunn continued,

'...[women] artists did not have the self-importance that most male artists and their hagiographers did and do. We see their self-image is not one of remarkableness let alone uniqueness...they were practised in modesty, not arrogance. We see that though their times told them of women's right to choose and a woman's ability to achieve, their society discouraged them from analysing their choices and conditioned them to minimise their achievements.'<sup>35</sup>

Supplementary to these views, Deborah Cherry explained how Victorian women illustrators, watercolorists and painters made 'amateur' or ladylike records of their private lives to show family and friends. Their works were not produced commercially, for public display or critical review. For Cherry, 'the amateur practice of art was a sign of bourgeois and aristocratic femininity.'<sup>36</sup> Amateur women artists demonstrated their sensitivity and refinement as evidence of accomplishments in a domestic setting. Cherry noted,

'In the nineteenth century amateur artists were usually differentiated from professionals on economic grounds; amateurs did not make art for money and their sales were usually for charitable purposes.'<sup>37</sup>

The category of the amateur therefore placed women artists outside working categories. They belonged in the realm of nineteenth century constructs of ideal womanhood, as angels of the hearth.<sup>38</sup> And yet there is evidence to show that women's experience and their visual interpretations of their world confronted dogmatic ideals of women.

Anne Higonnet has shown the difficulty of identifying women artists from the Victorian period because of their widespread relegation to the category of 'amateurs'. While Higonnet focused on Berthe Morisot and women in Paris in particular, she wrote of a European phenomenon, showing that, 'Women artists were so numerous and their work

was so extensive that we can talk of a feminine pictorial tradition.’<sup>39</sup> She referred to the problem of the attribution and misattribution of women artist’s work with the term ‘amateur’ which either consciously used or not, denied them recognition among their peers for their skills. She wrote,

‘Considerable difficulties in finding, correlating and measuring material impede a history of amateur art. By definition, amateur work was neither systematically exhibited nor preserved in institutions.’<sup>40</sup>

According to Higonnet, this problem was due to the gendered differences between male and female artists: ‘Creativity in the nineteenth century operated according to patterns differentiated by gender. Feminine and masculine values divided amateurs from the professionals but also female amateurs from male ones...’.<sup>41</sup> The distinctions operated to divide private from public production, as well as high (fine) art from low (craft, decorative, extra-canonical) work. Amateur status conferred on women obscured their works as private. Higonnet demonstrated,

‘Amateur pictures were destined for a secluded family life, within which they would be understood as memorials to emotional bonds and private history. Professional paintings were meant for exhibition and sale, for interpretation by art critics who would extend their significance as far abroad as possible...the difference between these values made the difference between entering history and being ignored by it.’<sup>42</sup>

The status of the amateur discouraged women therefore, from the freedom to expose and exhibit works on equal terms with their male contemporaries. If women like Morisot managed to cross from the role of an amateur to a professional because she reproduced images that were exhibited and sold in public, in doing so, she defied convention.

Higonnet showed that a wider movement of women in print-related works, in the illustration of fashion for magazines, in colouring images for printers and similar activities sanctioned their place in a working world. She pointed out significant alterations that occurred when women produced and circulated images of themselves,

‘The print industry accustomed women to images of themselves engaged in the activities that structured their social identities’,<sup>43</sup>

Cultural changes in Paris affected other areas of the European art world. By extension, women in Edinburgh learned from examples such as Morisot.

In the absence of textbooks written in late Victorian and early Edwardian Scotland, I refer to English artists and teachers to indicate contemporary interpretations of the meaning of the word ‘amateur’. Mercy Runciman produced a textbook on Perspective. She dutifully acknowledged and advertised her father’s role in the life of Ruskin, thus claiming canonical legitimacy. She:

‘...explained and illustrated as simply as possible the following rules taught by my father Charles Runciman who was Mr Ruskin’s first drawing master...’,<sup>44</sup>

For Mercy Runciman accurate, naturalistic drawings distinguished the amateur from the professional artist. She propagated the dogmatic ideas of her time.<sup>45</sup> She stated,

‘It has always seemed to me that Perspective, to beginners, is so difficult to understand that the amateur either lays it aside in despair, or, what is worse, tries to draw by eye what was never correctly done but by rule.’<sup>46</sup>

She placed her faith in strict application of rules and offered a technical reason to explain why the 'amateur' would fall short of professional expertise. The professional could apply the theory and practice gained from a teacher to convey accurate proportion and perspective. The amateur, ignorant of these skills, could not.

Louise Jopling (1843-1933) wrote a textbook called *Hints to Amateurs and Students* (1911) and reassessed the definition of the term 'amateur'. She took a sympathetic view of 'the amateur' – a view which was in her own interest since she ran her own art school. But her discussion of what it meant to be amateur or professional during the period under study also provides an insight into the attitudes of her contemporaries. She wrote,

'I am writing this little book not only to aid students but also as a help to that large class which is popularly known as "amateurs". In using the term "amateur" I intend it to signify its original meaning, viz., "a lover"...We have corrupted it in these days...when we speak now of amateur it is, I fear, in a slight tone of contempt, for we associate the word with incompetence, and we are led to so because the work of the amateur betrays...want of knowledge...'.<sup>47</sup>

She believed 'want of knowledge' distinguished amateur from professional artists but did not write off the amateur as incapable of being an artist. Jopling pointed out that a professional learned the techniques and skills of the artist. This depended on,

'an apprenticeship...of many hours and days of hard work. Art is not exempt from this law and however small may be the talent one possesses it can be increased tenfold by cultivation.'<sup>48</sup>

Jopling gave an account of her training in an autobiography produced ten years after the publication of *Hints*. In *Twenty Years of My Life* (1925) she explained her own apprenticeship in Paris and her need to earn an income:

‘...the rudiments of my profession at the age of three-and-twenty, heavily handicapped as I was at the time by my duties of wife and mother .... Besides the hours spent from ten to four at my master’s (M Chaplin’s) studio, I joined a class that commenced in the summertime at seven a.m. and where we drew from the undraped figure...in the evening I studied my anatomy at home. In the wintertime, the same class worked by gaslight from seven to ten p.m. – I would have given much if all this had happened in my girlhood, particularly as I had to leave off studying sooner than I had originally intended in order to support myself and my two children...’<sup>49</sup>

Jopling disabused ‘amateurs’ of the illusion that conventional views of the artistic ‘genius’ could propel them to the status of professionals. She encouraged them however, noting,

‘About your capacity or genius for drawing, no one knows what they are capable of unless they try...well, what is genius? A Celtic triad describes it, rather its three primary requisites as “an eye that can see nature, a heart that can feel nature, and boldness that dares follow nature”...’<sup>50</sup>

Her sidelong glance to Celtic definitions of genius and inspiration indicate, incidentally, the currency of ideas related to the Celtic Twilight.

Both Runciman and Jopling stressed the element of manual labour, the need to learn techniques and skills as opposed to the need to adopt the abstract qualities of the artist as *savant* and genius. Nevertheless, Jopling emphasised a need for ‘knowledge’ which to her made ‘the difference between the professional and the amateur.’ In her autobiography she

mentioned the different attitudes between French and British society to the idea of a professional women artist, noting,

‘In France one is expected to cultivate what little talent one possesses. How my relations...would have stared and thought me little less than mad to entertain the idea of becoming a “professional”: - I, a married woman.’<sup>51</sup>

### **Canons of Art and Life Classes**

As Jopling testified, and as Sian Reynolds has discussed, nineteenth century Paris attracted aspiring female artists, including Scots, because of its reputation as a centre of academic practices of art.<sup>52</sup> Established rules and canons in the major institutions of art excluded women from life classes.<sup>53</sup> Men studied the nude and gained privileged access to draw the unclothed male or female body as a matter of right. Because of this a male artist could claim his education complete when a woman could not. Hence the *Punch* cartoon of a woman denying the presence of a model to her brother (**Fig. 1.2**). The cartoon satirised a ‘shocking’ initiative of a woman artist that implied her secrecy and deception, and the probability of a reprimand for her behaviour. The inference of the joke is that the woman is doing something that she should not do. The implication is that her brother has lost control over her actions.

Private and public institutions of art in Edinburgh gave some training to women artists by the mid-nineteenth century (see Chapter Two). The Trustees’ Academy in Edinburgh

founded in 1760 (antedating London's Royal Academy founded in 1772) admitted women on equal terms to men. But for some time it prevented women from gaining the privileges of art education.<sup>54</sup> Male artists could move from the preliminary training of the Trustees Academy to more advanced training and exhibition facilities of the Royal Scottish Academy after its foundation in 1829. Since Trustees' School graduates joined the Royal Scottish Academy David Scott, Thomas Duncan and Charles Lees instituted a 'School of the Living Model' at Register Street in Edinburgh in 1840. Since women were not admitted to their classes until 1910 – that is, after the amalgamation of the RSA with Edinburgh College of Art – real equality between male and female artists in Scotland, and in the city, was logically impossible.<sup>55</sup>

Life-classes completed sanctioned training and knowledge of the human body. Without it serious female artists could not claim professional status. Religious taboos, Calvinist respectability and disapproval of sensuality in Catholic iconography reinforced attitudes to prevent the art education required by Scottish women to become artists. After the Cole reforms of the 1850s, women who wished to be professional artists did receive some training in drawing and ornament in Scotland. But to attend life classes involved them in all manner of prurient concerns for moral propriety in order to preserve their reputations as women.

In France, Rodolphe Julian offered mixed life classes at the Académie Julian in 1868.<sup>56</sup> Even in Paris he had to provide separate classes for men and women after moral objections forced him to do so in 1874.<sup>57</sup> His separate classes nevertheless worked to the same curriculum, from live models. Male and female trainees entered competitions in the school on an equal basis. The Académie Julian attracted students from many different countries



and enjoyed an international and progressive reputation. By contrast, in Britain, Deborah Cherry has explained the circumstances that led Laura Herford to enrol at the Royal Academy in 1860.<sup>58</sup> Cherry has documented that women were not admitted to life classes there until after 1893.<sup>59</sup> The Slade School of Art provided access to life classes after 1871. A little more than a decade later, Hubert von Herkomer allowed women to study the human figure at his school in Bushey, although the classes that he ran from 1883 onwards segregated the sexes and provided models with strategic drapery.<sup>60</sup>

### **Gender and Victorian Edinburgh**

The art world in Edinburgh functioned according to gendered rules. Tutors in the city provided private and public art education (as will be discussed in Chapter Two). *Edinburgh Directories* from 1886 to 1902 confirm that female art tutors gave classes to schoolchildren and female students. As noted above, however, men usually enjoyed progression in institutions of art. Graduates of the Trustees' Academy might join the Royal Scottish Academy if they were supported by nominations of members of the academy. Nominations from male fine artists promoted other male fine artists. James Caw's definition of *Scottish Painting Past and Present 1620-1908* drew from this tradition of the line of succession of Scottish *painters*, even when he allowed for 'Painter etchers and illustrators'. Nominations for craft workers or designers were often rejected by Board members of the RSA. As will be discussed in Chapter Four, some women (with the exception of Fanny MacJan – mentioned in Caw - and Christina Robertson – not mentioned by Caw - who were successfully admitted as ARSAs) were nominated for membership to the RSA in the 1890s were persistently rejected until 1920. Patrons of learned societies,

Masonic and trade associations perpetuated rule-bound male committees so that election into their ranks remained narrowly defined.

The RSA turned away male and female craft workers. If women were amateur artists and domesticated craft workers tied to their homes and families they could not become professional artists. Their status could change if they obtained training for an occupation. A complex relationship emerged between gendered home-work, gendered work outside the home and truly professional roles for women.

In *The Woman at Home* edited by Scottish novelist and writer Annie Swan, the first issue of 1894 carried an article on 'Women's Employments'.<sup>61</sup> An anonymous reviewer interviewed Miss King, the Secretary of the Society for Promoting the Employment of Women based in London. Reassuring readers that Miss King was 'one who speaks not as a cut and dried official, but as a kind, motherly friend...full of practical sense' the reviewer domesticated the interviewee to a level of mother and confidante. The reporter asked Miss King, 'How is it that so many women are in a chronic state of "wanting work"?' to which Miss King's answer was that,

'because the majority of women are still untrained...they fancy they can get work without going through the same apprenticeship as men'.

Evidently, if apprenticeships were not open on equal terms between men and women, the problem remained. Miss King continued,

'Many seem to think that merely because they are women every door must fly open. They want to compete in the market with wares that have no market value. On our books for instance there is a large class of

applicants entered under the head of “Nondescripts”...they can do nothing excellently, and so are always drifting in and out of temporary employment.’<sup>62</sup>

This is, perhaps, odd advice from a ‘sympathetic friend’ and employment specialist. If this advice reflects post-agrarian, industrial employment conditions, it also indicates the extent of pools of deskilled labour in late nineteenth century. Market conditions dictated narrow selection processes. Permanent roles were relatively scarce. The article revealed that Miss King met more and younger women who were likely to have training, while high levels of untrained applicants to her agency took temporary employment as copyists.

The reviewer continued to ask further questions, specifically about training in art:

‘What advice would you give a young girl who has shown a decided talent for drawing and wishes to turn it to account?’

Miss King proposed that printing and publishing industries provided and absorbed supernumerary female workers who had some art training and replied:

‘There are various methods in which she may turn her gift into profitable channels. Many women find employment in drawing for the press, for books and magazines. For this, a good knowledge of landscape drawing is necessary. A class for the study of this branch of art has been established at the Female School of Art, Queen Square...There, models are provided, instruction in black and white is given, and the methods most suited for the modern system of reproduction are taught. There is also the Chromolithographic studio at 24a Gloucester Street...’.

The reporter left Miss King to visit Miss Gann at the Female School of Art, and Miss Rushton at the Chromolithographic studio.<sup>63</sup>

The article suggested that London was the major centre for women's employment. However, the subsequent edition of *Women at Home* indicated that the employment of women as artists concerned women in Edinburgh too:

'No special instruction in drawing for the press is given at Edinburgh School of Art [suggesting at this stage in 1894 the Art Classes in Heriot Watt College did not include classes for printing for artists or classes in art for printers, as was later the case], but Mr Louis Weierner, 18 Picardy Place, has this autumn started a class for the teaching of black and white drawing, both in line and in wash.'<sup>64</sup>

To all intents and purposes, the difference between the amateur and the professional woman artist or illustrator depended on training and qualifications. But education for women provided only the first steps in their working lives. Their education could be arbitrary, broken by expectations of their families, their duties as daughters, sisters, wives and mothers. Established trade rules blocked their entry to manual apprenticeships. Scepticism, prejudice and bias blocked their entry to higher education. Many women artists and illustrators did not have simple career paths that could harmonise with the home. They struggled to adapt to working conditions.

Political action might lead to improvements. But there were plentiful and bilious opponents to votes for women and to women's work. *The National Observer* of 1891 carried an article 'Why Women May Not Vote', and in ringing tones proclaimed,

'The fact is that woman's suffrage is a cause proper only to the radical fadmonger who is in favour of everything that is silly and weak. To call in female voters to swell our batallions is an action only worthy of persons who would take shelter from the bullets of their enemies behind the petticoats of their wives and sisters...It would be much better to be defeated by radical voters than to avert or delay defeat by the help of women.'<sup>65</sup>

To discuss votes in militaristic terms of 'batallions...action...bullets...enemies' reflects the mindset of its author. The emotional allusion to 'radical fadmongers' is hardly to language of rational debate.

In similar vein, two years later *The National Observer* printed an article on 'The Woman of Genius'. Its author adopted a sarcastic tone to berate the working capacities of women and to vilify the idea of the 'New Woman':

'...New Woman...she may have money, set up a shop for the sale of hats, or dresses, or Christmas cards, or American drinks in a fashionable West End Street [Miss Cranston?]. Also, she may (and does) write novels...she may (and does) paint pictures of what herself and her friends are ready to describe as pictures; she may turn chorister, or lady guide or lady bookbinder, or masseuse! It is a tremendous change is it not?'

The author condemned the apparently greedy and insatiable appetites of women who would not be content with their traditional role. This sense of the moral trespasses of women to gratify their desires ignored assumptions that the male gender always maintained their privileges. Working women were a threat. The author encouraged women to believe that their roles as wage-earners were Pyrrhic victories. In the context of campaigns for votes for women the article reveals a potent hostility towards women who could achieve professional status. The writer concluded,

'...on the whole, the New Woman is not much better than her great grandmother...After all, it is not abnormally exhilarating to be a masseuse, or a lady bookbinder. It is better to chuck trade and go forth as a woman of genius.'<sup>66</sup>

As education and emancipation increased, conservative outrage became less relevant. The picture of Edinburgh College of Art Types shows that although there is only one woman student in the cartoon, she is part of the system (**Fig. 1.3**). If she is a designer rather than a 'painter' there is a clear distinction between fine art for men and design for women. In Chapter Four, it will be seen that women could cultivate the role of 'designer' without the terrible accusation of 'ambition' in fine art. This put her in a safe role that did not threaten male artists (**Fig. 1.4**).

## Summary

Seeking to outline the effects of gender and biological difference, this chapter has reviewed a range of literature analysing current and past views of women artists. Major differences in attitudes and work practices segregated them from male colleagues. Previous sections have outlined present historiography in relation to past hagiography. Previous sections have outlined dialogues of present historiography with past hagiography. Emphasising different views of amateur and professional artists, I have suggested how social conditioning inhibited the working lives of women. Nineteenth century discourses opposing women as voters or as 'New Women' showed that the role of women, as artists or as illustrators, took place in a context of conflicting political and social debates.

The following chapter examines more closely how education and employment for women in the arts in Edinburgh evolved and developed in the period of 1886-1945.

- <sup>1</sup> Ann Oakley, *Housewife*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1977 (1E 1974), p 82
- <sup>2</sup> Katy Deepwell (Ed), *New Feminist Art Criticism*, Manchester University Press, Manchester/New York, 1995, p xiv
- <sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p ix
- <sup>4</sup> Ibid, p 80
- <sup>5</sup> Summarised in Mara Weitzling, 'Feminism' in Delia Glaze (ed) *Concise Dictionary of Women Artists*, Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, London/Chicago, 2001, pp 137-9
- <sup>6</sup> As noted in Lucy Lippard's contribution to the *Art Workers' Coalition Statement* see footnote 8 below
- <sup>7</sup> See Debbie Duffin, 'Exhibiting Strategies' pp 63-9 and Maureen Paley, 'On Women Dealers in the Art World' pp 96-103 in Deepwell, op. cit.; see also Carol Duncan in 'The Modern Art Museum' pp 85-9 in Nicholas Mirzoeff (ed), *The Visual Culture Reader*, Routledge, London/New York, 1998
- <sup>8</sup> Cornelius Castoriadis, 'The Imaginary Institution of Society', p 7 in John Fekete (Ed), *The Structural Allegory: reconstructive encounters with the new French thought*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1984
- <sup>9</sup> Linda Nochlin, 'Why are there no Great women artists?' in *Women, Art and Power and Other Essays*, Thames and Hudson, New York, 1988, p 145
- <sup>10</sup> Oakley, op. cit., p 57
- <sup>11</sup> 'Art Workers' Coalition Statement of Demands' in Charles Harrison and Paul Wood (Eds), *Art in Theory: 1900-1990: an Anthology of Changing Ideas*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1992 p 902
- <sup>12</sup> See also, for example, Sheila Rowbotham, *Hidden from History*, Pluto Press, London, 1974
- <sup>13</sup> Debbie Duffin, 'Exhibiting Strategies; in Deepwell, op. cit., p 63
- <sup>14</sup> Maureen Paley, 'On Women Dealers in the Art World; Deepwell, op. cit. p 96
- <sup>15</sup> Carol Duncan, op. cit., p 85
- <sup>16</sup> Laura Mulvey, 'Visual Pleasure and the narrative cinema' from *Screen* 16, 1975 in Harrison and Wood, op. cit., pp 963-970
- <sup>17</sup> See Juliet Mitchell and Jacqueline Rose (Eds), *Feminine Sexuality: Jacques Lacan and the École Freudienne*, Macmillan, London, 1982, p 135
- <sup>18</sup> Julia Kristeva, 'Prolegomenon to Revolution in Poetic Language' in Harrison and Wood, op. cit., p 960
- <sup>19</sup> Mara Weitzling, 'Feminism' op. cit., p 137
- <sup>20</sup> For an overview see Nicholas Mirzoeff (Ed), *The Visual Culture Reader*, Routledge, London/New York, 1998 also Lynda Nead, *The Female Nude: Art, Obscenity and Sexuality*, Routledge, London, 1992; Andrea Dworkin, *Pornography: Men Possessing Women*, Putnam, New York, 1981 or Linda Williams, *Hard Core: Power, Pleasure and the Frenzy of the Visible*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1989
- <sup>21</sup> Frances Borzello, *Seeing Ourselves: Women's Self-Portraits*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1998
- <sup>22</sup> Joan Rothschild (Ed), *Design and Feminism: Re-visioning spaces, places and everyday things*, Rutgers University Press, New Jersey/London, 1999
- <sup>23</sup> Pat Kirkham and Judy Attfield, 'Introduction' to Pat Kirkham (Ed), *The Gendered Object*, Manchester University Press, Manchester/New York, 1996, p 1
- <sup>24</sup> Germaine Greer, *The Obstacle Race: the Fortunes of Women Painters and their Work*, Picador, London, 1989 (1E 1979), p 11
- <sup>25</sup> Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock, *Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1981, p 3
- <sup>26</sup> Ibid., p 82
- <sup>27</sup> Griselda Pollock, *Differencing the Canon*, op. cit.
- <sup>28</sup> Deepwell, op. cit., p xiv
- <sup>29</sup> Fiona Watson, *Scotland: A History 8000BC to 2000AD*, Tempus, Stroud, 2001, p 11. Viewed positively, her images of Mary Queen of Scots (p 138) raise the issues of the way in which the image of a female, and a female monarch as such, was used and abused as an icon of feminine attributes; and she includes images of the Scottish female labour force at a contrasting social level to the monarchy, working their spinning wheels (p 177) and as Fisher Girls ( p 183) indicating the active contribution of women to Scottish life. From a negative point of view, however, these isolated images of women reinforce stereotypical views of 'high' and 'low' Scottish cultural contributions from women to their world at polarised extremes of women's experience.
- <sup>30</sup> Sian Reynolds 'Historiography and Gender: Scottish International Dimensions' in T Brotherstone, D Simonton and O Walsh, *Gendering Scotland: an International Approach*, Cruithne Press, Glasgow, 1999
- <sup>31</sup> Rosalind K Marshall, *Virgins and Viragos: a History of Women in Scotland from 1080-1980*, Collins, London, 1983; Rosalind Mitchison has also elucidated early mechanisms of social regulation and control over women and their behaviour, see bibliography and also Yvonne Brown, *Twisted Sisters: Women, Crime and Deviance in Scotland*, Tuckwell, East Linton, 2002



- <sup>32</sup> Leah Leneman, *A Guid Cause*, Aberdeen University Press, Aberdeen, 1993
- <sup>33</sup> Anon, 'Studio Talk' in *The Scots Pictorial*, September 15, 1899, p 246
- <sup>34</sup> Pamela Gerrish Nunn, *Victorian Woman Artists*, The Women's Press. London, 1987, p 34
- <sup>35</sup> Pamela Gerrish Nunn, *Canvassing: Recollections by Six Victorian Women Artists*, Camden Press, London, 1986, p 17
- <sup>36</sup> Deborah Cherry, *Painting Women: Victorian Women Artists*, Routledge, London/New York, 1993, p 131
- <sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p 132
- <sup>38</sup> As in the romantic vein of Coventry Patmore's Angel of the Hearth or again in Tennyson's poem, *Song 1:427*,  
'Man for the field and woman for the hearth:  
Man for the sword and for the needle she:  
Man with the head and woman with the heart,  
Man to command and woman to obey;  
All else confusion.'
- <sup>39</sup> Anne Higonnet, *Berthe Morisot's Images of Women*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass, USA/London, 1992, p 2
- <sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p 37
- <sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p 48
- <sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p 58
- <sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p 121
- <sup>44</sup> Mercy Runciman, *Runciman's Rules of Perspective: Explained, Illustrated and Adapted to Practical Use* (With Letter of Approval from John Ruskin, MA Hon, LLD), Windsor and Newton Ltd, London, 1886, Preface
- <sup>45</sup> *Pace*, Paul Virilio, *The Vision Machine*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1994, who has referred to the use of perspective as an instrument of imperialist projects – here I refer to Mercy Runciman, writing as a woman, confirming contemporary convictions about the practice of art and the reproduction of 'reality' in relation to amateurs and professionals
- <sup>46</sup> Runciman, *op. cit.*, Preface
- <sup>47</sup> Louise Jopling, *Hints to Students and Amateurs*, George Rowney & Co, London, 1911, p 10
- <sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 12-13
- <sup>49</sup> Louise Jopling, *Twenty Years of My Life: 1867-1887*, John Lane, Bodley Head, London, 1925: this autobiography explains that she was born Louise Goode in Manchester, subsequently became Mrs Romer and then Mrs Jopling. Jopling met Hannah de Rothschild (see Chapter three, re Women's Industries Section of the Edinburgh International Festival, 1886) whom Jopling described as a 'clever watercolour artist' who introduced her to classes with Monsieur Chaplin (p 3) and with whom she maintained a friendship over many years (p 117). The classes of Hubert von Herkomer reintroduced her to art (p 253) and she explains the difficulty of joining the Society of Portrait Painters in 1889 when women were summoned to meetings but not allowed to vote in them. She and several friends formed a painting society called 'The Immortals' (p 221) indicating that Glasgow School of Art students, the Raeburn sisters were not the first to use the title. Jopling maintained connections with campaigners for women artists such as Laura Herford – aunt of the Scottish artist Emily Paterson, 'a clever black and white artist' (p 6). Jopling refers to other artists with significant links to Scotland, James Whistler (p 70), the Coutts Lindsays, Lord and Lady Balcarres, Millais in Pitlochry (pp 73-7), William and Elizabeth Sharp (p 216) and as already mentioned Hannah de Rothschild, Lady Rosebery.
- <sup>50</sup> *Op. cit.*, *Hints*, p 14
- <sup>51</sup> *Op. cit.*, *Twenty Years*, p 5
- <sup>52</sup> Sian Reynolds, 'Running away to Paris: expatriate Women Artists of the 1900 Generation, from Scotland and points South', *Women's History Review*, 9/2, 2000
- <sup>53</sup> A useful summary is made by Wendy Wassing Roworth, 'Academies of Art' in Delia Glaze, *op. cit.*, pp 20-33; see also Gill Perry and Colin Cunningham, *Academies, Museums and Canons of Art*, Yale/Open University Press, 1994, p 65
- <sup>54</sup> See Chapter two for Art Education; women initially admitted to the Board of Manufacturers School in 1760 and women exhibited their works at Core's Lyceum between 1808 and 1815, see EPL N5056: E 23, *First Public Exhibition of Paintings in Scotland by Artists*, Alex Smellie, Edinburgh, 1908; female students admitted to the Haldane Academy and thereafter the Glasgow School of Art after 1847
- <sup>55</sup> Joanna Soden, 'The Role of the RSA in Art Education during the 19<sup>th</sup> Century', *Journal of the Scottish Society for Art History*, 4, 1999, pp 2-7

- 
- <sup>56</sup> Gabriel P Weisberg and Jane R Becker, *Overcoming all Obstacles: The Women of the Academie Julian*, Dahesh Museum and Rutgers University Press, New York/New Brunswick, 1999
- <sup>57</sup> Weisberg and Becker, *ibid.*, p 13
- <sup>58</sup> A student of Scottish Fanny MacIan, Head of the Female School of the Royal College of Art and one of only two Honorary Members of the RSA until the election of Phoebe Traquair in 1920 see Esme Gordon, *op. cit.*
- <sup>59</sup> Cherry, *op. cit.*, p 57
- <sup>60</sup> As noted by Lee M Edwards, *Herkomer: a Victorian Artist*, Ashgate, Aldershot, 1999, see also Grant Longman, *The Herkomer Art School 1883-1904*, a reassessment, Bushey Museum Information, 7, Bushey, 1999 and *The Beginning of the Herkomer Art School*, EG Longman, Bushey, 1983
- <sup>61</sup> *The Woman at Home*, *Annie S Swan's Magazine*, (Profusely Illustrated [by Vera Christie]), 1, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1894, pp 78-9
- <sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>63</sup> These are figures whose activities are mentioned in the Women's Industries Section Booklet of the Edinburgh International Exhibition of 1886, see Chapter three
- <sup>64</sup> *The Woman at Home*, *op. cit.*, 1894, p 314
- <sup>65</sup> Anon, 'Why Women May Not Vote', *The National Observer: a Record and Review*, London/Edinburgh, 7, 1891-2, p 607
- <sup>66</sup> Anon, 'The Woman of Genius', *op. cit.*, 10, 1893, p 540



## CHAPTER 2: ART EDUCATION IN EDINBURGH

‘What art does or ought to do, is not to go against nature, but to join with nature for the attainment of the beautiful...I believe in utility as well as in art, and that the highest art is that which shapes and adorns what is beautiful.’

Mary Burton, ‘Art and Teaching in Elementary Schools’, 1889<sup>1</sup>

### Context - Edinburgh 1889

The Congress of the National Association for the Advancement of Art and its Application to Industry to Arts and Crafts artists was held in Edinburgh in 1889. The occasion was, according to Elizabeth Cumming, a formative moment for the Arts and Crafts movement in Scotland and for the capital.

‘The formal beginnings of Edinburgh Arts and Crafts may be said to have taken place in 1889, and may even be precisely dated to a single month. In October, one of the most important, and certainly the most illustrious, gatherings in the entire history of the British Arts and Crafts movement took place in the city when the Second Congress of the National Association for the Advancement of Art and its Application to Industry met in the new Scottish National Portrait Gallery in Queen Street.’<sup>2</sup>

Speakers to the Congress clarified the unifying aims of art and craft as distinct from fine art alone, connecting aesthetics with social improvement. They argued for the necessity of the social purposes of art and crafts. Each reiterated a range of political, artistic and practical imperatives for design and art. Without better education and craft skills social awareness, wellbeing and improvement could not develop. Each speaker to the Congress emphasised the importance of education. They argued for new approaches to art well as to the revival

of skills and knowledge. These approaches affected the way art and skills could be taught, learned and applied. The Congress was axiomatic in reforming narrow definitions of Victorian preoccupations with art, truth and beauty. Morris spoke of Socialist ideals for art education. The craft skills of designing for book printing and binding featured significantly in their discussions. Views expressed bore on educational organisation and reorganisation in the city in subsequent years.

Mary Hill Burton (1819-1902) was the only female speaker to address the Congress (**Figs. 2.1 and 2.2**). She broached familiar issues raised by the Education Act of 1872.<sup>3</sup> She considered the function and role of women in education. Her discourse was part of wider social debates about the place of women. She wanted further opportunities for women to gain employment. While the 1872 Act ensured elementary education for girls as well as boys it enabled unmarried women to pursue a profession, legitimately, with state approval and also for payment. By 1889 there were many more educated women as a result of the Act, both unmarried and married. But the Act applied only to primary education. It did not enable married women to teach. It did not provide married or unmarried women the prospect of working in higher education. Burton continued, therefore, to try and broaden attitudes to the employment of women in education and, specifically, in art education.

In her speech, Burton referred to elementary education. She answered the unspoken Benthamite question ‘Is elementary education useful?’ by asserting that it was both useful and natural for women to learn and teach the meaning of ‘beauty’ – a term used repeatedly by speakers at the Congress. She drew attention to the fact that the practical application of art had made significant improvements to the quality of life in Edinburgh through the work of the Social Union (see below), noting,

‘The Social Union are doing a good work in the way of art culture among our school-children.’<sup>4</sup>

Behind her submission stood a complex series of moral and practical counter-offensives to opponents of women as artists and as educators. Her arguments supported those made at the Congress by Fra Newbery in his lecture on ‘The Place of Art Schools in the Economy of Applied Art’ that,

‘Picture painting is for the few, but beauty in the common surroundings of our daily lives is, or should be an absolute necessity to the many; and to educate alike the producer to send out, whether from the loom, bench, lathe or wheel, articles which shall possess an intrinsic value in the art they contain, and the consumer to appreciate such beauty as lies therein, is to teach a gospel which shall have for all men alike salvation...’.<sup>5</sup>

The President of the Edinburgh Congress, Gerard Baldwin Brown (1849-1932), Watson Gordon Professor of Fine Art at Edinburgh University, sympathised with the cause that women should participate in civic and artistic activities. Like Morris, Baldwin Brown argued for ‘the spirit of common and harmonious work...in the guilds of craft’ and stressed the need for a ‘new co-operative art of life.’<sup>6</sup> Baldwin Brown perceived the collective social purpose of the arts, opposing ‘art as a luxury’ or as the preserve of ‘the private collector’. If art was to belong to ‘the corporate life of the people’ it belonged to all, and this view of the arts that unified them with everyday life meant that industrial and craft goods need not perpetuate distinctions that existed between craft and fine art. He argued,

‘It would be better to accept frankly modern conditions of production; insist that machine-made goods should be serviceable and firmly wrought.’<sup>7</sup>

He regarded mechanised and manual arts as part of a national cause stating,

‘The artistic activity of a community is coming more and more prominently forward to give direction to the efforts now made on every side for the revival of a national art.’<sup>8</sup>

He supported and lectured to classes for the Edinburgh Social Union (see below). Baldwin Brown thus referred specifically to Edinburgh and to Scotland, raising the industrial profile of the country to emphasise the necessity of art to industry.

So the Edinburgh Congress of 1889 drew together the submissions of many cultural commentators, artists and architects who opposed hierarchical distinctions between categories in the fine arts, decorative arts, and applied arts and crafts. Patrick Geddes joined in proceedings as Honorary Secretary to the Committee of Sections on Museums. Both Mary Burton and Baldwin Brown admired and supported his work with the Edinburgh Social Union.<sup>9</sup> As discussed below, Geddes also argued for social regeneration, for wider participation in the production of art and for different working relationships. Like Morris, he too wanted social changes that would facilitate these processes.

Books were objects that signified the concrete virtues of industrial and craft manufacture. As a centre of printing and publishing, Edinburgh could generate virtuous cycles of ideological transformation. Progressive socialist ideals could emerge from employment in book production. William Morris (1834-96), Walter Crane (1845-1915), Emery Walker(1851-1933) and Thomas J Cobden-Sanderson (1840-1922) all gave lectures to the Congress. Their submissions related to book design as particularly appropriate for a city in which printing and publishing were a major industry.

Walter Crane emphasised the collective functions of beauty and art and the absolute necessity of co-ordinated collaboration of men and women in the processes of production. As a notable book illustrator, his submission on 'Design in relation to use and material' advocated,

'...conditions of health and refinement, of a vigorous and full if simple life...open to all, both men and women without distinction, and before such conditions can be realised...it evidently implies that something like fundamental changes must take place in the constitution of society...'.<sup>10</sup>

Emery Walker alluded to books and printing of the fifteenth and sixteenth century and presented lantern slides to illustrate them, thus indicating the revivalist elements in arts and crafts book design. On the other hand, Cobden-Sanderson discussed bookbinding but referred more broadly to the artistic function of the craft, reiterating the unity of the arts,

'...all the arts and crafts industries of the country should be viewed in the same light...in ways of peace and beauty and the addition to the world...of ideas of conscious loveliness and of order, erected and done with studied purpose and deliberate design.'<sup>11</sup>

Underlying submissions to the Congress, therefore, speakers wanted fundamental political and social change to alter conditions of civic populations and their surroundings. These political and social imperatives required more and wider participation in education, in art education and in the production of artefacts. The imperatives included the extension of full educational opportunities for women as artists. Speakers to the conference, except for Mary Burton, were men whose skilled wives and daughters were not in evidence there. By reviving ancient craft skills and working methods they believed that apprenticeships might include working with women too.



## Art and Education in Edinburgh - Precedents

‘Art Institutions in the nineteenth century...like those of other occupations, proved resistant to the training and recognition of women artists. Artists’ societies and art schools characterised women as special, separate and not infrequently as amateur.’

Deborah Cherry, *Painting Women*<sup>12</sup>

The Scottish educational framework, argues Lindsay Paterson, has been and continues to be central to Scottish identity and autonomy.<sup>13</sup> In the course of Scottish history, education was a privilege.<sup>14</sup> Privileged women did gain access to knowledge of the arts. Images of educated aristocratic ladies show them holding books as symbols of virtue, obedience and wisdom.<sup>15</sup> Reading, sewing and music added to the cultivation of polite society in a domestic and private setting. Alternatively, the practical existence of reading, sewing and music-making among women who were not aristocrats is barely recorded. Fragments of evidence point to the practice of embroidery and of bookbinding among Scottish women certainly from the fifteenth century onwards.<sup>16</sup>

The discrete processes in which women learned to read, write, paint or participate in the arts remain obscure. Evidence of informal education between families is scarce, although Elizabeth Sanderson has presented evidence that numerate and literate women worked as traders in Edinburgh in the eighteenth century.<sup>17</sup> When interviewed for a feature in *The Young Woman*, however, Mary Burton recalled that her mother had,

‘...obtained much of her knowledge, by stealth, for in her young days girls were supposed not to require any education except in domestic work.’<sup>18</sup>

In the nineteenth century Scottish, Liberal, Socialist and religious radicals, campaigned for training in education and the arts to include women.<sup>19</sup> They had been convinced, *inter alia*, by arguments from Mary Wollstonecraft, Harriet Hosmer and Anna Jameson of the need for equality between women.<sup>20</sup> In the absence of more Scottish campaigners in the nineteenth century, I refer to an earlier witness, a visitor to Edinburgh, photographed by David Octavius Hill (see below).

Anna Bronwell Jameson (1794-1860) campaigned for women's employment and for their role in art education. From personal experience, Jameson, née Murphy, eldest of five daughters of an Irish artist, needed paid work when her marriage to a lawyer failed. She argued that women who needed to work did not do so only in their own interest. Many had children and relatives to support. She believed that men and women needed to work in 'communion' rather than in opposition to each other.<sup>21</sup> Using moral and religious appeals in the manner of the time, Jameson discussed the moral purposes of work and its spiritual benefit to society. In lectures collected under the title, *Sisters of Charity and the Communion of Labour*, she claimed that 'the women's sphere of knowledge and activity should be limited only by her capacities' and argued that work was a common rather a class-related concern.<sup>22</sup>

'All the unmarried and widowed women of the working classes cannot be sempstresses and governesses: nor can all the unmarried women of the higher classes find in society and visiting, literature and art, the purpose, end and aim of their existence.'<sup>23</sup>

She pressed the case for women to be trained to work and to dispense with an amateur role by learning to be professionals in whatever sphere they chose, so that they could be:

‘...not amateur ladies of charity, but brave women whose vocation is fixed and whose faculties of every kind have been trained and disciplined to the work under competent instruction...and tested by long probation.’<sup>24</sup>

As a writer and art historian Jameson understood that design and art were significant areas in which women could develop their skills.<sup>25</sup> She pointed to the prejudices that prevented their development.<sup>26</sup>

‘When the female School of Design was first projected...a petition was drawn up and handed round for signature by a certain set of artists and engravers praying that women might not be taught at the expense of the Government...“arts which would interfere with the employment of men and take the bread out of their mouths”...’<sup>27</sup>

She therefore tackled the fears of male artists and artisans that women were a threat in a limited market. She argued for work to be distributed equally and to the advantage of all, noting,

‘We do not find women conspiring against man cooks, man milliners or man midwives for “taking the bread out of our mouths” as gangs of china painters, watchmakers and composers have conspired against women.’<sup>28</sup>

Jameson countered accusations levelled against women that by taking paid work they were immoral by claiming the morality of her case, noting,

‘We wish to have some higher kinds of industrial and progressional and artistic training more freely accessible to women. We wish to have some share...in the advantages which most of our largely well-endowed public institutions extend to men only. When the National School of Design was opened to female students, it met with the strongest opposition, and, strange to say, the principal objection was on the score of

morality...one would have thought that all London was to be demoralised because a certain number of ladies and a certain number of gentlemen had met under the same roof.<sup>29</sup>

Because of her convictions, Jameson campaigned across the country. Her arguments rallied pressure for equal representation of women in art education as in other occupations. David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson took a calotype portrait of her visit to Edinburgh (1847). As artists, they acknowledged Jameson as an art historian and as a representative campaigner for equal opportunities, an issue which Hill's daughter supported.<sup>30</sup> Jameson's support for art education therefore had influential currency in Edinburgh.

In London, Henry Cole had commissioned a review on art education from William Ewart, entitled *The Report of the Select Committee on the Schools of Design*, published in 1838. The report was prepared,

‘...to inquire into the best means of extending a knowledge of the Arts and of the Principles of Design among the people (especially the manufacturing population of the country) also to inquire into the constitution, management and effects of the institutions connected with the arts’.<sup>31</sup>

The report generated reforms that made grant provision for technical institutions across the country and made the admission of women one of the bases of their grants. Their emphasis on manufacture and design rather than fine art and painting indicated support for the manual element of art education. The legacy of the report took effect as views of the meaning and purposes of art were challenged by Arts and Crafts ideology.

## Edinburgh, Education, Print and Politics

The roots of education for women in Edinburgh lay in religious, philanthropic and commercial activities.<sup>32</sup> As already noted, women in the city did run businesses, especially in the trades of schools, sewing, cooking and nursing.<sup>33</sup> The crafts and skills required for these activities were partly conducted through apprenticeships, in philanthropic schools or in the family itself. For Lindy Moore, in Scotland,

‘A belief in the importance of the family as the basic socialising unit led to the concept of social control of the working class through domestic training of future working-class wives and mothers.’<sup>34</sup>

Class-related expectations socialised many females to expect low-status work. Hierarchies in religious denominations reinforced these work patterns to a greater or lesser degree across Scotland. Philanthropic chains of activity often established or maintained gendered patterns of behaviour.<sup>35</sup> At whatever social levels needlework and sewing skills were taught, sewing led easily to craft manufacture, as was the case for women employed in the bindery of T & A Constable, publisher.<sup>36</sup>

Small groups of women in nineteenth century Edinburgh, directed their energies to working roles. Mary Anne Thomson produced a magazine called *The Rose, The Shamrock and The Thistle* between May 1862 and March 1865, to prove the skills of female-authored and printed publications. As Mr Gladstone had advocated in 1860, women could train in printing and publishing houses although printers wished to exclude them from their roles, because ‘...we all know that women are particularly adapted, from their small fingers, to the delicate handling of type’.<sup>37</sup> Edinburgh printing and publishing houses took women

into the workplace as compositors and as binders.<sup>38</sup> However, as trained workers, women were not paid wages equal to the wages of men. As cheap labour they were accused of undermining and depressing wage demands from print unions. In Edinburgh in 1872 women workers who continued to work during a compositor's strike gave male unionists cause to mistrust them, for lowering the status and terms of the compositor's job and for 'diluting' the trade union. The Typographical Association only decided to offer women membership on equal terms in 1886.<sup>39</sup>

Prior to this, in the 1860s members of the Women's Franchise Association called for places for women in the cultural industries. Members of this society formed the Edinburgh Essay Society. Beginning in 1865 as an informal literary discussion group who met in the home of Mrs Mair, the society included the organiser and her daughters Frances, Helen, Harriet and Elizabeth, together with their aunt Sarah Siddons Mair and her daughter Sally.<sup>40</sup> In the same year members of the Society produced a magazine called *The Attempt*.<sup>41</sup> Sally Mair, together with Helen Reid, daughter of a printer and publisher in Leith, conceived the publication as akin to men's journals, no-nonsense, purely typographic newsletters. Their pages, interspersed with poems and literary commentaries included articles on women and women's work. As literature for serious, educated women it supported educational measures. Articles included surveys of 'ragged schools', 'The Edinburgh Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor' and also discussed 'Nationality'.

By 1875, Phoebe Blyth wrote an article on 'Women's Work' to point out the effects of the absence of apprenticeships for women in engraving, where women had the potential to be professionals. She wrote,

‘It is womanly to use the needle, but not the graver’s style...womanly to starve for want of food, but unwomanly, or at least unladylike to work for self-support.’<sup>42</sup>

In the same issue, Miss BB McLaren wrote about ‘Engraving on Wood’ encouraging women to make a living in this way. She offered the prospect that this occupation was sufficiently artistic, respectable and properly paid, noting,

‘The constantly increasing use of illustration in the literature of the present day seems to give assurance of there being work for those who can prove themselves proficient...’

and, suggested training – as serious educationalists did, in,

‘...classes by a Mr R Paterson in West Register Street, Edinburgh...one of the best engravers in the city.’<sup>43</sup>

Priscilla McLaren, campaigner for Temperance, and President of the Edinburgh National Society for Women’s Suffrage, and her daughters, also belonged to the Essay society.<sup>44</sup>

Sian Reynolds has pointed out that women in Edinburgh created a series of networks for pro-social causes, for philanthropic and labour campaigns. The Edinburgh Society for the Promotion of Employment of Women included ‘McLarens, Mairs...Stevensons...Secretary, Phoebe Blyth’ and their names recur in other related activities in the late nineteenth century.<sup>45</sup> The same women enrolled in the Edinburgh Educational Association (after 1879, The Edinburgh Association for the University Education of Women). In 1869, between 400 and 500 women attended a meeting at Edinburgh’s Assembly Hall, and 265 ultimately signed up to join classes at the level of university standards.<sup>46</sup>

Individuals therefore gathered together in a collective understanding of the need for education and training among women in Edinburgh. Their groups formed an initial engagement with reform, reform for women and by extension of the political *zeitgeist*. They manifested an upsurge of Liberal, anti-Whig, ideology. Kathleen Burton (married to the brother of Mary Burton mentioned above, John Hill Burton), in writing a memoir of Mrs Crudelius, the first President of the Edinburgh Educational Association, provided a graphic account of the genesis and organisation of the Association..<sup>47</sup> Phoebe Blyth became Vice President.<sup>48</sup> Male lecturers from Edinburgh University who agreed to give classes to members of the Association could therefore be regarded as sympathetic to their cause.<sup>49</sup> Given that the women wanted education and training, they wanted it at levels equal to those of men. Female members of organisations promoting the interests of women maintained common aims and common purposes in discrete civic social circles. Collectively they supported and sustained clear and independent agendas for women's education.

So women wanted legitimate roles, to share wisdom, dispense charity, to evangelise in their own right. By 1876, what was now called *The Ladies' Edinburgh Magazine* included an article by Flora Masson.<sup>50</sup> She noted that the Education Act of 1872 changed educational opportunities for women. Her article, 'The Parliamentary Franchise for Women' argued that while women in England voted in Municipal Elections, women in Scotland did not.

'No ugly transformation has occurred among the women of Edinburgh since, three years ago, when they went up in large numbers to vote at the polling booths and voted for members of the School Board.'<sup>51</sup>

She called unequivocally for political action.



## Private Art Education

‘Many delightful paintings by amateur ancestress must lie half-forgotten in portfolios in dusty attics. They deserve to be brought out into the daylight and cherished for their intrinsic charm, reflecting as they do, the major artistic trends of a period when painting, like playing the harp, was amongst the recognised refinements of a cultured young woman.’<sup>52</sup>

As already discussed in Chapter One, ‘amateur’ lady artists could afford the time and the leisure to practise as artists in the home. Nineteenth century galleries and museums labelled their works ‘amateur’ accordingly. Governesses or private tutors would teach them in their homes.<sup>53</sup> Women who learned professional techniques, however – even those taught by a master painter - did not obtain professional status.<sup>54</sup>

Women with chaperones attended private art classes in artists’ studios. At the Trustees’ Academy William de la Cour gave lessons to ‘ladies of rank’. According to Helen Smailes, a prospectus for a Drawing Institute in Edinburgh held similar classes for both sexes and exempted women from life-classes, although it held open annual examinations and exhibitions. Smailes has written,

‘The admission of women to the Drawing Institute raises some complex questions concerning private educational provision for the woman artist in nineteenth-century Scotland. The legitimacy of differentiation between the “amateur” and the intending “professional” exclusively in terms of such provision is called into question by the range of options then available and the limitations which these imposed *a priori*...attendance at the institution offered the woman artist in general a rare opportunity to acquire a systematic, as distinct from and informal grounding in the rudiments of her profession.’<sup>55</sup>

But the issue was not simply that female artists lacked the provision of education to qualify as professionals. Even if female 'amateur' artists obtained 'professional training', they often did not obtain recognition as professionals.

Whether women were, technically, professional became immaterial. The nature of private education placed them in a category that existed beyond and outside conventional understanding of the professional artist. It meant that, until many women in the nineteenth century had argued that training distinguished the amateur from the professional, their qualifications were neither accepted nor recognised. As noted above, the exclusion of women artists from life-classes gave critics and connoisseurs cause to reject women's qualifications and consequently their works.

So the earliest forms of private education, either at the Drawing Institute lasting until 1836 or at Simson's Academy from 1831 onwards for instance, did not enable female artists in Edinburgh to enter wholeheartedly into the profession of 'the artist'. Only two trained female artists gained recognition in the Royal Scottish Academy. The transition from private amateur to public professional therefore involved wider social adjustments among women artists themselves. It was not just a matter of training (incomplete without life-classes), but connected to sequences of events, to exposure, patronage, payment and to public scrutiny. So the idea that women worked at a standard equal to that of their male counterparts took generations of cultural and political activity to dispel.

## **The Trustees' Academy**

The Trustees' Academy initially aimed to provide manufacturing skills for both male and female apprentices.<sup>56</sup> Patricia Brookes has shown that,

'When the Trustees' Academy was established in 1760, male and female applicants were invited to apply for positions as subsidised drawing students.'<sup>57</sup>

She has recorded that the Academy's first painting master William de la Cour held private lessons in a separate room 'for girls of rank apart from his public school.'<sup>58</sup> Shirley Allan, wife of David Allan (1744-1796) worked as a tutor in the Academy and applied for the right to replace her husband of the Head of the School when he died. But the Trustees' Board members refused her application. The Academy followed fashionable Academic trends to promote lessons in Fine Art rather than Manufactures. They wanted to develop the more sophisticated techniques of academic painting rather than applied art. John Graham (1754-1817) marginalised female students because, he claimed in 1799,

'...girls chiefly study the drawing of flowers, ornament for dress, or landscape and seldom think of drawing the human figure or of becoming professional artists...'<sup>59</sup>

A coherent history of the development of the Trustees' Academy is complicated by the loss of records prior to 1818. It is further complicated by the elision of references to the Trustees' Academy and the Scottish Academy (from 1838 given the status of The 'Royal' Scottish Academy), which were in fact two distinct organisations, although male artists moved from one to the other. Their separate histories are also complicated by the fact that

they occupied the same premises in the Royal Institution.<sup>60</sup> A full history of the Trustees' Academy is beyond the scope of this thesis, and the history of the Scottish Academy already exists.<sup>61</sup> However, since the foundation and evolution of the Trustees Academy contributed to essential developments in art education for women in Edinburgh it requires further consideration here.

Masters in the Trustees' Academy after the turn of the century could promote their students to the Royal Scottish Academy(RSA) and they were members of the RSA themselves. By 1840, members of the RSA wanted a 'School of the Living Model' for their own professional development and for that of their male students.<sup>62</sup> Robert Scott Lauder (1803-1869), Master of the Trustees' Academy between 1852 and 1861 was equivocal about the standards of teaching in the life classes of the RSA. He implemented recommendations and grant provisions on the basis of Henry Cole's reforms which included the establishment of a Female School.<sup>63</sup>

The Minutes of the Trustees of the Board of Manufacturers held by the Scottish Records Office provide one source of the development of the Trustees' Academy. The Minute Books of the Board of Manufacturers Trustees' Academy School of Art Committee, covering the period 1869-1903, lodged in Edinburgh College of Art Archives, form an alternative source of information for the development of education for women artists in the Trustees' School.<sup>64</sup> In the Edinburgh College of Art Archive, Miss Ashworth, a Lancastrian who had trained in London, began teaching in the Female School in 1858. As a protagonist for female art education, by 1872 she was enmeshed in a dispute as to whether parents of pupils could be allowed into morning classes as observers of their daughters.<sup>65</sup> By March that year, the Board discussed the accusation that Ashworth had destroyed a

drawing and struck one of her female students, Katherine Ross. Ultimately, Ashworth was formally dismissed in June 1874.<sup>66</sup> Allusions to Ashworth's conduct took place in meetings chaired by Sir George Harvey (1806-1876)<sup>67</sup> and Sir Joseph Noel Paton (1821-1901).<sup>68</sup> A former pupil-teacher Miss Taylor replaced Ashworth. Isabella Byres continued to teach in the female classes with Taylor. By default the Minutes itemised the terms of payment for Miss Byres who received 20 shillings per term for teaching on Tuesdays and Thursdays 10-12. Other tutors, Miss Crichton, Miss Slater and Miss Robertson, received wages pro rata for their Monday, Wednesday and Friday classes.<sup>69</sup> Board meetings continued with attendances by William Thomas Thomson, Robert Horn, Sir Daniel MacNee, Francis Abbot and the Hon Lord Shand. When in July 1882, the Male School obtained classes for a Draped Life Model, Female Classes moved to other temporary premises.<sup>70</sup> Robert Rowand Anderson, architectural adviser to the Board, supervised these changes.<sup>71</sup> Women students in the Trustees' Academy had no hope of progressing to associations like the RSA if their male colleague could not attend life classes and they could not: they could not hope to become professionals. Sir William Fettes Douglas (1822-1891), President of the RSA (1876-1891) expressed ingrained and conservative attitudes at a prize-giving ceremony for the Trustees' Academy,

'I am credibly informed that the girl of the period objects to hold any subordinate position as that of a wife, and I trust that her progress will keep pace with her freedom. I would recommend her to study more, especially drawing and colour – the first because she has no talent for it, the second because she has. Why is it that the weaker sex, today more probably the self-assertive sex, does not assert its characteristics? She goes about dressed to look as like a man as possible – and a miserable, puny little man she makes – and her works are like her.'<sup>72</sup>

## The Watt Institution and School of Art and Heriot Watt College

The Watt Institution and School of Arts was originally founded to support the education of mechanics and apprentices. In 1878 the foundation gained support from Heriots Trust, and this involved a range of changes, including naming the new institution Heriot Watt College. As 'A college for the People', its *Calendar* of 1878 recorded that female students attended classes in Edinburgh.<sup>73</sup>

'About nine years ago [1869] it was resolved to admit young women to the classes. There were some who doubted the expediency of this step, but experience has shown that doubts or fears were groundless. The earnestness of work in every class has been unabated, the greatest decorum prevails, and the teachers have every reason to be satisfied with the arrangement for having mixed classes...It is a sincere pleasure to the Directors to know that the School is now useful to so many young women, not merely in giving them instruction valuable for its own sake, but in fitting many of them for occupations which they may be able either partially or entirely to support themselves.'<sup>74</sup>

Confirming that women were 'earnest' and 'decorous' the author implied that there had been objections to their presence in the college as frivolous and indecorous. Accepting that women needed 'occupations' the author acknowledged that sectors of the Edinburgh population knew women needed work as much as men. Later writers attributed the female attendances to the influence of Mary Burton in the Heriot Trust, and she was appointed as a life member of the Heriot Watt Technical College Board.<sup>75</sup>

So by 1878 Mary Burton was the first woman Board Member to take her place among fourteen men. Although her efforts to provide greater opportunities in education for

women continued unabated (as noted in her speech to the Congress of 1889), figures show the disappointing rate of progress for women's education (Appendix 2, Table 3).

The first available figures for the College from *Calendars* of 1875-7 recorded initially buoyant levels of female applications for classes. The College did not issue comparative figures for male applicants. According to the *Calendar* for 1875-6, 62 women applied to join classes (Appendix 2, Table 2). Female applicants to the College doubled between 1875 and 1877. By 1877-8, 124 women applied for places, indicating a rapid take-up among purely female applicants.

Figures from subsequent *Calendars* for 1878 to 1902 give a different story. It has been possible to compile figures that give comparative figures for male and female applicants during this period. Over thirty years applications from women rose from 161 in 1878 to 667 in 1902. But the ratio of women students to male students actually fell from eleven per cent to less than five per cent in this period. Overall female applications increased. They quadrupled over the period. Yet the ratio of female to male applicants shrank significantly (Appendix 2, Table 3).

Figures indicate that the curriculum reflected the industrial interests of Edinburgh's manufacturers. Moreover, the curriculum worked in favour of male rather than female training and apprenticeships. The apparent comparative decline in training opportunities and the apparent absence of committed trade support for women show no significant compensatory moves to change the curriculum in favour of gendered work. The figures thus show that trade regulations persisted in excluding women from significant sectors of industry and industrial growth.

College *Calendars* reflect the biases of their curriculum. Male tutors ran classes for technical subjects. Mr Hume Nisbet ran Art classes in Heriot Watt, from 1878-1888. Classes cost five shillings for 24 lessons in free-hand drawing. Saturday afternoon Life and Nature Classes cost five shillings for a course of 12 lessons. In the first year, Mary Ann Coutts gained the prize for free-hand drawing. The following year, the day classes included free-hand painting, life and nature painting as before, but also drawing from a Draped Life Model. At the end of this year, Isabella Thomson gained first prize in Life and Nature painting while Barbara Birrell received first prize for her Figure in Oil painting. While Heriot Watt College offered greater potential for professional women painters in their classes than those at the Trustees' Academy, their prospects remained limited.<sup>76</sup>

In 1886, Patrick Geddes joined the staff of Heriot Watt College as a lecturer in Botany.<sup>77</sup> The College Debating Society listed its agenda for 1886 that Jane H Ross would propose the motion, 'Should women be admitted to the Learned Professions?' and that Alex Howie propose, 'Is Socialism Preferable to the current Competitive Society?'<sup>78</sup> In 1886 George H Park, a landscape painter, took up his appointment as a new Art Teacher.<sup>79</sup> Photography Classes taught by GG Mitchell moved from the Art School to the Technical Department of the College in 1888.

On the one hand, many of the changes in Heriot Watt College showed progressive desires to keep abreast of developments in science and in contemporary politics. In 1888 the college appointed its first female teachers, Nicola Minola and her assistant (curiously named) Adeline M Jelly, who taught Spanish.<sup>80</sup> On the other hand, the college did not elect female teachers to any other subjects. The college also reclassified some art subjects so that they became less appealing to women and more biased towards established trade



practice. Photography was classified as a technical rather 'art' subject. GG Mitchell taught Photography and his classes moved from the Art Department to the Technical Department of the college in 1888. Teaching and handling machinery and chemicals for photographic work became a trade, subject to male trade practices.

Printing and Typography classes taught by James Wilkie remained part of the Art Department from which John Hume Nesbit had retired. James Riddell replaced Nesbit, while David Vallance became a tutor in Design and Ornamentation.<sup>81</sup> From a survey of *Calendars* however, all art classes and related printing and design activities were taught by men only. Even if female students steadily increased between 1878 and 1902 there was no proportionate increase in the number of female staff to teach them. Meanwhile Mary Burton remained the only woman on the Board of Heriot Watt College until the Board elected Flora Stevenson (**Fig. 2.4**) to join her in 1891.<sup>82</sup>

The Heriot Watt *Calendar* of 1905-6 shows that art classes took place in the main Entrance Hall of the College in Chambers' Street (**Fig. 2.3**). The photograph suggests that students had endless space in which to work. It is misleading, since students of other classes would have had to pass through students at their easels in order to gain entry to classrooms for other subjects. Life classes could not take place in a public space like this. So the *Calendar* betrays the limits of Heriot Watt Art Classes as they existed at the turn of the century. Images of the Printing Department and specifically the Composing Room (**Fig. 2.5**) show the predominance of letterpress cases and make-up tables. The Machine Room (**Fig 2.6**) also contained letterpress printing equipment. The reality was that by 1910 when these pictures were taken, lithographic printing and photographic reproduction were both subject areas of increasing importance for the manufacture of books. The students

therefore worked with equipment that was outdated. Using letterpress methods was already outmoded, and a craft skill, and training art students with this equipment offered only basic skills. As will become clear, from enquiries and reports conducted from 1897 onwards, Heriot Watt College Art Classes included many students. But the facilities and methods of teaching failed to keep pace with the requirements of the curriculum.

### **The Edinburgh Social Union**

Patrick Geddes (1854-1932) with his wife Anna convened the first meeting of the Edinburgh Social Union attended by David D MacLagan while Mrs MacLagan took the minutes, on January 6 1885.<sup>83</sup> Douglas MacLagan was a doctor, President of the College of Physicians and Professor of Medical Jurisprudence. With James Gowans, Lord Dean of Guild for Edinburgh and John Ritchie Findlay, Proprietor of the Scotsman, Douglas MacLagan had already established The Sanitary Protection Association for the city. Extending the remit of health and hygiene in Edinburgh, both Professor and Mrs MacLagan supported Patrick Geddes' plans to assist city residents to improve housing in Edinburgh's Old Town. Minutes stated that the aims of the Union were:

'...to raise the standard of comfort mainly by laying stress on the value of beauty and order in the surroundings of life...by decorating public halls and other places...by encouraging window gardening...by providing entertainments corresponding to those of the Kyrle Societies...improving the houses of the Poor.'<sup>84</sup>

The Edinburgh Social Union published its first *Report* in 1886. The report listed the names of its members, like-minded social reformers, philanthropists and those who believed that women had a role in civic improvements, not least through design and art practices.<sup>85</sup> Mary Burton became a member of the Window Gardening Committee until 1892. Flora

Stevenson, Priscilla and Duncan McLaren, Professor and Mrs Baldwin Brown, Liberal MP John Gulland and his sister Elizabeth, the Rev Charteris, JR Findlay with his wife and daughters, Phoebe and Ramsay Traquair and Miss FE Balfour all signed up as members. The scheme was orchestrated by Patrick Geddes (1854-1932) with his wife Anna.

The work of the Edinburgh Social Union formed a prototypical example of urban regeneration. Members of the union reflected contemporary concerns that local groups could perform practical tasks to generate and regenerate local crafts and industries. They admired the example of Octavia Hill and her work in improving housing conditions for the poor.<sup>86</sup> They founded early housing-association schemes; they established supplementary welfare and social service support services; and they gave impetus to artistic initiatives encompassing architecture, design and education, much in the manner of Ruskin and Morris.

During the three years that Patrick Geddes taught Botany at Heriot Watt College, he married and moved with his wife to a run-down property in James Court, one of many similar properties at the heart of Edinburgh's Old Town.<sup>87</sup> The Geddes implemented plans for social improvement. They wanted to improve tenants lives, to improve the fabric of buildings with sanitation, decoration and lighting. The Union's Housing Guild raised funds from sympathisers and established club rooms for tenants of the Union properties. They placed a high priority on placing books and libraries in these rooms.<sup>88</sup> A Mr Miller donated £500 within weeks of the first recorded Union meeting.<sup>89</sup> By 1889 Mary Burton invested money to support Union projects intended to reform the area as well as to raise income from rents.<sup>90</sup> Members took initiatives in economic development, attracted investors to generate income and used money to invest in further housing development.

Members of the Edinburgh Social Union also committed themselves to provide education for both males and females beyond the age of fourteen.<sup>91</sup> They provided practical classes outside working hours to occupy and stimulate the interests of teenagers. At an early stage Miss Florence Sellar gave wood-carving classes.<sup>92</sup> Miss Sellar and Mrs Maclagan contacted Professor Baldwin Brown to lecture to art classes.<sup>93</sup> Miss Oegger of Charlotte Square School, assisted by Miss Ritchie taught practical crafts such as sewing; Miss Anstruther and Miss Mackenzie taught woodcarving.<sup>94</sup> Moreover in order to provide specialised skills in 'the more artistic crafts' male and female members of the Union tutored men and women in design, bookbinding and metalwork. Phoebe Traquair proposed design classes in 1887. Annie Macleod joined her to teach 'artistic' binding in Industrial Classes. They developed the distinctive 'Edinburgh' style of bookbinding in untreated calf.<sup>95</sup> A successful application for grants to subsidise the classes enabled the tutors to be paid for their teaching.<sup>96</sup> Their Industrial Classes commenced in the winter session of 1891.<sup>97</sup>

So the combined voluntary, philanthropic and subsidised work of members of the Edinburgh Social Union generated wider participation in Arts and Crafts education and practice. Walter Biggart Blaikie, a manager at the printers and publishers T & A Constable, ran evening classes for a Working Men's Committee. This committee included David Vallance, who, as mentioned above, taught art classes at Heriot Watt College.<sup>98</sup> From 1888 onwards, Blaikie belonged to the Decorative Committee which William Hole (1867-1917) also joined.<sup>99</sup> Blaikie forged crucial links between the binders in T & A Constable, Phoebe Traquair and the women bookbinders in the classes of the Edinburgh Social Union.

The exponential growth of Edinburgh Social Union activities spawned a variety of classes and study groups in the city. Flora Stevenson helped them to obtain the use of School

Board premises and by 1891 applied for grant support from the School Board. Classes advertised in 1891 as 'Classes for the Study and Practice of the Industrial Arts' held in the Dean Studios in Edinburgh overlapped with those advertised in 1895 as 'Technical Classes for the Study and Practice of Industrial Arts' offered by the Scottish Industrial Art Association based at the Outlook Tower at 549 Castlehill, where Patrick Geddes established a School of Art.

Names of Edinburgh Social Union members recur in advertisements for both the Dean Studios and the Scottish Industrial Art Association, who ran classes in Art Embroidery, Bookbinding and Leather Tooling as well as in Photography. Once again, the Committee of the Scottish Industrial Art Association comprised Patrick Geddes, Professor Baldwin Brown, Miss Jane Hay, Mrs Traquair and Mrs Lauder Thomson. The Honorary President of this Committee, David Vallance, had by 1888 become Curator of the Museum of Science and Art. Whether the Association was entirely separate from the Edinburgh Social Union and whether the association ran independently or in concert with Geddes' School of Art is hard to say. Edinburgh Directories show however that 'The Edinburgh Arts and Crafts Club' ran a succession of classes from 1897 to 1914 from the Dean Studios. By 1892, Patrick Geddes took up a position as Professor of Botany at Dundee University.

As a wholesale onslaught on the absence of education, visual and written literacy and 'citizenship', particularly for women, the Edinburgh Social Union and its members added impetus to the education of women, as artists, as illustrators and as craft workers. Its aims were philanthropic and practical and generated a wide range of opportunities for the employment of women, as artists across a range of projects in the city.

## The Old Edinburgh School of Art

James Lawton Wingate (1846-1924) wrote to Patrick Geddes at the beginning of November 1891 to ask if there was space in The Outlook Tower, a property central to Geddes' regeneration schemes, to accommodate classes in the Fine Arts.<sup>100</sup> Soon practical art classes and summer schools were held in The Outlook Tower. The art school was called 'The Old Edinburgh School of Art' since it took place in premises in 'Old Edinburgh'. Scottish symbolist arts and crafts artists John Duncan (1866-1945) and Charles Mackie (1862-1920) taught in the new school.

From 1892, when Patrick Geddes took his chair in Dundee University many of the Edinburgh Social Union and School of Art activities appeared to run consecutively in a giddy array of creative classes. A publishing business, Patrick Geddes & Colleagues, grew alongside the complex range of classes, lectures and summer schools. The publishing company produced books by Geddes, his friends and guest lecturers. William Sharp became its editorial manager from 1895-7. He ensured Geddes' publications included works by himself, his alter-ego Fiona MacLeod, his wife Elizabeth and close friends such as Edith Rinder, wife of art critic Frank Rinder.<sup>101</sup>

A female student, Jane Hay (1867-1955) became Secretary to the School. She and Alice Gray designed initial letters for the first issue of a journal produced by Geddes & Colleagues, *The Evergreen: a Northern Seasonal*, first published for Spring 1895.<sup>102</sup> The following issue of the journal included illustrations from Helen Hay, Charles Mackie, Robert Burns, Pittendrigh MacGillivray, AG Sinclair, EA Hornel and James Cadenhead. Female students Nellie Baxter, Marion Mason and Annie Mackie added Celtic ornaments

to head and tail-pieces for a range of articles. For the Summer issue of 1896, artists also included Robert Brough, Andrew Womrath and WG Burn Murdoch. The material concentrated on Celtic themes with strong links to Gaelic culture. The following year, Althea Gyles, Nellie Baxter, Helen Hay and John Duncan designed ornaments for a musical poem *Deidre* a Celtic story with themes common to the Greek legends of Helen of Troy. An emphasis on Celtic themes in these publications shows preoccupations of the time with the Celtic aestheticism already noted in the introduction.<sup>103</sup> Underlying Gaelic and Celtic motifs in artwork and in the publication of the *Evergreen* indicate a rising consciousness in specifically Scottish identity. Artists and writers who took ‘progressive’ attitudes at the time linked personal freedom, the freedom of women and freedom from current definitions of art to their freedom from London-Metropolitan canons of art. This sense of a ‘different’ Celtic culture from limitations of polite British culture provided an alternative way of life to artists in Edinburgh. Issues of the *Evergreen* are testimony to these trends. Celtic themes persisted in subsequent projects and remained a seam embedded in the outlook of Scottish artists. Helen Hay, as Secretary to the School took the initiative to gain employment in book illustration. Simultaneously, she contributed to mural painting for the school. Her involvement in the school depended on art and craft practice, rather than fine-art painting.<sup>104</sup>

Deliberate attempts to involve women as active citizens of Edinburgh made the Edinburgh Social Union significant to the evolution of female consciousness. Girls and women could take part in educational activities. They could take part in design projects across the city. They could meet and develop skills. The Union generated opportunities for women to teach a range of subjects in projects established in the city. Anna Geddes and her contemporaries forged new networks of women to support other women.

## The School of Applied Art

Partly as a consequence of the Edinburgh Congress in 1889 (see p 59 above) the architect Robert Rowand Anderson (1834-1921) wished to develop specialised training for architectural students in Edinburgh.<sup>105</sup> Rowand Anderson trained at the Trustees' Academy in the early 1850s attended Ruskin's lectures in Edinburgh in 1853 and qualified as an architect. In 1882 he attended Trustees' Academy Board meetings as architectural adviser.<sup>106</sup> With the support of members of the Board of Trustees, civil servant WW Robertson, Lord Stormonth Darling, the lithographer-artist George Ogilvie Reid and (by now, familiar power-broker, proprietor of the *Scotsman*) John Ritchie Findlay, Rowand Anderson expedited a plan for a School of Applied Art. The School, initially based in George Street, obtained funding from subscribers and from Edinburgh City Corporation.<sup>107</sup>

The question arose in June 1896 as to whether female students could be admitted to the School of Applied Art. Since the school had been conceived as specialised education for apprentices and draftsmen from building, masonry and architectural practices, its organisers argued they wanted to 'maintain high standards' among its applicants.<sup>108</sup> The Board of the School expressed the idea that they might admit women 'who were qualified for admission to the school'.<sup>109</sup> But was logically impossible since women were not part of the gendered practices of building and architecture and received no guidance in science subjects required to qualify.

By 1896, the School of Applied Art ran into financial difficulties as Edinburgh Corporation withdrew its funding. Rowand Anderson defended the aims of the school by criticising the South Kensington examination system noting that its London-based bias encouraged high



dropout rates from the courses provided.<sup>110</sup> One solution to the educational and financial needs of the School of Applied Art included proposals for a merger with the Trustees' School or with Heriot Watt College. By 1901 the Board admitted that changes needed to take place. Latterly the school moved into the premises of the Royal Institution.<sup>111</sup>

### **Edinburgh College of Art**

Supplementary Government funds for technical and manufacturing education in Scotland after Cole's reforms came to Scotland via the Science and Arts Department in London after 1847. Conditions of funding stipulated that women should be admitted to train on equal terms to men. By 1858 the Trustees' Academy took up the grants provided.<sup>112</sup> When Science and Art Education became the responsibility of the Scotch Education Department in 1897, the new Scottish Head of Department, Henry Craik realised that several art institutions in Edinburgh, the Trustees' Academy and the School of Applied Art, in particular, were financially over-stretched. Art education became subject to a number of reviews and reports.

