

**The Arts and Crafts Movement: exchanges between
Greece and Britain (1876-1930)**

M.Phil thesis

Mary Greensted

UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM

University of Birmingham Research Archive

e-theses repository

This unpublished thesis/dissertation is copyright of the author and/or third parties. The intellectual property rights of the author or third parties in respect of this work are as defined by The Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988 or as modified by any successor legislation.

Any use made of information contained in this thesis/dissertation must be in accordance with that legislation and must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the permission of the copyright holder.

Contents

Introduction	1
1. The Arts and Crafts Movement: from Britain to continental Europe	11
2. Arts and Crafts travels to Greece	27
3 Byzantine architecture and two British Arts and Crafts architects in Greece	45
4. Byzantine influence in the architectural and design work of Barnsley and Schultz	69
5. Collections of Greek embroideries in England and their impact on the British Arts and Crafts Movement	102
6. Craft workshops in Greece, 1880-1930	125
Conclusion	146
Bibliography	153
Acknowledgements	162

The Arts and Crafts Movement: exchanges between Greece and Britain (1876-1930)

Introduction

As a museum curator I have been involved in research around the Arts and Crafts Movement for exhibitions and publications since 1976. I have become both aware of and interested in the links between the Movement and Greece and have relished the opportunity to research these in more depth. It has not been possible to undertake a complete survey of Arts and Crafts activity in Greece in this thesis due to both limitations of time and word constraints. In this piece of work I have set out to research the main exchanges between Britain and Greece in the years from 1876 to 1930 which occurred within the framework of the Movement.

A number of factors have dictated the time span of my thesis. The start date of 1876 marks the year in which Thomas Sandwith's collection of Greek embroidery and lace went on show at the South Kensington (now the Victoria and Albert) Museum. My researches on this collection and its impact on Arts and Crafts designers in Britain form the core of chapter five. By 1920, towards the end of the period I have been looking at, Arts and Crafts activity in Britain was much reduced and limited to specific areas such as the Cotswolds, the Lake District and the area around Ditchling, in East Sussex. In Greece, however, the folk craft revival reached its height in the 1920s. It received an additional boost from Greece's defeat by Turkey in 1922 and the subsequent arrival of Greek refugees expelled from the Turkish mainland. Some of these people had craft skills; they all needed employment. 'Mother's Corner', the workshop set up in 1923 by Anna Papadopoulos referred to in chapter six, was one of many such responses to the disaster. A series of exhibitions held throughout the country, including in Delphi and Thessaloniki, culminated in the exhibition staged in Athens in October 1930 as part of the Balkan Conference. At this point – my end date – contemporary folk crafts in Greece had achieved a recognised status in the national psyche.

My aim in tackling this project has been to undertake research on areas of the Arts and Crafts Movement that have previously been peripheral to my work as a curator of a British Arts and Crafts collection. I have wanted to verify my long-standing belief that, as discussed in chapter four, the experience of recording Byzantine architecture in Greece had a significant impact on the work of Sidney Barnsley. I was also aware that many of the factors that inspired the development of Arts and Crafts activity in other European countries were present in Greece at the end of the nineteenth century. Primarily these included the need for nation building, a rich history of craft activity, and a growing population with disappearing craft skills. However I have been unable to trace much recent research in this field.¹ There is significant published material on the relationship between Greece and Britain during this period but this has tended to concentrate on the political sphere and on the cult of Hellenism.² There is minimal material on any cultural exchanges – in terms of either people or collections of artefacts moving between the two countries. I have selected the term ‘exchanges’ because it suggests a reciprocal action and reaction; this is how I see the relationship. I hope that the work I have done for this thesis will inspire future projects – further research, publications or exhibitions – to add breadth to the Arts and Crafts Movement, one of the most important art movements to emerge from England, and to shed some light on a neglected aspect of Greece’s cultural development.

My initial interest in this field, the revival of craftwork in twentieth-century Greece, was inspired by the products of the Ikaros Pottery in Rhodes. Unfortunately my researches have revealed that the records of the pottery were damaged in a flood in about 1980 and were destroyed. This has prevented me from developing this area any further.³ However I have thought it worth setting out the information I have because the motivation for establishing the pottery as well as its products link to the Arts and Crafts Movement. The Ikaros Pottery was set up in the mid-1920s at a time when the island was an Italian protectorate. It was inspired by the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century pottery plates made at Iznik in north-west Turkey which

¹ E. Roupa has published some research on dress reform. See Roupa 2002

² See for example Clarke 1989; Holland and Markides 2006.

³ Information provided to me by Chrysanthi Colbert of the Hatzicostantinou family whose father reopened the pottery in 1950.

found their way into many homes on the nearby island of Rhodes (see figs 1 and 2 below). Visiting a Rhodian house in the second half of the nineteenth century, H. F. Tozer remarked on: ‘The use of plates as wall-ornaments, which is quite characteristic of the famous Rhodian ware, is quite a Rhodian custom.’⁴ The association with Rhodes was so strong that the polychromatic Iznik wares of the sixteenth century were known as Rhodian and were believed to have been made on the island until the researches of Arthur Lane in the 1920s.⁵ They were much admired by English art potters from the mid nineteenth century onwards for their decorative qualities especially the bright colours and flowing designs based on nature. The style of decoration, a colourful freehand painting onto an unglazed surface, was very similar to the approach of British Arts and Crafts decorators of pottery such as Alfred and Louise Powell (see figs 3 and 4 below). The Powells, who worked as freelance decorators throughout the first half of the twentieth century for the Staffordshire firm of Wedgwood and had a major influence on the firm’s decorative wares, favoured flower and plant forms as well as animals such as deer all of which are found on Iznik pottery. In 1925 the firm began producing a range of decorative ceramics that they named ‘Rhodian Pottery’, decorated with the tulips, the characteristic long, curved ‘sag’ leaf and other motifs found on Turkish Iznik wares.



Fig. 1. Iznik pottery polychromatic plate, second half of the 16th century.



Fig. 2. Ikaros pottery plate, about 1930.

⁴ Tozer 1890: 217.

⁵ Denny 2004:125.

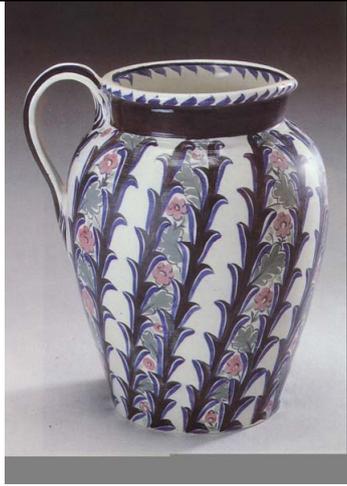


Fig. 3. Wedgwood ewer painted by Louise Powell in about 1920.



Fig. 4. Wedgwood bowl painted by Alfred Powell in about 1926.

At about the same time the Italian governor on Rhodes set up ICARO, (Industrie Ceramiche Artistiche Rodio-Orientali), the school and pottery that became known as Ikaros. The school and workshop were established initially in order to provide young Greek boys and men with work and to reinvigorate craft skills that were dying out. The quality of the ceramics and the painted decoration carried out under the direction of the Austrian potter, Egon Huber, were high. According to Laurence Durrell, Huber was shipwrecked on Rhodes in about 1925 and fitted the requirements of the island's governor who had been pressing the Italian government for the services of a skilled potter.⁶ The Ikaros pottery produced well-potted decorative wares, painted freehand with Iznik-style motifs especially flowers and leaves, deer and ships, which have now become family heirlooms. In Rhodes the Ikaros pottery was revived in private ownership after the Second World War once the island was incorporated into Greece in 1947. It provided decorative wares for locals and for the growing tourist market, and survived until the 1970s. I would have liked to have done more research generally on the revival of ceramics in Greece in the twentieth century. This was prevented primarily by the constraints of time and length but also because the main revival of ceramics in Greece occurred right at the end of the period covered by my thesis.

⁶ Durrell 1952:35.

The Arts and Crafts Movement emerged in England in the 1880s, centred round London and other major cities. It spread rapidly through Britain, the English-speaking world, and parts of Europe. The Movement had no manifesto, and is notoriously difficult to define as a style. I have set out the background to the Movement in chapter one, highlighting factors that are particularly relevant to subsequent developments in late nineteenth- and twentieth-century continental Europe. This is partly based on my own work, some of it undertaken for *An Anthology of the Arts and Crafts Movement*.⁷ Articles by Alan Crawford and Alan Powers have been particularly useful as catalysts for my argument and Rosalind P. Blakesley's recent book has also provided new insights.⁸ Two aspects of the Movement are particularly relevant to my research. The first was its emphasis on the use of the past as inspiration to create something new for the future. This approach included both the adaptation of historic designs and the revival of neglected craft and building techniques. The second element was the importance of handwork. Creative manual work was valued because it ensured the survival of traditional skills; it provided additional income for handworkers and also had the potential to instil cultural values and broaden the horizons of both the individuals involved and, through them, society as a whole.

During the past twenty years scholars have looked at manifestations of the Arts and Crafts Movement in continental Europe. A session, 'Regionalism: Challenging the Canon', at the annual conference of the Association of Art Historians held in Dublin in 1990 resulted in the publication of *Art and the National Dream* edited by Nicola Gordon Bowe.⁹ This collection of essays included pioneering work by Bowe herself on the Irish Arts and Crafts Movement, and papers on the revival of folk art and craftwork in Russia and Norway by Wendy Salmond and Patricia G. Berman respectively. Subsequently research on the links between the Arts and Crafts Movement, romantic nationalism and central Europe has been pioneering by a number of scholars including Blakesley, David Crowley, and Juliet Kinchin.¹⁰ In addition two major exhibitions on the Arts and Crafts Movement organised by the Los Angeles County Museum of Art in 2004 and the Victoria and

⁷ Greensted 2005.

⁸ Crawford 1997; Powers 2005; Blakesley 2006.

⁹ Bowe 1993.

¹⁰ See, for example, Crowley 2000; Kinchin 2004; Blakesley 2006.

Albert Museum in 2005 included sections on the contributions of continental Europe.¹¹

Greek crafts and artwork were not mentioned in any of the above. However Greece's struggle for independence from the Ottoman Empire, its emergence as a nation state within Europe in 1832, and the subsequent efforts to create a coherent identity for the country, mirrored developments in countries such as Finland and Hungary which are considered part of the European Arts and Crafts Movement. The similarity between Greece's situation and that of countries such as Finland has been noted by writers such as M. Herzfeld:

Sounding very much like the Greeks on the subject of Turkey, the Finns, for example, contrasted their "European" culture with the "oriental barbarism of the Russians... The Finns, like the Greeks, used their folklore to validate both their national identity and their cultural status as Europeans.¹²

Throughout this thesis I have tried to highlight the areas that link Greece to the Arts and Crafts Movement in general. I have focussed in particular on the relevant exchanges between England and Greece.

In 1832 Greece's borders were recognised and guaranteed by Britain, France, and Russia, who also decided on a hereditary monarchy as its form of government. Otto, the second son of King Ludwig of Bavaria, was chosen as the nation's first monarch. Although still a minor he was crowned in the provisional capital of Nafplion in February 1833. However, the nation state was still in a state of flux. It included less than a third of the Greek population of the Ottoman Empire. Its northern border ran from Arta in the west to Volos in the east; its lands included all the Peloponnese in the south and some of the eastern islands near the mainland. Political manoeuvrings, uprisings, and instability characterised the first decades of Greece's

¹¹ *The Arts & Crafts Movement in Europe & America: Design for the Modern World*, toured by Los Angeles County Museum of Art in 2004-05; *International Arts and Crafts* toured by the Victoria and Albert Museum in 2005-06.

¹² Herzfeld 1982:11.

existence.¹³ Attempts were made to encourage Greek nationalism inspired by the politician, Ioannis Kolettis, who developed the 'Great Idea' of a wider Greece. The fact that Smyrna, Trebizond, Thessaloniki and Constantinople, amongst the main centres of Greek wealth and economic activity, remained outside the new state were powerful and persuasive arguments for the 'Great Idea'. It was imperative for the government to use every means available, including language and culture as well as political institutions, to unite the new nation state. Athens was chosen as its capital, primarily because of its associations with the country's classical past, and attempts were made to emphasise the links with the classical heritage in language and education. The design of many public buildings in the neo-classical style, including the royal palace and the Parliament building, reinforced those links. The first royal couple, King Otto and Queen Amalia, were not Greek but were perceived as having tried to establish a Greek identity. King Otto often wore a fustanella, the national dress, even after he was deposed in 1862. Writing in the 1930s, the Greek folklorist, Angeliki Hatzimichali, believed that the impetus given to Greek national dress by the royal family could have been the start of a craft tradition based on Greek elements.¹⁴ Even if this had been the case, Hatzimichali acknowledged that these new shoots were dissipated by the fashion for what she referred to as 'pseudo-classicism' and the western styles adopted by the next monarch, King George I, and his court.

The idea of Greece held a powerful fascination for western Europe and in particular for Britain in the nineteenth century, both during the War of Independence and subsequently. I have discussed this in chapter two using contemporary accounts. To help elucidate issues about the country's image I have detailed two visits to Greece made firstly by the Toynbee Travellers Club in 1892 and then by the Art Workers' Guild in 1909. A brief account of the Toynbee Travellers Club has been published by Joan D. Browne while H. J. L. Massé was the contemporary chronicler of the Art Workers' Guild.¹⁵ Both organisations and many of the individuals who took part had close links with the Arts and Crafts Movement. I have also used first-hand accounts where

¹³ See for example Clogg 1992:47-59.

¹⁴ Hagimihali [=Hatzimichali] 1937:18.

¹⁵ Browne, 1986; Massé 1935.

possible including published material by Thomas Okey and H. W. Nevinson.¹⁶ This chapter provides an introductory impression of the way Greece was viewed in Britain in the late nineteenth century and considers whether the attitude of those involved in the Movement was coloured by Arts and Crafts ideas.

In chapter three I have looked at the motivation and approach of two young architects, Robert Weir Schultz and Sidney Barnsley, who undertook a ground-breaking study of Byzantine architecture in Greece between 1887 and 1901. I have not attempted to examine the scope and significance of their researches from the point of view of Byzantine architectural history; rather I have tried to assess the role played by their Arts and Crafts training and sympathies in undertaking and completing their study. Shortly before commencing my research, I attended a lecture given by the Byzantine scholar, Professor Robin Cormack on 'British Arts and Crafts architects and Byzantium'.¹⁷ Both his comments and his overview of the work of the succession of architects who recorded Byzantine architecture in Greece – Schultz, Barnsley and, following in their footsteps, Ramsay Traquair, William Harvey and Walter Sykes George – and the accompanying exhibition of photographs and drawings provided a useful introduction. Schultz's architectural career has been detailed and discussed in a monograph by Gavin Stamp and an article by David Ottewill and both these sources provided me with a useful framework.¹⁸ Schultz's own essay, 'Reason in Building', and various published articles have produced insights into his approach.¹⁹ Barnsley left no written work other than his contribution to their jointly produced monograph on *Osios Loukas*.²⁰ My own published work has touched on Sidney Barnsley's stay in Greece in the context of his subsequent career.²¹ My analysis is also based on original material, particularly their notebooks, in the archives of both the British School at Athens and the Barnsley Workshop in Hampshire.²²

¹⁶ Okey 1930; Nevinson 1923.

¹⁷ Cormack 2008.

¹⁸ Stamp 1981; Ottewill 1979.

¹⁹ Schultz 1909.

²⁰ Barnsley and Schultz 1901.

²¹ Comino 1980.

²² A similar approach based on the work of the two architects in Monemvasia was taken by Kalligas 2000:23-44.

In chapter four I have gone on to assess the impact of Schultz's and Barnsley's Byzantine researches on their subsequent work as architects and designers. In particular I have focused on Barnsley's furniture designs. This chapter is based on my own research over a period of time and that of a number of fellow-enthusiasts including Annette Carruthers and Mike McGrath.²³ I have also looked at the wider influence of Byzantine designs on their circle of colleagues including Ernest Gimson. I have used visual material from Cheltenham Art Gallery and Museum, Leicester Arts and Museums, and private collections to support my arguments.

British travellers to Greece in the nineteenth century admired the examples of traditional costume that were still worn on special occasions. They sometimes acquired pieces of Greek embroidery to bring home with them. The first major collection of Greek lace and embroidery was made by Thomas Sandwith in Crete in the 1870s. The bulk of his collections was acquired by the South Kensington Museum and exhibited there in 1876.²⁴ In chapter five I have researched the impact of that collection and its significance to the designers of the Arts and Crafts Movement, using archives and original material at the Victoria and Albert Museum, in the Louisa Pesel collection at the University of Leeds, and at Kelmscott Manor, Oxfordshire. Two catalogues featuring the collection have provided additional background information and visual comparisons.²⁵

In chapter six I have looked at a number of schools and workshops set up in Greece from the 1880s onwards and, where relevant, their links with Britain. Most of these were textile workshops but they also included pottery, woodcarving and other crafts. They were usually set up with a largely philanthropic purpose, often by women, much like the Home Arts and Industries Association in Britain. But, as in Britain, many of these schools and workshops developed beyond the philanthropic, and the work produced was important in its own right. A number of these workshops, including the Royal Hellenic School of Needlework and Lace set up in Athens by Lady Olga

²³ See for example Carruthers 1999; McGrath 2003.

²⁴ I am grateful to Frances Collard, curator in the dept. of Furniture and Woodwork at the V&A for alerting me to the Sandwith collection at the start of my researches.

²⁵ De Chaves 1999; Ioannou-Yannara 2006.

Egerton, wife of the British Consul, and 'Diplous Pelekys', set up in Crete by Florentini Kaloutsis, who trained at the Royal Academy Schools in London, combined the two elements of the Arts and Crafts Movement discussed above. They promoted the use of traditional Greek folk patterns and classical motifs as inspiration for new work and the acquisition of traditional craft skills. The publications of Angeliki Hatzimichali, especially *L'Art Populaire Grec* referred to above, have been particularly useful although it is striking to realize how relatively little interest there has been in this area since the Second World War.²⁶

In my conclusion I have tried to assess the extent of the vernacular revival in Greece in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. I have attempted to decide whether Greece can be said to have been involved with the Arts and Crafts Movement during this period. Were the links with the English movement significant or were the developments merely a response to the historical and cultural situation?

²⁶ However I must mention the contribution made to folk art studies by the Angeliki Hatzimichali Foundation and by the Greek Folk Art Museum in Athens and the Folk Art Museum, Nafplion.

Chapter one

The Arts and Crafts Movement: from Britain to continental Europe

This chapter sets out the background to the Arts and Crafts Movement in Britain and highlights elements in its ideology, ethos and working practices which were particularly relevant to subsequent developments in late nineteenth- and twentieth-century continental Europe. Its impact on Britain has been well documented.²⁷ What I have set out to do in this chapter is to assess its significance for continental Europe, especially for countries such as Greece which were still establishing their national identity in the late nineteenth century.

The Arts and Crafts Movement was, in simplest terms, an artistic ideology which developed in England in the 1880s and dominated art and design in Britain at least until the outbreak of the First World War. It was disseminated to much of the English-speaking world – North America, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa – where it developed along largely similar lines. The ethos of the Movement, in particular the dignity it invested in handwork together with its interest in the vernacular and the sense of place, was particularly attractive and relevant to new nation states trying to create or reinforce their identities as regimes such as the Austro-Hungarian Empire collapsed and borders changed. In a number of countries in continental Europe the Arts and Crafts Movement became closely linked to the concept of Romantic Nationalism – the use of design and folk traditions to express a national identity.

In England the Movement emerged as a response to a period of economic and social uncertainties which developed through the nineteenth century. In the fifty years between 1790 and 1840 England had changed rapidly from an agrarian to a largely industrial society. Expanding commercial activity and the rapid growth of a new urban middle class had created confidence, wealth and prosperity for a sizeable proportion of the

²⁷ See for example Naylor 1971; Crawford 1997; Powers 2005.

expanding population of the country. The general view was that continual material expansion would be inevitable, straightforward and desirable. By the 1860s this conviction was coming under attack from all sides. Religious certainties were challenged by scientific and pseudo-scientific theories about the origins of life on earth propounded by Jean Baptiste de Lamarck, Robert Chambers, Herbert Spencer and Charles Darwin among others. The publications of Chambers and Darwin in the 1840s and '50s were bestsellers and their theories were popularly assumed to be incompatible with religious belief.²⁸ Problems and strains in English society were becoming apparent. The gap between the rich and the poor had widened and become more immediately obvious by the mid nineteenth century. In 1880 William Morris, poet, businessman, designer and socialist, expressed the sentiments of many of his peers in his lecture, 'The Beauty of Life':

I had thought that our civilisation meant the attainment of peace and order and freedom, of goodwill between man and man, of the love of truth and the hatred of injustice . . . a life free from craven fear, but full of incident: that was what I thought it meant, not more stuffed chairs and more cushions, and more carpets and gas, and more dainty meat and drink – and therewithal more and sharper differences between class and class.²⁹

Depopulation and poverty were rife in the countryside as a result of both the industrialisation of traditional occupations such as the wool trade and a succession of poor harvests. In urban areas the rapidity of industrialisation brought in its wake an increase in poverty, social disintegration and unrest. In her book on the Arts and Crafts Movement, Rosalind P. Blakesley follows three generations of textile workers from the 1790s to the 1830s describing a frightening decline of earning power and dramatic changes to the pattern of working lives. The wages for a worker in the cotton mills of Bolton, Lancashire were about 33 shillings in 1795. His son would be earning about half that in 1815 as factory owners cut wages and introduced machine labour to increase profits. His grandson in the

²⁸ For example R. Chambers, *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*, 1844; C. Darwin, *On the Origins of the Species*, 1858.

²⁹ Morris 1914:75-6.

1830s would not have been able to survive on weekly wages of about five shillings and sixpence. As a result both his wife and young children would have to seek factory work.³⁰ In London a series of exposés by journalists brought the grim living conditions in the East End into the public domain. The Russian author, Fyodor Mikhailovich Dostoyevsky, visited London in 1862 and described the British working classes as ‘white negroes’. He went on to write: ‘What you see here is no longer even a people, but a systematic resigned loss of consciousness that is actually encouraged’.³¹ The term ‘unemployment’ entered the vocabulary in the 1880s and at the same time attempts were made to unify and organise the working classes. The first Trades Union Congress was held in 1868 and trade union membership doubled between 1882 and 1892. The Democratic Federation, a socialist organisation inspired by the ideas of Karl Marx was founded in England in 1881. Although its membership was small – it had about two hundred members in 1883 – it was influential. Its founder, Henry Hyndman, was a flamboyant aristocratic figure who was successful in attracting high-profile and able radicals such as Morris himself; the journalist, H. W. Nevinson; and John Burns, subsequently the first working-class Member of Parliament to serve in the Cabinet.

The Arts and Crafts Movement was non-political but combined both conservative and radical elements in its attempts to bring together architects, designers, artists and manufacturers to create new ways of production and consumption. The Movement was shaped by the work of two men, John Ruskin, artist and writer, and Morris. Ruskin’s three-volume book, *The Stones of Venice* published between 1851-3, and in particular the chapter, ‘The Nature of Gothic’, in the second volume became the equivalent of a bible for the next generation reaching adulthood in the 1870s and 1880s. Ruskin’s argument was made in powerful and convincing terms: the division of labour had led to a moral and artistic collapse that could only be reversed by returning control over working practices to the craftsman. In another influential book, *Unto This Last*, published in 1860, he asserted:

³⁰ Blakesley 2006:11.

³¹ A. N. Wilson 2002:416.

‘It is, therefore, the manner and issue of consumption which are the real tests of production. Production does not consist in things laboriously made, but in things serviceably consumable; and the question for the nation is not how much labour it employs, but how much life it produces. For as consumption is the end and aim of production, so life is the end and aim of consumption.’³²

Morris, having given up the idea of entering the Church and taken instead to art in its widest sense, began putting some of Ruskin’s ideas into practice. Following his marriage in 1859 his close friend, the architect Philip Webb, designed Morris’s first home, Red House in Bexleyheath, Kent. Morris, his wife, Janey, and their friends set about decorating the house and creating its furnishings. The drawing room was painted with a mural based on the fifteenth-century Thornton Romances. One scene included a wedding feast, with Morris and his wife providing the models for the bridegroom and bride. A large cupboard was decorated with scenes from the Arthurian legend. Elsewhere Morris painted a mural of trees and birds and, with Janey, embroidered lengths of blue serge material with a pattern of daisies for curtains. In 1904, the German architectural critic, Hermann Muthesius, described Red House as: ‘...the very first to be conceived and built as a unified whole, inside and out, the very first example in the history of the modern house.’³³ The home became an important symbol for the Arts and Crafts Movement in England partly because many of its leading designers were also architects. Influential figures including C. F. A. Voysey, M. H. Baillie Scott and C. R. Ashbee designed houses and interiors and promoted the concept of a complete and integrated work of art to an international audience. This approach became best known by the German term ‘Gesamtkunstwerk’ first used in the mid-nineteenth century. The home also took on the concept of a place of welcome and community, a refuge from the outside world. Morris’s written works include loving descriptions of homes, real and imagined, and he declared: ‘If I were asked to say what is at once

³² Ruskin 1860:156.

³³ Quoted in F. MacCarthy 1994:plate II.

the most important production of Art and the thing most to be longed for, I should answer, A Beautiful House'.³⁴

Following on from the decoration of Red House, Morris set up a business producing decorative wares for the home that were well made and thoughtfully designed but not necessarily luxurious or expensive. The firm of Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Company was founded in April 1861 and reconstituted as Morris & Company in 1875. It produced furniture, printed and woven textiles, embroideries, decorated tiles, metalwork, wallpapers and stained glass some of which were produced in its own workshops others in conjunction with established manufacturers. The partners and designers were Morris's friends, including Philip Webb and the Pre-Raphaelite painters, Edward Burne-Jones, Ford Madox Brown and Dante Gabriel Rossetti. Morris's enthusiasm for the decorative arts, his interest in craft techniques, and his hands-on approach were tremendously influential on the development of the Arts and Crafts Movement in Britain and the wider world.

The flowering of the Arts and Crafts Movement took place in the 1880s with the foundation of the Art-Workers' Guild in 1884 and its offshoot, the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society in 1887. It was spearheaded by the generation following on from Ruskin and Morris, the generation born in the 1850s and '60s. They took on and developed Morris's principles about materials, handwork, and design; his ideas about art, work and society were spread through his writings and lectures from the late 1870s onwards. Manufacturers, designers and artists set up workshops and studios to produce goods and to provide training and worthwhile employment. Machine production in itself was not at issue. Walter Crane, a designer, illustrator and one of the leading propagandists of the Movement, admired the technical skills and speed of steam-driven machinery which he described as, 'the marvellous mechanical invention' of the age.³⁵ But he deplored the lack of design and proliferation of thoughtless ornament in its end products. Another Arts and Crafts designer, W. A. S. Benson, had a large workshop in

³⁴ W. Morris, "Some Thoughts on the Ornamented Manuscripts of the Middle Ages", quoted in Poulson 1996:142.

³⁵ Crane 1888:206.

west London producing metalwork, including an influential range of electric light fittings, turned or cast by machine.

The role of decoration was central to the Arts and Crafts because of the Movement's emphasis on the applied arts. The concerns about the products of mechanised industries centred round the emphasis on ornament rather than form or function. The effect of mechanisation in nineteenth-century England was often to add ornament to previously undecorated functional objects rather than to produce more or better designed objects. And yet Morris, like other commentators, noted that a useful domestic object 'has always thought to be unfinished till it has had some touch or other of decoration about it.' His answer, as expressed in his lecture, 'The Lesser Arts', of 1877 was that nature should be the initial source for all pattern:

For, and this is at the root of the whole matter, everything made by man's hands has a form, which must be either beautiful or ugly; beautiful if it is in accord with Nature, and helps her; ugly if it is discordant with Nature, and thwarts her; it cannot be indifferent.³⁶

This emphasis on natural forms became central to the Arts and Crafts Movement in England and elsewhere. It tied in with the emphasis on the vernacular, the use of local materials and motifs. It was considered essential to turn to nature as the source for pattern, but when designing an object for a particular locality, it was desirable to look at the specific examples of plants and flowers in the area. The approach went back to the writings of the pioneering architect, A. W. N. Pugin, in the 1830s and '40s. He was the first to postulate a relationship between nature and Gothic art:

...I became fully convinced that the finest foliage work in Gothic building were all close approximations to nature and their peculiar character was chiefly owing to the manner of their arrangement and disposition... The more carefully I examined the productions of the medieval artists, in glass painting, decorative sculpture, or metal

³⁶ Morris 1914:4-5

work, the more fully I was convinced of their adherence to natural forms.³⁷

Ruskin, Morris, and the architect, John D. Sedding, all went on to draw parallels between nature and medieval Gothic design. This was an impetus for the element of traditionalism, of learning from the past which runs through the Arts and Crafts Movement.

Unlike many art movements which promote a break with tradition, the ideology of the Arts and Crafts Movement encouraged respect for past work. Like other young architectural students in the 1880s, Ernest Gimson was encouraged to visit museums, churches and country houses and to study old work. Subsequently as a practising architect and designer in 1916 he wrote, 'I never feel myself apart from our own times by harking back to the past – to be complete we must live in all the tenses – past, future as well as present.'³⁸ The inspiration of English and Dutch seventeenth-century furniture and metalwork and sixteenth-century plasterwork and embroidery are among some of the influences that can be seen in his work. Like many Arts and Crafts architects he was involved with the various organisations set up to protect and conserve the country's heritage. The most influential of these was the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings founded by Morris in 1877 and still active today. It was set up to counter the over-zealous restoration of some of Britain's most historic churches and developed a system for the sympathetic repair of old buildings which involved honest and good workmanship. Arts and Crafts designers idealised a rural past and the traditional craftsmen connected with it. Sedding referred to 'the old handicrafts of Merry England' and advised young architects and designers that, '...a builder's yard – take all things round – is the very best and most wholesome place to learn general handicraft – all about form, texture, composition.'³⁹ A number of the young architects working in his London office at this time took his advice including Alfred Powell who learnt woodworking skills in 1894 by working for a builder in Surrey making gables and guttering and Gimson who travelled through the English countryside –

³⁷ Pugin 1849:unpaginated introduction.