Heriot Watt College art classes were well-subscribed. In fact, they were overcrowded. In 1901 Governors of Heriot Watt discussed an option to extend their premises, 'for permanent use as an art school'.<sup>113</sup> The Governors of Heriot Watt included in their Minutes for 1901 the copy of a Report by WR Lethaby.<sup>114</sup> In his *Report on the Instruction in Art and Craftsmanship in the Heriot Watt College*, Lethaby recorded,

‘The Art Classes at the College are very well attended; indeed they are so crowded that the accommodation is already inadequate, and any expansion in the present rooms is hopeless...[they are] ...small and ill-furnished...gloomy by day and badly lighted by night...’.<sup>115</sup>

Lethaby also noted that,

‘My inspection of the Heriot Watt College and the other Institutions where Art Instruction is given, resulted in the impression that little is being done in Edinburgh to meet modern requirements of artistic craftsmanship, and it seems to me that the whole question of Art and Craft Education in Edinburgh needs serious attention.’<sup>116</sup>

As an Arts and Crafts evangelist Lethaby emphasised the need for more training in design and techniques. He reported that

‘The designing work done at present is very limited in scope and it is influenced by the current affectations which students pass to one another, unless earnest study of nature and fine examples of old Art form correctives...Extended work in design should be undertaken only under the advice of someone having a wide knowledge of the requirements of design...acting under the advice of an expert in design, who would visit the classes and advise as to the best examples to be acquired and suggest new developments.’<sup>117</sup>

Lethaby proposed that art educationalists in Edinburgh needed to connect the functions of industry with the objects that were produced. According to Lethaby - expounding arts and crafts philosophy of relating form to function -

‘Designing is properly an outcome of dealing directly with given materials for certain needs and it can only be taught experimentally in specialised classes’.<sup>118</sup>

He stressed the potential Edinburgh as a source of fruitful research and practice in the art and craft of book production and typography, noting:

'Edinburgh is a great book-producing centre, and it seems most desirable that an attempt should be made to bring technical education of an artistic kind to bear on the whole art of book-production; especially as the modern publisher tends to become an agent rather than an expert on matters of quality...the whole field of book-making should be dealt with – paper-making, type-cutting, printing, bookbinding, illustration and reproductive methods of engraving, lithography, colour printing, etc.'<sup>119</sup>

Lethaby's report assessed Heriot Watt's facilities for art education as Scottish education authorities reviewed the condition of museums and other institutions in Edinburgh. Over the course of the following year, Heriot Watt College proceeded to improve premises for art classes. The Governors also considered accommodating the School of Applied Art whose proposals ultimately failed for a range of reasons.<sup>120</sup>

In 1902, Henry Craik organised a Government Committee to review Art Education in Scotland. R Anning Bell produced a further Government review of Heriot Watt Art Classes in March 1903, which proved encouraging.<sup>121</sup> *A Report of the Departmental Committee appointed by the Secretary for Scotland to enquire into the Duties of the Board of Manufacturers and the administration of grants made by Parliament for purposes of Art in Education* precipitated a further report signed by Anning Bell in 1903.<sup>122</sup> It contained a range of observations about art institutions in Scotland, their staff and their conditions of pay. Anning Bell agreed with Henry Craik that Glasgow School of Art provided a model for art education at the time.

By April 1904 James Pittendrigh Macgillivray (1856-1938) proposed that a 'Provisional Committee for a Municipal School of Art' should convene. This led to the establishment of a Provisional Committee for a Municipal Art School in July 1906. After extensive consultations between members of The Trustees' Academy, The RSA, Heriot Watt College, the School of Applied Art, The National Portrait Gallery, Museum of Antiquities and the Royal Society of Edinburgh, a new initiative occurred. Edinburgh Town Council became responsible for a project to provide art classes in a new Edinburgh College of Art. The *National Galleries Bill* of 1907 separated off the museological functions of Galleries. Edinburgh College of Art absorbed and incorporated the Trustees' School, the School of Applied Art and subsequently, in 1911 also the RSA school. It also took over the main functions of Heriot Watt College art classes. From October 1907 Frank Morley Fletcher became Principal of Edinburgh College of Art and the new college began its first term in 1908.<sup>123</sup>

A new amalgamated Edinburgh College of Art still depended on financial support from Heriot's Trust. Although conceived as separate from Heriot Watt, Edinburgh College of Art submitted their annual reports to the Governors of Heriot Watt Trust.<sup>124</sup> Reciprocal arrangements for art and printing classes between the Art College and Heriot Watt College printing department existed from the outset. The Board of Manufacturers Committees for the Trustees' School and the School of Applied Art dissolved. Board Members appointed by Edinburgh City Town Council took over responsibility for the new Edinburgh College of Art. Heriot Watt College retained its Governing Body but not its Art Department.

Edinburgh College of Art included new appointments (e.g. Morley Fletcher and Mabel Royds, see below) but employed several teachers from the School of Applied Art (e.g.

William Black). An early group photograph (**Fig. 2.7**) shows that from the beginning Edinburgh College of Art employed female staff. However, the number of men greatly outnumbered women on the staff. Status and terms of pay remained higher for men than for women.

Women joined the Board of Edinburgh College of Art from its inception. Lady Steel of the Edinburgh School Board (1908-9), the wife of an Edinburgh merchant, Louisa Gulland (1909-14) and Mrs Leslie Mackenzie of Heriot's Trust (1910-11) were early representatives. The number of female Board members never gained equivalence with the numbers of male members. Nor were female members always elected. Female representation was intermittent. In later years Councillor Mrs Millar (1920) was succeeded by Councillor Mrs Somerville (1922-3). But there were hiatuses. Between 1923 and 1939 there were no female Board members. The College then elected Agnes Harrison and Mrs Woodburn (1939), Mrs AE Haswell Miller (1940-1) and Councillor Mrs Stobie (1943-4).

In theory the college instituted a new curriculum for students of both sexes (see also Chapter Five). The first official *Reports* by the Board of Management of Edinburgh College of Art to the Governors of the Heriot Watt Trust from 1908 to 1914 gave cumulated, undifferentiated, male and female attendance figures (see Appendix 2, Table 4). An influx of fourteen female needlework students from Atholl Crescent appear the *Report* for 1912. Nevertheless, undifferentiated figures indicate a steady overall male and female attendance at day and evening classes of more than 800 students per year until 1914. The method of presenting undifferentiated attendances suggests that college authorities did not wish to differentiate between male and female attendances. Figures from Table 4 however indicate the interruption of normal recording patterns due to the First World War.

Figures in *Reports* from 1915 to 1924 subsequently accounted more precisely for female and male attendances at Edinburgh College of Art. The figures in Appendix 2, Table 5 from 1915 to 1924 (ending available figures) itemised day and evening class attendances for men and women and also accounted for the enrolment of men as Printing Trade Apprentices in 1918 and for Teacher Training from 1919 onwards. Numbers of female students considerably exceeded the number of men in evening classes until the end of World War I. From 1914-1917 male attendances at evening classes were much lower than female attendance and declined over three years. But after 1918, figures reflect the forcible efforts to re-accommodate demobilised soldiers after the war.

On the one hand, the years of the war raised levels of female participation in training and hence their skills. The overall ratios of women to men in both day and evening art classes at Edinburgh College of Art are much higher compared to those for Heriot Watt College classes as a whole (as in Appendix 2, Table 3). Whether this indicates class differences between *men* at Heriot Watt College and the Art College is difficult to say; but it seems likely that more working class men attended classes at Heriot Watt College than Edinburgh College of Art.

## Summary

Nineteenth century art educationalists acknowledged the issue of female emancipation. To some extent they accommodated women's participation in training in the art. Ultimately some women might reach professional status. Meanwhile social and political commentators argued for extensions of the voting franchise.

Simultaneously, traditional attitudes in Edinburgh meant that powerful trade and professional practices maintained a significant hold on the way work, status, apprenticeships and training were distributed. Differences between private and public classes tended to obscure privately educated women, while public classes *might* lead to jobs for women beyond training. But little evidence of this is available to show that those trained actually continued to practice as artists. The process of including women in policymaking, in public roles or at higher levels of professional education and practice was at best slow at Government level.

Uncompromising campaigners like Mary Burton and Flora Stevenson made less impact on the statistical increase of women in education than one might have anticipated. Less formal networks in the Edinburgh Social Union nevertheless made significant social and political changes to some sectors of the Edinburgh population in treating women as equals. They offered women roles as practising artists and teachers in self-generated initiatives. They created opportunities for post-school students to consider higher education in practical social and technical skills.

Heriot Watt College, although maintaining a reputation for progressive popularity, provided only limited higher education for women in Edinburgh. Throughout the nineteenth century,

Heriot Watt College management failed to promote or employ its own female students to higher or paid positions as teachers in the arts. By contrast, Edinburgh College of Art offered the prospect that women might, as they had been in the Trustees' School, accredited teachers of art. Edinburgh College of Art appointed female Board members. Yet as in Heriot Watt College, female Board Members for Edinburgh College of Art were significantly out-numbered. And Edinburgh College of Art also deferred to the Governors of Heriot Watt College.

---

<sup>1</sup> Mary Burton, 'Art and Teaching in Elementary Schools', in G Baldwin Brown (Ed), *Transactions of the National Association for the Advancement of Art and its Application to Industry, Edinburgh Meeting* [1889], Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1890, p 438

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p 17

<sup>3</sup> Mary Burton (a keen amateur watercolour painter) took an active role in the development of education for women in Edinburgh and at Heriot Watt College. I am very grateful to Ann Jones, Archivist at Heriot Watt University, for allowing me access to information from a draft article written in October 2000 and for references and illustrations from the article from *The Young Woman*, see Note 17 informed her public role in education and the arts

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p 442

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p 50

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p 193 and p 202

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p 266

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p 263

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p 466

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p 211

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p 466

<sup>12</sup> Deborah Cherry, *Painting Women: Victorian Women Artists*, Routledge, London/New York, 1993, p 53

<sup>13</sup> Lindsay Paterson, *The Autonomy of Modern Scotland*, see pp 66-70

<sup>14</sup> Relating to the Education Act of 1496 and the Calvinist programmes of educational reform based on John Knox, *The First Book of Discipline* of 1559, and the traditional privileges of the scriptural and sacerdotal roles of Biblical doctrines

<sup>15</sup> As shown from images presented by Dr Jonquil Bevan at a Conference on Material Cultures held in the University of Edinburgh in August 2000. Richard Gameson has also discussed the significance of the role of the book to Scottish Queen Margaret Canmore in 'The Gospels of Margaret of Scotland and the literacy of an eleventh-century Queen' in Lesley Smith and Jane Taylor (Eds), *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence*, British Library/Toronto University Press, London/Toronto, 1997

<sup>16</sup> Helen Ross, bookbinder, cited in William Smith Mitchell, *A History of Scottish Bookbinding 1432-1650*, Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh, 1955, p 19

Esther Inglis, as discussed by Margaret Macaulay, 'Esther Inglis', *Scottish Book Collector*, 5/9, Summer 1997 and Dorothy Judd Jackson, *Esther Inglis*, Spiral Press, New York, 1937

Esther Inglis and Maria Weir are noted in Marianne Tidcombe, *Women Bookbinders 1880-1920*, British Library/Oak Knoll Press, London/New Castle USA, 1996, p 17

The Scottish Book Trade Index also notes the passing of burgess rights, Katharine Ker inherited her husband's bookselling business in 1572; Elizabeth Buchanan, daughter of a bookbinder married Robert Allan of Edinburgh, 1624; the widow Margaret Anderson inherited her husband's Royal Patent, 1701

<sup>17</sup> Elizabeth Sanderson, *Women and Work in Eighteenth Century Edinburgh*, Macmillan, Basingstoke, 1996;



---

GH Bushnell, *Scottish Engravers, A Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Engravers and Engravers who worked in Scotland at the beginning of the nineteenth century*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1949 mentions the work of Frances Legat (1755-1809) who engraved designs by an Agnes Berry to produce book plates for Anna Damer; Elizabeth Blackwell (fl 1710-1774) produced 500 copper-plate engravings for her husband and doctor's work, *A Curious Herbal*; Elizabeth, Duchess of Sutherland (1765-1839) is described as a painter-etcher, for illustrations to her book *Views of Orkney*; Elizabeth Reynolds (fl 1818-1850), daughter of mezzotint artist. Stanley Cursiter also refers to Mrs Anne Forbes (1745-1843) as the grand-daughter of artist and engraver William Aikman, *Scottish Art to the close of the Nineteenth Century*, Harrap, London, 1949

<sup>18</sup> Sarah A Tooley, 'A Slum Landlady', an interview with Miss Mary Hill Burton, *The Young Woman*, 2, 41, 1896, p 165

<sup>19</sup> For example the writer John Stuart Mill and the politician Duncan MacLaren and in Edinburgh the Rev Charteris

<sup>20</sup> See Mary Woollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*, 1796; John Stuart Mill – assisted by Harriet Hosmer, *The Subjection of Women*, 1869

<sup>21</sup> For biographical details see Mrs Stuart Erskine (Ed), *Anna Jameson: Letters and Friendships 1812-60*, T Fisher Unwin, London, 1915; Jameson was the eldest of five daughters and worked from the age of sixteen as a governess until her marriage to barrister Robert Jameson in 1820. When the marriage failed, she needed to write for a living.

<sup>22</sup> Anna Jameson, *Sisters of Charity and the Communion of Labour: Two Lectures on the Social Employment of Women*, Longman, London, (1E 1955), 1859, p lii

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p 62

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> Anna Jameson's works included: *The Diary of an Enuyée*, 1823; *The Lives of the Poets and Celebrated Sovereigns*, 1825; *Characteristics of Women: Moral, Poetical, Historical* (2 Vols) Saunders, Otley, London, 1832; *Sacred and Legendary Art*, Longman, London, 1848; *Legends of the Monastic Orders as Represented in the Fine Arts*, Longman, London, 1850

<sup>26</sup> For an account of the Women's Petition published in *The Athenaeum*, 30 April 1859, signed by 120 women including Jameson, see Deborah Cherry, *Painting Women*, op. cit., p 224

<sup>27</sup> Jameson, *Sisters of Charity*, op. cit., p 49

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p viii

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p 29

<sup>30</sup> For further information on Amelia Paton Hill, see Janice Helland, *Professional Women Painters*, op. cit.; for reproductions and information on Hill and Adamson, see John Gray, (commentary by Andrew Elliott) *Calotypes by DO Hill and R Adamson, Illustrating an Early Stage in the Development of Photography*, Printed for Private Circulation, Constable, Edinburgh, 1928, pp 21-3 and Edinburgh Public Library, Edinburgh Room, Calotypes of DO Hill and R Adamson

<sup>31</sup> Cited in Nicholas Pearson, *The State and the Visual Arts: a Discussion of State Intervention in the Visual Arts in Britain 1760-1981*, The Open University Press, Milton Keynes, 1982, p 19; William Ewart became Liberal MP for Dumfries Burghs 1841-1868

<sup>32</sup> The foundation of schools for women such as the Merchant Maiden Hospital founded by Mary Erskine was originally a plan to care for orphans and the destitute, to offer them a means of support and to guide them, through education to work. See Lydia Skinner, *A Family Unbroken 1694-1994: the Mary Erskine Tercentenary History*, John Tuckwell, East Linton, 1994

<sup>33</sup> Sanderson, op. cit.

<sup>34</sup> Lindy Moore, 'Educating for the Women's Sphere: Domestic training versus Intellectual discipline' in Esther Breitenbach and Eleanor Gordon (Eds), *Out of Bounds: Women in Scottish Society 1800-1945*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1992

<sup>35</sup> Olive Checkland, *Philanthropy in Scotland: Social Welfare and the Voluntary Principle*, John Donald, Edinburgh, 1980

<sup>36</sup> NLS Constable Archive: Dep 307: 237, Binder's Wages 1883-1896

<sup>37</sup> cited in Sarah Gillespie, *A Hundred Years of Progress: The Record of the Scottish Typographical Association 1853 to 1952*, Robert Maclehose, Glasgow, 1953, p 102

<sup>38</sup> Sian Reynolds, *Britannica's Typesetters*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1989

<sup>39</sup> Sarah C Gillespie, op. cit., pp 101-116; see also Jane Lewis, *Women in England 1870-1950: Sexual Divisions and Social Change*, Wheatsheaf/Indiana Press, Sussex/Bloomington, 1984, p 180

<sup>40</sup> Lettice Milne Rae, *Ladies in Debate: being a History of the Ladies' Edinburgh Debating Society 1865-1935*, Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh/London, 1936

- <sup>41</sup> EPL, Edinburgh Room, *The Attempt*, Vols 1-6, 1865-70, thereafter *The Ladies' Edinburgh Magazine*, Vols 1-6, New Series, 1875-1880
- <sup>42</sup> *The Ladies' Edinburgh Magazine*, 1875, p 185
- <sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 'Engraving on Wood', pp 275-6
- <sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*; also NLS MS 24785-8; 2479344-5; and Linda Mahood, 'Family ties: lady Child Savers and Girls of the Street, in Breitenbach and Gordon, *op. cit.*, note 32
- <sup>45</sup> Reynolds, *op. cit.*, note 35
- <sup>46</sup> Kathleen Burton, *A Memoir of Mrs Crudelius*, Printed for Private Circulation by Miller and Sons, Ancrum House, Edinburgh, 1879, p 49 and p 211
- <sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*; married to historian John Hill Burton, brother of Mary Hill Burton
- <sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p 39; Blyth also gave classes in sewing and cooking for children in the city, as mentioned in the Church of Scotland magazine, *Life and Work*, Vol 1, Jan-Dec, 1879
- <sup>49</sup> Kathleen Burton, *op. cit.*, p 211; lecturers included Professor Masson (Literature); Professor Fraser (Logic and Mental Philosophy), Professor Tait (Experimental Physics), Professor Kelland (Mathematics) and Professor Balfour (Botany)
- <sup>50</sup> Daughter of Professor Masson, see footnote above
- <sup>51</sup> *Op. cit.*, *The Ladies' Edinburgh Magazine*, April 1876, p 100
- <sup>52</sup> Francina Irwin, 'Lady Amateurs and their Masters in Scott's Edinburgh', *Connoisseur*, Dec 1974, pp 230-237, (citation p 237)
- <sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p 230
- <sup>54</sup> The Miss Schetkys, listed in catalogues for the early nineteenth century exhibitions at Core's Lyceum (*op. cit.*), taught Elizabeth and Anne Lindsay, daughters of Lady Balcarres (see Helen Smailes, 'A Genteel Academy: the Edinburgh Drawing Institution 1825-36', *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, NS 4, 1997, p 33.). These exhibitions also included works from the Nasmyth sisters, who as Stanley Cursiter recorded in *Scottish Art to the Close of the Nineteenth Century*, Harrap, London, 1949, p 40, were taught by their father who 'instructed his daughters in art, they undertook the conduct of art classes which Nasmyth supervised...'. Germaine Greer has named the Nasmyth daughters: Jane (1788-1867), Margaret (1791-1869), Elizabeth (1793-1863), Anne (1798-1874) and Charlotte (1804-1884), and has noted the competence of the eldest, Jane, in *The Obstacle Race*, *op. cit.*, pp 19-20
- <sup>55</sup> Smailes, *op. cit.*, p 37
- <sup>56</sup> Patricia Brookes, *The Trustees' Academy, Edinburgh 1760-1801: the Public Patronage of Art and Design in the Scottish Enlightenment*, Syracuse Humanities Department, Unpublished Dissertation, 1979
- <sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p 152
- <sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p 162
- <sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p 202, as in the Trustees' Minutes, NG 1/1/30, 26 June 1799
- <sup>60</sup> Francis Fowle, 'The Changing Functions of the Royal Institution' in *Journal of the Scottish Society for Art History*, 4, 1999, pp 27-33
- <sup>61</sup> Esme Gordon, *The Royal Scottish Academy of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture 1826-1976*, Skilton, Edinburgh, 1976. The author explains that after the Union of 1707, the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, founded in 1709, distributed funds for educational development in Scotland. When the Board of Manufacturers became the main agency to distribute these funds in 1727, one eventual outcome of the disbursements was the establishment of the Trustees' Academy in 1760. Records prior to 1818 were destroyed by fire. The Trustees Academy initially occupied premises in Old College, moving to Mint Court in 1790, thence to St James' Square in 1798. They moved to Gallery space in Picardy Place before occupying the premises of the Royal Institution, newly opened by the Board in 1826.
- <sup>62</sup> Sir William Allan (1782-1850), Master of the Trustees' Academy 1826-44. Illustrator of the Cadell edition of the Waverley Novels; Thomas Duncan (1807-45) successor to William Allan for one year and Alexander Christie (1807-60), Director of Ornament and Architecture at the Trustees' Academy 1845-60 all assisted the establishment of the School of the living model in 1840, see Joanna Soden, 'The Role of the RSA in Art Education During the Nineteenth Century' in *Journal of the Scottish Society for Art History*, 4, 1999, pp 34-41
- <sup>63</sup> For an account of the establishment of the Female School see Janice Helland, *Professional Women Painters in Nineteenth Century Scotland: Commitment, Friendship, Pleasure*, Ashgate, Aldershot, 2000, p 21; and for the role of Scott Lauder's daughters Helen and Isabella (1839-1918) see also Helland, *ibid.*, p 18
- <sup>64</sup> ECA Archive, 1/1/1, Minute Book of the Board of Manufacturers, Trustees' Academy School of Art Committee, 21 January 1869 to 9 January 1903
- <sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p 14, January, 1872
- <sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 25, 33, June 1874

- <sup>67</sup> President of the RSA 1864-1876
- <sup>68</sup> Member of the RSA 1850-1901
- <sup>69</sup> ECA Archive, op. cit., p 35
- <sup>70</sup> Ibid., p 55; the Female School moved to York Buildings in Princes Street and subsequently to 127 George Street
- <sup>71</sup> Ibid., pp 49-51; Rowand Anderson subsequently appears in the minutes, discussing his plans for a School of Applied Art, see below
- <sup>72</sup> in Esme Gordon, op. cit., p 154
- <sup>73</sup> Heriot Watt Archive 2/12/1, *Calendar of Syllabus and Lectures of the Watt Institution and School of Arts*, Mould and Tod, Edinburgh 1878, p 18
- <sup>74</sup> Ibid., p 17
- <sup>75</sup> Sarah H Tooley, op. cit., p 164, Note 17
- <sup>76</sup> HWA 2/12/2, Calendar 1879
- <sup>77</sup> HWA 2/12/9 Calendar, 1886-7, p 62
- <sup>78</sup> HWA 2/12/9, Calendar 1886-7, p 99
- <sup>79</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>80</sup> HWA 2/12/11, Calendar 1888-9, p 8
- <sup>81</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>82</sup> HWA 2/12/14, Calendar, 1891-2, p 8
- <sup>83</sup> EPL, Edinburgh Room, *Minutes of the Edinburgh Social Union* op. cit.
- <sup>84</sup> EPL, Edinburgh Room, *Minute Books of the Edinburgh Social Union*, Minute Book 1885-1892, 6 January 1885, pp 1-2
- <sup>85</sup> EPL, Edinburgh Room, *Reports of the Edinburgh Social Union*, 1886ff
- <sup>86</sup> Octavia Hill spoke to the Edinburgh Social Union in person in 1902, op. cit., *Report 1902*
- <sup>87</sup> For a history of Geddes and his schemes, see P Boardman, *The Worlds of Patrick Geddes: Biologist, Town Planner, Re-educator, Peace Warrior*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1978
- <sup>88</sup> Op. cit., *Minutes*, 24 February, 1885; see also books presented to James Court Library 30 October, 1888; purchase of books 27 March, 1889; grant for purchase of books 11 April, 1889 and a note that 'Libraries exist in almost every property' and included donations from the publisher Thomas Nelson
- <sup>89</sup> Op. cit., *Minutes*, 17 February, 1885
- <sup>90</sup> In Mary Burton's Obituary in *The Scotsman* of 22 March, 1909 but also in Sarah Tooley, op cit., pp 164-8
- <sup>91</sup> Held in premises in Leith Walk and Bristo Place between 7.30 and 8.15, a range of classes from Music, to lantern slides to gymnastics were provided, op. cit., *Minutes* 8 December, 1887
- <sup>92</sup> Op. cit., *Minutes*, 17 March, 1885
- <sup>93</sup> Op. cit., *Minutes*, 2 and 30 December, 1886
- <sup>94</sup> A newspaper cutting added to the Minutes, undated (c. September 1885?) records that Miss Oegger and Miss Ritchie ran an exercise class for girls at Bristo Place on Monday evenings between 7.30 and 8.15; Mr Hoyle gave science classes on Tuesdays; needlework from Miss Oegger on Wednesdays; reading and lantern slides from Mrs Nutt on Fridays. Boys received lessons in Leith Walk; they could attend singing lessons on Mondays from Mr Peterson, organist of Palmerston Place Church; Miss Anstruther took wood carving on Tuesdays, Mr Roland gave musical drill and gymnastics on Wednesdays and on Thursdays, Mr Hoyle once again gave science lessons.
- <sup>95</sup> op. cit., *Minutes*, 10 January, 1886 and 20 March, 1891
- <sup>96</sup> op. cit. *Application for Grant in Aid of the Artistic and Technical Department of the Edinburgh Social Union*, 1890
- <sup>97</sup> op. cit., *Minutes*, 10 January, 1886; and *Proof of Prospectus*, 9 October 1891
- <sup>98</sup> op. cit. *Minutes*, 20 October, 1887
- <sup>99</sup> William Hole (1867-1917), artist, book illustrator, muralist for the National Portrait Gallery – see Helen Smailes, *A Portrait Gallery for Scotland: the Foundation, Architecture and Mural Decoration of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery 1882-1906*, Trustees of the National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1985 – also acted as a nominee for Phoebe Traquair's applications and final acceptance to the RSA
- <sup>100</sup> Geddes Papers, Strathclyde University, 9.51; James Lawton Wingate, born in Glasgow moved to Colinton, a suburb of Edinburgh in 1887; he became President of the Royal Scottish Academy 1919-1924
- <sup>101</sup> For an account of Sharp's contribution, see Elizabeth Sharp, *William Sharp (Fiona MacLeod) A Memoir compiled by his wife Elizabeth Amelia Sharp*, Heinemann, London, 1910, pp 248-60
- <sup>102</sup> Geddes Papers, T GED 8/1/5

---

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., T GED 23/15/4; *Deidre, The Feis Ceoil Prize Cantata, 1897, words by TW Rolleston*, Patrick Geddes & Colleagues at the Outlook Tower, Castlehill, Edinburgh – co-published with MH Gill & Son, E Ponsonby, Dublin

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., Hay's designs for *Lyra Celtica* discussed, T GED 8/1/2

See also T GED 9/201, Hay wrote to Geddes about a frieze for the Edinburgh Room, '...waiting for Mr Cadenhead to put the finishing touches to the second part...Mr Horne and I have consulted and we agree that a conventional design of the City Arms might look very well there...I am anxious to get on with the frieze so as to get one room entirely finished' (8 November, 1898)

<sup>105</sup> For a biographical account of R Rowand Anderson see Sam McKinstry, *Rowand Anderson: The Premier Architect of Scotland*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1991

<sup>106</sup> ECA 1/1/1 *Minute Books of the Board of Manufacturers, Trustees' Academy School of Art Committee*, 21 January 1869 to 9 January 1903, p 35

<sup>107</sup> ECA 1/1/2 *Minute Books of the Board of Manufacturers and Subscribers to the Funds of the School*, 19 July 1892 to 29 July 1901

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., p 6

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., p 66

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., 12 June, 1896

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., 22 May, 1901

<sup>112</sup> RSA H 9 22, Resume given in the *Report by the Departmental Committee to Enquire into the Administration of the Board of Manufacturers*, Vols 1 and 2, HMSO, Neill, 1907

<sup>113</sup> HWA, HWC 1/2/18, *Governor's Minutes*, 1901

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., *Report by WR Lethaby Esq. on Instruction in Art and Craftsmanship in the Heriot Watt College*, to the Right Honourable the Lords of Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, pp 79-82

<sup>115</sup> Ibid., p 79

<sup>116</sup> Ibid., p 81

<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

<sup>120</sup> HWA HWC 1/2/22, *Governor's Minutes*, 1904 pp 120-2 reveal that the School of Applied Art approached Heriot Watt College for support; considerations were made of proposals, but not acknowledged by the School of Applied Art in February 1902; by July, it appears that Heriot Watt College obtained grants from the Town Council previously awarded to the School of Applied Art and thereafter the School of Applied Art did not follow up any previous proposals; in addition Henry Craik overruled any decision to amalgamate the two institutions

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., Appendix – *Report on the Art Classes in the Heriot Watt College by Mr R Anning Bell*, 26 March, 1903 pp 74-

<sup>122</sup> HWA HWC 1/2/23 *Governor's Minutes*, 1905, pp 1-18. It appears from the text of this second report that Henry Craik opposed the idea that Heriot Watt College should become responsible for all Art Education in Edinburgh, Ibid., p 16

<sup>123</sup> Scott Lawrie, *Edinburgh College of Art 1904-1969: a Study in Institutional History*, Unpublished Thesis, ECA/HWU, May 1996

<sup>124</sup> HWA HWC 1/3/3 1908-9 et. seq., to 1924



## **CHAPTER 3:**

### **UNCONVENTIONAL SPACES AND INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS<sup>1</sup>**

'International exhibitions were one of the first and most effective cultural arenas in which women expressed their misgivings with established patriarchy. They provided one of the few places where women could exert influence, due mainly to the fact that they comprised fifty per cent of the audience. Their inevitable inclusion as consumers meant they had a certain power of veto, which afforded them consideration. Moreover, because of their claims to encyclopaedic coverage of world culture, exhibitions could not easily exclude women in the way other institutions continually did. As feminist activity grew in scope toward the end of the nineteenth century the exhibitions increasingly became a focus of interest as centres of possible activity for women.'<sup>2</sup>

#### **Context**

A number of international exhibitions took place in Europe, America and Russia during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Exhibitions developed economic, industrial and commercial interests. Artists and designers worked with industrialists to develop the functional and aesthetic needs of growing markets.<sup>3</sup> If women had a specific role 'as consumers' as noted by Greenhalgh above, it was supplementary to, and much smaller in scale than the consumption of goods by the opposite sex. Men bought and sold industrial machinery for macro-economies. Women bought and sold crafted objects, clothes and domestic wares. Consumerism functioned according to gendered interests. But the presence of women at international exhibitions was less important for their powers of consumption than for their ability to generate interest at the event and to become part of the spectacle.

International exhibitions enabled women to become self-conscious cultural producers and cultural consumers in shared markets. For artists, the temporary, experimental,

international industrial exhibitions of the period formed lively alternative sites from the specialised rooms of established academies. Women artists organised, entered and used a new locus to exhibit their pictures without the conventional selective processes of formal academies. Women could, however, dispassionately assess objects made by men in contrast to their own work. They obtained access to, and witnessed the scale and scope of, industrial technology. Intellectual exchange, scientific debate, the transmission and reception of images moved from a private to a public domain. Women artists could also present their work to popular audiences as exhibits or for sale. Women joined a public constituency who gained otherwise restricted privileges of the enjoyment, scrutiny and evaluation of art, craft and industry.<sup>4</sup>

International exhibitions needed popular participation. They were designed to be popular for host nations and for visitors from other countries. They required new, specially designed sites and buildings, fine art exhibitions, demonstrations of technology, sales of manufactures and craft objects. Patently commercial, international exhibitions extended the marketplace. They brought together high and low art. They provided spectacular events for connoisseurs, innovators and the public. Moreover they created an atmosphere of *fête champêtre*, carnival celebration and pageant, the potential for rumpus and ructions as well as for steady commerce.<sup>5</sup>

Exhibition authorities emphasised the respectably serious aspects of the events. They presented a public face that established attractions for their patrons and for Government support. The authorities and organisers of Scottish, Irish and English exhibitions emphasised the *educational* function of the events.<sup>6</sup> French authorities presented their exhibitions as opportunities for civic employment of trade workers, as well as for the

critical reception of Fine Art.<sup>7</sup> In Russia, the authorities set a trend for devising systematic categories for the different sections of their exhibitions.<sup>8</sup> Alternatively, organisers in America's large-scale exhibitions conceived a political purpose for their exhibitions, as sites of conciliation, to unite warring states of the whole nation.<sup>9</sup>

Industrial exhibitions precipitated two major effects. Firstly, each country had to turn inwards to define their identity as well as the identities of their host cities in order to clarify local and national interests. Organisers and citizens of different areas had to consider and present what ingenuity and talents they possessed. Secondly, exhibitions forced nations to look outwards, to appeal to international markets, to compare and contrast their own economic conditions and specialised skills with those of others. For nations like Britain, this involved the exhibition and display of objects from their colonies. From one point of view they admired, appreciated and celebrated the visual qualities and technical abilities of artists and craft workers from colonial states. From a currently critical assessment however, they displayed objects greedily plundered and unashamedly accepted or taken from exploited, oppressed peoples.<sup>10</sup>

Exhibitions enabled women to assess their roles as participants in civic and national cultures. This neither exonerated them from being part of the imperial projects of the time, nor from being part of the consumer cycle.<sup>11</sup> But cultural facilitators, women artists and their female colleagues moved out of the protection of conventional milieus, from home and church, into public view and into public spaces, even if those spaces were transitory. These new, secular, trading spaces provided sites in which women discovered for themselves progressive 'modern' identities.



## **The International Exhibition of Industry Science and Art, Edinburgh 1886**

'...since each exhibition is the highest expression of the industrial possibilities and general civilisation of its place and time, a retrospect of the Great Exhibitions from that of London in 1851 to that of Paris in 1878, is seen to involve a retrospect alike of the advances of production and the arts, and of progress in health and education, in social feeling and public life. Nor is an exhibition a landmark of progress merely, but a starting point as well; it is filled not only with the flower of present industry, but with the seed of that of future years...'<sup>12</sup>

The first exhibition in Scotland to provide space for women's exhibits took place at the Edinburgh International Exhibition of Industry, Science and Art in 1886.<sup>13</sup> Separate committees for Edinburgh and London represented the case for women's education and employment. The Women's Committees included Liberal supporters of William Gladstone. Gladstone had been elected as a local Member of Parliament for Midlothian in 1880 and he became Prime Minister in 1886. His proposals for Home Rule in Ireland caused tensions in his own Party between those who supported and those who opposed proposals for separate Irish governing bodies. On May 5, the night before the opening of the Exhibition, the Liberal Association held a major meeting in Goodfellows Hall in Edinburgh to discuss Home Rule.<sup>14</sup> Gladstone had appointed Lord and Lady Aberdeen as Viceroy and Vicereine to Ireland as a tactical placement of Liberal sympathisers. His appointees supported the aims of Home Rule and the Home Rule Association established in 1885. Lady Aberdeen stood on the dais of the Meeting of 5 May, and as will be discussed below, actively promoted Irish interests during the Exhibition in the following months.

Issues of *Blackwoods* and *Chambers'* magazines during 1886 carried extended articles of the history and evolution of Irish politics.<sup>15</sup> The Home Rule Bill permeated essays in the

magazines, as a threat or an opportunity, according to each writer's viewpoint. They made no reference to the International Exhibition in Edinburgh at all. Yet over the duration of the Edinburgh International exhibition from May to November 1886, the cause of Home Rule was fought and lost. The Liberal Government fell to the Conservatives. Meanwhile Liberal radicalism had already shifted the nature of political debate. Parliamentary views changed across the globe as voters became aware of counter-conservative alternatives.

The first issues of *The Socialist* appeared in London in 1886. Socialist riots took place in Chicago. Specifically, in Scotland, the possibility of the alteration of the constitution of Irish Government raised similar proposals for Scotland. By 14 October, Thomas Waddel outlined his proposals for a 'Scottish Home Rule Association'. Those who wished to join were urged to contact the Honorary Secretary Charles Waddie for further information.<sup>16</sup> Historically, class and gender dialectic remained in their infancy, although new concepts of egalitarianism and opposition to a ruling hegemony were in the public domain and it is possible the authorities felt threatened. Working class men and women operated machinery at the exhibition. They witnessed upper-class control at first hand. If they also witnessed inequalities in the treatment of women, male priorities nevertheless prevailed. If the riots at the end of the exhibition indicated the possibility of political unrest, the papers did not record whether it was motivated by Socialist ideals. Rather they attributed it to 'drunken brawling'. As a locus of common experience the exhibition took place at a time of heightened political activity. For women in general, and for artists in particular, they shared and participated in open, new and socially radical spaces. They could meet, discuss ideas and review the state of the arts in areas beyond the limits of the home, church or academy. De-regulated spaces of exhibitions allowed women an insight into the conduct of public events.

## Organisation

'Says Lady Aberdeen, I'm a step below the Queen,

She lives across the Sea and loves you dearly.

I love you just as well, and I've come with you to dwell,

For the paltry sum of 'twenty-thousand yearly.'

(Anon., Popular Irish Rhyme, with thanks to Owen Dudley Edwards, Edinburgh University School of History, October 2001)

The Edinburgh Merchants' Association, an all-male committee, proposed to hold an International Exhibition of Industry, Science and Art in 1884 and soon raised subscriptions and enlisted enthusiastic support from merchants across Scotland.<sup>17</sup> The Merchants requested the patronage of Queen Victoria as Honorary Patron and her son Prince Albert Victor officially opened the exhibition, according to accounts in the national newspapers, in fine weather, on 6 May 1886 (see **Fig. 3.1**).<sup>18</sup> An *Official Guide* provided plans of events (**Fig. 3.2**) and reflected the relative scale and relevance of separate sections. As will be discussed below, the women's exhibition was one of the final areas, crushed into a final corner with the 'Artisans' section.

Patrons of the Exhibition came from the aristocracy, Members of Parliament, the Church of Scotland and the Scottish gentry.<sup>19</sup> The Most Hon the Marquis of Lothian presided over the main Committee of Patrons, assisted by His Grace the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Aberdeen, the Earl of Rosebery, Rev James MacGregor of St Cuthbert's Church and the Lord Provosts of Edinburgh. The hands-on Edinburgh Committee comprised Chairman James Gowans, Conservative Dean of Guild, assisted by Provosts, Councillors and Town Clerks from cities across Scotland. The Secretary, James Marchbank, co-ordinated

Committees for Edinburgh, Glasgow, for an Artisan Section, an Old Edinburgh Section and a Grounds Committee. In all there were seventeen committees.

The Women's Industries Section Committee appeared thirteenth in the list of seventeen committees in the *Official Catalogue*. It was convened by the Duchess of Buccleuch and Queensberry, the Rt Hon the Countess of Rosebery, the Most Hon the Marchioness of Lothian and the Rt Hon the Countess of Aberdeen (see **Fig. 3.3**).<sup>20</sup> Honorary Secretaries for the Edinburgh Committee included Lady Collins (wife of Sir William Collins, the publisher and also a patron), Mrs John Methven (wife of the Grounds Committee Convenor for the Edinburgh Committee, who was also on the Machinery Sub-committee), Mrs McOnie (wife of the Vice President of the Exhibition and Chairman of the Glasgow Committee) and Miss Isabella de Grotte Gowans (daughter of the Chairman of the Edinburgh Committee). Significant connections existed therefore, between members of the main male-convened committees and that of the Women's Committees. The Committee for the Women's Industries Section in Edinburgh included Flora Stevenson, who, as a protagonist for women's rights, supported the educational purpose of this major event.<sup>21</sup> The Edinburgh Committee collaborated with a Committee in London. The London President, Lady Hayter was assisted by the Hon Maud Stanley, Lady Harcourt and Mrs Trevelyan, among others.<sup>22</sup>

The Merchant's Association appointed Mr Hedley, a professional exhibition organiser, as Manager.<sup>23</sup> The main contract for printing and advertising went to T & A Constable. As Her Majesty's Printer in Scotland, Thomas Constable and his company co-ordinated crucial information about the event. Hedley and the London Advertising Agency, AP Watt passed the names of respondents to advertisements in the national newspapers to Constables.

Women employed in Constable's offices dealt with the administration of bookings for the correct allocation of spaces in the exhibition and for related advertisements.<sup>24</sup>

The official printers, T & A Constable booked their own display in the Exhibition at the epicentre of events. They occupied Halls 22-26 as a working office by the Machinery in Motion section a visually significant area in the catalogue and in actuality. They mounted their own exhibitions in the exhibition, and advertised their own role as printers accordingly. As they collated information, they printed it on-site in exhibition space. They printed and reprinted daily information sheets (the Daily Handbills), Official Guides and Official Music Programmes, Art Union Catalogues, Art Union Tickets and admission tickets.<sup>25</sup> Walter Blaikie's friend and writer WE Henley (1849-1903) wrote the text for the French and Dutch Loan Collections illustrated by the artist William Hole.

A separate Printing and Advertising Committee, not privy to the special information held by Constables, occupied space in Hall 8. Convened by Archibald Orrock, Director of a binding company at 4A North Bridge in Edinburgh, Orrock, George Smith and Waterstons of Edinburgh set up a display case of leather and cloth binding.<sup>26</sup> The National Bible Society showed samples of 'Scotch Binding' from their collections, together with specimens of Gaelic, French Greek, early English and Braille Bibles. The Free Church of Scotland submitted printed specimens of Bibles in the Chitonga, Chigoonda and Chinyanja languages together with a display of Bantu farming tools from Nyasaland.

William Collins of Glasgow, Edinburgh and London showed samples of papermaking, bookbinding and pocket books. Maclure and Macdonald of Glasgow demonstrated chromolithographic printing in 24 colours and sold black-and-white reproductions and

engravings. Blackwoods, Chambers, Nelsons as well as Nimmo, Hay and Mitchell Ltd together with Constables also held a bookselling display. Constable's own display in this section included pocket volumes of the American Authors Series published by David Douglas (covers by Elisabeth Gulland, see **Figs 3.8 a, b** and **3.9**), educational books from Rivington's and trade catalogues from E Webb and Sons.<sup>27</sup>

John Bartholomew and Son incorporated exhibits including maps and globes in a separate section on Music and Education in Hall 7. They exhibited in proximity to the Scottish Geographical Society who set out old plans and maps of Edinburgh 'which may suggest to modern Athenians much food for reflection.'<sup>28</sup> The Edinburgh School of Cookery and Domestic Economy also occupied space in Hall 7 as an educational institution.

The 24-man Fine Arts and Loan Section Committee included three members of the RSA, WE Lockhart,<sup>29</sup> John Smart<sup>30</sup> and WD McKay.<sup>31</sup> The section issued a separate *Catalogue of Pictures and Works of Art*, printed by T & A Constable (**Fig. 3.4**) which contained a 'Plan of the Galleries' (**Fig. 3.5**). The art galleries occupied extensive space around the entrance to the event. David Murray and Joseph Henderson joined the committee as practising painters.<sup>32</sup>

Walter Brodie and W Allan Carter convened the Fine Arts and Loan Section Committee while Ralph Richardson, WS, and John Stuart Smith – lawyer and husband of the painter Janet Smith - are also listed as members. The Committee's collections reconstructed some aspects of conventional Academic Exhibitions. Male exhibitors far outnumbered female exhibitors. And yet the selection committee for the Exhibition adopted a more open selection policy than usual for purely academic exhibitions. Women participated in

significantly greater numbers here, showing their works for open display and sale. Nor were exhibitors purely Scottish. Miss Edith Scannell of London, subsequently commissioned to illustrate for Blackie's Publishers exhibited one work.<sup>33</sup>

Local Edinburgh artists seized the opportunity to exhibit. Miss Isabella de Grotte Gowans (of the Women's Industries Section Committee) showed one work, which was not for sale.<sup>34</sup> Christina Ross, her friend and colleague Jessie Dixon Gray and Harriet Warrack also put works on display.<sup>35</sup> Isabella Scott Lauder exhibited 'The Knitting Lesson', the title of which engages with the role of the painter and the role of the arts and crafts artist as a skilled woman.<sup>36</sup> Another female artist, who had studied taught in Glasgow at the Haldane Academy (1872-1881) and subsequently worked independently, Georgina Mossman Greenlees put several works up for sale, (see Appendix 3).<sup>37</sup>

Only two female exhibitors joined 200 male exhibitors in the Photography Room of the Fine Art Section, one, a Mrs Burnaby of London showed 'Winter Views in Switzerland' not for sale, indicating the fashionable popularity of Switzerland as a healthy holiday resort of the time. Mrs Ankorn of Arbroath submitted 'The boss of the Bothy' on sale for two guineas.

If women did not submit photographs for the exhibition there are several possible explanations. It is possible that women resisted the idea that photography was an art form and therefore refused to consider it as a medium for respectable artists. In this sense they may have taken a conventionally conservative attitude to a new medium, wishing 'art' to be 'crafted' and 'hand-made'. However, Scottish artists like David Octavius Hill had, for a long time, encouraged rather than resisted photography as a medium for art. For most

women, reluctant to express political views at this time, it is unlikely any adopted a form of Socialist resistance, or Luddite refusal to adapt to new technology. More feasibly, however, it is likely that because cameras and photography were a highly technical and scientific form of art production, only few women had the resources to invest in photographic equipment.

As a male-dominated form of technology, they would not have been able to gain necessary expertise or training in photography. As noted in Chapter Two, at this time Heriot Watt teaching rested firmly in the hands of male technical staff as a subject related to industrial technology. So women would be unlikely to use photography as a means of expression. Resources and behaviour dictated that few women could take initiatives in this field and therefore ideologically speaking the absence of photographs by women indicated their powerlessness.

However, some women artists showed they were determined to negotiate their place among other professionals. As shown by Janice Helland in *Professional Women Painters in Nineteenth Century Scotland*, women artists encouraged each other to gain professional exposure. Further, women took opportunities where they would not face immediate rejection. In potentially new exhibition spaces they could test untried skills or confirm their expertise.



## Buildings and Events

Organisers chose the eight acres of the West Meadows in Edinburgh for the exhibition site. John James Burnett designed an entrance of classical proportions, decorated with statues of angelic heralds to greet visitors to the main reception area, which reflected Burnett's traditional training in the *École de Beaux Arts* in Paris.<sup>38</sup> The main entrance included Fine Arts and Loan Sections from British, Belgian, French, Dutch and Scottish Collections. A grand organ situated in the main hall also issued regular recitals. A symmetrical exhibition area behind the entrance however, adapted modern methods of steel and glass fabrication to accommodate thirty-four display halls.<sup>39</sup> Meanwhile a bandstand to the North side of the main building formed the venue for a full programme of band music, piping and choral music.

Burnett's designs for Exhibition display halls incorporated a reconstructed Medieval Street, loosely based on Edinburgh's Royal Mile that ran from the Castle to Holyrood Palace. It existed as a separate element, peopled by inhabitants in period costume running shops and display areas. Designed by the politically progressive Sydney Mitchell, the Medieval theme showed his affiliation to the ideas of contemporary arts and crafts designers. It rejected slick symmetrical classicism and revived medieval precedents of honest materials and good craftsmanship.

Paradoxically, the conservative John Gowans, Chairman of the Edinburgh Committee, designed a modern functional home in banded red and yellow bricks, connected by a miniature electric railway, but set slightly apart from, the main building. It included up-to-date sanitation and lighting to form a Model Worker's Home and also reflected 'modern'

needs of the time. There is no evidence that he consulted women in its conception or construction, or elicited their advice on domestic practicalities in any area of the house.

Temperance restaurants stood strategically separate from other 'refreshment halls' to the North of the main building. At night innovative electric lights connected by blue, red and yellow striped streamers – giving the effect of Venetian mooring-poles – lit up the perimeter of the building. Inside the halls, electric light, and the constant operation of machinery created the effect of a new technical dream.

The author of the *Official Catalogue* fleetingly referred to female employees in the printing office of T & A Constable. On the one hand, the sight of working women formed part of the attraction of the spectacle of their working office, as one aspect of the appearance of female bodies and the use of female images in the texts of the exhibition (see below). The sight of working women, however, formed proof to other women that they could achieve employment as skilled craft workers. The catalogue noted, 'When the type is prepared by the compositor...a proof or impression of it is taken and carefully revised by the "reader".'<sup>40</sup> While 'boys' operated the machines, such as the quad demy printing machine designed by Seggie's of Edinburgh, the Wade Arab, Furnival Gripper Platen and the Muller Martini trimming and cutting machine, 'girls' operated the sewing and binding machines. Here women applied their sewing skills to new mechanised operations. Safe in the gendered occupation of sewing, they operated the Smyth Book-sewing machine where,

'...the sheets which were placed on them by a girl, towards the needles and "loopers" which are threaded with the cords or tapes with which the books are sewn...'<sup>41</sup>

The author also noted,

'The part of the printing office where the girls are at work represents the warehouse. They are engaged in hand-folding or in making ready the books for the binders.'<sup>42</sup>

The boys and the girls of the composing room, the press room, the bindery and the warehouse worked together but in different and gendered capacities. In Chapter Four, as is explained, the terms 'boys' and 'girls' indicated the class status of the operatives. The terms were both condescending and complimentary. In condescending manner, they fixed female and male workers in particular, blue-collar, working class roles. Both girls and boys could be exploited by industrialists in their working roles. In complimentary terms, the boys and girls were admired for their application of the work ethic to the benefit of the company and the nation through their honesty and their loyalty to the corporate family.

The exhibition included women in its working spaces. Those spaces, designed to appeal to women and their families, attracted visitors and therefore attracted revenue. All could circulate and absorb the educational functions of the exhibition. Besides the visible proof that Scottish women worked for money and could sustain long hours of hard work, they attracted the gaze of male visitors.

## The Women's Industries Section Catalogue

Representatives of the Women's Industries Section asked Thomas Constable to print their catalogue. A letter from Constable to Hannah Rothschild, American heiress, Countess of Rosebery and a convenor of the Women's Industries Section accounts for the delay in scheduled publication of the Women's Industries booklet. In a letter dated 10 May 1886, four days after the official opening of the exhibition, Constable noted,

'Madam, the manager of the Exhibition has forwarded to us your telegram today enquiring about the proof of the pamphlet on Women's Industries. Owing to some misunderstanding, we had not been informed that we were not to wait for Miss Greenaway's design for the covers, hence the delay.'<sup>43</sup>

A catalogue cover due from Kate Greenaway had not arrived and proofs of the pamphlet remained in draft form. The Women's Industries Catalogue did not have priority in the printing schedule of the printer to the exhibition.

Constable suggested that the female employees of his company reset the material. He commended the finely honed skills of Scottish compasses. He also advised that Elizabeth Gulland, an illustrator who had already completed designs for other books produced by his company, should be asked to complete a cover design for their booklet at short notice. Constable wrote,

'There is one point we would like to bring to the knowledge of your ladyship and the Committee on Women's Industries. The whole of the series of American Authors published by Mr Douglas of Edinburgh and printed by us was put into type by girls, and the covers have also been designed by a young lady of Edinburgh, Miss Elizabeth Gulland, now a pupil of Her Komer's [sic] at Bushey. We believe that Miss Gulland's design of *A Foregone Conclusion*, did more to popularise that series and stimulate its host of imitators than has been appreciated...We would propose that this pamphlet be reset by girls here and that you should apply to Miss

Gulland for a design in the same size that Howell's [author in the American Authors series] novels have been brought out.'<sup>44</sup>

The letter confirms that Constable engaged Elizabeth Gulland as a book illustrator. Her cover illustration appeared accordingly (**Fig. 3.7**). It also confirms the established practice of employing compositors at Constables, and validates information of the scale of women's activities in the printing and publishing industries in Edinburgh as documented by Siân Reynolds.<sup>45</sup>

Thomas Constable declined to expose the terms of employment for women in his company to the Women's Committee. He accepted that the Women's Industries pamphlet would be treated as a matter of urgency. On the one hand his letter indicated his willingness to support the aims of suffragists but on the other it the pamphlet seems to have been given low priority. He wrote,

'We think that possibly such a practical demonstration of women's work would do much to bring the subject under the notice of those who are interested in it...Any details of wages, re paid by us, we should be glad to give the Committee, but not for publication, as they are considerably higher than given by others, our aim being to attract girls who would otherwise try for the overstocked profession of school mistress...We should also like to inform your ladyship that the index of the catalogue was done at great pressure, and in most satisfactory and prompt way by two young ladies, graduates of St Andrew's University.'<sup>46</sup>

The outcome of communications between Hannah Rothschild and Thomas Constable meant that the Women's Industries Section pamphlet ultimately was published. The cover page, as noted in the endpapers was designed by Elizabeth Gulland. Typesetting was made good by Scottish compositors working in Constables. Ultimate responsibility for the publication

was attributed to the publisher David Douglas, as noted the publisher of the American Authors' Series.<sup>47</sup> The official imprint, and the responsibility for the publication taken by David Douglas however, leads one to conclude that women did not maintain the control and direction of the work.

The Women's Industries Section Booklet was not on time. It was, even nominally, taken out of the organiser's hands. Whether this was due to the fact that the women did not understand how to organise and pay for the print work is unclear. It is impossible to say whether this was due to the paternalism of Thomas Constable and David Douglas, whether it was due to their financial support or whether it was a diplomatic move to prevent opposition from others to its contents. Nevertheless, the booklet was and remains a record of committed suffragist activity. It indicated the scale and extent of women's roles in a range of artistic, craft and industrial occupations. It itemised rates of pay, working conditions and forms of work available to women. It noted the conditions of work in the Chromolithographic Studios of Miss Rushton in London; it itemised the prospects for engravers according to Miss King in London and Miss McLaren in Edinburgh.

The booklet also referred to the practice of the illumination of religious works and missals in Italy, where a Mrs Sumervell displayed examples she had made in London. Knitters from the Zetland Isles, from the Isle of Harris as well as from Hawick, Galashiels and Selkirk included their terms of employment. The Women's Printing Society of London gave details of their apprenticeships and conditions, including the training of proof-readers.

The Women's Industries Section included a range of Irish exhibits. Constables agreed to carry and sell stock of *The Women's Industries Section Guide to Irish Exhibits* compiled by

Lady Aberdeen (**Fig 3.6**).<sup>48</sup> Copies of Ben Lindsey's book on *Irish Lace, its Origin and History*, 1886 in support of the Irish Home Arts and Industries, were on sale.<sup>49</sup> The controversial sections of women's industries occupied one of the last exhibition halls, hall 33, close by the Artisans section. The Irish Exhibits formed a politically sensitive display of cultural artefacts from a nation who hoped to gain independence. From one point of view Lady Aberdeen signalled her political support to Irish culture *and* the skills of Irish women who had made many of the artefacts. From another point of view, since the exhibits from Ireland appeared with the 'Women's Industries Section' in the last of the thirty-three exhibition halls, it is possible that Conservative views on Home Rule and female suffrage embarrassed the authorities, who merged them in the 'safe' final area of the exhibition.

To 'contain' both the issues of women's employment and independence therefore, the 'Women's Industries Section' appeared at the end of the exhibition. However, it is possible that conservative organisers of the area achieved exactly the opposite of the effect they intended. Containing women's exhibits and the Irish artefacts simply concentrated both sectors in a more intense political atmosphere than either had anticipated.

## **Elizabeth Gulland, Artist, Printmaker, Illustrator (1857-1934)**

‘I must do everything that satisfies me, and if I feel that it satisfies me, as a piece of my own craftsmanship, there will be some people in the world, if not now, some day, who will enjoy them and what is in them.’

Elizabeth Gulland cited in an obituary, 7 November, 1934<sup>50</sup>

From a variety of images projected in official catalogues printed by Constables for the Edinburgh Exhibition in 1886 it is possible to see how un-named Edinburgh artists – graphic designers - produced detailed, documentary information. Ruskin’s visit to Edinburgh in 1853 had lasting effects.<sup>51</sup> The protean effect of his extensive writing and painting, as well as his support for ‘eternal truths’ of Biblical Christianity with its ‘clear and intelligible illustrations’ ensured art students were immersed in his opinions. His views about models of Classicism in *The Stones of Venice* remained central to discussions at the Congress of the National Association for the Advancement of Art and its Application to Industry held in Edinburgh in 1889 (see Chapter Two).<sup>52</sup> Elizabeth Gulland attended to Ruskinian concerns.

Elizabeth Gulland qualified as an artist from the Trustees’ Academy and therefore had suitable credentials as an illustrator for books in the Edinburgh International Exhibition of 1886. Daughter of a woollen merchant and draper, also a JP in Edinburgh, she attended Mary Erskine’s School, and then studied at the Trustees’ Academy in 1874-8. Subsequently she advertised as a practising artist in the *Edinburgh Directories* of 1878 to 1885.<sup>53</sup> Close relatives of Gulland were actively involved in Liberal politics in the city. Their broad-minded radicalism supported female suffrage and equality of the sexes. Her education testified to their beliefs.



By 1885, Constables' Cashbook noted a four-guinea fee to Miss Gulland each month from January to March; subsequently for the months of April to October her fee was £8.7.2d.<sup>54</sup> Payments to Gulland were not itemised according to the titles of the books or artwork completed. Her covers for David Douglas' American Authors' series formed one spate of her work in Edinburgh (see above pp 115-6, **Fig 3.8 a & b**, see also **Fig 9**). One such American Author, the author of *A Foregone Conclusion*, WD Howells (1837-1920), was a colleague and friend of Henry James. Fashionable at the time, Howells edited the American magazine *Atlantic Monthly* and consciously wrote for women readers.<sup>55</sup> Gulland therefore illustrated books intentionally written and designed to appeal and sell to the growing constituencies of female readers.<sup>56</sup>

Gulland repeated a motif of a single female tambourine-player as part of a cartouche surrounded by decorative foliage in her designs for the American Authors series. The projection of foliage and 'nature' reflected prevailing ideas of the significance of nature to art, and presaged later art nouveau designs. Ruskin identified the importance of 'organic form' to design, and noted 'the less of nature ... [a design]...contains, the more degraded is the ornament'.<sup>57</sup> The single female figure of the cover can be interpreted in ideological terms as a signifier of female individualism as well as a representative of more radical symbol of the independent-minded gypsy figure, part of nature, and evocative of the free and travelling woman who recurs in other contexts in Scottish images (see below, the Waterstone sisters **Fig. 5.22 a** and Wendy Wood for example<sup>58</sup>).

But Gulland was not simply an individualist. The irony is that, at that time to have radical views about personal and financial freedom, as a woman, meant that people treated you as an eccentric individualist. To want freedom from convention meant breaking away from

normative behaviour. Gulland expressly wanted female suffrage and joined the Labour party after she left Edinburgh. If she expressed egalitarian views, she nevertheless remained unusual and therefore isolated.

Gulland's cover for *A Foregone Conclusion* by WD Howells in the American Authors series (**Fig. 3.8a**) reproduced a view of Venice and showed that the action of the story unfolded there. She provided a descriptive, literal, narrative illustration for the narrative in the book. Similarly, for *Their Wedding Journey* (**Fig. 3.8b**) since the central characters visited North America and Canada for their honeymoon, Gulland inset a narrative picture of Niagra Falls. The graphic linear illustration of Niagra as a site of wild nature supplements the organic motifs of the cartouche. Her work is descriptive rather than expressive. She worked close to the brief she was given. So she responded to the utilitarian requirements of the publishers. But she became involved in literature for women, about new worlds of travel and adventure. And simultaneously as a trained woman artist she was available to take the initiative to decorate issues of new paperbacks.

While she lived in Edinburgh Gulland completed another major project for a complete series of drawings and layouts for a celebration booklet for the visit of Queen Victoria to the Edinburgh International Exhibition for 18 August, 1886 (**Fig. 3.10**). The booklet for Queen Victoria's visit to the Edinburgh Exhibition was a series of images not only of the Queen, but also her subjects and the major Royal Castles and Palaces of Scotland. The twelve-page booklet combined gold-die sinking with red cartouches and vignettes for the illustrations. Text appeared in blue ink. A graphic image of the Queen placed her as an iconic portrait on the front cover of the booklet. Above the portrait that resembled a miniature of the Queen, Gulland set an image of the main exhibition building, as a design

within a design. A scroll, in *trompe d'oeil* manner, served as an area to inset the title of 'The Queen's Visit, Edinburgh 1886'. Beside the vignette of Victoria stood the figure of an Archer, representing the Queen's Bodyguard in Scotland.

The title verso memorialised the late Prince Albert, showing the image of the King on his horse. A panoramic view of Princes Street, the Scott memorial and a Piper on the battlements of Edinburgh Castle formed a background for a page to itemise the events of the morning of the Queen's visit (**Fig. 3.11**). Further pages illustrate Mary Queen of Scots against a background of the buildings of Holyrood Castle, Holyrood Abbey and Arthur's Seat. A page-by-page record documented how the Queen would proceed from Holyrood to the exhibition where she would arrive at 4.00 p.m. One of the pages includes an inset image of James VI of Scotland (I of England) into an image of Edinburgh Castle. Gulland presented popular, if stereotypical and *clichéd* views of Abbotsford and Burns' cottage to face vignettes of well-known Scottish figures, the author Sir Walter Scott and the poet Robert Burns.

Subsequently, a double-page spread illustrated a Newhaven fish girl, a favourite subject for Edinburgh artists (**Fig. 3.12**). The image of the fishing girl recurred in many forms in Scottish art and photography, but, as used by women artists, the projection of working women by professional women artists was charged with the realisation of shared experience and purposes. Janice Helland has pointed to the overtones of the motif of Newhaven fish girls in the works of women artists such as Mary Cameron and Jessie Gray.<sup>59</sup> According to Helland, Mary Burton explained in a lecture delivered in 1877 how a Newhaven fishwife demonstrated the 'compatibility of beauty with labour'.<sup>60</sup> I would suggest that Gulland's depiction of a fishing girl is not arbitrary.

As independent, industrious, skilled, wage-earning women, the Newhaven women were potent images, not only of industrious individuals, but also of women as a collective workforce, significant to civic communities in Edinburgh. As such, Gulland's image may be read as a feminist statement of solidarity with other working women. If this is a personal interpretation of her image, overwritten by subsequent feminist ideology, it is also possible that the image requires this interpretation.

Gulland's father refused to allow her to marry a hunch-backed cousin. If the image of the fisher-girl evokes a sense of leave-taking and loss as the solitary figure turns her face from the viewer, it is possible that Gulland unconsciously portrayed her own fractured relationship. If the image conveys the woman's sense of freedom, of the livid smells of the sea, I may be elaborating on Gulland's intentions. But in the absence of written explanations, since the single figure of the girl is placed opposite that of the man, I read the presentation of these images as deliberate. It is possible that, as single figures, both represent forms of isolation, broken by Calvinist restraints from any relationship. If the images are not explicitly Socialist – and the artist left no record to explain her intentions – nevertheless they are representatives of Scottish working people. In tune with 'social realist' trends in art of the period, they can be seen as representatives of the collective forces of the Scottish working life. Whether this is Socialist at root, or presages Socialist ideals of solidarity, it has common connections with religious and romantic ideals of working people as the 'Salt of the Earth'. Since Gulland grew up among relatives with strong Liberal views, at this stage in her life, her views of the working relationship between women and men are still being formulated.

The Newhaven girl involves the gesture of a woman 'turning away'. It had precedents in other romantic images, as in the image of 'Iphigenia' painted in 1871 by Anselm Feuerbach (1829-1880). The subject of Iphigenia drew from Greek mythology. According to some versions of the myth, Iphigenia, the daughter of Clytemnestra and Agamemnon was sacrificed to appease the goddess Artemis in order to save Agamemnon's becalmed Trojan ships. Her sacrifice saved the ships. Some versions of the story however, allowed Artemis to be moved by Iphigenia's grief to such an extent that the Goddess spared her and took her to become a priestess in Taurus. By association, the images reinforce a concept of female solidarity, resistance and sacrifice. Because the face of the woman is turned away, the sense of her frustrated hopes, personal hardship, danger, tragedy and loss also remain.

The image of the fishing girl may just be a literal image. The fisherman who faces her may be just any Scottish crofter, his back turned on the Bass Rock (familiar to many along the East Coast of Scotland) simply a documentary portrait. Alternatively it could be a reminder that working class women and men sought the franchise to vote. The sense of a narrative thread underlying the actual information about Queen Victoria's visit, however, seems to show that the artist intended to convey more than plain illustrations of ordinary people and objects in Scotland and wove a personal narrative of her fractured relationship with a broken engagement with her fiancé. The figures have a Calvinist simplicity. Or they could be Socialist icons of working figures. What mattered to Gulland, was, I propose, the fact that her father had forbidden her to marry a hunch-backed cousin. Whether her father used the argument of propinquity to prevent their marriage, or whether he simply disliked any potential son-in-law is now impossible to say. However, I read a sense of isolation and difficulty for both figures. Consciously or unconsciously, Gulland appears to show that the individual figures work in a solitary way.

Beyond the concerns of ideology, the problem of a problematic relationship seems to override their images. Given Gulland's situation at this time, it is possible to over-write her images with meanings they do not have. However, since women artists wove the fabric of their lives into their images, the pictures are left open to this interpretation.

Gulland designed the booklet and the series of illustrations in it as a popular memento. It was repeatable, informative and disposable. It proved, however, her skill as a narrative illustrator. Employing professional skills, using 'tricks of the trade', perspective, cartouches, *trompe l'oeil* techniques advertised her repertoire and her commitment as a professional artist.

Besides producing designs for the booklet of Queen Victoria's visit Gulland produced cover material for the Women's Industries Section booklet. The booklet recorded,

'The pamphlet is itself a specimen of women's work. The type has been set and the cover has been designed by women. The pamphlet is uniform with the well-known pocket series of American Authors published by Mr David Douglas of Edinburgh. Most of the covers of the series have been designed by the same artist, Miss ELIZABETH GULLAND, and the type of all has been set up by women in the Printing Office of Messrs CONSTABLE, Edinburgh.'<sup>61</sup>

For this cover, she used a characteristically fine graphic line to illustrate two female figures, possibly to identify Scotia as a standing figure, and Erin, seated. Here Gulland was involved in a project that involved women actively seeking recognition as workers and professionals. The back cover illustration of needles and skeins of wool represented some

of the tools of female trades. She represents the gendered occupations of women. But at the same time she could testify to her own convictions on the emancipation of women.<sup>62</sup>

Preparing one formal booklet for Queen Victoria's visit and another for the Women's Industries Section may have helped Gulland to crystallise her ideas about the political potential of women. Female solidarity ranged from Queen Victoria's own donations to the Women's Industries section to the work of women artists and lacemakers, to women who worked on the printing machines, as a curious combination of contrasting 'class' associations. In general however, hierarchical organisation imposed itself on the whole exhibition process. Alternatively the exhibition opened up entirely different and contrasting possibilities. Forces opposed to hierarchical convention, groups of women, groups who were not conservative, could associate freely. Instead of imprinting and reinforcing social structures the exhibition, the exhibition enabled counter-cultural groups to associate.

By 1887, a bookplate designed by Gulland, showed an image of a woman, clad in conventional Calvinist clothing (similar to Mary Burton see Figs. 2.1 & 2). Clouds and a castle – similar to Edinburgh Castle – dominate the horizon. The emphasis of the picture alters between the dominant castle, in fine lines in the background, and the solitary female figure, in heavy solid black in the foreground. A fence breaks the perspective between background and foreground, containing the seated female figure as she reads a book. A curtain-like tree appears in the top right corner as if to counter-balance the lower left hand area. The book, a sign of learning, is held up to show the words 'Votes for Women' and thus the bookplate becomes an explicit statement of suffragist propaganda. According to Gulland's later bequests, she was a dedicated vegan and animal-lover. So, incidentally, the

greyhound beside the seated figure adds a personal reference to the significance of animals in her life.

On the one hand the image is only a small book-plate for personal use. It is a private statement of the artist to herself. It is curious combination of conventional line drawing inset into a more formally designed border connecting motifs of stylised birds that suggest Gulland's dedication to freedom and art as well as to her own literal 'flight' from Scotland and her fondness for birds. The thistles indicate her Scottish roots. The small bookplate however shows that Gulland also confronted major, public issues.

This small personal statement about the necessity of votes for women, made in 1887, expresses the artist's conviction and belief in the wider political forum, and the necessity of purposeful work for women. As a woman who had worked to commission, she left Edinburgh and continued to study and teach at Herkomer's Art School in Bushey. She continued her engagement in a professional working life as an artist and also attended Labour Party meetings as a politically emancipated woman. She remained unmarried.



## Corporate Images

The printing and publishing activities of Constables shaped corporate images for the Edinburgh International Exhibition of Industry, Science and Art in Edinburgh in 1886. They produced ephemera, catalogues and disposable records for a temporary and transitory event. The typographic style and arrangement of the texts were functional and documentary. Supplementary guides were not conceived entirely as artefacts. They were disposable paperback publications. Their initial functional purpose to inform and guide visitors over the exhibition for a limited time of six months might lead one to believe that they are secondary materials. But they now form primary records of the civic activities of a specific period. They chart the anatomy Scottish society brought together in the capital city. They trace the status of patrons, organisers, committees and contributors. They provide a corporate picture of contemporary activities, interests and objects. Most of all however, they projected images of women at work, in the cover illustrations of the catalogues as well as in the stands and audiences of the event.

It is impossible to attribute a series of images of Athena in exhibition catalogues to Elizabeth Gulland, as no signatures appear on the designs and no evidence appears elsewhere, although the design style of the illustrations seems to correspond to Gulland's. Yet the persistent use of the female figurine of Athena offers a range of interpretations of the image. As Edinburgh was known as 'the Athens of the North,' Athena symbolised its guiding spirit, as a woman in a central role directing its industrial fortunes. As a figure of a woman it signified the currency of debates about women, but also signified the power of female monarchy. Engravings of Britannia (derived from Parnassian equivalents of Athena from the Roman Minerva on early coins) had been used for the practical trading purposes in

the past. They signalled the participation of major assurance companies as sponsors for Exhibitions in London (from 1720 onwards), in particular Britannia Insurance.<sup>63</sup>

The images of Athena conveyed different qualities of womanhood. They celebrated one woman as an object of admiration, desirable and desired, an icon of merchandise, and a representative of trading power. The use of the image related to ideas of images and myths of Athena to be found in lectures delivered in 1869 by John Ruskin, collected and published as, *The Queen of the Air*. He joked about Edinburgh and its climate claiming that the city:

‘...which has somewhat saucily styled itself the Modern Athens...is indeed more under her [Athena’s] especial tutelage and favour...Athena is first simply what in Modern Athens you so practically find her, the breeze of the mountain and the sea; and wherever she comes there is purification, and health and power...’<sup>64</sup>

He also explained the etiological basis of myths about the goddess. But further, Ruskin explained that Athena symbolised a powerful woman, ‘...of prudence, justice, fortitude, temperance’.<sup>65</sup> She controlled the elements, embodied dynamic creative force and also held sway in battle. Besides these aspects of her character, Ruskin noted that,

‘Athena presided over industry as well as battle; typically over women’s industry that brings comfort and pleasantness.’<sup>66</sup>

Curious though this combination of apparent qualities may seem, it projected an idealised, woman constantly in view, distributed and reproduced throughout the exhibition. This ideal Classical monumental figure represented ideals with which the Merchant Association

identified. In turn, the qualities of Athena easily transferred and evoked the qualities of female monarchy and therefore also accrued to Queen Victoria in person. Moreover, they could translate to potent representations of dynamism in the Women's Industries Section.

So the Edinburgh International Exhibition of Industry, Science and Art in 1886 activated new forms of self-conscious political definition of Scottish interests. Simultaneously Scottish art and craft by women formed a focus for the development and representation of female identity. Overall, this exhibition was also a resounding financial success.<sup>67</sup>

### **The International Exhibition of Electrical Engineering, General Inventions and Industries, Edinburgh 1890**

Several years later Edinburgh hosted another international Exhibition. This time, the site occupied premises by the Union Canal at Meggetland, to the West of the city. Once again, a Women's Industries Section occupied the North Court beside an Artisan Section and Picture Galleries. T & A Constable once again became official printers to the exhibition but this time occupied a small printing office between a replica Japanese Village and the Picture Galleries. The International Exhibition of Electrical Engineering, General Inventions and Industries in 1890 stressed the importance of electrification. The Presidency once again devolved to the Marquis of Lothian, the Secretary of State, while Thomas Edison took a role as one of the Vice-Presidents. The exhibition also included more foreign exhibitors, as noted from Japan, but also from Italy, Austria, France as well as Germany, Belgium and Russia. The manager was now S Lee Bapty and he allowed more involvement from London and Glasgow Committees than before.

Mrs Croall of Craigcrook Castle assisted by Miss Margaret Urquhart, who had been on the Edinburgh Women's Committee in 1886 organised the Women's Industries Section. It included a Girl's Club Committee convened by a Mrs Boyd. The Women's Industries Section displayed artefacts from the Scottish Home Industries Association, The Edinburgh Art Repository and the Ladies' Work Society. This included an Ecu Madras Muslin curtain by Janet MacGoun.<sup>68</sup> Miss Guthrie Wright from the Women's Committee of 1886 now appeared as Honorary Secretary to the Edinburgh School of Cookery and Domestic Economy.

A Fine Arts and Decoration Committee, including members of the Edinburgh Social Union Professor Baldwin Brown, David Vallance and William Hole, committed to progressive education and the Arts and Crafts movement in Edinburgh (as discussed in Chapter Two, p 81), was convened by W Frazer Dobie and Robert Cox. Their display included a large number of works in gesso, draft drawings for stained-glass friezes and an extensive range of illustrations and book designs by Walter Crane.<sup>69</sup> Their exhibition also accommodated a wide range of copies of the Psalms of David, a key source of inspiration for Phoebe Traquair, as discussed in the following chapter.<sup>70</sup> The Fine Art section included submissions from 132 women, including Mary Rose Hill Burton, Mary Cameron, Jessie Gray and her sister Isabella, Georgina Greenlees, Mrs DO Hill, Isabella Scott Lauder, Hannah MacGoun, Christina Ross and Rosa Woon (see Appendix 4).<sup>71</sup>

## The Scottish National Exhibition, Edinburgh 1908

‘While previous “International Exhibitions” in Scotland have included notable art collections of a cosmopolitan kind, “The Scottish National Exhibition” is the first in which a serious attempt has been made to illustrate the achievement of the Scottish School as a whole. To do this adequately, the Fine Art Committee decided that the collection should be confined to the work of Scottish artists and of a few artists so closely associated with Scottish Art as to make their inclusion desirable.’

James Caw, *Fine Art and Loan Catalogue*, 1908<sup>72</sup>

As James Caw explained in his introduction to the Catalogue of the Scottish National Exhibition in 1908 (cited above), he wished to show that a Scottish School existed. The issue of national identity gained clearer definition than in previous events and Gaelic manuscripts were presented for display.<sup>73</sup> As was evident in the Exhibition of 1886 ‘nationalism’ could be expressed in political and aesthetic terms. Defining a separate national identity could entail political action for independence or it could simply involve forms of expression, symbols, images and ideals of a more or less romantic vision of independent nationality.

Caw’s outlook depended more on an aesthetic and romantic view of what constituted Scottish national identity. But his work was also the logical outcome of political and financial restructuring in Scotland. It reflected institutional changes made by the Scotch Education Department to establish new and better art education in Scotland’s capital, as discussed in Chapter Two. The new Curator of the National Galleries set out to determine lines of succession and the characteristics of Scottish Art. The Exhibition coincided conveniently with the publication of his book, *Scottish Painting Past and Present 1620-1908*, and he did not miss the opportunity to mention it in the Preface of the exhibition

catalogue.<sup>74</sup> The cultural politics of this exhibition became notably more, and intensely, local.

In contrast to previous exhibitions, there was no separate Women's Industries Section. The nationalist aesthetic eclipsed other issues, including issues of emancipation. As in previous exhibitions, the Fine Art and Loan Section held its exhibitions, this time emphasising Scottish art. It remained, as in previous events, entirely under the aegis of a male committee. This committee did contain male sympathisers and supporters of suffragist causes, but Scottish art now formed a common cause. Robert Burns, illustrator and designer for *Ver Sacrum* and *The Evergreen* took the role of a committee member on both Fine Art and Photographic Committees.<sup>75</sup> John Warrack joined him.<sup>76</sup> The increasingly notable artist and etcher DY Cameron,<sup>77</sup> Charles Mackie,<sup>78</sup> W Birnie Rhind and the ever-attentive figure on committees of art, John R Findlay<sup>79</sup> took roles on the Fine Art and Loan Committee. The newly-formed Scottish Modern Arts Association lent oils and watercolours from their collection to the committee, as did Glasgow Corporation and Edinburgh's St Cuthbert's Church.<sup>80</sup>

William Crooke and J Craig Annan, a photographer, now convened a Photographic Committee.<sup>81</sup> As a contributor to *The Magazine* produced by the Raeburn sisters at Glasgow School of Art, Craig Annan now took a more formal public role as a professional artist and photographer. Once again, Professor Patrick Geddes attended the event where his friends from the Edinburgh Social Union, such as Walter Blaikie, also reappeared in public.<sup>82</sup>

Meanwhile women exhibitors determinedly maintained a visible role in the Fine Arts galleries. Those who had supported Phoebe Traquair's early nominations to the Royal Scottish Academy (see next chapter) were out in force. Mary Rose Hill Burton, Mary Cameron, Christina Ross and Meg Wright exhibited works. The young Cecile Walton submitted six works for the black and white section (see Chapter Five), and lists of their works are shown in Appendix 5 below.

## Summary

Edinburgh's exhibitions opened up the development of *realpolitik* and sexual politics. Contrary to the intentions of the organisers, in contrast to patterns of hierarchical paternalism structuring the events, exhibitions presented possibilities to Scottish women to question their status as passive, monitored, pious, objects. The exhibitions discussed in the preceding chapter gave women a chance to see that they could be active surveyors, engaged as citizens in their own nation. If, as Pollock has pointed out, Victorian attitudes contained women in bounded spaces, places where:

'The sexual politics of looking function around a regime which divides into binary positions, activity/passivity, looking/being seen, voyeur/exhibitionist, subject/object'<sup>83</sup>

then exhibitions offered women their first opportunities to mitigate that conditioning. Elizabeth Gulland and women artists discussed in the following chapters are not of interest simply because they are women, or 'feminine stereotypes' of transhistorical and biologically determined characteristics.<sup>84</sup> They represent individual women who searched for prospects of emancipation. Each took steps, in their own way, towards greater

collective feminist consciousness. To some extent, by 1908, men reclaimed the serious business of aesthetic and political control under the aegis of National interests.

Art, illustrations and designs produced for the major International Exhibitions in Edinburgh from 1886 onwards identified women artists' pursuit of public recognition that reflected social and artistic changes in attitude and ideology. Texts and images, female images, the texts and books made by women, their appearance in the catalogues, meant that women were finding unconventional outlets for their work. They were finding new forms of space in which to move, and they were occupying those unconventional spaces.<sup>85</sup>



---

<sup>1</sup> A version of this Chapter appears as 'Corporate Images, 1886: advertising at the International Exhibition of Industry, Science and Art', in Iain Beavan et al., *Images and Advertising: Four Essays*, Merchiston Publishing, Edinburgh, 2002, pp 23-46

<sup>2</sup> Peter Greehalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles: Great Exhibitions and the World's Fairs, 1851-1939*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1988, p 174

<sup>3</sup> John Allwood, *The Great Exhibitions*, Studio Vista, London 1977

<sup>4</sup> One can discuss whether women attending exhibitions were implicated in the processes of manufacture and sale of large-scale industrial goods. Did they sanction male activities and fail to express opposition sufficiently? At this time it was usually men – Ruskin and Morris for example – to oppose fears and doubts about industrial manufacturing methods and goods.

<sup>5</sup> Louise Milne has discussed the concept of festivals in Belgium as shown in Breughel family paintings, as sites of freedom, of turning the world upside down, of fun and irreverent parody of the authorities, of subversive ridicule and unleashing of otherwise repressed emotion. Her ideas draw on the theories of Mikhail Bakhtin in *The Work of Frances Rabelais and the Popular Culture of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* in which he argues that the literature of Rabelais overturns Platonic, monologic and formal ideals of official life (enforced by terror, dogmatism, reverence and piety) by celebrating the popular life (in essence Socratic, dialogic, rooted in social interaction) of the carnival which is 'free and unrestricted, full of ambivalent laughter, blasphemy, the profanation of everything sacred, full of debasing and obscenities, familiar contact with everyone and everything'; see Craig Brandist, *The Bakhtin Circle*, The Internet Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, link to The Bakhtin Centre, University of Sheffield, [www.shef.ac.uk](http://www.shef.ac.uk). Although Bakhtin's theories relate to linguistics and the novel and have complex bearing on his political background that changed from asserting Christian populism to political populism, the core idea borne out in Milne's analysis of Breughel's carnivalesque is at least partly applicable to the sites of Edinburgh's exhibitions since they provided sites for unplanned informal and popular carnivalesque. Popular participation at the International Festival turned the orderly intention of Edinburgh's male-dominated mercantile community upside down. Women entered areas normally reserved for male viewing only, and gained access to sights normally reserved for men. Moreover, tangible social disruption took place as 'the authorities were kept in a state of ferment' by 'students'.

A report in *The Scotsman* for 1 November 1886, the Monday after the exhibition ended, recorded the mixture of pleasure and chaos that the event generated on its closing day:

'After six months of unqualified success the Edinburgh Exhibition was closed on Saturday. During the day the attendance was very great, and in the evening the grounds, which were brilliantly lighted, and the scene of a magnificent display of fireworks, and the buildings, particularly the grand hall, in which the Royal Artillery band discoursed an attractive programme, were thronged with spectators. The closing ceremony was of simple character. Sir James Gowans, accompanied by the members of the ladies' and gentlemen's committees, ascended the platform and made a short speech. Thereafter the audience sang "Auld Lang Syne" and the band played the National Anthem. During the day and the night, the Executive and the Police authorities were kept in a state of ferment by the students, who behaved in a very disorderly manner both inside and outside the building. The end of it was that about half-past-ten o'clock, they were dispersed by a charge of mounted and foot police...'

<sup>6</sup> Allwood, op. cit., p 25

<sup>7</sup> For the origins of French exhibitions, see Elizabeth Gilmore Holt, *The Triumph of Art for the Public: The emerging role of Exhibitions and Critics*, Anchor Books/Doubleday, New York, 1979; also Thomas Crow, *Painters in Public Life in Eighteenth Century Paris*, Yale University Press, Yale, 1985 as well as *Emulation: Making Artists for Revolutionary France*, Yale University Press, Yale, 1987; and, *Le Livre des Expositions Universelles 1851-1989*, Union Centrale des Art Decoratifs, Herscher, Paris, 1983

<sup>8</sup> Allwood, op. cit., p 48

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p 45

<sup>10</sup> The Great Exhibition of London of 1851 may spring to mind, as in CH Gibbs-Smith, *The Great Exhibition of 1851*, HMSO, London, 1981; for more recent assessments, see Tim Barringer and Tom Flynn (Eds), *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture and the Museum*, Routledge, London/New York, 1998

<sup>11</sup> As indicated by the allocation of space to different subject categories – men were buying and selling large-scale industrial machinery and manufactures, women made, bought and sold smaller objects – so gendered spaces merely indicate gendered levels of consumerism

<sup>12</sup> Patrick Geddes, *Industrial Exhibitions and Modern Progress* (Reprinted from *Industries*), David Douglas, Edinburgh, 1887, p 1

<sup>13</sup> Previous Exhibitions had been held, see EPL B: 538, The First Exhibition of the Art Manufacturers' Association, National Galleries, T & A Constable, Edinburgh, 1856; Board of Manufacturers' Exhibition of Industrial and Decorative Art, Murray & Gibb, Edinburgh, 1861; Board of Manufacturers', Scottish National Portraits, T & A Constable, Edinburgh 1884 and two exhibitions relating to Agriculture and Fisheries held in 1880 and 1882 for which T & A Constable, Edinburgh also produced catalogues

<sup>14</sup> *The Scotsman*, 6 May, 1886

<sup>15</sup> EPL *Blackwoods Edinburgh Magazine*, Blackwoods, Edinburgh, 139-140, 1886 and *Chambers Journal of Popular Literature, Science and Arts*, W& R Chambers, Edinburgh, 1886

<sup>16</sup> *The Scotsman*, 14 October, 1886

<sup>17</sup> International Exhibition of Industry, Science and Art, Edinburgh, 1886, *The Official Catalogue*, T & A Constable, Edinburgh 1886, p 15

<sup>18</sup> The exhibition was held a year before the Queen's Golden Jubilee celebrations. It ran at the same time as the London Colonial Exhibition, see Barringer and Flynn, op. cit.; for reports of the opening see *The Scotsman* and *The Glasgow Herald* of 6 May, 1886

<sup>19</sup> *Official Catalogue*, op. cit., p 11

<sup>20</sup> As noted, by this time Lord Aberdeen was Viceroy in Dublin. His wife, Lady Aberdeen was a significant figure in pro-social causes. Ishbel Gordon (1856-1939), nee Ishbel Marjoribanks married John Gordon, 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Aberdeen, whose family seat was Haddo House in Aberdeen, in 1877. In December 1881 she began the Haddo House Young Women's Improvement Association, as published in *A few words about our Servant Girls and a Scheme for their Benefit*, by the Countess of Aberdeen (NLS 25.1882.7). By April 1885 she gave a *Presidential address to the Edinburgh Association for the University Education of Women*, then in its 17<sup>th</sup> year (Edinburgh University Library, SC3245).

Gordon Bowe and Cumming, op. cit., have discussed her role in the Irish Home Arts and Industries Association from 1886 onwards, and Janice Helland (unpublished paper) has also documented her appreciation of fashion as well as of Irish needlework and lacemaking skills. She joined the Women's Committee at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 to represent women's interests.

However, Lady Aberdeen was involved in many other causes. She supported the emigration and settlement of orphans in Canada (1869-1930 through the Home Children's Movement who despatched children from Quarrier Homes, Barnardos and Annie Macpherson's Homes). Subsequently she made an informal record of her travels in Canada, initially serialised in her estate magazine (1891-1930) called *Onward and Upward*, xv, 1891, illustrated with her own sketches and photographs and subsequently published as *Through Canada with a Kodak*, WH White, 1893. Her husband was Governor General in Canada between 1893-8.

Sian Reynolds, in 'Historiography and Gender: Scottish and International Dimensions', from Brotherstone, Simonton and Walsh, *Gendering Scottish History*, pp 1-18, has recorded Lady Aberdeen's role as a Member of the International Council of Women who secured the right for women to become delegates to the League of Nations in 1919.

As the verse cited indicates, she was an easy target for ridicule. Her progressive ideas on Home Rule were not necessarily always popular. However, Gordon Bowe and Cumming have pointed out that she was considered a 'goody, goody rebel'; for her interest in clothes she was 'Blowsy Bella'; for her attention to hygiene and sanitation she was called 'Lady Microbe', op. cit., pp 12-3, 87-8

For a biography see M Pentland, *A Bonnie Fechter: the Life of the Marchioness of Aberdeen*, London, 1952 and DF Shackleton, *Ishbel and The Empire: A Biography of Lady Aberdeen, 1857-1939*, 1988

<sup>21</sup> The Women's Industries Section, Edinburgh Committee also included Mrs Clarke, Miss Eagle, Mrs Lowe, Mrs John Muir, Mrs Ralph Richardson (wife of WS and Honorary Secretary to the Edinburgh Committee, as well as a member of the Fine Arts and Loan Section Committee), Miss Urquhart, Miss Guthrie Wright and Miss Harrison, *Ibid*, p 31

<sup>22</sup> The London Committee also included the Dowager Countess of Airlie, Viscountess Hood and Mrs Edward Ponsonby, *Ibid*.

<sup>23</sup> He moved to become Manager of the Glasgow Exhibition in 1888, see Juliet and Perilla Kinchin, *Glasgow's Great Exhibitions (1888, 1901, 1911, 1938 and 1988)* with a contribution by Neil Baxter, White Cockade Publishing, Oxford, 1988

<sup>24</sup> NLS Constable, MS 23507, *Letter Book*, correspondence with AP Watt

<sup>25</sup> NLS Constable Archive, MSS 23507-9, *Letter Books for the Edinburgh International Exhibition, 1886*

<sup>26</sup> Other members of this committee included James Tullo, Robert Cranston Jr, John Grant, Archibald Young, W Morrish and John Stark, *Official Catalogue*, op. cit., p 27

<sup>27</sup> NLS Constable's Archive MS 23508, *Letter Book*, correspondence with Orrock, Letter 153

<sup>28</sup> *Official Catalogue*, op. cit., p 25

- <sup>29</sup>( 1844-1900) born Eaglesfield Dumfriesshire, studied at the Trustees' Academy was commissioned to record the Jubilee Ceremonies for Queen Victoria at Westminster the following year in 1887, considerably enhanced his reputation; from Harris and Halsby
- <sup>30</sup> (1838-1899), born in Leith, Edinburgh; ardent Nationalist, founder member of the RSW in 1878 and friend of Horatio McCulloch; from Harris and Halsby
- <sup>31</sup> (1844-1924), born Gifford, studied at the Trustees' Academy, author of *The Scottish School of Painting*, 1906 and Secretary to the RSA 1906-1924; from Harris and Halsby
- <sup>32</sup> David Murray, (1849-1933), born Glasgow, studied at the Haldane Academy under Robert Greenlees, later knighted; Joseph Henderson (1832-1908), born Stanley, Perthshire, studied at the Trustees' Academy, friend of McTaggart whose daughter became his second wife in 1886; two sons, painters, one of whom called John became Director of Glasgow School of Art; from Harris and Halsby
- <sup>33</sup> Fine Art Section, 'Sweet Childish Days' (£94.10s)
- <sup>34</sup> Fine Art Section, British Water-Colours, 'On the Seine'
- <sup>35</sup> Christina Paterson Ross, (1843-1906) RSW 1880, daughter of painter RT Ross (1816-1876) and sister of painter Joseph Thorburn Ross (1858-1903); a founder member of the Edinburgh Ladies' Art Club, 1889, see Janice Helland, *Professional Women Painters*, op. cit., p 1 and passim; exhibited Fine Art Section, British Water-Colours, 'Interior of a Ropery; (£7.7s) and 'Berwick from Tweedmouth', (£15.15s)
- Jessie Dixon Gray, (b.1865), wife of painter George Gray, see also Helland, op. cit., exhibited in the Fine Art Section, Oil Paintings, 'Afternoon at Buckhaven', 'The Herd Laddie' and 'Out for a Nibble' none for sale
- Harriet Warrack, sister of writer Grace Warrack, listed as living in Montrose; had trained with Hannah MacGoun's elder sister Janet, exhibited in the Fine Art Section, British Water-Colours, 'Marguerites (£5.5s)
- <sup>36</sup> Isabella Scott Lauder, (1839-1918), daughter of Robert Scott Lauder (1803-1869), Master of the Trustees' Academy 1852-1861; married to Mr James Thomson, a teacher of art, like an earlier painting of 'The Puritan Maid', see Helland, op. cit., pp 52-3, Lauder projected images of women as artists, and practising their skills
- <sup>37</sup> Georgina Mossmann Greenlees (1849-1932), born Glasgow, daughter of Robert Greenlees (1820-1896), Master of the Haldane Academy (1863-1881) and sister of Marion Greenlees also an artist, taught with Elizabeth Patrick in Ladies' Classes between 1872 and 1881, she became Mrs Graham Kinloch Wylie, see also Helland, op. cit.; she exhibited in the Fine Art Section, British Oil Paintings, 'And she has hair of Golden Hue' (£8.8s), and in the British Water-colours section, 'In the Priory, Reigate, Surrey', (£12.12s)
- <sup>38</sup> Acknowledgement to the National Monuments Record Archive; see RB Rankin, 'Sir John Burnett, RA, RSA, LLD, and his works' in *RIAS Quarterly*, 43974, 1953
- <sup>39</sup> Built by CC Lindsay of Glasgow, *Official Catalogue*, op. cit.
- <sup>40</sup> *Official Catalogue*, op. cit., p 20; as will be discussed further, Constables employed women as compasses and as readers
- <sup>41</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>42</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>43</sup> NLS Constable Archive MS 23509, *Letter Book*, Letter 204
- <sup>44</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>45</sup> Siân Reynolds, *Britannica's Typesetters*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1989
- <sup>46</sup> Letter 204, op. cit.; the text offers an incidental sidelight on the differentiation between the trade skills of the compasses as 'girls' and the work of the graduate indexers as 'young ladies'. The social classification of manual or blue-collar work in contrast to professional white-collar work bears on the uses of the words 'boys' and 'girls' in the context of art production (see Chapter four)
- <sup>47</sup> David Douglas was pro-active for women's rights in different ways. He engaged female illustrators especially in his role as publisher for the Church of Scotland magazine, *Life and Work*, as noted later regarding Hannah MacGoun. His American Authors series dealt with 'modern issues', the thorny problems of unhappy marriages and the new woman
- <sup>48</sup> Lady Aberdeen, *Women's Industries Section Guide to Irish Exhibits*, Hodges Figgis & Co, Dublin, 1886
- <sup>49</sup> Lady Aberdeen bought out his company in order to enable it to survive, see Gordon Bowe and Cumming, op. cit., p 87
- <sup>50</sup> I acknowledge the assistance and help of Grant Longman and Jane Parker at the Bushey Museum and Art Gallery Archive, Gulland Press Cuttings
- <sup>51</sup> John Ruskin, *Lectures on Art and Painting, delivered at Edinburgh in November 1853*, George Allen, Orpington/London, 1891
- <sup>52</sup> The protean effect of John Ruskin's extensive writing about art and art education is noted in Deborah Cherry, *Painting Women: Victorian Women Artists*, Routledge, London/New York. She notes, 'Ruskin was one of the most powerful cultural managers of the 1850s, his influence pervading the literatures and economics of art', p 99, pointing out that Ruskin expressed prevailing biases in the function of the art of

women belonging to the private sphere, the 'self-renunciating' (p 136) sphere, believing that women could not deal with important history subjects (p 187). But Ruskin's views on art and art education are perhaps unavoidable in the context of nineteenth and early twentieth century contexts. As regards the International Exhibition in Edinburgh in 1886, one can see his pervasive opinions about the significance of Classicism – 'All European architecture, bad and good, old and new, is derived from Greece through Rome...' *Stones of Venice*, VII, [biblio.org/pub/docs/books/Gutenberg/etext06/7stvn10.txt](http://biblio.org/pub/docs/books/Gutenberg/etext06/7stvn10.txt), see also Elizabeth Cumming, Ruskin and Identity in Scottish National Architectural Sculpture, *Journal of the Scottish Society for Art History*, 5, 2000, pp 6-14

<sup>53</sup> Elizabeth Gulland (1857-1934), born 25 March in Broughton Street, second daughter of Elizabeth Young Maclean and James Gulland, a woollen merchant and draper, also a JP in Edinburgh.

Her Uncle John was a notable Liberal figure in Edinburgh. He was a corn merchant, a Deacon of Free Churchmen in 1857 and a Liberal activist. Elizabeth's cousin John became a Liberal MP and whip for Asquith's Government in 1912 and wrote about his father in *John Gulland, A Memoir*, Printed for private circulation by W & AK Johnston, Edinburgh 1903.

Elizabeth Gulland's uncle was, as her cousin wrote,

'From the time he had a vote...on the Liberal Committee of Calton Ward and was Treasurer of the Liberal Association from 1870-1885 when he became President of the Edinburgh West Liberal Association...by heredity and conviction he was a Liberal...member of the Merchant Company, and from 1862 onwards was a member of the Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce...He was Chairman of the Jury of the Food Section in the International Exhibition of 1886...in the Heriot Trust he strenuously supported the proposal to extend the benefits to girls...an unrepentant Home Ruler whose hero was Gladstone. He often spoke at Women's Suffrage Meetings and was a member of the Committee to elect Women to parochial boards, proposed and carried the election of a lady to the Free Library Committee and was unsuccessful in his attempt to appoint a female sanitary inspector to the council...his son George [i.e. Elizabeth Gulland's cousin; also brother of the author, John] married the daughter of Professor Masson.' The elder John Gulland's second wife, Louisa, became a Board member of Edinburgh College of Art in 1914 (see ECA Prospectus, 1914).

Elizabeth Gulland attended Edinburgh Ladies' College – a merchant school for girls known as Mary Erskine's. Attended the Trustees' Academy 1874-8, ECA Archive, School of Art Committee Minutes 1/1/1 in the time of Miss Ashworth, Miss Byres, George Harvey, Noel Paton, John Steell and Daniel MacNee. Admired Raeburn, Reynolds, Gainsborough and George Richmond.

Possibly became a compass for Constables in 1883-4; no Christian names given, but wages paid to a Gulland in the Warehouse Wages Books for that year, see NLS Dep 307:104 Case Wages Book 1877-1884, 4/- per month raised to 4/6 January 1883 – March 1884: compare these figures with wages for apprentices NLS Dep 307: 202 where apprentices were paid 7/- per month.

After an unhappy love affair, when her parents did not allow her to marry a hunchback cousin, the son of George Gardiner, Governor of Northallerton prison in Yorkshire, Gulland moved away from Edinburgh and remained a spinster thereafter. She studied with Hubert von Herkomer (1849-1914), Slade Professor of Art 1885-95, at his School from 1885 in order to meet the age deadline for the admission for his single female students who needed to be under the age of 28. He allowed women into life classes. As an illustrator for *The Graphic* he encouraged his students to publish illustrations.

Gulland settled in Bushey for the rest of her life, living with a sister Jessella. She exhibited in the Royal Academy (see *Hertfordshire Illustrated News*, c. 1910?) and in January 1977 Sydney Reynolds interviewed her nephew, Harry Milner-Gulland for an article in the *Hertfordshire Countryside Magazine*, January 1977, pp 24-5. Reynolds noted that Gulland and a Mr H Macbeth-Raeburn revived the printing technique of mezzotint and adapted it to a colour process that took fifteen years to complete satisfactorily. She sold prints through a London agent, HC Dickins. Milner-Gulland told Reynolds of Gulland's convictions, about being a strict vegan, refusing to wear leather shoes; her support of animal rights as shown in her bequests to the Public Dispensary for Sick Animals, Battersea General and Anti-vivisection Hospital, Animal Friends' League and National Equine Defence League; and her commitment to suffragism, leaving bequests to the Women's International League, the Women's Freedom League and Watford Labour Party. (BUSMT 90.11.12)

Although an agnostic, a funeral service was held for her after her death on 6 November, 1934.

<sup>54</sup> NLS Dep 307: 127, *Cash Wages Book*, 1885-1902

<sup>55</sup> See Michael Anesko (ed), *Letters, Fictions, Lives: Henry James and William Dean Howells*, OUP, NY/Oxford, 1997. WD Howells wanted his work to be suitable literature for young ladies, while Henry James believed that literature needed protection from the female reader

<sup>56</sup> The books were produced in early paperback formats as well as in hardback editions: see NLS Collections, paperbacks, APS 1.79.292, 293, WD Howells *A Foregone Conclusion*, D Douglas, Edinburgh, 1891 and *A*

---

*Wedding Journey*, D Douglas, Edinburgh 1891; also cloth-bound, Vts. 46.9.35 & 36, WD Howells, *A Chance Acquaintance*, D Douglas, Edinburgh, 1882 and *The Undiscovered Country*, David Douglas, Edinburgh, 1882

<sup>57</sup> John Ruskin, *The Two Paths*, Being lectures on Art and its Application to Decoration and Manufacture, Routledge, London/New York, n.d., p 81

<sup>58</sup> An image by Wendy Wood of a gypsy caravan not reproduced in this work gives an indication that when she left Edinburgh in 1939, she obtained freedom and new prospects in life by adopting the life style of a travelling woman – she often supported the cause of travelling people

<sup>59</sup> Helland, *Professional Women Painters*, op. cit., pp 155-6

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p 156

<sup>61</sup> EPL, *Women's Industries Section Booklet*

<sup>62</sup> As seen in a book plate illustrated in Quaker robes, below Edinburgh Castle reading a book inscribed 'Votes for Women, N.D. (produced prior to leaving Edinburgh in 1885?); see also illustrations from *The Girls Own Annual*, Paternoster Row, London, 1888

<sup>63</sup> As noted by George Perry and Nicholas Mason (Eds), *Rule Britannia: The Victorian World*, Times Publishers, London, 1974; and, Robert Pie, *Rule Britannia: Trading on the British Image*, Viking, Harmondsworth, 1985

<sup>64</sup> John Ruskin, 'Athena Chalinitis: Athena the restrainer, having helped Bellepheron to Bridle Pegasus – Athena in the Heavens: a Lecture on the Greek Myths of Storm' (lecture delivered 9 March 1869) in *The Queen of the Air*, George Allen, Orpington/London, 1895, p 48

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p 20

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p 156

<sup>67</sup> 'Financially it has been a great success...over two and a half million tickets sold (2, 769,632 and c.500, 000 through railway-ticket sales)...average number of visitors over 20,000 per day...£15,000 profit.' *The Scotsman*, front page, 2 November, 1886; the buildings were dismantled and as was common practice, the materials were resold and recycled for other building projects

<sup>68</sup> Eldest sister of Hannah Clarke Preston MacGoun, trained at the Trustees' Academy with Harriet Warrack 1878-1882 (ECA Archive), as discussed in the following chapter.

<sup>69</sup> Significantly, this exhibition took place the year after the Edinburgh Congress of the National Association for the Application of Art to Industry, 1889; Crane submitted nineteen works in all, although the catalogue noted that Artists may only send two works, *Official Catalogue*, p 3

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>71</sup> These are familiar names in Helland, *Professional Women Painters*, op. cit., and Hannah MacGoun is discussed in the following chapter

<sup>72</sup> EPL, WN 5056:E 26, *Catalogue of the Scottish National Exhibition, 1908, Fine Art and Loan Section*, The Riverside Press, Edinburgh, 1908, p 5

James Caw (1864-1950), Curator of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery in 1895 (the year he married William Mactaggart's daughter) was elected to Curator of the National Galleries of Scotland in 1907.

<sup>73</sup> Miss Macdonald submitted a Gaelic Chapbook; the United Free Church of Scotland Library in Glasgow lent their copies of the *Psalms of David* in Gaelic, and an early version of Calvin's *Catechism*; Professor Donald MacKinnon lent Gaelic and Irish versions of the Old Testament and Gaelic Popular Songs, *Catalogue*, *ibid.*, p 102

<sup>74</sup> *Catalogue*, *ibid.*, p 7, James Caw, *Scottish Painting Past and Present 1620-1908*, TC & EC Jack, Edinburgh/London, 1908

<sup>75</sup> (1869-1941) a teacher at Geddes' Old Edinburgh School, associate of Patrick Geddes and John Duncan (see Chapter Four), Head of Drawing and Painting at Edinburgh College of Art 1908-20

<sup>76</sup> Brother of the Warrack sisters, Harriet as mentioned, and Grace (see following Chapter four)

<sup>77</sup> (1872-1944), later a Curator of the National Galleries, artist and etcher and brother to Katharine Cameron, viz., R Addison, 'Katharine Cameron, Glasgow Girl', *Scottish Book Collector*, 6/9, 2000, pp 4-7

<sup>78</sup> (1862-1920)

<sup>79</sup> Proprietor of *The Scotsman*

<sup>80</sup> For information on the formation and constitution as well as collections of The Scottish Modern Arts Association, see Aileen Smith, *The Construction of Cultural Identity in the Visual Arts in Scotland, 1918-1945*, Unpublished Thesis, University of Aberdeen 1998

<sup>81</sup> (1864-1946)

<sup>82</sup> Walter Blaikie lent a manuscript by the Royal Secretary, Andrew Lumisden, and a Patent of 1766 from King Charles III creating John Hay of Restalrig a Baronet from his own collection of Jacobite memorabilia, see *Catalogue*, *ibid.*, pp 98-9

---

<sup>83</sup> Griselda Pollock, *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminisms and the Histories of Art*, Routledge, London/New York, 1988, p 87

<sup>84</sup> Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock, *Old Mistresses, Women, Art and Ideology*, Routledge, London, 1981

<sup>85</sup> For feminist discourse on women and their spatial and social mobility, see Griselda Pollock, *Vision and Difference*, op. cit. Pollock criticised work by TJ Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and his Followers*, Knopf/Thames & Hudson, London/New York, who posited that a myth of 'modernity' was created by artists in Paris in new encounters with leisure, consumption, spectacular events and economic changes. From a feminist point of view Pollock pointed out that Clark's 'viewing position' presented a flawed argument and 'peculiar closures on the issue of sexuality' (p 53) especially regarding the outlook of the French male artists (in Clark's study, Manet et al. in particular) compared to that of French women artists (for Pollock, Berthe Morisot and Mary Cassatt for example). Pollock challenged the canonical systems of modernism and spaces of modernism set out by Alfred Barr and TJ Clark. Distinguishing between the '*fille publique*' and the '*femme honnête*' – generally falling into the categories of working girl and ladies – Pollock demonstrated how the artists she discussed belonged to the latter category. Pollock expanded on the idea that women artists in Paris conceived and saw their surroundings in a completely different way from men. Women artists' spaces – bedroom, drawing-room, veranda, garden, theatre, park - differed from that of the wings of a theatre, restaurants, folies and brothels - which men represented in their works, so that female territory, the spatial order shown in pictorial/experiential and the social/psychic spaces for women in their world differed significantly from the privileged male. If this privileged male, the man-about-town, the man-on-the-street, the '*flâneur*' embodied 'the gaze of modernity which is both covetous and erotic' (p 67), then male-dominated views of the city determined its representation and projection in history. This 'controlling but rarely acknowledged gaze' (p 67) entitled men to privileged possession of spaces and scopic regimes to which women had no access. Hence Pollock argued that 'women can produce different positions within this sexual politics of looking...' (p 85).

Alternatively, Janice Helland, *Professional Women Artists*, op. cit., has discussed the importance of Pollock's views of the city as a male dominated space. She has cited subsequent views, such as Janet Wolff's idea that the *flâneur* was a literary construction, and as such perpetuated a *myth of masculinity* in the writing of Charles Baudelaire and later, Walter Benjamin. Helland has also alluded to Elizabeth Wilson's question – based on the idea that prostitutes were hosts to men in theatre wings, in folies and in brothels, according to Pollock's scheme - as to whether prostitutes in Paris could be considered *flâneuses*, and if so what effect this has on 'feminists writing about women' (p 87)?

For many feminists, both authors above included, they have the difficulty of discussing 'ladies'/middle class women while wishing to represent the interests of working class women. The conflict of the 'bourgeois' (often white) ideology of the middle classes of the past with left-wing/ Socialist intentions of writers of the recent past/present presents an ideological trap. I would suggest that this ideological trap ensnares women and would return them to silence. Why does the same trap not also silence men? I would suggest an honest confrontation of the actuality that lived experience is more complex, and draws on varying ideologies that enrich discourse, and that therefore one draws on a variety of ideological positions, different political views and a range of images – significantly non-canonical images - in order to discuss what women were able to write and paint in the past and in the present.



## CHAPTER 4: GIRLS, DESIGNERS, ILLUSTRATORS

‘The question may now be asked, in which of these art industries is it most desirable for women to engage who are about to choose a profession? And I would reply without hesitation that the art of design, demanding as it does the greatest intelligence on the part of the student, yields also the highest measure of success to those who attain proficiency in it.’<sup>1</sup>

The activity of women artists in Glasgow has been mapped by Jude Burkhauser and her colleagues. No similar effort has been made for Edinburgh. Although Elizabeth Cumming has exhibited and written of the range of works by Phoebe Traquair, the corpus of the artist represents one individual’s work. There were other women artists who supported the infrastructure of art and design in Edinburgh and who might therefore be grouped as ‘Edinburgh Girls’. Traquair and Hannah Clarke Preston MacGoun are only two illustrators among others. In Edinburgh where the proliferation of books became part of the educational development of women, children and working class readers, books also formed part of an evangelical project.

As shown in previous chapters, the time scale of this thesis aims at, rather than fits exactly into 1886 to 1945. I have addressed matters before 1886 and will include artists who lived well beyond 1945 because the issues and their working lives spilled over the target dates. Campaigns for women’s rights, political changes and the span of women artists’ working careers stretched over several generations.<sup>2</sup> Women’s identities as artists grew and became part of a process of recognition and self-recognition. But they negotiated their identities. Their identities were made and not given.



Identifying Edinburgh as a prime locus for women artists of the period also calls for some flexibility. While an artist like Elizabeth Gulland was born in Edinburgh she did not remain there.<sup>3</sup> Phoebe Traquair, for instance was born in Dublin, but settled in Edinburgh.<sup>4</sup> Many women artists moved easily between Edinburgh and Glasgow and *vice versa*.<sup>5</sup> To distinguish stylistic conditions and tendencies in Edinburgh as opposed to Glasgow may not necessarily exclude common interests or stylistic similarities.<sup>6</sup> However, I argue that women artists in Edinburgh made significant contributions to art, illustration and book production during this period. To nominate a group of 'Edinburgh Girls' forms a counter-response, in no way hostile, to the use of the terms 'Glasgow Girls'. It is an attempt to acknowledge developing and extant skills among women artists in Edinburgh.<sup>7</sup>

### **Girls and Boys**

In the nineteenth century, the term 'girls' applied to women working in the manual industries, as the term 'boys' applied to their male counterparts. Thomas Constable talked about his female employees as 'girls' in the last chapter. Affectionate or not, the term connoted social difference of class and kind. It expressed paternalistic protection and control. The use of the term signalled inherent inequality between the employer and employee. It suggested the potential immaturity and servitude of blue-collar working women. The use of the term 'girls' for women who worked on stitching and folding in the bindery was distinctly different from Constable's use of the term 'ladies' to describe white-collar professional women indexers from the University of St Andrews.

Alternatively, that the term 'girls' as for 'boys' signified Scottish pride in work produced in Scotland, by Scots. Like the boys, the girls cultivated the Calvinist work ethic, in

manufacture and in hard labour. In this sense, therefore, differences between *girls* who worked and *ladies* who worked might seem of no consequence, especially if they were Scottish. Lady amateurs in Scotland who wanted to become professionals however, did not necessarily adopt the title of 'girls'. They did not necessarily seek classification as 'Scottish' artists if it compromised their standards of art production. Alternatively, if they were not born in Scotland, they might not belong to, or might be excluded from the Scottish canon, as set out by James Caw.<sup>8</sup> So classifications of 'high' and 'low' art in Scotland polarised academic and social distinctions in Scotland.

If many Scottish artists were at pains to underline the shared and democratic nature of their practices, it was difficult to maintain real equality between men and women, and between different women's expectations. And the sense of 'middle-classness' of women artists as defined by occupation rather than by income alone, also remained.<sup>9</sup> While education was a privilege and therefore training in art was also a privilege, it would be difficult for women to acknowledge working class roots if they wished to conform to the educated classes. Besides, expectations restricted many working-class women to 'service'. There was no equivalent of the lad of pairs; as Helen Corr has pointed out, no 'lass of pairs' gained credence. What many women sought, however, was to be accepted as 'professional' on equal terms to men. Art history indicates that women needed intellectual and financial resources to become artists. Where conditions denied them those resources, by definition they had to fail. Here, 'Edinburgh Girls' – as for 'Glasgow Girls' – remains a project of the present to argue for institutional recognition of women artists in the past who, irrespective of hierarchies, ranks, expectations or rules, continued to produce their work.<sup>10</sup> As noted earlier, it is necessary to enrich our knowledge of women workers as artists from a clear recognition of the varied experiences of women.

## **Design and Illustration**

Miss Anstruther's comment (cited above) recommended that women should develop a role as designers in the art industries. On the one hand, the subtext of her comment suggests that if women could not obtain work as 'artists' they should adopt different strategies. They should call themselves 'designers'. In Arts and Crafts circles, this could give women equal status with men. They could therefore outwit those who opposed their claims to become 'artists'. On the other hand, given the structural difference in status between 'design' and 'fine art', design considered less important than fine art, architecture and sculpture, Anstruther might have been suggesting that women capitulate and accept their lot, leaving men to monopolise the privileges of the institutions of art.

Anstruther's strategic advice to women to become designers could be compared to later arguments from Rozsika Parker in *The Subversive Stitch* that women's art history is inscribed in different ways and in different materials to those of men.<sup>11</sup> Parker indicated that embroidery formed an alternative 'discursive system' to Fine Art, as Anstruther's 'design' formed an alternative to painting. A familiar difficulty arises. If women do not participate in the same enterprises as men, they cannot expect to gain the same recognition. In reality, men and women used the same language but while men's work was valued, women's was not. Both men and women became designers. Culturally, society edited out the significance of women's work. The culture in Edinburgh was particularly effective in making the recognition and valuation of women's work difficult. The entrenched interests of men resisted incursions by women.

The thrust of the following chapter is to show that women trained as artists and applied their skills to design and to illustration. Art informed design and illustration. Book illustration by women did not necessarily reach the same standards of acknowledgement, recognition and valuation as men. They could not necessarily compete on equal terms with men. That is the whole point of considering and interpreting what women did in Edinburgh. They experienced different circumstances from men. They had to invest their energies to negotiate work over and above domestic constraints, classifications as craft workers and as women. This process of negotiating equality with men is therefore more significant than comparing their works to those of men. This is not to create a double-standard, as Greer might put it, but to factor in the cultural circumstances of the period. Women had to learn to operate in ways that men had already established. Women did not have the same expectations, the same commitments or the same conditioning as men.

So if women negotiated to work, particularly with books, as and when they could, their works established a commitment to cultural and political change. They adapted their repertoire, responding to available commissions. The closer women came to the printed and published page, the closer they came to understanding and inscribing their identities as artists and as citizens. To women, books signified more than demonstrations of their skills as designers. Book illumination and illustration showed that women interpreted, understood and visualised their culture. Women's ingenuity in applying their skills does not bear direct and competitive comparison with the work of male artists. The works produced by women do, however, deserve consideration in context, to rectify an imbalanced culture. Art history therefore operates not just to recreate binary polarities of monolithic male and female canons, but to demonstrate the variation, flexibility and complexity of changing relationships.

## Phoebe Anna Traquair (1852-1936) <sup>12</sup>

Binding, calligraphy and press-work existed in Edinburgh before the 1880s.<sup>13</sup> The Gothic revival generated the revival of early methods of illuminated books. This produced a range and variety of printed books and hand- as well as manufactured forms of binding in the nineteenth century. As Ruari Maclean has pointed out,

‘The Victorian period was one of rapid change, of fertile invention of enormous vitality, all of which is reflected in its books.’<sup>14</sup>

Manuscript illumination remained a craft skill cultivated in convents, abbeys and among women on the Continent, in Italy, France and Germany. Hybrid Medievalism, Gothic forms and Victorian decoration fed into techniques that women created, revived and recreated in a wide variety of styles.

Printed books redrafted models of early manuscripts. Art suppliers and printers published primers for illuminated patterns.<sup>15</sup> Margaret Armour discussed the revival of ‘Beautiful Modern Manuscripts’ in an article for *The Studio* in 1897. She cited the practices of the Pugins, Morris, Burne-Jones and Selwyn Image whose designs drew on early models. She also cited contemporaries in Convents and Abbeys, Edmund Reuter of Geneva and William B MacDougall of Glasgow. Significantly however, she interviewed Phoebe Traquair about book illumination. Armour’s interview demonstrated how Traquair’s traditional and religious reverence for books conformed to Arts and Crafts ideals.<sup>16</sup> Books signified an essential element in her understanding of the role of the artist as a woman. They formed a crucial element in her personal testimony as an artist. Traquair’s work in the Edinburgh

Social Union (see Chapter Two) formed part of her dedication and commitment to her vocation as an artist. Simultaneously she extended social and therapeutic purposes in her works to others.

As the daughter of Theresa Richardson and William Moss, a doctor in Dublin, Phoebe Moss trained at the Royal Dublin Society Design School between 1869 and 1872.<sup>17</sup> She produced technical drawings for a Scottish Palaeontologist, called Ramsay Traquair in 1872 as some of her first commissions.<sup>18</sup> She married Traquair a year later and moved with him to Edinburgh where he took up an appointment as Keeper to the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art in 1874. By 1879 the couple had three children. Working in the confines of her home Traquair illuminated a romantic poem by Garth Wilkinson, *A Little Message for my Wife* as a private gift for John Miller Gray.<sup>19</sup> It was bound and stitched in Arts and Crafts style.

However, Traquair had already begun work on a personal copy of *The Psalms of David* as early as 1872.<sup>20</sup> She continued to work on it until its completion in 1898. *The Psalms of David* existed in other calligraphic and printed forms, symbolising the importance of the continuity of religious belief since the time of King David, and the utopian vision of a New Jerusalem created by poetic inspiration.<sup>21</sup> Traquair bequeathed her own copy to the National Galleries of Scotland after her death in 1936, indicating that she considered it central to her corpus, and of particular value to the Scottish records.<sup>22</sup>

Traquair told Armour, 'If I meet with a book which stirs me, I am seized with the desire to help out the emotion with gold, blue and crimson...to make it sing'.<sup>23</sup> She invested her enjoyment of poetry, literature and books in the illumination of *The Psalms of David*. The

copy bequeathed to the national galleries combined religious poetry, biblical narrative, song and Traquair's own narrative mediations between the text and the reader, providing portraits of poets and musicians she admired. It annotated her life as art and craft worker, daughter, mother, wife and artist. She used the traditional skills of the calligrapher, using the natural material of vellum for the pages, and precious metals, such as gold leaf, for her illuminations. She used her own style of writing in established combinations of black ink for the text and red for the rubric. On each page, miniatures and cartouches in vividly coloured inks express Traquair's capacity to draft detailed designs and to incorporate them with imaginative illustrations from her own experience. *The Psalms* as written by Phoebe Traquair is an auratic, unique and precious artefact.<sup>24</sup>

The title page of *The Psalms* contains historicised portraits of King David and his life (Fig. 4.3). Inset into these portraits are other figures, Robert Browning playing the harp, Alfred Lord Tennyson as the figure anointing David as King, Thomas Carlyle as a prophet. Choosing to illustrate a poetic song from the Old Testament from a Catholic version of the Bible, Traquair acknowledged a debt to her upbringing in Catholic Dublin, but she also drew out progressive, personal ideals of the importance of ecumenism. Drawn from Old Testament scripture, Traquair also looked back to the Jewish origins of the *Psalms* and to her own heritage.<sup>25</sup>

So Traquair incorporated a range of religious meanings in *The Psalms of David*. She celebrated a range of her Christian affiliations to the Church of Ireland, to her friends in the Church of Scotland. She could refer back to the example of the *Book of Kells* as an example of religious expression, and reproduce her own interpretation of her religious experiences.<sup>26</sup> Traquair matched a syncretic approach to religious beliefs with a syncretic approach to

sources for design. On the one hand, she examined sources of Scottish religion and researched 'St Margaret of Scotland'.<sup>27</sup> She referred to a range of other sources and noted, 'I was up at the University today looking out examples of Designing'; this led her to study images from a range of cultures, from 'Greek, Keltic [sic], Gothic, Eastern...Egyptian.'<sup>28</sup>

In conversation with Phoebe Traquair, Margaret Armour noted the artist-illustrator's interest in thirteenth and fourteenth century manuscripts. Traquair noted that she had looked at the 'Ruskin' bible.<sup>29</sup> Elsewhere, Traquair stated that '...red carnations are my favourite flower; the violets speak of Spring.'<sup>30</sup> These flowers together with butterflies – symbols of mortality – appeared on the frontispiece of *The Psalms of David*. However, Traquair also drew grotesques, such as dozy dragons on folio 18, or skeletons on folio 29 imitating the scatological marginalia of early manuscripts, illustrating a consciousness of mortality and the fragility of human life. Armour recorded that Traquair felt that, 'Little beasts and dragons are always beautiful and expressive in line and colour.'<sup>31</sup> Alternatively, Traquair produced figurative miniatures of angels on folio 27, reminiscent of those in the Introduction to William Blake's *Songs of Experience*; she admired Blake's spirituality, his vivid palette and his design style.<sup>32</sup> The flowing hair and iridescent robes of angelic figures in folio 46 indicate the impact of Italian Renaissance and Pre-Raphaelite iconography on Traquair's work.

The ranges of images that appear on folio 49 indicate the self-conscious pursuit of the dedicated professional artist (**Fig. 4.4**). Here, Traquair represents herself and her own life in narrative form. An angel, holding the burning torch of the symbol of Truth keeps watch over a solitary romantic figure. She is guided and inspired by angels. She sits at a desk with its working tools, and at her embroidery screen as the arts and crafts practitioner (**Fig.**



**4.5 a).** Traquair represents herself. She is in and part of the text. She is therefore part of the scriptural tradition that she celebrates. She incorporates herself into the visual and written signs of the manuscript (**Fig. 4.5 b**). She makes herself both the illuminator and the illuminated, inspired by an angel behind whom are bookshelves stacked with her own book collection. She takes on the role of a dedicated arts and crafts practitioner in an occupation which reaches into intensely personal, religious categories of ‘the artist’.

Traquair’s colleagues in the Edinburgh Social Union were literally bound into her copy of the *Psalms of David* (**Figs 4.6 a and b**). Patrick Geddes sent copies of her work to Ruskin, and by doing so, precipitated correspondence and the loan of manuscripts between them. Like other women, Ruskin’s approval added to her credentials as an artist. The women bookbinders of the Edinburgh Social Union had also generated their own style of bookbinding with Traquair.<sup>33</sup> As noted by DM Sutherland in an article on ‘The Guild of Women Bookbinders’ for *The Magazine of Art* in 1899, Mrs [Annie] Macdonald said that she and John Miller Gray (a close friend of Traquair, as noted above in her gift of a manuscript to him), ‘sought out old bindings both at home and abroad, and felt it was a beautiful art...we have a course of lessons every winter’. Sutherland continued to document the classes held by the Edinburgh Social Union where Traquair and her colleagues developed their own techniques of treating leather and bindings.

‘...the “Edinburgh” or medieval binding is a revival of the monastic work of the Middle Ages. It is embossed by hand on undressed morocco; is solid, durable, artistic and inexpensive, improves with age and in a year or two assumes a permanent “old ivory” tone.’<sup>34</sup>

Jane Easton forwarded or completed the binding of *The Psalms of David* in 1898.<sup>35</sup> She added decorative endpapers, red and white silk head and tail bands, and enclosed a red silk ribbon book mark in the gilt-edged manuscript pages. Easton, working in Constable's bindery formed the link that had been made between forwarders in the company and the women teachers and students of the Edinburgh Social Union.<sup>36</sup> JM Talbot, another of Traquair's colleagues teaching metalwork at Edinburgh Social Union Classes also made the silver clasps for her book. The embossed and gilded plain calf leather casing characterised the Edinburgh design of Traquair's *Psalms*.

As is clear from her copy of *The Psalms of David*, Traquair made unique copies of manuscripts and of bound books. *Sonnets from the Portuguese* written by Elizabeth Barrett Browning declared Traquair's sympathy with a female romantic poet and with her ideals for women.<sup>37</sup> She also bound a copy of Dante Gabriel Rossetti's *House of Life*.<sup>38</sup> Both contain elaborate manuscript illuminations, bound by TJ Cobden Sanderson at the Doves Press. With the *Psalms*, they can be described as *livres d'artistes* since they were conceived and bound to the highest specifications of arts and crafts ideals.

But while Traquair bound and copied many versions of romantic poets by hand, and cooperated with others in the process, she also adapted her skills to designs for printed books. As I have argued elsewhere, women artists developed forms of aesthetic and design styles both in unique calligraphic manuscripts and multiple copies of books in the late Victorian period. In whatever form they were produced in Scotland, books indicated the rise of education, publishing and literacy. They signalled that women wrote, read and worked with books as never before.<sup>39</sup> Although a critic like Margaret Armour celebrated artistic illumination she disparaged 'ticket writers and such avowed tradesmen'.<sup>40</sup> Nevertheless,

specialised, private calligraphy and commercial public graphic reproduction developed side by side. Illuminative or illustrative work both provided important sources of employment for women.<sup>41</sup>

When a friend and writer, Elizabeth Sharp (1856-1932), gathered an anthology of women's poetry, she asked Traquair to design a cover for the book. *Women's Voices: an anthology of the most characteristic poems by English, Scotch and Irish Women*, published in 1885, is bound in a dark blue cloth, and blocked in gold with a design of two figures rising heavenwards in an embrace. This design for the cloth boards of the book presaged the sinewy lines of Art Nouveau styles. While the texts collected in the book demonstrated its author celebrated the aesthetic development of women, Traquair's designs similarly celebrated the visual elements of this process. The book therefore provides one example of the mutual co-operation of artists in a shared venture in the cause of women's emancipation. *Women's Voices* demonstrated that an aesthetic 'sisterhood' worked to promote art from and by other women.<sup>42</sup>

When the Rev JS Black compiled a translation of Dante, Traquair was asked to provide illustrations to accompany the text. Traquair therefore produced line illustrations for a book privately printed by T & A Constable in 1890. Covered with a glazed 'Blaikie Red' maroon cover, with maroon and gold floral endpapers, it is possible that Traquair collaborated closely with Walter Blaikie as to the design of the book. Her line drawings that accompany the text are sketches, which, to a modern eye, seem like cartoons or storyboard pictures for a film. However, Traquair's approach to the text was serious. It had a religious and explanatory purpose. She explained to her nephew that designs for the book were consciously conceived: 'I adopted the diagrammatic manner on purpose, it being

necessary in a series of consecutive drawings meant to guide the reader.’<sup>43</sup> This mediation or ‘guidance’ provided by the illustrator to readers of text indicates how much the designer needed to understand and interpret ideas presented to them...

As an aspect of both her religious outlook and as an artist, Traquair did not dismiss the importance of popular magazines or literature. She designed accessible, descriptive, explanatory illustrations for them. She supported the evangelical zeal of fellow Edinburgh clerics. Rev David Balsillie believed in popular education in art, science and literature as well as in religion. From offices in Edinburgh, Balsillie produced *The Children’s Guide* in 1890 for which Traquair designed the title page (**Fig. 4.7 a**). As a woodblock print, Traquair’s work was produced before Morris began his work at the Kelmscott Press. Other illustrations, in the style of woodblocks are in fact line engravings printed from steel stereotypes. However, they also show Traquair’s ability to interpret ‘improving’ and moral folk tales for Balsillie’s evangelical project (**Figs. 4.7 b and 4.8**).

As predicted by Walter Blaikie, the *Guide* did not last long.<sup>44</sup> Instead, Balsillie began another paper for adults called *The Ladder*. Again he commissioned Traquair to provide a cover for the first issue in March 1891. Once again, Balsillie’s finances failed. Both publications were short-lived, but they show Traquair’s interest and enthusiasm as an illustrator for popular as well as specialised print production. She conceived the book page as part of an integrated design, noting, ‘Make your design support as it were, the printing...the printing and designs should be one.’<sup>45</sup> Traquair’s illustrations for the *Guide* antedate pictures produced by William Morris at the Kelmscott Press. Since her images presage those of Morris, it is possible to believe the Congress of 1889 (as noted in Chapter

Two), which had generated discussions of books, illustration and literature, contributed to subsequent projects for the generation of literature and art in Edinburgh.

In subsequent years, Traquair produced binding designs and frontispieces for other clerical friends, including the Rev Alexander Whyte, for Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier.<sup>46</sup> Church of Scotland clergymen appealed to the women and children in their congregations as a matter of progressive interest and concern, not simply an extension of Newmanite or Puseyite belief. Church and secular activities developed side by side with the industrial publishing interest of the city. By 1907, Traquair was now a 'well known artist' as TC and EC Jack advertised on their books in the 'Told to the Children Series'. This time Traquair produced watercolour illustrations for *Stories of Three Saints*, outlining the lives of three Celtic Saints, affirming her ecumenical outlook and showing her interest in the prevailing aesthetic of the Celtic Twilight.<sup>47</sup>

Besides these publications, Traquair also illustrated work for female colleague and writer Grace Warrack for her edition *Revelations of Divine Love* by Julian Anchoress at Norwich, AD 1373.<sup>48</sup> Once again the religious dedication of medieval saints adapted to the Arts and Crafts *zeitgeist*. The edition of a book about a Medieval female writer and saint encoded messages about the active intelligence and spiritual probity of women as artists. The book provided both women, as artists, with a cause for collaboration. Commissions from Warrack continued after the death of Traquair's husband in 1912. Warrack requested illustrations from Traquair, which were incorporated in *Florilegio di Canti Toscani* along with work of other women artists.<sup>49</sup> Traquair also sanctioned the re-use of her illustrations for a fundraising campaign at the request of Mary Warrack, one of Grace's sisters, to raise money for Belgian Refugees from the First World War in 1915.<sup>50</sup> The collaboration of

women artists in producing visual and written texts therefore provided a key element in their mutual support, but also in philanthropic activity.<sup>51</sup>

By 1910, Phoebe Traquair had painted a self-portrait (**Fig. 4.2**) now in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery. Her self-portrait, painted when she was nearly sixty, shows the artist self-consciously dressed as an artist. Her hair is drawn back in a red beret, much as a working woman with long hair would tie back her hair to protect it from the dust and materials with which she worked. Her smock is again a sign that she was a working artist, without decorative jewellery or ornament. She does not hold paintbrushes or stand at an easel, as many female artists did. She does not show her arms or her hands as if to show that her art is not just vested in painting, and as the picture is painted on a panel rather than on canvas her materials also differ from a conventional image.

The sitter's gaze is directed back from the centre of the picture to the onlooker. This fixed and still gaze, in my own view, is both steely and direct to show how a woman can paint a portrait in a manner to match portraitists celebrated at the beginning of James Caw's work on the Scottish tradition of painting. Frances Borzello mentions that by the twentieth century, women still needed to be 'determined' in order to maintain a career as an artist.<sup>52</sup> This significant self-recognition of the painter as an artist, her left eyebrow slightly raised and catching the light, confront the viewer as if to question them. If the question is 'Am I an artist?' or 'Am I a Scottish artist?' Traquair had reason to challenge her peers to accept her status as an artist as the following section on her relationship with the Royal Scottish Academy indicates.

*Phoebe Traquair and The Royal Scottish Academy*

In spite of the virtuosity of Phoebe Traquair she remained outside the art establishment for many years. In 1908 James Caw found grounds to exclude her from his canon of *Scottish Painting* and to deny her a place among Scottish artists, because she was not Scottish and because he believed her to be a muralist in the arts and crafts tradition. In fact she was partly Irish and partly Jewish (see footnote 25). He wrote,

‘As she is of Irish birth and her art has no direct connection with Scottish painting, no detailed analysis of her work will be made in this book.’<sup>53</sup>

In this instance, Caw distanced himself from any Scottish affinity with Celtic associations to Ireland. At the same time he made the point that in his view, the serious issues of Scottish art depended on a canon of male artists, as he made clear in his work and at The Scottish National Exhibition of 1908 held in Edinburgh, as discussed in Chapter Three.

Members of the RSA rejected Traquair’s early and repeated nominations to their society on the grounds that she was a craft worker rather than a painter. This was not just because she was an illustrator or that illustrators were considered second-rate, because many male members of the RSA also produced illustrations for books. Because she was a woman, male artists resisted her right to join their élite circle.<sup>54</sup> Men really felt threatened by the abilities of women artists in general and the aptitudes of Traquair in particular. Traquair’s eventual admission to the RSA shows her tenacity in pursuing recognition as a woman artist. Her repeated applications acted as an example. Women artists encouraged each

other to apply for memberships of these societies, and to become visible as will be explained below.

Since the RSA guarded their roles as fine artists and as professionals they controlled admission to membership through bureaucratic channels.<sup>55</sup> Fellow artists sponsored aspiring members to the RSA by placing their names in a Nomination Book. Nominees could be, and often were categorised as craft workers, and consequently, some, like Charles Mackie had to be proposed several times before their final election. Election to the membership of the RSA depended on the agreement of the Council. Sir George Reid (1841-1913) was President between 1891 and 1902. Initial attempts to elect Phoebe Traquair as an 'Associate' were discussed in Council on 2 February 1900;

'...some discussion took place as to whether Mrs Phoebe Traquair, one of the nominees, is a professional artist. Ultimately it was moved by Mr McKay, "that Mrs Traquair's name be deleted from the list of nominations for associateship, on the ground that the Council have no evidence that she is an artist by profession." The motion was seconded by Mr JC Noble and unanimously adopted.'<sup>56</sup>

Rejecting the Council's decision, William Hole (1867-1917) and James Lorimer (1856-1936) nominated Phoebe Traquair once again a little over two weeks later, on 21 February. On 5 March the minutes noted that Mr Hole had sent a note,

'...requesting that the name of Mrs Traquair be replaced on the list of nominations. After consideration, it was agreed to write to Mr Hole and say "that in the opinion of the Council, Mrs Traquair is not an artist by profession within the meaning and intention of the Charter" ...'<sup>57</sup>



Simultaneously, the minutes show that Mr [George W] Aikman (1831-1905) and Mr James Paterson (1854-1932) were asked to withdraw the nomination of another female artist, Mrs DO Hill.

Male artists who supported the nomination of women artists were aware of the unjust and unequal status of their female colleagues. Once again in February 1902 William Hole, J Lawton Wingate, James Pittendrigh Macgillivray, George Henry, James Lorimer, Alexander Roche, James Guthrie and Patrick McAdam nominated Phoebe Traquair as an 'Associate'. The fact that eight members of the Society raised the issue of her membership made no difference; her application was turned down again. Other women artists worked in concert to keep pressure on the RSA to admit them as 'Associates'. Lawton Wingate and Alexander Roche also nominated Christina Ross, Margaret [Meg] Wright, Mary Cameron and Emily Paterson in the same year.

In 1902 Sir George Reid retired as President of the Council of the RSA and James Guthrie was elected in his place on 12 November. The Council subsequently changed the rules for nominations by taking into account the number of recommendations submitted. The Council decided however, that their decision was too late to allow for Traquair's earlier nominations. So although the nominations for Traquair were in fact sufficient for the new rules, those rules were not applied. The new rules made no difference, and she was rejected once again.

In spite of the fact that Guthrie had supported Traquair's nomination, no woman gained admission as 'Associate' or 'Honorary; member of the RSA during his Presidency. Yet after the female franchise had been extended in 1917, and women were given greater public

recognition, it was difficult for the RSA to avoid the issue of female membership as a matter of national importance. Once again, Traquair was nominated in 1920 for 'Honorary membership'. James Paterson, seconded by James Pittendrigh Macgillivray, put her name forward and stated their desire 'to do her honour'. The Minutes for the year note,

'Mr Paterson...proceeded to speak of the remarkable work done by Mrs Traquair in Mural Painting and Decoration; as also in various kindred Arts and Crafts, instancing especially her work at the Mortuary of the Sick Children's Hospital, the Song School, St Mary's Cathedral and the Catholic Apostolic Church, as entitles Mrs Traquair to a very high rank amongst the Mural Painters. He moved that she be elected to Honorary Membership...Dr Macgillivray in seconding the motion endorsed all that Mr Paterson had said as to Mrs Traquair's qualifications as an artist. The motion having been put from the Chair was carried by acclamation.'

Traquair's admission as an Honorary Member of the RSA continued to omit her position as an 'artist' or painter, and appeared to insist on her role as 'Mural Painter' in order to qualify for membership. The Council accordingly appointed Traquair in 1920. Their action was only one gesture of approval to one woman over a period of twenty years. Only two women Christina Robertson and Fanny McIan had been elected as 'Honorary' members prior to Traquair, in 1829 and 1854 respectively. The RSA exemplified the resistance of men in the establishment to the professional status and abilities of women. No other woman was allowed into their circle for the next twenty four years. The first female elected as a full (as opposed to 'Associate' or 'Honorary') member of the RSA was sculptress Phyllis Bone in 1944.<sup>58</sup>

## **Hannah Clarke Preston MacGoun (1867-1913)**

‘Artists with little of her reach might criticise her colour schemes and her methods, but her work invariably found its way home – to that home, indeed she most desired it to go, the human heart.’

John Hogben, *Life and Work*, 1914<sup>59</sup>

Since Hannah MacGoun was the daughter of Isabella Clarke and Presbyterian Minister Robert William MacGoun, her religious upbringing moulded her approach to art and book illustration.<sup>60</sup> As seen in the case of Phoebe Traquair, evangelism and philanthropy extended by the clergy and their families to their society, co-ordinated with the impulse of printers and publishers to inform, represent and extend religious, educational and moral ideals. Conformist and non-conformist faiths maintained a continuity of purpose. Monotheistic Christianity informed the Church of Scotland, even if it split into different congregations that emphasised their own forms of practice and worship. Common beliefs in Scotland sustained the propagation of hegemonic Christianity. Christian communities could relate to the tradition of the earliest Christian communities in Scotland. Books as artefacts signified the spread of the Johannine ‘word’, and maintained central imaginary and symbolic significance for Scottish dogma.

A watercolour self-portrait (SNPG 1481, 1887) shows Hannah MacGoun as a young woman. Her painterly style predominates in many of her illustrations. However, book illustration was not at odds with her artistic or religious convictions, or the context of evangelical art and textual inscription in Edinburgh. Although profoundly deaf, she

attended the Trustees Academy between 1886 and 1892,<sup>61</sup> as her sister Janet had also done before her.<sup>62</sup> Hannah received a range of prizes, one of which she shared with Anna K Woon in 1886. She had already submitted work for the Royal Scottish Academy exhibition in 1885, and continued to do so each year from 1887 for the rest of her life.<sup>63</sup>

Hannah MacGoun painted in a contemporary social realist style, encouraged by her teacher and artist at the Academy, Robert Macgregor, RSA.<sup>64</sup> Like him, she showed human figures in naturalistic landscapes. She chose her subjects as workers conducting their daily routines. Her images encoded the social realist's commitment to record and celebrate the dignity of human labour. As such, her work contained social and religious views of the sanctity of human labours and therefore she set out her own moral purpose, and the moral lesson of others. She expressed a Victorian sentiment, an admiration for honest workers.<sup>65</sup> When Hannah MacGoun completed her studies at the Academy, she travelled to Dresden and Berlin. She also went to Holland and met Josef Israels and Bernardus Blommers, both painters, but with specific interests in engraving and lithography.

In parallel to the literary genre of the time, she aimed at a genuine, if pious and romanticised view of rural Scottish life, as writers of the 'kailyard' similarly expressed themselves.<sup>66</sup> The tradition of the kailyard is often discussed and denigrated in literary terms. How far it formed an authentic and genuine reflection of the way people acted and thought in a largely agrarian culture is a matter of debate.<sup>67</sup> Duncan Macmillan chooses to refer to this aspect of Scottish Art as 'The Rural Scene' as indeed it was for painters like James Lawton Wingate, or James Guthrie, or Arthur Melville. For them as for MacGoun, the rural idylls of Scotland celebrated both the Scottish landscape and the simplicity of domestic life rooted in the cabbage patches of country people.<sup>68</sup> Such attention to social

reality and the rural outlook of many Scots express MacGoun's interest in common emotions as opposed to the elevated and more refined images of Scottish high culture.

It is impossible to say whether Macgregor or Cadenhead from the Academy enlisted Hannah MacGoun to work on her first illustrations for the Church of Scotland magazine *Life and Work*. What is clear is that her first illustration accompanied a poem by her late father, entitled 'Stranded'.<sup>69</sup> A second image showed two girls looking towards a portrait of a woman. The dominant images of women in this picture suggest the active emancipation of women as part of a family tradition.<sup>70</sup> A range of images by MacGoun for the magazine, although disappointing in quality and form, nevertheless show how the Scottish Church patronised clerical literature, and how enlisting members of their families could validate the position and piety of a dutiful daughter. By providing work for a female artist, the magazine was practising what it preached. Issues of the magazine promoted the active participation of women in the church and in philanthropic activities.<sup>71</sup>

In 1896 MacGoun began to practise as a professional artist from a studio in Edinburgh. As far as can be traced, her first commission to provide illustrations for a book appears to have come from Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier.<sup>72</sup> She illustrated a novel by Ellinor Davenport Adams, called *Little Miss Conceit*, a moral tale showing the ultimate redemption of an otherwise impossibly proud and vain girl – suitable reading matter for young women otherwise discouraged to read novels. The six watercolour illustrations and a black and white line drawing for the title page show that MacGoun interpreted her subjects for each single page as an individual painting, while the title page is also a combination of design and figurative images. While typography and layout appear to have been decided by the publisher, the illustrator provided illustrated sections for the book. They could be adapted

to the cover or incorporated into the book, but were essentially separate entities to the production process of the book. MacGoun therefore supplied a series of visual narrative pictures to explain the text, no more, no less.

With a studio, MacGoun sustained her career as an artist by producing works for exhibitions and painting portraits.<sup>73</sup> Like other working artists however, MacGoun illustrated works for publishers as required. In 1903 she illustrated a popular edition of *Robert Burns* for Collins Publishers.<sup>74</sup> More significantly however, from 1905 onwards she gained a steady stream of work from TN Foulis, whose policy was to engage illustrators who had been trained as artists.<sup>75</sup> Ephick and Harris have documented the conscious marketing of TN Foulis and his company to produce books as desirable, carefully designed objects. Foulis himself, after visiting George Auriol in France in 1910 commissioned the Auriol typeface especially for his books. As a publisher, he offered male and female artists the opportunity to develop binding, formats and colour combinations of decorative type for the company. After 1907, Jessie King designed series of Envelope Books and Friendship Books, interweaving design styles of the format with illustrations from other artists.

In 1905 MacGoun was invited to provide illustrations for TH Foulis' edition of *Rob Lindsay and his School: a Reminiscence of Seventy-Five years ago*, by William Macgillivray, a retired lawyer and businessman.<sup>76</sup> MacGoun conceived a religious subtext to the character of Rob Lindsay, noting to her friend John Hogben,

'I am very glad that you like the title page so much...it came easily to me, and it seemed almost fortuitous the way the characters came together. The light round Rob's head was only meant to centralise and focus the group, but it falls with the idea one has of Rob as a suffering saint, and this his aureole.'<sup>77</sup>

MacGoun illustrated line drawings of Scottish children attending Rob's school in the Grampians. The drawings show Scottish children in the process of obtaining an education in a small rural community, at wooden benches in a simple cottage. These figurative drawings record both the aspirations and simple dedication of ordinary people in poor conditions. Her illustrations incorporate her own handwritten captions to the pictures, inscribing words into the pictures, a narrative support and calligraphic habit of Scottish illustrators that becomes more visible the more one sees of their work. Again the simplicity of the drawings approach the simplified designs of cartoon illustration, and as such shows their appeal to informal popular audiences. The publishers described the reproductions as 'colotype vignettes' or lithographed plates.

The illustrations for *Rob Lindsay* marked the beginning of MacGoun's productive collaboration as an illustrator for TN Foulis. She illustrated five more books written by Macgillivray between 1905 and 1913. Each of the books was printed at least four times and, if each print run was 1000 copies (as advertised in the end-pages of *Rob Lindsay*), then 20 000 copies of one author's books alone were produced for sale. Each book connected church, community and the process of education in the kailyard tradition.

Added to the 'Rob Lindsay Series', MacGoun illustrated works by an Edinburgh physician and essayist Dr John Brown.<sup>78</sup> One of Brown's most popular stories recalled the life of a child prodigy, admired by Sir Walter Scott. The tragic tale of *Pet Marjorie*, who died at the

age of twelve, evokes earlier children's literature in so far as it confronts the issue of the death of a child, and the bravery of that child confronting death. It tells of her humour and of her enthusiasm for education. It shows a reverence for her lively intellect. This moral tale can be treated as a story of the development of education and educational discourse for women. MacGoun's illustration of the virtuous girl sitting at her desk and writing can also be read as the artist's commentary on the desirability of education for women. The artist prepared her illustrations as watercolours, and they were printed in colour, enabling readers to own a cheap and coloured reading book. The story and the publication became so popular that illustrations from *Pet Marjorie* were re-used in a composite book of *Little Prose Masterpieces* (1907), for 'The Envelope Series' (1911), 'Dr John Brown Booklets' (1913) as well as for 'Friendship Booklets' (1913) showing that TN Foulis capitalised on recycling well-tested successes, simply restyling formats of popular works for the market. Again, John Brown's stories proved so popular that she illustrated further works by the same author.<sup>79</sup>

Many of MacGoun's illustrations show intimate, Scottish and gendered worlds of children, the home and the church. These included works reproduced as separate watercolour pictures reproduced in colour. She illustrated works by female writers such as Katharine Burrill, Hilda Murray of Elibank and Lady Beatrice Kemp, all stressing the simple virtues of family life in Scotland.<sup>80</sup> The polite subject of 'Friendship' provided MacGoun with other opportunities for illustration as TN Foulis developed their lists for home and foreign sales.<sup>81</sup> TN Foulis also included works of popular Celtic Twilight author, Fiona Macleod, a connection that persisted well into the 1920s. MacGoun provided vivid colour illustrations for the *At the Turn of the Year: Essays and Nature Thoughts* and *On the Hills of Time: being Mottoes from Fiona Macleod*, published in the year that she died, in 1913.



Reproduced as colour lithographs they were subsequently re-used in a book by Elizabeth Sharp and Roselle Lathrop Shields, *A Little Book of Nature Thoughts* published by TN Foulis in 1924.

MacGoun was aware of the need to keep exhibiting her own pictures and to maintain her working profile. She kept working to maintain the profile of a professional, a professional woman and a professional Scottish artist. Since she had trained at the Trustees' Academy, and since Caw supported the grand traditions of academic work, adapting them to Scottish practice, he acknowledged the work of MacGoun. He noted in *Scottish Painting Past and Present*, that,

‘Technically Miss HC Preston Macgoun [sic] has...profited much by the study of the Dutch genre-men. Her drawings are marked by a pleasing union of breadth and delicacy of tone and local colour, her draughtsmanship, if not very constructive, is gracious and expressive...’<sup>82</sup>

Caw's authoritative, if patronising tone, situated MacGoun firmly and safely in the domestic sphere of the female artist, noting,

‘...it is her sentiment for the incidents of home life, and specially for the ways of children, which forms the most attractive quality in her art. Sincere and sensitive, her water-colours, whether of Dutch or Scottish children, are informed by a tenderness of feeling and a great joy in the soft rounded forms and radiant faces of childhood which make them charming in a feminine way, and give one more real pleasure than much work of a pretentious kind. And in black and white, in such things as the illustrations she did for *Rob Lindsay and his School*, the *The Little Foxes*, she is equally happy.’<sup>83</sup>

Caw's comments discounted the fact that whatever images were represented, the essential skills for conveying those images, in fact involved efforts equal to those of any male artist. Safe in the conventional category of the domesticated woman, MacGoun could, therefore, receive the status of a Scottish artist. Maintaining propriety and respectability, Caw therefore gave her some praise. MacGoun's steely 'sentiments' meant that she exhibited in the International Exhibition of 1908, suggesting that she was not discouraged by Caw's criticism, and perhaps showing she was aware that the Scottish canon should include her work.