³⁸ Quoted in Greensted 2005:73.

³⁹ Sedding 1893:80-1.

particularly the south-west and north-east – talking to craftsmen, watching them at work, sketching their tools and occasionally buying the finished products of their labours.

The British Arts and Crafts appropriation of the rush-seated country chair provides an interesting case study. The ‘Sussex’ chair, a low-backed rush-seated ash chair probably designed by Ford Madox Brown for Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Company in the early 1860s, was loosely based on traditional prototypes. It was one of the firm’s best sellers and remained in production until 1940. Crane marvelled at its impact:

Enter to such an interior a plain unvarnished rush bottom chair from Buckinghamshire sound in wind and limb – “C’est impossible!” And yet the rush-bottomed chair and the printed cotton of frank design and colour from an unpretending and somewhat inaccessible house in Queen Square may be said to have routed the false ideals, vulgar smartness and stiffness in domestic furniture and decoration.⁴⁰

In 1890, Ernest Gimson spent some weeks with Philip Clissett, a traditional chair-maker or chair bodger from Herefordshire. Clissett had been ‘discovered’ a couple of years previously by another Arts and Crafts architect. His turned and rush-seated ladderback chairs were purchased for the meeting room of the Art-Workers’ Guild in London and Clissett himself acquired almost iconic status described as resembling, ‘what the aristocratic poor used to be’.⁴¹ This interest in the traditional country chair was taken a step further in the 1890s by the young architects of the Arts and Crafts Movement. Gimson made himself a pole lathe in Clissett’s workshop and began making ladderback chairs. He exhibited one such chair at the 1883 Arts and Crafts Exhibition in London that turned out to be the best seller in the show. Subsequently almost every British Arts and Crafts designer of note, including C. R. Ashbee, M. H. Baillie Scott, C. F. A. Voysey, and Charles Rennie Mackintosh, include a version of this type of furniture in their design repertoire.

⁴⁰ Crane 1911:52.

⁴¹ Quoted in Batkin 1991:11.

Craft industries were promoted as part of the Arts and Crafts Movement. There was a real interest in vernacular work and an emphasis on a sense of place in relation to design. However craftwork was seen as a way of both providing employment and ensuring the survival of traditional skills as discussed in chapter six. A scheme to revitalise the linen industry in the North West, inspired by the writings of John Ruskin, was set up by Albert Fleming, a lawyer from London, and another incomer to the region Marion Twelves in 1883. They established the Langdale Linen Industry in Elterwater in the Lake District, training and employing local women to use local raw materials in the production of bleached linen sheeting for domestic use. The scheme however took on a life of its own. The material was bought up by professional and amateur needleworkers as it provided an excellent ground for embroidery. Demand was such that it could not be met using locally produced linen; the raw material had to be imported from Ireland. The scheme provided valuable employment for women in the area through the first two decades of the twentieth century.

From Britain Arts and Crafts ideas were spread via individual contacts and the printed word. A visit to London was considered essential for many American and European architects and designers. The Finnish painter, Akseli Gallen-Kallela (who had changed his name from Axel Gällén to sound more Finnish), visited London in 1895 and returned to inspire the younger generation of artists and designers with English Arts and Crafts ideology. He was only one of a number of influential visitors from Finland. The husband-and-wife team of Louis Sparre and Evan Mannerheim-Sparre visited England in 1896 where they met Charles Holme, founder of *The Studio* and owner of Red House built for William Morris. On their return to Finland they set up the Iris Workshops in the cabinet-making centre of Porvoo. Furniture, pottery, leatherwork and indeed complete interiors were designed and produced in the workshops. The work was honest and functional, characterised by the use of quality materials, good craftsmanship and simple, colourful designs. It was very much Arts and Crafts in character with only a minimal reference to Finnish folk art. In 1899 a Hungarian economist, Gyula Mandello, interested to see how Ruskin's ideas had been put into practice visited Ashbee and the Guild of Handicraft workshops in the East End of London. Ashbee wrote in his Journals, 'An interesting Hungarian has turned up - see how Catholic is the

modern Arts and Crafts movement'.⁴² Mandello commissioned a large amount of furniture, jewellery and metalwork from the Guild which was exhibited at the 1900 Secession exhibition in Vienna in the course of its transportation to Hungary. It brought Ashbee numerous commissions from Austrian and Hungarian clients. There is however little evidence of Greek visitors to Britain apart from the Cretan designer, Florentini Kaloutsis who studied at the Royal Academy Schools between 1906 and 1911. Her work is discussed in chapter six. There were more links between the Greek educated classes and Munich and Paris than London because of the specific links between the Greek royal family and Germany and the important cultural links with France.

A number of British figures connected with the Arts and Crafts Movement especially Crane and Ashbee travelled extensively. As well as making trips to the United States and South Africa, Ashbee visited Hungary in 1905 and met Dezsó Malonyay, editor of *Art of the Hungarian People*, a staggering five-volume work published between 1907 and '22. He was impressed by Malonyay's collection of folk art and the survival of craft traditions in the Hungarian countryside. Influential exhibitions of British decorative arts were held in Budapest in 1898 and 1902 and the work of Crane was singled out for two solo shows in 1895 and 1900. Crane visited Hungary during the second show and his itinerary included an excursion to Transylvania. This region was considered the foremost destination for anyone interested in Hungarian folk art as it was perceived as free from both Hapsburg and Turkish influence. The strength of the surviving folk traditions in this part of rural Hungary must have impressed Crane as he filled notebooks with sketches. The bookplate he designed for Professor Kovács, his guide on his tour of Transylvania, depicts Crane himself doffing his cap and shaking hands with a peasant and his wife in national costume in front of a traditional Székely gate.

The magazine, *The Studio*, was first published in Britain in 1893 and quickly became the mouthpiece of the Arts and Crafts Movement. It included illustrated articles, often written by the young high-profile figures of the

⁴² Quoted in Blakesley 2006:140.

Movement such as Ashbee, Voysey and Baillie Scott, exhibition reviews, and competitions for amateur artists and designers. It also published three special editions devoted to peasant art in Sweden, Lapland and Iceland; in Austria and Hungary; and in Russia. Its international edition was widely read. One volume included a colour illustration of embroidered work by Anna Papadopoulos which is illustrated in chapter six. Similar periodicals to *The Studio* were produced throughout Europe. Of particular importance were the French *Art et Decoration*, *Moderne Stil* and *Dekorative Kunst* in Germany and the Austrian *Kunst und Kunsthandwerk*. The first Finnish art magazine, *Ateneum*, was founded in the late 1890s. In Hungary József Huszka had spent a decade researching the architecture and folk craft traditions of the Székely people, reputedly descendants of the son of Attila the Hun and thus representing the ethnically pure Hungarian race. He published a series of books, including *The Hungarian Decorative Style* in 1885, which helped to promote and translate the legend that Hungarians were descended from Attila the Hun, from hunters and horsemen from the eastern Carpathian Mountains, into popular imagery. These ideas were taken on and developed by a group of young architects known as the Fiatalok (Young Ones) led by Károly Kós. He came from Transylvania and seized on the ideal of a national modern style based on the architecture of his native region with great enthusiasm. A new journal *A Ház* was launched incorporating the distinctive village church of Korosfó, in Transylvania, on its cover.

Arts and Crafts wares from Britain found a ready market in Europe. There was a shop called *Arts and Crafts* in The Hague, Holland while the influential *Maison de l'Art Nouveau* set up by Samuel Bing in Paris began selling British Arts and Crafts from about 1900. And in Britain shops such as Liberty's established the market for imported wares, from continental Europe as well as from India and the Far East. The important role played by Liberty's in developing a market for Greek embroideries is discussed in chapter five below. Etelka Gyarmathy, a leading Hungarian intellectual, also ran workshops and had agents in London as well as Paris, Brussels, Berlin, Munich and New York.

Exhibitions featuring British Arts and Crafts work helped to disseminate the style through Europe and the United States. Particularly

influential was the series of international exhibitions mounted through the first two decades of the twentieth century including in Paris 1900, St Louis 1904, and Turin 1911. There was a Greek pavilion at the Exposition Universelle held in Paris in 1900 and it was singled out in a review by Gabriel Mourey. He wrote, 'Elsewhere too, the art gleaner may roam with profit – in the Invalides, or in the Champ de Mars, among the foreign pavilions – notably those of Finland, Spain, Hungary, Sweden, Germany and Greece'.⁴³

Despite an increasingly international art world, the concept of regionalism was a powerful influence in Europe at the end of the nineteenth century. It was not a new idea: it had links to the eighteenth-century Enlightenment with its emphasis on nature and the authentic experience. The significance of a nation's folk cultural heritage, its language and traditions had been highlighted by the German philosopher, Johann Gottfried Herder. By the late nineteenth century, according to the Hungarian writer, Katalin Keseru:

It was not a provincial variation of a great style, school or workshop, but for the first time in history, regionalism itself became a style around the same time in several countries. It signalled a real "renaissance" - by recognising and discovering unknown local artistic values, by building them into mainstream art in its regional as well as universal importance.⁴⁴

Folk or peasant art was seen as being authentic because of the link with past cultural traditions. It was also primarily concerned with the decorative arts and the home thus linking it with the ethos of the Arts and Crafts Movement. The work of Ruskin, Morris and the next generation provided an intellectual basis for developments in continental Europe. In Greece the oldest collections of folk songs were preserved in the sixteenth century in manuscripts in Mount Athos as well as in the records of western travellers. The first collection in English of Greek folk songs was produced by John Stuart Stuart-Glennie and Lucy M. J. Garnett.⁴⁵ The first edition

⁴³ Mourey 1900:64.

⁴⁴ Keseru 1993:127.

⁴⁵ Stuart-Glennie and Garnett 1885 and 1888.

published in 1885 was dedicated to William Gladstone as a noted philhellene; the second edition in 1888 was dedicated to William Morris with these words:

To the poet of *The Earthly Paradise*, *The Defence of Guinevere*, and *The Life and Death of Jason*; the rhapsodist of *The Odyssey* and *The Aeneid*; and the skald of *The Story of Sigurd the Volsung*, to William Morris, Scholar, Poet, and Socialist, these translations of Greek Folk-Songs and connected essays on Paganism and Folk-Lore, are, with equal admiration of his genius as a poetic creator, and of his earnestness as a socialist worker, dedicated by the editor and author.⁴⁶

Morris had revived and reinvigorated the Arthurian legends in works such as *The Defence of Guenevere and Other Poems* published in 1858. *The Earthly Paradise*, published between 1868 and 1870, did the same for the English oral tradition and included Chaucerian references as well as sections based on both classical Greek and Norse mythology. Following on from Morris's work, the revival of the English folk song and dance tradition was closely linked to the Arts and Crafts Movement. Cecil Sharp, with his assistants, was at the forefront of that revival. He collected and recorded folk songs from over 350 individuals in rural Somerset that had been handed down by word of mouth. The purpose was to preserve a vernacular tradition that was on the verge of dying out and to provide a source of wholesome entertainment for the future. The rediscovery of the Greek folk song shared a similar purpose and was likewise inspired by the romantic tradition. An additional and important role was the desire to make a clear link between the Hellenic past and the new Greek nation. According to Herzfeld the foreign contribution to the early stages of folksong research and publication was substantial: Claude Fauriel's two-volume compendium was published in France in 1824 and '25 while the German, Theodor Kind, also published a collection of Greek folk songs in 1827.⁴⁷ The 1888 edition of *Greek Folk-Songs* by Stuart-Glennie and Garnett included an essay on 'The Comparative Science of Folk-Life and Folk-Lore' which made this point. Stuart-Glennie emphasised the importance of these new researches to 'those aspirations to National Freedom and National Unity, which have been the most

⁴⁶ Stuart-Glennie and Garnett 1888:unpaginated preface.

⁴⁷ Herzfeld 1982:12-30.

revolutionary Political Forces of the century, and which are certainly not even yet played out'.⁴⁸ He continued:

Histories of Civilization which take due account of the results of the Comparative Science of Folk-Life and Folk-Lore, will be distinctively theories of Economic Development; and the Political Forces to which these theories will give at once revolutionary heat and determined direction, will aim not merely at National Resurrections, but at Economic Reconstructions...

Now of all the National Resurrections, that one which will, I believe, most profoundly aid general Economic Resurrection, is the Resurrection of the Greeks.⁴⁹

His comments indicate the importance of the Hellenic classical tradition not just to the new Greek nation but to western Europe as a whole. This aspect is discussed further in chapter two. It is interesting to note however that Stuart-Glennie and Garnett's book was noted by Sidney Barnsley while he was studying Byzantine architecture in Greece.⁵⁰ This suggests that it had been read by him thus making an obvious link between the folk song revival and the Arts and Crafts Movement.

Greek writers such as Antonios Manoussos, Spyridon Zambelios and Georgios Hasiotis published the first collections of folk songs as poetic texts in the second half of the nineteenth century. Nicolaos Politis, the father-figure of the Greek folk revival, began to research and put together collections of folk songs at the end of the nineteenth century. He published his two-volume *Studies of the Life and Language of the Greek People* between 1899 and 1904 and founded the Hellenic Folklore Society in 1909, very much echoing developments in England and elsewhere in Europe.⁵¹

The attitude to the decorative arts and handwork in Greece in the nineteenth century is difficult to ascertain; I have been unable to trace much in the way of source material other than passing comments in the writings of

⁴⁸ Stuart-Glennie and Garnett 1888: xviii.

⁴⁹ Stuart-Glennie and Garnett 1888: xiii-xix.

⁵⁰ The book is referred to in an uncatalogued notebook, SHB1, Barnsley Workshop.

⁵¹ Politis 1899-1902 and Politis 1904.

western travellers.⁵² The main focus of domestic crafts in Greece in the second half of the nineteenth century was directed towards the provision of a dowry. This could include woven and embroidered pieces, both clothing and household furnishings, executed by the woman herself, as well as jewellery, metalwork and ceramics. It is clear, however, that by this time, the decline of many domestic crafts in Greece mirrored the situation in Britain and much of western Europe. The craft of dyeing yarns, for example, had traditionally been carried out by women in the home using vegetable dyes, the recipes for which were handed down between generations. In Greece, as in Britain, chemical aniline dyes began to be imported from Germany and Switzerland in the 1880s; subsequently Spiro Oikonomou and A. D. Bayer began producing chemical dyes in Greece. Areas such as Ambelakia in Thessaly had specialized in the production of red yarns dyed with madder. However, the introduction of alizarin, a chemically produced alternative, resulted in the collapse of this craft industry.⁵³ Craft activity in Greece also reflected the country's recent past. After independence two branches of tailoring emerged: 'frankoraptēs' who made men's clothes following western European fashions and 'hellenoraptēs' who made traditional and local costumes. Western European fashions for men and women were also popularized following the introduction of sewing machines and fashion magazines with patterns in about 1900.

In conclusion the British Arts and Crafts Movement was shaped by the rapid changes which had occurred in society as a result of the Industrial Revolution. It was a movement of ideas rather than a style, with a strong intellectual core that provided a framework for architects, artists and designers in Britain and further afield. The Movement inspired architects, artists and designers to revisit historic and particularly vernacular work in the creation of a new national style. Its emphasis on materials, handwork and vernacular traditions increased its relevance to the folk art revival. The use of design and craft traditions was embraced in European states, such as Hungary and Finland, which were striving to develop a strong and separate national identity. In each country they were adapted to suit the political and social aspirations of the time. The situation in Greece was similar although a

⁵² E.g. Bent 2008; Cockerell 2008.

⁵³ Kotsou 1988: 30.

number of factors – the impulse to assert the link between the newly-established Greek nation and its Hellenic past, the attraction of western European fashions, and the ambivalence towards folk traditions linked to Turkish rule – created a complex environment within which the crafts struggled to survive.

Chapter two

Arts and Crafts travels to Greece

This chapter begins by outlining some typical attitudes to Greece in nineteenth-century Britain. These were shaped by the emphasis on classical studies in the British education system. I have gone on to detail two trips to Greece. The first was organised by the Toynbee Travellers Club in 1896 and the second by the Art Workers' Guild in 1909; both were London-based bodies closely associated to the Arts and Crafts Movement. My purpose in looking at these two trips to Greece has been to investigate whether the approach and attitude of the participants on these trips was at all coloured by their Arts and Crafts background and consciousness?

The concept of Hellenism in nineteenth-century Britain

The idea of classical Greece had held a special significance for Western Europe since the Renaissance.⁵⁴ It became particularly important in Britain from the end of the eighteenth century following the translation from German into English by Henry Fuseli of J. J. Winckelmann's *Reflections on the Painting and Sculpture of the Greeks* in 1765. Winckelmann's knowledge of antique Greek art was based on his study of classical literature and engravings of sculptures from Italy. Additional first-hand material was obtained by the architects, James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, who travelled to Athens in 1751 and subsequently published *The Antiquities of Athens*, their detailed three-volume survey of classical sites in the city, between 1762 and 1794.

Philhellenism and the passion for classical Greece reached its height in the nineteenth century. Michael Herzfeld describes the typical nineteenth-century premise that 'to be a European was, in ideological terms, to be a Hellene'.⁵⁵ This attitude is exemplified by Percy Bysshe Shelley who included the statement: 'We are all Greeks. Our laws, our literature, our religion, our

⁵⁴ See for example Gallant 2001:68.

⁵⁵ Herzfeld 1982:5.

arts, have their root in Greece', in the preface to his epic poem, *Hellas*.⁵⁶ This poem, written in 1821 at the beginning of the Greek War of Independence, was dedicated to the exiled Greek politician, Alexandros Mavrokordatos. It attempted to convert the British public into Philhellenes and to persuade the political classes to support the Greek fight for independence from Ottoman rule. For Lord Palmerston, Greece was 'an emotional word'; it continued to occupy the attention of a succession of British politicians from William Gladstone to Winston Churchill to an excessive extent, partly because of the links between the British and Greek monarchies but also because of the emotional attraction to the Greek ideal.⁵⁷

The heroic ideal of Greek antiquity, of Hellenism, was embedded in the British national psyche largely by the educational system. And just as the education system was conservative in character, helping to maintain the status quo in society, so most classical scholars in the second half of the nineteenth century, from Matthew Arnold, author of *Culture and Anarchy* published in 1869, to Ernest Gardner, first student at the British School at Athens and its second director from 1887-95, promulgated a Hellenic ideal that supported the social and moral values of Victorian society. From the mid nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries, the classics were a requirement for entry into the universities of Oxford and Cambridge and central to studies at these institutions. As a result they became a major part of both the public and grammar school syllabus. And after graduation, the classics were an important element in the civil service examinations, success in which opened the doors to financially rewarding careers and influential positions in society. They also provided a bond and a badge of education and intellectual achievement that crossed national boundaries through much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In 'Old Studies and New' published in 1856 in *Cambridge Essays* John Grote expressed the unifying and civilising influence of classical study:

Classical study ... is a point of intellectual sympathy among men over a considerable surface of the world, for those who have forgotten their actual Greek and Latin bear still generally with them many traces of its

⁵⁶ O'Neill and Leader 2003:549.

⁵⁷ Holland and Markrides 2006:1.

influence, and in fact it is this which more than anything, makes them, in common parlance, educated men.’⁵⁸

As is born out by the intellectual passion of John Patrick Crichton-Stuart, third Marquess of Bute discussed below in chapter three, there was a particular enthusiasm for Greek rather than Roman antiquity during this period. In his essay, ‘Why the Greeks and not the Romans in Victorian Britain’, Frank M. Turner has pointed out that works such as Aristotle’s *Ethics* became standard texts at Oxford.⁵⁹ Classical Greece and particularly the Athens of Socrates and Plato were seen particularly relevant to contemporary concerns about democracy. Writing in 1874, the Anglo-Irish scholar, J. P. Mahaffy, believed that if they were transported back in time, he and his contemporaries would find the fifth-century Athens of Pericles ‘strangely modern’ and continued: ‘Some of the problems that are still agitating our minds were settled by the Greeks, others, if not settled, were at least discussed with a freedom and acuteness now unattainable.’⁶⁰ There was also a revival of interest in the works of Plato as the Victorians questioned their own religious beliefs. The Hellenic approach to religion was admired for its qualities of ‘beauty, intensity, seriousness and antiquity’.⁶¹ This emphasis on Greek studies went right through the British education system. Writing about his schooldays at Shrewsbury School in the mid-1870s, the journalist, H. W. Nevinson, illustrated Turner’s argument about the supremacy of Greek over Latin and expressed the pervading influence of Hellenism in dramatic language:

The school breathed Greek, and through its ancient buildings a Greek wind blew. To enter “Head Room” – a dim, panelled chamber which the upper sixth used as a study – was to become a scholar. I doubt if good Greek verse could be written anywhere else. Winged iambs fluttered through the air; they hung like bats along the shelves, and the dust fell in Greek particles.⁶²

⁵⁸ Quoted in Turner 1981:4

⁵⁹ Turner 1989:63.

⁶⁰ Quoted in Turner 1981: 10.

⁶¹ Turner 1989:76.

⁶² Nevinson 1923:27.

Alongside the emphasis on classical Greek, James Bowen describes the ‘peculiarly English institution of games’ as ‘the other face of Hellenism’ in public schools and universities.⁶³ These institutions encouraged a tough physicality, a reverence for youthful male beauty, and sports-based friendships. As well as cricket and football, sports such as rowing had associations with *The Odyssey* and were seen as promoting Homeric and Platonic values.

Hellenism was also linked with artistic values in Victorian society. The rearrangement of the Elgin Marbles in the British Museum in the mid-1860s inspired numerous artists from Lord Leighton to Albert Moore to paint classically-draped figures in a variety of frieze-like settings. The training of Robert Fowler, an artist whose painting *The Coming of Apollo* was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1896 to great acclaim, was typical of many of his contemporaries:

To the British Museum, National Gallery, and South Kensington he went in worshipful mood day in day out, and exposed the highly sensitive plates of his innermost self to the influence and memory of all that is noblest, purest, and most gracious and restrained in Hellenic art.⁶⁴

The art and particularly the sculpture of classical Greece set a standard for an ideal and innocent beauty in late nineteenth-century Britain in contrast to what Turner describes as ‘the bourgeois humdrum and philistinism.’⁶⁵ He cites the contribution of John Ruskin who believed that ‘the Greeks could teach his troubled countrymen how to transform that society, how to turn the drudgery of work into the beauty of craftsmanship, and how to forge a more beautiful world and a better quality of life.’⁶⁶ It was therefore not as surprising as it first seems to discover that at Toynbee Hall, the first university settlement discussed below, ran classes in Greek for the local

⁶³ Bowen 1989:179.

⁶⁴ Jope-Slade 1897:85.

⁶⁵ Turner 1981:11

⁶⁶ Turner 1981:68.

working men of London's East End.⁶⁷ Ruskin attacked the idealised interpretation of Greek art as exemplified by Sir Joshua Reynolds and instead encouraged its study in its widest sense: by looking at coins, metalwork, and decorative details and by taking note of its direct approach to nature. Ruskin found craftsmanship in Hellenic art and described the Greek artist as 'a genuine workman', continuing 'as a workman, he verily did, or first suggested the doing of, everything possible to man.'⁶⁸ Together with Gothic, Greek art was seen as a good and proper alternative to the art of Rome as 'the noble and simple art of primitive peoples.'⁶⁹

The Mill by Edward Burne-Jones, painted between 1870 and '82 and illustrated in fig. 5 below, is an example of what Richard Jenkyns describes as Hellenism in Victorian painting.⁷⁰ The frieze-like quality is emphasized by the linear rather than the more usual circular pose of the three Graces and the horizontal lines of the water in the background. The three Graces wear classically-inspired costumes which may have been made by one of the models, Aglaia Coronio. She made many of the female costumes worn by models in the paintings of Burne-Jones. In this case the drapery is more monumental than that in Burne-Jones's earlier work. According to Stephen Wildman and John Christian, 'in the 1880s it had taken on a semi-Byzantine character under the influence of the American Church mosaics.'⁷¹ To some extent this type of composition and the use of classical Greece as a painterly backdrop can also be seen in the work of Greek painters of the period such as Iacovos Rizos. His painting, *On the Terrace (Athenian Evening)* in the collection of the National Gallery, Athens, illustrated in fig. 6 below, uses the Acropolis as the backdrop to a contemporary scene. However the strong horizontal line of the terrace wall and the poses of three figures give a frieze-like quality to the painting. The inlaid table on the right of the painting is an example of the 'honefto' type of vernacular furniture which I refer to in chapter four below. Similar pieces also appear in contemporary photographs of the interior of Alecco Ionides's home in Holland Park, London in the 1880s (fig. 7) and in Pre-Raphaelite paintings. One particularly interesting example

⁶⁷ Okey 1930:86.

⁶⁸ Quoted by Turner 1981:67.

⁶⁹ Whinney 1964:284.

⁷⁰ Jenkyns 1989:83-120.

⁷¹ Wildman and Christian 1998:13.

is *A Summer Night* by Albert Moore in the collections of the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool. As well as illustrating examples of ‘honefto’ type inlaid woodwork, the embroidered furnishings seem to have been inspired by the Cretan work described in chapter five. Unfortunately this work is currently in store and I have been unable to arrange a viewing.



Fig. 5. *The Mill* by Edward Burne-Jones, 1870-82. The painting was commissioned by the prominent Greek businessman, Constantine Ionides, and the three Graces are based on his relations and fellow Greeks, Aglaia Coronio, Mary Zambaco, and Marie Spartali.

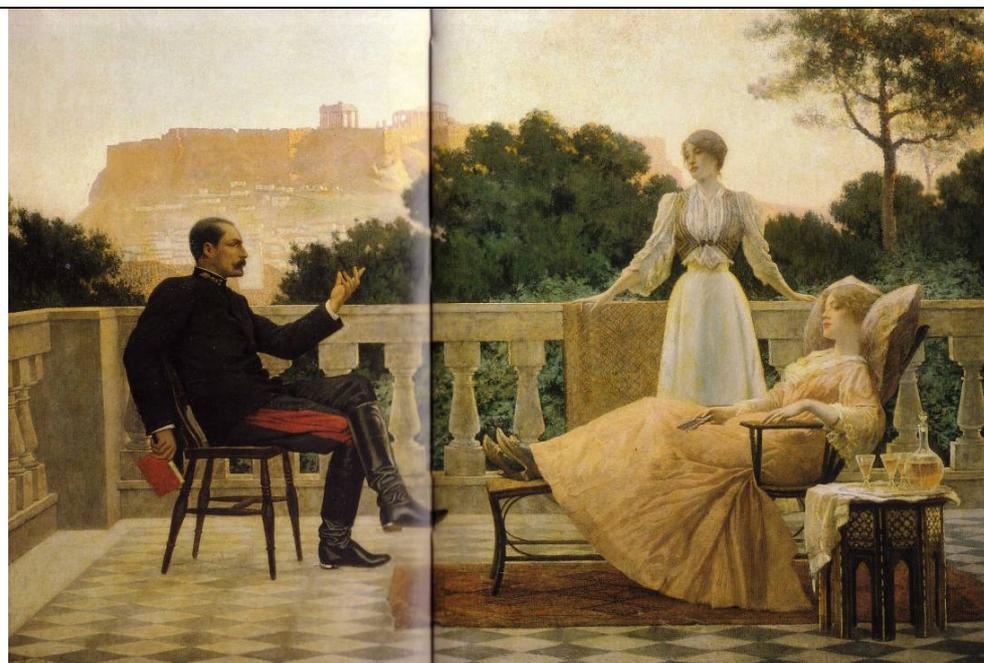


Fig. 6. *On the Terrace (Athenian Evening)* by Iakovos Rizos, 1897 from the collection of the National Gallery, Athens.



Fig. 7. A contemporary photograph of the morning room at the Ionides house in Holland Park, London, 1880s. Note the inlaid side table bottom left.

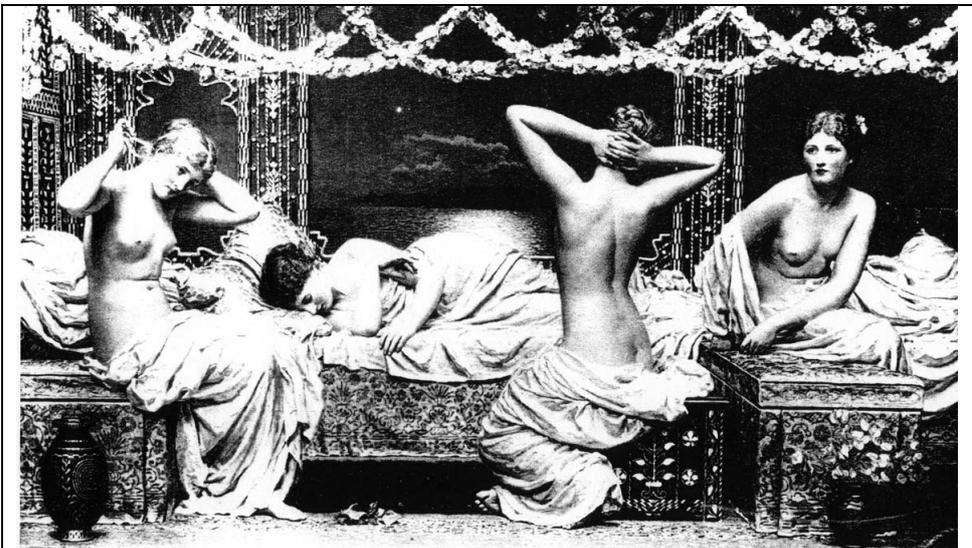


Fig. 8. *A Summer Night* by Albert Moore, 1890.