The figure of Grace Warrack, whose connections with Phoebe Traquair have already been mentioned above, re-emerges in connection with MacGoun.<sup>84</sup> In her edition of *Florilegio di Canti Toscani*, Warrack requested images from Traquair, from her sister Harriet Warrack, from May Watson, ML Harper (Mrs Leslie Milne) and also four drawings from Hannah MacGoun.<sup>85</sup> This collective and co-operative publication by women again highlights the degree to which mutual support among women writers and artists sustained their opportunities and careers. In *Florilegio*, Warrack made a careful note of her meetings with MacGoun, referring to the artist's poor health. She commented on MacGoun's habit of keeping a sketchbook, noting,

'Of the four pencil drawings by that gifted painter Miss Hannah Clarke Preston MacGoun, the small one was chosen by me from a little sketch book that she always kept by her and had filled, in moments of those recent years when the practice of her art had given place so greatly to prior claims.'<sup>86</sup>

Recollections from Warrack give an insight into the kind of exchange conducted in conversation between the artist and the writer. Warrack recalled,

‘“The Lullaby” and “The Children Playing” were drawn from this [MacGoun’s sketch-] book last Spring; but the picture of “The Child Praying” was a thought of her own, inspired by the words of the little hymn book that took hold of her, “*Gesu Nazareno*” – and this she gave to me, for the book had gained so much of her interest.’<sup>87</sup>

Warrack owned two of MacGoun’s paintings, ‘The Staff of Life’<sup>88</sup> and ‘Sanctuary’.<sup>89</sup> Both women shared devotional and distinctly sentimental views of life, art and religion. They shared a generic understanding of what it meant to be ‘artists’ in the context of late Victorian practices, as discussed in Chapter One.

MacGoun believed that her role as an artist united social reality and religious conviction as she experienced them. The sentiments she expressed were the emotional forces that bore on her and on her life. As a spinster, her illustrations speak of the absence of her own children as well as the importance of their generic presence and continuity in Scottish life. Writing of MacGoun in an ‘Obituary’ for *Life and Work*, John Hogben referred to MacGoun as ‘the Scottish Kate Greenaway’. His article was accompanied by her painting, ‘The Threshold’ showing a woman holding a child and looking out to sea from a sunlit doorway. The illustration is sentimental. It stresses the centrality of the home. It does however also stress the primary necessity of warmth and affection. Metaphorically, MacGoun’s child was her art, and to her, ‘Art is the praise of something that you love’.<sup>90</sup> MacGoun kept a romantic dictum on her desk which read:

‘Be inspired by the belief that Life is a great and noble calling, not a mean and grovelling, that we are to shuffle through as best we can, but an elevated and lofty Destiny.’<sup>91</sup>

Her images filtered into international book markets, reproducing and creating specifically Scottish images of the nation.

## Summary

Female artists from the late nineteenth century onwards developed their skills as writers, readers, craft workers and illustrators. As shown in the last chapter, their names appeared in exhibitions and exhibition catalogues, exposing them as active and public participants in their culture. Women artists sustained roles in church and philanthropic societies and in education.<sup>92</sup> Simultaneously female campaigners sought equal representation for women in public roles and in government by seeking representation in Parliament.<sup>93</sup> Affirming their presence in a variety of ways, women absorbed generated and regenerated forms of text, forms of female inscription. So female artists and writers used existing visual and written language, glyphic signs and discourses available to them.

Obtaining skills to interpret and inscribe the written word, in books, design and illustrations formed – consciously and unconsciously – a means for women to inscribe their interpretations and their images, as agents of their narratives. Women illustrators could control the conception and production of calligraphic manuscripts if they had the materials to do so. For artists and illustrators of mechanically reproduced books, practices varied according to the publisher or printer who commissioned the work. Book work could not be and was not carried out in isolation. Images produced for mass market books by Traquair and MacGoun were conceived and drawn as works of art.

Conditioned by, and often deferring to, hegemonic ideology, women artists in Edinburgh at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries did not simply develop forms of feminine inscription systematically.<sup>94</sup> The gendered presence of women and children in their work was, in many ways, inevitable and inescapable. Allusions to Classical Greek and Roman goddesses, to religious and Marian images, idealised monarchs from history such as Queen Margaret and Mary Queen of Scots now appear a cliché-ridden repetition of hierarchical models. Yet they served to stress female desires to know and explore ideas of womanhood.

---

<sup>1</sup> CP Anstruther, 'Women's Work in Art Industries', *Scottish Art Review*, 6 November 1888, p 158; it seems reasonable to believe that this is the same Miss Anstruther who taught wood carving classes for the Edinburgh Social Union on Tuesday evenings in Leith Walk, as noted in EPL, Edinburgh Social Union Minute Book, 8 December, 1887

<sup>2</sup> Amelia Paton Hill (1820) or Isabella Scott Lauder (1839-1918) for instance, fall outside the strict framework, although other instances recur

<sup>3</sup> As has been pointed out already, Elizabeth Gulland effectively left Edinburgh for good in 1885, but maintained contacts in the city

<sup>4</sup> As was the case for Phoebe Traquair, see p 120 below

<sup>5</sup> As for Cecile Walton, born in Glasgow but brought up first in London and then in Edinburgh

<sup>6</sup> Edinburgh artists admired and the work of Jessie King for example, while Glasgow artists admired the work of Phoebe Traquair

<sup>7</sup> As used for the exhibition 'Glasgow Girls: women in Art and Design 1880-1920', at Kelvingrove Gallery in 1990 as a counterpoint to attention given to 'Glasgow Boys', as set out in Jude Burkhauser (Ed) et al., *Glasgow Girls*, Canongate/Glasgow Girls Research/Red Ochre Press, Edinburgh, 1993

<sup>8</sup> JL Caw, *Scottish Painting Past and Present 1620-1908*, TC & EC Jack, Edinburgh/London, 1908; as in the case of Phoebe Traquair, p 120

<sup>9</sup> See Helland, *Professional Women Artists*, op. cit., for example pp 82-3

<sup>10</sup> See also, Chapter Three, footnote 85

<sup>11</sup> Rozsika Parker, *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine*, The Women's Press, London, 1984

<sup>12</sup> I am indebted to Dr Elizabeth Cumming for personal guidance and information concerning Phoebe Traquair; see also below for her works

<sup>13</sup> For the historical roots of European calligraphic illumination see David Diringer, *The Hand Produced Book*, Hutchinson, London, 1953; *The Illuminated Book: its History and Production*, Faber & Faber, London, 1958; *Writing*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1965; *The Alphabet: a key to the history of Mankind*, Vols I & II, Hutchinson, London, 1968; and *A History of the Alphabet*, Unwin, London, 1977; for Scotland in particular, see William Smith Mitchell, *A History of Scottish Bookbinding*, Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh/London, 1955 in which the author refers to binder Helen Ross 1538-9, p 19; see also Margaret Macaulay, 'Mistress of the Golden Pen', *Scottish Book Collector*, 5/9, 1997 pp 15-7, for information on Esther Kello or Inglis (1573-1626); for further information on Scottish women binders see also Marianne Tidcombe, *Women Bookbinders 1880-1920*, Oak Knoll/British Library, New Castle USA/London, 1996 (for Esther Inglis p 35 and for Maria Weir, fl 1770-90, p 19)

<sup>14</sup> Ruari McLean, *Victorian Book Design and Colour Printing*, Faber & Faber, London, 1963, p 60; see also *Victorian Publishers' Book bindings*, The Gordon Fraser Gallery, London, 1974

<sup>15</sup> As shown, in an early book designed by Henry Shaw, *Illuminated Manuscripts of the Middle Ages*, William Pickering, London, 1833, see also WR Tymms and M Digby Wyatt, *The Art of Illumination as practised in Europe from the Earliest Times (Alphabets selected and chromolithographed)*, Day and Son, London, (n.d., c.1860); for design patterns see French pattern books such as Ernest Gillot, *Ornementation des Manuscrits au Moyen Age: Recueil de Documents et Lettres Ornées, Bordures Miniatures etcetera des Principaux Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, de Diverses Bibliothèques et des Monuments de l'époque*, Dessinées par Ernest Gillot, Paris, (n.d. c.1860); catalogues like these acted as sources for designs but also as advertisements for the expertise of the printers and publishers who produced them

<sup>16</sup> Elizabeth Cumming, *Phoebe Anna Traquair, 1852-1936*, SNPG, Edinburgh

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p 10

<sup>18</sup> Ramsay Traquair (1840-1912)

<sup>19</sup> John Miller Gray, 1850-1894, first Curator of the National Portrait Gallery

<sup>20</sup> (D (NG 1872))

<sup>21</sup> See for example printed versions by John Franklin, *The Psalms of David*, Franklin & Low, printed by Edmund Evans, London, 1862 see Ruari McLean; also see EPL YNK 520.888 *Catalogue of the Edinburgh Exhibition of Decorative Handiwork*, 1888, p 117, where a copy of the *Psalms* was exhibited, 'Psalmorum Davidis, paraphrasis poetica, authore Georgio Buchanano, Apud H Stephanum, c. 1566, Olive Morocco Binding, Gold Tooled, The Lord President [i.e. The Duke of Buccleuch]'

<sup>22</sup> She is believed to have produced three versions of *The Psalms of David*, one of which was listed in the *Catalogue of bindings by the Guild of Women Binders and the Hampstead Bindery*, some of which had been exhibited at the Glasgow Exhibition (see item 46), Maggs Brothers, London, December 10, 1900; she

---

reproduced separate pages for Lady Nicholson and Madame Carojam (see notes on folios facing pages 22,28 and 47

<sup>23</sup> Mary Armour, 'Beautiful Modern Manuscripts', *The Studio*, 1897, p 52

<sup>24</sup> A later copy of A Labitte, *Les Manuscrits et l'Art de les Orner*, appeared as one of the Edinburgh bindings for a *Catalogue of the Exhibition of Artistic Bookbinding by Women*, shown by Frank Karlake in 1898, as a book bound by Phoebe Traquair. It seems reasonable to believe that this was a source for her manuscript illuminations

<sup>25</sup> Siân Reynolds has kindly given me the following citation from NLS MS 21547, Wallace Papers (family of Otilie McLaren), Letter 18, Dec 1901, 'Yesterday Mrs Traquair called in. I asked her if she were a Celt and found that she is just the mixture of Jew and Celt as we are' – Otilie McLaren's mother was Jewish

<sup>26</sup> In her correspondence, Traquair refers to the Book of Kells, as well as reproduced versions, as noted in her letter to William Moss, NLS MS 8122, Fol 21, 17 August 1892

<sup>27</sup> NLS MS 8122, Fol 1, 7 July 1890, Traquair to her nephew William Moss, 'I am trying to find out all I can about Saint Margaret of Scotland'

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid*, Fol 5, 13 January 1892

<sup>29</sup> NLS Adv MS 1.1.1, admired by Ruskin on his visit to Edinburgh in 1853

<sup>30</sup> NLS MS 8122, Fol 77, 25 December, 1896

<sup>31</sup> Armour, *op. cit.*

<sup>32</sup> NLS MS 8122 Fol 225, includes 'Notes by PA Traquair on the "Songs of Experience"'; these give line-by-line analyses of the text, drawn from a copy of the Canterbury Poets edition of William Blake, Walter Scott, Newcastle, 1885, given to the artist's sister, Amelia Moss in September 1889 – and bequeathed to Traquair in 1930

<sup>33</sup> As an outcome of the Design Classes run by Phoebe Traquair in 1891, by 1898 a catalogue of the (Victoria and Albert Museum) *Exhibition of Artistic Bookbinding by Women*, listed books from the Social Union Studio (Edinburgh), by Miss Balfour Melville, Miss Stewart, Jessie R MacGibbon, Mrs Macdonald, Miss MacLagan, Miss Sym and Mrs Traquair, pp 8-12

<sup>34</sup> DM Sutherland, 'The Guild of Women Bookbinders', *The Magazine of Art*, 1899, p42, a copy with thanks to Elizabeth Cumming

<sup>35</sup> Listed in NLS Constable's Archives, Dep 307: 227, Warehouse Wages 1882-1890

<sup>36</sup> A link facilitated by Walter Blaikie in his role on the Decorative Arts Committee of the Edinburgh Social Union

<sup>37</sup> Elizabeth Barret Browning, *Sonnets from the Portuguese*, produced 1895-7, NLS MS 8126

<sup>38</sup> NLS MS 8127

<sup>39</sup> R Addison, 'Spirited Activity: Scottish Design and Women Illustrators, 1890-1920', *Journal of the Society for Scottish Art History*, 5, 2000, pp 59-68

<sup>40</sup> Armour, *op. cit.*, p 54

<sup>41</sup> As in Siân Reynolds, *Britannica's Typesetters* *op. cit.*, as in NLS Constable's Archives, as in Marianne Tidcombe, *op. cit.*, and also in Ruari McLean, *Victorian Book Design*, *op. cit.*, who discusses the work of colourist Mary Byfield and the woodcuts of Elizabeth and Charlotte Whittingham for their father, Charles, the printer

<sup>42</sup> Elizabeth Amelia Sharp (1852-1932) married William Sharp who adopted the pseudonym Fiona MacLeod. Both represented the aesthetics of the 'Celtic Twilight'. Both were active figures in Scotland and England, and both wrote as art critics for the *Glasgow Herald*. Elizabeth edited other volumes about music and poetry, including *Women's Voices: An Anthology of the Most Characteristic Poems by English, Scotch and Irish Women*, Scott, Newcastle, 1885 and London, 1887; *Sea Music: an Anthology of Poems and passages descriptive of the Sea*, London, 1887, *Women Poets of the Victorian Era* London, 1891, *Great Musical Composers: German, French and Italian*, Scott, London, 1893, *Heine in Art and Letters*, London, 1895, *Lyra Celtica*, Edinburgh, 1896, *English Idylls: The Princess and Other Poems*, London, 1900, *Rembrandt*, London, 1904, *The Progress of Art in the Century*, London/Edinburgh/Toronto, 1906 and a *Memoir of William Sharp (Fiona Macleod)*, Heinemann, London, 1910

<sup>43</sup> JS Black, *Dante: Illustrations and Notes*, Foreword by Alexander Whyte, T & A Constable, Edinburgh 1890; for Traquair's comments see NLS MS 8122, Fol 1 and Fol 5, 1 February, 1891

<sup>44</sup> NLS Constable's Archive, MS 23248, Fol 721, 24 January, 1890, Walter Blaikie to David Balsillie, 'Dear Mr Balsillie, I wish to write you a line to say for the last time what I have frequently said before, that I think your decision to make your Children's Guide 32 pages and charge one penny for it is a mistake and can never be a commercial success...Believe me...'

<sup>45</sup> NLS MS 8122, Traquair to Moss, Fol 27, 9 January, 1893

<sup>46</sup> e.g., John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1894 (also re NLS Constable's Archive MS 23256, Fol 492, 13 December, 1893, Blaikie to Ferrier, 'Dear Mr Ferrier...as to Mrs Traquair, I asked her her price, and she said five guineas. I thought it was high but could say nothing. A go-between in such matters is in a very awkward position and I must ask you kindly to deal with her direct...')

also John Bunyan, *The Holy War*, 1894;

Alexander Whyte, *Santa Teresa: An Appreciation*, 1898; *Sir Thomas Brown and his Religio Medici*, 1898; *Father John of the Greek Church*, 1898; *Joseph and Mary*, 1900; *Newman: An Appreciation*, 1901; all printed by Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier

<sup>47</sup> Mary MacGregor, *Stories of Three Saints*, TC & EC Jack, Edinburgh/London, 1907

<sup>48</sup> Grace Warrack (1855-1932), *Revelations of Divine Love, recorded by Julian, anchoress at Norwich, AD 1373*, Methuen, London, 1901 (a book which ran to over thirteen editions into the 1960s); for Warrack's Obituary, see *The Scotsman*, 1 February 1932

<sup>49</sup> See below for Warrack's inclusion of illustrations by Hannah MacGoun and by her sister Harriet among others, in *Florilegio di Canti Toscani: Folk Songs of the Tuscan Hills with English Renderings*, Alexander Moring at the De La More Press, London, 1914; the book gave her address as 'Aros', St Margaret's Road, Edinburgh

<sup>50</sup> Mary Warrack, *Song in the Night*, De La More Press, London, 1915; see Cumming, op. cit., p 50

<sup>51</sup> For further use of Traquair's illustrations see also, Grace Warrack, *Une Guirlande de Poésies Diverses, From the Song of France: Poetry Early and Recent*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1923

<sup>52</sup> Frances Borzello, *Seeing Ourselves*, Thames & Hudson, London, p 126

<sup>53</sup> Caw, op. cit., p 354

<sup>54</sup> See Joanna Soden, 'The Role of the RSA in Art Education during the 19<sup>th</sup> Century', *Journal of the Society for Scottish Art History*, 4. 1999, pp 34-41. Soden has pointed out that nineteenth century records of the RSA do not mention women at all, pers. comm.; I am grateful for her assistance at the SNGMA archive, for access to the RSA Minutes from 1900 and 1920

<sup>55</sup> Only two women prior to Traquair had been made Honorary Members of the RSA, Christina Robertson (1796-1854) – for further information see Alan Bird, Elizaveta Renne and Joanna Vickery, *Christina Robertson: A Scottish Portraitist at the Russian Court*, State Hermitage & State Russian Museum, St Petersburg and the City of Edinburgh Council, 1996 - was elected in 1829, and Fanny MacLain (1814-1897) was elected in 1854

<sup>56</sup> SNGMA Archive, RSA Council Minutes, 21/2/1900

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 5/3/1900

<sup>58</sup> See Esme Gordon, *The Royal Scottish Academy of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture, 1826-1976*, Charles Skilton, Edinburgh, 1976

<sup>59</sup> John Hogben, an obituary for 'Hannah C. Preston MacGoun, RSW', *Life and Work*, January 1914, p 13; friend of MacGoun; son of the Skerryvore Lighthouse-keeper, poet and clerk to Robert Louis Stevenson; a poet and correspondent for *The Leith Observer*, wrote memoirs of the artist in his Preface to Fiona MacLeod, *At the Turn of the Year: Essays and Nature Thoughts*, TN Foulis, Edinburgh/London, 1913

<sup>60</sup> Hew Scott DD (Ed), *Fasti Ecclesiae Scotticae*, Vol 1, Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh, 1915;

Robert William MacGoun (b. Greenock 1813 and d. Edinburgh 1871), MA Glasgow 1831, Licensed to the Presbytery of Glasgow; missionary at Dumbarton and Wallacetown, Ayr, ordained 1844; married Isabella Clarke, daughter of Robert Clarke of Comrie and Isabella Wellwood Preston; 8 children, 2 deceased, Janet Anne Stuart, Mary Wellwood, Hannah Clarke Preston, Susan Catherine, Robert and William

<sup>61</sup> ECA Archive, School of Art Committee Minutes, 1/1/1, p 70, in which there are notes that Hannah was awarded prizes in 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890; in 1891 her Head from Life was highly commended; for her deafness see J Hogben Preface to Fiona Macleod, *At the Turn of the Year: Essays and Nature Thoughts*, TN Foulis, Edinburgh, 1913, p 13

<sup>62</sup> Janet Anne Stuart MacGoun attended the Trustees' Academy between 1878 and 1881, winning second prize in Drawing and Shading from the Round in 1878, ECA Archive, *School of Art Committee Minutes*, 1/1/1, p 47. She submitted work to the Exhibition of Decorative Handiwork in 1888 at the RSA Gallery, EPL wYNK. 520.888, *Catalogue of the Exhibition of Decorative Handiwork, 1888*. She began her studies in the academic year following Elizabeth Gulland's departure; Harriet Warrack was a fellow student; she was taught by James Cadenhead, illustrator for *Life and Work* and owner of a work by Hannah MacGoun, donated to the SMAA in 1918 and subsequently given to the City of Edinburgh, see *Catalogue of Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture in the City of Edinburgh Art Collection*, City of Edinburgh Museums and Art Galleries, Edinburgh, 1979, p 62



<sup>63</sup> CB de Laperrière et al., *RSA Exhibitors 1826-1990*, Hilmarton Manor Press, Wiltshire, 1991 – entries for HCPMacGoun, 1885 ‘Somebody’s Darling’, 1887-1914 annual exhibits; 1896 onwards her address was The Studio, 130 George Street, Edinburgh

<sup>64</sup> Robert Macgregor, 1847-1922, see Harris and Halsby; James Caw noted he ‘Trained as a designer for textiles (in Yorkshire), he came to Scotland, to Dunfermline to his father’s native place to pursue his calling, and later settled in Edinburgh, where he was engaged for some time in making illustrations for Messrs Nelson’s publications. Before this he had had no regular art training, but, while still very young, he had received some instruction from a Frenchman....[he used] a subdued palette...without fuss or flourish’, JL Caw, op. cit., p 283

<sup>65</sup> As also in Macgregor, Hubert von Herkomer and painters of the Barbizon School such as Bastien le Page, and the Hague School of painters such as Josef Israels

<sup>66</sup> The kailyard school of writers derided by JS Millar, Edinburgh academic, 1895

<sup>67</sup> For an indication of the extent to which Britain remained an agrarian society, see Jose Harris

<sup>68</sup> e.g. Arthur Melville ‘A Cabbage Gardner’(1877); James Guthrie ‘The Hind’s Daughter (1883)

<sup>69</sup> *Life and Work: a Parish Magazine*, Edinburgh, 1894, p 110; Published under the supervision of a Committee of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland by David Douglas 1879, who as noted in Chapter three, underwrote the Women’s Industries Section Pamphlet.

Volumes of the magazine included illustrations by artists such as Noel Paton, Robert Herdman, WH Paton, George Reid, James Cadenhead, Charles Mackie, William Hole, and, between 1890-1903 Robert Macgregor. The magazine gave prominent credit to engravers assigned to reproduce artists’ illustrations

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 1896, p 10

<sup>71</sup> Issues of *Life and Work*, first published in 1879, refer to many aspects of female employment.

1879 Vol 1 referred to the work of Phoebe Blyth who had been running cookery classes for ragged schools in Edinburgh since 1871

1883, Vol 5 p 88, references to the YWCA and affiliated institute in Edinburgh; also p 102 references to The Scotch Girls Friendly Society and its publication the *Scotch Girls Friendly Society Reporter*. The article notes that ‘This society is to provide friends for the working girls of Scotland in a class above their own, and to help them avoid bad company by introducing them to earnest and pure-minded women wherever they go...it is unsectarian...other churches are amply represented’; the Society pledged ‘to avoid reading bad books and magazines; to endeavour to spread no scandal and to repeat no idle tale to the disadvantage of others; to dress simply according to their station, avoiding all exaggerated fashions’. The Society possessed a Sick Fund and engaged a ‘Biblewoman to labour among the destitute and friendless girls at a Lodge at 38 Castle Street, Edinburgh, where the members coming from the country can be boarded and lodged at a cheap rate, and can utilise a Library...’

From 1884 the publication of *Life and Work* passed to R & R Clark, but continued to carry articles such as An appeal for Mission support to Herring Girls (Vol 6, 1884, p 100, see also Vol 8, 1886, p 74); to Woman’s Work and its possible Organisation, written by Rev Prof AH Charteris, proposing the formation of a Church of Scotland Women Worker’s Guild, noting that ‘within the Guild, as in the Church...we are all equal’ and argued that women should be recognised as Deaconesses in the Church.

Issues of *Life and Work* regularly reviewed books by women, especially those of Annie Swan (e.g. Vol 9, 1887, p 174)

<sup>72</sup> Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier were based in Edinburgh and actively engaged female authors and illustrators for their books. Writers Annie S Swan, Maggie Swan, Robina Hardy and Ellinor Davenport Adams were in their lists; illustrators included Edith Scannell, Elizabeth Gulland and Hannah MacGoun. Flora Masson contributed to a work by JB Gillies on Edinburgh Past and Present which they published in 1891. They also published Alexander Whyte, *Bunyan Characters: Lectures Delivered in St George’s Free Church*, indicating both the religious and secular networks in operation at this publishing house

<sup>73</sup> MacGoun’s submissions to the RSA exhibitions included (*inter alia*) the following portraits:

Graeme, son of WS Haldane Esq., WS, 1899

Elsie, daughter of Mrs Thomas Nelson, 1900

Marjorie, daughter of JS Patmore Esq., 1901

Alice, daughter of Christopher N Johnson KC, 1904

Lady Mary Scott, daughter of the Earl of Dalkeith, 1907

William Macgillivray (author), 1909

Harold, son of TB Morrison Esq., 1912

John, son of John A Inglis of Redhall, submitted posthumously, 1914

In de Laperrière et al., op. cit., entries for MacGoun;

---

The artist submitted works to the Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts in Glasgow between 1898 and 1913, in Roger Bilcliffe, *The Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts 1861-1989: a Dictionary of Exhibitors*, The Woodend Press, Suffolk, 1989

MacGoun also joined the Royal Scottish Society of Painters in Water Colours and exhibited with them between 1903 and 1913, with thanks to Gordon McAllister of the RSPW, June 2000

<sup>74</sup> Robert Ford, *Robert Burns with an Introduction, Notes and Glossary*, Collins Illustrated Poets, Glasgow, 1903

<sup>75</sup> Ian Elphick and Paul Harris, *TN Foulis: The History and bibliography of an Edinburgh Publishing House*, Werner Shaw, London, 1998, note that David Douglas and TN Foulis (1874-1943) worked together as booksellers from 1877 until the time of David Douglas' death in 1899. From 1901 onwards, Foulis and his mother lived at 27 Cluny Gardens in Morningside, not far from MacGoun's own home. Foulis engaged the artist Joseph Simpson (1879-1939) as an editor for the Company, who through his contacts with the Edinburgh Arts Club also commissioned women artists. TN Foulis' artists exhibited and sold their illustrations at the Arts Club

<sup>76</sup> A version of the book was produced by William Hay, publisher in Edinburgh in the same year, and it is possible that TN Foulis took over the project. Printers R & R Clark reprinted a second edition in 1906 and 1908; Mrs Janet Craig has said that James Pittendrigh Macgillivray and William Macgillivray were related

<sup>77</sup> Cited in John Hogben's Introduction to Fiona Macleod: *At the Turn of the Year*, op. cit., p 13

<sup>78</sup> Dr John Brown (1810-1882)

<sup>79</sup> *Rab and His Friends*, (1908), *A Little Book of Children* (1911), *A Little Book of Dogs* (1911), *Jeems the Doorkeeper* (1912) and *Queen Mary's Garden* (1914)

<sup>80</sup> Katharine Burrill wrote for *Chambers' Magazine*, and produced other novels and essays (*Corner Stones*, *Shell Gatherers*, *Loose Beads*) as noted in the advertising sections of *The Little Foxes*, TN Foulis, Edinburgh/London, 1907; Lady Hilda Murray of Elibank is for the moment more obscure although again she wrote other titles, including a cookery book for children illustrated by Mabel Lucie Attwell; while *The Five Little Miss Deacons* appears to have been the only book written by Lady Beatrice Kemp

<sup>81</sup> Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Friendship*, 1910; and Alfred Hyatt, *The Gift of Friendship* (1910), *The Joys of Friendship* (1911), *Friendship's Sunshine* (1912) and *The Book of Good Friendship* (1912). TN Foulis developed international lists from these books in series, for Britain 'The London Booklets', for America 'The Joyous Life', for Germany 'Die Rosen von Parnassus' and France 'Les Petits Livres d'Or'

<sup>82</sup> Caw, op. cit., p 428

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

<sup>84</sup> See notes 49 and 50 above, re Traquair and Grace Warrack

<sup>85</sup> Warrack, op. cit., Note 50

<sup>86</sup> Warrack, op. cit., Preface, p 13

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> Lent to the RSA in 1913

<sup>89</sup> SNPG Notes, PG 1481

<sup>90</sup> John Hogben, *Life and Work*, January 1914, pp 12-13

<sup>91</sup> Cited (anon) in *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Pictures by the late Hannah Clarke Preston MacGoun*, RSW, The New Gallery, Edinburgh, 1914, p 6

<sup>92</sup> As noted by Olive Checkland

<sup>93</sup> As mentioned in Chapter Two

<sup>94</sup> Prevailing attitudes in 1880 can be read from the anonymous writer of an article on 'Clever Married Women' *Chambers' Journal of Popular Literature, Science and Arts*, WR Chambers, Edinburgh/London, 1 May 1880, p 286 who acknowledged the achievement of Sara Coleridge, Mary Howitt, Georges Sand, Fanny Burney and Angelica Kauffman, but at the same time cited cautions from Canon Charles Kingsley, 'Be good sweet maid, and let who will be clever,  
Do noble things, not dream them all day long,  
So making life, death and that vast forever,  
One grand, sweet song...'



## CHAPTER 5: EMANCIPATION

‘Purple stands for the loyal heart...White for Purity...Green for hope...’<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 5.1)

### Greatness, Girlhood, Womanhood

Whether women illustrators gained canonical status is, as already discussed in Chapter One, secondary to the way they functioned at all as artists. ‘Greatness’ belonged to the male ‘genius’. Working women were often trapped as ‘girls’ in roles without status or prospects. As artists, women faced the problem of their conditioning, what they or others could expect. Ingrained prejudices against skilled or professionally qualified women remained from envy and from established interests. As discussed in Chapter One, some members of the Church and State reinforced gendered interests. By the end of the First World War in 1918, women in Edinburgh submitted their jobs to returning soldiers and places in teaching and art training were deliberately made for them (as noted in Chapter Two).

In late Victorian and early Edwardian Edinburgh, the ‘greatness’ of female artists as illustrators, although desirable to conventional canons of art, is less significant an issue than their active presence in the context of art education, exhibitions and book production. Established craft apprenticeships were at best gendered and at worst exclusively male, as became particularly clear from Associations like Edinburgh Typographia.<sup>2</sup> Alternatively, routes to professional recognition by institutions such as the RSA were completely closed off.<sup>3</sup> What was important was that women artists found outlets for their forms of expression, and those forms of expression exercised a means of cultural inscription.

The special status of single women and widows gave them particular freedom to pursue careers and develop a profession. Spinsters and single women like Mary Burton and Flora Stevenson contributed to the status of other women by remaining single. So too, Elizabeth Gulland and Hannah MacGoun signalled their purposeful pursuit of professional careers as artists by training, obtaining dedicated studio space and by consciously advertising their role as artists. By contrast, the special status of an aristocratic amateur artist such as Lady Aberdeen allowed her the freedom to be a mother, to facilitate cultural and industrial activity, to appear in public and to marshal resources unimpeded. In spite of family commitments, Isabella Thomson could trade on her reputation as the daughter of Robert Scott Lauder and could sustain her career as an artist partly through private tutoring. Similarly, the deference given to Mrs DO Hill was not sufficiently effective to allow her membership of the RSA, but like her daughter Amelia Paton Hill, both were able to claim some priority as real artists by association with David Octavius Hill. Phoebe Traquair balanced the demands of motherhood with philanthropic public projects, working from a studio in her home. The encouragement of progressive friends such as Patrick Geddes, Rev James Whyte and Rev David Balsillie also afforded her support as a woman worker.

After his purchase of the Outlook Tower in 1892, Patrick Geddes continued to develop civic activities through the Edinburgh Social Union. His civic plans for the city took the Outlook Tower as its centre. From there he ran a School of Art and devised his publications as Patrick Geddes and Associates. He particularly encouraged female artists to participate in his regeneration schemes and in his school, and the teachers he engaged such as John Duncan and Charles Mackie took particular pains to show their female students such as Helen Hay, Miss Mason, Miss Baxter and Miss Mackie (1885-1934) – sister of Charles Mackie – design and decorative skills. Helen Hay subsequently became Secretary

to Geddes' School. She also contributed illustrations to Geddes' publication *The Evergreen*. So women were being inducted seriously into the civic and artistic life of the city.<sup>4</sup>

Alternatively, some progressive social commentators in academic life and in the Church of Scotland did encourage women to cultivate their skills.<sup>5</sup> Educationalists, female artists and cultural facilitators added to the pressures for the authorities to give equal treatment to women who wanted education and careers in higher institutions of art. However, the process to emancipate women as participants in the formal and public political processes of the country was gradual.

### **WSPU Demonstration, Edinburgh 1909**

A rising tide of suffragist activity by December 1903 initiated the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU). The organisers stated that they established the Union in order to press for female suffrage and noted,

'That for all purposes connected with, and having reference to, the right to vote at Parliamentary Elections, words in the Representation of the People Act importing the masculine gender shall include women.'<sup>6</sup>

Separate initiatives and collective efforts by women artists remained much on the margins of real public representation until more strident suffragettes faced imprisonment and punishment for their views.<sup>7</sup> The Edinburgh National Society of Women's Suffrage maintained a commitment to equal representation.<sup>8</sup> Support for the cause of suffrage precipitated a large-scale demonstration in Edinburgh on 11 October 1909.<sup>9</sup>

The Women's Social and Political Union assisted by other sympathetic organisations staged a demonstration of between four and five thousand women through the centre of Edinburgh to demonstrate their solidarity with the cause of 'Votes for Women'. The reporter for *The Scotsman* noted the 'picturesque quality' of the event. Women marchers adopted a range of visual strategies to draw attention to their cause. They adopted a dress-code consisting of purple, white and green, symbolising their patriotism, their purity and their aspirations. Some marchers appealed to popular sympathy inscribing banners that announced, 'What's guid for John is guid for Janet', 'Ye Maunna tramp on the Scottish Thistle Laddie', 'He who's for us, for him are we' and 'Nae gain without pain'. The language of the banners emphasised the specifically Scottish commitment to the cause.

Apart from those wearing suffragist colours, and carrying banners, a number of women in the procession dressed as iconic female figures from Scottish history. They took on varied roles, including those of Devorgilla, architect of Dumfries Bridge and founder of Baliol College, Oxford; the Countess of Buchan, defender of Berwick; Fair Lilliard who had fought at Ancrum Moor; Jenny Geddes, female protester against Scottish clerical hypocrisy; Midside Maggie, who helped the Earl of Lauderdale escape from the authorities; Lady Grisel Baillie, Flora Macdonald and the (jingoistic) poetess Helen MacGregor. Inevitably, Mary Queen of Scots also appeared. But what these iconic female figures symbolised was the presence of Scottish women in their own cultural and political history.

Eighteen tableaux lined the route. The Women's Freedom League placed their stalls at intervals on the march. Flora Drummond, the Hon Mrs Haverfield and Lady Steel led the procession.<sup>10</sup> Mrs Pethwick Lawrence, Mrs Pankhurst and her daughter Christabel as well

as Flora Drummond addressed the crowds. They expressed support for imprisoned suffragettes and reiterated a collective demand, need and desire that women should obtain the vote. This spectacular display of female solidarity, accompanied by the sound of female pipers, showed that women were aware of a significant need to express their cultural presence and, as such, had the right to obtain representation as equal citizens. They demonstrated their cultural engagement with political issues. By adopting a festive strategy to make a serious point, disrupting the normally polite and serious conduct of the city through humour and pageantry, women projected visual images to show that the culture was a shared enterprise. Visually and literally, women stressed their agency in their own history, subverting normative views of women as unequal. A significant number of women wished to change their status, and wanted to have political representation. In order to do so they adopted strategies to disrupt the status quo. The WSPU demonstration was an example of this activity in Scotland. As Scottish women, they emphasised their political demands for political enfranchisement in this public display.

Representing a heroic past for Scottish women in the pageant of historical female figures meant that the organisers of the WSPU demonstration utilised national and patriotic symbolism to create overlapping constituencies of potential women voters and potential Scottish voters. Merging all available iconography to make their point, Scottish women made it clear they wanted to vote. The demonstration showed how the organisers activated all available visual and psychological means in their power to drive home their point about their desire to participate in the organisation and direction of their society.



## Reformations

*The Diplomaniac*

*The following lines may be of some encouragement to those contemplating the*

*Examination in Historic Ornament*

Oh! Find me my long lost head,

Just the head I had at the start.

Small wonder it cannot be found

In the maze that they designate Art!<sup>11</sup>

The connection between art training and the reproduction of illustrations for print marked a point at which female inscription became part of the cultural record of Scotland. Drawing and writing were basic educational skills. They remained a stable and simple form of expression. Teachers and students easily used the simple technology of paper and pencil. Although by now, photography and film became popular new media, print remained a traditional and relatively stable form of expressive outlet for women artists.<sup>12</sup>

Relatively minor records of small groups of fine artists show how art education atomised into groups of enthusiasts and amateurs. At the turn of the century, these small societies established printed booklets and constitutions to test and exercise their capacity to publicise, advertise and convey ideas in print. Their records underwrite the issues of producing illustration for print, and designing for book-work, but also indicate the extent to which they conceived their role in the Scottish capital. Like the catalogues for Edinburgh's International Exhibitions, these secondary, apparently disposable, secondary documents become primary sources for the activity of artists as illustrators.

Membership booklets for the Edinburgh School of Art Sketch Club pre-dated the new Edinburgh College of Art and its publication of issues of *The Cairn* by a decade.<sup>13</sup> Yet the Sketch Clubs, meeting on Saturdays, brought together students to organise an agenda for each month. The Club for 1905-6 printed its formal constitution (**Fig. 5.3**). Members who completed a monthly submission of artwork competed for ten prizes awarded over the Summer vacation.

As can be seen from the *Membership Booklet* cover of 1905 (**Fig. 5.3** above), a line drawing of a female figurine plays the bagpipes. Scottish thistles and thistle-leaf motifs interweave with Celtic-style lettering. An emblem of the city of Edinburgh lies behind a lighted lamp – the torch of truth, light and vision – an imaginative and vertical drift of flames suggesting the miraculous appearance of a woman, simultaneously evoking the importance of illumination and of light as a source for the artist. It is a feature of Edinburgh artwork that traditional heraldry often formed an element in illustrations. To signal knowledge in heraldry acknowledge local and national patriotic associations. It reflected the interests of a society in which feudalism, family connections and established forms of social status remained of great significance. The use of ethno-symbolic imagery weaves the woman into national and civic signifiers.<sup>14</sup> Drawn by a woman and signed with her name, Margaret S Dobson, the cover is a small but significant image.<sup>15</sup>

The following year, 1906-7 no-one signed the cover of the Sketch Club Booklet (**Fig. 5.4**). Once again, the emblem of Edinburgh city appeared, as did the magic lamp and a thistle motif. A female artist holding a painting palette and an artisan wielding a hammer appeared on the cover. Committee Members listed in the booklet largely remained the

same, although they were joined by students Stanley Cursiter and Alick Sturrock.<sup>16</sup> By 1908-9 the Club was re-named as the Edinburgh College of Art Students' Club, indicating the establishment of the new municipal school (**Fig. 5.5**).<sup>17</sup> The re-constituted club of 1908 raised subscription fees and committed themselves to an autumn exhibition.<sup>18</sup> As shown by her signature, Muriel Fry designed this cover illustration. She dispensed with city heraldry, and instead contrasted black and white space, placing a dark silhouette of a castle on crags (Edinburgh Castle?) against the naturalistic figure of a woman wearing a summer hat, using thematic, elliptical shapes in the design. The single, naturalistic form of a woman shows the persistent attempt of artists to continue to draw realistic figures, to design images that remained rooted in naturalism, and individualistic reality.

Ethel B Clark's design for the cover of the Students' Club for the following year did dispense with figurative forms (**Fig. 5.6**). Clark restored the Edinburgh city emblem. Thistles, laurel wreath, easel, palette and paintbrushes presented naturalistic symbols of the central practices of Scottish art.<sup>19</sup>

Women artists who produced designs for these small societies maintained the polite formality of formal constitutions and printed agendas. The existence of the clubs and their bureaucratic organisation of their conduct were carefully structured. The practice of art was consumed by traditional formalities. Illustrators of the booklets paid inordinate attention to the narrative meaning and details of their images. They wanted to show that artwork reflected the specific traditions of Edinburgh as a city. The booklets, so formal for informal society, gave some women illustrators the opportunity to make small-scale interventions into the committee organisations and male clubs of the city. Nevertheless, the Clubs remain as evidence of women artists' production and reproduction of printed images.

Editions of Edinburgh's college of art magazine, *The Cairn*, subsequently offered further opportunities for women students to contribute to the written records. Margaret Dobson (**Fig. 5.7a** see also **Fig. 5.20c**), Lena Alexander (**Fig. 5.7b**) and Ethel Clark (**Fig. 5.7c** see also **Fig. 5.20b**) continued to produce further illustrations for issues of the publication. College records show that there were many women students willing to contribute to commercial print production (**Fig. 5.8**). Among the students is Dorothea Waterston, a sister of Margaret Waterston who had been treasurer to the Edinburgh School of Art Sketch Club of 1905-6 (**Fig. 5.3** below). Both worked in the family printing business and actively assisted women artists, in particular, Cecile Walton, to gain further opportunities (see **Fig. 5.22a and b**). It is impossible to underestimate the material contribution such women made, as cultural facilitators for other women artists. They belonged in the commercial heart of the city, and sustain significant networks for artists. Another member of the family, Agnes Waterston acted as a Secretary to the Principal of the Art College in later correspondence between him and Joan Hassall (see Chapter Six).

## Mabel Royds (1874-1941)

‘When School was over, I would walk up Chalmers Street, cross the Lauriston Road and wait at the entrance of the College for someone to push open the heavy door for me. I would walk down a long flight of steps, turn left, and into a room where Mabel was teaching wood-cut printing. I kept quiet. When she was working, I knew I was not to disturb her.’

Marjorie Barton, *Memoir of Mabel Royds*, 1989<sup>20</sup>

Since the remit of Edinburgh College of Art in 1907 was to provide a distinctly modern arts and crafts education, the notion of what was ‘modern’ included education for female and male students. The appointment of women teachers formed a significant move at the new college, even if the Female School of the Trustees’ Academy had employed female tutors for many years. Mabel Royds was one of the first women teachers at the new College (**Fig. 2.7**).<sup>21</sup> When Royds joined Edinburgh College of Art she was thirty-three. She was an experienced, dedicated, practising artist who had experience of teaching in Canada. She was an experienced, dedicated, practising artist who had lived in Paris. She had worked in the cosmopolitan centre of art, the centre of the art market and the key location for artists of the period. She had travelled and taught abroad in Canada, so her outlook was uncompromisingly international in outlook.

A self-portrait (**Fig. 5.9**) although undated is a pencil sketch on paper. It is self-consciously drawn with the right hand pointing to the eye. It reads as a picture that describes an ideal of perception in the sight of a woman artist. Simultaneously, it stresses the manual skills of carried out by the hand of an artist. It is a narrative and descriptive portrait and makes a

personal statement about its author. Although it is just a sketch, in the context of the development of professional women artists of the time, the pose is formal and, as I read it, somewhat defiant. She took a serious approach to her work and to graphic design. As Cassatt and Morisot in Paris, or Berthe Lum in America had done, Royds took a special interest in Japanese printmaking and wood-block printing.<sup>22</sup>

Like MacGoun, Mabel Royds' father was a cleric. She understood the meaning of Christian commitment to a profession as well as commitment to the necessity of making a living. As the fifth of eleven children in the family of Hester Alington and Rev Nathaniel Royds, an Anglican parson, her religious upbringing provided her with an education and a conscious purpose. A woodcut of 1898 shows choirboys singing at a service, which Royds used as a Christmas card (**Fig. 5.11**). Later commissions indicate her sustained connections with the Christian church (see below).

The Royal Academy Schools offered Royds a Scholarship, but she chose to train at the more progressive Slade School of Art, succeeding women artists such as Gwen John, Edna Waugh and Ethel Walker, preceding Sylvia Gosse and Dora Carrington. She studied in the same classes as Irish artist Edith Somerville and Londoner, Molly Wheelhouse. Royds attended Fine Art and Fine Art Anatomy classes between 1892-7 and studied 'black and white' in classes given by Henry Tonks in 1893-5.<sup>23</sup>

After Royds completed her studies at the Slade in 1897, she went to Paris living in rooms close to the Rue de la Grande Chaumière, and to many of the teaching studios of the time. She supplemented an annual allowance of £23 by drafting poster designs for an unnamed French printer, and assisted Walter Sickert with his paintings. Her prints such as 'Danseur

du Corde' relate closely to this period and to Sickert's Parisien subjects at the time.<sup>24</sup> Marjorie Barton, Royds' daughter is pictured as a baby with her mother in 1917 (**Fig. 5.10**). She left an account of her mother's life and noted in this memoir that,

'... in Paris, she [Mabel] became devoted to Sickert, to his work and to the man himself. She worked on his paintings. She told me how Sickert once did a superb drawing on a café tablecloth and was fined by the proprietor...'.<sup>25</sup>

By 1906 Royds left Paris and her relationship with Sickert ceased.

From 1906-7 Royds spent a year teaching at Havergal College in Toronto, a progressive but private foundation for the education of girls.<sup>26</sup> Royds subsequently took up a post at Edinburgh College of Art. She joined the School of Drawing and Painting run by Robert Burns (1869-1941), initially teaching evening classes.<sup>27</sup> Her training suited the requirements of the new College, since she had experience of producing commercial work, painting and wood-block printing. The College Prospectus for 1910-11 described her classes as,

'A Course of demonstration in methods based on the Japanese practice of cutting and printing in colour from wood-blocks, with special attention to Poster Designing and Drawing for the special conditions of advertisements, poster work, block printing and modern colour processes.'<sup>28</sup>

With the College Principal, Frank Morley Fletcher, she taught colour wood-block printing. As a new appointment to the Art College in 1907, Morley Fletcher believed that the vivid colours and bold graphic lines of woodcuts and wood-block printing formed an important component of a modern education.<sup>29</sup> His approach to printing as an art and as a craft was

attended to teaching methods of WR Lethaby. According to Lethaby's proposals in his reports on art education in Edinburgh (see Chapter Two), teaching design for print production was particularly appropriate for students in Edinburgh as a centre of the printing trade.<sup>30</sup>

Morley Fletcher became the Principal who could direct new plans for arts and crafts practices in the art college for Edinburgh. Printmaking as a craft was a particularly significant extension of those plans. Royds supported and helped Morley Fletcher in this enterprise. A Colour Woodblock Society existed, although more evidence of this has yet to come to light.<sup>31</sup> As a tutor at the art college, initially living in digs above stables Royds illustrated farmyard animals. Additionally however, the art college dedicated space for animal drawing where animals arrived, on loan, from Edinburgh Zoo.<sup>32</sup> At this time Royds became a close colleague of printmaker Ernest Lumsden (1883-1948), who had worked at Reading School of Art with Morley Fletcher. He came to Edinburgh to teach Etching in the School of Drawing and Painting between 1908 and 1911 at Morley Fletcher's request. This cluster of print-makers therefore established a close-knit group driving the pre-war market for prints and print-production.

Mabel Royds and Ernest Lumsden ceased to teach at Edinburgh College of Art when they married in 1913, leaving Edinburgh for a honeymoon in Paris, Florence and Rome and then travelling to Bombay (Mumbai) where Royds' sister was based with her husband. The couple travelled through Hemis, Leh and Chinsi in Kashmir in 1916, during which time Royds made sketches recording the lives of craft workers in India and Nepal. These sketches formed the basis of designs for prints that recorded the working lives of boat-builders, knife-grinders, blacksmiths and musicians which by 1919 she exhibited as



‘Studies in Ladak’[sic], together with two oil paintings in the Royal Scottish Academy Exhibition of that year. One such study, block-printed is illustrated here as ‘Bathers in Benares’ (**Fig. 5.13**). It shows a mother and her children sharing a moment of pleasure and intimacy as a family. It is on the one hand a privilege view of an artist observing colonial activity as a tourist. On the other hand it is Royd’s response to another mother taking pleasure in the physical sensations of bathing with her children. So Royds documented both an historical moment and also presented her emotional response to communicating her observations of motherhood.

Royds returned to Britain to have her first and only child Marjorie in 1917. As events turned out, she needed specialist medical treatment for her baby and therefore returned to Edinburgh. She voted for the first time in the election of 1918. In 1919 Malcolm C Salaman showed a print by Royds in a Special Edition published for *The Studio* indicating her expertise and the contemporary interest in printmaking.<sup>33</sup> When Lumsden re-joined his family in Edinburgh, both he and his wife continued producing prints for sale in a buoyant market.

Royds maintained connections in the Episcopal Church of Scotland, where her knowledge of imagery, narratives of saints and biblical stories met the needs of religious organisations. She completed murals for a church ceiling for the Episcopal Church of St Mary’s in Hamilton in 1923. In Edinburgh, she also painted four panels for a War Memorial reredos in Old St Paul’s Church in York Place in 1927. She designed a logogram for the Mission to Lepers as well as explicitly religious woodcuts showing the apochryphal tales of Christ’s family in ‘The Flight from Egypt’ (**Fig. 5.15**). Here Royds portrays Joseph, Mary and their child Jesus as a peripatetic family, emphasising the human experience of the mother and

her child on their travels. Aileen Smith has discussed how religious institutions gave significant patronage to artists in Scotland, and how artists with religious convictions also combined their inner convictions with this patronage. In *The Construction of Cultural Identity in the Visual Arts in Scotland, 1918-1945*, Smith has noted that DY Cameron directed policy towards the church, noting,

'The Church could create a great intellectual and spiritual art entirely its own...The arts of the church was a question ripe for consideration.'<sup>34</sup>

Church organisations welcomed the repetition and reiteration of biblical knowledge. Teaching and encoding Christian messages in visual and printed forms, extended the inter-textual knowledge of Christian practices. Sons and daughters of Christian ministers discretely reinforced these processes as they developed as artists, and they form a significant element in the traditions of Scottish art. These church-centred, traditional and naturalistic legacies remained part of Scottish art training. Conventions of narrative and Romantic Fine Art traditions militated against *avant-garde* counter-cultural challenges. Royds' printmaking, using techniques akin to Arts and Crafts artists, dove-tailed with established interests of Christianity. Royds did not use her training to declaim the new ideals of modernism.<sup>35</sup> Quite the contrary. She conformed to establishment views as expressed by Morley Fletcher, who protested in 1921,

'We had hoped...that the morbid and insincere character that was obvious in much of the Art of the years before 1914 would surely disappear and that a new age would begin...We would all be genuinely futurist and the tradition in art would become sound and honourable...From abroad we read news of artistic futilities that suggest decay where we had hoped for revival, the "isms" are more rife than ever. The antics of the new

group – the Dadaists – outrival all the old inanities. Their latest proposal of musical improvisation by the full orchestra has a hellish suggestiveness of chaos and the deliberate destruction of art...<sup>36</sup>

Students and teachers at Edinburgh College of Art could patently be expected to have a view of ‘modern’ that maintained ‘tradition in art.’ They believed their outlook was ‘modern’ in the sense that it was of its time. Unlike European modernists after Matisse and the Futurists, as Sandro Bocola has argued,

‘Never before has a cultural epoch been so permeated with a consciousness of the relativity and mutability, or rather the doubtfulness of all values and appearances. Former representations of the enduring and immutable, the myths of Christian revelation, religious and secular power, the God-man, had lost their credibility. They are displaced by a belief in elementary natural forces governed by universal laws. This approach became the guiding paradigm of modernism and modern art, which is therefore necessarily anonymous, i.e. abstract and nonfigurative in character.’<sup>37</sup>

In contrast to the modernists of her time, Royds’ produced her work in a context that maintained links with conventional and predominantly Christian narrative ‘meaning’ as well as on late Victorian descriptive concepts of ‘nature’ and ‘beauty’.

When Morley Fletcher left Edinburgh in 1923, however, to become Principal of Santa Barbara School of Arts and Crafts in California, his departure enabled Mabel Royds to resume teaching wood-block printing at Edinburgh College of Art in his place. The Prospectus for 1923-4 noted,

‘Mrs Mabel A Lumsden was appointed to take charge of the Woodblock Printing Class formerly conducted by Mr Morley Fletcher.’<sup>38</sup>

So Royds remained teaching at the College until 1930 among artists such as Penelope Beaton as embroidery tutor. She therefore maintained some continuity in her own work.

In the memoir of her mother, Marjorie Barton recalled her mother's working methods. Barton noted,

'When planning a print, Mabel often made a coloured paper collage. The final drawing she stuck to the block. Cherry wood was ideal. More often she used Woolworth's pastry boards which only cost sixpence. She cut away all but the guiding outline. This was the key block. She oiled the stuck-down key block print so that the lines might show through and she could cut away all wood save that needed to print the first colour. For each colour she cut another block, always keeping a key block print as a guide. She cut Japanese paper to identical sheets, dipped them in smelly size and hung them on the kitchen pulley to dry. For most of her work she used powdered colour which she ground with a bought medium. She always put it on with a brush. This was a very personal and varied application, sometimes with a gradation to nothing...to rub the back of the print she used a burin...she varied the strength of the rubbing. This technique meant that prints from the same blocks differed in colour and depth of tone as she experimented with different versions.'<sup>39</sup>

Royds continued to produce prints privately at home as well as in the College studios while her husband exhibited works made in his studio in York Place, and wrote his own authoritative work on etching, published in 1925.<sup>40</sup> By observing her mother, from childhood, one gains the sense of Royds showing her daughter what artistic commitment meant. Her daughter's account of her life gave insights into the discipline required for women such as Royds to sustain their working life in spite of the demands of family life, and in spite of resistance to women's place among artists as discussed at the beginning of this chapter.

As a child, Marjorie Barton had to become accustomed to the uninterrupted work of her mother. Barton also showed the close co-ordination of members in a family where art occupied both parents. Their work continued with the assistance of a home help, in spite of their limited income. Ultimately Marjorie Barton herself enrolled as a student at Edinburgh College of Art in 1932, showing a continuity in the female line of artists in the family.

If, as Aileen Smith has argued, there was a strong Scottish market for prints, supplemented by the activities of the Scottish Print Club and the Society of Artist Printmakers, forming and articulating a Scottish cultural identity, can Royds be counted as one of the architects of this identity?<sup>41</sup> By 1925 Royds had joined the Society of Scottish Artists.<sup>42</sup> She exhibited regularly with the RSA, had been mentioned as a printmaker in *The Studio* of 1919, had been referred to as a skilled printmaker by Herbert Furst in 1924, and was cited as an authority once again by Malcolm Salaman in 1927.<sup>43</sup> Certainly, she was a 'recognised' printmaker, but did not claim that any element of her work was specifically Scottish.

Instead of identifying herself as a Scottish artist, Royds simply maintained the persona of a working artist. But, as such, she can be counted as a woman artist who was employed in Edinburgh and who therefore worked and developed techniques of inscription that obtained public recognition. The work she completed on retirement from the art college indicates a trend towards simplification of the pictorial space in her images. Her images of flowers from that time relate to universal themes of 'nature' and 'beauty' as understood in the context of a quasi-pantheistic zeitgeist of the 1930s. Between 1932-8 Royds images are predominantly woodcut block prints of flowers. They are not just the gendered images of a woman artist. They are the products of a working artists' interpretations of natural forms (**Figs. 5.14a-e**). The Foxgloves (**Fig.5.14a**), Dead Tulips (**Fig. 5.14b**), Magnolia (**Fig.**

5.14c), White Lilies (**Fig. 5.14d**) and Artichoke (**Fig. 5.14e**), now in the Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art Prints Department, have a universal quality, akin to Symbolist ideals of the late nineteenth century. In this sense she worked in a form of early modernism as accounted for by Bocola. However, she held to Christian ideals of the miraculous God-given qualities of nature. Her technique, emphasising two-dimensionality of Japanese prints, give a bold and simplified rendering of stark black outlines to the vivid colours of her images. Her final years indicate her professionalism and confidence in producing figurative prints.

In 1940, the year before she died of a brain haemorrhage, The Scottish Modern Arts Association added 'The Flight into Egypt' to their collection which formed the basis of the later Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art (**Fig. 5.15**). They acknowledged the criterion of the selection of artists for a Scottish National collection in what Stodart Walker advocated as 'the distinguished, the dignified, the authoritative'. In this sense, she was recognised as an active member of Scottish art circles, and admitted into the Scottish canon as an exemplar of their taste and predilection for what they considered 'modern'.<sup>44</sup>

By the nineteen-thirties, both Royds and Lumsden experienced a slump in demand for their prints as the economic and political map of the British Isles was changing. This impacted on the family as a whole. Unlike her husband, who was admitted as an ARSA in 1923 and then as a full fellow of the RSA in 1933, Royds did not, however, obtain formal recognition from the RSA.<sup>45</sup> In 1940 she died from a brain haemorrhage.

## Cecile Walton (1891-1956)

‘My art was self-conscious from the first...and although an emotional epic from my subconscious may have been unravelling itself upon my paper, my pictures were immediately realistic; and when I chose mythological fairy-stories and illustrated them, they were consciously executed towards satisfying my own sense of description and rendering of the subject...For the main part, and in this sense “illustrative”...’.<sup>46</sup>

From the outset, Cecile Walton belonged to a family of artists. The photograph of Walton (**Fig. 5.16**) taken by her friend and fellow-artist Dorothy Johnstone (1892-1980), shows her at around the time of her divorce from her first husband the artist Eric Robertson (1887-1941).<sup>47</sup> The Bass Rock, a familiar image of the Scottish East Coastline, is in the background. Women artists pictured each other. Walton subsequently painted Johnstone in vivid colour in a gypsy-like brightly coloured clothes in a hayfield (Flemings Holdings Ltd., c.1924). They helped to construct each others’ identities as artists. Both members of the Edinburgh Group, Johnstone captured her friend in the Scottish landscape.

By contrast, Eric Robertson’s portraits of his wife show her as a sumptuous object of his desire, rather than a fellow artist. Almost Greek in form and derivation, Robertson’s painting of ‘Cecile’ (private collection, **Fig 5.17a**) shows Walton wearing a flowing ‘Classical’ robe, holding a fan and standing in front of sumptuous drapes, her hand resting on a table with a bowl of roses. The roses in her hair and on the table symbolise the artist’s love of his subject. The picture draws on elements of Japanese-style lacquered black and gold, classical Renaissance gold-leaf colours, on French symbolism and on Austrian decadence (Gustav Klimt for example). Similarly, in ‘Sheba, the Night and the Moon’, painted in 1913 (Smith Art Gallery and Museum, Stirling), Robertson also produced a

portrait of his wife in a nocturne, with elemental moonscape background (**Fig 5.17b**). Again, the rose of the symbol of love appears with classical vines bound into the woman's, that is, Cecile Walton's hair. The fruitful, sacred object of the artist's gaze, is also an intelligent woman – signified by the book at her side. In both cases Walton appears as a symbolic representation of the loved object. In common with Walton's and Robertson's mentor and fellow artist John Duncan (see below) these painted portraits project symbols and colours characteristic of the 'brilliant palette and an almost completely flat composition' to which Duncan Macmillan has referred.<sup>48</sup> Although the pictures project naturalistic elements, Walton does not appear as a normal human being. Both Johnstone's photograph and Robertson's paintings show Walton as a dreamy romantic. All the images are consciously artistic, as Walton was a self-conscious artist.

Cecile Walton's mother, Helen Henderson, a Quaker, trained as an artist. In her autobiography, *More Lives than One*, Walton wrote that her mother was,

'...the dreamy member of a family of four girls and a boy, brought up in a Quaker tradition to which had been added the advanced view of Grandpapa Henderson – who believed in the higher education of women and the Rights of Man. Well educated, sheltered and extremely pretty, she had succumbed wholeheartedly at the age of eighteen to a handsome Glasgow ship-owner, Tom Law... [who] caught a chill yachting and died...Before she married EA Walton at the age of thirty years old she spent much of her time in the Paris Studios – a very "advanced" thing to do...It was when she went to the Art School in Glasgow and made friends with Jessie Newbery that she got to know the "Glasgow Boys"...' .<sup>49</sup>

As child of Helen Law, already a mother of one daughter Lilian, and EA Walton (1860-1922) Cecile Walton was born in Bath Street, Glasgow in 1891.<sup>50</sup> The family moved to



London when Cecile Walton was two years of age. One of her earliest memories was of her father wishing to occupy her as a restive child by urging her to draw,

‘I looked at the point of the pencil he had thrust into my hand and then at the blank book leaf. Where should I begin? ... What had been a momentary impulse on the part of my father soon became the dominating habit of my childhood’s days. It was only natural that, with this obsession, I should become suddenly, or rather, vividly impressed by all manner of pictures and illustrations that, up to now, had played a very secondary part to my interest in living things.’<sup>51</sup>

She remembered that she relied on books and illustrations as sources for her own work. As her autobiography emphasised, she was constantly surrounded by trained and practicing artists. The rhythms of home life conditioned her desire and developed habits to become an artist herself. As part of the domestic routine, Cecile Walton recalled,

‘...all the time I was working steadily at my drawing whenever I got a moment’s peace in the nursery, or when, after tea, I paid my regular visit to the studio. I stopped drawing little boys and girls and flowers and animals and began illustrating stories that were read to me; Perseus flying across the sky with the head of Medusa is one I possess still...’<sup>52</sup>

So her early impulses were narrative impulses. She wanted to draw pictures that illustrated and interpreted stories. She addressed the meaning of texts and applied the power of her imagination to transfer them to paper. She admired the narrative thrust in pre-Raphaelite painting. One of the first pictures to impress her was Holman Hunt’s ‘Flight into Egypt’ because he used vivid colours for a striking subject.<sup>53</sup> Walton’s early recognition of Pre-Raphaelite painting, its colouration and its narratives show her affinity not only to late romantic symbolism, linked irrevocably with Italian Renaissance painters as well as

German Romantics such as Ferdinand Hodler and French symbolists such as Puvis de Chavannes. Surrounded by artists and their images therefore, Walton was immersed in visual and illustrated texts in her childhood. She noted,

'I did not compare my own achievements with the drawings of Tenniel that I found in *Alice in Wonderland*, or with du Maurier's or Kean's in *Punch*; or with a picture by William Morris that I found in the spare room, which was surrounded with silk curtains designed also by Morris. But what happened was that I lent myself now to the effects of pictures, looking at them for a long time – letting them sink in as, before, I had gazed at the pansies and lobelias in the garden.'<sup>54</sup>

Her relationship to texts and illustrations extended to one particular science book.

'I went over to my grandfather's large glass-fronted bookcase and deliberately pulled open the door. A heavy book fell out and, opening at my feet, divulged a large rainbow which unfolded concertina-wise – a large bright rainbow printed on black...

"What is this" I asked.

"A spectrograph" replied my grandmother, "...it is to show whether or not poor men are suffering from white-lead poisoning"

I returned time and again to the *Rainbow Book*, opening out the "Graph" and folding it up again many times with the picture of the poor men mixing white lead in the factory...'<sup>55</sup>

In her mind Walton made a connection between the social function of a text and the efforts that could be made to alleviate human suffering. The impact of the colours of the rainbow, the black lines and the image of white lead recur in her later paintings, but also in the graphic use of colours to convey ideas and emotions. Her fascination with colour and white space go some way to explaining the use of white planes in her iconic self-portrait of

'Romance' painted in 1920, now in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery of Scotland (Fig. 5.26) discussed below.

Walton explained a cycle of effects in and through the printed images that she saw. She recorded the way in which her illustrations interpreted, internalised and reproduced ideas as part of a literary and artistic process. Walton distinguishes herself among women artists of the time through her self-conscious analysis of her role as an artist. When she saw her own portrait, painted by her father for an edition of *The Yellow Book*, she also saw a printed self-image, seeing herself as the subject and understanding her role in its production.<sup>56</sup> It validated her sense of self as a model and as an artist and she noted,

'I know I saw many illustrations and reproductions. Monthly a mysterious book called *Ver Sacrum* came from Vienna; and there were a procession of Yellow Books in which one day I found – as frontispiece to this book – my own portrait painted by my father...'.<sup>57</sup>

Her parents reinforced her interest in books as sources of art and as educational texts. They cultivated her opinions of Velasquez, Boticelli, Beardsley or Rembrant. She was acutely aware of Continental artists, and saw herself as a participant in a world of 'art' which was not specifically Scottish, but more related to the family of European painters. Her perceptions of art however, stood at the cusp of late Victorian romantics, symbolists and subsequent modernists. She visited the London International Exhibition of 1898 and saw Rodin in person. Art and artists breathed around her and were constantly available in and through printed texts. In technical terms, she also learned the manual skills required of an artist, and she noted she was always grateful to her father '...for his teaching of the practical handling of canvases, paints and studio apparatus...'.<sup>58</sup> She benefited from inter-textual

and inter-visual reading, and from the privilege of being in a family where art and books were closely inter-related.

Walton's education depended on governesses at home except in London, where she gained her only experience of a conventional education at Miss Pryde's school. As the sister of James Pryde (artist and printmaker, 1866-1941) family friends were therefore part of an artistic network and therefore part of a broader educational process. As she noted,

'...I learned what was meant by "decoration" in the placing of a design within a given page with atmosphere effects. I saw how much could be done in black-and-white alone, and how certain colours carried well at a distance, as in the posters of Steinlin [sic, i.e. Steinlen], or the Beggarstaffe [sic, Beggarstaff] brothers who were "Jimmy" [Pryde] and Mr Nicholson.'<sup>59</sup>

In London, when the family moved to Cheyne Walk, their neighbour James McNeill Whistler (1834-1903) often visited. Her father's friends James Guthrie, John Lavery, Arthur Melville and George Sauter would be regular guests.

At eight years old Walton also spent time with her Grandmother Walton in Glasgow where, once again she could be surrounded by artists and craft-workers. Grandfather Jackson Walton had been an artist, and all his children followed in his wake. EA Walton's sister, Constance (Mrs WH Ellis, 1865-1960) painted watercolours, while his other sisters Helen (1850-1921) and Hannah (1863-1940) designed hand-painted glass and ceramics; his brother George undertook commissions for the interior designs of churches and commercial premises.<sup>60</sup> This remarkable procession of artists informed a receptive Cecile Walton as to the theories and discourses as well as the practical execution of art and illustration.

Furthermore, Walton's memoir infers that she met Jessie King at an early age because she was shown an alternative to 'working in pencil'. She recognised that King's visit transformed her understanding of line and tone in illustration; it clarified Walton's desire to compose illustrations with human movement rather than – and unlike King she claimed – to produce purely decorative design. Walton noted,

'A very definite turn was given to my work by a visit from a most charming and remarkable personality – Jessie King – whose black-and-white work had attracted considerable attention. Although her style influenced me only for a short time, she introduced me to the use of a pen and black ink. This was both a discipline – in that it demanded an irretrievable "line" – and a contribution to a personal inclination of my own, an antipathy to the sketchy line employed by the impressionist. I wanted one bold yet subtle line, to convey the limit of a form, so that I was only for a short time distracted by the convention of Jessie King's decorative detail, and started working towards a free and descriptive line.'<sup>61</sup>

Walton wanted to develop a 'free and descriptive line' characterising a clear and narrative impulse all of her own, distancing herself from King. Walton avoided abstraction. She wanted graphic lines, showing the natural movement of the human body. She stressed her to maintain three-dimensional reality, rejecting the outright Japanese tendencies of Aubrey Beardsley, acknowledging nevertheless that she had been moved by King's example in showing her how to make designs move and contrast.

'If I had not before been influenced by Aubrey Beardsley's black-and-white (with which I was very familiar)...

wrote Walton,

‘... it was due to the fact that I had worked in pencil and also that I attempted to indicate more movement in my drawings and less of the static placement inherent in his design.’<sup>62</sup>

At eleven years of age Cecile Walton moved to Edinburgh with her parents after the appointment of James Guthrie, her father’s closest friend, as President of the RSA.<sup>63</sup> Informally, her parents maintained regular contact with other artists by inviting them to Saturday evening ‘At Home’ parties. Helen Walton resumed her earlier friendship with Jessie Rowat (1864-1948) who had been responsible for introducing her to EA Walton. Rowat, now married to Francis Newbery (1855-1946), Principal of Glasgow School of Art, had two daughters Mary and Elsie who now became friends of Cecile. The Newbery family spent holidays near the Walton family in Walberswick. Cecile visited Arran (colonised during the summer by Scottish Artists) with the Newberys. Jessie Newbery discussed fashion with the girls, informing them of illustrations by Paquin and Worth, fashions that represented ‘the New Idea’ of freedom and movement for women in their clothes, a political as well as a design concept.<sup>64</sup>

Unlike the Newbery daughters who attended a day school in Glasgow, Walton continued to be tutored by governesses. Her reading included fairytales and poetry, Shakespeare and ‘the Classics’ while she was firmly steered clear of ‘modern novels’.<sup>65</sup> Literature and poetry therefore fuelled her continued interest in illustration. Although juvenilia from Walton are rare, an early painting from 1904 (Kemplay, facing p 92) shows her predilection for design and pattern, stemming from dense pre-Raphaelite juxtapositions of flowers and figures. The precocious style and ability of Walton was remembered by Stanley Cursiter in her Obituary for *The Scotsman*, written in 1956, where he noted that, as a student his

teacher William Blacklock took his class to admire some of her exhibits in 1905.<sup>66</sup> As a teenager therefore, she was already finding outlets for her design work. In 1906 she provided illustrations for a pamphlet guide to a Pageant at Craigmillar, in which the figure of Mary Queen of Scots for the central feature.<sup>67</sup> Her début in print was followed a year later. She produced more designs for a leaflet for the Scottish Children's League of Pity fundraising Garden Fête in Larkfield, Edinburgh in July 1907 (**Figs. 5.18a and b**).<sup>68</sup> It is significant that the first leaflet (**Fig. 5.18a**) plays with the elements of printing in a childlike way. It is a long strip of paper with concertina folds. The ink is a sepia colour. The words are formed in a hybrid form of Gothic capital letters. The second leaflet includes her own written caption for a play, 'Never Judge by Appearances' where children are dressed up in medieval robes, showing her fanciful recreation of revived costumes (**Fig. 5.18b**) and her interest in fashion and design.

Formal training at art college was almost surplus to requirements for Walton who had already spent many years developing the dedicated habits of a female artist. Nevertheless, her parents wanted her to study in Paris. Between 1907 and 1908 Walton went to study at the Académie Julian in an Atelier or Studio in the Rue de la Grande Chaumière. Students there attended life classes and entered regular competitions for drawing and painting. Walton found it difficult to adapt to the techniques and habits of the Académie or 'to learn to speak French.'<sup>69</sup> Subsequently, her father found her an alternative course at classes run by his friend Jacques Émile Blanche at his studio known as La Palette. On both visits to Paris, Walton recalled, 'I had been sent to a Paris Atelier and I loathed every moment of the studio life'.<sup>70</sup> What impressed her in Paris were the exhibitions of,

‘...the works of Gaug[u]in, Matisse and Cézanne...[whose]...form and colour had both gained by liberation from academic treatment and representational confinement.’<sup>71</sup>

Gauguin, Matisse and Cézanne impressed Walton, as they impressed other Scottish colourists, with their sense of ‘form and colour’, and in this sense she might be regarded as an unsung Scottish Colourist. John Duncan (1866-1945), who had attended an ‘At Home’ with the Walton family, began teaching Walton printing and etching in 1908. Ernest Lumsden and Dorothy Johnstone sometimes joined them in the Edinburgh Studios in Torphicen Street.<sup>72</sup> Prints held in the Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art show her slightly inexpert use of a printing plate.<sup>73</sup> They show, however, that Walton experimented with etching, drypoint and retroussé techniques.

From this series, **Figure 5.24a** recalls a narrative theme already illustrated by Katharine Cameron (1874-1965) for TN Foulis in a series of Envelope Booklets designed by Jessie King, *Isabella and the Pot of Basil*.<sup>74</sup> The etching also reflects her mentor John Duncan’s preoccupations with love and romance in legends from history and from Italian *quattrocento* painting. From this collection therefore, Walton’s ‘Profile of a Seated Woman’ (**Fig. 5.24b**) is attuned to the portraiture of Northern Italian profile painting.<sup>75</sup> This Walton reproduced in simplified form in an etching. Once again, the image shows Walton’s sensitivity to elaborate materials in the head-dress and robe of the sitter, as well as the curtains that frame her. Similarly these elements appear in her etching of ‘The Elegy of the Rose’ (**Fig. 5.24c**) consciously evoking themes from William Blake’s *Songs of Innocence and Experience*, using a rose to symbolise love as well as the pain of romance. As a series, her illustrations show the extent to which historicised fables formed subjects that captured her imagination. They reflect the impact of syncretic interpretations of



fairytale and romantic fables. A series of her works were printed and ready to exhibit in the Scottish National Exhibition of 1908 (see also Chapter Three).<sup>76</sup> It shows she wanted to incorporate her works in a major Scottish exhibition to show how her work belonged in an international market. Given that Geddes and colleagues such as John Duncan invigorated discussions about Scottish identity not only in Europe, but in the world, during this time (as in his Summer Schools), Walton was part of a movement that projected images from Scotland to demonstrate the skills of an artist in her own country.