The inspiration of classical Greece spread throughout different areas of educated society. According to Charlotte Gere, 'The fashionable 'Greek' hairstyle, confined by a fillet of ribbon bands or gold, was worn with all

styles of dress, but it derives from the Venus de Milo.⁷² This hairstyle is well illustrated in Burne-Jones's depiction of Aglaia Coronio in *The Mill* (fig. 5) and also in fig. 9 below. The illustration (fig. 10) features the same hairstyle but with a heroic wreath of leaves. The female figures in *The Mill* wear the loose-fitting draped garments adopted by those artists inspired by Hellenism for their models but the style was also promoted for everyday living. It was seen as preferable for both artistic and health reasons to the corseted fashions of the day.

William Morris was one of a number of commentators who raised the cause of dress reform. In his 1882 lecture, 'The Lesser Arts of Life', he wrote 'do not allow yourselves to be upholstered like armchairs, but drape yourselves like women.'⁷³ Others took up the cause, including the artist, G. F. Watts, the designer, Lewis F. Day, and the architect, C. F. A. Voysey. A number of groups promoting dress reform were set up including The Rational Dress Society in 1883. Another society, The Healthy and Artistic Dress Union founded in 1890 wanted to replace the fashionable tight-laced corsets with flowing draperies often based on classical statues and vase paintings. Their journal was named *Aglaia* after one of the Greek Graces. Walter Crane produced a number of drawings of women's and children's dress in the 1890s probably for inclusion in this journal to which he was a regular contributor. These were directly inspired by antique Greek costume, 'particularly in the way the dresses are gathered to give a layered effect'.⁷⁴ The extent to which this permeated through to the popular culture of the period, to advertising, book illustrations etcetera, is exemplified by the image of the female figure in the illustration, fig. 10 below.

⁷² Gere 1996:21.

⁷³ Morris 1914:265.

⁷⁴ S. Wilson 1996:28.

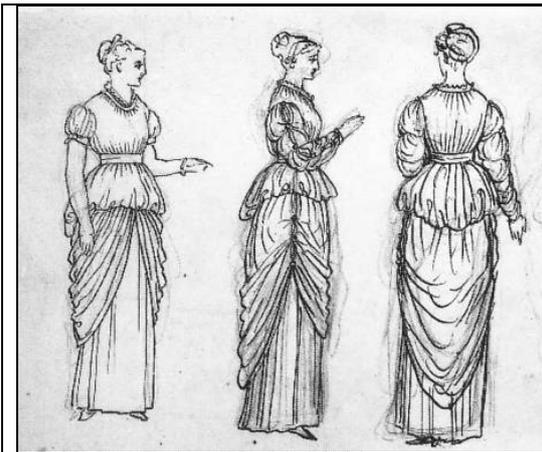


Fig. 9. Drawing by Walter Crane showing three views of a woman's dress, 1890s. The woman also sports the 'Greek' hairstyle.



Fig. 10. Drawing by Ernest Webb published in a popular provincial magazine, *The Cheltenham Sketch-book*, in 1900.

The Toynbee Travellers Club's trip to Greece

As discussed in the previous chapter, many accepted customs and beliefs in Britain were challenged in the final decades of the nineteenth century. Some of the younger generation in the 1870s and '80s were influenced by philosophical idealism, the teachings of the Oxford-based philosopher T. H. Green, which combined self-help with social action led by co-operative bodies working in the voluntary sector. Young graduates from Oxford and Cambridge led the way; they had the self-confidence and idealism to question and challenge the status quo. Combined with the anti-materialism and doctrine of social revolution propounded by Thomas Carlyle, this spurred some into contemplating major changes in British society. Nevinson's awareness of the divisions in society was aroused in his student days. In his autobiography he described looking down at Oxford from Boar's Hill and seeing the city, 'the fence on one side cutting off the red villas of the married Dons ... and on the other cutting off the working-class quarter of red or yellow streets'.⁷⁵ The public outcry following the publication of a

⁷⁵ Nevinson 1923:55.

pamphlet, *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London*, by the Reverend Andrew Mearns in the autumn of 1883 galvanised many of these individuals into action. Nevinson described vividly the atmosphere of the period which inspired a number of developments including the University Settlement movement:

Society was seized by one of its brief and fitful fevers for doing good, such as recur twice a century. Cultured and uncultured alike went scurrying around to improve their poorer brethren. Single-roomed homes, partitioned by rags of underlinen, were visited with horrified enthusiasm. Money was poured into Lord Mayors' Funds. Many a conscience was soothed and enthralling descriptions of misery were added to dinner-table conversation. I was told that the Boxing Kangaroo was the only rival there, and the Trafalgar Square Riots of November, 1887, added a spasm of tremulous terror, such as a child might feel when, after venturing playfully into a dark room, it saw the grey shadow of something more.⁷⁶

One example of this impulse to reform of society was Toynbee Hall, Britain's first university settlement, set up in 1884 at 28 Commercial Street, Whitechapel in the London's East End. The moving force behind its establishment was Canon Samuel Barnett, an Anglican curate who, with missionary zeal, had taken on the East End parish of St Jude's, Whitechapel in 1873, one of the most deprived and difficult parishes in the country. He and his wife, Henrietta, struggled to tackle the problems of poverty, appalling housing conditions, overcrowding, and criminality in the area. Their scheme to bring young graduates into contact with the people of Whitechapel and enrich their lives through friendship and education had its roots in the Working Men's College founded in 1854 by the Christian socialist, F. D. Maurice. John Ruskin was one of the lecturers who taught there in its first year; later participants included the artists, Dante Gabriel Rossetti and Edward Burne-Jones and the designer, A. H. Mackmurdo. Ruskin continued to lecture widely and wrote a number of volumes directed specifically at working people including *Time and Tide* (1867) and *Fors Clavigera* (1871). The same year, 1871, he began work on his practical scheme, St George's

⁷⁶ Nevinson 1923:78-9.

Guild, which culminated in the purchase of land housing a communal settlement in Sheffield and the associated Ruskin Museum. Also in the 1870s the University Extension movement took shape in Cambridge and was adopted by the universities of London and Oxford in 1876 and 1878 respectively. Its aim was to spread knowledge through society by setting up local centres at which part-time lecturers would give talks on a range of subjects including history and literature.

The Barnetts were also in sympathy with the newly emergent Arts and Crafts Movement. They commissioned William Morris to decorate St Jude's and organised annual art exhibitions in Whitechapel which brought together a mix of both old and new work. The contemporary exhibitors included many painters subsequently associated with the Movement including G. F. Watts, Walter Crane, William Holman Hunt and Edward Burne-Jones. The Barnetts raised funds and purchased a plot of land to build the first university settlement in the heart of Whitechapel. Before his early death in 1881, the Oxford historian, Arnold Toynbee, had worked with Barnett to develop adult education opportunities for the working classes. Both men believed in the need to close the gap between classes for a more equitable and healthy society; it was the duty of those with talents, education and capital to use their gifts for the benefit of the less well off.

Toynbee Hall, named after the historian, began with Barnett as its warden and sixteen residents, graduates of Oxford and Cambridge, who gave up their weekends and evenings to work in the community. This work could include practical help such as legal and health advice, running clubs for boys, and holding lectures and debates as well as more formal classes. It was envisaged as the first step in a nationwide project with additional university settlements in London and other large cities. As a young man in his twenties, Nevinson was inspired by this passion for doing good in society. He lived in Petticoat Lane close to Toynbee Hall for two years, 'among bugs, fleas, old clothes, slippery cods' heads and other garbage, and contributed for many years longer such assistance as my knowledge of Greek, German, and military drill allowed.'⁷⁷

⁷⁷ Nevinson 1923:78.

One of the Hall's offshoots, the Toynbee Travellers Club was the idea of Bolton King. Originally from a landowning family in Warwickshire, he was influenced by the ideas of Toynbee while a student at Oxford. On graduating he moved to London, to Toynbee Hall, and became involved with the University Extension movement. His particular passion was the unification of Italy; he was the future historian of the Italian Unity movement. He set up a group, the Mazzini Circle, discussing the works of the Italian patriot as part of University Extension Settlement. The suggestion to make a pilgrimage to Giuseppe Mazzini's birthplace in Genoa came initially from this group. It was shelved in favour of a trip to Florence and Pisa in 1888 although according to Okey the travellers did stand up in memory of Mazzini as their train passed through Genoa.⁷⁸

Group tours were becoming popular in the second half of the nineteenth century; they had been organised initially by the travel business set up by Thomas Cook from the 1840s. Their itineraries spread as the railways extended through continental Europe. However according to the *Toynbee Record*, 'Kaleidoscope travelling à la Cook is just what the Toynbee Travellers Club wants to avoid'.⁷⁹ From this comment and the educational build-up to the trips including the involvement of specialists, one can conclude that the club wanted to immerse themselves in an area, its language and culture. The Toynbee Travellers Club organised trips on a regular basis, usually annually. Groups visited Belgium, Holland, Germany, Spain, Switzerland, and Greece as well as Italy. Despite some anxiety and debate, Mrs Barnett insisted that women should be included. The organisers worked with the Great Eastern Railway Company together with Belgian, German, Swiss and Italian State Railways.

...largely reduced second-class fares were secured on the grounds that we came under the regulations regarding bodies of students travelling with their professors for educational purposes. True the respective

⁷⁸ Okey 1930: 65.

⁷⁹ Quoted by Browne 1986:12.

railway officials expressed some surprise as we pursued our journey that the students appeared to be *all* professors.⁸⁰

The 1892 trip was a large one comprising eighty-two women, over half of whom were teachers, and seventy-one men, including teachers, civil servants and clerks. They were supported by a programme of talks, reading lists and a travellers' library while friends and patrons of Toynbee Hall provided travelling scholarships.

Two years later, the Toynbee Travellers Club set off on their most adventurous – and expensive – expedition. They travelled to Greece for three weeks between March and April 1894. Nevinson was able to afford the cost of about £20 because he had just received £50 following the publication of *Neighbours of Ours*, his book of short stories based on East End life. Thirty people including six women joined him on this trip; they were minor civil servants, school teachers, and one or two graduates, including the young architect, C. Harrison Townsend, who was described by Nevinson as 'possessing special knowledge of Byzantine art'.⁸¹ The expedition was led by a local man, Thomas Okey, a basket maker from Whitechapel who from working class origins had managed to educate himself, travelled widely and spoke three languages. According to Nevinson, 'the development of such a man justified the existence of Toynbee Hall.'⁸² Okey noted that it was a smaller and more mature group than usual. They spent eighteen months preparing for the trip with lectures, museum visits, and courses of reading.⁸³

The party arrived in Greece via the Gulf of Corinth. Nevinson was overwhelmed, '...the whole of the land – that most lovely land, so abundant in colour, so conformable in scale and free from monstrous and inhuman exaggeration of mountain or sea – was far more than any Paradise could be.'⁸⁴ They travelled through the country by foot, pony, train, and carriage. Although the trip was planned to follow in the footsteps of classical Greece – Athens, Thebes, Corinth, Mycenae, the Temple at Bassae, Xenophon's home

⁸⁰ Okey 1930:67

⁸¹ Nevinson 1923:131.

⁸² Nevinson 1923:132.

⁸³ Okey 1930: 84

⁸⁴ Nevinson 1923:133.

at Skillos, Olympia – it was very much an arcadian rather than an archaeological visit. From the surviving first-hand sources, Okey and Nevinson, it seems that the participants were inspired and entranced by the Greek light, the countryside, the native inhabitants and their customs rather than the classical sites. Okey described their stay at Nafplion which coincided with the double celebration of the feast of the Annunciation and Greek Independence. Seeing the fireworks, brass bands and other festivities, the British tourists decided to make their own contribution to the festival:

We placed our lighted bedroom candles in the windows; our delighted landlord fished out some old Chinese lanterns and some candle-ends. These we lighted and suspended outside the house: cheers were interchanged and repeated again and again. The valiant brass band made several attempts to blast out our National Anthem, and at length gave a fairly close approach to the sequence of notes. It was as the local paper reported next morning, “a wonderful and moving scene.”⁸⁵

One night Nevinson set off with the teacher, George Bruce, and three others on a ramshackled carriage driven by a ‘sun-baked ruffian’ past Eleusis travelling through the mountain passes of Kitheronas towards Thebes. In one village he described the women he saw:

...in white linen skirts without flounce or petticoat over their bare sandaled legs: and above the skirts a peculiar coat of some stuff, soft and white, perhaps fine goat’s hair, hanging quite straight away from the figure, and marked by broad, black bands down each side, almost sacerdotal, with mystic patterns on them.⁸⁶

Nevinson’s visit to Olympia towards the end of the trip was marred by the numbers of German archaeologists who overran the site. Instead he took himself to the Greek countryside:

⁸⁵ Okey 1930:86.

⁸⁶ Nevinson 1923:134.

Then I lay long on the top of the steep hill of Kronos, prickly with bushes, and basked in the enormous sun, which filled all the mountains and meadows, and brought out every kind of life – lizards and mice, swallow-tail butterflies and eagles, asphodel, veronica, anemones, geraniums, brooms, the various thymes, and many other plants I did not know. At noon all lay still, shimmering in the sleep of Pan, and just below me were the very stones from which all Greece rose up to do honour to Themistocles.⁸⁷

Nevinson's enthusiasm for Greece was such that he played a central role in setting up the formation of a British volunteer force to fight for Greece against the Turks following the Cretan uprising in 1896. He ended up returning to Greece as a correspondent for the *Daily Chronicle* in March 1897. During this posting Nevinson described an incident while travelling towards Trikkala which provides a vivid picture of traditional folk culture but also makes the link with classical Greece:

For the first time I saw the old Greek dance, as it was performed by a company of Evzoni, not for my benefit. About fifty of them, joining hands in three parts of a large circle, moved slowly round and round making a regular step with their slippered feet and tufted toes. The leader was attached to the next man by a handkerchief in the left hand, and pirouetted, or crouched on his heels, the bounded into the air, apparently as his own sense of fitness might prompt. Meanwhile the rest sang a melancholy song, full of twirls and quavers, that howled upon the wind. One song I heard was Odyssean: "Why do you leave me to wash clothes in the river? Heart of my soul, take me with you when you go to wash clothes in the river!"⁸⁸

In this extract Nevinson almost instinctively used the medium of folk song and dance to make the link between the nineteenth-century reality of a largely uneducated peasant population and the idealized image of classical Greece. This link had been developed by Adamantios Korais and a

⁸⁷ Nevinson 1923:142.

⁸⁸ Nevinson 1923:151.

succession of Greek and European scholars from the late eighteenth century onwards including John Stuart Stuart-Glennie as discussed in the previous chapter.

The Toynbee Travellers Club, a brave and innovative experiment, was wound up in 1913. Its assets were transferred to the Working Man's Travel Club run by R. Scott James and its subsequent trips were closer to home. However the Toynbee venture inspired other like-minded organisations to set up similar groups such as the Manchester Teachers Travellers' Club although they did not share the totally co-operative nature of the original.

The Art Workers' Guild's trip to Greece

A number of individuals associated with the Toynbee Travellers Club were also members of the Art Workers' Guild. The Guild was founded in 1884 bringing together two loose groupings: the St George's Society made up of architects from Richard Norman Shaw's office and 'the Fifteen', designers and artists who had been meeting regularly to discuss issues relating to their professional work. The Guild itself was more than either a school, a club for artists, or a debating society; it was all these elements served with a dose of romantic idealism. There was a club atmosphere, passionate discussions, talks and demonstrations, a masque, dinners and revels, and trips abroad.

Unfortunately I have not been able to find a great deal of first-hand information on the Art Workers' Guild trip to Greece in 1909. Twenty-three people, Guildsmen and their family and friends, took part in the expedition. They set off in September 1909 under the leadership, once again, of Thomas Okey. Other participants included Emery Walker, printer and colleague of William Morris, and the book binder, Katharine Adams. As well as a printer and businessman, Walker was a socialist and polymath, a keen historian and amateur archaeologist. His comments on the trip could have been revealing in the context of my researches. Although I have traced his diaries to the Harry Ransom Center at the University of Texas at Austin and obtained transcripts covering the period of the Greek trip, they have proved uninformative with no insights other than the most basic details of the itinerary.

The group travelled by boat and train and spent sixteen days in Greece itself visiting Corfu, Patras, Athens, Nafplion, Corinth, and Olympia with the possibility of a day trip to Dephi from Athens. Walker bought photographs and postcards on the excursion. Two postcard photographs, a statue of Themis, the goddess of justice, from the National Museum and an archaic female statute from the Archaeological Museum, have survived; the former is inscribed in Walker's hand 'A.W.G. Greek Expedition 1909'. He also bought a number of large photographs by D. Constantin of Athens mainly of the various classical sites on the Acropolis, Athens but also of Byzantine churches. In addition Walker made an excursion to the island of Andros and had to buy himself a pair of boots during the expedition.⁸⁹

Shortly after returning from Greece to her home in Weston sub Edge, Gloucestershire, Adams wrote to her friend Sydney Cockerell, director of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge and his wife, Kate Kingsford:

I look back with the greatest pleasure to our delightful trip, and as I only fell ill the very last day in Greece the only horrid time was the journey home.

I do wish you & Kate could have come with us. To begin with we were such a very nice party, almost all were delightful, & then it is such a country of wonderful sunshine & blue blue skies & blue seas, such mountains, such colours, everything from pearly greys to brilliant rose & deepest violet, such stars & such Art. We walked up to the Acropolis with high thoughts & the sacred way at Delphi in romance & mystery, & drank of the Castalian spring.⁹⁰

Like Nevinson, Adams was entranced by the colour and light of Greece. Okey too shared this reaction although he was more interested in people and incidents and, inevitably as organiser, in travel details. What comes over above all in their writings is the impact of nature and the landscape; the archaeology and history of classical Greece were very much a secondary

⁸⁹ This information is from archive material in the Emery Walker Library, Cheltenham Art Gallery & Museum.

⁹⁰ K. Adams to S. Cockerell, 1 November 1909, 'Letters to and from Sydney Cockerell and Katharine Adams 1901-1912', British Library Add. Mss.71213.

attraction. Their Arts and Crafts susceptibilities had been shaped by Ruskin's writings. He had changed the way they looked at nature, and in particular at colour in nature, exhorting them to 'take inspiration from the drifts of colour and irregular clusters of nature's planting.'⁹¹ His approach to Hellenism encouraged them to look at the culture of the country in its widest sense and to appreciate and even to idealize the traditional customs of the inhabitants. Ruskin's writings and the ideas of the Arts and Crafts Movement encouraged the next generation, including Nevinson and Adams, to look beyond classical Hellas to see the landscape of nineteenth-century Greece, and to appreciate the colours and patterns in nature.

⁹¹ Quoted in Hitchmough 1997:19.

Chapter three

Byzantine architecture and two British Arts and Crafts architects in Greece

Robert Weir Schultz and Sidney Barnsley were the first British architects of the Arts and Crafts generation to spend time in Greece recording Byzantine architecture. Between 1887 and 1891 they made several lengthy visits and produced detailed measured drawings, photographs, notes and sketches which have proved invaluable for architects, conservationists, and scholars in subsequent years. Why did they undertake this lengthy research, sometimes under physically difficult conditions, into a long past architectural tradition that was foreign to them? I believe that part of the reason must have been that they were young men with no commitments at the start of their careers. However their project also reflected the serious interest in Byzantine architecture that had developed in Britain in the second half of the nineteenth century. It was appreciated by writers such as John Ruskin and William Morris, initially for its role as a precursor to the Gothic, but eventually in its own right. Inspired by the ideas of Philip Webb, John D. Sedding and other pioneers of the Arts and Crafts Movement, young British architects in the 1880s wanted to acquire first-hand, practical knowledge of different styles of building including the Byzantine. This chapter looks at the background to the Byzantine researches of Schultz and Barnsley and the extent to which their Arts and Crafts training influenced their approach.

In his book on Hagia Sophia, the iconic building of Byzantium, Robert S. Nelson catalogues the changing attitudes to the Byzantine Empire, its art and its architecture in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Most historians and commentators in western Europe from Edward Gibbon to Hippolyte Taine dealt in broadly negative stereotypes until at least the mid-nineteenth century.¹ Ruskin was a key figure in changing this perception of Byzantine art and architecture. In 1835 he made the first of several visits to Venice together with his parents. However he never ventured further east. Like most of his contemporaries, his experience of Byzantine art was limited to Italy. Travel to Greece and Asia Minor in the early nineteenth century was

¹ Nelson 2004:26.

considered arduous and potentially dangerous although it became a more attractive prospect as parts of Spain, France and Italy were affected by the Napoleonic Wars. Ruskin turned down an invitation to accompany his friend, the archaeologist and diplomat, Charles Newton, on a trip to Constantinople in 1852. However it is likely that Newton would have shared his impressions of the city and, in particular, the architecture of Hagia Sophia with him on his return. Ruskin's extensive research and meticulous drawings in Venice certainly gave him an in-depth knowledge and appreciation of Byzantine architecture and particularly architectural decoration. Initially he saw Byzantine art purely as a stepping stone to the Gothic style and in his three-volume book, *The Stones of Venice*, he described it as:

...very fervid and beautiful – but very imperfect; in many respects ignorant, and yet radiant with a strong, child-like light of imagination, which flames up under Constantine, illuminates all the shores of the Bosphorous and the Aegean and the Adriatic Sea, and then gradually as the people give themselves up to idolatry, becomes corpse-like. This architecture like the religion it expressed sinks into a settled form – a strange, gilded, and embalmed repose; and so would have remained for ever, - so does remain, where its languor has been undisturbed.²

However by 1880 Ruskin had revised his opinion in favour of the Byzantine heritage: 'The real strength of Venice was in the twelfth not the fourteenth century: and the abandonment of her Byzantine architecture meant her ruin.'³ Many others, including Morris and the younger generation of Arts and Crafts architects such as W. R. Lethaby, Detmar Blow, and Ernest Gimson, followed in his footsteps usually with a copy of one of Ruskin's publications as a guide.

Morris was introduced to Byzantine art both by the writings of Ruskin and through his friendship with the Anglo-Greek Ionides family who had emigrated from Constantinople in the 1820s. Morris read *The Stones of*

² Ruskin 1851:14-15.

³ Quoted in Nelson, 2004:58-9, from a revised edition of *The Stones of Venice*, 1909.

Venice as an undergraduate and subsequently encouraged others to do so.⁴ In his lecture 'The Lesser Arts' of 1877 he described the chapter entitled 'On the Nature of Gothic' as, 'the truest and most eloquent words that can possibly be said on the subject.'⁵ Later in the same lecture he accorded Byzantine craftsmen the same recognition and status as the Gothic craftsmen of western European:

You look in your history-books to see who built Westminster Abbey, who built St Sophia at Constantinople, and they tell you, Henry III, Justinian the Emperor. Did they? Or, rather, men like you and me, handicraftsmen, who have left no names behind them, nothing but their work?⁶

The Ionides family provided Morris with a direct link to Greece and Asia Minor. The family had a wide range of business interests, including the import and export of various goods such as grain and cotton, and members travelled regularly between England, continental Europe and the near East. From 1864 the head of the family, Alexander Ionides with his wife, Euterpe, lived in Holland Park, west London in an area that was becoming popular among artistic circles. Their house became a meeting place for the younger generation involved in the arts including the painters, James McNeill Whistler, Dante Gabriel Rossetti and Edward Burne-Jones. The five Ionides children relished the lively cultural atmosphere. When one of the sons, Alecco, took over the house in 1874 he set in motion his extravagant plans for the redecoration and furnishing of the interior in a lavish and artistic style. The redecoration was put in the hands of Morris & Company. Morris himself designed the overall scheme which, at the client's behest, was more opulent than most of the firm's later interiors.⁷ The commission provided Morris & Company with an important source of income and a valuable advertisement for their work at a time when it was relinquishing one of its most lucrative

⁴ According to Morris's biographers, he would read Ruskin's work aloud to fellow-students at Oxford. See for example MacCarthy 1994:69.

⁵ Morris 1914:5.

⁶ Morris 1914:6-7

⁷ See above chapter 2, fig.7.

areas, ecclesiastical stained glass.⁸ One of the Ionides daughters, Aglaia Coronio, was particularly close to Morris and they corresponded regularly from the 1870s. Family and business connections meant that she could provide Morris with images of Byzantine architecture by photographers based in Constantinople such as Sébah & Joaillier and Guillaume Berggren not available in the west. On 7 March 1878 Morris acknowledged the receipt of a photograph of 'great beauty' of Hagia Sophia from Coronio.⁹ He subsequently described Byzantine architecture as:

...the architecture which logically should have supplanted the primitive lintel-arch, of which the civilised style of Greece was the last development. Architecture was become organic ... The first expression of this freedom is called Byzantine Art... For centuries Byzantium was the centre of it...¹⁰

For Morris, writing in 1889, Hagia Sophia represented the highpoint of Byzantine architecture at its most vigorous and relevant:

It is not bound by the past but has garnered all that there was fit to live and produce fresh life; it is the living child and the fruitful mother of art, past and future. That, even more than the loveliness which it drew forth from its own present, is what makes it the crown of all the great buildings of the world.¹¹

As well as photographs, Coronio also provided Morris with raw materials from Greece for his textile crafts including kermes, a red pigment made from insects. Morris's correspondence with Thomas Wardle who undertook most of the dyeing of yarns for Morris & Company indicates the problems of acquiring supplies of this pigment. After one such delivery

⁸ Morris & Company cut down the production ecclesiastical stained glass following the formation of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings in 1877. Morris came to believe that it was wrong to put new glass into old buildings.

⁹ Kelvin 1987:453.

¹⁰ W. Morris, 'Gothic Architecture' 1889 in Morris 1936:273.

¹¹ W Morris, 'The History of Pattern Designing' 1882 in Morris 1936:208.

Morris thanked Coronio writing in a letter dated 21 January 1881: 'I quite understand about the powder: 'tis the 'cream' of the Kermes.¹²

The Ionides family was also involved in the building of a new Orthodox church in Bayswater to cater for the growing Greek community in that part of London. Constantine Ionides, the eldest son of the family, was a member of the committee which included other prosperous Anglo-Greek financiers and merchants and the philhellene lawyer, Dr E. H. Freshfield. The church was designed by John Oldrid Scott, second son of the Gothic Revival architect Sir George Gilbert Scott, between 1874-9, incorporating a mixture of Renaissance, Romanesque and Byzantine motifs. Its low key exterior gives little indication of the richness of the interior. Of particular note is the mosaic-covered dome by A. G. Walker. Bullen notes that the individual tesserae were inserted *in situ* and created an uneven light-reflecting surface that added vibrancy and movement to the interior.¹³

What was the appeal of the Byzantine style to the architects and designers of the Arts and Crafts Movement? On the simplest level one could say that its basic attraction lay in the fact that it was obviously not classical. According to his biographer, J. W. Mackail, Morris commented on the 'bald ugliness of the Classical pieces and the great beauty of the Byzantine', following a visit to the South Kensington Museum in 1889.¹⁴ More specifically Ruskin and Morris came to see Byzantine art and architecture as the beginning of the modern period, providing the possibility for a new and fresh approach to building and design. Its structural honesty and vigour, its organic qualities and its appropriate use of local materials sat well with Arts and Crafts ideology while the vitality of its sculpture and decoration, particularly its use of natural plant forms, was much admired. By the 1880s the study of Byzantine architecture and decoration had begun to be seen as one element in the process of revitalising and reinvigorating the work of contemporary architects.

¹² Kelvin 1987:8.

¹³ Bullen 2003: 161.

¹⁴ Mackail 1899: 575.

Three young architects, William R. Lethaby, Robert Weir Schultz, and Sidney H. Barnsley, were responsible for nurturing and developing the interest in Byzantine architecture in Arts and Crafts circles.¹⁵ The eldest and best-known of the three was Lethaby. He was an architect, architectural historian, writer and teacher who played an inspirational role among his Arts and Crafts contemporaries. He wrote a number of books including *Architecture, Mysticism and Myth* published in 1891. This book, which Lethaby referred to as ‘Cosmos’ and was intended for a mass market, developed Ruskin’s argument that nature was the root of style in architecture. He explained that, ‘if we trace the artistic forms of things, made by man, to their origin, we find a direct imitation of nature’.¹⁶ Lethaby travelled to Constantinople in 1893 and together with Harold Swainson, a young architect working in Norman Shaw’s office, published *The Church of Sancta Sophia, Constantinople; a Study of Byzantine Building* in 1894, the first monograph on this important building. Lethaby’s lifelong conviction that a real understanding of craftwork was at the root of good architecture runs through this book. The preface concludes with this statement of the role and importance of Byzantine architecture:

A conviction of the necessity for finding the root of architecture once again in sound common-sense building and pleasurable craftsmanship remains as the final result of our study of S. Sophia, that marvellous work, where as has so well been said, there is no part where the principles of rational construction are not applied with “hardiesse” and “franchise”. In estimating so highly the Byzantine method of building in its greatest example, we see that its forms and results directly depended on then present circumstances, and then ordinary materials. It is evident that the style cannot be copied by our attempting to imitate byzantine builders; only by being ourselves and free, can our work be reasonable, and if reasonable, like theirs universal.¹⁷

Lethaby and Swainson’s study of Hagia Sophia influenced architects working in the twentieth century including J. L. Bentley, architect of Westminster

¹⁵ Confusingly Robert Weir Schultz changed his name to Robert Weir Schultz Weir in 1914 to protect his wife, a local magistrate, from anti-German sentiment

¹⁶ Lethaby 1891:8.

¹⁷ Lethaby and Swainson 1894: vi.

Cathedral in London built between 1896 and 1903. However its impact on the authors' subsequent work was limited.¹⁸ In addition Lethaby and Swainson's visit to Constantinople and the publication of their monograph post-dated the Byzantine researches of two other young architects, Schultz and Barnsley. For me these two points help to emphasise the importance of Schultz and Barnsley's work.

Schultz was born in Port Glasgow, Scotland in 1860. His father, a sugar refiner, died in 1863 and he was brought up by his aunt in Galashiels. In about 1878 he was articled to R. R. Anderson, the leading architect in Edinburgh at the time. Anderson was involved in a long-term and major project; he had been commissioned by John Patrick Crichton-Stuart, the third Marquess of Bute, to rebuild the family home, Mount Stuart, on the Isle of Bute in Scotland. It is very possible that Schultz would have been involved on this and subsequent commissions and may even have met members of the Bute family at this point.

The third Marquess of Bute was an energetic and talented individual, an historian, archaeologist and linguist who converted to Catholicism while an undergraduate at Oxford. This, like almost every aspect of his life, was driven by his passion for the past, particularly for the Middle Ages, and his conviction of its relevance to his own times. He was also a philhellene who travelled to Greece several times between 1877 and 1884. Macrides provides details of his final and longest visit in 1884 when he visited churches and archaeological sites in Athens, the Peloponnese and on Patmos in the company of Greek fellow enthusiasts including the Member of Parliament, Pangiotis Kalogeropoulos, who gave him lessons in Modern Greek.¹⁹ He became increasingly concerned for the survival of the Christian architectural heritage in Greece. In 1885 he wrote an article on 'Some Christian Monuments of Athens' as part of his efforts to make the governing classes of the country aware of their historical and artistic value, as much a part of the

¹⁸ Swainson died in 1894, shortly after the publication of the book, aged 26. Lethaby's unsuccessful but highly original competition design for Liverpool cathedral in 1902 in partnership with Schultz and other Arts and Crafts architects shows the influence of Byzantine architecture in conjunction with the use of a very modern material, mass concrete. From 1896 however Lethaby concentrated on his education work as first Principal of the Central School of Arts and Crafts, London.

¹⁹ Macrides 1992: 5.

country's heritage as its classical past. In 1886 he began translating seven essays on the Byzantine Empire by the Greek writer and amateur historian, Dimitrios Vikelas, for publication in the *Scottish Review*. Bute was also an enthusiastic amateur architect and a prodigious and extravagant client funding a succession of monumental commissions. His first exercise in building inspired by his Greek studies was a Byzantine chapel at Troon in Ayrshire, Scotland, a project which was again given to Anderson and completed, in a somewhat heavy-handed manner, in 1883.

Schultz left Anderson's office and moved to London in 1884. He qualified for entry into the Royal Academy Schools where the students were encouraged by the Master, R Phené Spiers, whose architectural enthusiasms were unusually wide ranging.²⁰ He also entered the practice of Richard Norman Shaw. This was the start of a close friendship with Lethaby, who as the senior in the office took him under his wing. In 1886 he moved to the office of Ernest George and Peto but not before he had made the acquaintance of a young architectural student, Sidney Barnsley, who had joined Shaw's office at the end of 1885.

Barnsley was born in Birmingham in 1865, the youngest of four brothers. He was immersed in Gothic Revival architecture from an early age; his father and grandfather ran one of the largest building firms in nineteenth-century Birmingham. John Barnsley & Company constructed some of the striking Victorian monuments that created the distinctive character of this rapidly expanding city including the Council House designed by Yeovil Thomason. Barnsley more or less grew up in a builder's yard so his background was an ideal one for an Arts and Crafts architect as recommended by Morris, Sedding and others. His father died in 1881 when Barnsley was fifteen leaving his two eldest brothers to take over the family business. The two youngest, Ernest and Sidney Barnsley, were free to make their own choice of career and decided to train as architects. They both moved to London in 1885 to complete their training. Unlike his siblings, Barnsley was of a diminutive build and a shy and retiring character. Tellingly he was known in the family as 'Little B' throughout most of his adult life.

²⁰ Spiers 1905 is a collection of his essays that includes chapters on Sassanian and Byzantine architecture.

Despite his slight build he relished hard physical work. Schultz was a much more outgoing character who could be the life and soul of the party.²¹ He was also described by fellow architect, Edwin Lutyens, as ‘a coarse, swearing, sort of chap’.²² Another colleague, C. R. Ashbee, left this character sketch:

He was a very serviceable purge for constipation – especially for architects, a thing the ‘profession’ greatly needs. He was always up against the false position of the architect in our day. He told us how there was: “a general note of self-conscious inefficiency in the average work of our time.” He rubbed that in, in his biting antagonistic way.²³

In 1887 Schultz won the Royal Academy’s Gold Medal for his design for a Railway Terminus. He was awarded a travelling scholarship worth £200 and immediately consulted Lethaby, his friend and mentor, for suggestions as to where to go. He subsequently wrote that, ‘it was principally due to that advice, so freely given, that I went out to Greece and the near East’.²⁴ I can only speculate on the reasons for this advice as there is no other contemporary evidence. It is likely that, as a result of his visits to Italy, Lethaby was already attracted by the possibilities of Byzantine architecture, particularly for its use of materials and its decorative elements, five years before he himself travelled to Constantinople. The young architects of the Arts and Crafts Movement were certainly encouraged to get first-hand experience of building techniques and to study and record a wide range of buildings from Gothic cathedrals to vernacular barns.

Schultz set off in March 1887, travelling in Ruskin’s footsteps to Italy before venturing to Greece and Turkey. He returned to Greece with Sidney Barnsley for extended periods of travel and study between 1887 and 1891. The sites the two men visited included Athens and the wider region of Attica; Mistra, Messina, and Argolis in the Peloponnese; and Arta, Thessaloniki and

²¹ In December 1900 Dorothy Walker attended the annual Arts and Crafts dinner and wrote in her diary: ‘Mr Schultz, who was near us set the table in a roar’. Quoted in Tanner 1975:42.

²² Quoted in Stamp 1981:67.

²³ Unpublished typescript in the library of the Art Workers Guild, London.

²⁴ Weir 1932:8.

in northern Greece as well as short trips to various islands and to Constantinople.

Schultz and Barnsley undertook their work recording Byzantine monuments in Greece through drawings and photographs under the auspices of the British School at Athens. The School had been founded in 1885, following a campaign instigated by Professor Richard Jebb to create an institution to emulate the existing French and German schools. The project had the support of a number of wealthy and influential patrons who included the third Marquess of Bute; the Prime Minister, William Gladstone; the writer, Matthew Arnold; J. Gennadius, the Greek Chargé d'Affaires in London; and Edward, Prince of Wales. The Greek government made a gift of land for the building in a favourable position on the slopes of Lykavitos Hill, in the now fashionable Athens district of Kolonaki.

Some of their early notebooks show Barnsley and Schultz familiarising themselves with Greece's classical as well as Byzantine heritage.²⁵ They began their research by reading widely and their surviving notebooks include copious extracts from English, French, Latin and Greek publications. Among these are several extracts from Bute's article referred to above.²⁶ Bute was a supporter of the Byzantine Research Fund and was one of the subscribers who enabled Schultz and Barnsley to make their second visit to Greece. They returned to Greece in the autumn of 1889 convinced of the importance of the work they were doing. In 1890 Richard Norman Shaw wrote on Schultz's behalf to the Royal Academy to raise funds:

[in order to] enable an architect now in Greece to make complete drawings of the Byzantine Churches. These have never been properly drawn & indeed are very little known, though full of interest, and it would certainly be a most valuable work to undertake, and one that I feel sure would be thoroughly well done.²⁷

²⁵ There are twenty-seven notebooks in the British School at Athens (BSA), there are eighteen notebooks at the Barnsley Workshop (BW) in Froxfield, Hampshire.

²⁶ It was published in *The Scottish Review* in 1889.

²⁷ Stamp 1981:8.

The two men worked thoroughly and very much as a team. From the handwriting in the notebooks it appears that they looked over each other's sketches and occasionally added notes and comments where applicable. One of Schultz's notebooks, for example, contains a number of annotations and sketches by Barnsley including a chimney at Monemvasia.²⁸ Their approach to the study and recording of Byzantine monuments was typical of the Arts and Crafts Movement described thus by Lethaby: 'If you want to learn architecture you must study architecture – that is, architectural construction ... You must pry into material. You must learn the actual 'I know' of the workman.'²⁹ Both Schultz and Barnsley made detailed observations on materials and techniques in their notebooks. At Olympia, for example, Schultz sketched an incised bronze plate (fig. 11) and noted that it had probably been part of a door. He continued: 'The lines are not continuous but have been punched in with a blunt chisel abt. ¼" wide.'³⁰ This geometric approach to pattern making bears some relation to the railings and gates of St Andrew's Chapel, Westminster Cathedral made to Schultz's design by W. Bainbridge Reynolds (see chapter 4, fig. 62).

²⁸ Uncatalogued notebook, RWS 3, BSA.

²⁹ Lethaby 1892:164.

³⁰ Uncatalogued notebook, RWS 1, BSA.

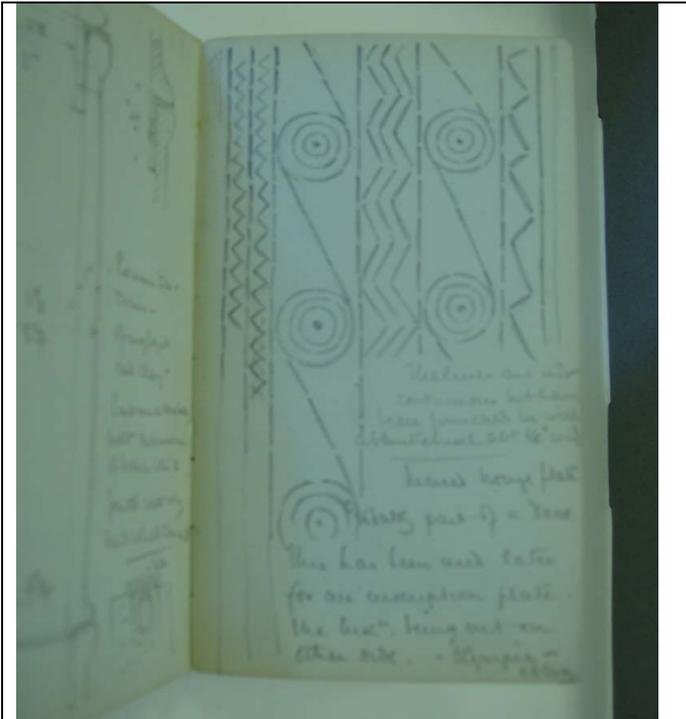


Fig. 11. Schultz's sketch of an incised bronze plate.

Another notebook contains a loose leaf note on the composition of the mortar at some unspecified site. Schultz set about trying to analyze the nature of the material in a very Arts and Crafts manner. He decided that it was, 'composed of lime, straw & red sand? gritty matter like broken pots or brick dust or ashes.'³¹ Schultz also left a detailed description of the building techniques used in part of the stonework of the Church of St Andrew in Athens. He wrote:

The East End is built of Poros stone. The courses vary in height from 5" to 1 foot, the average is however, 7 or 8 inches. They are set in mortar with depth of $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ inch. The surface is of course much weathered but some stones show marks of having been dressed with a fine chisel of not more than $\frac{1}{2}$ [inch] wide. The chisel marks are irregular.

³¹ Uncatalogued notebook, RWS 12, BSA.

The work on the bare stones is more a species of dabbled work done with a point on the moulded part. The plain face below is chiselled but these blocks vary a good deal as I find on other in the monastery.³²

One of Barnsley's notebooks included detailed descriptions of the church at Kaisariani, near Athens, together with his inscriptions and drawings neatly illustrating the research process in progress.³³

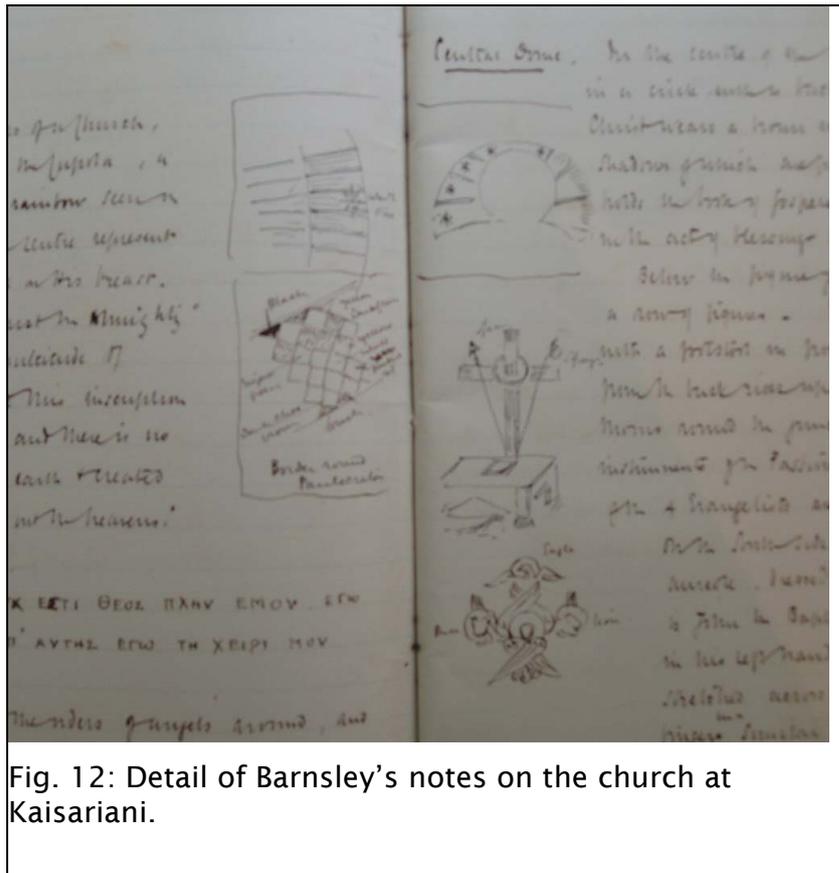


Fig. 12: Detail of Barnsley's notes on the church at Kaisariani.

These examples illustrate the thorough and hands-on methods in which the two architects researched and analysed the materials and techniques involved in the buildings they were recording in keeping with their Arts and Crafts training.

Their notebooks also contain details of iron and brass work, as well as other decorative details such as woodcarvings, furniture and stonework. Both

³² Uncatalogued notebook, RWS 16, BSA.

³³ Uncatalogued notebook, SHB 4, BW.

men were anxious to provide complete, detailed and accurate records of the recorded buildings. Their rubbings on newspaper of relief carvings survive at the British School at Athens while a rubbing of part of a pavement with a coloured wash possibly from a church in Mistra is included in one of Barnsley's notebooks. He noted that 'the brown lines should be black & the purple much deeper'.³⁴



Fig. 13: Barnsley's rubbing from a pavement.

As well as the churches and monasteries, they also drew domestic buildings such as the sketch (fig 14 below) dated December 1889, of a house at Livadia by Barnsley.³⁵ He added some descriptive notes, writing 'Woodwork & plaster, white walls, behind loggia painted green with darker green shutters', together with a sketched detail of the decorative painted band and a note about the accuracy of the colouring.

³⁴ Uncatalogued notebook, SHB 1, BW.
³⁵ Uncatalogued notebook, SHB 3, BSA.



Fig. 14: Barnsley's sketch of a house at Livadia, east of Delphi.

Their friend, Ernest Gimson, passed on their news to a mutual acquaintance:

Sid Barnsley is in Greece again with Schultz. They went last October and will not return until after next Christmas. They are measuring up the remains of Byzantine Churches for the British School in Athens: and of course are having all their expenses paid. Little B. writes to me occasionally and gives wonderful accounts of the glories of their travels. It is travelling too. There are no trails and it all has to be done on horseback or by coach. And there are no inns. The lodgings are either in Monasteries or in some peasant's cottage where all the family sleep in one room – girls as well as fellows!!!³⁶

³⁶ Quoted in Comino 1980: 40.

Unfortunately none of Barnsley's letters to Gimson from Greece have survived. However some personal details are recorded in their notebooks; between 12 and 13 May 1890, for example, the two men travelled from Mistra to Kalamata by mule at a cost of twenty-five drachmas.³⁷ On their visit to Delphi, Schultz noted with some satisfaction the names of two eminent scholars, Professor Blackie and H. F. Tozer, among the earlier entries in the visitors' book.³⁸ Barnsley's notebooks include a pen-and-ink view of Monemvasia from the sea and a couple of sketches of a man, probably Schultz. Schultz's notebooks include a sketch view of a sunrise from a temple with a note, 'sun rose here at 6.15 on Sept. 24th 1891', and one of the room they shared at Osios Loukas (fig. 15).³⁹



Fig. 15: Schultz's sketch of the room at Osios Loukas.

Over 370 photographs survive at the British School of Athens. It seems likely that both men took photographs but it is worth noting that one of Barnsley's elder brothers, Herbert, was a keen amateur photographer who may have passed on equipment and advised on techniques. Additionally one photograph is in the archives of the Art Workers' Guild in London, and six

³⁷ Uncatalogued notebook, RWS 16, BSA.

³⁸ Uncatalogued notebook, RWS 2, BSA.

³⁹ Two uncatalogued notebooks, RWS 4, BW and RWS 16, BSA.

photographs are in the Emery Walker Library at Cheltenham Art Gallery and Museum having been sent by Barnsley to his friend, Emery Walker, a scholar and himself a keen photographer. Most of the photographs are of churches including interior details although a few do include people. There is one intriguing but unfortunately poor quality photograph of a stone carver at work, the only one to feature a craftsman. There is no indication of where this photograph was taken.

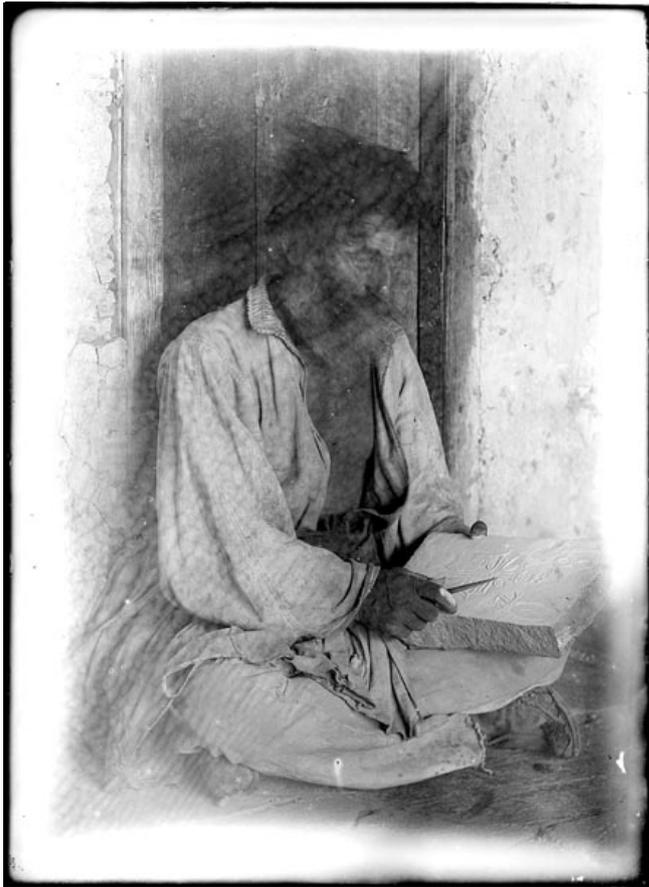


Fig. 16: Photograph of a stone carver from the Schultz/Barnsley archive, BSA.

Two surviving photographs are particularly personal. One photograph in an album in the archives of the Art Workers' Guild, London (fig. 17) shows Schultz in the dress of an Orthodox priest. The second photo (fig. 18), with the Schultz Barnsley archives at the British School at Athens, was catalogued as a 'Greek in national costume'. I have identified the young man as Barnsley wearing the Greek 'fustanella'. In these two photographs both men have

adopted serious and authentic-looking poses – there is no suggestion of fancy dress or caricature.

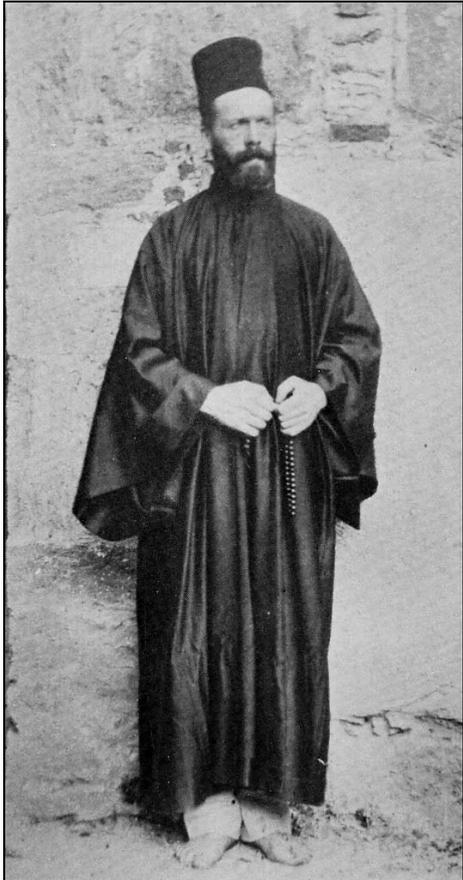


Fig. 17. Robert Weir Schultz.



Fig. 18. Sidney Barnsley.

This bears out the comment made by the Byzantine expert, Professor Robin Cormack, that the two men ‘went native’ on their visits to Greece.⁴⁰

Schultz and Barnsley visited one of the major surviving Byzantine sites in Greece, the eleventh-century Monastery of Osios Loukas south of Delphi in Attica. They were the first western visitors to the monastery for some time; according to the visitors’ book at the monastery the previous person to have

⁴⁰ Cormack 2008.

made the arduous journey was Sir Thomas Wyse. He left an account of his trip in 1871:

They travelled along narrow mountain ridge-like roads, rough terrain with winds blowing in the mountain wilderness. But the valleys were rich and cultivated, with houses sparkling behind cypresses and poplars. Then they saw the domes and buildings of the convent, some new but the greater part old and decayed. ... At length they proceeded to the church. The front was dimly lit, with shadows concealing the vastness of the building and looking like that of St. Mark's in Venice in the foreboding gloom of the mountain blackness. It is as early as the 12th century. The legend runs that a holy hermit, Loukas of Stiris, who had retired into these wilds, proposed to the Byzantine Emperor Romanus, various successes in War, and in acknowledgement he built the church.⁴¹

The two men produced a comprehensive series of measured drawings and photographs of Osios Loukas. They also analysed the building history, techniques and materials and amassed a quantity of drawings, both coloured and black and white, of the decorative details especially the mosaics and carved ornament.

⁴¹ T. Wyse, *Impressions of Greece*, London: Hurst and Blackett, 1871 quoted in Brandon 2001.



Fig. 19. Sketch of the south side of Osios Loukas by Sidney Barnsley (SHB 3, BSA).

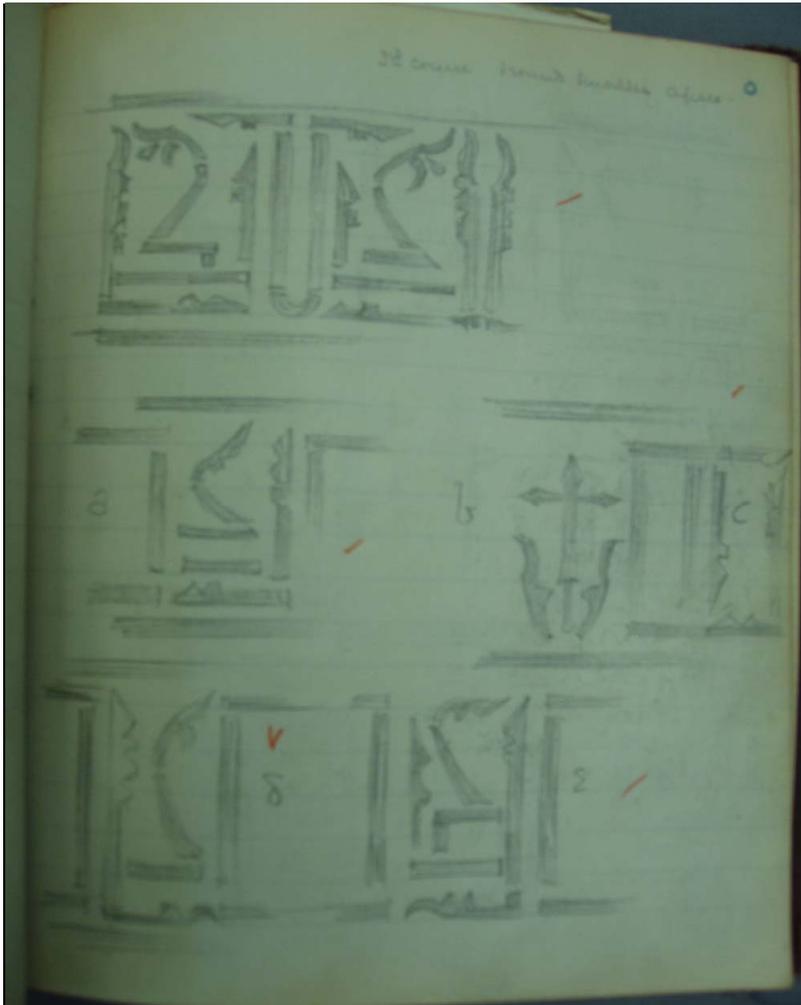


Fig. 20. Patterns in coursework round apses, Church of the Panagia, Osios Loukas, sketched by Robert Weir Schultz, (RWS 15, BSA).

Their transverse sectional plan of the buildings is still used in the current guidebook and is illustrated below (fig. 21).⁴²

⁴² Lazarides: 31.

13. The Churches of the Monastery of Hosios Loukas.
*Transverse section: to the right the large church of the Hosios with
the crypt below, to the left the narthex and gallery of the church of
Panaghia. (Plan of Schultz and Barnsley.)*

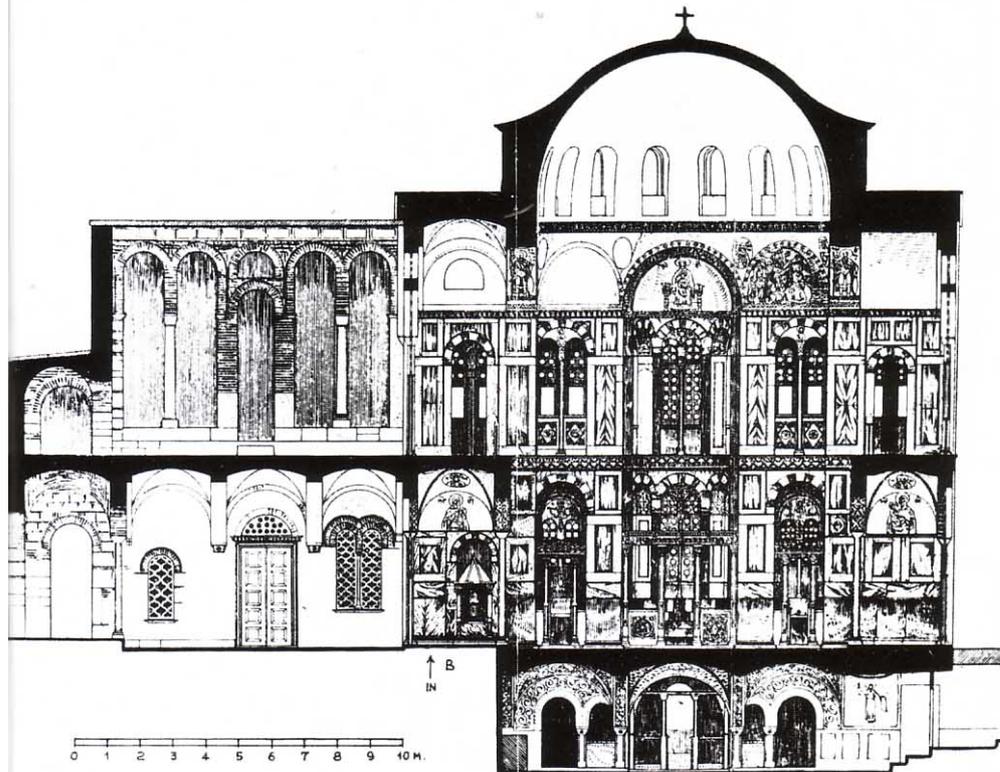


Fig. 21. Plan by Schultz and Barnsley from the current (2008) guidebook for Osios Loukas.

Their experience in Greece had a profound influence on both men. A small comment, written in pencil and difficult to decipher, in one of his notebooks gives an impression of the impact the trip had on Barnsley. He wrote:

Seldom – once or twice a year especially about Easter – we went for refreshment to the nearest villages & their buildings, the fresh air & seeing trees and fields. We remembered Xios and the tower and our garden and the separation of the family appeared to us heaven.⁴³

The comment goes on to suggest that Barnsley was dreading his return to England and the prospect of making a career for himself as a professional architect in London or Birmingham. However in the autumn of 1890 he received a letter from Gimson, asking him to join a new venture, a scheme to set up a workshop producing innovative furniture designed by a select group of architects. In October that year Gimson wrote to Barnsley's elder brother to confirm that he had heard from Barnsley in Greece and he was excited at the prospect of returning to England to join this new venture.⁴⁴

Schultz and Barnsley returned to England in December 1890. Their travel and researches in Greece had a profound effect on their work which will be discussed in the next chapter. The publication in 1901 of their monograph, *The Monastery of St Luke of Stiris in Phocis, and the dependent monastery of St Nicholas in the Fields, near Scripou, in Boetia*, and the positive reception it received inspired others to follow in their footsteps.⁴⁵ Schultz and Barnsley, working within the framework of their Arts and Crafts training, set standards for those who followed in their footsteps. Their detailed and sensitive drawings, the range of the buildings they studied, the technical quality of their photographs, and their meticulous notes showing their concern for and understanding of materials and techniques all provided a valuable legacy for the future. One of their patrons, Dr E. H. Freshfield, established the Byzantine Research and Publication Fund in 1908 encouraging other architects and archaeologists to continue the work that

⁴³ Uncatalogued notebook, SHB 1, BSA.

⁴⁴ Comino 1980:51.