By 1908 Walton joined the Society of Scottish Artists. She submitted two works, 'The Fairies who found the Grave of the Saint who had no disciples' and 'The End of the Quest' to the RSA exhibition of 1909.<sup>77</sup> In spite of her acquaintance with fashionable French studios and their curriculum, and in spite of tuition from Duncan, Walton believed she needed better knowledge of the human form and wanted to '...acquire a knowledge of human anatomy'.<sup>78</sup> She felt her interests would be best served by making human forms in clay modelling classes taught by Percy Portsmouth.<sup>79</sup> Her presence at Edinburgh College of Art lasted only a brief period of the Spring Term of 1909, perhaps showing how resistant she was to systematic institutional training. However, she is pictured with other students, who became part of her life in later years (**Figs.5.19 and 20a-c**), Dorothy Johnstone and Dorothea Waterstone for example.<sup>80</sup>

She gained support and encouragement from John Duncan as a friend and teacher, a professional artist enthralled by the symbolism of the Celtic twilight and by the arts and crafts methods that their tradition sustained. She recalled that,

‘John Duncan was a small, ardent person; bald, save for a sandy thatching at the sides and back of his head, leaving a priestly tonsure on top. He wore a pince-nez and his hands were remarkably delicate and clever. He was one of a group intensely concerned with a Scottish Celtic Renaissance, which sought inspiration not only from its own land, but from its AE [George Russell]; [WB] Yeats and [Lady] Gregory complement in Ireland...’<sup>81</sup>

She remembered his outlook, his motivation and his skills, recording that,

‘Duncan himself painted and illustrated the legends, myths and sagas of the Highlands and the Hebrides, evolving his own very personal and laboured technique. His work was highly stylised, with its use of “Celtic” patterns and archaic conceptions of design and idea. He was not only a Gaelic scholar, but had a wide knowledge of both European Art and Literature.’<sup>82</sup>

With hindsight, Walton acknowledged his individuality,

‘John Duncan alone stood out as possessing a considerable personal approach, but in that very realm of fairy and decorative convention that I sought to escape. I saw how hard it would be to make any new departure and how isolated an artist would become if he attempted a radical change...’<sup>83</sup>

When, in 1911, Walton produced a major series of twenty-four illustrations for an edition of *Hans Christian Andersen's Fairy Tales* (**Figs. 5.21a-g**) not account for the circumstances that led to the commission.<sup>84</sup> Her images interpreted popular fables in which miraculous changes directed the fates of mythical monarchs and their subjects. They indicate however, that Walton tapped into the legends and folklore of a European tradition, while playing with elements of book production in producing a cover and endpapers with a bold design of black on gold. Stories are illustrated in a narrative and florid style, using

decorative borders surrounding the central figure of a mermaid with a sinuous tail, as in the frontispiece of 'The Little Mermaid' (Fig. 5.21c). These graphic illustrations indicate Walton's virtuosity and awareness of lettering where the Snow Queen overlooks shards of ice being made into letters (Fig. 5.21d), or lines spanning the page as where the strands of a spider's web cover drawings of 'Thumbelina' among diminutive figures in flowers (Fig. 5.21g). The images appear now to owe much to Duncan's use of colour and his knowledge of legend and folklore. In spite of the distance Walton placed between her own narrative imagination and that of Duncan, he was axiomatic in her development as an artist and illustrator, and she occupied the studio he vacated in 1912.<sup>85</sup>

Beyond helping Walton to visualise illustrations and make prints, Duncan introduced her to other artists outside the circle of her parents' friends. Duncan and his wife held Thursday afternoon gatherings, offering hospitality to colleagues and art students. Walton recalled discussions of 'Boehme, Swedenborg, Blake and Nietzsche [sic]...Macpherson's Ossian'; she was accused of being a pragmatist and follower of Herbert Spencer.<sup>86</sup> Through Duncan she befriended Alistair Geddes, and through him she met Patrick, his wife Anna and their daughter Nora who Walton found 'haughty'. She also became better acquainted with Dorothy Johnstone (1892-1980), herself a daughter of an artist, who had enrolled at Edinburgh College of Art in 1911, and who taught at the art college between 1915 and 1926.<sup>87</sup>

Once again, Duncan introduced Eric Robertson (1877-1941) to the Walton family. Robertson's reputation as an art student at Edinburgh was as a sensuous symbolist and painter of priapic nudes. Cecile noted, 'His nude drawings had caused some fluttering in the dovecots of respectability.'<sup>88</sup> Because her parents were anxious about the nascent

relationship between their daughter and Robertson, they sent her, chaperoned by her Aunt, to Italy to visit relatives.<sup>89</sup> Staying with her mother's sister Alice and her husband John Cruikshank at La Gamberia in San Miniato, Cecile was asked to paint a fresco for their neighbour Professor Agnoletti. Agnoletti also had plans that she illustrate a book for him, but on her return to Edinburgh, her mother threw his proposals – undisclosed – on the fire as she disapproved of the man and his habits.<sup>90</sup>

However, after her visit to Italy, Walton fulfilled another commission to draw sets and costumes for a production of 'Snow White' for Miss Harriman's Repertory Company in Manchester.<sup>91</sup> Here, as later, Walton was able to exercise her narrative imagination by visualising large-scale effects for the theatre. She also produced a wide range of designs for costumes which she helped to produce. However, her theatre commission did not distract Walton from meeting Eric Robertson again. They reunited at the RSA Annual Exhibition of 1911 in which Walton exhibited images of 'The Wreath Bearer', 'The Death of the Gorgon' and 'The Lizard'.<sup>92</sup> Resigned to their attachment, Walton's parents included Robertson in their family holiday to Wenhaston. With Robertson, Elsie and Mary Newbery, Bill Hutchison and her brothers John and Arthur, Cecile belonged to a group who dubbed themselves, 'the Idylls' after a painting by Maurice Grieffenhagen. By 20 May 1912 Cecile Walton and Eric Robertson announced their engagement. Simultaneously they held a joint exhibition in what was now Cecile's studio. That year they submitted more work to the RSA Annual Exhibition and Robertson submitted material to Doig, Wilson and Wheatley's Gallery in George Street in Edinburgh which was the first exhibition of the newly-formed 'Edinburgh Group'.<sup>93</sup>

After their marriage on 21 January 1914, Walton continued to exhibit pictures regularly at the RSA.<sup>94</sup> Robertson meanwhile left Edinburgh, ‘protesting’, to become a member of a Quaker Ambulance Unit in the First World War. Walton explained the attitudes she and her husband held towards the futility of war, noting they had an,

‘...antipathy to military service quite distinct from the antipathy due to religious or political feeling...This aversion to war is based on an intelligent awareness of a long-term danger to the species and to human culture...’.<sup>95</sup>

Walton taught young children and continued her own work in the absence of her husband. When their first son was born in 1915, Walton’s mother Helen encouraged her daughter to maintain her profession and largely became responsible for the care of her son Gavril. At the end of 1915 she contributed work to an exhibition organised by Nora Sturrock in Geddes’ Outlook Tower. While the exhibition was not a financial success, Dorothea Waterstone, who had been a student at Edinburgh College of Art and who now worked for the family firm of publishers and stationers, saw Cecile’s work (**Figs. 5.22a and b**). Through Waterstone, Walton joined a series of illustrators employed by the firm. Walton remembered ‘designing a tartan for envelopes’ although two of her graphic designs for the company survive in their records, recovered during the course of this research one of which is illustrated here for ‘Pro Patria Vellum Note Paper’ (see **Fig. 5.23**).<sup>96</sup> As in the Edinburgh Exhibition of 1886 discussed in Chapter Three, a female figure reminiscent of Athena appears on the ‘patriotic’ branding of notepaper, repeating the use of the female figure in ethno-symbolic, nationalistic terms as shown by Anthony Smith.<sup>97</sup>

During these years she painted portraits, some of which were exhibited at RSA exhibitions, including portraits of her sister Margery (1913), Laurence Ballantyne (1916) and John Watt (1919).<sup>98</sup> Walton sustained her career and completed illustrations for a book of *Polish Fairy Tales*, translated by her aunt Maude Ashurst Biggs (**Figs. 5.25a-f**). Two images from the book appeared in the RSA exhibition of 1918, 'The Good Ferryman' and 'The Whirlwind' while she also submitted 'The Fairy Mother'. Ultimately her twenty four images were published in 1920.<sup>99</sup>

Her book illustrations indicated the importance of commissions for women artists at the time. The commission also demonstrated both the importance of family links and mutual support among women writers and artists in literary print production. Once again, Walton concerned herself with all the elements of the book. Endpapers show a line-drawn magic bird flying away with its readers (**Fig. 5.25a**), in blue ink. As for 'The Little Mermaid' in Hans Anderson's *Fairy Tales* (**Fig. 5.21c**), Walton framed her illustrations in borders, in a square box-frames, using the shape to emphasise the illustration rather than the page (**Figs. 5.21b-f**). This 'experiment' with pictorial and printed space shows her desire to 'modernise' the layout and to change conventional pictorial spaces.<sup>100</sup> Walton's emphasis on colour and decoration gives her greater affinity to Scottish Colourists than to modernist techniques. She was responding to a brief to provide narrative pictures to narratives, and produces illustrations of layers of combined and complex decorative designs. In **Figure 5.25c** a hint of a machine-age aesthetic breaks through, but her emphasis is on colours and forms in the design rather than in technology and simplification.

After World War I, the artists of the earlier exhibition of 'The Edinburgh Group' reassembled. The group included female members, largely the wives and partners of the

original exhibitors. Walton joined her husband Eric Robertson, Dorothy Johnstone joined David Sutherland (m. 1924), Mary Newbery joined Alick Sturrock (m. 1918), and, together with Bill Hutchison, Spence Smith and John Barclay, all exhibited in The New Gallery in Shandwick Place in Edinburgh. In this exhibition, Walton showed a self-portrait entitled 'Grass of Parnassus' (1919) as yet untraced and an image of women and children floating above male bodies, one of whom holds a gun. The following year, the group came together again and drew more critical attention. Walton showed the original artwork from *Polish Fairy Tales*, and a reviewer in *The Scots Pictorial* commented favourably,

'Miss Cecile Walton has designed a charming series of illustrations for a book of Polish Fairy Tales to be produced this Christmas by Mr John Lane, The Bodley Head. The original watercolours...exquisite in delicacy of colour and design and in wealth of poetic fancy, living together, for a show in themselves well worth going to see.'<sup>101</sup>

The exhibition included her self-portrait 'Romance' (**Fig. 5.26**).<sup>102</sup>

Her self-portrait in oils, 'Romance' relates to Walton's sense of design as drawing, to her narrative views, and to the lasting images of book illustrations. The naturalistic figure of a woman holding her newborn baby aloft, surveyed by his brother and attended by a nurse appears altogether a literal picture of the events of Walton's experience of a second childbirth. The picture gives the artist's self-image but also presents a narrative of the problematic nature of being an artist.

It interprets the banal experience of women's suffering. Expanses of sarcophagal white planes on the bed, over the patient, of the nurse's uniform and of the diamond of the table

set in front of them, recall Walton's response to the emotional impact of the colour white. One can refer to her own recollections of the 'Rainbow Book' (cited above) about the idea of suffering and the sickness engendered by white lead. The artist contains this suffering in her own experience and in her own home. A rose on the floor symbolises both the beauty and the fragility of love and romance as well as the suffering it carries with it. The mother and the nurse co-exist in reality, covering their pains and suffering with swathes of white material.

In 'Romance' while one woman experiences the chaotic events of childbearing, the other replaces order and washes the mother's feet as if in a religious rite, ministering to her. The artist re-works and even deflates religious interpretations of the mother as Madonna, to show her as a sexual being. She re-works the motif of Magdalene washing the feet of Christ, to show that washing feet is actually the quotidian experience of midwives. The painting offers itself to 'reading'. The picture itself contains another, the picture on the wall. The children and the fixed look of the mother call for a contemplative view of motherhood, a subject, as Janice Helland has pointed out, poorly represented in twentieth century art. Helland has written,

'The lapses, gaps and omissions in the reviews written about Walton's picture in 1920 elucidate the reception of representations of woman's experience and annotate the inability of twentieth-century reviewers to read the visual statements about the female body...Birth is a remarkable exclusion from our visual culture, and Walton's picture remains one of the few records made by a woman about this aspect of the female experience.'<sup>103</sup>



As the picture of 'Romance' lends itself to narrative interpretation, it is not necessarily an image that should be read in isolation. It can be read as one of a series of sequential and processional images of motherhood. Consciously or not, Walton created and recreated stories in her illustrations and designs. Looking at a series of her images, they become one woman's narrative experience of motherhood and the dedication that this requires. This birthing process, of making, creating and projecting feminine experience as shown in 'Romance' therefore becomes simply one image across a range of others.

In 'Grass of Parnassus' (Fig. 5.27) as well as 'And these Also' (Fig. 5.28) in particular, Walton's pictures encode the experiences of motherhood and of mothers in wartime. She shows male figures crushed by war.<sup>104</sup> They form Walton's discourse and narrative of her wartime experience. She projects the devastation of war against the background of the devastation caused to women and their children through violence. At surface levels, Walton's pictures show the private experience and the limited domestic, gendered spaces of women and children. However, she projects the female experience of loss, isolation and separation from friends, lovers, husbands and sons caused by war.

In series her pictures offer her interpretation of a collective experience. Her figures symbolise neglected women and children, linked by a chain of roses, the roses of love and pain. They project their unwanted participation in a conflict and hence portray women and children as the victims of war. Walton therefore conceived anti-war messages. She projects concepts of motherhood that worked independently of male desires and from the conventions of war. The visual poetics of her works are a narrative discourse on motherhood, creativity and beauty in opposition to war. She identifies and presents the separate existence of suffering among women in the absence of male support and in the

presence of violence. 'To Nobody Knows Where' (1921) also untraced, and for which she received the Guthrie Award at the RSA in 1921, Walton shows a woman and children of different nations, wandering through a landscape, again stressing the exclusion and difference of those seeking a peaceful life (**Fig. 5.29**). A processional painting linked to those mentioned is 'Suffer Little Children' (private collection) painted in 1922 (**Fig. 5.30**). It was commissioned for a philanthropic project, for a Children's Settlement Project in Humble Village near Edinburgh. Women surround a male Christ. Two female figures dressed as soldiers turn towards the Messianic figure. The picture shows women and children in a landscape setting of peace and tranquillity, a theme to support rather than contradict the previous paintings against war. The Christ figure is a symbol of peace to which the children are moving and directed by their mothers.

The third and last Edinburgh Group exhibition took place in 1921 and included works from Walton and Dorothy Johnstone. It included a portrait by Robertson of Miss Else Ellefsen, a translator and later to be the wife of publisher George Thomson.<sup>105</sup> Ellefsen worked as a translator of Danish texts by Jens Peter Jacobsen for Thomson after he and others founded the Porpoise Press in 1922.<sup>106</sup> How the connections were made is still unclear. However, Cecile Walton produced a logogram for the first publications by the Porpoise Press owned by Thomson for their Broadsheet Series 1 (**Fig. 5.31**). The press published works by women poets and writers such as Helen Cruikshank, Lady Margaret Sackville, Violet Jacob, Marion Angus, Christine Orr and later Dorothy Scrymgeour Innes. Cultural links between Porpoise Press and artists such as William Ogilvie, William Crozier, Isabel Walker and Freda Bone remain difficult to establish. Yet again, Walton was immersed in an aesthetic circle of active writers and printmakers.

In 1923 Cecile and her family moved home. Her father had died the previous year and her marriage deteriorated and dissolved. She travelled to Vienna with her brother Arthur and with Dorothy Johnstone where Walton painted a picture of her friend entitled 'Vienna at Night.'<sup>107</sup> Robertson left for a new life in Liverpool. By 1926 she had designed line drawings as illustrations for poems by Austin Priestman, called *Child Verses and Poems* (Fig. 5.32).<sup>108</sup> Again she designed a cover for a series of *Verses* by the Penguin Club in Edinburgh.<sup>109</sup> Walton gives little account of these projects or of her role in the production of *Atlanta's Garland* also published in 1926. From what can be gleaned from the preface, the Committee of the University Women's Union in Edinburgh decided to celebrate their twenty-first anniversary. Mrs E Lorraine Smith, their President wrote in the Preface that the Union owed special thanks to,

'Mrs Eric Robertson (Miss Cecile Walton)...has advised the Committee in all artistic matters, and to whom a great part of the eventual success of the miscellany is due.'<sup>110</sup>

The book is an anthology of verse and prose during this period.

Walton wrote about women artists in the book. It opens with a frontispiece of Phoebe Traquair's tryptych of 'Motherhood' (painted in oil in 1901). Eleven further images form tributes to female artists and sculptors, while the final image by Ivan Mestrovic is a portrait of Dr Elsie Inglis.<sup>111</sup> The illustrations Walton chose formed a celebration of women's contribution to the arts in Scotland. Walton also wrote a seminal chapter for the book, explaining the myths surrounding the figure of Atlanta, and recording the history of female artists in Scotland since the time of Esther Inglis.

Walton's chapter was called 'Atlanta in Caledonia: Notes on Women's Contribution to the Arts in Scotland'. It was a resumé of the evolution of women artists in Scotland. She made a glancing reference to nationality and art. She referred briefly to Ramsay Macdonald who had advised 'Scottish painters to hold firmly by their national characteristics'. Walton did not go on further to define what those 'national characteristics' were. She studiously avoided Scottish parochialism, although she was Scottish by birth. She stressed the importance of a 'cosmopolitan' outlook, not separate from Europe or any other nation.<sup>112</sup> She pointed out,

'...inbreeding has its dangers even in art, and it is in cosmopolitan conditions that Art most readily thrives. No nation can be independent artistically any more than it can be economically, and those artists, men or women, who have expressed themselves most vitally have been most open to the influence, and most appreciative of the cultures of other countries, however personal their work may have been; and many have established their reputations in the South before being recognised at home.'<sup>113</sup>

She acknowledged the difficulty of reviewing the history of women as artists, noting,

'The nearer we approximate to our own generation, the more difficult the survey; just as it is almost impossible to describe one's own work. Pictures and sculpture are their own proper criticism; and beyond that it is the artist's individual philosophy of life or lack of it that gives the clue to her criterion of aesthetic expression. Anyone can have beautiful emotions...but it requires mental vitality and imagination to construe these into form...'<sup>114</sup>

Walton maintained that artists required a 'sense' and 'meaning' for the artwork they produced. She did not account for the wholesale shift of ideological convictions and political changes that had taken place on the Continent among Futurists and Dadaists.

What Walton meant by 'sense' and 'meaning' related to her admiration for the 'colours and forms' that she discovered in Paris in her teens, of Gauguin, Matisse and Cézanne.<sup>115</sup>

She saw the role of women artists as separate and different from that of men.

'The question as to whether women will achieve equal supremacy with men in all these various activities has given rise to an entirely wrong attitude of mind in relation to our sex. It is obvious that our powers have certain qualities and values of their own which play a subtle and peculiar part in our social life. To surrender these at our present stage of development in order to acquire those characteristics which are more peculiarly masculine is merely to be unaware of that intrinsic appeal of personality that has made woman the equal of man in all legend, history or romance...'<sup>116</sup>

Walton therefore already assumed that women were equal to men, and that women artists were equal to male artists. But she failed to acknowledge why women should wish to pursue 'equal supremacy' or to engage in an argument that would alter 'difference' to 'equality'. She resisted political dialectic and retained a view of art as autonomous. It was a separate matter from politics because, to her,

'actual beauty perceived, experienced and recreated...[was]...for the sake of aesthetic achievement alone.'<sup>117</sup>

As a single mother who needed an income she gained sympathetic support from friends. She maintained her working life, often relying on her mother who looked after her sons. Walton could draw on a wide circle of friends for strategic assistance. One such source re-emerged as she gained commissions to design sets for Terence Gray's Festival Theatre in Cambridge for Tyrone Guthrie's productions through the recommendations of Mona and

Iden Payne (see above). In her manuscript, Walton recalled the gratification of working for large-scale productions, noting,

‘One of the fascinations of designing for the stage is that one slowly builds up towards the finish and final full-scale effect can be as exciting – as much a revelation for the artist as for the audience. The whole process is like a dream coming true...’<sup>118</sup>

Since the work was poorly paid, she undertook other commissions for book illustration simultaneously. In 1929 she illustrated a series of poems for Dorothy Una Ratcliffe (1887-1967) published as *Nightlights* which was sufficiently popular to be reprinted two years later (**Fig. 5.33**).<sup>119</sup> With protean networks, and in similar vein to Ratcliffe (a feature writer for the BBC) and Wendy Wood (whom she never met, but whose connections in broadcasting and the BBC overlapped, see next chapter) Walton therefore was one of several women who benefited from the growth of broadcasting in Scotland as an extension of artistic activity.

Invited to apply for the job as the organiser of Scottish Children’s Hour to be broadcast from Edinburgh, Walton travelled to an interview with John Reith in London. She remembered him as exceptionally humourless, but was accepted for the post and given a brief training before assuming her role in Edinburgh.<sup>120</sup> She remembered how ‘Children’s programmes were an extension of the pattern of relationships in JM Barrie’s *Peter Pan*’ and she was called ‘Wendy; while her colleague Martin Webster was called ‘Peter’ and fellow broadcasters Moray McLaren, Ian White and Gordon Gildard were known as ‘the boys’.<sup>121</sup>

Walton co-ordinated events for the Children's Hour and although her presence as a woman broadcasting for children was a gendered role, suitable for a woman with her own children, it nevertheless gave her access to modern media, and to a role among other writers and artists. She could transfer visual and written language, the narratives that she visualised for her own work as an artist, into the spoken word. She understood the dramatic conventions of the stage and recreated them for a purely spoken medium. Drawing, writing, music and the spoken word therefore grew from a common consciousness, and from Scottish cultural roots. From her own account, she shared a house with Robert Hurd and Gordon Gildard; according to Kemplay she also shared lodgings with actor Charles Maxwell, journalist Robin Stark and again with Gordon Gildard.<sup>122</sup>

In the realm of gendered discourse, one of Walton's first responsibilities at the BBC involved organising a course of talks for women. Simultaneously she received regular contributions to her children's programmes from the Girl's Theatre Club based in Edinburgh and run by Compton Mackenzie's mother. They performed plays by Joan Luxon and Peggy Mathieson of The Children's Theatre.<sup>123</sup> Without the kind of religious convictions of previous generations, Walton drew on animism and secular narratives. She felt,

'I had always held the theory that young children prefer – almost to any other entertainment – the antics of animals behaving like people, and people behaving like animals.'<sup>124</sup>

How far this reflected reality or the conduct of her colleagues is a matter of speculation. What is clear is that Walton lived freely, leading a necessarily active social life, visiting the home of Gordon Burn Murdoch with Moray McLaren which she recalled as a 'house with

the odour of Scottish Nationalism' where Burn Murdoch and his wife had held meetings of the PEN Club.

In 1937, Walton married for a second time. Her second husband, Gordon Gildard was a reservist in the Royal Navy. When she married, as was deemed appropriate, she gave up her work at the BBC, moving with her husband to Glasgow where he continued to produce programmes. When the Second World War broke out, Gildard was called up to join up with the regular Navy and his absence, like that of Robertson in her first marriage, again proved a strain for Walton. She occupied herself by working for the British Council on behalf of Czechoslovak refugees. The couple moved apart and in 1945 Walton obtained her second divorce. As a Matron at Barns House in Peeblesshire, she continued for the following three years to take responsibility for refugees and delinquents sent to her. Although Kemplay regards her best work as complete by 1924, she continued to exhibit with the RSA between 1927 and 1924 and her submissions included a portrait of friend and patron Maude Salvesen (1928) and playwright and illustrator, John Gough (1934).

Walton moved in 1948 to a studio called 'The Rins' in Kircudbright. She moved close to her second son Edward, his wife Muriel a ballet dancer, and his family, while old friends such as Jessie King, her husband EA Taylor and their daughter Merle still lived at Green Gates. Edward had attended Edinburgh College of Art between 1935 and 1938. He and his wife had been members of a *jeunesse dorée* in Edinburgh while his mother worked at the BBC. Simultaneously he and his wife supported her through the transitions of the Second World War. He continued his profession as an artist and graphic designer, producing illustrations for *The Children's Theatre Book*, written by his mother and published in 1949.<sup>125</sup> Meanwhile Walton maintained her friendship with Dorothy Ratcliffe, designing



illustrations for a play, published as *Jingling Lane* in 1954.<sup>126</sup> Again the co-operation between women artists and writers, significant in earlier publications, formed an important form of friendship as well as an artistic project. Before she died in 1956, Walton submitted works to RSA exhibitions in 1952 ('Kabyle' and 'Towards the Sea') and in 1954 ('Kabyle Market, Algeria').

Cecile Walton's testimony to her development as an artist can be read in an autobiographical account entitled *More Lives Than One*. Completed on 1 May 1950 and lodged at the National Library of Scotland it forms a primary source of information by a woman artist who belonged to the 'Edinburgh Group' in the early decades of the twentieth century. Although as is often the case in autobiographical writing, the selective memory of its author edits the text, she nevertheless conveys the experiences of an artist, as a female and as she saw herself. In *The Two Companions: the Story of Two Scottish Artists, Eric Robertson and Cecile Walton*, on which much of this section has drawn, Kemplay has set out many of the objective facts about Walton's life and career, some of which have changed on closer inspection of the texts.

Nevertheless, Kemplay has pointed out that there were significant omissions in Walton's manuscript.<sup>127</sup> Intimate relationships - with her two husbands, Eric Robertson and Gordon Gildard, with lovers, siblings (Margery, John and Arthur) and even her own children (Gavril b. 1915 and Edward 1919-1984) do not receive the attention later researchers might want.<sup>128</sup> Such absences stress the author's desire to account for a personal aesthetic. Her interior monologue provides a vivid account of what mattered to her, irrespective of factual coherence or strict chronology, which must be found elsewhere. Yet the memoir retrieves significantly subjective elements in her life as an artist and a working woman.

For Cecile Walton, although she lived in Edinburgh for formative stretches of her career, she was not born there. She sees the city as an outsider, at an objective distance. She wrote,

'I have always seen Edinburgh as in the form of gigantic "sets" and background of a stage behind characters belonging to another drama.'<sup>129</sup>

This detachment from the city indicates Walton's capacity to contrast her role as an artist and observer apart from the world of art and artists that formed her surroundings. This independent and critical view distances her from an immersion in Celtic and Scottish revivals as they took place in Edinburgh and as she knew them to exist from her personal acquaintances Patrick Geddes and John Duncan. She avoided identifying with the specifically Scottish traditions that gave her father EA Walton his reputation as a 'Glasgow Boy', or with the categories of Scottish Art as defined by James Caw and Stanley Cursiter.

On the contrary, by the time she wrote *More Lives Than One*, she stripped herself and others of any illusion that she could identify herself as a Scottish artist. She accuses critics and the art establishment in Scotland of being cut off from 'Continental associations'. She expressed the view that Edinburgh lacked artistic initiative.

'The whole spirit of Northern Society, divorced from easy and constant Continental associations and enthusiasms, was narrowed down to a group of artists curiously lacking for the most part in cultural experience with the singular activity in their profession and consequently an entirely different set of values appertained to those secondary characteristics of the artists' life, the decoration of his home, his literary interests and catholic acquaintance...In Edinburgh I found no art development that invited me to follow its

course. Scotland had never taken the lead in extending the boundaries of aesthetic experience, except in accomplishment and individual style of treatment. In the Academy, one saw work that was either photographically representational or under the influence of the impressionists...<sup>130</sup>

What Walton seems to be saying is that there were no art movements in Edinburgh that she wanted to join. Walton's Parnassian view of Scottish Art, and Edinburgh's role in the art market in particular, meant that Walton distanced herself from politically motivated art production.

Ironically, in spite of her defence of Continental culture, she did not embrace European *avant-garde* politics or abstraction. She discounted the significance of the Scottish and Glasgow Schools in spite of her parents' roles in Scottish art, in spite of her close association with the Newbery family or her communications with Jessie King. Walton was critical of impressionist painters because they lacked the kind of graphic clarity she sought in illustration. She disliked the ridicule modernists generated, noting,

'As far as I can remember, the "Cubists" were the first innovators to be exhibited in Edinburgh, and they excited derision and laughter...'<sup>131</sup>

Self-consciously, she could not associate herself with parody or critical ridicule.

Denying and resisting Scottish conditioning, her own works nevertheless restyled works of romantic naturalism, pre-Raphaelite narrative styles and a folk aesthetic. She expressed the determination to develop a personal code, and developed in a series of drawings of mothers and children a specifically critical view of a male-centred universe. Yet she drew on a

narrative framework which she refused to acknowledge as Scottish or as part of a Scottish aesthetic. Given that she saw her own work as different in ‘unconscious’ and ‘subconscious’ ways however, she indicates that the psychological realities which she tried to convey were personally and independently developed.

*More Lives Than One* is the autobiographical narrative of a Scottish woman artist whose formative years were spent in Edinburgh. Unlike many other artists of her time, she did not espouse religious convictions and motivations for her work. She did not join the dominant institutions of the time although she had a place in and among Scottish artists. She took a frank, pragmatic and largely secular view of art as a vital form of expression. She had a:

‘distaste for complexity, and indifference to conventional religion and morality, but still a craving for just conduct in behaviour and affairs.’<sup>132</sup>

Her fearsome honesty dispensed with sexual inhibitions and did not offer her the protection of a spotless reputation or the conventional security of a woman who married once and forever.

Instead she charted the subtle changes in the balance of power between men and women. Since she wrote her chapter for *Atlanta’s Garland*, she formed a clearer view of the imbalance of men and women’s opportunities during the period. She wrote,

‘I married at a time when [James] Joyce and DH Lawrence were expressing and acting the extreme measure of their ego-centricity, creative in the sense that they forced the issues of emotional experience. They totally ignored the problems of the world, economic and community interests. A girl who married onto their stage,

so to speak, was expected to take her place in the drama. The “script” was put into her hands, perhaps Joyce’s “Exiles” perhaps “Sons and Lovers”. She was chosen, she was cast for a part. That she might have conceived a play of her own was not considered; but why should she be the victim to be sacrificed to strange Gods in whom she did not believe, in a world not of her own making?<sup>133</sup>

Her comments point to the rights of women to be agents of their own destinies. She understood they had the right to their own emotions, their own sexuality and their own gaze. These views are more pugilistic than those stated in 1926. By 1950 she was aware that independent ‘private convictions’ were ‘inconvenient to a woman’.

Ultimately Cecile Walton defended the rights of women to pursue careers as she had done and argued that they needed proper recognition.

‘This is the ultimate battle-ground of female emancipation, demanded by Art and bridged by Science; both [genders] may deplore aspects of her female assertion, but not the ultimate goal of security for the species towards which she presses. Maternal concern has a longer view than that of rumpling the hair of a lover; nor is it quite satisfied by the multiplication of the family, but demands a share in the exultation of intelligence.’<sup>134</sup>

Walton did not believe she had succeeded as an artist, but she realised she had survived a range of experiences. Unlike her mother, who had given up her career to follow a conventional path as a wife and parent, Walton had made a series of choices that she had survived, and with ‘a female propensity of preservation...’ she had lived ‘more lives than one.’<sup>135</sup>

## Summary

The aim of this chapter has been to show the widely differing approaches of two women who settled and lived in Edinburgh at productive phases of their careers. Their experiences show that to follow a career on equal terms to men in Scotland remained a novelty in spite of the emancipation act. Royds remained in a Christian tradition, while Walton markedly distanced herself from religious inhibitions. For both artists however, books and prints formed a strong basis for their practices. Both cultivated techniques to show their expertise as graphic artists, designers, and as women creating visual and written texts. In spite of their differences in attitude, neither entirely broke away from naturalistic and romantic traditions. But both, in their own ways, emancipated themselves by doggedly pursuing careers, using their own forms of illustration to express their physical presence as women artists.

What I wanted to show in this chapter that, in different ways, both artists self-consciously cultivated their roles as artists and held different attitudes to the significance of political representation in their lives.

<sup>1</sup> SNPG PG 2229 Library File, Flora Drummond (portrait by Flora Lion). Postcard from the Museum of London, Chorus of the Purple, White and Green March, Women's Social and Political Union

<sup>2</sup> Established in the same year as the Congress of the National Association for the Advancement of Art and its Application to Industry, Edinburgh Typographia's first Syllabus stated 'That the objects of this Association shall be the technical and artistic advancement of its members in the Art of Printing.' By the following year, their Syllabus issued a programme of fortnightly meetings, classes and noted provision of a Library of trade journals and typeface specimens. Membership was to include Managers, overseers, sub-overseers, readers, journeymen and apprentices. A lecture delivered by Mr Thomas Thomson discussed 'The Female Element in the Printing Trade'. Its organising Committee came from printing houses in the city, and included no female representatives.

<sup>3</sup> As seen in the previous chapter viz., applications for nomination to membership by a range of women artists

<sup>4</sup> For these details see NLS, Geddes Archive, and also John Kemplay, *The Paintings of John Duncan: a Scottish Symbolist*, Pomegranate Books, San Francisco, 1994, p 19

<sup>5</sup> According to the arguments of Mary Wollstonecraft and JS Mill

<sup>6</sup> Cited in Andrew Rosen, *Rise up Women! The Militant Campaign of the Women's Social and Political Union, 1903-1914*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London/Boston, 1974, p 52

<sup>7</sup> For a fuller account, see Leah Leneman, *A Guid Cause*, Aberdeen University Press, Aberdeen, 1993

<sup>8</sup> NLS HP1.82.1728, *Report of the Committee, Annual Meeting of the Edinburgh National Society of Women's Suffrage*, Café Oak Hall, Princes Street, Edinburgh, 23 March 1907, where women noted the death of their President Priscilla Bright McLaren

<sup>9</sup> *The Scotsman*, 13 October, 1909

<sup>10</sup> For notes on Flora Drummond see footnote 1 above; for a biography of suffragist and Scot, Evelina Haverfield, see Boyce Gaddes, *Evelina: Outward Bound from Inverlochy: a Biography of the Hon. Evelina Haverfield*, Merlin, Braunton, 1995; Lady Steel appears as a Board Member of the Edinburgh College of Art, 1908-1913, see Scott Lawrie, *Edinburgh College of Art, 1904-1969: a Study in Institutional History*, Unpublished Thesis, Edinburgh College of Art/Heriot Watt, May 1996, p 145

<sup>11</sup> Christine Simpson, *The Cairn – A Magazine of the Edinburgh College of Art*, 2, 1912, p 64. The Editorial Committee of first issue of *The Cairn* for Easter 1911 included Chrissie Simpson, John Curr and AC Dodds; it included an etching by Margaret S Dobson, as well as an end-piece by Ethel B Clark (Chrissie Simpson became a tutor in the School of Drawing and Painting, 1914-18, see Scott Lawrie, op. cit., Note 9 above) For the following edition from which this poem is taken, the Principal Frank Morley Fletcher joined the Advisory Committee of Management, that included Effie Philip and A Ayton Young while its Editor was Cecil NR Wright. It included the Study of a Head by Dorothy Johnstone (black litho print on sepia paper)

<sup>12</sup> A student of 1912, quaintly named Violet Banks, later became a photographer, and one of her published works is in the NLS (5.506), *A Day in Edinburgh*, photographs by Violet Banks and water-colour sketches by RS Forrest, Edinburgh, 1933

<sup>13</sup> ECA Archive, Loudon Papers, *Edinburgh School of Art Sketch Club Member's Card*, Waterston and Sons, Edinburgh, 1905

<sup>14</sup> As noted of the iconography of the War Memorial Chapel in Edinburgh by Juliette Macdonald, CVCS, Edinburgh College of Art, applicable to the images used by artists to evoke a sense of Scottish identity and nationhood elsewhere. Jill Vickers of Carleton University has discussed the ethno-symbolic significance of women themselves in their nation states. In 'Gendering the Hyphen: Gender, Scripts and Women's Agency in the Making and re-making of Nation States', she presents research to show how the issue of nationalism affects gendered 'defensive and inclusive nationalisms' according to different ethnies (see Smith below) and countries. She points out that defensive patriotism exists in some countries where men assume women will do their duty irrespective and without political representation. She points out that inclusive nationalism exists in countries where women actively participate in their society, even if in some areas women do not vote (see [www.cpsa-acsp.ca/papers-2004/Vickers.pdf](http://www.cpsa-acsp.ca/papers-2004/Vickers.pdf).)

For the whole issue of ethno-symbolic approaches to nationalism as a fourth in the range of paradigms of nationalist ideology, see Anthony D Smith, *Nationalism, Theory, Ideology, History*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 2001. Smith notes that in contrast to modernist, perennialist and primordialist interpretations, ethno-symbolism '...gives weight to subjective elements of memory, value, sentiment, myth and symbol' (p 57) in the construction of nationhood among ethnies (see page 12) and nations.

<sup>15</sup> The Honorary Treasurer of the Committee of the Sketch Club was Margaret Waterstone. Margaret S Dobson and David MacBeth Sutherland (1885-1973) were joint Honorary Secretaries; Ordinary Committee Members included Miss HM Pike, Miss RM Fraser, Miss JB Bain and Miss WS Burnett, *ibid.*, Note 9 above

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 1906-7, Miss Weir replaced Miss Pike; John R Findlay became Honorary President; Charles Mackie, William Black and EA Walton became Honorary Vice Presidents

---

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 1908, James Guthrie, Frank Morley Fletcher, Sir Robert Rowand Anderson and DY Cameron replaced the Honorary Vice Presidents of the previous year. WK Blacklock stood down as Director; Walter B Hislop became Honorary Secretary and Treasurer; ED Young, Stanley Cursiter and DM Sutherland are replaced by JB Lawson and Eric Robertson. Miss E Doyle joined the Committee and Jessie H Porteous became joint-Honorary Secretary with Walter B Hislop. Margaret Dobson and Adam Bruce Thomson no longer appeared as Committee Members

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., Fees raised from 1/6d to 2/6d

<sup>19</sup> In 1910-11, the Committee includes Winifred R Black, (tutor in the Design School from 1912-1918, Scott Lawrie, op. cit., p 122) and Kenneth Balmain replacing Honorary Secretaries replacing Jessie Porteous and Walter Hislop from the previous year. Miss EB Souden and Miss ME Fraser joined the Committee, while AC Dodds became the new President of the Club

<sup>20</sup> Marjorie Barton, op. cit., p 14

<sup>21</sup> In the School of Drawing and Painting run by Robert Burns, Mabel Royds taught wood-block printing 1908-1913; Annie Morgan taught Still Life 1908-1933; and in the School of Design, Kathleen Burns taught Embroidery 1908-1914, Scott Lawrie, op. cit., pp 111-30

<sup>22</sup> As in Griselda Pollock, *Mary Cassatt*, Jupiter Books, London, 1980; Anne Higonnet, *Berthe Morisot's Images of Women*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge Mass., 1992 and also in Mary Evans O'Keefe Gravalos and Carol Pulin, *Bertha Lum*, Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington/London, 1991

<sup>23</sup> Slade College of Art Archive, UCL Records Office, London, with thanks to Joanna Shacklock. The New English Art Club, founded in 1886, favoured French rather than British Academy styles of painting; its members Henry Tonks, Wilson Steer and Fred Brown all taught at the Slade and Walter Sickert joined the NEAC as friend and fellow painter-etcher in 1888

<sup>24</sup> I am grateful to Mabel Royd's son-in-law Harry Barton for access to paintings by Mabel Royds and Ernest Lumsden, and also to his wife's Memoir of Mabel Royds, written in 1989

<sup>25</sup> Marjorie Barton, Memoir, p 6; by 1899 Sickert separated from his wife Ellen Cobden, see Wendy Baron and Robert Shone, *Sickert Paintings*, Royal Academy of Arts/Van Gogh Museum, London/Amsterdam, 1992; see also Robert Emmons, *The Life and Opinions of Walter Richard Sickert*, Faber & Faber, London, 1941

<sup>26</sup> Listed in the Yearbook of Havergal College for 1906-6. The School Principal, Ellen Knox (1858-1924) had been a graduate of Oxford and moved from teaching at Cheltenham Ladies' College to Havergal on the recommendation of Dr Handley Moule, Principal of Ridley Hall, Cambridge. Since her brother was the Bishop of Coventry, her appointment gives some insight into the networks of English Clergy in education in the imperial colonies. My thanks to Leslie Holstead, Archivist at Havergal College for information

<sup>27</sup> ECA Archive, Letter Book 4, 22 Nov 1909, acknowledgement of Royds' request to alter her timetable from evening classes on Wednesdays (7-9.00 pm) to day classes (1.30-4.00)

<sup>28</sup> ECA Archive, *Prospectus 1910-11*, p 47

<sup>29</sup> Frank Morley Fletcher was of a generation who had been inspired by the Exhibition of Japanese Prints at the École de Beaux Arts in Paris in 1880; the impact of Japonisme on graphic styles in Scotland in work by Margaret MacDonald and Charles Rennie Macintosh. Morley Fletcher taught from Maxime Lalanne's *A Treatise on Etching* first published in English in America in 1880. Subsequent incorporation of printing into the American art curriculum was set out in Arthur Wesley Dow, *Composition, a Series of Exercises Selected from a New System of Art Education*, 1899

Morley Fletcher also published his own book, with an Introduction from WR Lethaby, *Wood Block Printing: a Description of the Craft of Woodcutting and Colour Printing based on the Japanese Practice*, (with Illustrations by the Author and AW Seaby), Pitman Craft Series, London, 1916

<sup>30</sup> As noted by William Lethaby, see chapter two; his earlier reports formed the basis of art education at Edinburgh College of Art. The appointment of his colleague from The Central School of Arts and Crafts in London, Frank Morley Fletcher, showed the will of the Board of Governors to implement changes and to introduce Arts and Crafts teaching in Edinburgh

<sup>31</sup> Catriona Thomson has mentioned the existence of a Colour Woodblock Society, although as yet no records have come to light

<sup>32</sup> Jacqui Sergeant, Archivist, lecture about Edinburgh School of Art, 20/5/99; I would suggest that drawings of penguins and elephants exhibited at Bourne Fine Art in an exhibition of 'The Studio of Mabel Royds' in 1983 come from this time

<sup>33</sup> Malcolm C Salaman, *Modern British Woodcuts and Lithographs by British and French Artists*, The Studio, Special Edition, 1919

<sup>34</sup> Aileen Smith, *The Construction of Cultural Identity in The Visual Arts in Scotland, 1918-1945*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Aberdeen, 1998, p 227



---

<sup>35</sup> This is not the work of an artist working in the parameters of modernist paradigms of the time, along the lines of Italian Futurist 'antipassatismo' or French 'antitradition futuriste' see Renato Poggioli, *The Theory of the Avant-Garde*, trans. Gerald Fitzgerald, Belknap Press, Harvard, Cambridge Massachusetts/London, 1968 (p 52)

<sup>36</sup> ECA Archive, Frank Morley Fletcher, 'A Note by the Director – Revival', *The Cairn*, Magazine of Edinburgh College of Art, May 1921

<sup>37</sup> Sandro Bocola, *The Art of Modernism: Art, Culture and Society from Goya to the Present Day*, Prestel Verlag, Munich/London/New York, 1999, p 201

<sup>38</sup> ECA Archive, Prospectus 1923-4, p 7

<sup>39</sup> Marjorie Barton, op. cit., p 15

<sup>40</sup> Ernest Lumsden, *The Art of Etching*, Seeley, Ervice & Co., London, 1925

<sup>41</sup> Aileen Smith, op. cit., pp 133-9

<sup>42</sup> Cordelia Oliver, *The Society of Scottish Artists: the first One Hundred Years*, SSA, Edinburgh, 1991, p 81

<sup>43</sup> Salaman, op. cit. footnote 34 above; Herbert Furst (Ed), *The Modern Woodcut*, John Lane/Bodley Head, London, 1924; and Malcolm C Salaman, *The Woodcut of Today at Home and Abroad*, Studio Ltd, London, 1927

<sup>44</sup> Aileen Smith, op. cit., accounts for the formation and activities of the Scottish Modern Arts Association from 1907 onwards, who initially acted as an informal group privately collecting images 'to secure for the nation a representative collection of contemporary Scottish Art'. The Committee included James Cadenhead, Rev Professor James Cooper, Gilbert Hole WS, Archibald Stodart Walker, John Lorimer, James Paterson, JD Herdman, Robert Burns, Patrick Adam and Charles Mackie

<sup>45</sup> Lumsden also became Librarian to the RSA between 1945 and his death in 1948; in Esme Gordon, *The Royal Scottish Academy of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture, 1826-1926*, Charles Skilton, Edinburgh, 1976, p 230

<sup>46</sup> NLS MS Acc 10425, Cecile Walton, *More Lives than One*, 1950, p 211

<sup>47</sup> Reproduced with kind permission of her daughter-in-law, Mrs Muriel Robertson

<sup>48</sup> Duncan Macmillan, *Scottish Art 1460-1990*, Mainstream Publishing, Edinburgh, 1996, p 297

<sup>49</sup> NLS MS Acc 10425, *Cecile Walton, More Lives Than One*, 1 May 1950, pp 542-3; unpublished manuscript completed in The Rins, Kircudbright, read with kind permission of the depositor John Kemplay. Throughout this section I am particularly grateful to John and his wife Ann Robertson, Cecile Walton's son Gavril, and the wife of her second son Edwards, Mrs Muriel Robertson who have been extremely generous with their time and with information regarding the subject

<sup>50</sup> John Kemplay, *The Two Companions: the Story of Two Scottish Artists: Eric Robertson and Cecile Walton*, Ronald Crowhurst, Edinburgh, 1991, p 17. I acknowledge information from this book throughout this section

<sup>51</sup> Walton, *More Lives Than One*, op. cit., p 158

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 159

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 174, seen in a Gallery window in Bakers High Street, Kensington

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., p 159

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p 161

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., painted by EA Walton in Cromwell Road, London, 1894 and published in *The Yellow Book*, May, 1896

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., p 203

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., p 181

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p 29, see also Burkhauser et al, *Glasgow Girls*, p 166

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., p 193

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> The family settled at 7 Belford Park when Guthrie succeeded Sir George Reid on 12 November, 1902, SNGMA Archive, RSA 76<sup>th</sup> Annual Report, with thanks to Joanna Soden

<sup>64</sup> Walton, op. cit., p 253; Walton was an enthusiastic dress-maker and designed many of her own clothes in striking colours and materials, pers. comm., Muriel Robertson

<sup>65</sup> Her mother disapproved of sentimental stories, preferring her daughter to read Addison, Arnold, Browning, Calverley, Goldsmith, Keats, Longfellow, Marlowe, Pope, Rossetti, Shelley, Wordsworth as well as George MacDonald's *The Back of the North Wind*, *Cindy and the Princess*, and *The Princess and the Goblins*, Evelyn Sharp's *All the Way to Fairyland*, as well as other popular children's books, *Alice in Wonderland*, *Little Women* and *Little Lord Fauntleroy*

<sup>66</sup> From SNPG file on Cecile Walton, PG 2995, with thanks to Helen Watson

- <sup>67</sup> NLS L175a, Mary Queen of Scots: Programme of Pageant at Craigmillar, George Stewart Printer, Edinburgh, June 23, 1906
- <sup>68</sup> SNGMA Library, GMA A 30, The pamphlet records a range of events, the opening Floral Procession, a Children's Play *Never Judge by Appearances*, a Japanese action Song by Members of the Love Circle, and also a bring and buy stall, Sat 13 July, 1907
- <sup>69</sup> Rodolphe Julian (1839-1907) set up his first studio classes in Paris in 1868. By 1890 there were nine studios, five for men and four for women, see GP Weisberg and Jane R Becker, *Overcoming All Obstacles: the Women of the Académie Julian*, Dahesh Museum, NY/Rutgers University Press, 1999
- <sup>70</sup> Walton, op. cit., p 51
- <sup>71</sup> Ibid., pp 199-200
- <sup>72</sup> Kemplay, p 36
- <sup>73</sup> SNGMA 3719-3730; some of the etchings bear signs of damage where the paper was still too damp and printed with too much pressure
- <sup>74</sup> In Alfred Lord Tennyson, *The Lady of Shalott and Other Poems*, (paper, cloth and suede editions designed by Jessie King), TN Foulis, Edinburgh, Envelope Series No. 9, 1910, illustrated by Katharine Cameron. A version of the poem 'Isabella, or the Pot of Basil' was written by John Keats in April of 1818; it revives and elaborates a story from Boccaccio, *Decamerone, Giov. iv, nov 5*, from the words of Philomena. Keats' more elaborate version tells of Isabella, an Italian virgin whose merchant brothers wished her to marry into a grand family. So they murdered her humble but passionate lover Lorenzo. Isabella found Lorenzo's dead body, retrieved his skull and placed it in a pot which sprouted a Basil plant which she watered with her tears. Led by visions to Lorenzo's grave, she subsequently had visions of his death. Her brothers realised she knew about his murder and fled their home.
- <sup>75</sup> See Paola Tinagli, *Women in Italian Renaissance Art: Gender, Representation, Identity*, Manchester University Press, Manchester/New York, 1997: 'The traits of the ideal female beauty fashionable during the fifteenth century seem to have been developed for the purpose of being represented in a profile portrait'(p 50)...To this group belong a number of paintings now attributed to the workshop of Botticelli, among which the profile once believed to represent Simonetta Cattaneo, the wife of Marco Vespucci, who died in 1475 at the age of 22...' (p 73)
- <sup>76</sup> EPL WN 5056/E26, *Scottish National Exhibition Catalogue*, Fine Art Section, Riverside Press, Edinburgh 1908; Catalogue nos: 283, The Wave; 284, The Call of the Morning; 286 As one who asketh one small flower from the land of Bliss; 287, Sleep; 289, The Visit; 290, Perseus and the Medusa's Head
- <sup>77</sup> Cordelia Oliver, op. cit., p 81 and de Laperrière et al, *RSA Exhibitors*, p 328
- <sup>78</sup> Duncan had been a teacher in Patrick Geddes' School of Art and subsequently taught in America. He became a tutor in Edinburgh College of Art between 1926 and 1933 as a Composition tutor in the School of Drawing and Painting whose Head was David Alison, in Scott Lawrie op. cit., p 113 for further information see John Kemplay, *John Duncan* op. cit., Note 4 above
- <sup>79</sup> Walton, op. cit., p 331
- <sup>80</sup> ECA Archive 6/1/1/1, *General Register Transfer*, 1908-9
- <sup>81</sup> Walton, op. cit., p 301
- <sup>82</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>83</sup> Ibid., p 199
- <sup>84</sup> NLS X. 204.f H Oskar Sommer (Trans), *Hans Andersen's Fairy Tales*, TC & EC Jack, Edinburgh/London, 1911 (Printed by T & A Constable)
- <sup>85</sup> In de Laperrière, *RSA Exhibitors*, op. cit., Walton made submissions to the RSA for 1912, including 'Mother and Child' and 'The Cloak of Friendship'. Her address is listed as 36 Torphichen Street; although she wrote that she moved into the studio at the age of nineteen (Walton, op. cit., p 316) in 1910, she would in fact have been 21 in 1912; prior to this her address remained 7 Belford Park
- <sup>86</sup> Walton, op. cit., p 362; Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) who outlined the theory of statistical analysis for sociological issues
- <sup>87</sup> In the School of Drawing and Painting, under Burns and Alison, Scott Lawrie, op. cit., p 112
- <sup>88</sup> Walton, op. cit., p 362
- <sup>89</sup> In Italy she painted 'Two Students' painted in oil and gold leaf on the back of a wooden washing board, information from Mrs Muriel Robertson
- <sup>90</sup> Agnoletti taught Italian at Glasgow University. He conducted an affair with Agnèse Brown at his Italian estate in La Martinella, of which Mrs Walton disapproved strongly. She was scandalised that they patronise her daughter
- <sup>91</sup> As Kemplay has noted, after meeting Iden Payne and his wife Mona Limerick at a holiday in Walberswick in 1911, while Payne managed the repertory company of the Gaiety Theatre while his wife acted in their

---

plays; Snow White was scripted by Henry Gillage Green, and music was by Wolfgang van Bartles. The play included nine scene changes, which Cecile designed with the help of one scene painter. She made costumes with the help of six other women, noted in Walton, op. cit., p 214

<sup>92</sup> de Laperrière, op. cit., and Kemplay, op. cit., p 29

<sup>93</sup> Kemplay, op. cit., p 37; this first Edinburgh Group exhibition brought together works by David Alison, John Barclay, HA Cameron, Mervyn Glass, Bill Hutchison, Alick Sturrock, Spence Smith, JW Somerville and David Sutherland. For further information see the catalogue for a retrospective exhibition, John Kemplay, *The Edinburgh Group*, City Art Centre Edinburgh 9-30 July/Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum 11 Aug-4 September, City of Edinburgh Museums, Edinburgh, 1983

<sup>94</sup> 1914-1923 annually, thereafter intermittently

<sup>95</sup> Walton, op. cit., p 398

<sup>96</sup> In the possession of the company

<sup>97</sup> See footnote 14 above

<sup>98</sup> In the absence of her husband, Walton became a close friend of married Irishman, Jonty Hanagan, a vigorous preacher for the benefits of 'free love'

<sup>99</sup> Translation from AJ Glinski by Maude Ashurst Biggs, *Polish Fairy Tales*, John Lane/Bodley Head, London/New York, 1920

<sup>100</sup> See Paul Greenhalgh, *Modernism in Design*, Reaktion Books, London, 1990: Greenhalgh defines two phases in modernist design, the first being proto-modernism of a Pioneer phase' from World War I and notes, 'Summing up the collective belief systems which went to make up the Pioneer Modern Movement is a difficult, if not thankless, task. Not all the principles of one school were followed by the others and each school had its own particular emphases and proscriptions.' (p 6). In Cecile Walton's illustrations for these Polish fairy tales, she made not primitive, but folkloric, decorative, historicised designs. Narratives and colour took precedence over abstraction in her illustrative vocabulary. Conforming to a brief for narrative and descriptive pictures she nevertheless showed a desire to give a 'modern' edge to her illustrations in complex designs in the shape of the illustrations themselves

<sup>101</sup> 'HAC' (?), *The Scots Pictorial*, 23 October, 1920, 440-1

<sup>102</sup> SNPG PG 2995. Donated anonymously to the SNPG in 1998, see E Quigley, *The Scotsman*, 18 September 1998 and Christ Reekie and Chris Holme in *The Herald*, 18 September 1998

<sup>103</sup> Janice Helland, Extract, *Universities Art Association of Canada*, Annual Meeting 4-7 November, 1993

<sup>104</sup> This is Walton's narrative interpretation of war who, like Kathe Kollwitz (1867-1945) in Germany, shared her horror of war, although Kollwitz is bolder in technique and more melodramatic in the depiction of women's grief. Walton's paintings approach but do not quite become Vorticist in manner but they also share some features of paintings by Christopher Nevinson (1889-1946) the English painter and Pacifist whose subtext is to convey the horror of war

<sup>105</sup> They married in 1926

<sup>106</sup> For an account of the publishing activities of the Porpoise Press, see Alistair McCleery, *The Porpoise Press 1922-1939*, Merchiston Publishing, Edinburgh, 1988 (for the founding see p 21)

<sup>107</sup> Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museum, ABDAG000638

<sup>108</sup> Austin Priestman, *Child Verses and Poems*, Arthur H Stockwell, London, 1926

<sup>109</sup> In the possession of Mrs Muriel Robertson, *Verses*, The Penguin Club, Edinburgh, 1926 included poems by Olive Sampson, Robert Brown, CR Harper, Lawrence Wilson, HH Wood, Albert Mackie, Lawrence Brander, M Morrison and Maurice Richardson

<sup>110</sup> NLS x.170.e, *Atlanta's Garland: being the Book of the Edinburgh University Women's Union*, T & A Constable, University Press, Edinburgh, 1926. The book includes articles from Katharine Mansfield, Virginia Woolf, Ethel Colburn Mayne, Fredegond Shove, Jessie Meikle, Irene Forbes-Mosse, Marion Angus, Rachel Annand Taylor, Ada Negri, Pauline Smith, Charlotte Mew, Violet Jacob, Mary Dickins, Frances Storrs Johnston, Sylvia Lynd and Naomi Mitchison. It also included contributions from Hugh MacDiarmid and Edwin Muir

<sup>111</sup> Images chosen by Walton included a 'Portrait of Virginia Woolf' (photograph by Maurice Beck and Helen Macgregor), Bessie McNicol 'Under the Apple Tree', David Allan 'Portrait of Mrs Anne Forbes', Dorothy Johnstone 'Drawing of a Child', Alice Meredith Williams 'Paisley War Memorial Bronze', Cecile Walton 'Children of the Mountain Valley', 'Portrait of Signora Ada Negri' (photography by Camuzzi Lomazzi), Phyllis Bone 'The National War Memorial', Jessie King, 'The Prince of the Fairies a-wooing came' and Katharine Cameron 'Niphotos Roses'

<sup>112</sup> Her daughter in law, Muriel Robertson recalled the African masks Walton held in her possession, pers. comm.

<sup>113</sup> *Atlanta's Garland*, op. cit., p 56

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., p 62

<sup>115</sup> Duncan Macmillan, op. cit., p 311, has shown how the term 'colourist' applied initially in 1915 to Cadell's work. It was an arbitrary definition for the works of SJ Peploe, JD Fergusson and (George) Leslie Hunter and also Cadell, when an exhibition of theirs was to appear in Paris in 1923. The term was only used significantly later by TJ Honeyman, *Three Scottish Colourists*, London, 1950; see also Philip Long/Elizabeth Cumming, *The Scottish Colourists 1900-1930, FCB Cadell, JD Fergusson, GL Hunter, SJ Hunter*, National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, 2000

<sup>116</sup> Ibid., pp 62-3

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., p 63

Cecile Walton's chapter concluded with the date and place of completion of her article as Corfe Castle, August 1926, indicating that she completed her chapter while staying with the Newbery family who had moved there in 1918

<sup>118</sup> Walton, op. cit., p 223

<sup>119</sup> NLS T.9.c, Dorothy Una Ratcliffe, *Nightlights*, Herbert Russell, London, 1929. Ratcliffe, born in 1887 and nee Clough was a wealthy and energetic friend to Walton. With her sister Pauline Clough Young, she edited a magazine called *The Microcosm* (1920-25) and it is likely she met Walton in Edinburgh in the late 20's while living in Ann Street. Ratcliffe was a prolific writer, broadcaster and collector of paintings, Waterford glass and antique fans. Her first marriage failed and for some time she lived with a partner, the photographer Alfred Vowle. She adopted the style of a Romany Gypsy and travelled collecting records of Romany life. She married for a second time a Naval man called Noel Macgregor Philips. When Philips died in 1947, Ratcliffe resumed her relationship with Vowle until she died in 1967. For an outline biography and her contribution to life in the Lake District, see Tim Longville, 'She who must be Obeyed', *Cumbria and Lake District Life*, April 2001

<sup>120</sup> Walton, op. cit., ibid., p 437

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

<sup>122</sup> According to addresses given for her submissions to the RSA, she lived at 108 George Street, although she misremembered the address as George Square. Ibid., p 528

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., p 448

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., p 456

<sup>125</sup> In some senses his widow Muriel Robertson felt that Cecile Walton competed with her son, and was also jealous of his settled and contented life as an artist, pers. comm.; see also NLS V.98.c Cecile Walton, *The Children's Theatre Book, for young Dancers and Actors*, with plates and drawings by the author and Edward W Robertson, A & C Black, London, 1949 (second revised edition published in 1952)

<sup>126</sup> NLS NE 115.e.1, Dorothy Una Ratcliffe, *Jingling Lane: a Dramatised Idyll in a Yorkshire Dale*, illustrated by Cecile Walton, Percy Lund Humphries, London, 1954

<sup>127</sup> John Kemplay, pers. comm.

<sup>128</sup> John Kemplay, *The Two Companions: the Story of Two Scottish Artists, Eric Robertson and Cecile Walton*, Ronald Crowhurst, Edinburgh, 1991

<sup>129</sup> Walton, *More Lives Than One*, op. cit., p 75

<sup>130</sup> Ibid., pp 196-8

<sup>131</sup> Ibid., p 199

<sup>132</sup> Ibid., p 565

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., p 566

<sup>134</sup> Ibid., p 570

<sup>135</sup> Ibid.



## CHAPTER SIX: AESTHETICS, CULTURE, POLITICS

‘It seems platitudinous to insist that to have a national art you must first have a nation. In 1707 the Scottish Nation came to an end, against the will of the mass of the people. Because it was without the consent and against the will of the Scottish people, national life was not extinguished, but it was diminished, fractured, driven underground or at least back among the peasantry; and a Scottish art that is really national and not merely sporadic, individual, eccentric, must wait for the restoration of the Scottish Nation.’<sup>1</sup>

### Observations

The following chapter considers the inter-related issues of aesthetics, culture and politics in Edinburgh, focusing on the period of 1930 to 1945. Books were central to the transmission and generation of work by and from women. They appeared as central to a Book Crafts display (see below) for an educational exhibition in 1936 (**Fig. 6.1b**). At this time women in different spheres of professional activity became more outspoken on political, social and artistic issues. During the period, networks of women in the city exercised a greater degree of freedom of expression than before. Whereas previous generations may have held definite ideas about the restrictions and prohibitions on women, they rarely expressed their opinions openly.

By 1930 the nature of proliferating broadcasting media opened up discussions about women’s issues. The inter-relationship of printed books and broadcast ideas exposed the voices of women, albeit often on issues related to children and the family. Photography and the visual media gave greater clarity and definition to views of the world. Artists were no longer dependent on representing reality in terms of drawing and illustrating pictures.

The new media conveyed and delineated more information than in previous generations. Accordingly, the contribution of women writers, scientists and artists to the intellectual framework of Scottish life was more available, more immediate and therefore more accessible to other women. In this period, women were more visibly inter-dependent as well as more independent than before. Concepts of womanhood and the body, previously filtered through religious images, formed a more complex development through technological innovation in written and visual forms.

Trained and practising women artists such as Cecile Walton discussed in the previous chapter and Wendy Wood discussed below, worked for the BBC. Their skills, founded in their abilities as artists, illustrators and storytellers could be transferred from the drafted page to create images in speech. Both women had already found work as illustrators of books before they worked for a state institution. In the case of Wood, her later television appearances were another outlet to transmit Scottish folk-tales. Networks of their female friends would write, publish and participate in political activity, adding to the visualisation of matters related to their own bodies, such as birth-control. Female inscription was a matter of projecting issues relevant to women in the more fluid forms of broadcast word and televised action. Women illustrators therefore produced their artwork in concert with movements of writing and politics that highlighted women's issues of self-determination and identification. Joan Hassall, who lived, taught and illustrated engraving in Edinburgh between 1941 and 1945, seems barely affected by politics. Yet her role as an artist working in the city introduced her to concepts of Scottish politics and Scottish national identity. Alternatively, Wendy Wood, although not born in Scotland, nor trained in Edinburgh, illustrated, wrote, broadcast and actively campaigned to heighten consciousness of specifically Scottish issues in the popular imagination in Edinburgh during this time.

Presenting details of the working lives of both women may seem prosopographic and even a conservative means of exposition. But finally, by examining two more women artists who worked as illustrators in Edinburgh, the thesis ends a series of presentations to demonstrate the variation and range of work by women illustrators and to show their experiences in the capital city of Scotland. It is not possible to restrict their views to one doctrinaire set of values. My aim is to add two final figures to a *collective* group of 'Edinburgh Girls' to consider how female minds, voices and works added to the inscribed records of Scotland. My selection of illustrators is by no means a definitive one. It is to be hoped that more come to light.

Although of necessity women took individual routes in learning and using their skills, female artists, writers and academics, when viewed collectively, articulated view about Scotland from its capital. They formed ideas about Scottish art and ideas about Scottish politics. This did not prevent them from rejecting purely Scottish identification, or from adopting cosmopolitan values.

Because they were involved in the production of texts, women re-visioned the male preserves of academic work; they impinged on formerly male monopolies. Generating and re-generating their own texts, women participated in conceptualising and re-conceptualising their social conditions. The evolution of women's work in Edinburgh did not necessarily follow one set of coherent practices or theories. Since women obtained the vote in 1918 and because the marriage bar for teachers in Scotland was only formally lifted in 1944, women, consciously or not, laboured collectively. All faced established expectations as to the behaviour of women.



## Context

A General Strike in 1926 in Britain and the Wall Street Crash in 1929 in New York marked a low point in the economic state of the West. Scotland bore its own share of international economic crises which produced high levels of unemployment. In 1934 the Government of Ramsay Macdonald enacted 'Special Areas Legislation', setting up 'Commissions for Distressed Areas'. Sir Arthur Rose gathered statistics of the levels of unemployment for a separate Scottish Commission. Government action was 'Too little, too late'.<sup>2</sup> At a personal level, Marjorie Barton saw the impact of the 'thirties 'Slump' on the sales of prints by her mother Mabel Royds and her father Ernest Lumsden (see Chapter Five). To Louise Annand and her contemporaries, the Scottish population did not receive the support it needed from a Parliament based in London.<sup>3</sup> Economic conditions compelled Parliament to delegate the responsibility for developing policies to counteract the falling balance of trade to regional initiatives. When the Board of Trade founded a Council in 1934 'to deal with the questions affecting the relations between Art and Industry' the art establishment was also involved.<sup>4</sup>

A Scottish Committee of the Council for Art and Industry instituted a Board comprising twenty members, only two of whom were women, namely Lady MacGregor and Lady Victoria Wemyss. Eighteen male members included Stanley Cursiter, Curator of the Scottish National Galleries, Professor Talbot Rice, Professor of Fine Art at Edinburgh University and Hubert Wellington, Principal of Edinburgh College of Art (1932-1942). The Board aimed,

‘... to promote an improvement in the standard of design in Scottish Industry... [because]...for many years the volume of British export trade has shrunk on account of growing industrialisation in many foreign countries.’<sup>5</sup>

The Board targeted education from primary to post-school training as a feasible means of changing the economic downturn. Needlework and book crafts featured in their Exhibition of School Crafts in Scotland in 1936 as one method of raising awareness of design issues and in generating levels of response to design values (**Figs 6.1a and b**).

Few women’s voices were heard in pre-1930s Edinburgh in public discourses on art or politics. Hugh MacDiarmid led *agitprop* in Scotland. He challenged traditional views of art and literature and as a poet and writer has been viewed as the main spokesman on Scottish aesthetics.<sup>6</sup> He railed against the Scottish public who wished to ‘domesticate’ aesthetic issues which lay outside his political ideals of social justice in the form of Communism. Where women were enmeshed in domestic issues and when they could only relate to their experiences at home in Scotland, domestic aesthetics were all they had. Herbert Read, as Professor of Art History at Edinburgh University between 1928 and 1932 was anxious to deflate snobbish and uninformed reactions to paintings. He stressed the ‘profound inter-relation of artist and community.’<sup>7</sup> He asserted inclusive ideals of art and craft as ‘all one’ and accounted for ugliness and beauty in art as relative terms. But as a dominant voice and an arbiter of taste in the city, however, he perpetuated the dominant male authorial voice, presenting an analysis of the ‘Masters’ of art as he outlined and redefined major developments.<sup>8</sup> However, he did present Barbara Hepworth as a significant sculptress expressing a ‘depth of feeling’ in her work, and cited her view that,

‘Working realistically replenishes one’s *love* for life, humanity and the earth. Working abstractly seems to release one’s personality and sharpen[s] the perceptions, so that in the observation of life it is the wholeness or inner intention which moves one so profoundly: the components fall into place, the detail is significant of unity.’<sup>9</sup>

Abstract, modernist alternatives to the prevailing aesthetic hegemony among women were just beginning in Scotland. Mostly, political and cultural maps were drawn up by men and remained in the realms of male discourse. Whereas Socialist and Labour political policies identified the needs of the working classes, by contrast Conservatism repeated the claims of traditional landed classes; Liberalism’s outmoded purposes no longer seemed a viable option. Scottish Nationalism offered a cultural and political alternative to established parties. In the ‘thirties, Naomi Mitchison saw that nationalism challenged her own socialist politics. It offered both traditional attachments to Scotland as a nation and opened up the possibility of a radical break with Parliament. In many ways it formed an alternative forum for familiar and continuing Home Rule debates and territorial assertions set in motion by the Liberals that had simmered since 1886.

### **Female Culture – Hearts and Minds**

If education led to a heightened awareness that political action addressed social problems, then women actively took part in the process of political reform. Educated women in Edinburgh did not ignore problems as they appeared in the capital. They perceived that city dwellers suffered from intellectual as well as a material poverty. Mary Ramsay, cited at the beginning of the chapter, argued that an historical legacy of the Union of 1707 prevented aesthetic and political development in Scotland. Edinburgh University Library Manuscripts Department hold a copy of *The Freedom of the Scots*, inscribed to Christopher Murray

Grieve (that is, Hugh MacDiarmid) on its publication in 1945, from the offices of 'United Scotland' where Ramsay was Secretary.<sup>10</sup> As a protagonist for the revival of Scottish History, to inform Scots of their nationality, Ramsay wrote,

'I would specially urge on my fellow Scots...that we should seek out our own "Ancient Mothers", our native history and tradition...'<sup>11</sup>

Her sideswipe referring to "Ancient Mothers" made a feminist point to stress women's part in the construction of their history. She added,

'We Scots today accept and perpetuate that betrayal [of 1707] until this beloved land regains her Freedom and Independence; and turning her back on imperialist powers, however mighty they may appear, is once again able to enter into relations of friendship and co-operation with other Free Nations on the footing of an equal.'<sup>12</sup>

Combining feminism and passionate nationalism, Ramsay offered her analysis, as a female academic and writer, of the condition of Scottish culture, its aesthetic and historical traditions, thereby making inroads into male discourse.

Like Ramsay, Agnes Mure Mackenzie also revised the privileged male views of history and literature.<sup>13</sup> In *Women in Shakespeare's Plays: a critical study from the Dramatic and Psychological points of view and in relation to the Development of Shakespeare's Art*, (1924), Mackenzie reassessed the presence of women's points of view in the literary analysis of Shakespeare. Mackenzie also wished to revive Gaelic and Scottish literature and history in order to provide a better understanding of Scottish claims to nationhood. She

approached these issues with equal conviction, but with less overt political passion than Ramsay. She joined the Saltire Society, formed in 1937 in Edinburgh, as an apparently politically 'neutral' sphere of her activity.<sup>14</sup> Like many female artists (for example Cecile Walton and in some senses, odd though it may seem, Wendy Wood), they preferred to believe in an extra-political, role for art.