⁴⁵ Winfield 2000:57.

Schultz and Barnsley had started. In particular three other architects loosely connected with the Arts and Crafts Movement, Ramsey Traquair, William Harvey, and Walter Sykes George, followed Schultz and Barnsley to Greece in the early twentieth century to work on Byzantine architecture in the years before the First World War.

Chapter four

Byzantine influence in the architectural and design work of Barnsley and Schultz

Robert Weir Schultz and Sidney Barnsley returned to Britain from Greece in November 1890. They both stayed in London, taking lodgings in the Bloomsbury area, and began their working lives as architects and designers. A few years after his return, Schultz wrote an article on 'Byzantine Art' which was published in *The Architectural Review* in two sections in 1897. His comments on Byzantine art and architecture could easily be applied to the Arts and Crafts Movement:

... as in Religion so in art, [they] took hold of the traditions they found about them and put new life into them...it was a time of experiment and progress alike in its construction and in its decorative form and motive.¹

This chapter looks at the impact of their time in Greece and their study of Byzantine architecture on their subsequent work as architects and designers. I have concentrated particularly on Barnsley's furniture designs and included those of his closest colleagues – his brother Ernest Barnsley and his friend Ernest Gimson. Their working relationship over some thirty years was close and co-operative, especially in the formative decade of their careers between 1893 and 1903, that there was a constant interchange of ideas. Many of the decorative features they developed were absorbed into the Arts and Crafts mainstream.

It may be useful to include a brief outline of their subsequent careers at this point. Barnsley returned to Britain committed to at least one project. He had already agreed to join a new London-based furniture workshop, Kenton & Company, set up at the autumn of 1890 with four other architects – Ernest Gimson, W. R. Lethaby, Mervyn Macartney, and Reginald Blomfield – as designers. Each man produced his own designs; there was no house style. There was a workshop and a number of trained cabinet makers were

¹ Schultz 1897a:193.

employed. Concurrently Barnsley also took on his first architectural commission, the Church of the Wisdom of God, Lower Kingswood, Surrey, an Anglican church with a strong Byzantine element. In 1893, following the closure of Kenton & Company, Barnsley moved to the Cotswolds with his colleague, Gimson and his elder brother, Ernest Barnsley. In the Cotswolds the three men continued to work as architects. This was both a work and lifestyle choice; all three men lived in the rural south Cotswolds for the rest of their lives. They designed, and in Barnsley's case, constructed furniture; Gimson also made decorative plasterwork and designed metalwork. The designer and woodworker, Eric Sharpe, was one of the first people to write about the Byzantine feeling in the work of Gimson and the Barnsleys. In 1945 he commented on the Byzantine inspiration of their arrangement of pattern which he described as 'the effect of the extreme simplicity of bounding line or form and the intricacy of work contained therein'.² Sharpe highlighted the triple loop motif in Gimson's candle sconces but other designs by the three men also demonstrate the same qualities.³



Fig. 22 (above). Carving in the church at Samari, Thessaly, Greece photographed by Schultz/Barnsley.

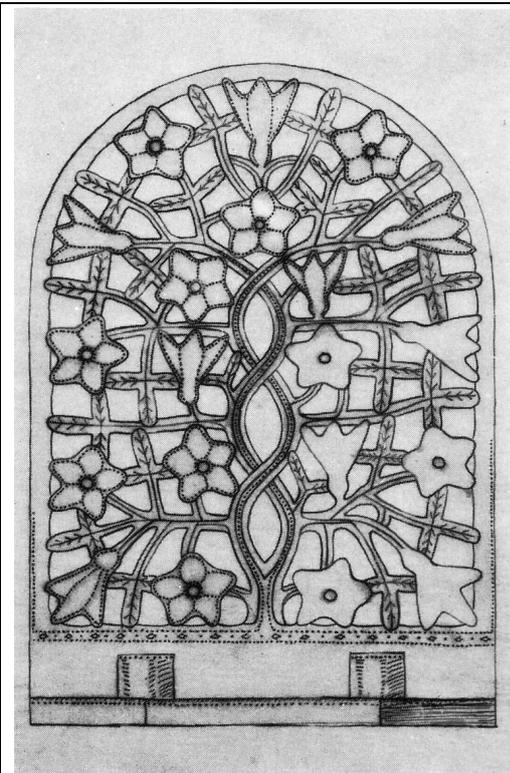


Fig. 23 (right). Design by Ernest Gimson for a candle sconce with a triple loop design, about 1905.

² Sharpe 1945:106.

³ See also Barnsley's painted ceiling at the Church of the Wisdom of God, fig. 24.



Fig. 24. Detail of the ceiling at the Church of the Wisdom of God painted by Barnsley, 1892.

On his return to Britain Schultz set up a practice in Gray's Inn Buildings, London. His architectural career was supported by the third and fourth Marquesses of Bute; he worked on numerous projects for them in Scotland and in London. He remained close friends with Barnsley; both Barnsley and Gimson were involved in a number of his projects including Woolmer Green Church, Hertfordshire; Old Place of Mochrum, Wigtownshire, Scotland; Khartoum Cathedral; and St Andrew's Chapel, Westminster Cathedral. Schultz continued his involvement with the Byzantine Research Fund throughout his working life; he closed his practice in 1939 and died in 1951, outliving Barnsley by twenty-five years.

The Church of the Wisdom of God, Lower Kingswood, Surrey, 1891-1902

Barnsley's first architectural project on his return to Britain came through Dr E. H. Freshfield who had helped fund their Byzantine researches. Immediately on his return in 1891 he was commissioned by two local residents, Freshfield's son, Edwin, and Sir Henry Cosmo Orme Bonsor, to design an Anglican church for the community at Lower Kingswood, Surrey. It seems that the father, Dr E. H. Freshfield, played a major role in establishing the character of the church. He has already been mentioned in the previous chapter as one of the committee promoting the building of the new Greek Orthodox Church in Bayswater and the founder of the Byzantine Research and Publication Fund. He was a scholar and antiquarian as well as a member of a well-established family of solicitors. His passion for archaeology was cemented by a tour of Egypt, Greece and Turkey on graduating from Cambridge in 1854, aged 22. He met Zoe Hanson, the daughter of an

Englishman living in Smyrna on his travels and the couple were subsequently married. Dr Edwin Freshfield was their only child. Although the church at Lower Kingswood was intended to serve the Anglican community, the intention was that it would also house some of the Byzantine and Roman artefacts Dr E. H. Freshfield had collected on his travels. These included a number of Byzantine columns from Greece and Asia Minor including two from the church of the Monastery of St John of the Stadium at Constantinople.⁴

The church's plan was pre-Byzantine, based on the Basilican church of Hagia Eirene in Constantinople, but other elements in its design and decoration reflected Barnsley's Byzantine studies in Greece. Although its exterior form with a pitched roof is not obviously Byzantine, I believe it makes an interesting comparison with some of the smaller churches he and Schultz recorded such as Hagios Vasileios in Arta in north-west Greece. The photograph of the church's East end from the Schultz/Barnsley archive at the British School at Athens illustrated below (fig. 25) shows a very simple exterior with a pitched roof. The stonework however is a complex arrangement of patterns which related to the decorative use of red brick and Ham stone on the exterior of Barnsley's church. The church was built by a local firm of builders, James Murray, but Barnsley based himself on site for the duration. According to Schultz:

[The architect] personally superintended the work in every detail, and himself painted the beautiful decoration of the roof. In the chancel is some of the best and most skilfully arranged marble and mosaic in the country.⁵

⁴ According to church records, these were used for target practice. When Dr Freshfield remonstrated with the Turkish priests he was offered the capitals for £1 each.

⁵ Schultz 1909:37.

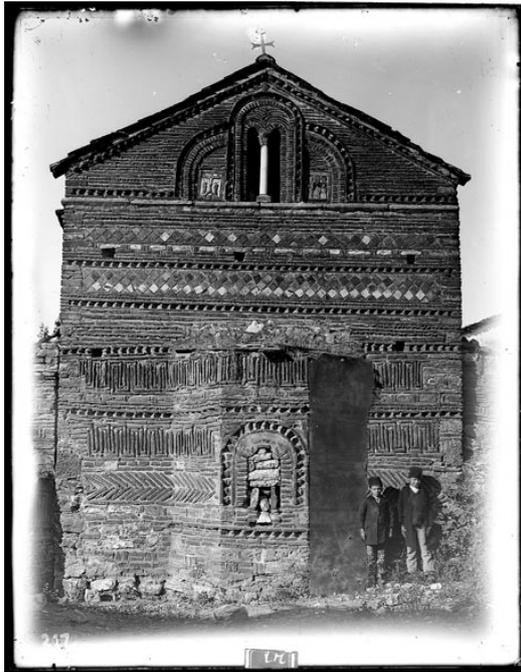


Fig.25 (above). The church at Arta photographed by Schultz/Barnsley.



Fig.26. The church of the Wisdom of God, Lower Kingswood, Surrey.



Figs 27- 29. Details of the patterned stone and brickwork on the exterior of the Church of the Wisdom of God.

The interior of the church has a strong Byzantine feel. Its walls were clad with thin slices of marble arranged so that their veined markings formed a pattern.

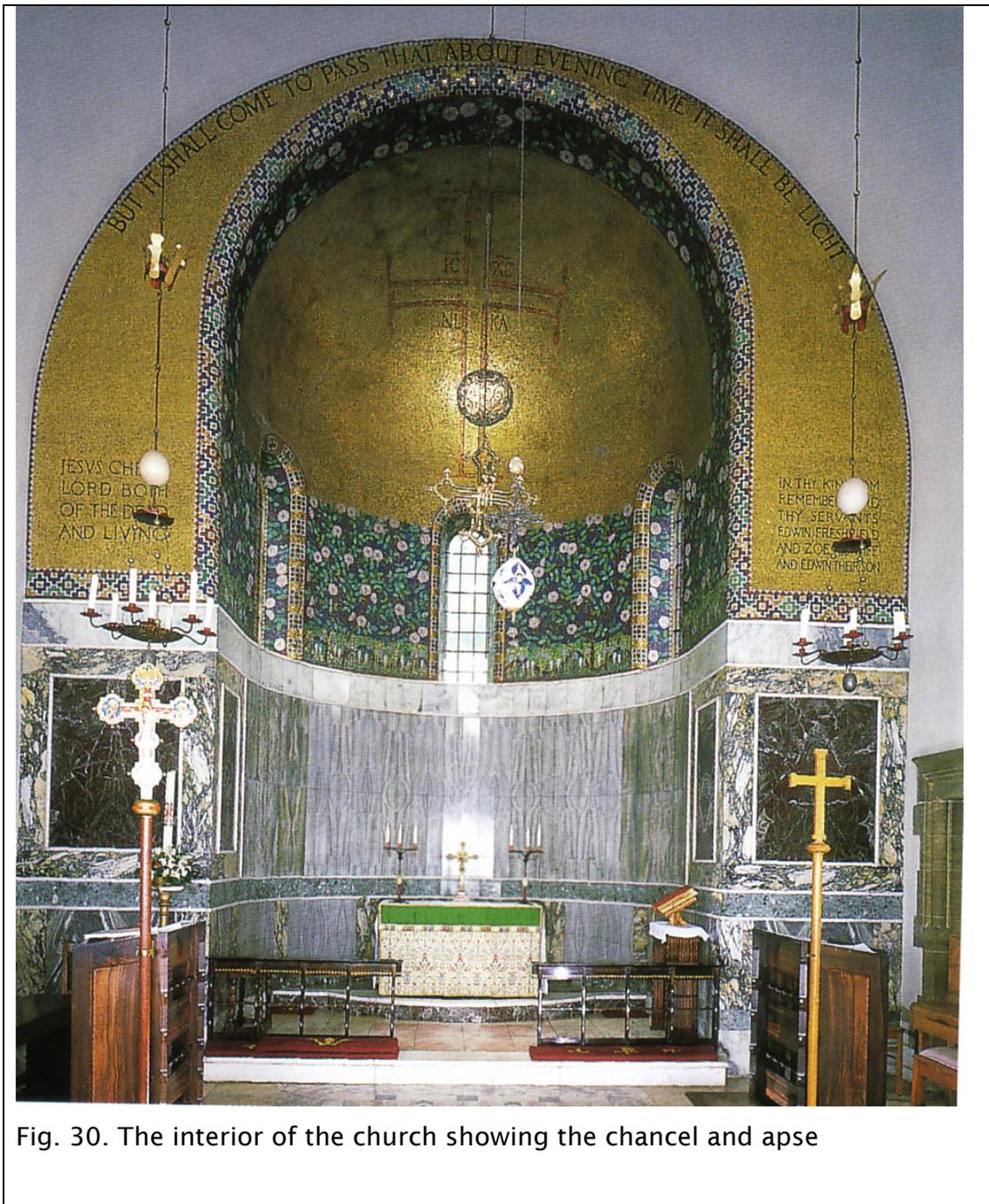


Fig. 30. The interior of the church showing the chancel and apse

Barnsley himself painted the green stained timbers of the ceiling with a flowing design of wild flowers in red, green, white and yellow (fig. 24). He subsequently used similar designs on small painted boxes and furniture in conjunction with his friend, the architect and decorator of pottery, Alfred

Powell. He also designed two six-sided ambros pulpits with seats in the form of a domed bema similar to one shown in the monastery of Osios Loukas in the Shultz/Barnsley photographs at the British School at Athens. This piece and the other church furniture was designed by Barnsley in macassar ebony inlaid with olive wood and mother of pearl and made by the cabinet makers employed by Kenton & Company.



Fig. 31 (above). Detail of the West end of Osios Loukas showing a bema from the Schultz/Barnsley photographs.



Fig. 32 (right). One of the pulpits at the Church of the Wisdom of God.

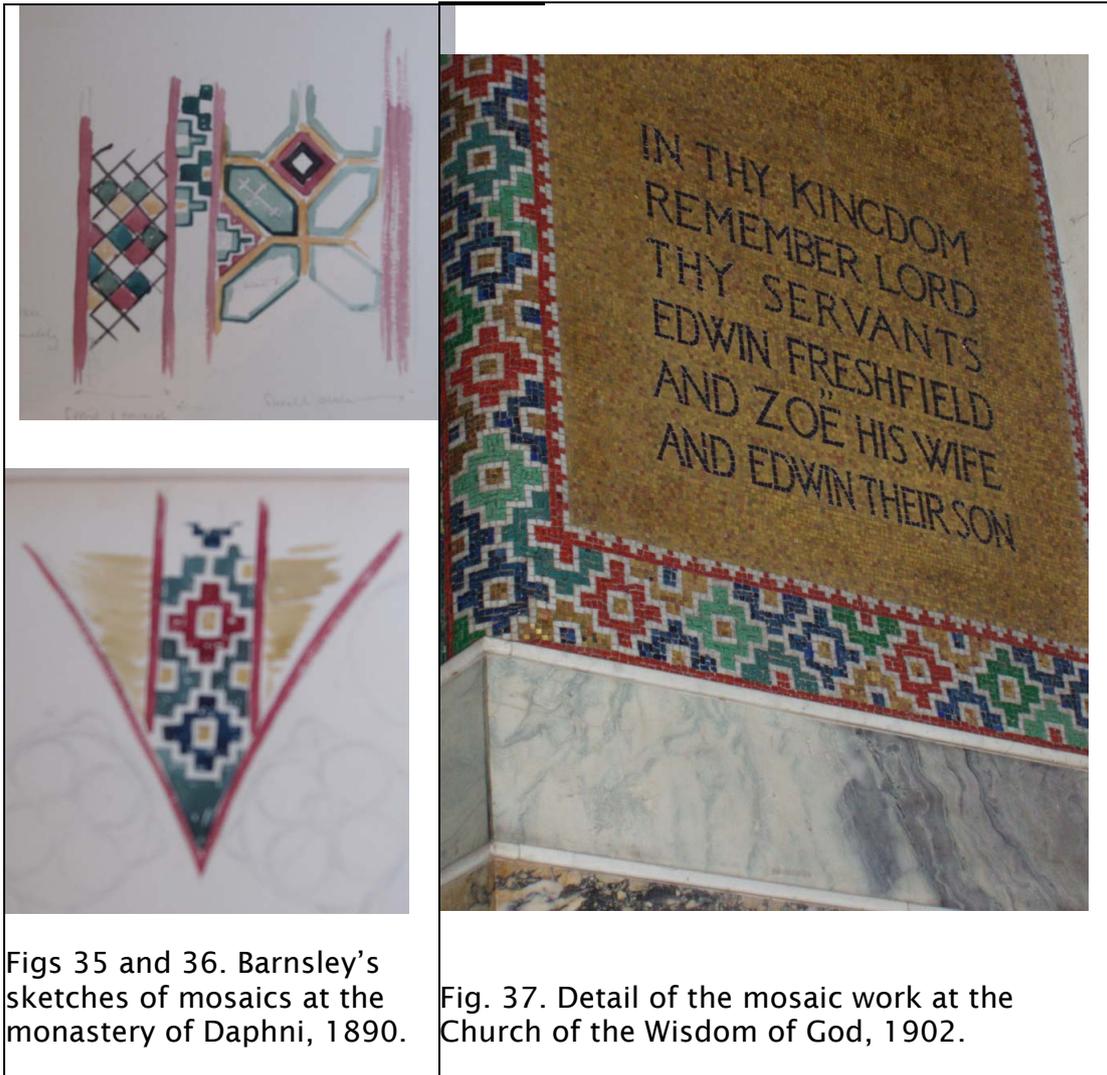


Fig. 33 (above). Detail of the pavement at the Church of the Wisdom of God.

Fig. 34 (right). Detail of the mosaic design in the apse.

The design of the marbled pavement (fig. 33) was also based on that of Osios Loukas as drawn by Barnsley. In 1902 Barnsley received a further commission to add mosaic decoration to the church's apse. The work itself was carried out in a traditional manner and to a high standard by the team of mosaic artists assembled by James Powell of Whitefriars to work on Westminster Cathedral. The main design however is not traditional. Rather than taking a religious theme it is a celebration of nature with a very contemporary feel, echoing the floral design of the painted roof (fig. 34). The mosaic pattern around the decoration and the inscription is taken directly from the geometric design found in many Byzantine church mosaics. Barnsley made some watercolour sketches of these patterns on a visit to the Monastery at Daphni near Athens in 1890 (figs 35 and 36).⁶

⁶ Uncatalogued notebook SHB 3, Barnsley Workshop (BW).



Figs 35 and 36. Barnsley's sketches of mosaics at the monastery of Daphni, 1890.

Fig. 37. Detail of the mosaic work at the Church of the Wisdom of God, 1902.

Photographs of the church were displayed in the 1893 Arts and Crafts Exhibition in London and commented on by *The Studio* magazine. The reviewer admired the huge ringed chandelier, 'quaint in its very severity', which held the candles that provided the only lighting in church, and went on:

Here is a new variation of the Byzantine motive, gained I dare swear from the Mosque of St. Sophia at Constantinople but handled with a reticent feeling and sense of proportion beyond praise...It is emphatically the work of an artist rather than of a professional man.⁷

⁷ *The Studio* 1894:15.

In 1909 Schultz described the Church of the Wisdom of God as the earliest of five significant buildings from the previous twenty years:

...typical of genuine effort to get as near as possible to more reasonable conditions of building, and which gave a chance for the various craftsmen employed to express their individuality.⁸

Barnsley's designs for Kenton & Company, 1891-2

Very few of the pieces which Barnsley designed for Kenton & Company have survived. In 2004 I was very pleased to be able to acquire one piece, a mirror frame designed and possibly made by Barnsley, for Cheltenham Art Gallery and Museum (fig. 38). I based the argument for the acquisition both on the rarity of a Kenton piece by Barnsley and on the clear influence of his Byzantine researches on the design. A bold domed top dominates the frame which is made of walnut lined with veneers of a very unusual burr oak. The patterns formed by the placing of the pieces of veneer suggest the veining of marble cladding as used in Byzantine church interiors. Writing about the most sumptuous churches of the monasteries in the article quoted above, Schultz noted this technique:

The marble was very skilfully used as a thin veneer ... and it was often carefully selected and arranged with a view to giving bright contrasts of colour and a general richness of effect, but always in a broad and masterly manner. Beautifully veined slabs of Cippolino were used for the panels, and these were split, opened out and arranged in series of twos or fours with splendid effect.⁹

⁸ Schultz 1909:37. The other four were Lethaby's Brockhampton Church, 1903; A. R. Wells's Kempley Church, 1904; Kelling Place by E. S. Prior, 1905; and Roker Church, 1907, which Schultz ascribed to both Prior and Wells.

⁹ Schultz 1897b:249-50.

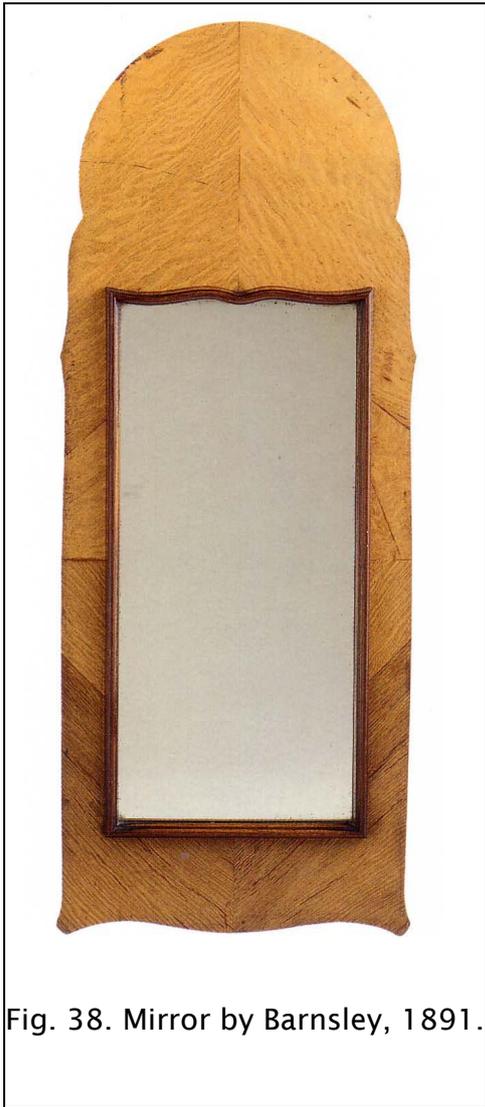


Fig. 38. Mirror by Barnsley, 1891.

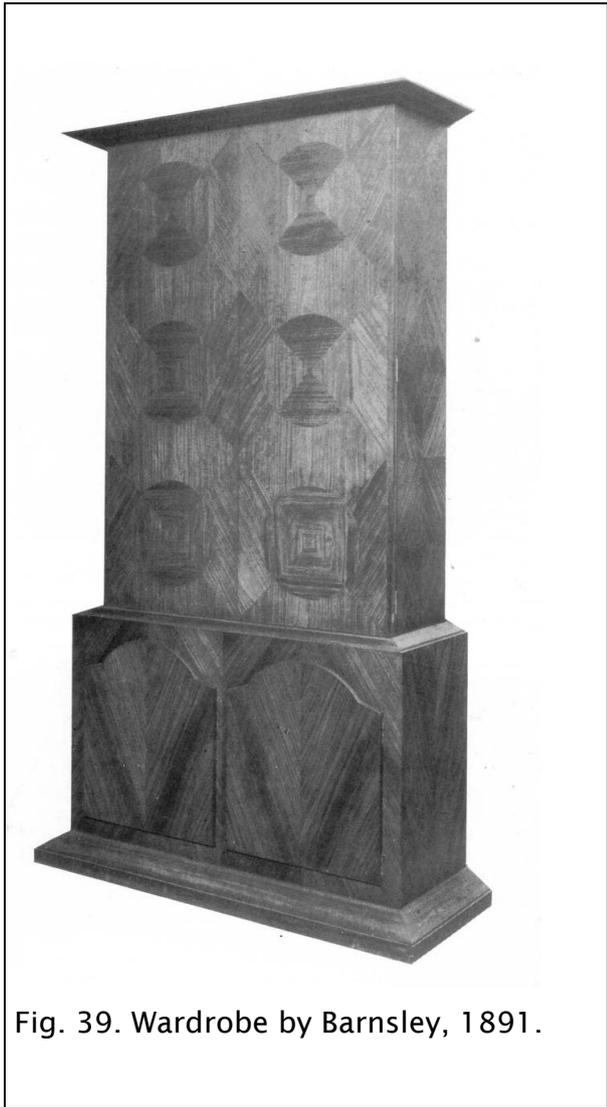


Fig. 39. Wardrobe by Barnsley, 1891.

Another example of furniture made by Kenton & Company is the wardrobe shown above (fig. 39), known only from photographs. Although there is some uncertainty about its attribution I have always asserted that it is a Barnsley design based on the inscription on the reverse of a contemporary photograph in Barnsley's hand in the Edward Barnsley archive.¹⁰ Having delved deeper into his Byzantine studies I am now convinced that it is his work. The Indian walnut veneers are used in a very Byzantine manner. In 1980 I related this piece to Art Deco designs of the 1920s and '30s. However looking at it again, I can see that both the pattern

¹⁰ See M. Comino 1980:59. This piece was initially attributed to Blomfield by B Burrough 1970:34. The inscription on the reverse of the photograph reads 'cupboard veneered in Indian walnut, £15. 0. 0.'

of circles and squares created by the veneering and the curved-topped panels on the lower part were obviously inspired by Byzantine work. Although looking back to the Byzantine, this type of veneered furniture, so shockingly plain for the 1890s, also looks forward to the functional designs of the twentieth century. It became a standard feature of Cotswold Arts and Crafts furniture by Barnsley and particularly his colleague, Gimson. A cabinet designed by Gimson in about 1903-5 featured the decorative veneered surface bounded by faceted ebony inset. Describing this type of Byzantine work, Schultz wrote that around the veneered marble panels, 'one generally finds a slightly projecting rounded fillet of white marble and sometimes this is enriched with cut facets'.¹¹



Fig. 40. Detail of a cabinet by Ernest Gimson, about 1903-5.

Gordon Russell's boot cupboard of 1925 (fig. 41), again with a decorative veneered surface with a crisp four-square outline, has been seen as an exemplar for modernist designers in the 1940s and '50s but Russell himself acknowledged the inspiration of Barnsley and Gimson.¹²

¹¹ Schultz 1897b: 250.

¹² Naylor 1976; Pevsner 1982; Russell 1968:128 and 140.



Fig. 41. Cupboard by Gordon Russell, 1925.

Furniture and other designs by the Barnsleys and Gimson in the Cotswolds, 1893-1926

In the spring of 1893, having completed the work on the Church of the Wisdom of God, Barnsley left London and, with his elder brother, Ernest Barnsley, and his friend, Gimson, set up a craft workshop in the south Cotswolds. Sidney Barnsley and Gimson were the prime movers in this enterprise and it has been suggested that it was the former's experience in Greece that led him to see out a new sort of lifestyle and working life in the English countryside.¹³

Both Schultz and Barnsley made sketches of decorative inlaid work in Greece including the pavement of the Metropolis at Mistra in May 1888 (figs 42 and 44). They appreciated the simple geometric patterns and the balance of the contrasting colours and tones. Boxes and other small pieces designed and made by Barnsley in the early twentieth century illustrate the adaptation of other techniques from Byzantine art into his work. The Byzantine approach to mosaic work, described by Walter Crane, was influential on his decorative

¹³ Cormack 2008.

inlaid work. In Byzantine mosaics, he wrote, there was no attempt to imitate painting and the technique was 'boldly and frankly acknowledged'. This was

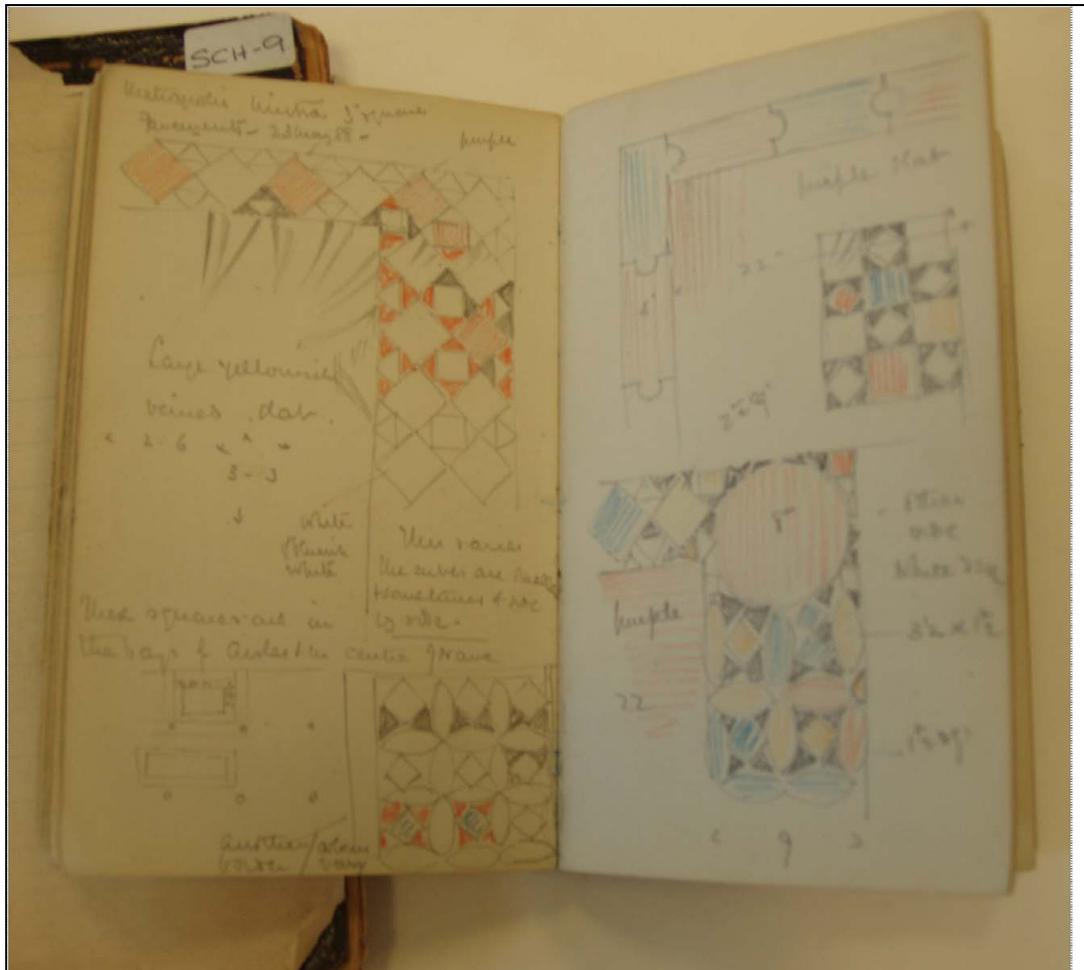


Fig. 42. A page from Schultz's notebook showing details of the inlaid church pavement at Mistra, RWS 1, BSA.

very similar to the Arts and Crafts approach. Crane went on to describe the mosaic work of the head of the Empress Theodora at St Vitale, Ravenna:

The cube is used as much as possible, but the cubes vary much in size, and are set often with very open joints, the cement lines of the bedding showing quite clearly, and the surface of the work uneven, the tesserae being worked of course from the front and in situ, presenting a varied surface of different facets which, catching the light at different angles, give an extraordinary sparkle and richness to the

effect as a whole. In the head of Theodora the effect is enhanced by the discs of mother-of-pearl used for the head-dress. ¹⁴



Fig. 43 (above). Inlaid box by Sidney Barnsley, about 1905.

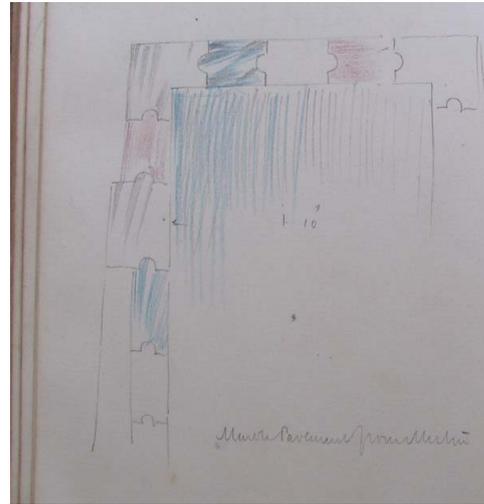


Fig. 44 (right). Barnsley's drawing of a pavement at Mistra.

The box illustrated above (fig. 43) was made by Barnsley in walnut inlaid with mother of pearl in about 1905. The sides of the box were inlaid with large discs of mother of pearl and smaller pieces of mother of pearl and abalone. It is an abstract design with the merest suggestion of simple flowers and leaves. The large inlaid pieces on the lid are based on the interlocking design of a pavement at Mistra sketched by Barnsley (fig. 44).¹⁵

¹⁴ Crane 1920:25.

¹⁵ Uncatalogued notebook, SHB 1, BW.



Fig. 45. Box by Barnsley, about 1905.

The second box (fig. 45) was made in oak inlaid all over with abalone, mother of pearl and coromandel wood in a geometric design. The larger coromandel squares are proud from the surface. I consider that both boxes have that sparkle and richness which Crane ascribed to Byzantine mosaics. Interestingly enough both boxes were owned and may have been commissioned by Schultz. The same approach can be found in other examples of Barnsley's and Gimson's work. The two boxes illustrated below (fig. 46) designed by Gimson are in private collections. Their decorative inlay in ivory has the uneven quality of mosaic work as described in the quotation from Crane above. It is not crude work; Gimson's craftsmen had the manual skills to produce more exact squares and circles even from a hard material such as ivory. Rather it is artistic work with an abstract freedom that looks forward to twentieth-century work by artists such as Terry Frost.

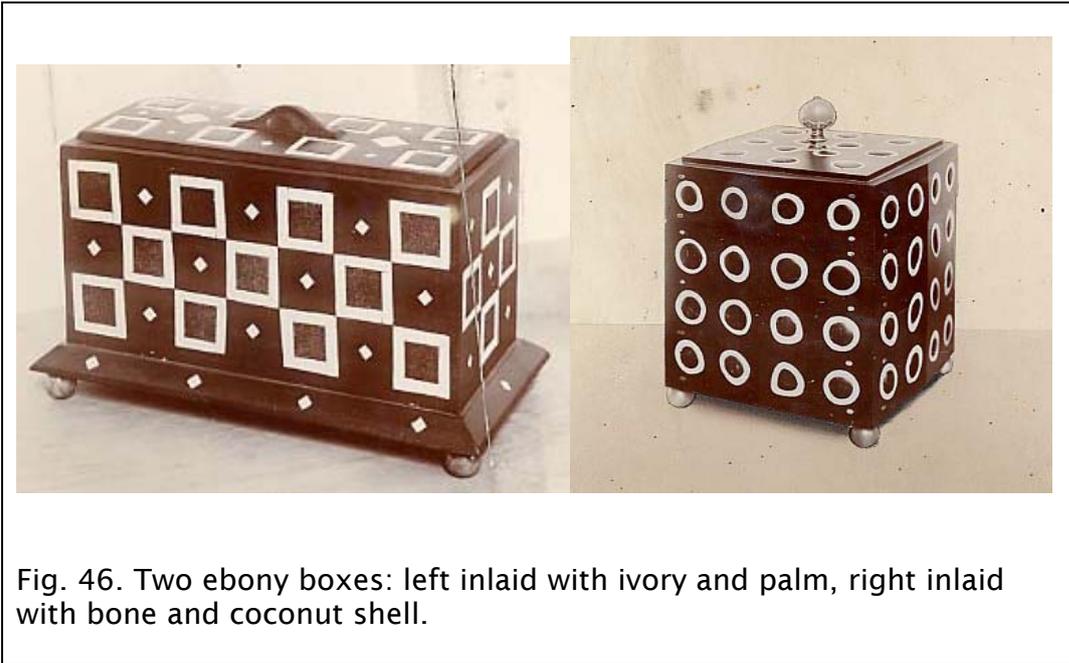


Fig. 46. Two ebony boxes: left inlaid with ivory and palm, right inlaid with bone and coconut shell.

This same inlaid technique was used in the domed bema at Osios Loukas referred to above and in other churches recorded by the two architects. The Schultz/Barnsley photographs at the British School at Athens include a photograph of the icon stand in the church at Monemvasia decorated with this technique. The photograph below (fig. 47) illustrates the use of this style of inlay in the Byzantine period much as Barnsley and Gimson did in the twentieth century. I believe that this Byzantine tradition is also related to the Greek vernacular furniture with inlaid decoration known as ‘honefto’ (fig. 49). Shallow geometric shapes were carved into the dark wood and filled with pieces of shell, ivory, silver or contrasting wood to create complex abstract and representational designs.¹⁶

¹⁶ William Morris owned an example of this woodwork, a snuff box inlaid with kite-shaped pieces of mother of pearl. According to his daughter, May Morris, her father ‘prized certain trinkets, keepsakes from friends, such as an inlaid snuff-box of choice work’ kept among the ‘tidy litter’ of his desk. It is now in the collection of the William Morris Gallery, Walthamstow, London, accession no. H4R, and the quotation is included in exhibit’s label.

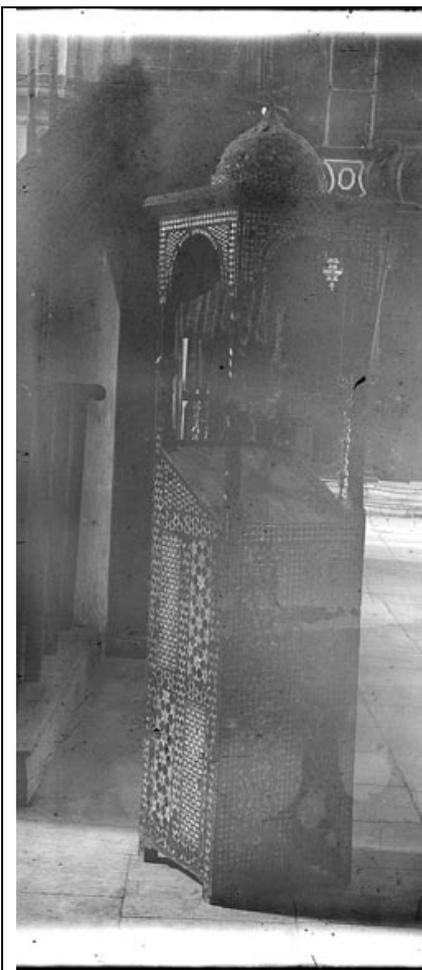


Fig. 47 (above). Icon stand from the church at Monemvasia photographed by Schultz/Barnsley.



Fig. 48 (above right). Icon stand from Zavorda, 18th century.



Fig. 49 (right). Detail of a 'honefto' chest, early 19th century.

Both Schultz and Barnsley made sketches of an iron candlestick at Hagios Georgios, near Mistra in May 1890 (fig. 50). They noted one detail of the design in particular: the decoration of the stem with metal curls between $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{3}{8}$ inch long. This type of decoration was subsequently used on metalwork designed by Barnsley's friend and colleague, Gimson, and made in

his smithy in the Cotswolds. A drawing (fig. 51) of a pair of candlesticks with this type of decoration to be made in polished iron is dated May 25 1904, a time when Barnsley and Gimson were collaborating closely on furniture designs.¹⁷

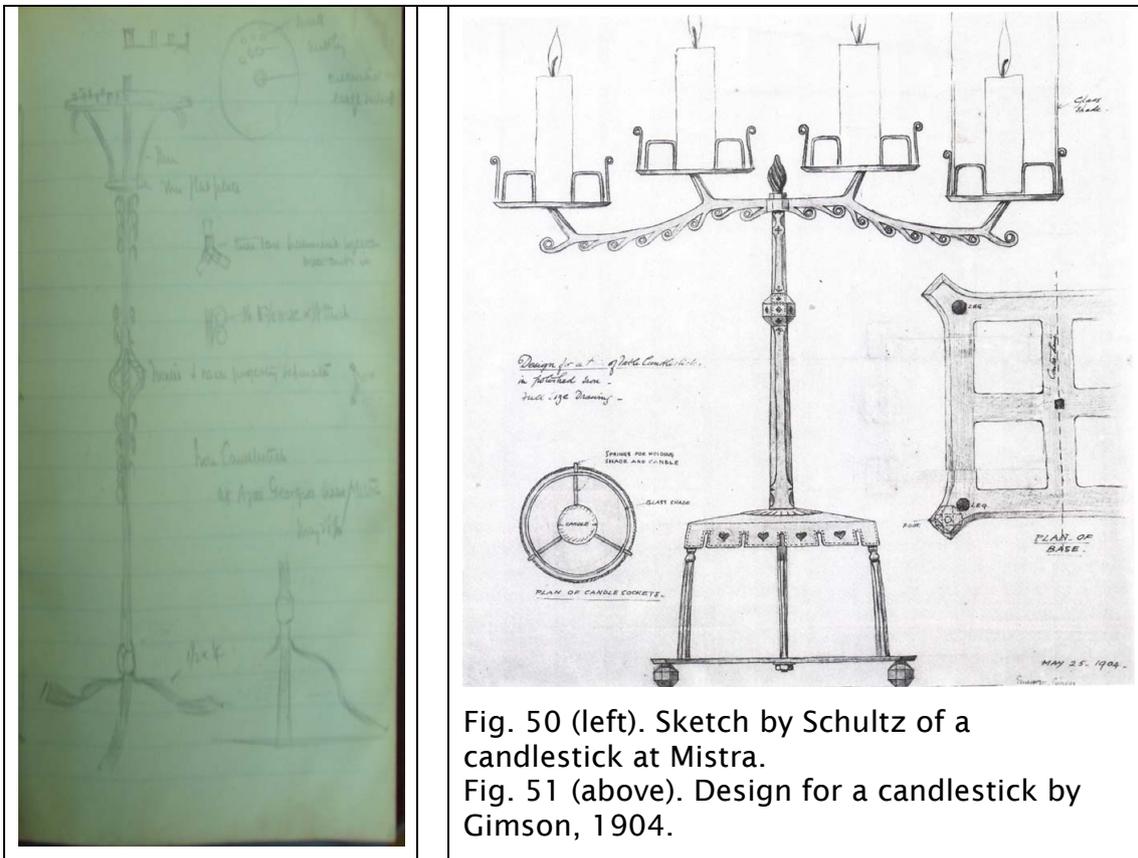


Fig. 50 (left). Sketch by Schultz of a candlestick at Mistra.
 Fig. 51 (above). Design for a candlestick by Gimson, 1904.

This type of curled decoration was also found on a wrought iron well head (fig. 52) designed by Gimson in collaboration with Schultz for the Old Place at Mochrum, Scotland.

¹⁷ The drawing, 1941.223.5, is in the collections of Cheltenham Art Galley & Museum



Fig. 52. Contemporary photograph of the well head at Mochrum, about 1904.

The uprights of the iron candlestick from Mistra and Gimson's design (figs 50 and 51) share the same octagonal shaped knops. This became a design feature in the work of Gimson, Barnsley and other Arts and Crafts designers. Another feature possibly derived from Greek and Anatolian craftwork was the use of chip carving. It was used regularly by Gimson and Barnsley from about 1900 in conjunction with a multi-faceted octagonal knop, and subsequently by other Arts and Crafts furniture makers such as Charles Spooner and Arthur Romney Green.

Nicholas in the Fields, near Scripou in 1901. The monograph, the publication of which was funded largely by Dr E. H. Freshfield, included their meticulous drawings of both sites. He also made conscious efforts to develop the potential of their Byzantine researches to further his architectural career. While he was briefly in Britain in January 1889, he had visited Mount Stuart and shown his drawings of Greek churches to the third Marquess of Bute. Two years later, when he was establishing his architectural practice in London, Schultz wrote to him as a prospective client:

During the course of our last visit to Greece, in addition to continuing the series of more purely architectural drawings which we had previously commenced, Mr Barnsley & myself have made a large number of coloured drawings of the marble & mosaic work in the interiors of some of the churches.¹

The patronage of the third and fourth Marquesses of Bute stood Schultz in good stead. According to Gavin Stamp: 'In the Crichton-Stuart family Schultz was fortunate in finding highly educated and individual clients who shared his interest in things Byzantine and his concern with good sound imaginative architecture.'² The family provided Schultz with commissions in his native Scotland and elsewhere.

His first commission for the family was a project to add a chapel and an additional library to London home of the third Marquess in 1891. St John's Lodge was an early nineteenth-century house with extensive grounds in Regent's Park. Lethaby's book, *Architecture, Mysticism and Myth*, published that year was a great influence on Schultz, particularly the author's attempt to understand and define the common themes in ancient architecture in terms of religious conceptions and eternally potent symbols. Schultz subsequently described its impact on his generation:

...the book opened up to us younger men a hitherto undreamt world of romance in architecture. The labyrinth, the golden gate of the sun, pavements like the sea, ceilings like the sky, the windows of heaven

¹ Stamp 1981:12-13

² Stamp 1981:3

and three hundred and sixty days. One remembered the labyrinth in the pavement in Siena. Also the one on the west wall of Lucca. . . Now, through Lethaby, one began to understand something of what they all meant. I was at that time about to do a small private chapel; into it went a pavement like the sea and a ceiling like the sky, as an accepted tradition.³

The chapel at St John's Lodge included a number of elements in its design which derived from Schultz's Byzantine studies. The domed ceiling and the circle of Ionic columns within a square space are typical elements found in churches such as St Nicodemus, the Russian Orthodox church in Athens. It was sketched by both Barnsley and Schultz; the latter's drawing is illustrated below:⁴

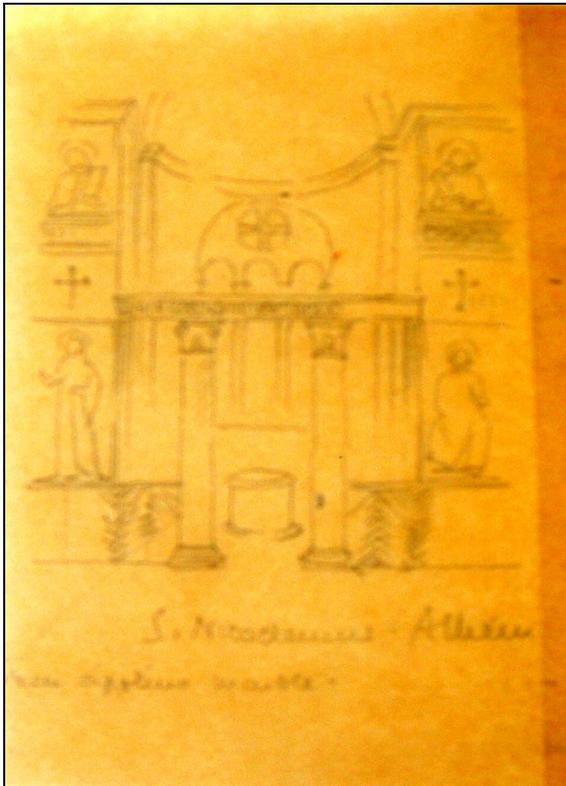


Fig. 53. Schultz's sketch of the interior of St Nicodemus, Athens.

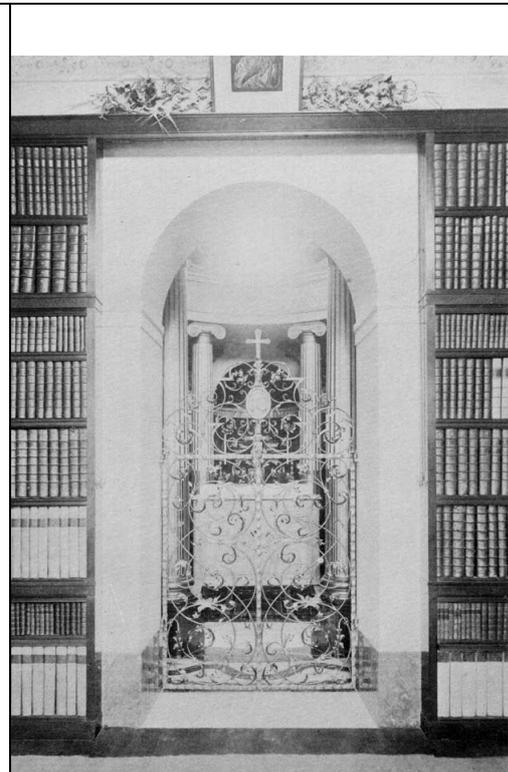


Fig. 54. Archive photograph of the Chapel in St John's Lodge from the Library.

The only surviving photograph of the chapel (fig. 54) illustrates part of a marble floor inlaid with contrasting wavy bands and fishes. This was the first

³ Weir 1932:18.

⁴ Uncatalogued notebook RWS 9, BSA.

of several 'pavements like the sea', incorporated by Schultz into his buildings. One early twelfth-century version of such a marble pavement, from the crypt at San Savino at Piacenza, Italy, was sketched by him on his way to Greece in 1888 (fig. 55). His notes on this sketch include the comments: 'The ground represents the sea waves and the fishes and mermaids.'⁵

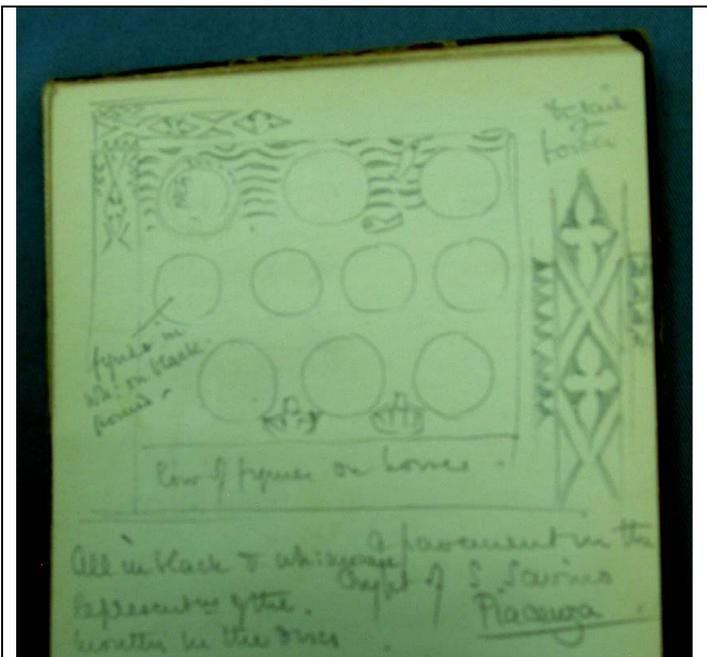


Fig. 55. Sketch by Schultz of the pavement from San Savino, Piacenza.

Subsequently, in 1899, Schultz added a subterranean chapel, Byzantine in style, to the complex (fig. 57). It was sunk into the grounds of Regent's Park near the lake. The exterior referred back to Byzantine churches in Greece recorded by both Schultz and Barnsley, including the Metropolitan church at Mistra (fig. 56). This subterranean chapel was demolished in 1916. Schultz's earlier additions to St John's Lodge – the chapel and library – were also demolished later in the twentieth century.

⁵ Uncatalogued notebook, RWS 6, BSA.

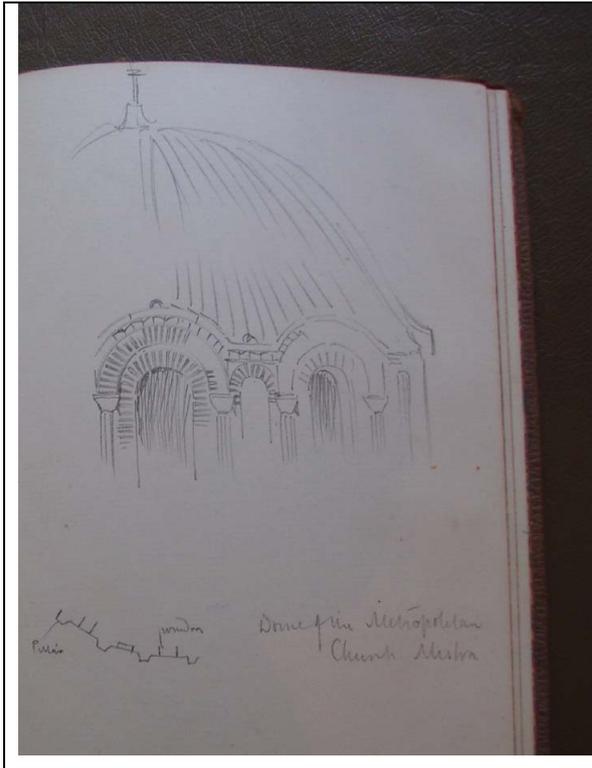


Fig. 56 (left). Drawing by Barnsley of the Metropolitan church at Mistra.

Fig. 57 (above). Subterranean chapel near St John's Lodge by Schultz, 1892

Schultz wrote a two-part article on 'Byzantine Architecture' for *The Architectural Review* in 1897, the first year of its existence. It described itself as 'a magazine for the Architect, Archaeologist, Designer and Craftsman', implying that it was aiming to provide something wider than a professional journal. In his article, Schultz characterized the period of Byzantine architecture as, 'a time of experiment and progress alike in its construction and its decorative form and motive.' He went on to write:

In conclusion, the main lessons to be learned from the Byzantines are on the structural side, their straightforward building methods, their grappling with great problems of construction, their legitimate and economical use of materials both in a structural and a decorative sense – this can be seen well in their use of marble; marble used in great blocks and pillars as a strong material capable of bearing great weight; other marbles used in thin slabs as costly and beautiful decoration, arranged so as to get great wealth and contrast of colour with the minimum of material. Their application of gold in mosaic is a splendid instance of economy. Here we find the thin fragile gold leaf

laid on a glass ground and covered over with a thin film of transparent glass, which rendered it practically imperishable.⁶

Schultz developed a method of construction based on the straightforward and honest approach to the use of materials which he characterized as Byzantine. He built two community halls on a tight budget in the first years of the twentieth century – a University Settlement Hall in Cardiff and a village hall in Shorne, Kent. The roofs were constructed from small lengths of spliced and bolted timbers (fig. 58) rather than the massive Arts and Crafts roofs based on medieval barn construction favoured by Gimson (fig. 59), Alfred Powell and Edward Prior.

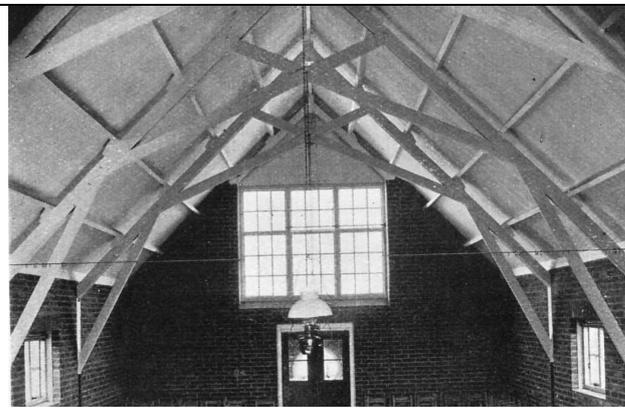


Fig. 58. Village hall by Schultz in Shorne, Kent, 1904 (now demolished).



Fig. 59. School hall, Bedales, Hants., designed by Ernest Gimson, 1910.

⁶ Schultz 1897b:255.

Describing his approach, Schultz wrote:

...in most places the wood most easily obtainable is a foreign imported wood, sent over sawn into scantlings ... it is therefore somewhat of an affectation to use a form of construction which is not economical, especially where cost is a consideration. Some three or four years ago I had to build a large hall at Cardiff for a University Settlement, to hold a lot of people, at a minimum of cost, and I thought the cheapest form of construction would be by forming the roof and posts out of ordinary deals bolted or spiked together. I worked out my ideas and found them possible of realisation at a minimum of cost. ... You will see from this what can really be done in the way of good construction with the ordinary commercial materials at hand in a simple straightforward way. This is an example of the commonsense use of modern materials without any nonsense, affectation, or humbug.⁷

This practical and innovative form of building, inspired by the Byzantine approach to the use of materials, was developed by other architects including W. Curtis Green. The Adult School Hall in Croydon designed by Green was cited by Schultz as a more perfect evolution of his designs.⁸ The thin pine columns and scissor trusses of the open roof have an elegance and monumentality that rival more substantial medieval work.



Fig. 60. The Quaker Adult School Hall, Croydon, by W. Curtis Green, 1908

⁷ Schultz 1909:16.

⁸ Schultz 1909:16.

Schultz was also involved in two cathedrals built in the twentieth century and worked with both Barnsley and Gimson on both projects. In 1906 he was commissioned to design an Anglican cathedral at Khartoum, Sudan at the recommendation of Ernest Richmond, an architect at the Department of Works in Cairo, who knew Schultz through his Byzantine researches. The design had to take into account the soil conditions, building traditions and the materials available locally. There was very little skilled labour and materials were limited; according to David Ottewill, 'the economical use of materials was paramount'⁹. The cathedral was built in sandstone; two colours, yellow and pale red, were carefully selected to create decorative effects. All the furniture and fittings were designed by Schultz in collaboration with Gimson and made in Gimson's Cotswold workshops. An aerial perspective exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1909 was commented on by *The Builder*: 'We cannot call it a beautiful building, but it is an original and interesting one, like nothing else one has seen in the way of a church.'¹⁰ The cathedral was consecrated in 1912 but building was not finally completed until 1928.

Westminster Cathedral, the Roman Catholic cathedral in Victoria, London was commissioned in 1894. The architect, J. F. Bentley, had begun his professional career working with firms of builders in Manchester and London before specialising in the design of Catholic churches. For this commission he was instructed to avoid the Gothic style to prevent comparisons with the medieval Westminster Abbey. He travelled to northern Italy for inspiration taking with him Lethaby and Swainson's monograph on Hagia Sophia. He returned in 1895 and presented his drawings, showing the inspiration of Venice's San Marco as well as Hagia Sophia, to the committee. The foundation stone for the building was laid later that year. Bentley died in 1902 with only its shell completed. The cathedral was in use from 1903; over the years individual architects were commissioned to complete various parts of the interior.

In about 1909, the fourth Marquess of Bute provided £10,000 for a side chapel to be dedicated to St Andrew on the understanding that the

⁹ Ottewill 1979:105

¹⁰ *The Builder*, 8 May 1909

complete design would be undertaken by Schultz. Gavin Stamp has described this commission as Schultz's 'final and perfect expression of his interest in Byzantine art and of his adherence to the ideals of the Arts & Crafts movement.'¹¹ The designs were approved in March 1910 and the Chapel unveiled on 30 November 1915, appropriately enough St Andrew's Day. There was a strong Scottish element reflecting the attachment of both architect and client to that country. Marbles from Greece combined with Scottish stone created the cool Scottish colour scheme of pale greens, grey, purple and white. The marble floor was another 'pavement like the sea': an inlaid wavy band and a pattern of fishes and crabs.



Fig. 61. Detail of the marble floor, St Andrew's Chapel.

The concept and the overall design of St Andrew's Chapel was Schultz's but he saw the project as an ideal opportunity to celebrate the creativity of Arts and Crafts designers and craftspeople – almost all of them members of the Art Worker's Guild. This had been attempted before at Holy Trinity, Sloane Street, London, designed by John D. Sedding and completed under the direction of Henry Wilson after Sedding's death in 1891, and at St Andrew's, Roker, near Sunderland, designed by Edward Prior in 1907. However the compact scale of the chapel, the vision of the architect and the strength of the collaborations ensured the success of Schultz's scheme. Among the designer-makers involved were Harold Stabler, a silversmith,

¹¹ Stamp 1981:60

enameller and potter who designed and made the altar candlesticks, reliquary, rugs, mats and cushions; Grailly Hewitt, a calligrapher who produced the embossed and illuminated altar cards; and Joseph Armitage, a sculptor who modelled the large candlesticks and inscriptions. Among the most notable pieces were the seven clergy stalls from the workshop of Ernest Gimson and the kneelers made by Sidney Barnsley. There is evidence that these items were collaborative designs with Schultz and I think it is reasonable to assume that Schultz was involved, to a greater or lesser extent, with every element.¹² There are common decorative motifs throughout the chapel including the wavy line found on the pavement, gates and clergy seats (see fig. 61 above and figs 62-3). These simple patterns within a more complex whole evoke the Byzantine inspiration as described above (page 70).