The first Report of the Saltire Society stated that it 'is entirely non-political'. It explained that, of the six objects of the Society, the first was,

'(1) To foster the Scottish way of life; Scottish literature, music, drama, arts and crafts, past and present; the study of Scottish history and geography; and the study (speaking, writing and reading) of Gaelic and Lowland Scots.'<sup>15</sup>

The Saltire Society stressed their 'apolitical' approach to Scottish life and letters, and restated,

'the motto of the "very wise man" quoted by Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun: "If a man were permitted to make all the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws of the nation."<sup>16</sup>

Such a statement confirms rather than contradicts the idea that art and public policy were linked. The conditional nature of the man's statement is not a desire to relinquish engagement in politics, but rather the reverse. Over and above these contradictions however, the statement suggests Scottish life and letters belonged to male artists and lawyers. Nevertheless, female membership of the Saltire Society signified moderate changes.<sup>17</sup>

In 1942, the Saltire Society published a monograph by Mackenzie entitled *The Arts and the Future of Scotland*.<sup>18</sup> In the pamphlet, she expressed a common and pragmatic Scottish concern that, for a nation in which publishing formed a large industry, the country offered scant support to artists in general. She wrote,

‘A Scot who writes creative literature has normally, of course, to publish in London...We have in Scotland some of the largest publishing firms in the world, but the Scottish publishing trade taken as a whole, does not encourage Scottish creative letters...the writer in Scotland...is much better off than the painter, the sculptor, the dramatist or even the architect. Too often they must emigrate or starve.’<sup>19</sup>

It may be that Mackenzie underestimated the effect of the lack of support to *female* artists in Scotland through her own experience. Nevertheless, her career developed so that by the 1940s she paid the production costs of an anthology of Scottish prose and poetry entitled *Scottish Pageant* published in 1946. Besides this, Mackenzie also donated the proceeds of the book to the Saltire Society to cover the costs of renting their premises.<sup>20</sup>

In discussing *The Arts and the Future of Scotland*, Mackenzie confronted the issue of political nationalism and cultural nationalism. She distinguished cultural nationalism as an autonomous expression of Scottish experience. It differed from political nationalism and from the kind of nationalism that had developed among National Socialists in Germany, noting,

‘...speaking as, in a small way as an artist, I would like to say one or two things to my fellows about our job in relation to Scotland...We are in danger just now, in serious danger, of mixing national art and nationalism in a way that may do grave injury to them both...I happen to be an artist...and I am a nationalist...But there is a

difference between a national art and a nationalistic art...a national art, the art of a given nation, means that an artist who is born of that nation looks at the world and puts down what he sees. And that is all.<sup>21</sup>

By believing in a fundamentally benign and orderly process of social development in a Christian context, Mackenzie wished to place limits on systems of political belief. She wished to reassess Scottish historical records independently from any ultimate political meaning they might hold.<sup>22</sup> As Jill Stevenson has shown in *Women in Nazi Germany* however, defining nationhood involved the political appropriation of cultural and artistic ideals, the selection of strictly defined cultural indicators and the rejection of other cultural signifiers through censorship.<sup>23</sup>

### **Body Politics**

In the late 'twenties, John Langdon Davies helpfully deconstructed 'the depressing quicksands of women's history' for a popular handbook for 'The Thinker's Library' called *A Short History of Women*.<sup>24</sup> He pointed out, 'So long as sex remains a mystery, the history of women remains a mystery' and exposed ideological prejudices against women. He discussed the different systems of beliefs concerning women and their sexuality from Ancient Civilisations to Christianity to Modern (eighteenth-century) writers. He concluded,

'It is our boast today that the Female Character has dissolved into the rational being who calls herself the modern woman: and if there are still "rights of women" withheld by an unjust society, they are of a kind

which can only be gained by women making common cause with men against the forces of privilege which hold both sexes equally in subjection.<sup>25</sup>

He ignored the inherent contradiction in his recommendations. Women could not have common cause with men in political activity if political activity at that time still defined largely by men. Nevertheless, Langdon-Davies' open discussion of sexuality signalled a particularly acute public awareness of 'new womanhood'.

One aspect of 'new womanhood' was that biological research was now a legitimate area of study for women. Edinburgh-born Marie Stopes (1880-1958) made biological issues of gender and sexuality a cause for popular discussion.<sup>26</sup> Stopes' studies became popular through her own magazine, published originally in 1922 as *Birth Control News*. She offered counselling on marriage, parenthood and related issues - intended to be applied strictly in the respectable limits of Christian marriage. In and through publications she charted the practical difficulties of differences between men and women and the nature of their relationships in a changing society. Even if her politics tended to right wing eugenics rather than radical forms of 'free-love', she showed a (Scottish) faith in scientific research. Using her skills as a qualified biologist to analyse medical problems of women showed the ability of a woman educated in Edinburgh to transfer her skills to a career.<sup>27</sup>

The relationship between mind and body bore on the roles of men and women. It formed a central subject for artists and writers at the time. More than this however, Stopes harboured her own aesthetic intentions as a poet and writer. She pursued an early enthusiasm for writing poems and plays, aware therefore, that gender determined forms of the mimetic impulse and aesthetic performance among women, and that she, like others, had the right to



pursue literature as a serious occupation.<sup>28</sup> Stopes had an angular relationship to Edinburgh and Scotland. She did not consider nationality as a key issue. Her links to Scotland remained through friendship and 'serious' scientific interests. She remained in touch with JBS Haldane as a friend but also as a colleague versed in palaeobotany.<sup>29</sup> Naomi Mitchison recalled this friendship between her father and the celebrated marriage counsellor. She remembered the impact of open discussion of sexuality that shocked the authorities to the extent that Stopes, Haldane and writers like herself faced bans and censorship of their works.<sup>30</sup> What is significant is that Stopes helped to bring the issues that mattered to women as sexually active people and as child-bearers before the public.

Naomi Mitchison (1897-1999) held open, candid and progressive views of sexuality, aesthetics and politics. In part, this was due to the epiphanies Mitchison experienced from Stopes' own work *Married Love*.<sup>31</sup> As a writer and cultural commentator, Jenni Calder has pointed out Mitchison's 'patrician' and 'privileged' upbringing.<sup>32</sup> However Mitchison encountered the difficulty of being a woman artist as a writer, and enabled others to illustrate her works. A Scottish woman artist once again extended visual narratives in co-ordination with illustrators to realise her ideas.<sup>33</sup> This was not a separate issue from her political views, but formed an integral part of her active presence in cultural politics as well as political culture.

After her marriage, Mitchison joined a Committee of the North Kensington Women's Welfare Clinic. She believed that Stopes probably regarded this clinic as a rival to her own, 'probably giving the wrong advice.'<sup>34</sup> Nevertheless Mitchison also joined a Birth Control Research Committee in 1927 and subsequently published 'Comments on Birth Control' for *The Criterion* in 1930.<sup>35</sup> After a visit to Russia in 1933, her publisher Edward Garnett at

Jonathan Cape refused to publish a 'social realist' novel based on her experiences there. Her original manuscript gave explicit references to contraceptives, a rape and an abortion. Similarly, Victor Gollancz rejected her manuscript as 'filthy'. Eventually the manuscript was published with the title *We Have Been Warned* by Constable.<sup>36</sup>

As a writer Mitchison discussed the biases of gender. Gendered difference in the roles of women and men formed an essential ingredient of her corpus. She fused her experiences as a sexual and political being. Her grasp of the realities of women's lives in their roles as childbearing women, witnessed in clinics, in her knowledge of a Russian woman's abortion and in her research for *Mass Observation* shaped her early works.<sup>37</sup> Politically and sexually she formed a member of the *avant-garde*. She mixed with writers and illustrators, such as Gertrude Hermes, Wyndham Lewis and Eric Kennington.<sup>38</sup> Yet a Scottish conditioning also meant that she based her writing on narrative reality and imaginative narratives. The conversational tone of narrative prose remained within the realms of comprehension and understanding. She wrote stories at the same time as she documented social conditions and produced political polemic.<sup>39</sup>

The intensity of the engagement of Mitchison with social issues, politics and art provides the example of a woman artist not just seeking celebrity. She was working in the Scottish field of philosophical and scientific enquiry and wanted a career. She produced and engendered texts, seizing the opportunity, as a woman writer to interpret what it meant to have political convictions as a woman. In Edinburgh, she attended a Labour Party Conference in 1934 where 'La Pasionaria' spoke of the conditions of the Spanish Civil War.<sup>40</sup> The following year, the Labour Party engaged her as their candidate for the Scottish

Universities, although she was not elected. At this time, she observed an upsurge in Scottish national identity and admitted to the sensation that,

'I began to get the feeling that I was indeed a Scot and that Scottish nationalism had some meaning.'<sup>41</sup>

So this *zeitgeist* of nationalism touched Mitchison although her affiliations were with Labour party Socialism. I mention her briefly here as one of the women who were deeply aware of the tensions between the mind and the body of women, between women's roles as mothers and political beings. Mitchison raised the profile of women as agents in their history and in their artistic development during this period.

So too Cicely Isabel Fairfield (1892-1983) adopting the pen name of Rebecca West engaged in the creation of feminist ideology and art.<sup>42</sup> Although there are dangers in reading her fictions as literal commentaries on the state of the arts in Edinburgh in the nineteen-thirties, there are nevertheless aspects of her writing that draw on her childhood in the city and the attitudes it contained. As a woman she does not spare other women for their reliance on fixed and traditional attitudes to define their place in aesthetic and political developments of the period. As a radical protagonist of feminism and political change she began writing articles for *The Freewoman* in 1911. Her novel, *The Thinking Reed* offers some background to the kind of traditional attitudes held in Edinburgh as she parodies a family by the name of the Lauristons whose forthright mother, Lady Barnaclough epitomises a woman associating herself with authoritative public and domestic control of the arts. At a dinner party Lady Barnaclough represents outmoded engagement with the arts,

'Did you ever read what St Francis said about the air? My girl, Clare, who's going to be a great artist, copied it out when she was only fifteen in India ink on vellum and we had it framed and hung in the gun room at Harthing. Everybody's moved by it, even Prime Ministers. Everybody except Lord Curzon. But he had no heart...'<sup>43</sup>

Victoria Glendinning has pointed out that the satire of this novel is a pointed reflection of 'the incompatibility of the values and perceptions of men, by whom the world is run, with values and perceptions of women.'<sup>44</sup> West therefore explores, with humour and waspish criticism, the structured kinds of relationships in which some kinds of women artists were caught. West explored the structured kinds of relationships in which different kinds of women found themselves, with waspish humour and criticism. In *The Fountain Overflows*, West wrote more descriptively of the Edinburgh she knew. She wrote of the problematic legacies of Scotland's capital, its traditional grandeur opposed by the needs of its inhabitants and the legacies of the Reformation. From the point of view of a young female artist, she gave a view of the city that incorporated its physical features, its central imaginative spaces and its symbolic force. Incorporating the image of the mechanical tramcar, she sees that the city adapts technical changes to prehistoric sites,

'The tram car rocked up the Mound with the free camelish motion of trolley-cars, swung round the curve at the top and shambled over George IV Bridge, the bridge that fascinated us as children because it crossed no river, but canyons of slums...The Castle on the rock made us feel we were living in a fairy-tale, we liked climbing the slopes of Arthur's Seat, which was so like a couchant lion that it seemed quite unscientific to suppose it could be a natural mountain, and it had to be admitted that it was probably some wizard's work. Also, these dark slums below the bridge ran under the open stately city to Holyrood Palace, where darkness an lightness met, and the white star of Mary Queen of Scots was forever in opposition to the black star of John Knox.'<sup>45</sup>

This lingering image of the central problems of Scottish history as a tension between religious extremes and between icons of female and male experience in Scotland, is part of West's extended observations. Throughout *The Fountain Overflows*, West's narrative observes the difficulties of the role of the female artist, the tensions between tradition and modern ideals. The figure of her mother acts as a reminder of the experiences of a generation where female painters, musicians and politicians simply surrendered their skills at marriage. The mother sacrifices her art to her family, while her family nevertheless seek different ways in which to revive and restructure that art.

The previous brief allusions to female authors with strong links to Edinburgh are intended to indicate the intense engagement of women as artists and participants in Scottish culture, aesthetics and politics. Women artists and illustrators in Edinburgh did not work in complete isolation, but formed a wider collective network. Networks of women wanted to know and understand their roles as women, as sexual beings and as artists. They sought knowledge not only as a private interest, but as a matter of public and national importance. As a centre of political administration in Scotland, Edinburgh formed an important site in which to develop narrative and scientific views of women's roles. And yet it remained almost impermeably shaped by history, bound into patterns of wealth and poverty in which women gradually sought ways to change the *status quo*.

In order to participate in the production processes of art meant women also needed to participate in the decision-making processes that shaped industry and conditions of the industrial population. Women understood they formed part of the body politic. They were not outside the political processes of shaping new generations, of defining their place as citizens, as members of a nation or as active political agents. Scottish nationalism

presented an alternative political structure to an English-based Parliament. In the conditions of the nineteen-thirties, the Scottish population perceived that Parliament had failed them. They wished to define their own political culture. Cultural politics helped define the symbols and iconography significant to Scotland. Meanwhile, the political framework of National Socialism in Germany had, by 1937, exploited images of nationhood. Significantly this applied to the female population, who ironically, were increasingly well-represented in the German Government systems of the 1920s.<sup>46</sup>

Since the beginning of the century, modernist artists had generated new, secular modes of thinking in European cities. Modernism and abstraction confounded Edinburgh traditionalists. Print media were central to the textual and visual manifestos of change. But in Edinburgh only cautious approaches to experimental attitudes to training in art took place. Wilhelmina Barns-Graham (b 1912) and Margaret Mellis (b. 1914) started their training at Edinburgh College of Art in 1931, but only developed modernist approaches to their work after they left Edinburgh. If Party politics polarised right wing Conservatives (who thought that Modernists were mad) and left wing Labour and Socialist radicals (who thought Traditionalists reprehensible and ignorant) then Scottish nationalism formed an alternative to both persuasions. In this atmosphere the artist, illustrator and writer Wendy Wood represented an aesthetic and political outlook which was not as extreme as it might have seemed.

## Wendy Wood (1892-1981)

'In 1891 the Scottish Patriots Association was publishing a magazine...profusely illustrated and with advertisements for Scottish goods only. Every page obviously adhered to their stated aims as "the cultivation of the Spirit of Patriotism. The Defence of Scottish National Rights. To protest against the use of the terms 'England and English' in the wrong place. The study of Scottish Art, Music and Literature. Encouragement of Scottish recreations. Celebration of National Anniversaries. Reports from Scots throughout the world and the Restoration of the Scottish Parliament.'" Their patriotic demonstration at Robroyston in 1905 was attended by over 1500 people...Rev David MacRae...delivered an appeal to "Wake up Scotland".'<sup>47</sup>

Programmatic manifestos and political magazines in the early twentieth century fused art, design and politics as a potent visual and textual vocabulary. Few women in Scotland took part in the rhetorical process. Largely excluded from policy-making roles in professional institutions, in religion and in politics they were therefore expected to find fulfilment in gendered and domestic tasks. Wood however, did not conform to established norms. She moved in public and private spaces. Privately, Wood saw herself primarily as 'an artist'. Publicly, she worked for the Scottish Nationalist cause. Inconveniently, she denied she was a propagandist, stating 'I have only painted one picture with patriotism as its subject.'<sup>48</sup> She felt her artistic self was autonomous from her political self. A late self-portrait, albeit a brief charcoal sketch on paper, testifies to Wood's self-image (**Fig. 6.2**). The drawing is a document about Wood as an artist. She illustrated herself with no decorative details, in a few brief and bold lines as a serious and contemplative woman, her head resting on her hand, eyes turned away from the gaze of observers.

There is a distinct historical difference between feminist convictions of the present, that stem from and were established in the 1970s connecting the personal with the political, and the way Wendy Wood saw herself. Feminists of the 1970s, as discussed in Chapter One, connected the whole person with the material outcome of their work, making 'the personal political'.<sup>49</sup> Wood did not necessarily share this conviction. By contrast, the Scottish National Portrait Gallery classify their images of Wendy Wood as a 'Scottish Nationalist' not as an 'artist'.

Yet as an artist Wood understood the power of popular communication in art, in graphics and in the press. She found effective means of expressing her beliefs as an agitator, a lawbreaker, spurred to direct action on sensitive issues such as the position of National Borders, the Rights of the Monarchy and Nuclear Energy. Her authorised biographer, Rowena Love is currently documenting Wood's life from an historical point of view.<sup>50</sup> Joy Hendry, editor of *Chapman Magazine* has noted that Wood contributed to Scottish life and letters with the conviction that, 'Most of all...she believed in freedom, of the individual, of the nation.'<sup>51</sup> Drawings, paintings and documents from Wood's life are now filtering into Scottish Museums, Galleries and Libraries.

The historian Professor Christopher Harvie gives Wood cursory treatment as one of '...a lively clutch of Nationalist agitators ...[whose]... support of Nationalism was rarely significant.'<sup>52</sup> From a purely political perspective, Wood remains outside accepted canons of political culture. But this underestimates the impact of cultural politics in which artists used their visual imaginations to convey images and symbols of Scotland, the ethno-symbolic signs of Scottish artists that projected Scotland as a separate cultural entity.<sup>53</sup> The division between political culture and cultural politics may seem arbitrary. If political



culture deals with the processes of administration and government that find legal and public recognition, alternatively cultural politics provided a means of artistic expression of beliefs about a nation and its constitution. Both were related in the minds of artists who produced artefacts, buildings and made objects. It applied to the messages they conveyed in visual and written forms.

A brief glance at Wood's political activities shows her determination as an artist to convey political messages. Her dramatic gestures, ending in the commotion of arrest or her appearance at public meetings, some more turbulent than others, formed effective protests against prison conditions for women, against Fascism in 1937 and against oppressive laws.<sup>54</sup> In the limits of Marcusean referents, her political cause was not entirely progressive. She remained beyond and outside conventional limits. This happened partly because of her individualism which meant that she did not conform to Nationalist party political dogma. Moreover, as a woman, she did not fit a party-political profile. She used her democratic right to protest and disrupt official Nationalist and Parliamentary policy.

She used material objects such as flags, badges, banners and she moved road signs as visual objects to express political convictions. Some of her activities are redolent of performance art, of happenings and community protests. In many ways if she acted in subversive, anti-authoritarian, irreverent and humorous ways, generating demonstrations as pageants of chaos and the carnivalesque, her views formed a composition of right and left-wing ideas.<sup>55</sup> She would have argued that she worked in the limits of the Bakhtian desire for a dialogic rather than a monologic culture. She wanted an independent Scotland as a popular ideal. And in this sense she defended Scottish populism. On the other hand, she believed in the reinstatement of Jacobite ideals and a Scottish monarchy, as well as an authentic Scottish

flag. She fought her ground on the basis that England was a political enemy. In this sense she subverted Parliamentary norms. She gained a certain notoriety and celebrity for her views of political culture. However, her beliefs stemmed from practical concerns as to the state of cultural politics, to the absence of flexibility in the minds of the authorities. With hindsight it could be said she connected political culture and cultural politics in her mind and body.

Wendy Wood performed a series of imaginative acts. She did not adopt her name until 1927. Born Gwendoline Meacham in Maidstone in Kent on 29 October 1892 her family moved to South Africa in 1894. If challenged as to her Scottish birthright she would reply, 'One does not have to be a horse to be born in a stable.'<sup>56</sup> Her mother, Florence Wood, descended from the Ross Clan and told her children cradle tales including the adventures of Robert Bruce and William Wallace. As a research chemist for a brewery, her father gained work in South Africa in 1894. Both parents were enthusiastic amateur artists and each Sunday afternoon, Mr Meacham showed his children slides of Scotland, a place they were encouraged to think of as 'home'. Such memories are set out in the first of Wood's autobiographies, written in 1938.<sup>57</sup> She noted, 'I cared for little but art', at five years of age wrote her first poem, 'To My Mouce' and at seven met Rudyard Kipling. By the age of nine she had written her first book with her brother which was an illustrated version of *The Further Adventures of Sexton Blake* (untraced).<sup>58</sup> During the South African or Boer Wars (1899-1902) her father gave her a miniature rifle to defend herself. She witnessed the conflict between British, Dutch and the indigenous African peoples, and understood that different constituencies could hold distinctly different views about the meaning of 'territorial rights' and the idea of 'homeland'.

After South African Primary School, Gwendolen Meacham went to Hamilton House, a secondary school for girls founded by Scots, in Tunbridge Wells. She recalled,

‘It was art that mattered; it was to draw and paint that I rose at six on winter mornings and stole on tiptoe to the cold school studio to work in secret...Drawing filled every margin of my exercise books, painting filled every second of my spare time and my holidays.’<sup>59</sup>

She took family holidays in Kippford near Dumfries, in a house designed by her father as a family foothold in Scotland. She retained memories of the pleasure of carefree days at the Scottish seaside. The teenage Gwen Meacham painted watercolour fantasy cherubs inhabiting an Eden-like landscape. Naked babies project an ideal of innocence and pleasure in a natural and overgrown setting (**Fig. 6.3**). Another watercolour entitled ‘Splashing About’ is reminiscent of the Rev Kingsley’s *Water Babies*, as cherubic figures float in and through a sunken wreck. The scene includes fairy figures and phantom-like fish, evocative of magic realism (**Fig. 6.4**). At this early stage in her life, both pictures show her response to nature and the natural world. They portray a desire to celebrate physical freedom and pleasure in nature. These romantic themes carry over into her later drawings and writing.

In 1905 Gwen Meacham moved to join her older sisters Isabella and Philomena in London. She met with cosmopolitan circles of artists. She spent time with Eric Gill and his family at Ditchling. She met the Morrow brothers (illustrators for *Punch*), HG Wells, GK Chesterton, WB Yeats and Bernard Shaw. She read Nietzsche, Balzac, de Maupassant, Omar Khayyam and Celtic legends was naturally in close contact with Philomena and her husband, Irish poet and folklorist Herbert Hughes. In London, she enrolled for day classes

at Westminster School of Art and augmented her studies by evening classes at the London County Council with Walter Sickert (1860-1942). She noted,

‘For ten-shillings per quarter at the LCC one could be taught by one of the greatest masters, that is to say, the pupils could enrol, but if for any reason Sickert did not approve of them, somehow they did not turn up again. I was a lot younger than the other students. It was my first experience of a life class and I was terribly nervous of the great man...Sickert took my pencil from me, also my India rubber which he threw out of the window...Everyone in the class either fell in love with or loved Sickert or fell foul of him and loathed him.’<sup>60</sup>

Sickert encouraged Meacham in the traditional discipline of drawing. The classes she attended with Sickert lasted between 1905 and 1909 and he rooted her work in the traditional methods of drawing descriptive, naturalistic forms. She attended to pictorial balance, perspective, proportion, harmony, tone and colour. Briefly, she approached William Rothenstein for a job as his assistant in 1907, but he told her,

‘You have a terrific imagination. I have none. I can’t paint a ribbon without seeing it. I’d curb you and exhaust you in a short time. Keep away from art schools and just keep on drawing and painting.’<sup>61</sup>

As one brush-off deserved another, she ignored his advice and continued with her training. A certificate from 1909 indicates that she graduated formally from the Royal Drawing Society (**Fig. 6.5**). Sickert paid her the compliment of keeping one of her drawings and signed her *passe-partout* for a tour of European Galleries with her mother and sister Isabella in 1911, describing her as an ‘artist’.<sup>62</sup> A pencil-drawing on paper executed in Sickert’s studio at this time demonstrates Meacham’s study of the human figure, and as such, this image of a female nude shows her complete training in Life Classes as well as in imaginative drawing (**Fig. 6.6**).

By the age of seventeen, Gwen Meacham was educated and trained as an artist. She had professional credentials and was alert to political and cultural issues. While she 'believed ardently in Votes for Women' nevertheless she 'avoided militant action' in contemporary campaigns by the suffragettes. Instead, she admired Keir Hardie and the policies of the Independent Labour Party. She wished to join them and to make some contribution to the 'ring of hells' in the East End of London. She lost interest in organised religion and stopped drawing 'fat and happy children'.<sup>63</sup> The hiatus in her practice of drawing and painting lasted as she worked as a nursery nurse in the East End. By 1911, however, she spent time travelling in Europe and in Rome met Walter Cuthbert, the son of a Scottish Boot and Shoe Manufacturer from Ayr. By 1913, they were married (**Fig. 6.7a**).

Inhibited by the strict practices of her husband's family – whose beliefs belonged to the Original Seceders, a group closely related to the practices of the Wee Free Presbyterians – Mrs Cuthbert might occasionally doodle in the family account book. Adapting to the role of a married woman, she worked appliqué designs for a shop near their home in Ayr for 9d an hour. She suffered a miscarriage of twin boys and became ill. As a form of therapy, she resumed drawing and painting and her husband added a studio to their home. After the birth of their first daughter however, threatened by the prospect that her husband might not return from the First World War alive, she spent a year in 1917 training as a film actress. Photographs from her daughter Cora Cuthbert record her marriage in South Africa (**Fig.6.7a**), Gwen Cuthbert as a young married woman (**Fig. 6.7b**) in 1915 and the photograph she submitted for her screen tests of 1917 (**Fig. 6.7c**).

Thereafter she tried to dovetail the demands of being a mother with her previous experience as an artist and as a newly-trained actress by founding a documentary film company. Ayrshire Cinematographic Theatres Limited formally began in 1918. The project did not last long because according to the author's own account, local education authorities failed to support her projects.<sup>64</sup>

Mrs Cuthbert relapsed into illness. But her local doctor recognised her confusion and frustration as 'an artist out of her element'. So Dr Geikie introduced her to Jessie King (1875-1949) and her husband EA Taylor (1874-1951). They, in turn, introduced her to a lively local art club, the Ayr Sketch Club where she became its Vice President. At this time she refreshed her drawing and painting skills at Glasgow School of Art.<sup>65</sup> King sent encouraging notes with characteristic rabbits and gates on them; she made a batik dress for Cuthbert's eldest daughter. King persuaded Cuthbert to keep drawing, to fill in the background before completing the central images. Gwen Cuthbert subsequently produced poems and illustrations for her first book, *The Baby in the Glass*, (**Fig. 6.8b**) for which King wrote the Preface (**Fig. 6.8c**).

For *The Baby in the Glass*, published by the De La More Press in London in 1923, Cuthbert drew details from her own home, from the gendered spaces of the nursery and the kitchen.<sup>66</sup> She incorporated details of her life as a mother with that of her daughters (**Fig. 6.8a**). In this image of a girl, Cuthbert gave a literal picture of a child looking in a mirror. It documents both her experience of being a mother and tries to interpret the child's experiences of building her self-image. Cuthbert's child-centred, even child-like poems interpreted the pleasures of simple domesticity and her illustrations mediated between text

and image, using images from her own home, her own kitchen and of the clothes that her child wore, giving glimpses into the private domestic home of the period.

In the same year, the Cuthbert family experienced serious financial difficulties. In 1923, the family moved to Dundee. There Gwen Cuthbert met kindred spirit, artist and nationalist Stewart Carmichael, who painted her portrait.<sup>67</sup> She intended to earn a living as an illustrator, submitting a portfolio to DC Thomson for whom she later produced pictures for a magazine called *Little Dots* (**Fig. 6.11**). Here a girl in Scottish dress, in tam' o' Shanter and kilt with thistles around her conveys a playful image of national costume.<sup>68</sup> However, having appeared in radio programmes in Glasgow, she became Dundee's 'Lady Organiser for their new relay station' and came to be recognised as 'Auntie Gwen'.<sup>69</sup> The radio formed an outlet for creating pictures and stories on air and also created Gwen Cuthbert as a celebrity of sorts.

Simultaneously however, she supplemented her income, illustrating narratives and poems and recycling some already published material by providing images for *The Chickabiddies Book* (1927) for The Children's Companion Office, a publishing arm of the Religious Tract Society (**Figs. 6.10a and b**).<sup>70</sup> Although drawing to order, *The Chickabiddies Book* shows a child in a Scottish sweater with hat and scarf. Repeatedly, Cuthbert's use of dress evokes her concern as a woman with dresses and materials, much as Traquair and Walton noticed ornament and decoration in women's clothing.

In 1927 Gwen Cuthbert took a decisive step to leave her husband and Dundee. She resettled in Edinburgh while her daughters went to school there and she adopted a new name. Her Christian name changed to Wendy as a diminutive of Gwendolen. She took the

surname 'Wood' reverting to her mother's maiden name.<sup>71</sup> Wendy Wood began a fresh account book in June 1927 (**Fig. 6.12**). Lodged in the National Library of Scotland, the Account Book, records extraordinary levels of activity in which Wood was establishing a new persona. In itself the book is a record of Wood's professional life. She wanted to keep a professional account of her life as an artist. The prolific production of drawings, plays, poems and articles marked the beginning of an altered life.<sup>72</sup> Initially many she received rejections of her work. Some items were returned with 'a nice note', or accepted for 'no pay'. Eventually she obtained regular work from *The Scots Observer*. She also began to file regular copy as the Scots correspondent for *The Queensland Times* in Australia.<sup>73</sup>

Wendy Wood joined new social and artistic circles in Edinburgh. William Gordon Burn-Murdoch (1862-1939) was an artist and had been an illustrator for Patrick Geddes' publication *Evergreen*. Wood attended meetings of the PEN Club (founded in 1921) at his home in Arthur Lodge in Edinburgh where she met writers and artists.<sup>74</sup> David Foggie (1878-1948) who taught Advanced Life Drawing in the School of Drawing and Painting at Edinburgh College of Art between 1920 and 1939 (**Fig. 6.9**) produced a portrait of Wood (now in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery) in 1932 and, as was his habit, asked his sitter to sign it.<sup>75</sup> The drawing has a classical simplicity but at the same time records something of Wood's celebrity glamour. Sympathetic to her nationalist politics, Foggie places Wood's gaze indirectly beyond the viewer.

Wood met Lewis Spence at PEN meetings. He was an academic linguist, mythologist and folklorist who also worked for *The Scotsman*.<sup>76</sup> Wood joined the Scottish National Movement and campaigned for Spence as the Nationalist Candidate for North Midlothian in 1929. As Wood later explained, the Scottish National Movement joined up with the



Scots League, The Home Rule Association (which Wood had joined with Walter Cuthbert in 1918) and the University Nationalist Association to found the National Party of Scotland.<sup>77</sup> During this period Wood also formed the Scottish Watch Youth Movement, raising cultural consciousness among Scottish schoolchildren through Literature classes (addressed by JG Frazer), Music Classes and Cookery Classes ‘securing for Scotland the just recognition of its undoubted status as a nation’, gaining the support and an income from *The Daily Record* in support of their activities as a popular movement.

By 1930 Wood produced her first extended prose work published as *The Secret of Spey* (Figs. 6.13a, b) Lewis Spence wrote a Foreword to what was ostensibly a travel book about the Spey Valley that incorporated line drawings of the landscape by Wood. Her line drawings provide a documentary element in the book, to highlight particular views of the Spey Valley, as for example as shown in **Figure 6.13b**. However the book was more than a bland travelogue and reflected Wood’s feelings for nature. It showed her desire to compose in words and to illustrate elements of the Scottish countryside. It synthesised nationalist emotion and travel writing, celebrating the ethno-symbolism of the Scottish countryside. She drew out the etiological details of place-names, the legends, superstitions and the natural features of the area. She explained and used Gaelic place-names and Gaelic language to signify her increasing linguistic identification with Scotland. She cited the views of Miss Grant of Rothiemurchus about the concentrated power of faith and fantasy in Highland life, noting,

‘It is a very reasonable mixture surely. For the Daoine Sith are the spirits of the dead, disembodied souls awaiting rebirth. The faerie faith, surviving as it does in Celtic lands...is in line with all other faiths in which angels and spirits hold their place, and only those ignorant of even the little that is know about psychic

energy, and those who are blind to the beauty of the Celtic Tradition, will lift the nostril or raise the eyebrow in scorn. The Faeries of Glenmore are only a further illustration of the belief in that something indestructible of which sage and savant have been equally aware...'.<sup>78</sup>

The passage indicates the survival of primitive and pantheistic faith opposed to scientific nihilism of early twentieth century sensibilities. If nature was a source of symbolic meaning, it enhanced documentary narrative to the level of mystical pleasure.

The priority of nature and the concept of a harmonious universe formed a significant element in the philosophy of Patrick Geddes and his views of the natural world that bore on Scottish Arts and Crafts practitioners. This view of nature as a guiding principle did not exclude Romantic legacies of the power of nature. It provided an alternative to the mechanistic philosophy of the fractured, industrialised world. The structural, site-specific features of the Scottish landscape evoked natural connections between the artist and her emotions. Features of the landscape gave symbolic meanings for emotional sensations and the artist's responses to the landscape. So *The Secret of Spey* formed a territory in which Wood could create and recreate the simple ideals of nature in contrast to the complex administration of Scottish cityscapes.

Additionally Wood co-wrote *A Lad of Dundee* in support of the industrial and manufacturing economy of Scotland. With author Elizabeth Marion King, and with illustrations from Hélène Carter (1887-1960) a Canadian-born artist living in New York, the fiction supplemented an export drive of Scottish products to transatlantic markets. Wood had already been involved in the despatch of a Trade Ship to New York in 1931 as a practical contribution to the struggling Scottish economy. The ship advertised Scottish

goods in support of Scottish economic interests abroad. Published in America, under Wood's married name (as yet she had not arranged a formal divorce) the text explained, in somewhat stereotypical terms, the life and times of a Scottish family. It gave details of the jute and marmalade industries of Dundee; it presented Edinburgh as the capital city of Scotland and its distinguishing landmarks of the Castle and Arthur's Seat; it gave a picture of life on a Scottish farm in the Lowlands as part of the narrative of a Scottish family and their relatives.<sup>79</sup> Apparently an informative book about Scotland, it was a form of propaganda for Scottish industry.

So Wendy Wood combined her skills as a writer and artist with practical concerns. She attended an International Peace Congress in Brussels as a member of the Scottish Peace Congress. Furthermore she stood as a Nationalist Candidate in Council Elections for Canongate in Edinburgh in 1935, unsuccessfully. On the one hand, she continued a patently commercial life as a graphic artist. On the other hand one illustration from 1939, 'The Children of Lir' also shows her imaginative capacity to illustrate imaginative fairy-tale subjects. The line and ink drawing shown here shows a new fluidity in her drawing technique, which although figurative in some details, shows her experimenting with abstraction and simplification of forms (**Fig. 6.15**) where bodies twist and turn in stylised waves. The transformation of the figures from swans to humans suggests some of the emotional turbulence she experienced at the advent of war. In a more documentary cartoon she conveyed that she was sceptical about Scottish involvement in the Second World War (**Fig. 6.16**).

In 1939, she left Edinburgh with Irishman Oulith MacAndreis, an editor of *Smeddum* and also a member of the Irish Republican Army. With him, she realised a magnificent and

romantic desire to leave the city. She was also helping to find a remote and protective home for her new lover. She retreated with him to the remote countryside of Scotland to work a croft at Alt Ruig near Glenuig.

The punishing physical labour required for crafting provided them with a living. But Wood had to find supplementary financial support from colleagues in the city. She began to illustrate and write articles for *Chambers' Magazine* in April 1943. Her book included her own sketches added to which were photographs by friends and colleagues, marking a point at which techniques of print production now regularly used photographs as integral to popular books. The articles she wrote for *Chambers' Magazine* were subsequently collected together and published as *Mac's Croft* in 1946, with a Preface from Moray M'Laren, her friend from the BBC in Edinburgh.<sup>80</sup> By the time her book was published Mac had admitted he was already married. Wood's relationship with him ended. She moved on to take a lease on another croft at Resipol in Argyll on her own.

The relationship between Wendy Wood and the Scottish countryside, between Wood and politics and Wood and art continued. Her role as an artist remained, as it had done before, largely as a freelance worker, not as a woman with a salary. Women artists in Scotland could only hope to obtain a regular income from teaching in an institution, as has been seen in the case of Mabel Royds. In many schools, women artists were expected to give up teaching when they were married, although the practice began to wane. Wood was not part of such institutions. She represented political causes. On 6 August 1949, in Fort William, with other like-minded Nationalists, she formed a 'non-political' caucus of The Scottish Patriots. By 1953 they produced a magazine called *The Patriot*. Wood wrote articles,

minted badges and designed stamps to raise money for the organisation. Essentially she saw their role as part of a cultural regeneration.

Concurrently, Wood wrote a travel guide to *Moidart and Morar*, published in 1950.<sup>81</sup> It contains only two of the author's drawings, explanatory diagrams of croft construction, while the endpapers she designed for the book form a map of the area. Again, twenty-six photographs from William S Thomson, Gilbert Ogilvy and E Menzies Ellis, provide graphic images of the area. Instead of illustrating, Wood nevertheless threaded her text with allusions to art and illustration. The book begins with the author's reflections on portraiture, where she wants to give a naturalistic, realistic rendering of her experiences. Speculating on the artistic self in the masculine third person singular, Wood noted,

'It is easier for an artist to make a portrait of someone he does not know, for he reproduces a first impression plus careful survey. In portraying the face of someone with whose mind he is well acquainted, though his survey be as exact, the artist cannot help portraying character and thought within the limning, of which outsiders are unaware. There is some mental exchange, some understanding sympathy passing continually between sitter and painter, that makes his task complex in the nature of a dedication...it is with such familiarity that I approach the writing of a book on this part of the Highlands.'<sup>82</sup>

The transition to the first person singular in the last sentence indicates that Wood wrote self-consciously as an artist. She described the countryside by motivating all the senses in her writing. She transmitted smells, colours, tastes, sounds and physical features. She incorporated aspects of Jacobite history. She projected written images of large and small-scale views of different sites. She conveyed the qualities of companionship and friendship from those that she met. She plumbed the emotional characteristics and atmospheres of the spaces that she saw. Her quasi-folkloric reflections on 'stravaiging' showed her freedom of

movement and gypsy-like non-conformity. Wood was conscious of her physical strength and her capacity for walking. At Resipol, she noted,

'Long green heather clung wherever an inch of ledge gave it foothold, and silver threads of shining water filled their length to splash among the broken stones below. Their spray had frozen on the withered grass, encasing it in a glass covering two inches thick. I crouched down and looked at it from ground level...the ice-encrusted grass made a full-size forest containing rainbows and mirrored lights, spears and silver pennants and could my body have accompanied my mind into the faerie land of scintillating lights, I would have been drawing rainbows with every breath. When I rose to my feet the normal world seemed huge...This walk is like a book that has a coloured illustration on every page.'<sup>83</sup>

Wood's relationship to the landscape was metaphorically as well as actually an anatomical relationship between her body and Scotland. The author contemplated the connection of the *genius loci* and her own responses to nature. Binding the visual elements of the land to a written commentary reflects a sensibility found in other Scottish narratives and in other authors of the period – the kind of resonances found in the writing of Naomi Mitchison and Neil Gunn, or in the illustrations of Agnes Miller Parker.

Extending an account of Wendy Wood's self-perception as an artist beyond the period of 1945 is necessary in order to show that while she separated the personal and the political, both were linked at deep levels of belief and conviction. Speaking, acting, illustrating and writing inscribed her views in a range of methods. She directed physical and mental energies to independence in her own life and also the independence of Scotland as a cultural entity. A friend of fellow Nationalist, Hugh MacDiarmid, Wood left a record of their association. A brief cartoon sketch in blue ink on blue paper is captioned 'Butter is bad enough but...' suggests MacDiarmid's (seated figure) lascivious pleasure at the sight of

Wood with her daughters (standing in tartan costumes with pipes and drum) (**Fig. 6.17**) in Nationalist costume. The reference to 'Butter' might also refer to political arguments as to whether Parliament should spend money on 'Guns or Butter' also discussed by Cecile Walton in her manuscript from the 1950s.<sup>84</sup>

Wood shared the home and exhibited with Agnes (1875-1958) and Florence St John Cadell (1877-1966). Florence Cadell painted a portrait of Wood in 1959 showing her as a conscious artist, placed with her back against a mirror, as an educated woman, holding a book, clothed in a tweed coat and tartan skirt, characteristically wearing Scottish materials (**Fig. 6.18**). Here again, one sees one woman artist picturing another in order to build up a picture of feminist independence. After the Cadells died Wood broadcast stories for BBC television, campaigned for Nationalism and worked as an artist. She developed a linear style of sketching and painting, akin to primitive art of cave painters, as in the running deer of **Figure 6.20** and presented her last exhibition in 1981. She also wrote poems illustrated with line sketches published posthumously as *Astronauts and Tinklers* in 1981 (**Fig.6.19**). The female figure shown in **Fig. 6.19**, is another self-image of Wood as speech-maker, offering another interpretation of the role of the woman as an artist.

On the one hand, Wood claimed she did not believe that politics informed her art. To her, drawing, writing and broadcasting did not provide her, as an artist, with the opportunity to convey explicit dogma and propaganda for the Nationalist Cause. She maintained that her art was separate from her politics. She could have been circumspect in denying the connection between her art and her politics to avoid charges of political treason. In tune with 'ladies' of her time she did not speak about and avoided stark connections between art and propaganda. To Wood, art held spiritual and aesthetic values distinct from practical

politics. If, as she insisted in an interview with Dorothy Grace Elder a year before her death in 1981, 'Painting was my first love, long before politics' then she conceived herself as an artist among artists. She affiliated herself with 'Art for Art's sake' and aesthetics as a self-contained autonomous world.

On the other hand, Wood transmitted her passion for Scotland, its territories, its folklore in her writing and illustrations. In the 1930s Herbert Read made the connection between the psychological, visual and cultic forces of art. Aware that artists appealed to 'community feeling', he argued that religion provided the basis for artists' works. He noted,

'Hitherto the highest form of community-feeling has been religious: it is for those who deny the necessary connection between religion and art to discover some equivalent form of community-feeling which will, in the long run, ensure an historic continuity for the art that is not religious.'<sup>85</sup>

Wood's convictions that Scotland was a nation independent from England in spite of the Union of 1707 fuelled her romantic allusions to Jacobite Scotland which appear repeatedly in *The Secret of Spey*. Such convictions rested to some extent in her religious as well as artistic beliefs. But she based her political views in Scottish 'community-feeling'. She adopted strategies from the Continental *avant-garde*. She used radical and rhetorical strategies to challenge established values and Parliamentary organisation.<sup>86</sup> Her pointed cartoon about Scottish involvement in the Second World War makes a distinctly political comment (**Fig. 6.16**) through her artwork. Wood is pictured as an unrepentant 'Patriot' in the magazine of that name (**Fig.6.21**) dedicated to her after her death. With hindsight, given feminist formulations that the personal is political, it is now impossible to detach her activism from her art.



## Joan Hassall (1906-1988)

‘ It seemed even to my pro-English eye that Scotland was not being fairly treated and it made me ashamed. I should be glad one day to hear about the arguments for separation from England...so that when I go South, I shall know what to say if it crops up...’<sup>87</sup>

The Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art hold proof prints of Joan Hassall’s early engravings.<sup>88</sup> As part of the collections of the Scottish Modern Arts Association they reflect the vogue for print collecting in Edinburgh in the 1930s. They also show that her contemporaries viewed her works as authoritative examples of the traditional craft of engraving.<sup>89</sup>

Hassall first realised, in a form of ephiphany, that she understood the means and methods of engraving when she attended evening classes with RJ Beedham at the London County Council School of Photoengraving and Lithography in 1931.<sup>90</sup> He introduced her to both the methods and tools of engraving, beginning with,

‘a pearwood block, a sandbag and three tools...a spitsticker, a tint tool and a scorper...our first exercise was a capital “D”...On the second or third evening Mr Beedham showed us an initial letter beautifully engraved by himself and I experienced a strange moment of enlightenment for, as I looked at his block, a feeling of absolute certainty more like remembering came to me that I too could engrave like that. I knew how to achieve those precise lines and deep clean clearing of the background...’<sup>91</sup>

Hassall worked with the traditional skills of the engraver. She did not make an issue of the social function of her work or her place in the canon of artists. She remained guarded about

her views of the artist as a woman. She was less guarded about the idea that an artist applied specialised skills.

John Kingsley Cook began teaching Typography and Advertising in the School of Design at Edinburgh School of Art in 1939.<sup>92</sup> At the outbreak of the Second World War he enlisted for war service with the Merchant Navy and recommended Hassall as his replacement. Following up the recommendation, at the beginning of 1940, the Principal of Edinburgh College of Art, Hubert Wellington invited Hassall to teach there.<sup>93</sup> He wrote to her on 10 October 1940, noting,

'Mr Kingsley Cook...is qualifying for the Merchant Service and we want to fill his place. Mr Cook suggested that you might be interested...the work includes the study of type and layout, wood-engraving and book illustration, and some additional classes in commercial art...I envisage the post as needing two days, two evenings and perhaps a Saturday morning at a salary of about £240 a year...I know your engravings and illustrations from work you have shown at the Society of Artist Printmakers and have admired these very much...The appointment would be for the duration of the war, after which we hope that Mr Kingsley Cook will take up his work...'<sup>94</sup>

Several days later the Principal went on to explain further details of the prospective job,

'I should explain that the Heriot Watt Technical College undertakes very thoroughly the technical training of apprentices in the printing trades...We work in liaison with them, all apprentices getting some practice in drawing and design from the Staff of this College...then there are our own people of the art student type, who wish to take up book illustration and have to combine their capacity for draughtsmanship with sufficient knowledge and appreciation of type to make a satisfactory whole in the production of a page or book...'<sup>95</sup>

Hubert Wellington invited Hassall to be in Edinburgh on May 28 October.<sup>96</sup> By 31 October she arrived at the Abercrombie [y] Hotel in Edinburgh and a fortnight later she had arranged to live in two rooms in a female residence run by Louisa Chart, embroidery tutor at the College of Art.<sup>97</sup> The provisional terms of her contract indicate how the terms of work for women artists remained arbitrary and insecure. Her name did not appear in the College Prospectus for 1940-1. Her classes were, however, announced in the Prospectuses for 1942-3 and 1943-4 (with the initials of ARE, Associate of the Royal Society of Engravers); thereafter it was clear that the war was ending, and she would return to her prior occupation.

When she arrived in Edinburgh as a thirty-four year old Englishwoman Hassall encountered attitudes that she had not met before. A candid letter to Ruari McLean later indicated the depth of animosity felt towards the appointment of an English artist. She confided,

‘You will be horrified to know how deeply I felt the exile from the South when I was in Edinburgh. I realise now that my unhappiness was bred by the irksomeness and exhaustion of teaching and also by a very definite hostility which I was quite unprepared for from some “Scotland for the Scottish” people who resented my appointment. It took me quite three years to discover any Scots I really liked...’<sup>98</sup>

Hassall had underestimated how visibly ‘English’ and ‘privileged’ she appeared on her appointment.

Arriving in Edinburgh, Hassall was the daughter of Constance Brooke-Webb, the second wife of an experienced and well-know illustrator John Hassall (1868-1948).<sup>99</sup> Educated at Parson’s Mead School and the Froebel Institute in Roehampton Hassall was educated in a

private and Christian tradition. She remembered the influence of her father and of helping him with colouring his illustrations, noting,

‘My father John Hassall’s lettering was a fat Art Nouveau sort, infilled with colour, and many is the time that I have painted it in for him.’<sup>100</sup>

When she completed her secondary education Hassall worked as a secretary in her father’s school between 1925 and 1927 until it closed. Following a nervous breakdown, she attended the Royal Academy Schools between 1928 and 1933 during which time she took evening classes in engraving (as noted above). By the time she arrived in Edinburgh she therefore had been trained, had experience of art-school administration and had produced and exhibited a number of works. She had also become an Associate Member of the Royal Society of Printers, Etchers and Engravers in 1938. Initially, she produced engravings for books by her brother Christopher.<sup>101</sup>

Nationalist politics had gained momentum in the city. Cultural organisations such as the Saltire Society denied they had any political thrust, but nevertheless cultivated Scottish traditions in the arts (**Fig. 6.22**). If others criticised Hassall’s ‘Englishness’, she criticised her students’ technical expertise and did not fail to say so, noting, ‘I was pained to see how the students roughly dug out the deep places. So long as it did not print, the appearance did not matter to them.’<sup>102</sup> Already of a fragile disposition, in 1943 she was unwell and asked for a reduction in her working hours. A letter of December that year shows she was dogged by flu (**Fig. 6.23**) even if by that time, she had gained important commissions from the Saltire Society.

Four months after her appointment in 1941, Agnes Waterston, as Assistant Secretary to the Principal wrote,

‘Your request to be relieved of teaching on medical grounds in the Drawing and Painting School, on one forenoon weekly was submitted to the Board of Management at their meeting on 2<sup>nd</sup> February...the Board expressed their regret and agreed to your request to a proportionate reduction in salary...at the rate of £65 per annum for the remainder of the session instead of £100 per annum as from 1<sup>st</sup> February.’<sup>103</sup>

As well as showing Hassall’s poor state of health, the sums offered her show a distinct reduction in the rate of payment offered her by Principal Wellington. It is difficult to know exactly what changes had occurred with the replacement of Principal Wellington by Principal Robert Lyon in 1942, but Hassall continued to work although she was unwell.

How, exactly, Joan Hassall became involved in the production of designs for Saltire Society Publications is unclear. Since their foundation in 1937 however, the Society instituted a Publications Committee who wished to revive popular Scottish texts. They turned to Hassall to provide typographic layouts and illustrations for what was to become a popular series of Chapbooks. Originally, chapbooks were small, often pro-Jacobite (and therefore subversive) songs, stories and letters hawked cheaply by travelling salesmen of the eighteenth century. Hassall was now involved with an organisation at the centre of cultural politics in Scotland. With the support of colleagues in the Saltire Society, Hassall’s health improved.

A Report from the Publications Subcommittee of the Saltire Society for 31 August 1943 recorded that Joan Hassall attended a meeting Chaired by Robert Hurd (architect), Miss

Hastie, Dr Oliver (Director of English Studies at Moray House Training College), Mr Cursiter (Curator of the National Galleries) and Miss Cairns (Secretary). Subsequently the Secretary, Alison Cairns, noted in a letter to Hurd,

‘Miss Hassall, in a passion of enthusiasm has already started planning out the first chapbook and wishes to have the bulk of the work done before her teaching term at the College of Art begins.’<sup>104</sup>

She chose to make the Chapbooks 3.5” x 5.2” (**Figs.6.24-5**). The booklets were small, both to economise on scarce wartime resources of paper, but also a size to allow them to be sold cheaply. She ‘cast off’ or calculated the required amount of text for a dummy booklet to be printed in the suitably named typeface, ‘Scotch Roman’. She designed symmetrical decorative borders, chapter openings, ornaments, tail-pieces to align with the text and to match the illustrations she engraved. The booklets were printed in two colours. The Chapbooks sold well and proved a success.

The Chapbooks provided Hassall with an ideal opportunity to exercise her knowledge of illustration and typefaces. A contemporary Private Press Movement had raised the standard of illustration and press-work for hand-made books.<sup>105</sup> Some commercial presses such as John Lane, Methuen, Heinemann and Harrap, adapted some of the private press design values to mass production, and they incorporated illustrations from artists. They provided opportunities for someone like Hassall who applied herself to specialised knowledge of typography and lettering. Hassall spoke self-consciously of ‘Working between old and new styles...aware of lettering on eighteenth and nineteenth century tombstones and Roman inscriptions’. She wrote later, ‘... I found Edward Johnston’s book on illuminating and lettering’; she had seen Bewick’s engravings in her last year at the RA Schools; and Selwyn

Image's edition of *A Memoir of Bewick*. She also referred to Jackson and Chatto's *A Treatise on Wood Engraving* (1839) as a guide, since she knew he had been a pupil of Bewick. From these precedents she formed clear ideas as to the nature of engraving and noted,

'The true virtue of wood-engraving is white line on black...every line should so express the form it models as to need little or no cross-hatching. Every mark on the wood should be with intent and not a collection of tool-marks. A wood-engraver's palette is black, white and an infinite variety of expressive greys achieved by means suitable to the subject in hand. Apposition, or the artful disposing of dark against light and vice versa so placed as to appear natural, makes the vitality of a good engraving, which must always be itself and never seek to imitate another medium.'<sup>106</sup>

Remembering her teacher at the RA, Francis Dodds, Hassall realised the qualities of light and chiaroscuro. She remembered Dodd's dictum that 'The Light is the most important character in a picture' and remained grateful to fellow engravers F Ernest Jackson and RJ Beedham for showing her how to achieve contrasting effects in wood.

Hassall therefore specialised in reviving and adapting a tradition of engraving. She was not in sympathy with *avant-garde* or experimental ideology or practice. To her, experimentation was simply a lack of expertise and control over the tools and techniques of engraving and wrote,

'I like the block to be a commentary or extension of the text such as is possible with poetry or natural history...There are engravers who delight in making textures with marks from different shaped tools, but my own feeling is that the engraver should be master of his tools and not led by them. Also one's tools should

not copy a careful drawing, but largely create the design as it goes, always excepting the engraving of lettering.<sup>107</sup>

Hassall set definite and precise limits on the conception and use of the craft of engraving. She refined the traditional craft and wrote little about modernist ideology or political culture. For the short time Hassall spent in Edinburgh however, she absorbed the classicism of the cityscape, of the New Town buildings. She added classical elements to the pastoral and romantic sensibility apparent in early engravings, such as those she engraved for 'Comus and the Lady' or 'The Stricken Oak'.<sup>108</sup>

By producing designs for the Saltire Society she learned that political culture shaped cultural politics in ways she had not encountered before. The subject of each Chapbook identified specifically Scottish texts and subjects. And she worked with other women artists, Agnes Mure Mackenzie in particular, in order to produce the chapbooks. By teaching typography and completing commissions simultaneously, Hassall could display her knowledge of page sizes, margins, gutters, ornamental initials, head and tail-pieces, devices, vignettes and illustration. Hassall was able to demonstrate her knowledge as a typographer and engraver. She adapted her typographic specifications for each Chapbook. She made detailed dummy layouts for each page of each chapbook (**Fig. 6.24a, c, 6.25**), giving exact specifications for type sizes and line lengths as shown in the combination of Poliphilus and Blado typefaces, and the variation between capital letters, italics and roman lettering subsequently produced for checking in proof (**Fig. 6.24b, d, 6.25**). From the outset she conceived her engravings to ornament the text.



In practical terms, she gained support from Ainslie Thin, Director of Oliver & Boyd Publishers in Edinburgh. She dealt with day to day printing matters with Blair Maxwell of the printers R & R Clark (who had already printed her illustrations for an edition of Cranford). Fordie Forrester and Robin Lorimer acted as guides and intermediaries with the printers. Between 1943 and 1952 Hassall designed all but three Chapbooks – Number 7, Six poems of the Nineteenth Century was illustrated by Lennox Paterson on her recommendation; Number 11 was shelved; and Number 13 was designed by Elizabeth Olding.<sup>109</sup>

So Hassall became part of Scottish cultural developments because she was a skilled artist. She appreciated Edinburgh's designs and architecture and eventually admitted to '...a feeling for Edinburgh which I do not deny.'<sup>110</sup> The networks that surrounded her were, like a family, close, contentious and helpful by turns. She joined the Society of Scottish Artists in 1943.<sup>111</sup> The following year Stanley Morison, typographer for the Monotype Corporation delivered a lecture on *The Typographic Arts* at Edinburgh College of Art, and Hassall designed the booklet and device for the title page of Morison's text, published by James Thin.<sup>112</sup>

She began to anticipate the end of the war and the imminent return of Kingsley Cook. Hassall wrote to Alison Cairns,

'If I do leave the College in June, which I can't quite decide certainly yet, because I have been much better since taking calcium, I shall not immediately go, so my sojourn in Edinburgh is not by any means closing. Just in the last year or so [sic] I have made so many new and good friends that one is torn in so many ways...'<sup>113</sup>

With better health and more commissions Hassall's career as an artist in Edinburgh improved. She gained more commissions from Scottish publishers. Hassall was not, however, sure that they could provide her with an income. She noted,

'...although Ainslie [Thin] valiantly concocts jobs for me, it is not enough and I must seek my bread where it is best to be found.'<sup>114</sup>

She completed designs and typographic specifications for James Fergusson (Ed), *The Green Garden* and Agnes Mure Mackenzie's *Scottish Pageant*.<sup>115</sup>

Although Ruari McLean defined her style as '...that of a true Romantic illustrator, not a natural historian like Bewick...' her primary interest in the style of Bewick and his pupils, as noted above, suggests otherwise.<sup>116</sup> Engravings for *The Marriage of Robin Redbreast and the Wren* are highly detailed records of nature, of birds and 'Poussie Baudrons' (**Fig. 6.26a, b, c**) and of Scottish landscape. Alternatively, she made romantic illustrations for romantic subjects such as the 1940 edition of *Cranford*.<sup>117</sup> Engravings of Edinburgh reflect the more symmetrical lines of neoclassical styles, those of the Roman initials and tombstone lettering that she admired. She sought designs of precision and clarity reminiscent of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century in images of Edinburgh Castle Ramparts and Edinburgh Castle reproduced in *Sealskin Trousers* in 1947 (**Fig. 6.27a, b**). For Hassall, engraving was both an intuitive and a highly disciplined form of expression, but she adapted her style according to her subject.

When she returned to London, Joan Hassall ran her own private press called The Curtain Press.<sup>118</sup> Connections established in Edinburgh however, helped her to continue her career as an illustrator. Hopetoun Press commissioned illustrations for an edition of the quintessentially Edinburgh-based series of RL Stevenson's poems, *A Child's Garden of Verses* in 1947.<sup>119</sup> She also illustrated a series of stories for London publisher Rupert Hart-Davies, written by the Saltire Society's first President, Eric Linklater: perhaps the image of a couple diving into water as an illustration for this book, *Sealskin Trousers* is the closest Hassall came to creating a truly modern image, inverting bodies on the page, simplifying their forms to appear as one blocked and unified design (**Fig. 6.27c**).<sup>120</sup> Hassall also continued to complete designs for Chapbooks of the Saltire Society.

She indicated the labour involved when writing to Robert Hurd, on the completion of Chapbook 9, *Scottish Children's Rhymes and Lullabies*, when she wrote,

'I have sent Alison [Cairns] the new chapbook which I hope you like. I am very sorry it is later than intended, but I can honestly say that I don't stop working at something all my waking hours, except when I am feeding, until nearly midnight every night.'<sup>121</sup>

The last Chapbook was published in 1952. Hassall maintained an interest in their progress and reception.<sup>122</sup> Her experience of Edinburgh, even for the relatively short period of the Second World War extended well beyond her time in the city (see **Figs. 6.28-9**).<sup>123</sup> She completed many other commissions, including her first engraving on metal for the cover of the *BBC Radio Times* (1946) and for the magazine *Housewife* (1947-51). Her images came to be familiar images in mass-circulation papers and books, while she remained a dedicated artist, elected as the first female Master of the Society of Wood Engravers in 1972.

The intense period in Edinburgh extended Hassall's experience and knowledge of cultural politics and art; ultimately, she contributed to them both.

## **Summary**

Overshadowed by the Slump of the 'twenties and 'thirties and by the crisis of the Second World War in 1939-1945, women artists in Edinburgh took part in the production of texts, in illustration and in book production. As has been outlined, the political culture of Scotland changed; texts produced in the city reflected the changes. In their designs, their writing and their concepts, women artists shaped cultural politics. Wendy Wood developed forms of political activism through energetic, physical involvement in dramatic gestures while she guarded her persona as an artist as entirely private and non-political. Alternatively Scottish political culture initially ostracised Hassall. Ironically, by becoming involved in illustrating and designing for publications of The Saltire Society, she became central to projects leading to an upsurge in Scottish culture.

Both women represent two completely different kinds of illustrators in Edinburgh. There was no tidy demarcation line between artists producing illustrations for small, private presses and artists for popular multiples. Their skills and their methods differed entirely. Both, however, laboured in and under a tradition system of teaching that perpetuated styles of naturalism. They worked in a context where the reception of images often depended on narratives and where illustrations for books required the artist to document and portray literal and comprehensible worlds.

- <sup>1</sup> Mary Paton Ramsay, *Calvin and Art Considered in Relation to Scotland*, The Moray Press, Edinburgh/London, 1938, p 10
- Mary Paton Ramsay (fl 1916-1945), MA Aberdeen, Doct. De Université, Paris
- <sup>2</sup> Noreen Branson and Margot Heinemann, *Britain in the Thirties*, Panther/Granada/Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1973, p 72; see also John Stevenson, *Britain in the Depression: Society and Politics*, Longman, London, 1994
- <sup>3</sup> Louise Annand (b. 1916), pers. comm. 9 May 2001
- <sup>4</sup> Stanley Cursiter, *Art in Industry: with Special Reference to Conditions in Scotland*, Saltire Pamphlet 4, Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh/London, 1943, p 7
- <sup>5</sup> *Report of the Scottish Committee of the Council for Art and Industry*, Exhibition of School Crafts in Scotland, HMSO, Edinburgh, 1936
- <sup>6</sup> Later consolidated in his book on Scottish Aesthetics, edited and introduced by Alan Bold, *Aesthetics in Scotland*, Mainstream, Edinburgh, 1984
- <sup>7</sup> Herbert Read, *The Meaning of Art*, Faber & Faber, London, 1931, p267
- <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, he mentions Helen Fourment as Rubens' wife and model, (p 148) woman artist, Paula Modersohn-Becker (1876-1907) in her role among 'Die Brücke' (p 230) and Barbara Hepworth (1903-1975) as a sculptress using Abstraction to express her emotions (p 259-61). See also *Art Now, An Introduction to the Theory of Modern Painting and Sculpture*, Faber & Faber, London, 1933
- <sup>9</sup> Read, *Meaning of Art*, *ibid.*, p 261
- <sup>10</sup> Mary Paton Ramsay, *The Freedom of the Scots from Early Times till its Eclipse in 1707, displayed in Statements of our Forefathers who Loved and Served Scotland*, United Scotland, 11 Saxe Coburg Place, Edinburgh, 1945 (inscribed to CMG with affectionate regards MR). The publication advertised other publications, including *The Declaration of Arbroath*; a *Letter of Sir William Wallace to Lübeck and Hamburg*; and *National Variants of Auld Scots Songs* – available on application to the Secretary, Mary Ramsay
- <sup>11</sup> Ramsay, *Freedom of the Scots*, *op. cit.*, p 3
- <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p 12
- <sup>13</sup> Agnes Mure Mackenzie (1891-1955). Born Stornoway, studied at Aberdeen University.
- <sup>14</sup> NLS MS Acc 9393.1012, Iain Paul, 'The Saltire Society: a Short Account of the First Ten Years', *Scotlands Magazine*, 1947
- <sup>15</sup> NLS MS Acc. 1000.30/28 Report of the Saltire Society, 1937
- <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>17</sup> The constitution of the Society included the following office-bearers  
Honorary Presidents, Sir Iain Colquhoun, Eric Linklater, William Power, George P Insh, Keith Henderson, RH Johnstone Stewart and George Scott-Moncrieff;  
Female members, Secretary Mrs Alison Bonfield (sister in law of Eric Linklater), Treasurer Miss Elizabeth Orr Boyd, AAH Douglas (sister of John Buchan), Miss Anne Gordon and Miss Elizabeth Orphoot
- <sup>18</sup> Agnes Mure Mackenzie, *The Arts and the Future of Scotland*, Saltire Pamphlet 2, Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh, 1942
- <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p 26; Mure Mackenzie spoke largely from experience in that she had written plays and poems, *Spilt Ink: Carmina Togata - Verses* (1913); *Without Conditions* (1923); *Half-Loaf: a comedy of Chance and Error in Three Acts* (1925); *Quiet Lady* (1926); *Keith of Kinnellan – a novel* (1930); *Cypress in Moonlight – an Operetta in Prose* (1931); *Between Sun and Moon* (1932)
- <sup>20</sup> Agnes Mure Mackenzie, *Scottish Pageant*, Oliver & Boyd (A Saltire Book), Edinburgh, 1946; see also NLS MS Acc 9393.936, *Report of the Saltire Society Publications Subcommittee, 1944*, 'Dr A Mure Mackenzie had compiled an anthology of early Scottish prose and verse illustrating different aspects of the life of the country. She had dedicated this anthology to the Society, and had suggested that she was willing to have it published at her own expense, it might appear as a Saltire Publication...'. Also NLS MS Acc 9393.936 *Minutes for the Annual General Meeting, 1948* 'Proceeds of Scottish Pageant continue to raise revenue for covering rents on Gladstone's Land' (483 Lawnmarket, Edinburgh)
- <sup>21</sup> Mackenzie, *op. cit.* Note 14 above, p 23
- <sup>22</sup> As, for example, in *Process of Literature, an Essay towards some reconsiderations* (1929); *Historical Survey of Scottish Literature to 1714* (1933); *Robert Bruce, King of Scots* (1934); *The Rise of the Stewarts* (1935); *Scotland of Queen Mary and the Religious Wars 1513-1638* (1936); *The Passing of the Stewarts* (1937), *Foundations of Scotland* (1938); *I was at Bannockburn* (1939), *Kingdom of Scotland, a Short History* (1940), *Scotland's Past History and the Modern World* (1941), *Scottish Principles of Statecraft and Government* (1942)

- <sup>23</sup> Jill Stevenson, *Women in Nazi Germany*, Longman, Harlow, 2001; one can also cite the example of members of the Bauhaus whose art was considered 'decadent' or of the banning of Schiller's play Wilhelm Tell
- <sup>24</sup> John Langdon Davies, *A Short History of Women*, Watts & Co (The Thinker's Library), London, 1928
- <sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p 244
- <sup>26</sup> Marie Carmichael Stopes (1880-1958). Like Patrick Geddes, she was also a botanist by training
- <sup>27</sup> As seen particularly in *Married Love: a new contribution to the solution of sex difficulties* (1918) with respectable sanctions from Dr Jessie Murray, Professor EH Starling FRS and Fr Stanislaus St John, SJ; but also in her *Letter to Working Mothers on how to have Healthy Children and avoid Weakening Pregnancies* (1919); *Radiant Motherhood: a Book for those who are Creating the Future* (1920); *Contraception: its Theory, History and Practice: a Manual for the Medical and Legal Professions* (1923) – reprinted at least four times before 1949 - ; *Enduring Passion* (1928); *Sex and Religion* (1929); *Birth Control Today: a Practical Handbook* (1934); and *Change of Life in Men and Women* (1936)
- <sup>28</sup> Her earliest publication was a Journal of her visit to Japan in 1910. With Professor Joni Sakurai she published an edition of *Plays of Old Japan, The No together with Translations of the Dramas* (1913); *Man and other Poems* (1914); *Gold in the Wood and The Race* (two new plays of Life (1918); *Our Ostriches: a Play of Modern Life in Three Acts* (1923); *Vectia: A Play in Three Acts* (BANNED) (1926); *Crowning – a Poem* (1937); *Love Songs for Young Lovers – Poems* (1939) and *Oriri – a Dramatic Poem* (1940)
- <sup>29</sup> Naomi Mitchison, *You May Well Ask*, Victor Gollancz, London, 1979, p 34
- <sup>30</sup> As in the case of James Joyce's *Ulysses*
- <sup>31</sup> Naomi Mitchison, *You May Well Ask*, op. cit., Note 24 above, pp 69-70
- <sup>32</sup> Jenni Calder, *The Nine Lives of Naomi Mitchison*, Virago, London, 1997, p i
- <sup>33</sup> A subject addressed by this writer in 'Distributed Narratives: Naomi Mitchison, artists and illustrators' for a forthcoming issue of *The Scottish Book Collector*
- <sup>34</sup> Mitchison, *You May Well Ask*, op. cit., p 34
- <sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, and Naomi Mitchison, 'Comments on Birth Control', *The Criterion*, 12, 1930, p 5
- <sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 165, 172-91, and Naomi Mitchison, *We Have Been Warned*, Constables, Edinburgh, 1935
- <sup>37</sup> Naomi Mitchison, *Conquered* (1923); *Cloud Cuckoo Land* (1925); *When the Bough Breaks and other Stories* (1927); *Black Sparta* (1928); *Anna Comnena* (1928); *Barbarian Stories* (1929); *Delicate Fire – Short Stories and Poems* (1933); *Fourth Pig* (1936)
- <sup>38</sup> Naomi Mitchison, *Beyond this Limit*, illustrated by Wyndham Lewis (1932); *Powers of Light*, illustrated by Eric Kennington (1933); *Alban Goes Out*, a poem with wood-engravings by Gertrude Hermes (1947)
- <sup>39</sup> As in Naomi Mitchison, *Vienna Diary: Home and a Changing Civilisation* (1934), *Moral Basis of Politics* (1938), and with Robert Britton and George Kilgour (Eds) *Re-educating Scotland* (1944)
- <sup>40</sup> Mitchison, *You May Well Ask*, op. Cit., p 203
- <sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p 204
- <sup>42</sup> see *The Young Rebecca: Collected Writings 1911-1917*, Virago, London, 1983
- <sup>43</sup> Rebecca West, *The Thinking Reed*, Virago, London, 1984 p 225 (1E, Hutchinson, London, 1936)
- <sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p vi
- <sup>45</sup> Rebecca West, *The Fountain Overflows*, Reprint Society/Macmillan and Co., London, 1958, p 51
- <sup>46</sup> Robert A Brady, *The Spirit and Structure of German Fascism*, 1937, mapped aspects of behaviour in Nazi Germany that funnelled both genders into submission, noting 'an unmistakably condescending and contemptuous' attitude to women that 'purposefully sets out to exclude women from all the arts and sciences...By controlling the mother they control the germinal ideas'
- <sup>47</sup> Wendy Wood, *Yours Sincerely for Scotland: an autobiography of a Scottish Patriot*, Arthur Barker Ltd, London, 1970, p 58 (see also NLS MS Acc 7890, *The Scottish Patriot*, John Wilson, Glasgow, 1905)
- <sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p 11 'The Land Court' bought by Compton Mackenzie at her first exhibition in Edinburgh in 1929
- <sup>49</sup> As in Sheila Rowbotham, *Hidden from History*, Pluto Press, London, 1974
- <sup>50</sup> I am grateful throughout this section to Cora Cuthbert, Wood's eldest daughter for allowing me access to her illustrations, photographs and papers and to introducing me to Rowena Love who has also been most kind in sharing information
- <sup>51</sup> Joy Hendry, Unpublished Notes, Museum of Childhood, Edinburgh. I acknowledge the author's generosity in discussing Wood and allowing me access to her works
- <sup>52</sup> Christopher Harvie, *Scotland and Nationalism: Scottish Society and Politics 1707 to the Present*, George Allen & Unwin, London, 1977, (2E 1984, p 64)
- <sup>53</sup> I am grateful to Juliette MacDonald of Edinburgh College of Art for the citation of the words 'ethno-symbolism'. As noted in Chapter Five, AD Smith defined ethno-symbolism as a means to analyse the emotional force of nationalism in *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 2001.

Wood uses ethno-symbolic signifiers, such as tartans or Pringle sweaters as a means to evoke 'Scottish-ness' see Figs. 6.10b, 6.11, 6.14a, 6.19. These images appear in her drawings as light-hearted images for children. Her illustrations of Scottish scenery for *The Secret of Spey* are more serious studies of the Scottish landscape (e.g. Fig. 6.13b) emphasising the importance of national 'soil and earth'. Nevertheless, Wood distanced herself from nationalist polemic in her art

<sup>54</sup> In terms of the discourses of Herbert Marcuse, she challenged the 'repressive tolerance' of the state. Marcuse stated, 'Within a repressive society, even progressive movements threaten to turn into their opposite to the degree to which they accept the rules of the game', Herbert Marcuse, *Repressive Tolerance*, 1965, p 1 <http://grace.evergreen.edu/~arunc/texts/frankfurt/marcuse/tolerance.pfp>

<sup>55</sup> Louise Milne, Edinburgh College of Art and also Mikhail Bakhtin see Chapter Three, footnote 5 where she altered authoritarian monologic discourse to the dialogic discourse of popular ideology

<sup>56</sup> Alan Massie, 'Obituary' for Wendy Wood, *The Scotsman*, 1 July 1981

<sup>57</sup> Wendy Wood, *I Like Life*, The Moray Press, Edinburgh/London, 1938

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p 48

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p 89

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 92-3

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p 37

<sup>62</sup> NLS Ms Acc 7980.34 Passe Partout

<sup>63</sup> Wood, *I Like Life*, op. cit., p 105

<sup>64</sup> NLS MS Acc 7980.1, Share Certificates of the Ayrshire Cinematographic Theatres Ltd.