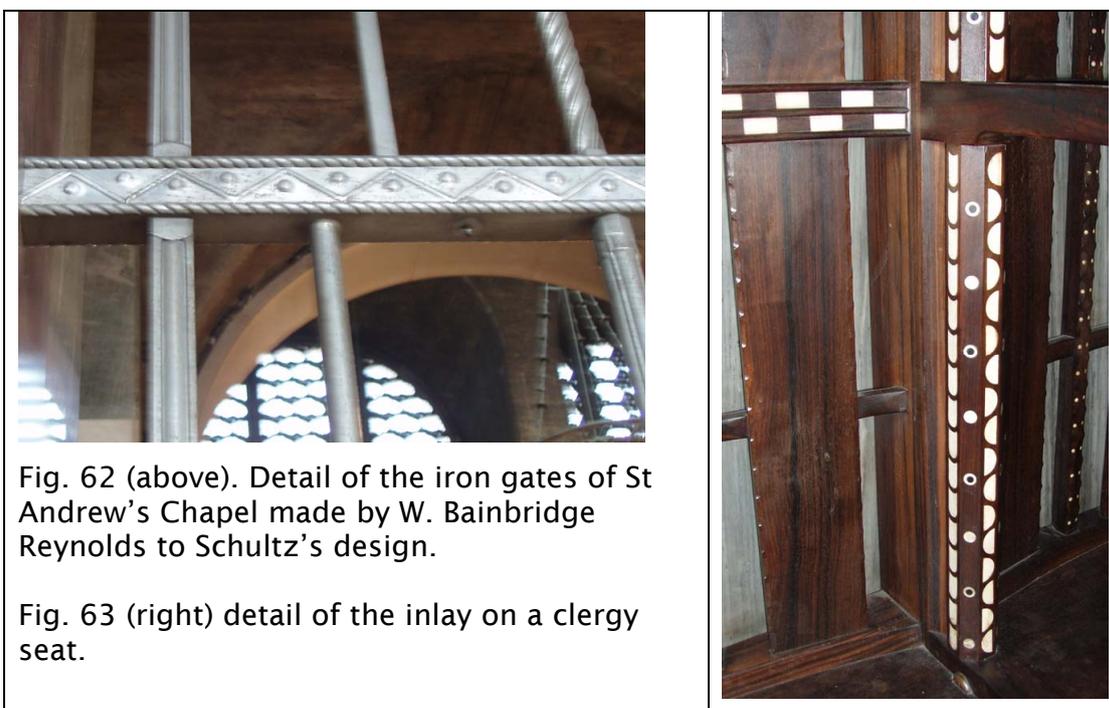


Fig. 62 (above). Detail of the iron gates of St Andrew's Chapel made by W. Bainbridge Reynolds to Schultz's design.

Fig. 63 (right) detail of the inlay on a clergy seat.

The ebony stalls, with misericords below the flat seats and high arm rests, are more characteristic of Orthodox rather than western churches. The inlaid decoration in bleached bone also recalls Byzantine work while the circular motif at the top of each seat is different. These are based on Byzantine motifs with at least one motif based on a carved detail from the iconostasis screen in the Great Church at Osios Loukas.

¹² Carruthers and Greensted 1994: 94.

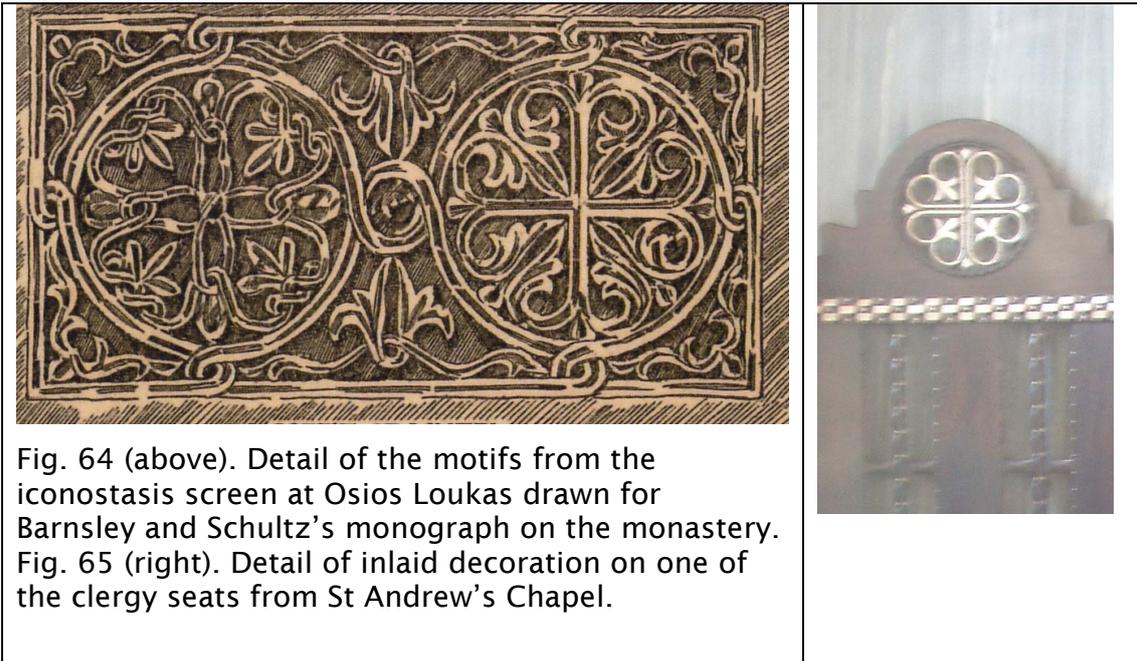


Fig. 64 (above). Detail of the motifs from the iconostasis screen at Osios Loukas drawn for Barnsley and Schultz's monograph on the monastery. Fig. 65 (right). Detail of inlaid decoration on one of the clergy seats from St Andrew's Chapel.

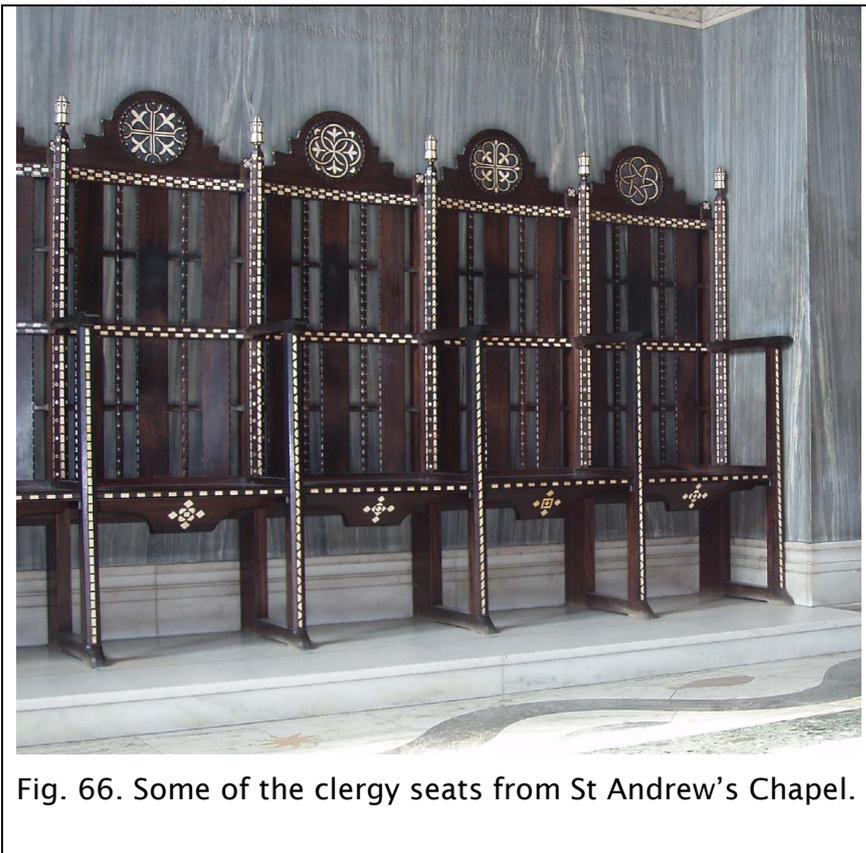


Fig. 66. Some of the clergy seats from St Andrew's Chapel.

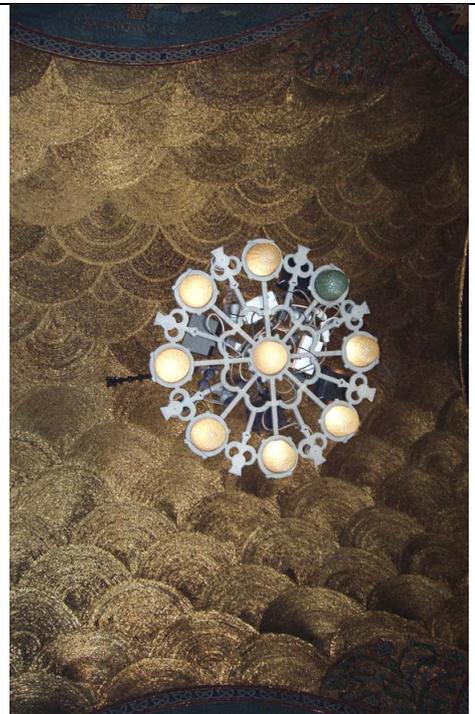
The mosaic work is exemplary, both in design and execution. The designs were drawn by George Jack, the Arts and Crafts designer and wood carver. It was carried out by the team of mosaic workers assembled by the

business man and patron of the Arts and Crafts Movement, Ernest Debenham. Leading the team was Gaetano Meo, an Italian landscape painter who took up mosaic work. He had previously worked with William Richmond on the mosaics at St Paul's Cathedral. According to an article in *The Builder* in 1915, Meo was the only foreigner involved in the creation of the chapel.¹³ Writing during the First World War, the author emphasised the British character of the project. The mosaic work on the dome is of particular note. The scale pattern carried out in gold mosaic echoes the sea/fishes motif on the floor and provides a sense of infinity – what Schultz described as a 'ceiling like the sky'.¹⁴



Fig. 67 (above). Detail of the mosaic work in the chapel.

Fig. 68 (right). Gold mosaic work on the dome.



¹³ Quoted by Stamp 1981: 63.

¹⁴ Weir 1932: 18.

Conclusion

Schultz was involved with the Byzantine Research Fund throughout his working life. He continued working on the Byzantine archive relating to the British School in both Athens and London and was also involved with the Byzantine exhibition held in London in 1936. In his 2008 lecture on 'Arts and Crafts architects and Byzantium' referred to above, Robin Cormack commented on the importance of the conversation between western Europe and Greece from 1880. This 'conversation' or interplay was cut short by the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 and the subsequent conflict between Greece and Turkey. It was not until the 1930s that architects and artists from Britain renewed their interest in Byzantine architecture.

By studying Byzantine work at first hand and in detail, Schultz and Barnsley were able to absorb it into their psyche. They adapted elements of Byzantine architecture and decorative work to fit in with Arts and Crafts ideas and contemporary conditions. In doing so they put into practice one of Lethaby's aphorisms: 'modernism conceived as a style is only inverted archaeology, it will not be real until it is unconscious'.¹⁵ The lavish patronage of the Bute family enabled Schultz to build in the Byzantine style. For projects where funds were more limited, he looked at the practical approach to construction, using local materials in an economical way, practised by Byzantine builders. Both Schultz and Barnsley used decorative techniques found in Byzantine architecture, such as mosaic work. The quality of the work was comparable with Byzantine examples. Some of their designs were very much in that tradition; others, such as Barnsley's mosaic apse at Lower Kingswood, were very much a celebration of nature in the Arts and Crafts style. Barnsley's church and Schultz's chapel in Westminster Cathedral are two of the finest Arts and Crafts monuments that are both modern and Byzantine in character.

¹⁵ Powell 1931:50.

Chapter five

Collections of Greek embroideries in England and their influence on the British Arts and Crafts Movement

This chapter describes how Greek embroideries were first seen and admired in Victorian Britain although not always distinguished (or distinguishable) from either Turkish or Italian work. It illustrates another instance of an exchange as part of the Arts and Crafts Movement and discusses the impact of this craft on Arts and Crafts designers in Britain. Finally it looks at the dissemination of these embroideries to a wider public.

I have researched the background to the collection of Greek embroideries and lace amassed in Crete by the career diplomat, Thomas Sandwith, and acquired by the South Kensington (now the Victoria and Albert) Museum in 1876.¹ This was the first major public collection of Greek embroideries in Britain and is especially significant to this thesis because the South Kensington Museum was regularly used as a resource by the designers of the British Arts and Crafts Movement. William Morris had close links to the museum while May Morris, his second daughter and herself a skilled designer and needleworker, encouraged others to use and learn from the museum's collections:

For any one anxious to follow up this line of study in detail, it can be done, to a certain extent, by merely walking through South Kensington Museum ... carefully noting and comparing the fine examples of early work displayed there. ²

In addition to visiting the museum, members of the public could readily acquire good quality and affordable photographs of exhibits and many Arts and Crafts Movement designers took advantage of this.³ The needlewoman

¹ I am grateful to Frances Collard, curator of furniture at the V&A, for alerting me to the Sandwith collection at the start of my researches.

² Morris 1893:6.

³ For example the architect-designer Ernest Gimson acquired photographs of textiles, embroideries, woodwork and metalwork; these are now in the archives of Cheltenham Art Gallery & Museum.

and author of a number of books and manuals on embroidery, Louisa Pesel, wrote an article on 'Cretan Embroidery' in 1906 which advised readers that 'photographs of many of the fine examples of Cretan embroidery in the Victoria and Albert Museum can be obtained at the departmental bookstall'.⁴

The Sandwith collection is one of three discussed in this chapter; the others are the small personal collection of William Morris and his daughter, May, which survive at Kelmscott Manor, Oxfordshire, and the Louisa Pesel collection at the University of Leeds International Textile Archive (ULITA).

Handwork in Greece in the second half of the nineteenth century: an overview

Handwork in Greece traditionally served the needs of poor and agrarian communities and was sold at markets and panigyria (fairs). Urban workshops making useful and decorative items such as furniture, furnishings and ceremonial or formal clothing were based on traditional peasant work but were receptive to influences from the wider world. The north-western city of Iannina was the most important craft centre in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries catering for the luxurious court of Ali Pasha. According to the folklorist, Angeliki Hatzimichali, the tailoring workshop of Costas Bitsios making traditional outfits still existed in the 1930s and sent more than one thousand costumes each year through the Balkans.⁵ On a smaller scale

Among all the traditional crafts in Greece, embroidery survived through until the nineteenth century especially on the Greek islands. According to Pesel:

The study of the embroideries of the Aegean must necessarily for the present be subject to a certain amount of conjecture; that it is worth serious attention is, however, evident to all who consider it, from the fact that it is one of the few crafts which has occupied the leisure of the islanders during the last 200 to 300 years. There is no good

⁴ Pesel 1907a: 156.

⁵ Hagimihali (=Hatzimichali) 1937:14.

pottery, carving or metal work to be examined, and during this period little beyond the embroidery remains to show the continuance of style and tradition, and therefore it forms one of the few links connecting mediaeval with modern work.⁶

In her book on Greek crafts first published in Greek then translated into French in 1934, Hatzimichali highlighted the main characteristics of the country's popular art: a strong element of decoration, a bold line, abstract patterns, and the use of stylized motifs. She went on to assert the particular appropriateness of the characteristics for textiles, embroidery and ceramics.⁷ These extracts illustrate the conviction of both Pesel and Hatzimichali in the primacy of embroidery within the Greek folk craft tradition.

The Great Exhibition of 1851, held in the Crystal Palace in London's Hyde Park, was one of the very first occasions when Greek embroideries were publicly exhibited in Britain. Organised by Henry Cole and Prince Albert, the exhibition was both a demonstration of Britain's supremacy and an international showcase. According to A. N. Wilson, visitors to this amazing event described it as 'a fairyland, a tour round the world.'⁸ National participation in the exhibition was by invitation; Greece was one of thirty-four countries which accepted the invitation to contribute to the exhibition. Its involvement, only two decades after coming into existence as a nation state, indicated the desire of the government to link the country to western Europe as well as to promote its economy. It was sponsored by P Rallis, President of the Greek commission in Britain, and the Secretary, P D Scaramangas. The Greek section was well sited within the Crystal Palace close to two popular attractions, the Crystal Fountain and the Koh-I-Noor diamond, as well as to the Mediaeval Court, designed by the architect, A. W. N. Pugin, which was a particular attraction for architects and designers. The sixty-one exhibits that made up the Greek display were mainly raw materials, such as marble, dyestuffs including madder root and kermes, tobacco, sponges, leather, liquorice juice and honey.⁹ A Byzantine-style wooden carving by Rev.

⁶Pesel 1907b:239.

⁷Hagimihali 1937:5.

⁸Wilson 2002:143.

⁹*Official Catalogue of the Great Exhibition of the works of Industry of All Nations*, 1851:280.

Triandaphylos and two half-scale copies of parts of the frieze of the Parthenon by G. Vitalis were the sole artistic contributions. However the Greek display also included some craft items, mainly textiles and embroideries. L Ralli of Piraeus exhibited yellow and white silk fabric; A Pantazopoulos from Kalamata exhibited silk thread, including samples both for sewing and embroidery and for weaving. Silk sashes worn by the seamen of Greece came from Hydra while the nuns of St Constantine's convent sent mosquito nets and silk handkerchiefs. One of the highlights was the full male (palikari) costume embroidered in gold including a fez and a pair of red morocco shoes by Saris and Rengos of Athens. This exhibit was illustrated in the *Official Description and Illustrated Catalogue by the Authority of the Royal Commission* and commented on by *The Morning Chronicle*:

Today, Greece is a commercial and exceptional naval nation, she doesn't work for any foreign ruler, and she is not forced to produce and consume products of a foreign industry. ...Unfortunately, the Greek exhibits do not provide a full picture of the development of Greek industry; the rare Greek textiles do not differ at all from the textiles sent by Turkey. The brilliant Greek dress is exhibited in isolation and there are no others to compare.¹⁰

Greek contributions were also included in the official Turkish section, which included exhibits from Greek communities in Istanbul, Thessaloniki and elsewhere, and in the Colonies and Dependencies section where jewellery and embroideries from the Ionian Islands were displayed. According to *The Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue by Authority of the Royal Commission* these won the admiration of many visitors: 'the specimens of embroidery are extremely rich and beautiful. The most remarkable products are the splendid aprons which the peasant-girls of that country wear. These aprons are the ordinary work and everyday wear of the peasant-girls of Corfu.'¹¹

Nineteenth-century travellers to Greece admired the traditional handicrafts particularly the colourful and unusual embroidered outfits that

¹⁰ Quoted by Yagou 2003:88-9.

¹¹ Quoted by Yagou 2003:90.

were occasionally worn on special occasions, especially in island communities. The British archaeologist and ethnologist, Theodore Bent, and his wife spent two winters between 1882 and '84 travelling in the Aegean. They were shown round the main town of the Cycladic island of Ios by Mr Lorenziades, the island's mayor. Over a family dinner, the Bents talked enthusiastically about the traditional dress they had seen elsewhere. They were startled when, at the end of the evening, their host's daughter made an entrance wearing the local costume. Bent described the stunning apparition:

The headgear was a veil bespattered with gold, with streamers which hung down behind: in front of it was a sort of crown; the dress was of green and gold brocade. Over her heart was what we should call a stomacher; her feet were in dainty shoes. Nothing could look more glorious than this woman....The effect of dress was never more marked than in her case; in her everyday dress she resembled a good-looking red-faced housemaid, in her festival costume she would have graced a palace.¹²

Bent also commented on the increasing rarity of such traditional costume. These craft items were beginning to become the preserve of private collectors and museums.

Thomas Sandwith and his collection

Thomas Sandwith has been described as the first collector of Greek embroidery and Cretan lace in Western Europe.¹³ Other than the basic information concerning his career, few personal details have survived to shed light on his character and interests. Born in Bridlington, Yorkshire in 1831, he joined the consular service and took up a succession of postings in the Middle East. He moved to Cyprus in 1857 and then to Crete in 1870. He remained in Crete as British consul based at Chania until 1885. He is credited as having helped to negotiate the Treaty of Halepas in October 1878 which led to Crete's autonomy within the Ottoman Empire.¹⁴ Subsequently he

¹² Bent 2008:41-2.

¹³ Johnstone 1999:31.

¹⁴ De Chaves 1999:32

served in Tunisia before his final posting to Odessa. He retired in 1891 and died in 1900.

The Sandwith collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum consists of 160 pieces of mainly Cretan embroidery and lacework collected by him mainly from the district of Sphakia in south-west Crete during the first six years of his posting on the island.¹⁵ A contemporary review, 'Cretan Embroideries at South Kensington' in *The Saturday Review* (22 January 1896), reported that:

It is not very easy to arrive at distinct information as to the locality, comparative value and probable use of many of the manufactures here assembled. Among the people of Sphakia which, high among the Western mountains, contains the more primitive and unsophisticated inhabitants, the art of embroidery is claimed as the invention of their remote ancestors so traditions of a foreign origin seem to exist. All the materials, the linen and the silk, are grown in the island; manufactured with the great lumbering looms and spindles with which every household is provided. Even the brilliant and stable dyes are made in Crete.¹⁶

It was a substantial collection; the reviewer from *The Saturday Review* asserted that, 'Mr Sandwith has bought up nearly all that was to be found in the island.'¹⁷ It is possible that he envisaged the lace as a collection from the start as many of the pieces are of a standard length. However according to his family he began acquiring examples more as a philanthropic gesture than as a collector. This is born out by the writer and classical scholar, H. F. Tozer, who met Sandwith in Crete and witnessed the hardships of the people at first hand. In his book, *The Islands of the Aegean*, he wrote: 'Everywhere there was poverty, which in some cases bordered on destitution. It was painful even to feel that we ourselves had enough to eat, when others had so little ...

¹⁵ Johnstone, 1992:29. The collection came with very little information as to provenance but this information was provided by Sandwith's daughter in correspondence dated 1931.

¹⁶ Quoted in De Chaves 1999:36-7.

¹⁷ Quoted in De Chaves 1999:36.

Mr. Sandwith ... had done all he could to alleviate distress'.¹⁸ In a letter to Pesel written in 1908, his daughter Charlotte Boys-Smith made a similar point, stating that:

My father ... bought all he could find in his travels about the island, chiefly I think during and after the insurrection of 1878, when the peasants were so poor that they were glad to make money even by parting with their heirlooms which these embroideries were. They had even then given up working them or making the old lace, and only wore the embroideries on festivals. ...the embroideries were entirely home-made.¹⁹

Most of the pieces were items of traditional dress such as skirts, trousers and koleta (shawls). Unlike later collections made more widely in Greece and the Greek Islands, there are only a few household items in the Sandwith collection. It does include many high quality examples worked using the fourteenth-century technique known as 'punto Cyprioto' or reticella. The fabric was embroidered with linen thread before all the un-worked parts of fabric were cut away leaving a lace-like textile. A fine example is illustrated below (fig. 69) which incorporated a male figure wearing a vraka, the baggy trousers that were part of the indigenous Cretan costume. This is the type of cutwork that became known as 'Greek Lace' among Arts and Craft designers and makers in Britain. My researches suggest that it was called 'Greek' because the technique was first noted in this collection from Greece and 'Lace' because that was what it most resembled. The collection also includes Cretan bobbin lace in lengths known as 'atrantedes'. These narrow lengths were used as trimmings or to join two pieces of material. Some examples are interwoven or embroidered over with coloured silks. At least one length of bobbin lace in the collection was

¹⁸ Tozer 1890:74-5.

¹⁹ Uncatalogued letter in the Louisa Pesel archive at ULITA. Although the letter states that the collection was put together during and after the insurrection of 1878, it must have been earlier - between 1870 and 1876 - when the collection came to Britain.

contemporary work, possibly commissioned by Sandwith's wife for her personal use.²⁰



Fig. 69. Linen border in 'punto Cyprioto', Sandwith collection V&A 2010-1876.

William Morris: the Sandwith collection and other Greek embroideries at Kelmscott Manor

The Sandwith collection was highly regarded by the South Kensington Museum because it was purchased by them (rather than received as a donation) for £250 through an intermediary, Mrs M. Wallace-Dunlop. The collection was exhibited at the museum on receipt in January 1876 where it would have been seen by Morris and younger Arts and Crafts Movement designers. It was the first time that they would have been able to study any

²⁰ Letter from C. Boys-Smith to A. J. B. Wace dated 2 May 1931 quoted in De Chaves, p. 31.

quantity of Greek embroidery and lacework. Although it is not possible to pinpoint any specific influence of the collection on Morris's textile designs, his enthusiasm for the colours and patterns of Persian, Turkish and Middle Eastern art has been well documented.²¹ He relied on traditional dyes. Red and blue were his staple colours; the plant dye, indigo, for blue and madder, cochineal or kermes, the first a plant dye and the others insect dyes, for red. Morris made a number of contacts in Greece, initially through Aglaia Coronio, to enable him to source kermes which was hard to obtain and especially useful for dyeing silk and wool cloth. A great deal of his correspondence with his friend and associate, Thomas Wardle of Leek, Staffordshire who undertook the dyeing and printing for many of the Morris & Company textiles, relates to these practical issues. On 4 February 1880 for example Morris wrote:

I have been making enquiries on Greece about the Kermes: & at last have got full particulars on the subject through M. Tricoupi the well-known politician out there: about 4 years ago there was a small demand for it (κρμινος is the Greek name) & a certain amount was gathered which is all in the market at present & of which (in Greece) about 4000lb is left: the price of this on board ship at Patras is about 6d/. per lb: the place where it grows is in the Morea (about Tripolitza) & in Acarnania, but the latter is inferior: it is exported chiefly to Tunis for dyeing the fezzes. That now in the market is old & doubtless not very good: I have had a sample of about 6lb, which I have tried as a dye and am getting tried as a lake: the colour is much the same as I got from your sample, but perhaps not quite so full.²²

Although the bulk of his collection went to the South Kensington Museum, Sandwith also seems to have given some embroideries to Morris. He may have known him personally; he would certainly have known of his interests in both embroidery and the politics of the Near East through his brother, Dr Humphrey Sandwith, who was a writer and newspaper editor and a member of the committee to promote free navigation through the

²¹ See for example Baker 1981:67-72.

²² Kelvin 1984:556-7.

Dardanelles. Morris and Humphrey Sandwith spoke on the same platform at several political meetings in the 1870s. On 13 April 1876 Morris wrote to Wardle:

I send you 2 bits of Cretan embroidery for your museum: they are about 150 years old: and being borders of women's petticoats have been washed to death: the colour of the greener one pleases me very much: Mrs Wardle will find some stitches in them worth looking at.²³

And a few days latter Morris wrote again, confirming the provenance:

The embroidery was brought over [from] Crete by the English consul: it was undoubtedly worked in the island: but there are strong marks of Italian influence in many of the designs I have seen.²⁴

Like Morris, Wardle was particularly interested in textiles from India and the Middle East. He travelled extensively in the early 1870s collecting samples and making links with foreign manufacturers. His reputation was made by importing Indian silks which were sold through Liberty's shop in London. Unfortunately I have been unable to trace any Cretan pieces in Wardle's collection of textiles some of which are now in the Whitworth Art Gallery, Manchester and in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Only a few of Morris's own collection of textiles have survived. He and his family were generous with their possessions; visitors who showed an interest in one of the many collections often left with an example. May Morris bequeathed her father's collection of embroideries and textiles to the Victoria and Albert Museum.²⁵ However only three pieces were accepted by the museum on her death in 1939; the remainder were dispersed. One of those three pieces (T121.1939) was a Greek eighteenth-century embroidery, of a typically Aegean design embroidered with vegetable-dyed silk threads on linen. In 1939 there was also a large sale of effects at the family home at

²³ Kelvin 1984:294. Wardle's wife, Elizabeth, referred to in the letter was a skilled needlewoman who founded the Leek Embroidery School in about 1879.

²⁴ Kelvin 1984:298.

²⁵ MA/1/M2833 May Morris file in the V&A archives, extract from her will detailing her bequests to the museum.

Kelmscott Manor which included Turkish hangings, Greek embroidered chair backs, and other embroidered domestic items from the Middle East.

Among the few pieces still at Kelmscott Manor is an Anatolian towel embroidered in floss silk and metal thread illustrated below. May Morris gave the towel to Tom Cotterell Dormer as a wedding present in 1936 with the following note: 'The only interest about this gay little Turkish cloth that brings you good wishes and congratulations is that it comes from my Father's collection of textiles so it brings a humble scrap of Kelmscott.'²⁶



Fig. 70. Detail of an embroidery at Kelmscott Manor, Oxfordshire, KM209.

There are a number of other embroidered textiles at Kelmscott that are Greek or Turkish in origin. These include a fragment of linen and cotton embroidered in red, blue, cream, black and green in floss silk probably from Epirus (fig. 71). The pattern is reminiscent of a number of Morris's mid-period designs including 'Snakeshead' chintz of 1876, 'Acanthus' embroidery, and 'Golden Bough', a woven textile of 1888. Morris used

²⁶ Uncatalogued letter from May Morris to Mr Tom (sic) dated 1 January 1939 in the archives of Kelmscott Manor. The embroidered towel was sold back to Kelmscott Manor in 1993 and is no. 209 in their catalogue.