<sup>65</sup> Wood, *I Like Life*, p 190 and I am grateful to Linda Newman at Glasgow School of Art Archive for confirming that Gwen Cuthbert attended Drawing and Painting Classes, GSA Registration Book 1919. Pages from the Prospectus for that year show that Professor Maurice Grieffenhagen taught Landscape and Figure Composition; that Professor Anning Bell was Director of Studies for Design and Decorative Art; Charles Ogilvie taught Painting Antique, Still Life and Book Illustration Processes

<sup>66</sup> Gwen Cuthbert, *The Baby in the Glass*, The De La More Press, London, 1923

<sup>67</sup> Stewart Carmichael, Wendy Wood, Portrait, Watercolour on Paper, (1923), SNP G PG 3011

<sup>68</sup> *Little Dots*, June 1926, DC Thomson, Dundee (Transmitted to the Canadian and Newfoundland Post), Museum of Childhood, Wendy Wood Archive

<sup>69</sup> *The Courier*, 11 Sept 1923, also *The Bulletin and Scots Pictorial*, 13 March, 1924, from Museum of Edinburgh, Wendy Wood Archive

<sup>70</sup> *The Chickabiddies Book*, The Children's Companion Office, London, 1927; a copy of this annual in the possession of her daughter Cora Cuthbert suggests that she resumed a connection with the Christian religion she had abandoned in London

<sup>71</sup> 'Wendy' has overtones of JM Barrie's heroine in Peter Pan, first performed in London in 1904; she was also proud of Thomas Peplow Wood (1817-1845) a self-taught landscape artist, see William Salt Galleries Collection, Stafford

<sup>72</sup> NLS MS Acc 9915.6

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>74</sup> WG Burn Murdoch, Wendy Wood, Crayon on Paper (n.d.), SNP G PG 3102

<sup>75</sup> David Foggie, Wendy Wood, Black Chalk on Paper, (1932) SNP G PG 2678

<sup>76</sup> *Who's Who*, 1937

<sup>77</sup> Wood, *I Like Life*, op. cit., p 215

<sup>78</sup> Wendy Wood, *The Secret of Spey*, Robert Grant & Son, Edinburgh, 1930; Ted Cowan has recently pointed out how a belief in 'psychic energies' had its roots in a resistance to scientific naturalism, a resistance to the ultimate threat of secularism in the seventeenth century, handed down in a legacy of fairytales and myths

<sup>79</sup> Gwen Cuthbert and Elizabeth Marion King, (Illustrations by Hélène Carter), *A Lad of Dundee*, George G Harrap & Company Ltd, London, 1935

<sup>80</sup> Wendy Wood, *Mac's Croft*, (16 photographs by Gilbert Ogilvie and 20 Line Drawings by Wendy Wood), Frederick Muller, London, 1946

<sup>81</sup> Wendy Wood, *Moidart and Morar*, The Moray Press, Edinburgh, 1950

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, p 11

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p 79

<sup>84</sup> This image was kindly passed to me by the artist Carola Gordon in 2003. She noted, 'I believe this is a sketch by Wendy Wood. It was kept in the biography *I Like Life* – first edition that belonged to my aunt Mary Dott - who was a founder member of the Scottish National Party in 1930s'

<sup>85</sup> Read, *The Meaning of Art*, op. cit., p88

---

<sup>86</sup> For a theoretical account of the *avant-garde*, see Renato Poggioli, *The Theory of the Avant-Garde*, translated from the original (1962) by Gerald Fitzgerald, The Belknap Press, Harvard University Press, Cambridge Mass/London, 1968; I can only touch here on strategies that she adapted, such as activism and so on. Suffice it to say that she mixed traditional, romantic ideals of race and nationhood with anti-establishment tactics akin to those used by the *avant-garde*

<sup>87</sup> Joan Hassall, Letter to Alison Cairns (Secretary to the Saltire Society Publications Committee), 7 October, 1945, NLS MS Acc 9393.944 Saltire Society Publications Committee, Correspondence

<sup>88</sup> For holdings of the Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art, see Patrick Elliot, *The Concise Catalogue of the Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art, Trustees of the National Galleries of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1993; entries for Hassall include *Comus and the Lady*, 1934, SNGMA 386; *The Stricken Oak*, from Francis Brett Young, *Portrait of a Village*, 1937, SNGMA 385; Title Device for *The Devil's Dyke*, 1938, SNGMA 386. The Gallery also acquired a colour woodblock print for a *Bookplate for Kathleen Finlay Horsman*, 1946, SNGMA 2548.

<sup>89</sup> For a detailed account of the collectors and the policy of the Scottish Modern Arts Association, see Aileen Smith, *Art and Visual Culture in Scotland 1918-1945*, Vols 1-2, Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Aberdeen, Aberdeen, 1998.

<sup>90</sup> Albert Garrett, *A History of Wood-Engraving*, Midas Books, Tunbridge Wells, 1978, p 157 notes that Beedham was engraver for Eric Gill in the 1920's-1940's,

<sup>91</sup> David Chambers, *Joan Hassall: Engravings and Drawings*, Pinner Private Libraries Association, Pinner, 1985, 'Introductory Memoir by Joan Hassall', p viii

<sup>92</sup> Scott Lawrie, op. cit., p 124

<sup>93</sup> Hubert Wellington succeeded Gerald Moira as Principal from 1932 – 1942, Scott Lawrie, op. cit., p 143

<sup>94</sup> ECA Letterbook 53, Letter 717 of 10 October 1940 from Hubert Wellington to Miss Joan Hassall, 2 Southwood Lane, Highgate Village, London N6,

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, Letter 731 of 15 October 1940

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, Letter 760 of 21 October 1940

<sup>97</sup> In Brian North Lee (Ed), *Dearest Joana: a selection of Joan Hassall's Lifetime Letters and Art*, Fleece Press, Huddersfield, 2001, p 105 suggests that Hassall wrote to her parents from Edinburgh 'probably early October' but as is clear, it would not have been until late October; ECA Letterbook 56, shows that Hassall corresponded with Louisa Chart about accommodation; Louisa Chart taught embroidery in the School of Design 1914-44, Scott Lawrie, op. cit., p 122

<sup>98</sup> David North Lee, op. cit., p 106

<sup>99</sup> *Who's Who*, 1946; John Hassall first married Elizabeth Dingwall and they had three children. Joan and Christopher Hassall were the children of Hassall's second marriage

<sup>100</sup> Chambers, op. cit., p ix; for brief information on Hassall see David Buckman, *Dictionary of Artists in Britain since 1945*, Art Dictionaries Ltd., Bristol, 1998, pp 550-1 John Hassall (1868-1948), born Walmer, Kent; Educated England and Germany; farmed in Canada briefly before returning to England and illustrating for *The Graphic*. Studied at Antwerp and the Academie Julian in Paris, contributing later to *The Idler*, *London Opinion*, *Pearson's Magazine* and *The Tatler*. Ran his own London School of Art. Member of the London Sketch Club and The Savage Club. Book illustrator for Blackies and Nelsons in Scotland.

<sup>101</sup> Christopher Hassall, *Comus and the Lady*, 1934, *Devil's Dyke*, 1936 and his play *Christ's Comet*, Heinemann, London, 1937; and *Penthesperson*, Heinemann, London, 1938; also for Francis Brett Young, *Portrait of a Village*, 1937 and illustrations for Frederick Grisewood, *Our Bill: Guide, Counsellor, Friend*, G Harrap & Co., London, 1939

<sup>102</sup> Chambers, op. cit., p xi

<sup>103</sup> ECA Letterbook 56, Letter 178 of 4 February 1943

<sup>104</sup> NLS MS Acc 9393.971, 27 August 1944

<sup>105</sup> For example, the Alcuin Press, Chipping Camden in the '20's; the Cresset Press and the Golden House Press in Chiswick; the Fortune Press; Marion V Dom at Nonesuch Press; The Sign of the Dolphin, the Cayme Press, the Cloister Press in Manchester including the work of Stanley Morrison; The Golden Cockerell Press; Constable's, Cape, Chatto, Bodley Head, Curwen, John Lane, Methuen and Heinemann

<sup>106</sup> Chambers, op. cit., pp x-xi

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, p xii

<sup>108</sup> SNGMA 386, *Comus and the Lady*, 1934; SNGMA 387, *The Stricken Oak* (from Francis Brett Young, *Portrait of a Village*, Heinemann, London, 1937)

<sup>109</sup> Saltire Society Chapbooks

1. *Four Scottish Poems of the Sixteenth Century*, chosen by John Oliver, 1943
2. *Mally Lee and Three Folk Songs*, chosen by John Oliver, 1944



- 
3. *William Dunbar, Seasonal Poems*, chosen by John Oliver, 1944
  4. *The Marriage of Robin Redbreast and the Wren*, chosen by George Scott-Moncrieff (writer and member of the Saltire Society Committee), 1945 – reprinted 1948, 1951
  5. *Songs of the '45*, chosen by John Oliver
  6. *Whuppity Stoorie*, chosen by John Oliver
  7. *Six Poems of the Nineteenth Century*, chosen by John Oliver, 1946 (illustrated by Lennox Paterson, lecturer at Glasgow School of Art)
  8. *Old Scottish Christmas Hymns*, chosen by Agnes Mure Mackenzie, 1947
  9. *Scottish Children's Rhymes and Lullabies*, chosen by John Oliver, 1948
  10. *The Fause Knight and Other Fancies*, chosen by John Reid, 1950 (JM Reid, writer for *The Scottish Journal* and *The Bulletin*, based in Glasgow)
  11. *Scotland on Freedom*, edited by Agnes Mure Mackenzie, 1951 NOT PUBLISHED
  12. *Rashie Coat*, edited by George Scott-Moncrieff
  13. *John Mayne, The Siller Gun*, stanzas selected by Gordon F Sleigh (from Canada, teaching Literature at Moray House), 1951 (illustrated by Elizabeth Olding – neé Jamieson)
- <sup>110</sup> North Lee, op. cit., p 106
- <sup>111</sup> Cordelia Oliver, *The Scottish Society of Artists: the First One Hundred Years* (ed. Ann Wishart), SSA, Edinburgh, 1991, p 81
- <sup>112</sup> Stanley Morison, *The Typographic Arts: Past, Present and Future, a Lecture Delivered at the Edinburgh College of Art, 17 February, 1944*, James Thin, Edinburgh, 1944
- <sup>113</sup> NLS MS Acc 9393.971, Joan Hassall to Alison Cairns, 23 January 1945
- <sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, 7 October 1945
- <sup>115</sup> James Fergusson (Ed), *The Green Garden*, Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh/London, 1946; Agnes Mure Mackenzie (Ed), *Scottish Pageant*, Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh/London, 1946
- <sup>116</sup> Ruari McLean, *The Engravings of Joan Hassall*, Oxford University Press, London, 1960, p 17
- <sup>117</sup> E Gaskell, *Cranford*, Harrap, London (printed by R & R Clark, reprinted 1948)
- <sup>118</sup> NLS MS Acc 9363.969, Letter of 21 October 1948 to Alison Cairns
- <sup>119</sup> Robert Louis Stevenson, *A Child's Garden of Verses*, Hopetoun Press, Edinburgh, 1947 (reprinted 1948, 1950, reset and reprinted by Blackie and Son, 1958 and reprinted many times thereafter)
- <sup>120</sup> Eric Linklater, *Sealskin Trousers and Other Stories*, Rupert Hart-Davies, London, 1947
- <sup>121</sup> NLS MS Acc 9393.969, Hassall to Robert Hurd, 7 September 1948
- <sup>122</sup> In 1967 Hassall wrote to the Honorary Secretary of the Society that 'antiquarian' copies of the Chapbooks were selling at higher prices than the publication price of available stock. *Ibid.*
- <sup>123</sup> For example, E John, W Oliver and JC Smith, *A Scots Anthology*, Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh/London, 1949; *The Poems of Robert Burns*, Maclehose, Glasgow, 1950, revised and introduced by DeLancey Ferguson for the Heritage Press, New York, 1965; contributions to a book for William Collins & Sons, Glasgow for the Festival of Britain (NLS MS Acc 9393.936), and David Burnett, *The Heart's Undesign*, Tragara Press, Edinburgh, 1977 (NLS L.198.b.2, Limited Edition of 200)

## CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

### **Absence and Presence**

If, as feminist authors like Sian Reynolds and the late Jude Burkhauser have argued, Scottish women have been invisible in their culture, then their presence needs to be explained (see Chapter One). Whatever racial characteristics women have, as Katy Deepwell has noted,

'Feminist art criticism should regard itself as just one area of empowerment in a broader feminist coalition, an opportunity to consider the implications of women's work and a means of spreading the word about women's contribution and feminist issues to new audiences.'<sup>1</sup>

The artists discussed in the previous chapters are subjects of study in order to find out what the experience of women illustrators in Edinburgh in 1886-1945 would show about their role in the intellectual industries as well as in the employment market in publishing as illustrators. They were not chosen to illustrate a programmatic or systematic development of women artists as illustrators. Each individual woman received attention because they became involved in the production of illustrations for printed works, for ephemera, magazines and books. In this way each contributed to the foundations of the development of subsequent dialogues in which the transmission and reception of art was shaped by, and shaped, their society. Wittingly and unwittingly the artists discussed formed the foundations of a feminist aesthetic and history which led to a greater feminist consciousness which exists today. So gender has taken precedence over issues of ethnicity and class.

If women in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Scotland were overlooked, under-represented and treated unjustly, it is necessary to review exactly how they reacted and dealt with these issues. Writing and re-writing history to include women illustrators is therefore one way of supplementing a biased and incomplete record of social inter-action, specifically, not only in one Scottish city, but in the capital of Scotland, the centre of its Government. Writing one small group of women illustrators into the history of Edinburgh's publications is one way to sustain further feminist dialogue on behalf of others whose history is not yet written. They do not simply project contemporary feminist concerns that relate to political representation. They illustrate the way in which, in the past, women were forced to negotiate a professional role, as individuals, but that each one co-operated with others to establish fuller recognition for women.

The process of becoming an artist, deemed normal for many men of the time, was not normal to many women. The process of the engagement of women in art training and the art industries, of getting jobs, was not normal. It therefore needed to be mapped. Their efforts to become artists, and to find outlets for their work was part of a process which built up the presence of women in their culture. In the context of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Edinburgh provided a paradigm of Victorian values. The kind of art produced in Edinburgh was therefore moulded by established, traditional, professional interests while that of Glasgow represented new forms of mercantilism. How far women artists as illustrators came to build up a sense of their own self-worth or identities in a conservative society was neither programmatic nor systematic. It was an articulated process among various women.

Nevertheless, women illustrators in Edinburgh conceived of their roles as serious cultural commentators. They wanted to be part of the commercial dynamic of the city, as Elizabeth Gulland's work for the Edinburgh exhibitions demonstrates. They wanted to work to relieve poverty and suffering, as shown by those, like Phoebe Traquair, involved in the Edinburgh Social Union. Hannah MacGoun projected positive images of Scottish education and of the education of girls in her work. Mabel Royds made and sold prints but also produced commissions for Scottish Churches. Cecile Walton conceived pageants in which women and their families over-rode the interests of men and war. Wendy Wood moved from telling fairytale stories and writing poems for children to outright political activism with banners and badges. Hassall remained an academic engraver, applying her skills to a range of literature. Individually, and in historical terms they did not all necessarily adopt rhetorical poses for women artists or illustrators.

They were often bounded by *behavioural* political and social restraints. Woman artists discussed here worked within the limits of Edinburgh as a city and as a social site bounded by its territorial environment and by its mores. Each relied on the support of families and friends who could provide them with work. They were engaged to complete commissions on the basis that they had been trained as artists, and to become artists was an act of self-assertion and commitment to that role. Public discourses took part in male-dominated realms of the church, Parliament and universities. To participate in public discourse meant learning how to join it. Learning how to join it was a matter of complex negotiated steps from training to executing commissions. Successful proto-feminist moves were not hostile to men or their conservatism. But signing up for education, and specifically art education in itself declared the intention of women, hitherto excluded, to take part in the cultural industries.

## Women in Public

### *Edinburgh and Texts*

A complex relationship between the capital as a site of cultural production, its educational institutions and its female population emerges from the period of 1886 to 1945. Tensions existed between vested industrial interests and women's desires to participate fully in those processes. Cultural organisations logically gave men control of dominant modes of communication, principally through the press. Educated women therefore intervened in visual and written discourses, by definition, entering into counter-cultural dialogues and subverting accepted norms that would prevent them from having working roles, from earning money or from becoming professionals.

Between 1886 and 1945 Edinburgh was a fixed site of cultural production. Authorities of church and state remained at its centre. Professional and trading interests established in the city reaped rewards from a British Empire. Book culture was a key industry for the city and its international subsidiaries. Publishing and printing industries served and maintained an apparently coherent and predominantly Christian religious social system. Simultaneously, scientific and technical information changed the nature of knowledge for expanding constituencies of working class men, women and children. The social and political systems changed to meet new demands. Wealth generated by this imperialist and capitalist society paradoxically enabled wider participation in new, different and secular ideals of social egalitarianism.

Cultural facilitators who were women, such as Flora Stevenson and Mary Burton joined the established educational institutions and had to argue for the education of women, while they appeared to maintain an established order. For Phoebe Traquair in the

Edinburgh Social Union, or for Mabel Royds and Joan Hassall at Edinburgh College of Art for instance, public roles did not necessarily lead to open discussion of politics and art. Only in the 1930s did women like Naomi Mitchison and Wendy Wood become able to discuss issues of art, politics and sex in public.

### *The Effects of Gender*

As outlined in the first chapter, gender dictated cultural and occupational roles. It superseded ethnicity and class as a prime determinant of employment. The element of choice in the development of women's careers was limited. Gender conditioned the work experience and professional status of women artists. Without training, they had little legitimate claim on progressing to illustrate books for other women and children. Skeins of wool, tape measures and needles are some of the domestic tools illustrated by Elizabeth Gulland that showed the simple basis on which many Scottish women's skills were founded. Phoebe Traquair presented images of angels, women and children that represented her experiences of an imaginative and real world that was essentially that of a woman in Scotland's capital. For MacGoun, 'Pet Marjorie' presented an example of a female child obtaining her own education in Scotland, as a role model for others. Mabel Royds produced images of children, and flowers, emphasising 'feminine' consciousness.<sup>2</sup> Cecile Walton makes a mother, nurse and children central to her narrative self-portrait 'Romance' as one iconic illustration of women in Scottish society.

The gendered nature of texts and images produced by women did not detract from their passionate engagement in Scottish life and history. On the contrary, their writing and works projected the importance of their private experiences, exposed to public view. Whether their images became recognised as 'great' or 'minor' becomes irrelevant. Irrespective of celebrity, acknowledgement or even overt iconoclasm, women

illustrators formed a significant sector that supported, encouraged and maintained a commitment to the concepts of the importance of art in the life of their community. By taking initiatives, as women, meant they took a radical decision in order to establish identities as artists. Separately, they contributed to what can now be seen as a collective movement towards fuller recognition of women. This is not simply a projection of current feminist ideology, but indicates the cumulative nature of change and the gradual development of women artists, as visible agents of art and history in Edinburgh over the given period.

As has been shown, each woman artist had different views about their civic, national or political role. In common, all were radical to the extent they trained in order to practise as artists (Cecile Walton rather less than others). In common however, all except Wendy Wood refrained from political activism, and Wendy Wood separated her views about art from her politics. Elizabeth Gulland's attitudes to 'Votes for Women', her self-advertisement as an artist in Edinburgh Directories, her attendance at Herkomer's studios in Bushey were radical departures from conforming to working patterns in Edinburgh. Phoebe Traquair's ecumenism, her pleasure in the materials, colours and textures of clothes swathing the human bodies she drew in her manuscripts, made plain the presence of female pleasure in art. MacGoun's social realism formed an evangelical subtext to her illustrations in which the locality of Scotland maintained a place for the emancipation of its inhabitants through education and the church, showing that women actively taught and learned skills which they transmitted to others. To Walton, the processional place of women in a pageant of life showed their role both as mothers and their role in caring for each other and for children. Royds noted the significance of being able to vote while producing her prints. Wood's illustrations for children's magazines incorporated scenes directly from her own domestic life, identified by her

daughter. So too, Joan Hassall mediated between images and texts to engage the attention and interest of children.

The gendered nature of many of the texts illustrated by the artists mentioned is part of their overall and passionate engagement in their lives with Scottish life and history. By showing elements of their lives in their texts and illustrations, each woman engaged as a civic participant, working in the national interest. Since ideological issues that contained women was a concept later defined by feminists, the artists discussed here showed that by stating they were artists, they defied some of the conventional patterns of behaviour for women. It was ideologically significant, at the time, just to be a woman and an artist. As women, historically, each conformed to the extent that they could continue to practice their work.

Discourse about whether women returned or were returned to bourgeois ideology by conforming to social patterns desired in their society restricts discussion. Women crossed class barriers in order to identify their interests, their domestic lives and their desires for public representation. There were a range of small programmatic movements, and many convergent strands of behaviour. Sometimes class factors outweighed gender, where aristocratic women (such as Lady Aberdeen) could obtain public roles in ways that other women could not. Alternatively working class 'girls' (such as Jane Easton) could become trapped in socially stratified manual jobs such as bookbinding, which they could not change or develop.

The effects of gender meant that some women individually placed markers for emancipation, voting and professional recognition. Collectively, their actions added up to more than simple religious, political or artistic gestures. Cecile Walton began to see



a different role for women in that they had to exist outside the areas of male violence. Apprehending divisions of labour between men and women, between fighter/breadwinner and homemaker/nurturer, Walton's images point to different possibilities, where mothers and children could exist in a non-violent world.

### *Training and Education*

Female commentators such as Miss Anstruther urged women to train as designers for printing (see Chapters Two and Four). Illustration was a skill that female artists could develop at home. Informal skills could be applied through commercial trade and professional practice. For women, while these skills originated through close relationships in their families, they were carried into the public arena. With education, women artists could develop private skills for public consumption. Phoebe Traquair used her skills to inscribe and paint at home to create self-images in the illuminated manuscript of *The Psalms of David* and in her book-work. MacGoun illustrated girls surveying their mother to indicate female role models for her work. Cecile Walton explained how she developed the habit of illustrating at home as did Joan Hassall and Wendy Wood. These informal aspects of their education conditioned them to develop their public roles.

Formally, women artists could gain qualifications. Edinburgh provided a range of institutions where women could learn the skills to become artists. As has been shown (in Chapter Two) the definitions of 'art education' varied. And the extent to which they were admitted to classes varied. Courses were usually designed by men and for men who remained a majority on Boards of the different institutions. Elizabeth Gulland and Hannah MacGoun could refer back to their training at the Trustees' Academy, and when Gulland left Edinburgh she continued to study at Herkomer's art school in Bushey.

Phoebe Traquair referred back to her studies at the Royal Dublin Society, while Royds' training at the Slade was augmented by her work with a 'master' Walter Sickert, as well as in the commercial printing houses of Paris. Sickert also taught Wendy Wood in London. Hassall was taught by her father and by Beedham in London, while Cecile Walton's father also laid foundations for her skills which were supplemented by Edinburgh Art College, by tutelage from Jessie King and John Duncan in Edinburgh and at the Académie Julian in Paris.

Training and education did not guarantee women work. They needed to develop a professional environment in which to work. They needed studios and they needed work to sustain those studios.

### *Trade and Profession*

Women artists did not have open access to trade apprenticeships or higher levels of professional societies. In this sense their status remained precarious. Phoebe Traquair was not admitted to the RSA until 1920 as an 'Associate Member' and Phyllis Bone, a sculptress, was only made the first full female member of the RSA in 1940. Book illustration was not a full-time job until printing and publishing companies expanded in the 1960s. Before this, commissions to illustrate books were handed out on an individual basis as freelance projects. The absence of tenure, of stable employment or systematic guarantees of work indicates the random nature of illustrating as a profession. Female illustrators of the period therefore, in spite of qualifications, remained marginal to the direction of texts.

Beyond training, women could progress to occupy their own studio, often in a room at home (as Traquair, Royds and Wood did) or in a more commercial manner, in separate

rooms, in Gulland's case in London Road, in MacGoun's case in George Street. Cecile Walton took a studio vacated by John Duncan early in her career, and subsequently ensured she had studio space.<sup>3</sup> So women artists set up offices and developed their own work methods to adapt to the demands of the printing and publishing industries.

Commercial projects were often arbitrary. Commissioning artists as illustrators often depended on non-rational, opportunistic decisions, rather than planned and systematic investment. Publishers like Collins and Blackies tended to recycle familiar literature in different formats, and often re-issued already published work. This opportunism may well reflect the nature of the cultural industries as a whole, with the medium of print production being only one part of them. However, a publisher like David Douglas drafted series of works that were entirely new. For the journal *Life and Work*, published by the Church of Scotland, Douglas featured the names of artists and engravers in each edition and thus encouraged illustrators to see themselves as professionals while their engravers could be acknowledged as skilled craft-workers in their own right. TN Foulis also took initiatives that favoured artists, not only commissioning a typeface from France for his books, but also, through his art director, offered artists commissions for artwork which they could keep and subsequently sell at the Scottish Arts Club. The upshot of commissioning an artist like Jessie King meant that Foulis not only obtained a woman artist as a complete typographic designer for book jackets, typography and illustration: further it enabled other women artists to create illustrations that fitted inside formats designed by a female colleague.

Women could take initiatives to influence the print production process from the ground as it were, if they already possessed an idea that could be executed. This was the case where Maude Ashurst Biggs had already compiled a series of *Polish Fairy Tales* to

which her niece, Cecile Walton could add illustrations. Similarly, once Wendy Wood completed her poems, she submitted them complete for publication to the De La More Press. The De La More Press in London, although little known, seems to have been responsive to works by women writers and artists. Here one sees the impact of networks (see below p 300).

Supplementing illustrating, portrait painting and other exhibition work with teaching was one way in which women artists could earn a regular wage. Teaching could also reinforce and sustain their self-images as artists, as was the case with Gulland later in teaching in Bushey. Traquair reinforced her self-image by teaching at the Edinburgh Social Union and later Royds and Hassall did so at Edinburgh College of Art. But the nature of female employment in the arts in Scotland militated against a clear in-house role for book illustrators, or for appointment to public bodies. Opportunities to illustrate books were random, and employment often relied on close networks of friends and family. There were traditional prejudices against women in trade associations. Women faced traditional prejudices to their roles as artists and as skilled workers. Attitudes to industrial, craft and commercial printing held a relatively low status and commissions to illustrate mass market publications, as Jessie King pointed out, were hardly considered serious.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, if women illustrators submitted pictures for publications ‘for women’, their work was not treated seriously. If publishers assumed that women wished to illustrate books for children and women alone, then, as artists, they remained infantilised and confined to gendered ghettos by conventional expectations.

Being commissioned by patrons meant that women illustrators directed the content and style of their works towards the market. Overall, designs were conceived for narrative texts. Liaison between artists and publishers remained a private process. By deduction,

the absence of design briefs and correspondence indicates that discussions were spoken rather than written down. Communications between artists and in-house staff remains scarce. In-house staff usually had control of the typographic layouts of printed pages. Traquair and Hassall were unusual in being able to influence the printing and publishing houses they dealt with as much as they did. Publishers and printers wanted pictures that described texts. They wanted images to tell the story of the narratives. Often they wanted historically accurate costume illustrations. They wanted a realisation of the texts. This 'twilight' status of the freelance woman worker meant that women remained outside recognised employment frameworks. They nevertheless continued to produce works for exhibitions and produced work in a range of media, consciously making the effort to reinforce their identities as artists.

### *Networks*

Female friends, relatives, writers and cultural facilitators were significant in obtaining commissions for women artists (see also above p 298). Without support from Lady Aberdeen and Lady Rothschild, both keen 'amateur' painters, Elizabeth Gulland would not have obtained commissions for the Women's Industries booklet at the Edinburgh International Exhibition of 1886. Flora Stevenson, on the Committee of the Women's Industries Section of the 1886 exhibition also gave her support to women artists like Phoebe Traquair in the Edinburgh Social Union (who commissioned her work for the Sick Children's Hospital on display, 27 September 2003) and, like Mary Burton – also an amateur watercolourist – to making training facilities for women available through the Heriot's Trust at Heriot Watt College.

the absence of design briefs and correspondence indicates that discussions were spoken rather than written down. Communications between artists and in-house staff remains scarce. In-house staff usually had control of the typographic layouts of printed pages. Traquair and Hassall were unusual in being able to influence the printing and publishing houses they dealt with as much as they did. Publishers and printers wanted pictures that described texts. They wanted images to tell the story of the narratives. Often they wanted historically accurate costume illustrations. They wanted a realisation of the texts. This 'twilight' status of the freelance woman worker meant that women remained outside recognised employment frameworks. They nevertheless continued to produce works for exhibitions and produced work in a range of media, consciously making the effort to reinforce their identities as artists.

### *Networks*

Female friends, relatives, writers and cultural facilitators were significant in obtaining commissions for women artists (see also above p 298). Without support from Lady Aberdeen and Lady Rothschild, both keen 'amateur' painters, Elizabeth Gulland would not have obtained commissions for the Women's Industries booklet at the Edinburgh International Exhibition of 1886. Flora Stevenson, on the Committee of the Women's Industries Section of the 1886 exhibition also gave her support to women artists like Phoebe Traquair in the Edinburgh Social Union (who commissioned her work for the Sick Children's Hospital on display, 27 September 2003) and, like Mary Burton – also an amateur watercolourist – to making training facilities for women available through the Heriot's Trust at Heriot Watt College.

In turn, Elizabeth Sharp (1856-1932), writer and art critic for the *Glasgow Herald*, enlisted Traquair to design a cover for her anthology of women's poetry, *Women's Voices*.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, writer and anthologist Grace Warrack (1855-?) enlisted Traquair, MacGoun and other women artists to provide illustrations for her books, in addition to the pictures that she bought from them.<sup>6</sup> Again, her sister Mary Warrack (n.d.) asked Traquair for illustrations for a booklet in aid of 'Everyman's Belgian Relief and Construction Fund' in 1914.<sup>7</sup>

It is also notable that Jessie King advised and supported Cecile Walton and Wendy Wood both as friends and as professional artists. As has been shown in the preceding chapters she gave advice to Walton as a child, and, made clothes for Wood's children as well as wrote a preface to her first book of poems, *The Baby in the Glass* (**Fig. 6.8c**). Agnes and Dorothy Waterstone, both students at Edinburgh College of Art actively engaged in the Sketch Club and later in the family printing business also helped Walton at a critical stage in her career, as did Dorothy Una Ratcliffe the writer and broadcaster.

Although the networks were not exclusively female networks, as might be seen in the case of Mabel Royds and Wendy Wood, who were both taught by Walter Sickert, women artists often understood the difficulties of other women. Without the help of Agnes Mure Mackenzie and Alison Cairns at the Saltire Society, Joan Hassall would not have completed her commissions for the Saltire Society. So the growth of female solidarity on women's issues and women's emancipation gradually built up in politics and in art through minor acts of mutual support.

Networks were essential but informal groups.<sup>8</sup> While women artists in Edinburgh needed to conform to the requirements of their society, and while they had to complete

commissions to order, they had little opportunity to campaign and protest as to the condition of women. In a hegemonic, conformist and largely conservative cultural environment, low-key, subtle progress was made to enable women illustrators to complete their work, in spite of demonstrations like that of 1909 (see Chapter Six). Overt campaigning and protest by women artists as to their conditions was counterproductive in the case of Traquair and her colleagues' applications to the RSA before 1920. Wendy Wood's outspoken views on political issues, including women, just made her a figure to be ridiculed and mistrusted. But networks were a means of resistance to the discouraging and critical views of those in authority in a structured society like Edinburgh. An invisible union of women artists formed a web of mutual encouragement. I should point out that networks between women crossed barriers between upper, middle and working classes (Ladies of the Exhibition Committees to typesetters for the Women's Industries Catalogue and Phoebe Traquair's connections with women bookbinders such as Jane Easton for instance). What is evident is that networks of women who had sufficient resources to gain an education were most likely to be able to gain commissions and could afford to resist restrictions on women.

### *Public Personae*

At the international exhibition of 1886 in Edinburgh, Elizabeth Gulland's illustrations for Queen Victoria's visit, and the Catalogue for the Women's Industries Section signalled the participation of women in a significant civic event (see Chapter Three). Contemporary debates about Home Rule and Women's Suffrage heightened political consciousness across the social spectra. National and civic roles were of crucial significance. Cumulative demands of women in their culture could not be ignored. Women artists exhibited their works, women worked in the printing office displays.



Women visitors exposed and were exposed to new ideas and technical innovations. Moreover, the presence of women at a public event excited public attention.

Prior to and beyond 1886, social and political consciousness among women in Edinburgh increased and developed. The gradual expansion of educational opportunities for women changed their status as wage-earning artists, but only slowly, and for scarce and randomly-distributed commissions. Edinburgh exhibitions held in 1890 and 1908 dispensed with dedicated areas for women's work, even if women continued to exhibit in them. Nevertheless, these major civic concourses remained significant sites for the display of women's exhibits.

In 1908, Edinburgh's international exhibition was more clearly aligned with Scottish traditions and Scottish art. The issue of nationality tended to silence the issue of Scottish women's emancipation in favour of defining national characteristics. In the Fine Art Section at the exhibition, directed by James Caw and in the book he published in 1908 *Scottish Painting*, attention turned to national traditions. The author was suitably vague about the defining characteristics of Scottish painting. Scottish painting – more significant than craft work – made heroic progress from the tradition of canonical Scottish painters who were men. It reinstated a patriarchal ideology that returned the business of art and its production to its male authors. It reasserted the conceptual traditions of a male canon. It gave art a new racial if not ethnic context, but resumed the hegemony of male dominated institutions of art. Caw's views of Scottish art combined ethnicity with more radical views of the importance of genre painting of 'folk-painting' in Scotland. But Caw did not seek to change hierarchies of religion or education. For him, Scottish art maintained the sincerity of folk traditions with the piety of Christian tradition and sustained traditions of Greek, Olympian views of authoritative

power. Scottish painters were reassembled and regrouped as part of a feudal society, therefore reinforcing prior traditions of a professional establishment as part of an old hierarchy. It is hardly surprising therefore, that in 1909, the year after this exhibition, the demonstration in Edinburgh organised by the Women's Social and Political Union, emphasised the patriotic need for Scottish women to obtain the vote.

The trend towards greater Nationalist identification in the arts and in political life obscured the issue of women's emancipation. Moreover, when women like Wendy Wood joined the party and made active moves to argue for Scottish Independence, her arguments and her activism embarrassed law-abiding party members. For Walton, to be Scottish was no different from being international and she gave little attention to political nationalism. For Hassall, she learned while in Scotland that nationalists had a case against Parliament in London. However, she experienced bigoted nationalism at a personal level, where Scots resented her appointment, as a privileged English artist, to her position in the art college. Ethnic and class factors meant that she was victimised.

### *Visual and Written Literacy*

Women had a difficult and even fragile relationship with the dominant visual and written culture in Scotland. If women kept alive rhymes, poems and stories for children, they had little connection with authorship for sustained discourses in art or philosophy. The 'Big Ideas' of art, politics and religion paled into insignificance for women where they were expected to be attentive mothers, daughters and sisters. In a conservative society, new ideas and initiatives were alien. Conforming in order to work meant largely conforming and accepting dominant narratives from the bible and the establishment. In visual language, women artists conformed to the advice and guidance of masters so that few developed the knowledge or understood the meaning of 'new'

works, whether they were from impressionists or futurists. The attitude of Morley Fletcher as noted, reflected both shock effect of Dadaism, and the difficulty with which he as an artist could deal with understanding acts of defiance, contradiction or argument. While he was sympathetic to his female staff, he held to ideals of 'sincerity' in art and could see no point in either the playful or antagonistic nature of the *avant-garde*.

Women were expected to please and conform. Women artists as illustrators had to do the same. In order to meet the requirements of their employers or patrons, women artists illustrated works to order. Descriptive, narrative illustrations gave sequential order to familiar, Biblical, mythical and Scottish stories. Where Hannah MacGoun illustrated works by William MacGillivray, she recreated scenes from the Scottish kailyard; where she illustrated works by Dr John Brown, she recreated small Scottish communities and congregations of the Scottish Church.

In some ways, however, illustrators experimented with their illustrative work. Phoebe Traquair, captured what she could of her encounters with serious philosophy, religion, art and poetry. She was well aware of William Morris' philosophy, applying many of his socialist ideals to her art and life. Her pageant of figures drawn from her reading of the Bible (King David), literature (Carlyle) and art criticism (Ruskin) were woven into her illustrations. She wanted to open people's eyes to the raptures of art and aesthetics in the manner of an arts and crafts worker. Her stylised woodcuts for *The Children's Guide* and *The Ladder* precede those of Morris at the Kelmscott Press. MacGoun also experimented with fat lettering designed in cartoon style. Walton's images of women and children propose a visual dialogue about the isolation of women and children by war, which was simply lost on her generation, and neglected by subsequent ones.

Walton's role in compiling *Atlanta's Garland* is perhaps the first serious review of women as artists in Scotland, and her memoir also carefully documented her wide reading to confirm her serious interest in literature as well as aesthetics. Alternatively, Wood wrote extensively in popular texts, newspapers and journals and illustrated magazines for a popular market. In doing so, she seized every chance she could to appear in print – besides broadcasting. For her, visual and written texts were a means to communicate popular national concerns and folk traditions.

The visual and written texts produced by women in Edinburgh between 1886 to 1945 were produced within conventional limits. In spite of the apparent conformity of the different women to their environment, being illustrators was an innovative achievement for each of them. In order to obtain work as illustrators meant developing skills as artists. Making a living as artists meant adapting to producing images in a variety of media. Where they took part in producing images for books and printed texts, each woman intervened in social discourse in individual ways. Collectively, they were forming a basis for other women to continue to work.

### **Women's Images**

When Elizabeth Gulland produced covers for David Douglas' series of American Authors she presented a gypsy figure of a female to attract the gaze of its potential readership (**Figs. 3.8a, b**). For Gulland, the figure evoked the freedom of a woman, a traveller in North America or Venice according to the subjects of each work. For Wendy Wood and Cecile Walton, gypsy figures crossed boundaries of nations and countries. For Walton, gypsy figures, their dress and the colours of their dress, presented exotic and visually exciting images for the frontispiece of *Polish Fairy Tales*

(**Fig. 25b**). For Wendy Wood, who defended the rights of travelling people to keep their traditions of freedom in rural Scotland, gypsy figures represented forms of personal freedom (as in illustrations of ‘The Open Road’ in the Museum of Childhood, 1939 or for *The People of the Glen*, published in 1955).

By contrast, Gulland’s series of illustrations for the booklet of Queen Victoria’s visit to the 1886 exhibition represented naturalistic and historical images of the monarch in Scotland (**Fig. 3.10**). As noted in Chapter Three, Victoria’s image nevertheless related to an ideal of corporate power and the power of women in commerce. Further, images of Mary Queen of Scots (not illustrated) and the Newhaven fisher girl (**Fig. 3.12**) also appeared in the booklet. These socially polarised images of an historical figure and a contemporary figure, an aristocrat and a working class woman indicate the extremes of the varied experiences of women in Scottish history and Scottish life. For the Women’s Industries catalogue, two female figures represent the place of women in the arts and in textile design, representing women artists (**Fig. 3.7**) working independently. Where Gulland shows a solitary figure holding up a book which has the words ‘Votes for Women’ in a bookplate designed in 1897, Gulland makes her female figure an icon of suffrage, in a patently political statement. Gulland’s various interpretations of the female figure in her illustrations therefore provide a range of women’s images to show the variety of forms of womanhood across the social spectrum of society.

An idealised form of womanhood could be seen in images of goddesses and angels. These aspects of womanhood appear frequently in the work of Phoebe Traquair, where she contrasts her own human figure with a guardian angel infusing her with a divine spirit, directing her with divine inspiration (**Fig. 4.4**) as the lines of gold light radiate from the angel onto her embroidery and her book (see also **Fig. 4.5**). The motif of

angelic bodies, putti and angels appear in Hassall's illustrations for Scottish Christmas Hymns (**Figs.6.24, 26**) where angel heads decorate the cover as a decorative frame for the title of the book. As explicitly Christian symbols, the putti and the heraldic angel of page 8 illustrate the evangelical purpose of the texts. They identify the artists' views of motherhood and womanhood connected to a spiritual world.

Although religious like Traquair, MacGoun's female figures vary between young girls and old women (**Figs. 4.11,15**) in a more documentary manner. Her social realism shows girls learning moral behaviour (**Figs. 4.14b, 15**) sitting at a desk (**Fig. 4.16**); they are grounded in a world where they learn to work. Her painting of a mother and child at a doorway, 'The Threshold' is a variation of the Madonna and child theme of Christian religion, but transposes the figures into an environment that Scottish people could identify (**Fig. 4.12**). For MacGoun, motherhood was an idealised romantic state in which hopeful mothers launched their children into the wide and natural world

Royds figuration of the Madonna with her child in flight from Egypt is another variation on the theme of motherhood. It is less romantic than MacGoun's 'The Threshold', but conveys the blocked figure of the mother and child on a donkey as if to represent the hardship as well as the pleasure of motherhood (**Fig. 5.15**). This emotion of hardship, where the mother's figure encases her child, in a protective gesture expresses itself in Walton's image 'Romance' (**Fig. 5.26**), where the mother receives medical care in order to heal up the wounds of childbirth. All three artists presented naturalistic images of women as human figures. These narrative readings about motherhood interpret the emotions and the realities in different ways.

## Self Images

Frances Borzello has pointed out the significance of self-images to women artists. She has noted,

'My aim was to present women artists' self-portraits as a genre in its own right and my approach was to show that women artists' position in the art world and the ideas of their day were causally related to the self-portraits they produced.'<sup>9</sup>

This causal relationship between women and their self-portraits was that women committed an act of self-realisation as artists. It emphasised the human presence of women artists among male and female colleagues. This self-scrutiny led to self-realisation and even self-revelation.

Elizabeth Gulland's bookmark is one such small self-portrait, indicating the importance of her political belief in female suffrage (**Fig. 3.13**). Another self-portrait (not illustrated) records Gulland, in the manner of Reynolds and Raeburn as the woman of refinement, the female artist gazing back on her admirers. Alternatively, Phoebe Traquair's self-images make explicit links between her and her work. As shown, her books illustrate her working on her tapestry and on her book illumination (**Fig. 4.4**). Similarly, her self-portrait contains no palette or easel and does not show her hands. It does show her in a smock and beret, emphasising her role as a craft worker and a working woman. She spells out that she is part of the Arts and Crafts community of artists (**Fig. 4.2**).

The watercolour self-portrait of Hannah MacGoun is like an enlarged miniature, with vivid colouring to contrast with the white scarf that reflects light onto her face and into

her eyes (**Fig. 4.8**). This is a romantic portrait that can be contrasted to the photograph of MacGoun in her studio as a working artist (**Fig. 4.9**). Both however, emphasise the role of the sitter as an artist. For Mabel Royds, her brief pencil-sketch stresses the importance of her hand as that of an artist and designer. Her eyes are not directed out of the drawing, but remain in it, as if to indicate that she belongs in a world of art-production, rather than as a woman seeking admiration, recognition or approval (**Fig. 5.9**). Like Traquair's self-portrait, a portrait photograph of Royds as a mother with her baby shows her in a smock, holding her child in a finely ruched christening robe (**Fig. 5.10**). This documentary evidence of Royds supplements information showing that she saw herself as a craft worker, not simply as a fine artist.

Although Borzello stresses the 'sacramental' element in Walton's self-portrait of 'Romance' I would suggest that Walton tries to find means to re-write the image of the woman artist as birthing mother, as an actual event (**Fig. 5.26**).<sup>10</sup> The expanses of white paint conjure up images of the 'white lead' that she recalled from a book in her memories of childhood, the white lead that caused suffering among Scottish workers. The painting illustrates Walton's narrative of motherhood, altering the experience of childbirth and motherhood to describe conditions at the time, as well as her emotional response to both. The self-reflexive aspect of Walton's self-portrait defies a tradition of former images of women. Although she is an 'odalisque' she is neither supine nor passive, nor is she an object of erotic desire. Rather she creates a context in which her gaze is directed to her child, centred in a painted world, alive in spite of the sarcophagal pose, active as an artist (signalled perhaps, by the beret) if passively accepting medical help.



For Wendy Wood, her self-image as an older woman, briefly sketched, with tired eyes also turned from the viewer, head resting on her right hand gives little indication of the contentious political campaigner (**Fig. 6.2**). The sketched charcoal drawing provides a brief narrative statement to show the artist projecting herself as tired of conflict. By contrast she places an illustration of herself, campaigning on a podium in a tartan skirt and tam o'shanter to give a stylised drawing of herself at 'saxty' making a public statement that she thought she 'wad be sittin just knittin' which she evidently is not. Her drawing and her poetry subvert the image of the passive sixty-year old woman, accepting her fate. Instead, the artist and the campaigner have 'new thochts, new hopes galore'. So her self-image is also a self-parody, making the self-revelation as an artist, that she continues to struggle against conventional demands made on her as a woman and an artist. Here we have a sketch conveying the artist as old but with convictions about her world.

### **Developments 1886-1945**

Women illustrators in Edinburgh intervened in printed texts to assert their place as women and as women artists as informed and intelligent women. Resources were directed to major institutions and 'great' works. Male constituted committees who chose and selected artists as social commentators maintained a hold on those resources. In 1940, the RSA lifted its bar on female membership. In 1945, the marriage bar was lifted from female teachers in Scottish schools. Formal barriers preventing women from taking part in hegemonic organisations at this time changed their working practices irrevocably. While women artists had individually challenged previous restrictions in art and letters, male privileges in careers and employment began to change also. It remains part of the feminist argument, as a contested field, how far women remained outside male discourse, career paths and tenured working patterns.

## Summary

The limited acts of subversion committed by women in order to become artists qualified to illustrate and publish texts developed gradually in Scotland. Collectively, women workers could not guarantee uniform or programmatic agreement in Edinburgh about national, social or political issues. Individual women artists in Edinburgh between 1886 and 1945 differed in the range and scale of their response to their place as women, and their place as women in political activism. Women who illustrated books for the printing and publishing industries did, however, make a range of statements about their place as women and as artists in Edinburgh. As skilled and intelligent participants in their culture, they made limited incursions into hitherto male-authored discourses. They disturbed and vivified a conventional culture.

---

<sup>1</sup> Katy Deepwell (ed), *New Feminist Art Criticism*, Manchester University Press, Manchester/New York, 1995, p 10

<sup>2</sup> I use 'feminine' here to describe the sensibility and consciousness of Mabel Royds, making prints of flower subjects as a woman artist and as a skilled woman artist. Roszika Parker and Griselda Pollock, in *Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London/Henley, 1981, have shown that in 1860 Léon Legrange denigrated the reputation of women artists by relegating them to the role of flower painters: they note 'The historical process by which women came to specialize in certain kinds of art and the symbolism of still-life and flower painting have been obscured by the tendency to identify women with nature. Paintings of flowers and the women who painted them became mere reflections of each other.' p 58. Parker and Pollock show, by contrast, that women artists' botanical and flower paintings gave serious and symbolic meaning to flowers, through skilled and detailed still life paintings, and this is the sense in which I interpret Royd's prints as 'feminine'

<sup>3</sup> Walton's last home at The Rhins had one main studio room to the front, in which there was a balcony bed to sleep in, with a small back corridor for a kitchen and bathroom (thanks to Mrs Muriel Robertson for showing me the building)

<sup>4</sup> 'If clothes made the man...just as frequently illustrations made books...[but]...Book illustrators were considered hardly respectable in the art world and their work was often belittled...' Jessie King, cited in a press-cutting, 7 June 1933, GUL MS GEN 1654/690

<sup>5</sup> Elizabeth Cumming, *Phoebe Anna Traquair 1852-1936*, SNPG, Edinburgh, 1993, p 57

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, *Revelations of Divine Love*, 1901, p 71; *Florilegio di Canti Toscani*, 1914, p 89

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, *Song in the Night*, 1915, p 90

<sup>8</sup> In Janice Helland, *Professional Women Painters in Nineteenth Century Scotland: Commitment, Friendship, Pleasure*, Ashgate, Aldershot, 2000, the author points out the various forms of association (such as the Ladies' Art Club) and stresses aspects of 'commitment, friendship and pleasure' among women artists which, I suggest underlies the networks they formed. I note that I am equivocal about whether women artists were 'middle-class' in the sense that if education was aspirational, and by definition 'middle-class' to become artists some women may have concealed working class origins, although many more successful ones seem to have been able to draw on private incomes.

<sup>9</sup> Frances Borzello, *Seeing Ourselves: women's self-portraits*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1998

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p 145/7; Borzello sees the 'sacramental' element in 'Romance' either as Mary Magdalene, washing Christ's feet or as the baptism of Christ by John the Baptist, recreated by the nurse washing Walton's feet. I think perhaps the emphasis here is on 'healing' as a necessity rather than 'blessing' as a sacrament; the nurse has no reason to seek forgiveness (as Mary Magdalene did) from Christ for her sins. Additionally, the simple ritual of washing and healing the mother with water replaces an old story of one man baptized by another

---

## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1

#### Census Figures 1891-1951

Table 1: Population figures from Census figures for Scotland, 1891-1951

Date	Total	Males	Females
1891	4 025 647	1 942 717	2 082 930
1901	4 472 103	2 173 755	2 298 348
1911	4 760 904	2 308 839	2 452 065
1921	4 882 497	2 347 642	2 534 855
1931	4 842 980	2 325 523	2 517 457
1939*	5 006 689	2 412 244	2 594 445
1951	5 096 415	2 434 358	2 662 057

\* Mid-year estimates only in wartime

Acknowledgement: produced with thanks to Ann Blackwood, National Office of Statistics, June 2002

Note constant majorities in the number of females over males, with c. 200,000 fewer males than females after periods of war (1914-18 viz 1921; 1939-45 viz 1951)

## Appendix 2

### Attendance Figures: Heriot Watt College

**Table 2: Female Class Applications 1875-1877**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Applicants (Female)</i>
1875-6	62
1876-7	114
1877-8	124

*R. Addison, 2002, HWA., Heriot Watt Calendar, 1878*

**Table 3: Heriot Watt Female and Male Attendance Figures 1878-1902**

<i>Date</i>	<i>Applicants (Female)</i>	<i>Applicants (Male)</i>
1878-9	161	1816
1879-80	245	1940
1880-1	295	2080
1881-2	343	2005
1882-3	304	1913
1883-4	285	1768
1884-5	312	1802
1885-6	284	1722
1886-7	211	1301
1887-8	284	1884
1888-9	221	1815
1889-90	370	2336
1890-1	420	2441
1891-2	444	2603
1892-3	449	2750
1893-4	460	2607
1894-5	433	2523
1895-6	460	2773
1896-7	525	2775
1897-8	553	2958
1898-9	609	3184
1899-00	590	3275
1900-01	590	3296
1901-2	681	3077
1902-3	667	3237

*R. Addison, HWA, 2002*

## Attendance Figures: Edinburgh College of Art

**Table 4: Attendance Figures 1908-1914 from Edinburgh College of Art Reports to the Governors of the Heriot Watt Trust (HWC 1/3/3-9) – undifferentiated**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Day</i>	<i>Evening</i>
1908-9	304	526
1909-10	363	480
1910-11	409	456
1911-12	391	464
1912-13	409	456
1913-14	409	456
1914-15 Total figures for day and evening classes, 712	See total	See total

*R. Addison, compiled from HWA, 2002*



**Table 5: Attendance Figures 1915-1924 from Edinburgh College of Art Reports to the Governors of Heriot Watt Trust (HWC 1/3/10-19)**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Day</i>		<i>Evening</i>	
	<i>Applicants (F)</i>	<i>Applicants (M)</i>	<i>Applicants (F)</i>	<i>Applicants (M)</i>
1915-16	233	336	341	228
1916-17	209	275	295	189
1917-18	222	286	318	190
1918-19	461	352	333	480 incl. 139 print apprentices
1919-20	556	600	434	732 incl. 49 article 55 Teachers
1920-21	545	567	467	688 incl. 43 article 55 Teachers
1921-22	510	552	420	642
1922-23	528	641	458	711
1923-24	503	660	433	730
1924-25	543	696	440	799

*R. Addison, HWA, HWC 1/3/10-19, 2002*

## Appendix 3

### Edinburgh International Exhibition of Industry, Science and Art

#### Fine Art and Loan Exhibition 1886 – Female Exhibitors

##### *Gallery A – British Oil Paintings*

2. Whins (£3.10s) Miss MH Robinson, Edinburgh
10. Sweet Childish Days (£94.10s) Miss E Scannell, London
18. Wallflower – a Study (£2.2s) Miss M Lyle, Edinburgh
28. At the Casement (£25) Mrs HG Robertson, Glasgow
39. Afternoon at Buckhaven Miss JD Gray, Edinburgh
47. Welcome News (£105) Miss F Small, Nottingham
67. Frae our Kail-yard (£25) Miss EA McHardy, Edinburgh
69. Azealas (£3) Miss JN Stewart, Paisley
105. Old Houses at Dinau, Brittany (£14.14s) Miss L Watt, London
112. Portraits of Two Chargers – Kabul, 1879 (£10.10s) Miss L Hunter, Coldstream
116. White Peonies (£25) Mrs R Marshall, Edinburgh
147. On the Fife Coast (£8.8s) Miss JE Spindler, Dundee
148. An Old Mill – North Wales (£40) Miss a Fraser, Edinburgh
151. Inzanami (£105) Mrs L Jopling, Chelsea
154. Yellow Tulips (£21) Mrs L Jopling, Chelsea
156. ‘Here let me, careless and unthoughtful lying, Hear the soft winds above me flying’ (£20) Mary Groves, London
159. Moss Roses Mrs J Chalmers, Edinburgh
160. Portrait Miss H. Kay, Edinburgh
161. Red Anemonies (£1.11s.6d) Miss CW Haig
162. A Misty Day, Venice Miss H Montalba, London

176. I'm sorry now (£5.5s) Miss MF Guillemard, Cambridge
178. Solitude (£2.2s) Mrs ES Blair, Edinburgh
184. Portrait, Miss FE Haig, Edinburgh
194. The Edge of the Wood (£4.4s) Miss HA Graham-Yooll, Newhaven
195. Love in the South (£78.15s) Mrs L Jopling, Chelsea
198. Chrysanthemums (£6.6s) Miss EM Brebner, Edinburgh
199. Water Lilies drawn from spots where they bloom singly or in scattered knots...  
(£5.5s) Miss J Clark, Glasgow
228. And she has hair of a golden hue (£8.8s) GM Greenlees, Glasgow
254. The Herd Laddie, Miss JD Gray, Edinburgh
257. Music (£8.8s) Miss M Macarthur, London
263. Madeira water-bottle (£3.3s) Miss J Clark, Glasgow
267. A Welcome Messenger, but a disappointing Message (£15.15s) Miss J  
Shepherd, Manchester
268. Amber (£31.10s) Miss JH Harrower, Newcastle-on-Tyne

*Gallery B – Photography*

294. Winter views in Switzerland, Mrs F Burnaby, London
413. The Boss of the Bothy (£2.2s) Mrs Ankorn, Arbroath

*Gallery C – British Oil Paintings*

486. Near Allardyce (£6.6s) Miss M. Jameson, Edinburgh
487. White lilies (£4.4s) Miss EB Stirrat, Glasgow
497. Be Friends To-day (£21) Miss B Macarthur, London
498. A Winter Bouquet (£10) Miss DM Oliver, Edinburgh
506. Taking a Pilot (£50) Miss E Wolters, Antwerp

512. The Old Pier – Early Morning (£5) Miss M Oswald, Edinburgh
519. Lilac (£15.15s) Miss M Hirst, Birmingham
527. Nothing Venture, Nothing Have (£21) Miss AE Tucker, Bristol
564. Little Haru at Home – Tea and dolls (£50) Miss E Turck, London
565. Irises (£5.5s) Miss FH Stirling, Edinburgh
571. Beginning the Journey of Life, Mrs Stevenson, Edinburgh
572. Cherry Ripe (£10.10s) Miss JHJ Harrower, Newcastle-on-Tyne
573. Study – Head of a Normandy Peasant (£2.2s) Miss JA Brodie, Edinburgh
582. Morning in Holland (£20) Miss RJ Leigh, Antwerp
585. Wallflower (£3.3s) Mrs ES Blair, Edinburgh
586. Through the Beanfield – Surrey (£18.18) Miss L Watt, London
595. Groups of White Narcissus and Fern (£2.2s) Miss J Smith, Edinburgh
596. Daffodils (£25) Mrs R Marshall, Edinburgh
599. The Evening of Life (£5.5s) Miss MGW Wilson, Falkirk
602. A Pensive Maid, Miss EM Robb, Glasgow
603. Daughter of Edward Home Esq, of Sirkoke, Miss HC Mansel, Antrim
606. Goethe's Marguerite (£57.15s) Miss K Morgan, London
613. At Hag's Head, Co. Clare (£25) Miss E Curtis, Greenock
630. Out for a Nibble, Miss JD Gray, Edinburgh
631. Jessie (£1.10s) Miss A Leith, Edinburgh

*Gallery D – British Water Colours*

643. Still Life Group (£8.8s) Miss IF Carnegie, Dublin
647. From a Cottage Garden (£29.8s) Lady Lindsay RI, London
648. 'So sad, so fresh, the days that are no more' (£12.12) Miss E Capper, London

666. Interior of John Knox's House, Canongate, Edinburgh (£3.3s) Miss M Ancrum,  
Edinburgh
668. On the Seine, Miss I de G Gowans, Edinburgh
669. Spring Blossoms (£18.18s) Mrs C Lawson, Haslemere
672. View from Drumsheugh, Edinburgh (£10.10s) Miss B Peddie, Edinburgh
675. Salzburg (£42) Miss C Montalba, London
677. Japonica (£2.2s) Japonica, Miss MA Elder, Edinburgh
678. Portrait of Sarah Bernhardt (60 francs) Mlle Besson, Paris
683. Marguerites (£5.5s) Miss HG Warrack, Montrose
687. Baxter's Close (£10.10s) Miss B Peddie, Edinburgh
688. Dredger - On the Lagoon, Venice (£42) Miss C Montalba, London
691. Interior of a Ropery (£7.7s) Miss CP Ross, Edinburgh
697. Edinburgh Castle from Princes Street, Miss M Frier, Edinburgh
716. View in South Uist, Hebrides (£2.2s) Miss JY Brotchie, Leith
717. Inchgarvie in the Old Days (£2.2s) Miss JY Brotchie, Leith
724. St Mary's Wynd in 1868 from the Pleasance (£12.12s) Mrs S Smith, Edinburgh
727. Edinburgh Castle from the foot of the Vennel (£10.10s) Mrs S Smith, Edinburgh
728. Cottagers at Braid Burn (£2.2s) Miss JWM Mackenzie, Edinburgh
729. Apples (£3.10s) Miss J Myers, Montrose
730. Primroses (£5.5s) Miss K McCracken, Blackheath
735. In the Priory Park, Reigate, Surrey (£12.12s) Miss GM Greenlees, Glasgow
743. Pretty Puss (£10.10s) Mrs Ross, Edinburgh
744. Innocence (£9.9s) Mrs Ross, Edinburgh
750. Grey and Gold (£2.2s) MR Burton (? Mary or Mary Rose Hill Burton or neither)
751. Interior (£6.6s) Miss HC Bruce, Lochgilphead
752. Interior of St Mary's Cathedral, Edinburgh (£20) Miss J Frier, Edinburgh

753. Stacking Barley, Miss E Atkinson, Brigg, Lincolnshire
757. Courtyard, Normandy, Miss AA Croall, Liberton
766. Jonquilles (£2.2s) Miss MC Gabbett, Edinburgh
786. On the Water of Leith (£2.2s) Miss AF Paterson, Edinburgh
790. View of Portion of Roman Baths recently discovered during Excavations at Bath  
(£12) Miss IS Lauder, Edinburgh
791. Flag Staff – Venice (£80) Miss C Montalba, London
792. Group in Water Colour (£8.8s) Miss IF Carnegie, Dublin
795. Lilac (£4) Miss MBM Smith, Edinburgh
796. Sabbath Morning (£15.15s) Miss CJ Atkins, London
797. Horse Shoe Fall, Niagra, from the Canadian Shore (£21) Miss CFG Cumming,  
Crieff
805. Road to Glenfinlas (£2.10s) Miss ME Foster, Edinburgh
822. A Village Veteran – Petit Couronne, Normandy (£3.3s) Mrs SF Dunn
823. Jonquils (£5) Miss AE Ross, Edinburgh
828. Berwick, from Tweedmouth (£15.15s) Miss CP Ross, Edinburgh
831. A Calm Evening - Kinross-shire (£7.7s) Miss AM McArthur, Edinburgh
- 833 Still life study, J Hay, Edinburgh (? Jane Hay)
835. A Week in the Forest (£10) Miss J Johnston, Edinburgh
836. Interior of St Giles's Cathedral, Edinburgh (£20) Miss J Frier, Edinburgh
839. Up to Mischief (£5.5s) Miss GM Dealoy, London
848. In the Wood (£45) Miss M Chase, RI, Kilburn
849. An Antique Group (£15) Miss J McG Anderson, Edinburgh
850. Chrysanthemums (£30) Miss M Chase, RI, Kilburn

*Gallrery E – Belgian Collection*

932. A Gossip (£24) Miss F Laumans, Brussels
933. My Studio (£32) Miss F Laumans, Brussels
939. The Spinner (£16) Miss M Paulin, Burssels
940. Flowers After Rain (£320) Miss J Robie, Brussels
948. Who are You? (£100) Mrs H Ronner, Brussels

*Gallery G – Architectural Designs and Etchings*

1286. Rockpool, Glendorgal, Cornwall (£10) Miss J Inglis, London

## Appendix 4

### **International Exhibition of Electrical Engineering, General Inventions and Industries, Edinburgh 1890**

#### Alphabetical List of Artists Represented

(Female exhibitors listed)

- 254. Mary L Adams, Greenock
- 843. Mary Heugh Aitken, Gartcows, Falkirk
- 361. Jessie Algie, Glasgow
- 625. Marion Ancrum, Edinburgh
- 1090. Beatrice Angle, Kensington
- 449. Maria L Angus, London
- 302. Chrissie Ash, London
- 646. Catherine Atkins, Kensington
- 694, 763 Rose Barton, London
- 358. Miss EM Brebner, Edinburgh
- 119, 357 Miss Lizzie Bremner, Edinburgh
- 1088. Miss BA Brown (no address)
- 200. Jane P Brown, Musselburgh
- 583. Jean M Brown, Edinburgh
- 758. Miss HC Bruce, Lochgilphead
- 711. Miss MR Hill Burton, (130 George Street) Edinburgh
- 2, 868 Miss M Cameron (12 Clarendon Crescent), Edinburgh
- 912, 930 Alice Mary Chambers, Paddington



934. Clara Chapman, Edinburgh  
240. Jessie Coats, Paisley  
886, 937 Susan F. Crawford, Glasgow  
692, 722, 841 Jane M Dealy, Blackheath  
507. Margaret Dempster (4 Glenfinlas Street) Edinburgh  
537. Kate Dumbreck, Colinton  
1255. Mathilde Dupre, Brussels  
519. Janette Durward, Edinburgh  
671, 793, 1005 Emily Farmer, Portchester  
211, 467 Charlotte M Fergusson, Edinburgh  
277. Mrs H. Foulis, Edinburgh  
161. Nellie Fraser, Edinburgh  
530. Annie Friend, Edinburgh  
553, 661 Jessie Frier, Edinburgh  
639. Mary Frier, Edinburgh  
860. Alice Gair, Falkirk  
541. Agnes M Gardner, Glasgow  
564. Jeanie Gilbert, Edinburgh  
134, 917 Mrs GB Gillanders, Aberdeen  
567 Alice Gray, (59 George St) Edinburgh  
325 Isabella Gray, (1 Warrender Park Crescent) Edinburgh  
109, 770 Jessie D Gray (1 Warrender Park Crescent) Edinburgh  
527, 728 Georgina Greenlees, Levenbank, Cambuslang  
347 Margaret Greenlees, Edinburgh  
31 Mary Groves, London  
844. Jessie Gunn, Edinburgh

147, 609 Miss FE Haig (Albert Studios, Shandwick Place) Edinburgh  
433 Miss EF Halkett, Edinburgh  
1119 Emmeline Halse, Notting Hill  
106, 490 Kate Hamilton, Edinburgh  
330, 493 Mary Harding, London  
425 Margaret Headland, Hampstead  
910, 931 Miss A Henry (Albert Studios, Shandwick Place) Edinburgh  
938 Eva Herbert, Edinburgh  
1052, 1055, 1126, 1136, 1150, 1164, 1165 Mrs DO Hill, Edinburgh  
266 Agnes S Hunter, Rothesay  
791 Bella T Hunter, Edinburgh  
166 Mary B Hunter, Edinburgh  
79 Agnes Imlach, Edinburgh  
852 Jane Inglis, London  
55 Madelaine Irwin, Colchester  
751 Amelia M Irvine, Edinburgh  
466 Robina Jane Irvine, Edinburgh  
1111, 1125 Gertrude Isaacs, Glasgow  
772 Agnes M Kermack, Edinburgh  
210 Ida F Landale, Edinburgh  
175 Isabella Scott Lauder (25 Merchiston Avenue) Edinburgh  
208 Marion Leyde, Edinburgh  
667 Lady Lindsay, London  
27, 861 Ida Lovering, South Kensington  
512, 817 Bertha Lowenthal, London  
1023 Agnes McArthur, Edinburgh

143 Mrs Muir McKean, Paisley  
624, 1000 Emmeline SA McMillan, Wimbledon  
673, 865 Blanche Macarthur, London  
48, 221 Mary Macarthur, London  
122, 605 Miss HC Preston Macgoun, Edinburgh  
8, 264 Miss JN Campbell Macpherdson (c/o Miss Bartlett, Albert Studios, Shandwick  
Place) Edinburgh  
248, 660 Lizzie Macrae, Edinburgh  
62, 437 Mrs Rose Marshall, Edinburgh  
676, 983, 1015 Edith Martineau, ARWS, London  
578, 588, 798 Gertrude Martineau, London  
282 Mary Michie, Aberdeen  
283 856 Henrietta Miller, West Kensington  
515 Mariquita Moberley, London  
853 Kate Morgan, London  
486 Bessie Nichol, Kensington  
1033 Jane Nisbet, Glasgow  
611 Mary A Norbury, London  
378 Dora M Oliver, Edinburgh  
46, 184 Mary Oswald, Edinburgh  
286 Emily Paterson, Edinburgh  
823 Miss R Paterson, Edinburgh  
582, 697 Mrs M Paton  
267 Louise E Perman, Glasgow  
118 Kate Powell, Edinburgh  
235, 746 Agnes Pringle, London

435, 1030 Val C Prinsep, London  
297 Johanna Purves, Edinburgh  
40 Ethel M Raeburn, Edinburgh  
621, 884 Louise Rayner, Chester  
713 Florence Reason, London  
838 Jessie A Rhind, Edinburgh  
821, 826 Mrs HJ Robertson, Glasgow  
314 Mrs C Kay Robertson, Edinburgh  
572, 595, 712, 1022 Christina P Ross (78 Queen Street) Edinburgh  
374 J Maud Roxburgh, Edinburgh  
580, 942 S Ellen Sandford, North Kensington  
310 Rosa Shearer, Stirling  
399 Margaret a Sheffield, Blackheath  
1014 Jane Hunter Shield, Edinburgh  
871 Helen Donald Smith, London  
1031 Leonora B Smith, Glasgow  
18 Miss M Campbell Smith, Edinburgh  
239 Edith OE Somerville, Skibbereen, Co. Cork  
608, 632 Charlotte H Speirs, London  
529, 554 Jane E Spindler, Blairgowrie  
732, 879, 911 Alice Squire, London  
877 Madame Isabel de Steiger, London  
981 Mrs Jeanie Stevenson, Edinburgh  
985 Charlotte Stopford, Dublin  
976 Margaret Thomson, Hitchin  
705 Alice M Traill, Edinburgh

635, 644 Margaret H Waterfield, Canterbury  
256 Kate Waters, Edinburgh  
8700, 1040 Emma Watson, Glasgow  
943, 970 Janet Wharton, Edinburgh  
236 Catherine Martha Wood, London  
896 Miss EA Woon, Edinburgh  
362 Rosa E Woon, Edinburgh  
954 Miss M Wright (4 Great King Street) Edinburgh  
504 Florence Wyman, South Hampstead  
1204, 1216 Juliette Wytzman, Brussels  
354 Mary Rose Young, Glasgow

## Appendix 5

### The Scottish National Exhibition, 1908: Fine Art Section

#### Index to Artists in Sale Section (female only)

- 1248, 1249 Sarah Adamson, Edinburgh
- 988 Janet M Aitken, Glasgow
- 917 Annie Hamilton allan, Edinburgh
- 1271 Jean D Bain, Edinburgh
- 867, 936 Eve Baker (Albany Studios) Glasgow, 867, 936
- 1102, 1118, 1181 Mary B Barnard (Mrs Macgregor Whyte), Glasgow
- 897 LJ Bennie (Mrs John Loudon), Ayr
- 829, 972 Miss ME Berry, Edinburgh
- 958 Lily Blatherwick (Mrs AS Hartrick), London
- 850 Margaret H Bowman, Skelmorlie
- 1235, 1241 Miss H Paxton Brown, Glasgow
- 800, 802 Davina F Brown, Glasgow
- 1037 Marion M Brown, Edinburgh
- 1070 Margaret H Brown, Edinburgh
1081. 1186, 1253 Katherine Cameron
- 907 Mary Cameron, Edinburgh
- 1274 Marian Eagle Clarke, Edinburgh
- 781, 918 Margaret C Cook, Ardrossan
- 866, 952 Agnes M Cowieson, Duddingston
- 1077, 1103, 1146 Mary C Davidson, Edinburgh
- 1035 Mabel Dawson, Edinburgh
- 1243 Amy Dealzeall, Edinburgh

852, 1261 Anna Dixon, Edinburgh  
1213, 1215, 1229 Jessie Ogston Douglas, Belfast  
1251 Rose M Fraser, Edinburgh  
1130, 1131, 1184 Annie French, Glasgow  
1064, 1071, 1099 Jessie Frier, Edinburgh  
892, 905, 998 Mary Maitland Govan, Edinburgh  
843 Nora Neilson Gray, Glasgow  
872 Mrs AMB Guthrie, Colinton  
1108 Mrs Louie Hansen, London  
1209 Edith Hanson, Edinburgh  
1060, 1083 Nellie Harvey, Stirling  
1211, 1266 Grace B Haswell, Edinburgh  
1176 Joanna herbert, Glasgow  
1258 Mrs RE Hughes, Dumbartonshire  
861, 940 Miss ES Husband (130 George Street) Edinburgh  
1117, 1178 Maud Gemmell Hutchison, Musselburgh  
1068, 1169 Jeka Kemp, London  
839 Mrs Lena Kennedy, Glasgow  
1049 Mrs AR Laing, Glasgow  
882 Lizzie Osborne Latimer, Edinburgh  
1232, 1267 Gertrude A Lauder, Glasgow  
1208 Marion E Leyde (128a George Street), Edinburgh  
1249, 1263 Helen Little, Edinburgh  
832 Jessie MS Livingstone, Wishaw  
1231 Mabel Bruce Low, London  
1136, 1210 Agnes M McArthur, Edinburgh

1006, 1157 Jane S McArthur, Edinburgh  
834, 1230 Mrs A Macfarlane, Edinburgh  
1048, 1074 Miss JM McGeehan, Glasgow  
1058, 1066, 1198 Miss HC Preston Macgoun (130 George Street) Edinburgh  
994 Sara McGregor, Edinburgh  
1250, 1256 Annie Mackie (130 George Street) Edinburgh  
1217 Mrs Rose Marshall, Edinburgh  
934 Helen Mann Mathers, Stirling  
1012 Helen H Mitchell, Edinburgh  
816 Miss LC Mitchell, Stirling  
835, 862, 949 Annie Morgan, Edinburgh  
795, 1036 Annie D Muir, Glasgow  
1145 Jane Myers, Edinburgh  
969 Margaret D Nisbet, Crieff  
1165, 1207 Miss AM Paterson, Glasgow  
1062, 1147, 1194 Emily M Paterson, Edinburgh  
1234 Barbara Peddie, Blair Atholl  
811, 913 Louise E Perman, Glasgow  
807 Mrs Elizabeth G Provan, Glasgow  
1275 Agnes Raeburn, RSW, Glasgow  
1276 840 Ethel M Raeburn, Edinburgh  
1265 Arabella L Rankin, London  
856 Bessie M Robertson, Edinburgh  
875 Ella McT Robertson, Edinburgh  
1160 May B Robertson, Edinburgh  
1032 Alice E Ross, Edinburgh



1120 Mary W Rutherfoord, Edinburgh  
1238 Isabel M Seton, Edinburgh  
1078, 1224 Mary G Simpson, Bromley  
831, 1014 Berta Smith, Jedburgh  
1189 Jane E Spindler, Edinburgh  
779, 873 Mrs Jeanie Stevenson (The Dean Studio) Edinburgh  
938 Grace Stodart, Pencaitland  
1272 Annie A Taylor, Edinburgh  
1270 Annie Urquhart, Glasgow  
774, 838, 932 Kate Veitch, Edinburgh  
1142 Mrs AC Welsh, Edinburgh  
1177 Effie Welsh, Edinburgh  
777, 859 Elspeth S Wight, Edinburgh  
961, 967, 1257 Alice Wilson, Edinburgh



# BIBLIOGRAPHY

## ARCHIVES

### **Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museum**

(as per AAG Catalogue lists)

Cecile Walton

Mabel Royds

Joan Hassall

### **Aberdeen University Library**

Aileen Smith, *The Construction of Cultural Identity in the Visual Arts in Scotland 1918-1945*,  
Unpublished Thesis, 1998

### **Bushey Museum and Art Gallery**

Archives relating to Elizabeth Gulland

(MG 65, 69, 70, 76, 99, 120, 126, 133-5

186-91, Jessella, 209)

BUSMT. 88.1.59., 90.11.2, Stanley Reynolds, Hertfordshire Countryside

BUSMT. 90.105, 14 Illustrations. Girl's Own Annual 1888-9, pp 16, 269, 364

BUSMT. 83.2.79 Letters and Associated Papers

Poole, S (Ed), *Stand to Your Work, Hubert von Herkomer and his Students*, Watford Borough Council,  
1983

### **Church of Scotland Offices, George Street, Edinburgh**

*Life and Work: A Parish Magazine, Published under the supervision of a committee of the General  
Assembly of the Church of Scotland*, David Douglas, Edinburgh, 1879-1914 (copies also in the NLS, ref  
Q.124)

*Women's Guild Magazine*

## **Edinburgh College of Art**

### Library

Scott Lawrie, *Edinburgh College of Art, 1904-1969: a Study in Institutional History*, Unpublished Thesis, Edinburgh College of Art/Heriot Watt University, 1996

### Archive

1/1/1 Minute Book of the Board of Manufacturers', Trustees' Academy School of Art Committee, 21 January 1869 – 9 January 1903 and School of Applied Art, Minute Books of the Meetings of the Board of Manufacturers and Subscribers to the Funds of the School, 19 July 1892 - 29 July 1901

1/1/2 School of Applied Art, Minute Books of the Meetings of the Board of Manufacturers and Subscribers to the Funds of the School, November 1901 – 26 December 1902

Loudon Papers

Issues of *The Cairn*

ECA Prospectuses

Letter Books

## **Edinburgh Public Library**

### Edinburgh Room

G 12687 – *Annual Syllabus of Edinburgh Typographia, 1889-1935*

G 18307-18310, G 27576-B13801 *Annual Reports of the Edinburgh Social Union*

*Minute Books of the Edinburgh Social Union*

1885-1892; 1892-1903 Missing; 1903-1954

471.01 *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 1886, William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh and London, 1886

AP4 *Chambers' Journal of Popular Literature*, W & R Chambers, London and Edinburgh, 1886

*Edinburgh Post Office Directories*

International Exhibition of Industry, Science and Art, Edinburgh 1886

*The Official Catalogue*, T & A Constable, Edinburgh, 1886

*The Queen's Visit*, T & A Constable, Edinburgh 1886

International Exhibition of Science and Engineering, Edinburgh, 1890

*The Official Catalogue*, T & A Constable, Edinburgh, 1890

*Official Fine Art Catalogue*, T & A Constable, Edinburgh, 1890

qy.PR 5499 S 51 Reid, A *The Era of Annie S Swan*, March 1960

*The Woman at Home, Annie S Swan's Magazine, Profusely Illustrated by Vera Christie, Vol 1, Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1894*

Swan, Annie S *My Life: An Autobiography*, Ivor Nicholson & Watson, London, 1934

#### Fine Art Section

N5056 E23 *The First Exhibition of Paintings in Scotland by Artists at the Exhibition Room, Mr Core's Lyceum, Nicolson's Street, Alexander Smellie, Edinburgh 1808*

(Catalogues of Annual Exhibitions to 1815 by other printers)

B538 *Catalogue of the First Exhibition of the Art Manufacturer's Association in the National Galleries*, T Constable, Edinburgh, 1856

*Official Catalogue of the Exhibition of Industrial and Decorative Art in the National Gallery Buildings*, Murray & Gibb/HMSO, Edinburgh, 1861

*Scottish National Portraits Catalogue of Loan Exhibition*, Board of Manufacturers, Edinburgh, 1884

YNK 520.888 *Catalogue of the Edinburgh Exhibition of Decorative Handiwork*, 1888

WN 5056. E26 *Fine Art Catalogue of the Scottish National Exhibition*, The Riverside Press, Edinburgh, 1908

DWN/1S43 7656 *Scottish Art Review*, Vol 1 June 1888 – May 1889, Published in Glasgow and Printed by T & A Constable, Edinburgh, 1888 ff

WNE 45 E 23 *The Scottish Print Club, Second Loan Exhibition*, The New Gallery, Shandwick Place, Edinburgh, May 1919 (noting the first exhibition took place in the RA Galleries in March 1914 – no publication details)

*The Scottish Fine Arts and Print Club, 10<sup>th</sup> Loan Exhibition*, 16 October – 13 November, 1937

WNE 45 A14 *Scottish Print Club, Seventh Loan Exhibition*, The Art Gallery, Aberdeen, October 1924

TSPC – WNE 45 E 23 *Fifth Exhibition of the Scottish Print Club*, RSA Galleries, 26 October – 18 November, 1922 (First year of presentation of F Morley Fletcher Prize to a Scottish Art Student of 1921 – unspecified)

NK 234 *Report of the Scottish Committee of the Council for Art and Industry, Exhibition of School Crafts in Edinburgh*, HMSO, Edinburgh, 1935

#### Scottish Room

*Glasgow Post Office Directories*

**Educational Institute of Scotland (EIS), Moray Place, Edinburgh**

*Scottish Educational Journal*, Grant Educational Co., Glasgow, 1897 ff

*The New Tribune – Scotland's Own Paper*

**Edinburgh University Library**

Manuscripts Department

Cumming, E *Phoebe Anna Traquair HRSA (1856-1936) and her contribution to Arts and Crafts in Edinburgh*, Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1987

Baldwin Brown, G (Ed), *Transactions of the National Association for the Advancement of Art and its Application to Industry 1889*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1890

Marjoribanks, Ishbel (m. name Gordon, Marchioness of Aberdeen) Lady Aberdeen

EUL.SC3245 *Address to the Edinburgh Association for the University Education of Women*, by the Right Honourable The Countess of Aberdeen, President, April 1885

The Works of Mary Paton Ramsay

Nelson Archive

Main Library

Rosen, A *Rise up Women! WSPU 1903-1914*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London/Boston, 1974

Mitchell, DJ *Women on the Warpath*, London, Cape, 1966

**Glasgow School of Art Archive**

GSA. AR Annual Reports 1848-9, 1877-8

GSADC 2.2.1 *Scottish Society of Artworkers 1898-1901* (Phoebe Traquair, Jessie King, Agnes Raeburn, Jessie R Newbery)

GSADC 8.6.4 Hamerton, Philip Gilbert *The Etcher's Handbook*, Charles Robertson & Co, Roberts Bros., London/Boston, 1881

GSADC 8.6.10 Earl H Reed, *Etching – A Practical Treatise*, GP Putnam's Sons, New York/London, 1914

Dir 3.1, Notes of Director's Correspondence

Dir 9.66/29 Scottish Committee for the Council for Art and Industry

Copies of *The Magazine* 1892-4

GSA Prospectuses 1874 ff

## **Glasgow University Library**

MS Gen 1654.1150, 1219 Jessie King

MS Gen1654. 690 'Mrs EA Taylor on Book Illustration'

## **Glasgow University Archives (National Register of Archives)**

GRH.9 [3077] Papers of Louise Gibson Annand, MBE, MA

Blackie Archive

## **Glasgow Women's Library, 109 Trongate, Glasgow**

Personal communications

## **Heriot Watt University**

Archive

1.2 *Minutes of the Governors of George Heriot's Trust*, Chambers, Edinburgh, 1897

1.2.18 *Governor's Minutes*, 1901, Appendix, *Report by WR Lethaby Esq on Instruction in Art and Craftsmanship in the Heriot Watt College*, 3 May 1901

1.2.22 *Governor's Minutes*, 1903, Appendix, *Report on Art Classes in the Heriot Watt College by R Anning Bell*, 26 March 1903

1.2.23 – 1.2.25 *Governor's Minutes*, 1904-6

2.10.1 *Exhibition of Printed Books from World Wide Sources*, Heriot Watt College, May 23 – June 2, 1933

2.10.2 *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Contemporary Book Typography*, July 1933, R & R Clark, Edinburgh, 1933

2.10.3 William Maxwell, *An Address to the Edinburgh Typographia*, 30 October 1935

2.10.28 - 2.10.39 *Calendars* 1902-9

2.12.1 *Calendar of Syllabus and Lectures of the Watt Institution and School of Art*, Mould & Tod, Edinburgh, 1878

2.12.1 - 2.12.14 *Calendars* 1879-92

2.12.18 – 2.12.27 (1897-1918) *Governors of George Heriot's Trust, Minutes*

## **Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow**

List of Women Artists in the Collection

## **Kirkcaldy Art Gallery, Kirkcaldy**

Phoebe Traquair, sampler

## **Napier University, Edinburgh**

### Edward Clark Collection

Kilpatrick, PJW (Ed), *Catalogue of the Edward Clark Library, with Typographical Notes by Harry Carter, and an Essay on the Printing of Illustrations by Frank P Restall*, Napier College of Commerce and Technology/Lothian Regional Council, Edinburgh, 1976

Nelson/TC & EC Jack, Minutes

## **National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh**

D NG (1872) Phoebe Anna Traquair, *Psalms of David*

D NG MSS Pages, *Sonnets from the Portuguese*

## **National Library of Scotland**

Constable Archive

Dep 307:

127 Cash Wages Book 1885-1902

104 Case Wages Book 1877-1884

202 Case Wages for Apprentices

MS Letter Books 23244, 23248, 23256-7, 23261

MS Letter Books 23508-9, Edinburgh International Exhibition 1886

MS 23243 Payments to Elizabeth Gulland

MS 23248 Production of *The Children's Guide* by Rev D Balsillie, 1890

MS 652 Perth Psalter

MS 5461 Jedburgh Missal

Adv Ms 18.2.13B Sprouston Breviary

Adv Ms 18.8.14 Aberdeen Psalter and Book of Hours

Adv Ms 18.1.2 St Giles' Bible

NRR 14.d *Facsimiles of the National Manuscripts of Scotland*, selected under the Direction of the Rt Hon Sir William Gibson Craig, Bt. Lord Clerk Register of Scotland, photozincographed by command of Her Majesty Queen Victoria by Colonel Sir Henry James, RE, Director of the Ordnance Survey



Part 1: 990-1296 AD, OS Southampton 1867, T Constable, Edinburgh

Part 2: 1296-1488 AD, HM General Register House, 1872, T & A Constable, Edinburgh

Part 3: 1488-1706 AD, HM General Register House, 1872, T & A Constable, Edinburgh

Ms Acc 4068: 128, Statistics of the Printing Profession in Edinburgh, July 1863 and 1870

MS 4395 National Union of Printers, Bookbinders, Machine Rulers and Paper Workers 1822-56

MS 4068 Edinburgh Typographical Society, 1845 ff

MS 1723-33 Ladies' Essay Society/Ladies' Literary Society/Edinburgh Ladies' Debating Society

Dep. 199: 1-16 Phyllis Bone, papers and photographs

LC180 John Hill Burton, *The Book Hunter* (inset Obituary of Miss Mary Burton)

Caird, Mona H3.90.102 *The Daughters of Danaus*, 1989

    u.76.i *The Stones of Sacrifice*, 1915

Ms Acc 9438 Stanley Cursiter, letter

Ms 24785.8, 2479344.4 Papers of Priscilla Bright McLaren

HP1.82.1728 *Report of Committee (with financial statement) presented at the annual meeting in the Café Oak Hall, Princes Street on Saturday 23 March 1907; to which are added memorial tributes to the late President of the Society, Mrs Priscilla Bright McLaren*, Edinburgh National Society of Women's Suffrage, Darien Press, Edinburgh, 1907

MC *An Account of the Fair Intellectual Club in Edinburgh: in a letter to an Honourable Member of an Athenian Society there. By a Young Lady, the Secretary of the Club*, John M'Euen & T Cox, Edinburgh and London, 1720

APS.1.79 Howells, WD *A Foregone Conclusion*, David Douglas, Edinburgh, 1886

Newb. 2088 *International Exhibition of Industry, Science and Art, 1886*, Pictorial Souvenir

NE11.C.9 *Souvenir of the International Exhibition*, Ormiston & Glass, Edinburgh, 1886 (photographs of the interior)

1887.133.2 *Women's Industries Pamphlet*, David Douglas, Edinburgh, 1886

A.122.f Black, A *A guide to Edinburgh*, 1886

APS 1.79.33 Rollason, E *Bookmark*, Edinburgh International Exhibition, 1886

NC. 212.C.6 Hardy, Robina F *Within a Mile o' Edinburgh Toun*, 1886

HP 287459S, *Exhibition of Pictures by the late HC Preston MacGoun, RSW, in the New Gallery, 12 Shandwick Place, Edinburgh, 12 June – 4 July, 1914*

NLS Q.122 *The Young Woman*, 4 October 1895 – September 1896

CB2.877 *The Scots Pictorial*, Vol 1 1897 – Vol 11 1908

- 5.5695 *The Scots Observer*, 1926-1934
- Q.83 *The National Observer*, John Douglas, London, 1890-1897
- Ms 10577 folio 31, Patrick Geddes, Letters re Helen Hay
- 33.87 Patrick Geddes, *Industrial Exhibitions and Modern Progress* (Reprinted from 'Industries'), David Douglas, Edinburgh, 1887
- Patrick Geddes, *Every Man his Own Art Critic at the Manchester Exhibition*, John Heywood, Manchester, Printed at the Edinburgh University Press, T & A Constable, 1887
- Every Man his Own Art Critic at the Glasgow Exhibition*, T & A Constable, 1888
- H2.86.862 Hollins, Dorothea (Ed), *Patrick Geddes – Utopian Papers*, London, 1908
- Geddes, P *Women, The Census and The Possibilities of the Future*, London/Edinburgh, 1921, 6.2376
- A List of Publications by Geddes & Colleagues*, The Outlook Tower, Castlehill, Edinburgh (1906?), 6.2329
- x.34.e *Cobden Sanderson and The Doves Press: the History of the Press and the Story of its Types told by Alfred W Pollard*, The Character of the man set forth by his faithful scribe Edward Johnston with *The Ideal Book or Book Beautiful* by Thomas James Cobden Sanderson and a list of the Doves Press Printings, John Henry Nash, San Francisco, 1929
- 1.179C *Catalogue Raisonnée of Books printed and published at the Doves Press, 1900-1916*
- Gordon, Ishbel Maria 1882.25 (7) (née Marjoribanks) Lady Aberdeen, *A Few Words About Farm Servant Girls and a Scheme for their Benefit*, D Wyllie & Sons, Aberdeen, 1882
- k.122.f *Through Canada with a Kodak* (serialised in the estate magazine *Onward and Upward* 1890-1), WH White, Edinburgh, 1893
- M.173.e *Ireland's Crusade against Tuberculosis*, 1908
- S.49.h *Our Lady of the Sunshine*, 1909
- R.298c *Album of Recollections of Archie Gordon*, Printed Privately for Lord and Lady Aberdeen, Christmas 1910
- x.26.d Marquess and Marchioness of Aberdeen and Temair, with Reproductions and Paintings by Harold Copping, *The Women of the Bible*, Religious Tract Society, London, 1927
- R.183.b *Musings of a Scottish Granny*, 1936
- Walton, Cecile, Ms Acc 10425 *More Lives Than One* (autobiography, restricted access), 1 May 1950
- L175.a Design by Cecile Walton, *Mary Queen of Scots: Programme of Pageant at Craigmillar, June 23 1906*, George Stewart, Edinburgh, 1906

- X.204.f Sommer, H Oskar (trans), illustrations by Cecile Walton, *Hans Andersen's Fairy Tales*, TC & EC Jack, Edinburgh/London, 1911
- T.8.g Priesman, Austin *Child Verses and Poems*, AW Stockwell, London, 1926
- x.170.e *Atlanta's Garland: Being the Book of the Edinburgh University Women's Union*, T & A Constable, Edinburgh, 1926
- T.9.c. Ratcliffe, DU (illustrations from Cecile Walton), *Nightlights*, Herbert Russell, London, 1929
- NE.115.e - (illustrations from Cecile Walton), *Jingling Lane: a Dramatized Idyll in a Yorkshire Dale*, Percy Lund Humphries, London, 1954
- V.98.c Walton, C(illustrations by Edward Walton) *The Children's Theatre Book: for Young Dancers and Actors*, A & C Black, London, 1949
- x.6.i Dodgson, Campbell and Pennell, Joseph *The Senefelder Club*, 21 Gallery, London, 1922, List of Members (including Lily Blatherwick, Mary Creighton, Marion Ellis, Mary Sargeant, Ethel Gabain and Elsie Henderson)
- Saltire Society Archive Ms Acc 1000.28-30
- Ms Acc 9393.936 Report of the Saltire Society Publications Subcommittee, 1944
- Ms Acc 9393.1012, Saltire Society; Iain Paul, 'The Saltire Society: A Short Account of the First Ten Years' in *Scotlands Magazine*, 1947
- Wood, Wendy, Papers and correspondence, Ms Acc 7980 and Ms Acc 9915
- HP4.84.209 *Talwin Morris*, An Exhibition in the WM Gallery, London, 23 August – 2 October, 1983

### **National Monuments Record**

- Hay Dunlop, John Charles and Alison (illustrations by William Hole) *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Street designed by Sydney Mitchell*, T & A Constable, Edinburgh, 1886
- Edinburgh and its Environs*, Photographed and Printed by Valentine & Sons Ltd., Dundee, 1908
- Gowans, Sir James, *Model Dwelling Houses*, T & A Constable, Edinburgh, 1886
- Rankin, RB 'Sir John Burnet RA, RSA, LLD, and his works', *RIAS Quarterly*, 1953
- Wane, M, *Old Edinburgh*, Marshall Wane Photographers, Edinburgh, 1886

### **Museum of Childhood, Edinburgh**

Files on Wendy Wood

Illustrations by Gwendolen Meacham/Gwen Cuthbert/Wendy Wood

Correspondence

**Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art, Edinburgh**

RSA H.9.22 *Report by Departmental Committee to Enquire into the Administration of the Board of Manufacturers*, 2 Vols, HMSO/Neill & Co., Edinburgh

RSA Annual Reports 1886 – 1920

Images (as per SNPG Catalogue) from:

Joan Hassall

Mabel Royds

Cecile Walton

**Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh**

Library

Files on :

Flora Drummond

Hannah Clarke Preston MacGoun

Naomi Mitchison

Flora Stevenson

Phoebe Traquair

Cecile Walton

Wendy Wood

Gallery Portraits

PG 643 AI Roche, Portrait of Flora Stevenson, Oil on canvas, 1907

PG 1594 Phoebe Anna Traquair, Self-Portrait, c. 1910

PG 1481 Self-Portrait, Hannah Clarke Preston MacGoun, Watercolour, 1887

PG 3011 Stuart Carmichael, Portrait of Wendy Wood, Watercolour on Paper, 1923

PG 3102 William Gordon Burn Murdoch, Portrait of Wendy Wood, Crayon on Paper, n.d., c. 1927?

PG 2006 David Foggie, Portrait of Wendy Wood, black chalk on paper, 1932

PG 3146 Self-Portrait, Wendy Wood, black chalk on paper, n.d., c.1972?

**Scottish Records Office**

List of References to the Book Trade in Scotland, 1992

**Smith Art Gallery and Museum, Stirling**

Art Collection

**University of Stirling**

Centre for Publishing Studies, List of Dissertation Titles 1982-1996

Fergusson Collection

**Strathclyde University Archives**

Papers of Sir Patrick Geddes

T GED 9/201, 22/4/174, 23/15/4 Correspondence

T GED 8/1/1-7 Catalogues and Illustrations from *The Evergreen*

T GED 22/3/24-30 Photographs of Summer School meetings, Ramsay Gardens

## ARTICLES

(Abbreviated references to sources refer to works cited in main listing)

Addison, R 'Corporate Images, 1886: Advertising at the International Exhibition of Industry, Science and Art', in Iain Beavan et al., *Images and Advertising: Four Essays*, Merchiston Publishing (Scottish Centre for the Book, Edward Clark Seminars), Edinburgh, 2002

- 'Familiar Patterns: Cecile Walton', *Scottish Book Collector* 7/5, Edinburgh, pp 4-7

- 'Fine Lines - Joan Hassall, Wood Engraver', *Scottish Book Collector* 6/6, Edinburgh, pp 30-31

- 'Spirited Activity: Scottish Book Design and Women Illustrators 1890-1920', *Journal of the Scottish Society for Art History*, Edinburgh, 2002, pp 59-68

An Old Farm Servant, 'Word to Farm Servant Women', *Life and Work*, 1890, pp 51-3

Anon., 'Engraving on Wood', *Ladies' Edinburgh Magazine*, Vol 1, NS, 1875, pp 275-6

Anon., 'Mrs Isabella Lauder Thomson', *The Scots Pictorial*, 13 November 1897, p 227

Anon., 'Miss Meg Wright', *The Scots Pictorial*, 15 September 1899, p 246

Anon., Obituary for Mary Burton, *The Scotsman*, 22 March 1909

Anon., 'Women's Employments' in *The Woman at Home*, 1, 1894, p 7

Anon., 'Women as Decorative Artists', *The Scots Pictorial*, 26 November 1898

Acheson, N 'Patriot Games', *The Independent*, 26 November, 1998

Anstruther, CP 'Women's Work in Art Industries', *Scottish Art Review*, 6 November 1888, pp 158-9

Armour, Mary 'Beautiful Modern Manuscripts', *Studio Special Winter Number*, 1897, pp 47-55

'Art Workers' Coalition: Statement of Demands' in Harrison and Wood, *Art in Theory*, p 901

Attfield, Judith, 'What does history have to do with it?', *Journal of Design History*, 16/1, 2003, pp 77-87

Boyd, W 'Equal Salaries for Men and Women Teachers', *The Scottish Educational Journal*, 13 December 1918, p 516

Burton, Mary 'Art and Teaching in Elementary Schools' in Baldwin Brown, *Transactions*, p 438

Callen, A 'Sexual Division of Labour in the Arts and Crafts Movement' in Attfield and Kirkham (Eds), *A View from the Interior*, 151-64

Castoriadis, Cornelius 'The Imaginary Institution of Society' in John Fekete, pp 6-14

Corr, H 'Home Rule in Scotland: the Teaching of Housework in Schools 1872-1914' in Paterson and Fewell (Eds), *Girls in Their Prime*, pp 38-52

Cumming, E 'Ruskin and Identity in Scottish National Architectural Sculpture', *Journal of the Society for Scottish Art History*, 5, 2000, pp 6-14

- Findlay, Jessie Patrick 'Pet Marjorie: Kirkcaldy's Child-genius' in *The Scots Pictorial*, 16 April, 1898
- Fowle, Frances 'The Changing Role of the Royal Institution', *Journal of the Society for Scottish Art History*, 4, 1999, pp 26-33
- France, P and Reynolds, S 'Nelson's Victory: a Scottish Invasion of French Publishing, 1910-1914', in Ezra Greenspan and Jonathan Rose, *Book History*, 3, 2000
- Gameson, R 'The Gospels of St Margaret of Scotland and the Literacy of an Eleventh-century Queen', in Smith and Taylor, *Women and the Book*, pp 141-64
- Gordon, G 'The Foulis Academy 1753-1776' in *Journal of the Society for Scottish Art History*, 4, 1999, pp 2-7
- Hall, S 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora' in Rutherford, Identity, *Community, Culture, Difference*, pp 72-5
- Hunt, F 'Opportunities Lost and Gained: mechanization and Women's Work in the London Bookbinding and Printing Trades' in John, *Unequal Opportunities*, pp 71-90
- Helland, J Extract from *Universities Art Association of Canada, Annual Meeting*, 4-7 November, 1993
- Irwin, F 'Lady Amateurs and their Masters in Scott's Edinburgh', *Connoisseur*, Dec 1974, pp 230-7
- Lippard, L 'The Art Workers' Coalition: not a History', *Studio International*, London, November 1970, pp 171-2
- Longville, T 'Dorothy Una Ratcliffe: She Who Must Be Obeyed', *Cumbria and Lake District Life*, April 2001, pp 52-6
- Lyndsey, J 'Mary Viola Paterson', *Print Quarterly*, January 1998
- Macaulay, M 'Esther Inglis' in *The Scottish Book Collector*, 5/9, Summer 1997
- Mahood, L 'Family Ties: Lady Child-Savers and Girls of the Street, 1850-1925', in Breitenbach and Gordon, *Out of Bounds*, p 43
- McCleery, A 'Neil Gunn and the Highland Novel: The Anxiety of Influence', pp 163-180
- Moore, L 'Educating for the Women's Sphere: Domestic Training versus Intellectual Discipline' in Breitenbach and Gordon, *Out of Bounds*, p 13
- Mulvey, L 'Visual Pleasure in the Narrative Cinema', *Screen*, 16/3, London, 1975, pp 6-18
- Newbery, F 'The Place of the Art Schools in the Economy of Applied Art', in Baldwin Brown, *Transactions*, p 450
- Oliphant, M 'Edinburgh' (with illustrations by George Reid RSA), *English Illustrated Magazine*, 8, 1890-1, pp 48-57
- Parker, D 'Women in the Book Trade in Italy', *Renaissance Quarterly (USA)*, 49/3, pp 509-541
- Parsons, I 'Copyright and Society' in Briggs, *Essays in the History of Publishing*, pp 31-60

Ramirez, Jan Siedler 'The Victorian Household: Stronghold, Sanctuary or Straight-jacket?' in Edwards, *Domestic Bliss*, pp 4-7

Reynolds, S 'Historiography and Gender: Scottish and International Dimensions' in Brotherstone et al., *Gendering Scottish History*, pp 1-18

- 'Running Away to Paris: Expatriate Women Artists of the 1900 Generation, from Scotland and Points South', *Women's History Review*, 9/2, 2000

Simonton, D 'Gendering Work: Reflections on Home, Skill and Status in Europe, 1750-1820', in Brotherstone et al., *Gendering Scottish History*, pp 34-50

Smailes, H 'A Genteel Academy: The Edinburgh Drawing Institution 1825-36', *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, NS4, 1997, pp 33-50

Soden, J 'The Role of the RSA in Art Education during the Nineteenth Century' in *Journal of the Society for Scottish Art History*, 4, 1999, pp 34-41

Stephens, Jessica Walker 'Cecile Walton and Dorothy Johnstone', *The Studio*, 88, 15 August, 1924

Sutherland, DM 'The Guild of Women Binders', *The Magazine of Art*, 1899, pp 420-3

Swain, H 'The Pankhursts – Politics', *Times Higher Educational Supplement*, 25 January, 2002, pp 18-19

Thompson, D 'Queen Victoria: the Monarchy and Gender', University of Birmingham, *Institute for Advanced Research in the Humanities*, Occasional Paper 5, 1993

Tooley, SA 'A Slum Landlady', *The Young Woman*, 4 October, 1895-6

Tranter, S 'Creative Use of Space: the Studio of Patrick William Adam', *Scotland on Sunday (Homes)*, 3 June 2001, pp 1-2

## **DISSERTATIONS/THESES**

Brookes, Patricia *The Trustees' Academy, Edinburgh 1760-1801: the Public Patronage of Art and Design in the Scottish Enlightenment*, Syracuse Humanities Dept., 1979

Cumming, Elizabeth *Phoebe Anna Traquair HRSA (1856-1936) and her Contribution to Arts and Crafts in Edinburgh*, University of Edinburgh, 1987

Lawrie, Scott *Edinburgh College of Art, 1904-1969: a Study in Institutional History*, Edinburgh College of Art/Heriot Watt University, 1996



Smith, Aileen *The Construction of Cultural Identity in the Visual Arts in Scotland 1918-1945*, Aberdeen University, 1998

## GENERAL WORKS

Adams, Kimberley VanEsveld *Our Lady of Victorian Feminism: the Madonna in the Work of Anna Jameson, Margaret Fuller and George Eliot*, Ohio University Press, Athens USA, 2001

Adburgham, Alison *Women in Print*, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1972

Allwood, John *The Great Exhibitions*, Studio Vista, London, 1977

Anderson, Robert D *Education and Opportunity in Victorian Scotland: Schools and Universities*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1983

- *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1995

Andriessse, Paul *Art Gallery Exhibiting: the Gallery as a Vehicle for Art*, Uitgeverij de Baile, Netherlands, 1996

Anscombe, Isabelle A *Woman's Touch: Women in Design from 1860 to the Present Day*, Virago, London, 1984

Apollonio, Umbro (Ed), *Futurist Manifestos*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1973

Arthur, Liz *The Unbroken Thread: a Century of Embroidery and Weaving at Glasgow School of Art*, Gardner Gibson, Renfrew, 1994

Attfield, Judy and Kirkham, Pat *A View from the Interior: Feminism, Women and Design*, The Women's Press, London, 1989

Baron, Wendy and Shone, Robert *Sickert Paintings*, Royal Academy of Arts/Van Gogh Museum, London/Amsterdam, 1992

Barringer, T and Flynn, T (Eds) *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture and the Museum*, Routledge, London/New York, 1998

Batchelor, John, *John Ruskin: No Wealth But Life*, Chatto & Windus, London, 2000

Benstock, Shari, *Women of the Left Bank*, Virago, London, 1997

Blake, Catriona *The Charge of the Parasols: Women's Entry to the Medical Profession*, The Women's Press, London, 1991

Bloom, Harold *The Anxiety of Influence*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1973

Boardman, Philip *The Worlds of Patrick Geddes: Biologist, Town Planner, Re-educator, Peace Warrior*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1979

- Boimé, Albert *The Art of Exclusion: representing Blacks in the Nineteenth Century*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1990
- Borzello, Frances *Seeing Ourselves: Women's Self-Portraits*, Thames & Hudson, 1998
- Gordon-Bowe, N and Cumming, E, *The Arts and Crafts Movement in Dublin and Edinburgh, 1885-1925*, Irish Academic Press, Dublin, 1998
- Brandon, R, *The New Women and the Old Men: Love, Sex and the Woman Question*, Secker & Warburg, London, 1990
- Branson, N and Heinemann, M, *Britain in the Thirties*, Panther, London, 1973
- Breitenbach, E and Gordon, E (Eds), *The World is Ill Divided: Women's Work in Scotland in the Nineteenth and early Twentieth Century*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1990
- *Out of Bounds: Women in Scottish Society 1800-1945*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1992
- Briggs, A *Essays in the History of Publishing 1724-1974*, Longman, London, 1974
- Brown, Y and Ferguson, R *Twisted Sisters: Crime and Deviance in Scotland since 1400*, Tuckwell, East Linton, 2002
- Brotherstone, T, Simonton, D and Walsh, O, *Gendering Scottish History: An International Approach*, Mackie Occasional Colloquia Series, 1, Cruithne Press, Glasgow, 1999
- Burkhauser, J et al., *Glasgow Girls*, Canongate, Edinburgh 1990 (and Glasgow Girls Research/Red Ochre Press, Edinburgh/New Jersey USA, Revised Edition, 1993)
- Calder, J, *The Nine Lives of Naomi Mitchison*, Virago, London, 1997
- Callen, A, *Angel in the Studio*, Astragal Books, London, 1979
- Campbell, M, *The Line of Tradition: Watercolours, Drawings and Prints by Scottish Artists, 1700-1990*, National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1993
- Chadwick, W *Women, Art and Society*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1992
- Chambers, E, *The Etching Revival and the Redefinition of Etching in Britain 1838-1892*, Ashgate, Aldershot, 1998
- Checkland, O, *Philanthropy in Scotland: Social Welfare and the Voluntary Principle*, John Donald, Edinburgh, 1980
- Cherry, D, *Painting Women: Victorian Women Artists*, Routledge, London/New York, 1993
- Child, J, *Industrial Relations in the British Printing Industry*, Allen & Unwin, London, 1967
- Clark, A, *The McKenzie Sisters*, Black Ace, Duns, 1996
- Corr, H, *Reclaiming Scottish Women's Lives in Education: The Life of Flora Stevenson*, Unit for Study in Government, Edinburgh, 1998

- Coward, R, *Female Desire: Women's Sexuality Today*, Paladin/Grafton, London, 1984
- Crow, T, *Emulation: Making Artists for Revolutionary France*, Yale University Press, Yale, 1987
- Cumming, E, *Phoebe Anna Traquair 1852-1936*, Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, 1993
- Deepwell, K (Ed), *The New Feminist Art Criticism*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1995
- Diringer, D, *The Illuminated Book, its History and Production*, Faber & Faber, London, 1958
- Drucker, J, *The Century of Artists' Books*, Granary Books, New York City, 1995
- *The Visible Word: experimental Typography and Modern Art, 1909-1923*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago/London, 1994
  - *The Alphabetic Labyrinth: the Letters in History and Imagination*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1999 (1E 1995)
  - *Figuring the Word: Essays on Books, Writing and Visual Poetics*, Granary Books, New York City, 1998
- Donaldson, G, *Scotland: Church and Nation Through Sixteen Centuries*, SCM Press, London, 1960
- Donnachie, I, Harvie, C and Wood, IS, *Forward! Labour Politics in Scotland 1888-1988*, Polygon, Edinburgh, 1989
- Duncan, Carol, *Civilizing Rituals, Inside Public Art Museums*, London, Routledge, 1995
- Edwards, LM, *Domestic Bliss: Family Life in American Painting, 1840-1910*, Hudson River Museum, New York, 1986
- *Herkomer, A Victorian Artist*, Ashgate, Aldershot, 1999
- Elliott, P *William McCance 1894-1970*, National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1990
- Elphick, I, and Harris, P, *TN Foulis: The History and Bibliography of an Edinburgh Publishing House*, Werner, London, 1998
- Evans, M (Ed), *The Woman Question*, Sage Publications, London, 1994
- Fairley, R, *Jemima: The Paintings and Memoirs of a Victorian Lady*, Canongate, Edinburgh, 1988
- Fawcett, T and Philpott, C, *The Art Press*, The Art Book Company, London, 1976
- Fairfull-Smith, G, *The Foulis Press and the Foulis Academy: Glasgow's eighteenth-century School of Art and Design*, Glasgow Art Index/Friends of Glasgow University, Glasgow, 2001
- Fekete, J (Ed), *The Structural Allegory: reconstructive encounters with the new French Thought*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1984
- Felmingham, M *The Illustrated Gift Book 1880-1930*, Wildwood House, Aldershot, 1989 (1E 1988)
- Fisher, D, *A Band of Little Comrades: the Story of Socialist Sunday Schools in Edinburgh, 1905-1945*, Dept. of Recreation, City of Edinburgh Council, Edinburgh, 2001

- Forster, M, *Significant Sisters: the Grassroots of Active Feminism, 1839-1939*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1986 (1E 1984)
- Frayling, C, Physick, J, Watson, H and Myers, B *The Royal College of Art, 150 Years of Art and Design*, Barrie & Jenkins, London, 1987
- Gardiner, L, *Bartholomew 150 Years*, Bartholomew, Edinburgh, 1976
- Gibbs-Smith, CH, *The Great Exhibition of 1851*, Victoria & Albert Museum/HMSO, London, 1981
- Gillespie, S, *A Hundred Years of Progress: the Record of the Scottish Typographical Association 1853-1952*, Robert Maclehose & Co. Ltd., Glasgow, 1953
- Glendinning, V, *Rebecca West: A Life*, AA Knopf, New York, 1987
- Godfrey, RT *Printmaking in Britain: a General History from its Beginnings to the Present Day*, Phaidon, Oxford, 1978
- Gravalos, Mary Evans O'Keefe and Pulin, C *Bertha Lum*, American Printmakers Series, Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington/London, 1991
- Green, L *W Barns-Graham: A Studio Life*, Lund Humphries, Aldershot/Burlington USA, 2001
- Greenberg, R, Ferguson B and Nairne, S (Eds), *Thinking About Exhibitions*, Routledge, London, 1996
- Greenhalgh, P *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles: Great Exhibitions and World Fairs, 1851-1939*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1988
- Greer, G *The Obstacle Race: the Fortunes of Women Painters and their Work*, Picador/Pan/Secker & Warburg, London, 1979
- Harris, J, *Private Lives: Public Spirit: a Social History of Britain 1870-1914*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1993
- Harvie, C, *No Gods and Precious Few Heroes: Scotland 1914-1980*, Edward Arnold, London, 1981
- *Scotland and Nationalism: Scottish Society and Politics 1707-1994*, Routledge, London/New York, 1994 (1E 1977, 3E 2000)
- Hay, E *Sambo Sahib: The Story of Little Black Sambo and Helen Bannerman*, Paul Harris, Edinburgh, 1981
- Helland, J, *The Studios of Frances and Margaret Macdonald*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1996
- *Professional Women Painters in Nineteenth Century Scotland: Commitment, Friendship, Pleasure*, Ashgate, Aldershot, 2000
- Hewlett, T, *Cadell: the Life and Works of a Scottish Colourist, 1883-1937*, Canongate/Portland Gallery, Edinburgh/London, 1988

- Higonnet, A, *Berthe Morisot's Images of Women*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge USA/London, 1992
- *Pictures of Innocence: the History and Crisis of Ideal Childhood*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1998
- Holt, Elizabeth Gilmore (Ed), *The Triumph of Art for the Public: the Emerging Role of Exhibitions and Critics*, Anchor Books, New York, 1979
- Hope-Simpson, J, *The Making of the Machine Age*, Heinemann, London, 1978
- Honour, Hugh, *Romanticism*, Pelican, London, 1981 (1E 1979)
- Hunt, F (Ed), *Lessons for Life: the Schooling of Girls and Women 1850-1950*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1987
- Hyde, S, *Exhibiting Gender*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1997
- John, A (Ed), *Unequal Opportunities: Women's Employment in England 1800-1918*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1986
- Halsby, J, *Scottish Watercolours 1740-1940*, BT Batsford, London, 1989
- Hunnisett, B, *Engraved on Steel: a History of Book Production using Steel Plates*, Ashgate, Aldershot, 1998
- Irwin, F (Ed), with Campbell, JP and Margaret Hamilton Noel Paton, *Noel Paton 1821-1901*, Ramsay Head Press, Edinburgh, 1990
- Itten, Johannes *Design and Form: the Basic Course at the Bauhaus*, Thames & Hudson, 1978 (1E 1963)
- Keating, P, *The Victorian Prophets from Carlyle to Wells*, Fontana, Glasgow, 1981
- Kee, R, *The Green Flag: a history of Irish Nationalism*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1972
- Kemplay, J, *The Two Companions: the Story of Two Scottish Artists – Eric Robertson and Cecile Walton*, Ronald Crowhurst, Edinburgh, 1991
- *The Paintings of John Duncan, A Scottish Symbolist*, Pomegranate Artbooks, San Francisco, 1994
- Kerrigan, C (Ed), *An Anthology of Scottish Women Poets*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1991
- Kinchin, J and P, with a contribution by Neil Baxter, *Glasgow's Great Exhibitions (1888, 1901, 1911, 1938 and 1988)*, White Cockade Publishing, Oxford, 1988
- Kirkham, P (Ed), *The Gendered Object*, Manchester University Press, Manchester/New York, 1996
- Law, C, *Suffrage and Power: The Women's Movement, 1918-1928*, IB Tauris, London/New York, 2000,
- Lejard, A (Ed), *The Art of the French Book from Early Manuscripts to the Present Time*, Paul Elek, London, (n.d. c. 1950?)

- Leneman, L, *A Guid Cause: the Women's Suffrage Movement in Scotland*, Aberdeen University Press, Aberdeen, 1991
- *Into the Foreground: a Century of Scottish Women in Photographs*, National Museums of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1993
- Lewis, J *Women in England 1870-1950: Sexual Divisions and Social Change*, Wheatsheaf/Indiana, Sussex/Bloomington USA, 1984
- Long, P with Cumming, E *The Scottish Colourists 1900-1930*, National Galleries of Scotland/Royal Academy of Arts, Edinburgh/London, 2000
- Longman, G, *The Beginning of the Herkomer Art School, 1883-5*, EG Longman, Bushey, 1983
- *The Herkomer School, 1883-1904, a reassessment*, Bushey Museum Information, Bushey, 1999
- McCleery, A, *The Porpoise Press, 1922-39*, Merchiston Publishing, Edinburgh, 1988
- MacCarthy, F, *British Design Since 1880: a Visual History*, Lund Humphries, London, 1982
- McKinstry, S, *Rowand Anderson: the Premier Architect of Scotland*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1991
- McLean, R, *Victorian Book Design and Colour Printing*, Faber & Faber, London, 1963
- *The Thames and Hudson Manual of Typography*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1980
- McLeod, M *Leaving Scotland*, National Museums of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1996
- McMillan, D(Ed), *The Scotswoman at Home and Abroad: non-fictional writing 1700-1900*, ASLS, Glasgow, 1999
- Macmillan, D, *Scottish Art 1460-1990*, Mainstream, Edinburgh, 1996 (1E 1990)
- *Scottish Art in the Twentieth Century*, Mainstream Publishing, Edinburgh/London, 1994
- *Painting in Scotland: The Golden Age*, Phaidon/Talbot Rice/Tate, Oxford/Edinburgh/London, 1986
- Mann, A *Scottish Book Trade 1500-1720: Print commerce and Print control in Early Modern Scotland*, Tuckwell, East Lothian, 2000
- Marshall, R, *Virgins and Viragos: a history of Women in Scotland from 1080-1980*, Collins, London, 1983
- Mitchell, J, *Women's Estate*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1981 (1E 1971)
- and Jacqueline Rose (Eds), *Feminine Sexuality: Jacques Lacan and the École Freudienne*, Macmillan, London, 1982
- Mitchell, William Smith *A History of Scottish Bookbinding, 1432-1650*, Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh, 1955
- Mitchison, N *You May Well Ask*, Victor Gollancz, London, 1979

- Mitchison, R and Leneman, L, *Girls in Trouble: Sexuality and Social Control in Rural Scotland, 1660-1780*, and *Sin in the City: Sexuality and Social Control in Urban Scotland, 1660-1780*, Scottish Cultural Press, Edinburgh, 1998
- Mulholland, N, *The Cultural Devolution: Art in Britain in the late Twentieth Century*, Ashgate, Aldershot, 2003
- Musson, AE, *The Typographical Association: Origins and History up to 1949*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1954
- Naylor, G, *The Arts and Crafts Movement, a Study of its Sources, Ideals and Influence on Design Theory*, Studio Vista, London, 1980(1E 1979)
- Normand, T, *Wyndham Lewis the Artist – Holding the Mirror up to Politics*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1992 and *The Modern Scot: Modernism and Nationalism in Scottish Art, 1928-55*, Ashgate, Aldershot, 2000
- Nunn, Pamela Gerrish *Canvassing: recollections by Six Victorian Women Artists*, Camden Press, London, 1986
- *Victorian Women Artists*, The Women's Press, London, 1987
- Oakley, A, *Sex, Gender and Society*, London, Gower, 1985
- Opie, R, *Rule Britannia: Trading on the British Image*, Viking, Harmondsworth, 1985
- Paterson, L *The Autonomy of Modern Scotland*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1994
- Pearson, N *The State and the Visual Arts: a discussion of State Intervention in the Visual Arts in Britain, 1760-1981*, Open University Press, Milton Keynes, 1981
- Parker, R, *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine*, The Women's Press, London, 1984
- and Griselda Pollock, *Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology*, Routledge, London, 1981
- Paterson, F and Fewell, J (Eds), *Girls in their Prime: Scottish Education Revisited*, ADD DETAILS
- Perry, G and Mason, N (Eds), *Rule Britannia: The Victorian World*, Times Newspapers, London, 1974
- Perry, G *Women Artists and the Parisian Avant Garde: Modernism and 'Feminine' Art, 1900 to the late 1920s*, Manchester University Press, Manchester/New York, 1995
- and Michael Rossington, *Femininity and Masculinity in Eighteenth Century Art*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1994
- and Colin Cunningham, *Academies, Museums and Canons of Art*, Yale/Open University Press, New Haven/London, 1999
- Pool, P *Impressionism*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1967

- Pollock, G *Mary Cassatt*, Jupiter Books, London, 1980
- *Avant Garde Gambits, 1883-1893 – Gender and the colour of Art History*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1992
  - *Differencing the Canon: Feminist Desire and the Writing of Art's Histories*, Routledge, London, 1999
- Reynolds, S *Britannica's Typesetters: Women Compositors in Edinburgh*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1989
- Robins, Anna Greutzner, *Walter Sickert Drawings: Theory and Practice, Word and Image*, Scolar Press, London, 1996
- Rostenberg, L, *The Minority Press and the English Crown: a Study in Repression 1588-1685*, Nieuwkoop/B de Graaf, Netherlands, 1971
- Rothschild, J (Ed), *Design and Feminism: re-visioning places and everyday things*, Rutgers, New Brunswick USA/London, 1999
- Rowbotham, S, *Hidden from History*, Pluto Press, London, 1974
- Rowley, S (Ed), *Craft and Contemporary Theory*, Allen & Unwin, St Leonards Australia, 1997
- Rutherford, J (Ed), *Identity, Community, Culture, Difference*, Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1990
- Sanderson, E, *Women and Work in Eighteenth Century Edinburgh*, Macmillan, Hampshire, 1996
- Selbourne, J, *British Wood Engraved Book Illustration 1904-1940*, British Library/Oak Knoll Press, London/New Castle USA, 2001 (1E 1998)
- Sheridan, D (Ed), *Wartime Women: an Anthology of women's Wartime Writing for Mass Observation, 1937-45*, Mandarin, London, 1991
- Siegel, J, *Artwords: Discourse on the 60s and 70s*, Da Capo Press, New York, 1992
- Skinner, L *A Family Unbroken 1694-1994: the Mary Erskine Tercentenary History*, Tuckwell, East Linton, 1994
- Simonton, D, *A History of Women's Work 1700 to the Present*, Routledge, Hampshire, 1999
- Smailes, H, *Scottish Empire: Scots in Pursuit of Hope and Glory*, SNP/G/HMSO, Edinburgh, 1981
- *A Portrait Gallery for Scotland: the Foundation, Architecture and Mural Decoration of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery 1882-1906*, Trustees of the National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1985
  - *The Queen's Image*, National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1983
- Smith, Bill, *DY Cameron – The Visions of the Hills*, Atelier Books, Edinburgh, 1992
- Smith, Janet Adam, *John Buchan: A Biography*, R Hart-Davis, 1965 (2E, Oxford University Press, 1985)



- Smith, L and Taylor, J (Eds), *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence*, British Library/Toronto University, London/Toronto, 1997
- Smout, T, *A Century of the Scottish People 1830-1950*, Collins, London, 1986
- Steinberg, SH *Five Hundred Years of Printing*, Faber & Faber, London, 1959 (1E 1955)
- Stevens, A, *Visual Sensations: representing Scotland's Geographies in the Empire Exhibition, Glasgow 1938*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1996
- Strong, R, *Britannia Triumphans*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1980
- Tanner, A, *Bessie MacNicol: New Woman*, Privately Published by the Author, Helensburgh, 1998
- Thomson, AG, *The Paper Industry in Scotland*, Scottish Academic Press, Edinburgh, 1974
- Tidcombe, M, *Women Bookbinders 1880-1920*, Oak Knoll/British Library, New Castle USA/London, 1996
- Thompson, D, *Queen Victoria: the Monarchy and Gender*, Virago, London, 1990
- Tomalin, C, *Mary Wollstonecraft*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1992 (1E Weidenfeld & Nicolson 1974)
- Vaughn, W *Romantic Art*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1978
- Vicinus, M, *Independent Women: work and community for Single Women, 1850-1920*, Virago, London, 1985
- Virilio, P, *The Vision Machine*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington USA, 1994
- Watson, F, *Scotland: A History 8000 BC to AD 2000*, Tempus, Stroud, 2001
- Waugh, Hector L, *George Watson's College: History and Record, 1724-1970*, R & R Clark, Edinburgh, 1970
- Weisberg, Gabriel P and Becker, Jane R *Overcoming All Obstacles: the Women of the Académie Julian*, Dahesh Museum/Rutgers University Press, New York/New Brunswick, 1999
- Weeks, J, *Sex, Politics and Society: the Regulation of Sexuality since 1800*, Longman, Harlow, 1981
- White, Colin *The Enchanted World of Jessie M King*, Canongate, Edinburgh, 1989
- Williamson, Hugh, *Methods of Book Design: the Practice of an Industrial Craft*, New Haven/London, 1983
- Williamson, J *Decoding Advertisements: ideology and meaning in Advertising*, Marion Boyars, New York, 1991 (1E 1978)
- Yablonskaya, MN, *Women Artists of Russia's New Age: 1900-1935*, Rizzoli, New York, 1990

## Literature Contemporary to the Artists

- Aird, A, *Reminiscences of Editors, Reporters and Printers during the last Sixty Years*, Aird & Co., 1890 (NLS ABS 2.90.54)
- Aldis, HG, *A List of Books Printed in Scotland before 1700*, 1904
- Baldwin Brown, G, (Ed) *Transactions of the National Association for the Advancement of Art and its Application to Industry, Edinburgh Meeting (1889)*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1890
- Baudelaire, C, *Art in Paris 1845-1862*, Phaidon Press, London, 1965
- Borthwick, A (Press Officer for the Empire Exhibition, Glasgow, May-October 1938) *The Empire Exhibition: A Personal Reminiscence*, BBC/Mainstream, Edinburgh, 1988
- Brady, Robert A, *The Spirit and Structure of German Fascism*, Left Book Club Edition, Gollancz, London, 1937
- Burton, K *A Memoir of Mrs Crudelius*, Printed for Private Circulation by Miller & Sons, Edinburgh, 1879
- Carlyle, T *Selected Writings*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1988
- Carswell, C *Open the Door*, Canongate Classics, 1996 (1E 1920)
- *The Savage Pilgrimage: a Narrative of DH Lawrence*, Secker & Warburg, London, 1951 (1E 1932)
- Caw, James, *Scottish Painting Past and Present: 1620-1908*, TC & EC Jack, Edinburgh, 1908
- Clements, Clara Erskine, *Saints in Art*, David Nutt, London, 1899
- *Women in the Fine Arts from the Seventh Century BC to the Twentieth Century*, LC Page & Co., Boston, 1904
- Crane, Walter *The Decorative Illustration of Books*, Bracken Books, London, 1986 (Facsimile of first edition, by G Bell & Sons, London, 1896)
- *The Easter Art Journal*, London, 1898
- Cursiter, Stanley *Art and Industry: with special reference to conditions in Scotland*, Saltire Society Pamphlet 4, Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh/London, 1943
- *Scottish Art to the Close of the Nineteenth Century*, Harrap, London, 1949
- Dickson, R *Annals of Scottish Printing*, 1890 (NLS NG.1195q18)
- Elliot, Andrew, *Calotypes by DO Hill and R Adamson, Illustrating an Early Stage in the Development of Photography*, Printed for Private Circulation in Edinburgh, Constable, Edinburgh, 1928
- Emmons, Robert *The Life and Opinions of Walter Richard Sickert*, Faber & Faber, London, 1941
- Erskine, Mrs Stuart (Ed), *Anna Jameson: Letters and Friendships 1812-1860*, T Fisher Unwin, London, 1915

- Finlay, Ian, *Scottish Crafts*, George G Harrap & Co., London, 1948
- Fletcher, Frank Morley (Introduction by WR Lethaby), *Woodblock Printing*, Sir Isaac Pitman Craft Series, London, 1916
- Furst, H (Ed), *The Modern Woodcut*, John Lane/Bodley Head, London, 1924
- Gillot, Ernest, *Ornementation des Manuscrits au Moyen Age: recueil de Documents et Lettres ornées, bordures miniatures etcetera des Principaux Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, de diverses Bibliothèques et des Monuments de l'époque*, Dessinés par Ernest Gillot, Paris, n.d. (1860?)
- Gulland, John (Jr), *John Gulland – A Memoir*, Printed for Private Circulation by W & AK Johnston, Edinburgh, 1903
- Hardie, Martin, *The British School of Etching*, Print Collectors' Club, London, 1920
- Haldane, Elizabeth, *From One Century to Another*, Methuen, London, 1937
- Hubbard, E Hesketh, *A Handbook for Etchers, Students and Collectors*, Print Society, 1920
- Jack, Florence and Preston, Philippa, *The Woman's Book*, T Nelson/TC & EC Jack, Edinburgh, 1935
- Jameson, Anna, *Characteristics of Women, Moral, Poetical and Historical*, 2 Vols, Saunders and Otley, London, 1832
- *Diary of an Enuyée* (untraced)
  - *The Loves of the Poets and Celebrated Sovereigns* (untraced)
  - *Sacred and Legendary Art*, Longman, London, 1848
  - *Legends of the Monastic Orders as Represented in the Fine Arts*, Longman, London, 1850
  - *Sisters of Charity and the Communion of Labour: two lectures on the Social Employment of Women*, Longman, London, 1859
- Jopling, Louise, *Hints to Students and Amateurs*, George Rowney & Co., London, 1911
- *Twenty Years of My Life, 1867-1887*, John Lane/Bodley Head, London, 1925
- Langdon-Davies, John, *A Short History of Women*, Watts & Co, London, 1928
- Lumsden, Ernest, *Etching and Drypoints*, Colnaghi, London, 1923
- *The Art of Etching*, Seeley, Service & Co., London, 1925
- Mackenzie, Agnes Mure *The Arts and the Future of Scotland*, Saltire Pamphlet 2, Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh, 1942
- (Ed) *Scottish Pageant*, Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh/London, 1946
- Newbery, FH (Director Alexander Koch, text by Georg Fuchs and Fra Newbery), *L'Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs Modernes à Turin*, Darmstadt, 1902
- Oliphant, Margaret, *Royal Edinburgh, Her Saints, Kings, Prophets and Poets*, Macmillan, London, 1890

- *Annals of a Publishing House*, (2 Vols), William Blackwood, Edinburgh/London, 1897
  - *The Autobiography and letters of Mrs MON Oliphant, arranged and edited by Mrs Henry Coghill*, William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh/London, 1899
- Rae, Lettice Milne, *Ladies in Debate: being a History of the Ladies' Edinburgh Debating Society, 1865-1935*, Oliver & Boyd, London, 1936
- Ramsay, Mary Paton *Calvin and Art Considered in Relation to Scotland*, The Moray Press, Edinburgh, 1938
- *The Freedom of the Scots from Early Times till its eclipse in 1707: displayed in Statements of our Forefathers who Loved and Served Scotland*, United Scotland, 11 Saxe Coburg Place, Edinburgh, 1945
- Runciman, Mercy, *Runciman's Rules of Perspective: Explained, Illustrated and Adapted to Practical Use by MM Runciman (With Letter of Approval from Professor John Ruskin MA, Hon LLD)*, Windsor & Newton Ltd., London, 1886
- Ruskin, John, *Unto This Last and Other Writings*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1985
- *The Stones of Venice*, Vols 1-3, 1851-3
  - *Lectures on Art and Painting delivered at Edinburgh in November 1853*, George Allen, Orpington and London, 1891
  - *The Queen of the Air: being a Study of the Greek Myths of Cloud and Storm (1869)*, Geoge Allen, Orpington and London, 1895
  - *The Crown of Wild Olive and the Cestus of Aglaia*, Dent/Dutton, London/New York, 1908
- Salaman, Malcolm C, *Modern British Woodcuts and Lithographs by British and French Artists*, The Studio Special Edition, London, 1919
- Sharp, Elizabeth, *Women's Voices*, Walter Scott, London, 1887
- Shaw, Henry, *Illuminated Ornament*, William Pickering, London, 1833
- Smith, Jane Stuart, *The Grange of St Giles*, Constable, Edinburgh, 1898
- *Historic Stones and Stories of Bygone Edinburgh*, Constable, Edinburgh, 1924
- Somerville, E and Ross, Martin, *Stray-Aways*, Longmans Green, London, 1920
- Stevenson, Flora, *Education of Neglected and Destitute Children: An Address delivered by Lord Balfour of Burleigh at the Opening of St John's Hill, Day School, Edinburgh, with a Prefatory Note by Flora C Stevenson*, William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh, 1899
- Swan, Annie, *My Life: an Autobiography*, Ivor Nicolson & Watson, London, 1934

The Penguin Club, *Verses*, (Olive Sampson, Robert Brown, CR Harper, Lawrence Wilson, HH Wood, Alber Mackie, Lawrence Brander, M Morrison and Maurice Richardson), Edinburgh, 1926 (possession of Mrs Muriel Robertson)

Tymms, WR and Digby Wyatt, M, *The Art of Illuminating as Practiced in Europe from the Earliest Times, Alphabets Selected and Chromolithographed*, Day & Son, London, (n.d. c.1860?)

Warrack, Grace *Florilegio di Canti Toscani, folk songs of the Tuscan Hills*, De la More Press, London, 1914

- *Une Guirlande de Poésies Diverses: from the songs of France, Poetry Early and Recent*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1923

West, Rebecca, *The Thinking Reed*, Virago, London, 1984 (1E 1936)

- *The Fountain Overflows*, The Reprint Society/Macmillan & Co., London, 1958

## **JOURNALS, MAGAZINES, NEWSPAPERS**

*(The) Attempt* (1-6, 1865-1870)

*Bibliothek*

*Book History*

*Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*

*Chamber's Journal of Popular Literature, Science and Arts*

*Chapman*

*Cultural Trends in Scotland*

*(The) Cairn*, Edinburgh College of Art

*Edinburgh Typographia* (1888-1936)

*Folio*

*(The) George Square Chronicle* (1974, George Watson's Magazine)

*(The) Glasgow Herald*

*Scottish Art Review* (1888-9)

*Scottish Book Collector*

*Journal of Artists' Books*

*Journal of the Society for Scottish Art History*

*Ladies' Edinburgh Magazine* (1-6 NS 1875-1880)

*Ladies' Review of Reviews* (6 issues 1901)

*Life and Work*  
*Print Collectors' Quarterly*  
*Print Quarterly*  
*Punch*  
*Scotch Girls Friendly Society Reporter*  
*Scotland on Sunday* (Story of a Nation Parts 1-6, 2001)  
*(The) Scots Pictorial*  
*Scottish Typographical Journal*  
*(The) Shamrock, the Thistle and the Rose*  
*(The) Scotsman*  
*The Studio*  
*The Woman at Home*  
*The Yellow Book*

#### REFERENCE WORKS

- Arnason, HH *A History of Modern Art, Painting, Sculpture, Architecture*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1979
- Barrow, M *Women 1870-1928: A Select Guide to Printed and Archival sources in the United Kingdom*, Mansell/Garland, London/New York, 1981
- Bénézit, E *Dictionnaire de Peintres, Sculpteurs, Dessinateurs et Graveurs*, Gründ, Paris, 1999
- Bilcliffe, R (Compiler), *The Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts 1861-1989: A Dictionary of Exhibitors*, The Woodend Press, Hants, 1989
- Briggs, A (Ed), *The Nineteenth Century*, Guild Publishing/BCA/Thames & Hudson, London, 1985
- Buckman, D, *Dictionary of Artists in Britain since 1945*, Art Dictionaries Ltd., Bristol, 1998
- Bullock, A and Stallybrass, O (Eds), *The Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought*, Fontana/Collins, London, 1977
- Bushnell, George Herbert *Scottish Engravers: A Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Engravers and of Engravers who worked in Scotland to the beginning of the Nineteenth-century*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1949
- Catalogue of The City of Edinburgh Art Collection:  
*Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture*, Vol 1, 1979

*Prints*, Vol 2, 1979

*Acquisitions 1979-1992*, Vol 3, 1992

Published by the City of Edinburgh Museums and Art Galleries, Edinburgh

*Companion Guide to the Scottish National Portrait Gallery*, Trustees of the National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1999

Crawford, E *The Women's Suffrage Movement: A Reference Guide, 1866-1928*, UCL Press, London 1999

Daiches, D(Ed), *The New Companion to Scottish Culture*, Polygon, Edinburgh, 1993

*Dictionnaire des Illustrateurs 1800-1914. Illustrateurs, caricaturistes et affichistes*, Hubschmidt & Basset, Paris, 1983

*Dictionnaire des Illustrateurs 1890-1945, XXme siècle, Première génération, Illustrateurs du Monde entre nés avant 1885), Artistes du Livre, dessinateurs de la presse et de la mode, caricaturistes, bédésistes et affichistes*, Ides et Calendes, 1992

Elliott, P *The Concise Catalogue of the Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art*, The Trustees of the National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1993

Engen, RK, *Dictionary of Victorian Engravers, Print Publishers and their Works*, Chadwyck-Healey, Cambridge/Somerset House, New Jersey, 1979

Evans, M and Morgan D(Eds), *Work on Women: A Guide to the Literature*, Tavistock, London/New York, 1979

Farris, P (Ed), *Women Artists of Color: A Biocritical Sourcebook of Twentieth Century Artists in the Americas*, Greenwood Press, Connecticut USA, 1999

Fleming, J and Honour, H, *The Penguin Dictionary of Decorative Arts*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1979

Foucault, M *The History of Sex*,

1 *The Will to Knowledge*, 1998

2 *The Use of Pleasure*, 1992

3 *The Care of the Self*, 1990

Penguin, Harmondsworth

Fraser, A, *Mary Queen of Scots*, illustrated edition, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1979 (1E 1969)

Garrett, A, *A History of Wood Engraving*, Midas Books, Tunbridge Wells, 1978

Garton & Co., *British Printmakers 1855-1955: A Century of Printmaking from The Etching Revival to St Ives*, Ashgate, Aldershot, 1993

Glaze, D, *Concise Dictionary of Women Artists*, Fitzroy Dearborn, London/Chicago, 2001

- Gow, I and Clifford, T, *The National Gallery of Scotland: an Architectural and Decorative History*, Ian Gow and the Trustees of the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1988
- Grant, Maurice Harold, *A Dictionary of British Etchers*, Rockcliff, London, 1952
- Guy, John C, *Edinburgh Engravers*, Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, 9, 1916
- Hamilton Bequest (The), *Paintings Presented to the Glasgow Art Gallery, 1927-1977* no publishing details
- Harley, K, *Scottish Art Since 1900*, National Galleries of Scotland/Lund Humphries, Edinburgh/London, 1990
- Harris, P and Halsby, J, *The Dictionary of Scottish Painters, 1600-1960*, Canongate/Phaidon/Bourne Fine Art, Edinburgh/Oxford/London, 1990 (and revised edition)
- Harrison, C and Wood, P (Eds), *Art in Theory 1900-1990: An Anthology of Changing Ideas*, Blackwell, Oxford/Cambridge Mass USA, 1996
- Harrod, T *The Crafts in Britain in the Twentieth Century*, Yale, New Haven, 1999
- Hill/Adamson Albums: A Selection from the early Victorian photographs acquired by the National Portrait Gallery in January 1973* (Roy Strong and Colin Ford commentators), Times Newspapers Ltd., London, March 1973
- Irwin, David and Francina, *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad*, Faber & Faber, London, 1975
- Jimenez, Jill Berk, *Dictionary of Artists' Models*, Fitzroy Dearborn, London/Chicago, 2001
- Kaplan, W, *Scotland Creates: 5000 Years of Art and Design*, National Galleries of Scotland/National Library of Scotland/National Museums of Scotland/Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, Edinburgh/London, 1990
- Keay (Eds), John and Julia Collins *Encyclopaedia of Scotland*, HarperCollins, London, 1994
- Laperrière, Charles Baile de (Ed) with compilers Meta Viles and Joanna Soden, assisted by Pamela Stott, *The Royal Scottish Academy Exhibitors 1826-1990: A Dictionary of Artists and their Works in the Annual Exhibitions of the Royal Scottish Academy*, Hilmarton Manor Press, Calne, 1991
- Macdonald, M *Scottish Art*, Thames & Hudson, London, 2000
- McEwan, P, *Dictionary of Scottish Art and Architecture*, Antique Collectors Club, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1994
- Murray, Peter and Linda, *The Penguin Dictionary of Art and Artists*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1978
- National Gallery of Scotland Illustrations*, Trustees of the National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1980
- Oliver, C, *The Society of Scottish Artists: the First One Hundred Years*, SSA, Edinburgh, 1991



- Osbourne, H (Ed), *The Oxford Companion to the Decorative Arts*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1975
- Parry, L *William Morris and the Arts and Crafts Movement*, Studio Editions, London, 1989
- Petersen, K and Wilson, JJ *Women Artists: Recognition and Reappraisal from the Early Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century*, The Women's Press, London, 1978
- Phaidon Dictionary of Twentieth Century Art*, Phaidon, Oxford, 1977
- Rosenblum, R and Janson, HW *Art of the Nineteenth Century: Painting and Sculpture*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1984
- Selected Scottish Drawings in the National Gallery of Scotland*, (foreword David Baxandall), Trustees of the National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1960
- Thomson, C and Brigstocke, H *National Gallery of Scotland, Shorter Catalogue*, Edinburgh 1978 (2E)
- Schenck, David HJ *Directory of the Lithographic Printers of Scotland 1820-1870*, Edinburgh Bibliographical Society/Oak Knoll Press/National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh/New Castle, USA, 1999
- Stevenson, S, *David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson: Catalogue of their Calotypes taken between 1843 and 1847 in the collection of the Scottish National Gallery*, National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1981
- Who's Who* (various years)
- Zaczek, I (Introduction by Dr Claire O' Mahoney), *Essential William Morris*, Dempsey Parr/Parragon, Bath, 1999

## TESTIMONIALS

- Louise Annand, Interview, 9 May 2001
- Harry Barton, discussions on Mabel Royds, 18 Feb 2000
- Hal Bishop, discussions on Agnes Miller Parker, November 2000
- Mrs Janet Craig, discussions on Hannah Clarke Preston MacGoun, October 2000
- Pamela Ferguson, Educational Institute of Scotland, 21 July 1999
- Frances Fowle, Cecile Walton, January 2002
- Jane Furniss, Librarian, Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art
- Alan Grant, Duncan of Jordanstone, Dundee (Book Lists)
- Paul Harris, discussions on illustrators and TN Foulis, November 1999
- James Henderson (Snr), b. 1908, reEdinburgh College of Art, January 15, 1997

John and Ann Kemplay, Cecile Walton, correspondence and discussions  
Susannah Kerr, Scottish National Portrait Gallery  
Claire McGread and Linda Newman, Archivists, Glasgow School of Art  
Fiona Pearson, Print Curator, Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art  
Robin Milner Gulland and Mrs Milner Gulland, conversations re Elizabeth Gulland  
Adèle Patrick, Glasgow Women's Library, 17 May 2000  
Mrs Muriel Robertson, conversations and discussions on Cecile Walton, March 2002  
Joanna Shacklock, Archivist, The Slade at University College London, 27 April, 1999  
Joanna Soden, Archivist, Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art  
Ailsa Tanner, Correspondence, June 2001  
Catriona Thomson, National Galleries of Scotland, 1998  
Helen Watson, Librarian, Scottish National Portrait Gallery  
Watersone Family  
Rowan Watson, Keeper of Prints, Victoria and Albert Museum

#### **UNPUBLISHED PAPERS/PRIVATE COLLECTIONS**

Paintings and papers in the collection of Harry Barton; Marjorie Barton, *Memoirs of Mabel Royds*, 1982  
  
Ann Jones, 'Rescued from Oblivion? The Case of Mary Burton and Liberton Bank House', draft paper, October 2000  
  
Janice Helland, 'Lady Aberdeen', Draft Paper, April 2002  
  
Frances Fowle, 'Cecile Walton', Edinburgh, Unpublished Paper, 2002  
  
M Miller, Director of Noble and Grossart Publishers, Glasgow, Miscellaneous personal papers and catalogues concerning Blackie & Son., Publishers  
  
G Waterstone & Co., Edinburgh, Files of Agnes Waterstone and other artists employed by the Company

## WEBSITES

[art@fas.london.com](mailto:art@fas.london.com)

[artcyclopaedia.com/artists/women.html](http://artcyclopaedia.com/artists/women.html)

[bridgeman.co.uk](http://bridgeman.co.uk)

[busheymuseum.org](http://busheymuseum.org)

[cac.org.uk](http://cac.org.uk)

COPAC

[gsa.ac.uk/library/archives](http://gsa.ac.uk/library/archives)

[hmc.gov.uk](http://hmc.gov.uk) and links to ARCHON (Artists' Papers Register)

[lgu.ac.uk/fawcett](http://lgu.ac.uk/fawcett)

[lib.ed.ac.uk](http://lib.ed.ac.uk)

[nls.ac.uk](http://nls.ac.uk)

[spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/Wtaylor.htm](http://spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/Wtaylor.htm)

[speel.demon.co.uk/artists](http://speel.demon.co.uk/artists)

[crane/htm](#)

[leillus.htm](#)

[millilus.htm](#)

[other/bhamsch.htm](#)

[other/wilmott.htm](#)

[solomon2.htm](#)

[artists2/newill.htm](#)

[artists2/levetus.htm](#)

[artists2/ggaskin.htm](#)

[strath.ac.uk/Departments/Archives/PGbrowse/a-br.htm](http://strath.ac.uk/Departments/Archives/PGbrowse/a-br.htm) (Patrick Geddes Index)

[womens-library.org.uk](http://womens-library.org.uk)

[web.mit.edu/museum/chicago/bennett.html](http://web.mit.edu/museum/chicago/bennett.html) (Sophia Hayden Bennett 1868-1953)

[web.mit.edu/museum/chicago/exposition.html](http://web.mit.edu/museum/chicago/exposition.html)



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

'Art, even one person's art, is never merely an individual achievement, for it originates and develops in a complex social framework. One individual's artistic product is embedded in a fabric woven out of other's contributions, whether these are encouragement, material or intellectual support, or the art which emerges at any one particular time and the tradition behind it.'<sup>1</sup>

My thanks for the initial support for my research proposals go to Eleanor Symms of Adult Basic Education in Edinburgh (printmaker, book-maker and illustrator as well as an educationalist) and to Stuart Wallace, historian, formerly of the History Department and Continuing Education Department of Edinburgh University. An intense debt of gratitude goes to Dr Elizabeth Cumming for her faith from the beginning (unlike my own) for the idea that this thesis might reach completion. I thank her for her generosity in sharing information about Phoebe Traquair and the Arts and Crafts Movement in Edinburgh. She supported my submission to the 'Body and Soul' Conference at Edinburgh in April 2000 and introduced me to the Scottish Society of Art History for which I am most grateful.

I thank all forbearing colleagues at Edinburgh College of Art, Louise Milne my internal supervisor and Dr Matthew Rampley, Head of the Centre for Visual and Cultural Studies for strategic guidance. John MacGregor of the Photography Department and all the members of Computing Services have been of immense assistance in providing facilities for the thesis. Ann Jones, Archivist of Heriot Watt College and Edinburgh College of Art has responded to my persistent requests to see ranges of photographs and papers and has been good enough to share her own research on educationalist Mary Burton with me. I am very grateful to Edinburgh College of Art for giving me financial

support from the Edward Clark Bequest which has been absolutely crucial in the conduct of my research.

Dr Bill Bell of the Centre for the History of the Book at Edinburgh University included a submission to a Conference he organised at Edinburgh University entitled 'Material Cultures' in July 2000. He and his wife Suzanne have given me the stimulus of intellectual and personal support throughout this project. I thank in particular Sian Rynolds, Head of the French Language and Literature Department of the University of Stirling until December 2003, for constant contact and information regarding women's roles in Scotland and for the gendering of their record. She encouraged me to join the Scottish Women's History Network in which I have benefited from the dynamic and company of others in their experience and awareness of the issues raised in my research. Additionally, Juliet Wightman, postgraduate student also at the University of Stirling, in the English Literature Department, included some of my work in a Seminar Series on 'Memory' in March 2002, which proved a filip at a strategic moment.

Professor Alistair McCleery of Napier University Print Media and Publishing Department has given me much patient external supervision and advice. I have cause to be very grateful to him for being included in offering a paper to the Edward Clark Seminar Series at Napier University in June 2001 which has been published by Merchiston Publishing in June 2002.

Jennie Renton, Editor of *The Scottish Book Collector* and the National Library Publication *Folio*, has been of immense support in my work. She has discussed and carried a number of my articles related to illustration and readership in Scotland over the last five years. Her forbearance and firm friendship has been of immense personal

and practical support. Her own knowledge and interest in children's literature and illustration have constantly informed my own interests.

Reviewing the past years of my research I can only briefly thank, most warmly, the interviewees, relatives of artists and other researches mentioned as specifically as possible in the Bibliography. The staff of libraries in Edinburgh College of Art, Edinburgh Public Library, General Register Office for Scotland, Glasgow College of Art Archive, Glasgow University, Strathclyde University and Heriot Watt Archive – Napier College Library (also the Edward Clark Collection), the National Library of Scotland, National Monuments Record and the Mitchell Library, Glasgow, have been tirelessly cheerful and supportive. To those in the Libraries and Archives of the National Galleries of Scotland, the Gallery of Modern Art and the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, I should also like to register a debt of gratitude.

I also thank friends, Peter and Louise Cochrane, Jonathan and Jessie Gibbs, Gillian Lawrence, Fiona Martynoga, Rona Stephen and many others for tolerating my curiosity into the subject of women and illustration. The late Dorothy Mitchell-Smith/Lawson (editor) and Elisa Trimby/Clifford (artist and illustrator) both died of cancer during the preparation of this thesis. I valued their encouragement deeply. Special thanks go to Moyra Taylor for being a 'sounding board', for her advice, support, critical assistance and unstinting friendship. Without my husband Paul, my sons James and Michael and the backup of my mother – who was unable to complete her training as an artist – I could not have completed this work. I look forward in anticipation to amendments, corrections and improvements from whatever sources they may come.

Rosemary Addison, October 2003

---

<sup>1</sup> Gisela Breitling, 'Speech, Silence and the Discourse of Art: on Conventions of Speech and Feminist Consciousness', in Gisela Ecker, *Feminist Aesthetics*, (translated from the German by Harriet Anderson), The Women's Press, London, 1985