English plants and flowers but the interlaced rhythmic harmonies and the relationship between the main and subsidiary designs are very similar.



Fig. 71. Detail of an embroidered fragment probably from Epirus at Kelmscott Manor, KM204.



Fig. 72. 'Acanthus' embroidered coverlet designed by William Morris and worked by May Morris, about 1880.

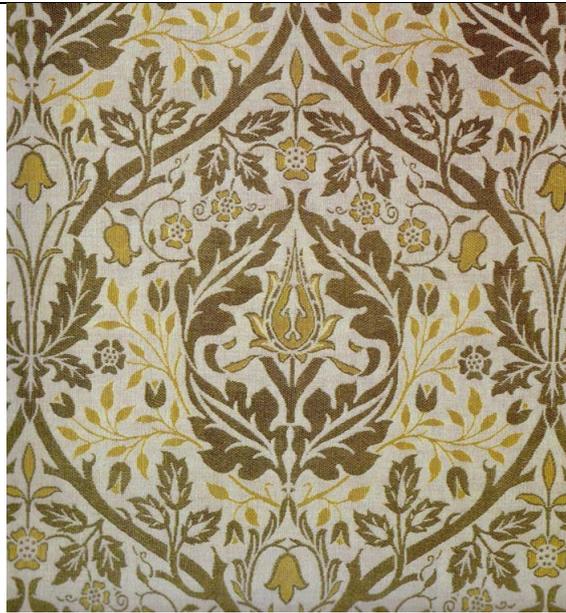


Fig. 73. 'Golden Bough' woven textile designed by William Morris, 1888.

Also at Kelmscott Manor are two textiles embroidered by May Morris, a linen runner and a tablecloth, which are suggestive of Greek embroideries including examples in the Sandwith collection. The undated linen runner is embroidered at both ends with three stylised carnations in silk (fig. 74). The carnation was a popular motif that features in many examples in the Sandwith collection. The stylized flower design, the colouring, and the double-sided 'patiti' stitch used in the May Morris piece suggest the inspiration of Greek or Turkish work (for example fig.75).²⁷



Fig. 74. Runner embroidered by May Morris, Kelmscott Manor, KM214a.



Fig. 75. Detail of a koleto in the Sandwith collection, V&A 2011.1876.

The tablecloth at Kelmscott Manor was embroidered in coloured silks on 'Ruskin' linen by May Morris and Marianne Collins in about 1880. At that time they were both students at the South Kensington School of Needlework

²⁷ When I showed my photograph of the May Morris embroidered towel to Mrs Synodinou, curator at the Benaki Museum, Athens in June 2009 she initially assumed that it was a Greek piece.

and this piece of work won them the School prize. In the Manor's archives it is described as being embroidered with 'Greek Lace' decoration in the corners.²⁸ 'Greek Lace' refers to the cutwork decoration seen in pieces from the Sandwith collection as illustrated in fig. 69. This type of decoration became popular in Arts and Crafts circles from about 1880; in an article on 'Some Modern Embroideries' published in the *Art Journal* in November 1907, R. E. D Sketchley described it as 'capable of great variety and distinction of effect.'²⁹



Fig. 76. Detail of an embroidery by May Morris and Marianne Collins with 'Greek Lace' corners, about 1880, Kelmscott Manor, KM214b.

'Greek Lace': an Arts and Crafts technique with links to the Sandwith collection

'Greek Lace' is sometimes described as 'Ruskin Lace' because of the link with the writer and art critic, John Ruskin. He had acquired his own

²⁸ Catalogue no. 214, Kelmscott Manor, Oxfordshire.

²⁹ Quoted in Breeze 1980: 106.

collection of textiles but also drew examples which he admired in museums and churches and may well have seen the Sandwith collection when it was exhibited at the South Kensington Museum. Victorian philanthropy and concern with the social impact of the Industrial Revolution in England found expression in the amateur or educational side of the Arts and Crafts Movement which is discussed at greater length in chapter six. Ruskin argued for the redevelopment of rural industries in *Fors Clavigera: Letters to the Workmen and Labourers of Great Britain* published in 1871. The following year he moved to Brantwood, Coniston in the Lake District. There he became concerned for the well-being of local people and aware of the need for skills that could supplement their income. At the same time an American writer, Charles G. Leland, promoted the formation of classes in rural areas so that individuals could supplement their income from craftwork. He based his ideas on the independent small-holder in the remoter parts of continental Europe. In the Lake District agricultural labourers had traditionally supplemented their income and made fabric for their clothing by growing and spinning flax into a rough linen fabric which was made into overshirts. As this domestic craft became mechanised in the early nineteenth century the hand skills that underpinned it were forgotten. Inspired by the writings of Ruskin and with his financial support, two incomers to the area, Albert Fleming and Marion Twelves set up the Langdale Linen Industry in Elterwater in 1883. The fine linen cloth they produced was known as Ruskin linen and considered the ideal ground for Arts and Crafts embroideries because of its colour and texture. It was used by all the leading needleworkers including May Morris. However Marion Twelves wanted to develop a decorative line for the craft industry and was able to borrow some of Ruskin's drawings of textiles including examples of 'Greek Lace'. This craft was successful and spread as some of their pupils began teaching others, setting up workshops and classes. A 'Greek Lace' class was set up at Coniston which ran until the outbreak of the First World War.

The Birmingham-based artist Joseph Southall also began designing 'Greek Lace' inspired by Cretan work in the 1890s. His designs were executed by his mother, Eliza Maria Southall, using pure flax embroidery thread on Ruskin linen from Langdale. The lace was often incorporated into domestic furnishings, such as table cloths and covers, small screens and

chair backs, or accessories such as bags. On at least two occasions Southall included pieces of 'Greek Lace' into his paintings. A tempera portrait of *The Artist's Mother* dated 1902 in the collections of Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery depicts his mother wearing a white cap of 'Greek Lace'.³⁰ A bodice of 'Greek Lace' was also worn by the model for *Beauty Seeing the Image of her Home in the Fountain*, painted by Southall between 1897 and '98.³¹



Fig. 77. Detail of *Beauty* by Joseph Southall with a bodice of 'Greek Lace' designed by the artist, Cheltenham Art Gallery & Museum,



Fig. 78. Southall's design for a bodice of 'Greek Lace' in ink on American cloth, Cheltenham 1987.113.s.

³⁰ Accession number P.63'45. Catalogue no. E1 in *Joseph Southall 1861-1944 Artist-Craftsman*, Birmingham Museums & Art Gallery, 1980.

³¹ Cheltenham Art Gallery & Museum accession number 2004.177.

Some of Southall's other designs for 'Greek Lace' show a variety of Greek and Byzantine influences (see figs 79-80). He used the peacock motif also popular in Byzantine designs and in Greek folk embroidery. I believe that there may be some relationship between his two designs illustrated below and the carvings from Osios Loukas (fig. 81). Southall moved in the same circles as Sidney Barnsley and Robert Weir Schultz and they certainly knew each other later in their lives.



Fig. 79. Southall's copybook with designs pasted in, about 1900, Cheltenham Art Gallery & Museum, 1987.111.



Fig. 80. Unfinished 'Greek Lace' designs by Southall, Cheltenham Art Gallery & Museum, 1987.113.



Fig. 81. Drawn details of carved stonework on the iconostasis at Osios Loukas, from the Barnsley/Schultz monograph.

Louisa Pesel and her collection of Greek embroidery

The initial exhibition of Sandwith collection of Cretan embroideries and lace at the South Kensington Museum in 1876 would also have been seen by Lewis F. Day, an artist in stained glass who had set up his own design business in 1870. He was a prolific writer on design and ornament and a successful freelance designer of textiles, carpets, wallpapers and furniture. He also acquired historic examples of embroidery. One piece, a nineteenth-century towel from Cyprus embroidered with ‘punto Cyprioto’ or cutwork designs at both ends, was donated by him to the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1929 (T276.1929). His embroidery manual, *Art in Needlework* first published in 1888, quickly became a standard work on the subject. He wrote:

In ancient Byzantine or Coptic work, in modern Cretan work and in peasant embroidery all the world over, pattern work on coarse linen has run persistently into angular lines – in which, because of that very angularity, the plain outcome of a way of working, we find artistic character. Artistic design is always expressive of the mode of workmanship.³²

The reference to ‘modern Cretan work’ in this extract must surely relate to the Sandwith collection. The uniqueness, extent and quality of the collection meant that ‘Cretan work’ became a shorthand term for contemporary Greek

³² Day 1888:12.

embroidery and lace. Day worked closely with manufacturers of textiles and wallpapers including Morris's associate, Thomas Wardle, and was appointed artistic director of Turnball & Stockdale in 1881. He was also one of the founder members of the Art Workers' Guild in 1884 and played an active part in the early years of its offshoot, the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society. He maintained a close involvement with both manufacturers and the Arts and Crafts Movement and encouraged his students to emulate his approach.

One of those students was Louisa Pesel, born in Manningham, Bradford in 1870 into a family involved with the textile business. She was the eldest daughter of Frederick Robert Pesel who worked in the stuff merchant business before becoming a stockbroker. Pesel went to the newly-established Bradford Girls' Grammar School before moving to London in the 1890s to study drawing and design under Day. While a student her design for a large screen was shown at the First International Studio Exhibition. It was admired by Princess Louise who urged her to carry out the design of tall lilies with velvet leaves appliquéd on to brocade. Other examples of her early work were illustrated in *Embroidery, or the Craft of the Needle* by W. G. Paulson Townsend published in 1899.

On Day's recommendation, Pesel was appointed as designer to the Royal Hellenic School of Needlework and Laces in Athens in 1903 and worked as director of the school till 1907. The work of the School and Pesel's role in its development are dealt with in chapter six. However while in Greece Pesel began to collect Greek and Anatolian embroideries. She was not alone in her enthusiasm for this folk craft; a number of archaeologists and scholars based at the British School at Athens shared her interest. These included the School's Director, Professor Carr Bosanquet, and in particular the archaeologists, R. M. Dawkins and A. J. B. Wace, who also built up collections of embroideries. Such collections were acquired from individuals while travelling through Greece or from dealers. Pesel's collection was extensive. She gave some examples to the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1912 including two panels of 'punto Cyprioto' or cutwork dating from the sixteenth or seventeenth century. The following year she produced four sampler panels of stitches for the museum which are still on display (see fig.

82). They refer back to historic embroideries in the museum including pieces from the Sandwich collection.

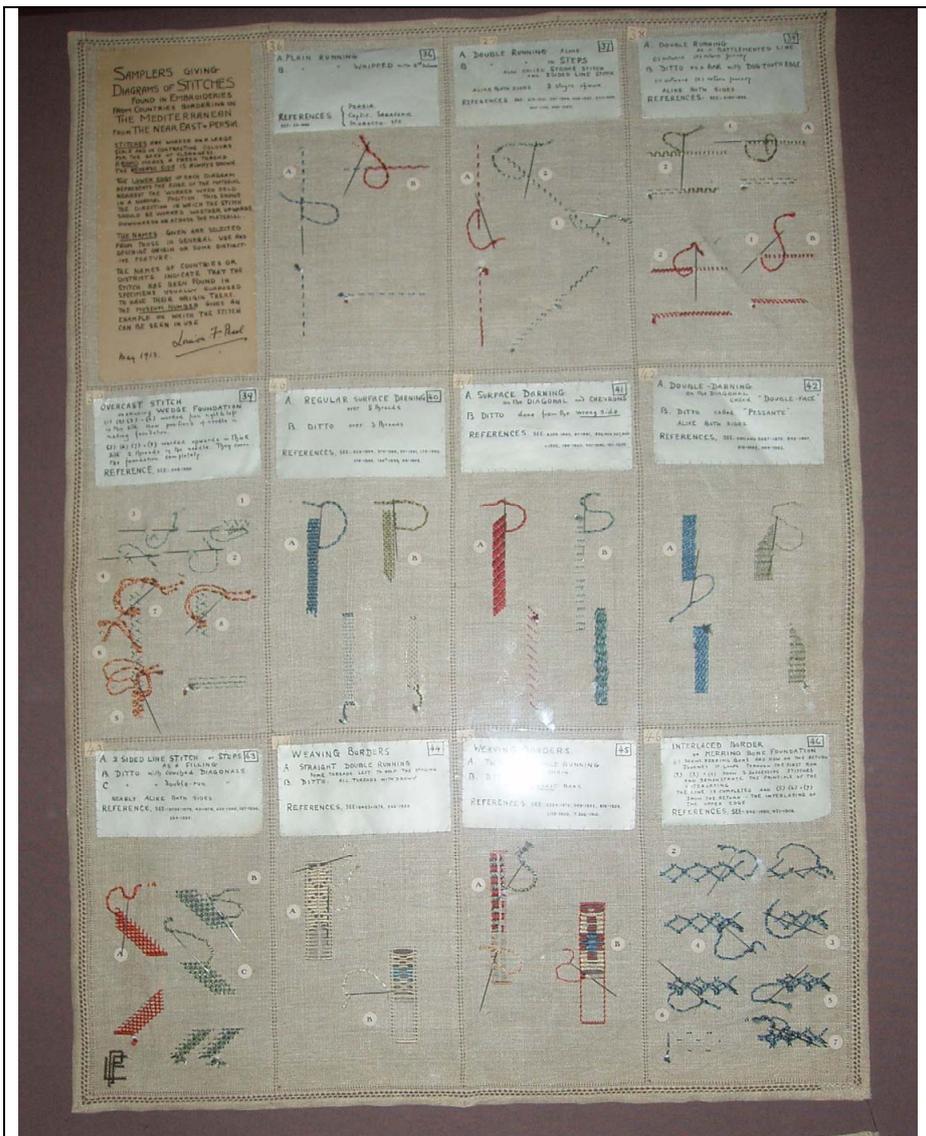


Fig. 82. One of Pesel's samplers displayed in the Textile Study galleries at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

According to Linda Parry, Pesel's 'mature work was based on the revival of historic designs and techniques, and embroideries copied from her stitch sampler books are often thought to be Greek or Near Eastern.'³³

When the bulk of Pesel's collection was donated to Leeds University in 1947 it consisted of 116 items of embroidery, the majority from Greece and

³³ Parry 1966:141.

Turkey. Attached to some of the items are her original record cards. These occasionally include information on the provenance of individual embroideries which suggests that most of the items were purchased from dealers in Athens in the early years of the twentieth century. Some of these pieces originated from Iannina and the islands of Crete, Rhodes, Patmos and Siphnos while a Turkish towel in cotton embroidered in very fine silk and flat tinsel was noted as having been bought in 'Shoe Lane', Athens.

Pesel left Athens in 1907 and for a while travelled through Europe and India. On her return to England, she became an Inspector of art and needlework with the Board of Education, wrote a number of books and articles on embroidery and gave lectures and talks. Her experiences in Greece continued to influence her work and her bookplate featured a design with a Greek flavour: two seated women at their embroidery framed by two cypress trees.

The collection at ULITA includes three uncatalogued albums of photos of Pesel's embroidery work. She described no. 26 as 'Greek Lace worked into linen design from a fustinella in the South Kensington Museum' although it is probably from a skirt from the Sandwith collection (T2063.1876). The photographs also show a curtain copied from an old Rhodian example found in Astypalaia (43), a cushion from a Byzantine single peacock design (65), and a matinee jacket based on Dodecanese island designs (85).

Pesel advised needleworkers to study and copy old work in order to cultivate both techniques and an understanding of design and the use of colour. She suggested three steps in developing expertise in embroidery and design: students should copy simple geometric work; they should study and experiment with the colouring employed in such designs before developing their individual designs. In an article on Cretan embroidery she wrote:

Another experiment which would be full of interest, and certainly of profit to the modern worker would be to copy faithfully some good old model. That it is possible to do so successfully is shown by some of the reproductions made from old specimens by the Royal Hellenic School of Embroidery in Athens, some of which so nearly resemble the

originals that fear has been expressed that the unwary amateur might take them for such. In Greece the task of copying is, perhaps, easier in that one can readily obtain small quantities of silk specially dyed to match the old colours. Some of the Morris silks, however, which strongly resemble the Cretan silks in thickness, would surely furnish many of the necessary colours.³⁴

Conclusion: the impact of British interest in Greek embroidery in Crete and elsewhere

The renewed interest in Cretan embroidery encouraged locals on the island to open small workshops to carry on the craft, a tradition which still survives today. Writing in 1999, De Chaves commented on the existence of 'associations of lacemakers who sell the lace made in the villages in the local market.'³⁵ As well as producing new work it was common practice to use old pieces and either over-embroider or fill in unembroidered sections. This trend was given a boost when the state school system was introduced onto Crete in 1907: Pesel and others had already promoted the teaching of embroidery as part of the state school curriculum in other parts of Greece. The revival of interest in traditional craftwork in the late nineteenth century went hand in hand with a new emphasis on education for girls and young women and, as a result, practical classes in dress-making and other domestic skills were introduced.³⁶ The publicity received from the exhibition at the South Kensington Museum, from other exhibitions, and from Pesel's articles and stitch books meant that revival pieces were not only made in Greece; this style of embroidery inspired work in Britain. The embroidered runner worked by May Morris and now at Kelmscott Manor (fig. 71) is one example of this type of work.

The collections of Wace and Dawkins also added to the popularity of Greek embroidery. They organised an exhibition at the Burlington Fine Arts Club which they followed up with two articles in *The Burlington Magazine*.³⁷ It

³⁴ Pesel 1907a:155-61.

³⁵ De Chaves, 1999:38. This was confirmed to me verbally by the folk historian, Zoe Mitsotaki, from Chania, Crete in June 2009.

³⁶ Kotsou 1988:112.

³⁷ Wace and Dawkins, 1914a and b.

was possible to acquire genuine Greek examples in London with Liberty's catering for the top end of the market and other retail establishments such as Waring & Gillows supplying more affordable examples.³⁸ Pesel's influence in particular survived long after her death in 1947 encouraging the next generation of needleworkers to use the inspiration of historic Greek embroideries.

In conclusion, the collection of Cretan embroideries and lace made by Thomas Sandwith in the 1870s was extremely important. Its subsequent purchase and display by the South Kensington Museum in 1876 had a significant influence on the Arts and Crafts Movement in Britain. Cretan embroidery and lacework became the representative of contemporary Greek work in western Europe and provided a number of designers with inspiration. The specific 'punto Cyprioto' work was the inspiration for the 'Greek Lace' designs produced by May Morris, the Langdale Linen Industry, Joseph Southall and others. From my researches, I have come to the conclusion that the term 'Greek Lace' used to describe the type of cutwork embroidery popular in Arts and Crafts circles also derives from pieces in the Sandwith collection. The popularity of Cretan lacework and embroidery in Britain and elsewhere had the additional effect of inspiring a continuing native tradition on the island and in other parts of Greece.

³⁸ See below chapter 6, pp 11-12.

Chapter six

Craft workshops in Greece, 1880-1930

In nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Greece, as in other parts of Europe, there were very few outlets for female activity outside the family. Philanthropic work, including involvement with orphanages and hospitals, provided occupation for many educated and enterprising women in Athens and other cities. It was a succession of such women – capable, energetic, patriotic, artistic, and well-intentioned – whose efforts ensured the revival and development of Greek folk crafts through the first half of the twentieth century. I have managed to find published examples of Greek work in Britain illustrating the theme of exchanges that runs through this thesis. Two British women, Lady Olga Egerton and Louisa Pesel, also played an important role in the development of Greek folk crafts. They were following a well-established tradition of training and education that was part of the Arts and Crafts Movement in Britain, represented primarily by the Home Arts and Industries Association (HAIA).³⁹ For this chapter I have looked at the individuals and organisations involved in this revival of folk crafts, highlighted links with Britain, and assessed the longer term impact of the revival. I have concentrated mainly on embroidery and textile crafts, partly because this was the area of the greatest activity and partly because of the constraints of time and length.

The Home Arts and Industries Association in Britain

The HAIA represented a second stream of Arts and Crafts activity in Britain alongside the loose alliance of architects, artists, designers and manufacturers that made up the Art Workers' Guild discussed in chapter two. This second organisation was almost as influential as the Art Workers' Guild in the development of the Arts and Crafts Movement in Britain although its significance has been underplayed in some of the earlier histories of the movement.⁴⁰

³⁹ Lady Egerton was born into the aristocratic Lobanov-Rostovsky family in Russia; she married Sir Edwin Egerton in 1895.

⁴⁰ There are a few brief mentions of the HAIA in Naylor 1971; Lambourne 1980 does not mention it at all.

The HAIA was founded in 1884, the same year as the Art Workers' Guild. Its inspiration came from the social and political philosophies pioneered by T. H. Green and Arnold Toynbee at Oxford in the 1870s and '80s.⁴¹ They believed that as the working classes grew in number, they would inevitably become more mobile, more property-owning and more influential; what was crucial was that they should become better educated and culturally aware. One course of action was proposed by the American writer, Charles Leland. In 1880 he published *The Minor Arts* in which he suggested that craft classes for working people should be set up in every town and village throughout the country. I have already discussed the impact of his ideas on John Ruskin and the Langdale Linen Industry in chapter five. Eglantine Jebb, from Ellesmere, Shropshire, took Leland's vision as the starting point for the HAIA. Existing classes were brought under the HAIA organisation, voluntary instructors were enrolled, and premises such as schools and village halls found for new evening classes. The organisers, such as Jebb herself, Mary Watts, wife of the artist G. F. Watts, and Mary, Lady Lovelace, saw it as a public-spirited venture to be undertaken not for profit but for the good of the community. They believed that awakening artistic sensibility in the working classes had a dual role. W. E. Willink, a Liverpool architect connected with the HAIA, described its purpose and emphasised its dual role: 'The association was founded, and individual classes are generally opened, quite as much with the object of benefiting the pupils in their morals and life as with teaching them art.'⁴²

The classes were not seen as a means of supplementing the income of the participants or providing alternative employment although in some cases this was an eventual outcome. A number of groups associated with the HAIA did develop into self-sufficient craft workshops including the Windermere Spinnery and the Keswick School of Arts in the Lake District, the Newlyn Industrial Class in Cornwall; and the Haslemere Peasant Industries. This last group was the inspiration of two sisters and their husbands. Their efforts were responsible for the revival of village handicrafts in the town of Haslemere, Surrey between 1896 and 1933. Joseph and Maude King moved

⁴¹ See above chapter 2, p. 3.

⁴² Willink 1888:273.

to the town in 1894. Maude had learnt spinning and weaving from a Swedish teacher and set up a workshop to teach these skills to local girls as an alternative to shop work or domestic service. She also started a magazine, *The Vineyard*, publishing folk tales, children's stories, and poetry as well as activities of the Haslemere Weaving Industry. Her sister, Ethel, and husband, Geoffrey Blount, became part of this community. Geoffrey Blount was inspired by William Morris and committed to reviving the lost country crafts of England. He had a vision of a working peasant community and described peasant art as, 'made for love and not money'.⁴³ The Haslemere Peasant Industries are especially interesting in the context of this thesis because King and Blount also gathered original examples of art and craft created throughout Europe as inspiration for the local craftworkers. They worked closely with the Rev. Gerald S. Davies, master of Charterhouse School in Godalming, Surrey who indulged his passion for collecting during the summer holidays between 1885 and 1908. Davies visited the Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1900 which included displays and pavilions celebrating rural culture and crafts from many countries including Greece. He could find no country in Europe except England where this folk art 'did not exist in some form'.⁴⁴ In the context of the Arts and Crafts Movement, the Haslemere Peasant Industries were not unusual in taking inspiration from different European sources. English historians and designers found it difficult to piece together a coherent folk identity because of the destructive impact of the country's early industrialisation although there were a few instances of local collecting by designers such as Gertrude Jekyll.⁴⁵

The folk revival in late nineteenth-century Europe

Throughout late-nineteenth century Europe a new nationalism came to the fore, manifested by a growing interest in a country's past, particular in its folk history. Unlike England, Scotland and Ireland had a tangible folk heritage in their Celtic roots. Elsewhere in Europe individuals delved into specific regions or individual crafts to extract and develop their folk heritage. In her

⁴³ Eighth Annual Report, Peasant Art Fellowship quoted by Harrod 2000:13.

⁴⁴ G. S. Davies quoted in 'The Revival of Handicrafts, Farnham' in *Haslemere & Hindhead Herald*, 30 April 1910, p.3.

⁴⁵ Jekyll published her first book of photographs of traditional cottage interiors, *Old West Surrey*, in 1904.

essay on Finnish Arts and Crafts, Marianne Aav highlights the contribution of Fanny Churberg to the development of the folk craft revival in Finland.⁴⁶ In 1879 this artist spearheaded the establishment of Suomen Kasityön Ystävät (the Friends of Finnish Handicraft) to revive and maintain traditional Finnish folk crafts and to establish a national Finnish style. Examples of traditional textiles collected throughout country, especially from the undeveloped region of Karelia, were used as inspiration for new work. The Paris exhibition of 1900 was the first international opportunity for the display of Finnish art in its own pavilion. Its design by three young architects, Herman Gesellius, Armas Lingren and Eliel Saarinen, was based on the vernacular buildings of the region of Karelia and became a central statement of the country's national identity. As part of the exhibition display, the Finnish painter Askeli Gallen-Kallela mentioned in chapter one designed a 'ryijy', a rug originally used as a covering on beds and in sleighs and boats. It was woven using the traditional technique but was displayed as a wall or seat covering or floor rug illustrating the way traditional crafts could be adapted to serve contemporary needs.

As part of the growing nationalistic fervour in Hungary, the National Museum of Decorative Arts was set up in 1872 to collect the best examples of old work to be used as inspiration and source material for new work. According to Juliet Kinchin, folk crafts became a symbol of Hungarian nationalism and unity, a force for stabilizing tensions between rural and urban communities.⁴⁷ Inspired by the vernacular traditions of the Székely region of Hungary, a craft colony was established at Gödöllő, a village near Budapest by the artists, Aladar Korosfői-Kriesch and Laura and Sandór Nagy. They set up workshops weaving tapestries and carpets to new designs based on folk motifs and made using traditional techniques. Up to forty peasant women were employed and the workshops also provided training for girls. The colony was featured fairly regularly in *The Studio* in the early years of the twentieth century.⁴⁸ Similar case studies can be found in Poland, Romania, Russia, and throughout Scandinavia.

⁴⁶ Aav 2005:266-75.

⁴⁷ Kinchin 2004:143-5.

⁴⁸ For example 'Studio-Talk, Hungarian Art at the Earl's Court Exhibition', *The Studio*, vol. 45, 1908, p. 284.

The revival and development of Greek folk crafts

Finland and Hungary shared with Greece both a new nation status and a cultural tradition that looked both east and west. The richness of the Greek heritage, taking in classical, Byzantine, Italian and Ottoman influences, provided a wealth of material. The second half of the nineteenth century saw Athens grow dramatically as people moved to the capital city from rural areas in search of work and as a result of wars and natural disasters. Gallant records the increase of population in Athens from 44,510 in 1870 to 123,001 in 1900.⁴⁹ Organisations were set up mainly in Athens with an awareness of the Greek heritage to promote craftwork, mainly textiles and needlework, and to provide an educational framework for girls and young women from the poorest elements of society. The Amalion, a foundation set up under the patronage of Queen Amalia and Princess Ypsilante in 1855, was an early example of this type of organisation in the new Greek nation state. An outbreak of cholera was the spur to the foundation of what began as an orphanage for girls. However its remit was soon extended: it took in the daughters of parents who could not afford to support them as well as orphans and provided them with basic schooling and craft skills. According to Lucy Garnett writing in 1910, all the girls learnt to spin, weave and sew and then could specialise in dressmaking, embroidery, lace-making or straw-plaiting.⁵⁰ The Amalion went from strength to strength; 1645 young women had passed through the workshops by 1934.⁵¹ A somewhat similar organisation was the Workshop for Poor Women set up in 1872. Like the Amalion it benefitted from royal patronage, in this case from Queen Olga. An elementary school provided young girls with a basic education and classes in dressmaking. Adult workshops covered similar textile crafts as the Amalion with the addition of kelim weaving. According to Hatzimichali, the workshops encouraged a revival of textile arts in many parts of Greece and had provided work for more than 15,000 women by 1934.⁵² The products won many

⁴⁹ Gallant 2001:108.

⁵⁰ Garnett 1914:207.

⁵¹ Hagimihali (=Hatzimichali) 1937:28.

⁵² Hagimihali 1937:21.

medals; for Hatzimichali, the kelims were particularly successful in combining technical quality with excellent colours and design.

The Royal Hellenic School of Needlework and Lace was the organisation with the closest links to Britain. It was set up as a direct result of the disastrous but short-lived Turkish-Greek war of 1897. Refugees from Thessaly, mainly women, gathered in Athens and committees were set up in Greece and elsewhere to mitigate the impact of the conflict. In Britain £5,000 was raised by the Greek Refugees Committee; about half was spent setting up soup kitchens and £1,500 was spent on buying corn and clothing, and in setting up looms and providing wages for workers. This was originally seen as a short-term measure, providing temporary employment for the refugee women, many of whom would have known how to spin, weave and sew. Initially they made clothing for their own use but, as demand was met, they carried on producing typical Greek folk art products such as woven carpets and embroideries for sale. Once peace was declared some of the refugees returned to their homes in northern Greece and their places in the workshop were taken by local women, looking for a way to earn a living. It was at this stage that Lady Egerton, wife of the head of the British legation, took an interest in the project. Like many of the aristocratic British women involved in home arts workshops, she was attracted by the combination of a charitable and artistic project. According to a report in *The New York Times* 'Lady Egerton's attention was attracted one day to the embroidery on the skirts of the peasant workwomen's dresses'.⁵³ From the start she seems to have understood the importance of both technical excellence and authenticity in design to the success of the project. She began by undertaking a systematic study of traditional lace and embroidery designs and techniques:

She went to Constantinople to study Byzantine models; she became a humble pupil of the school of lace-workers in Venice; she made a tour of the Greek islands to learn what secrets in designs and in colors had been transmitted by long inherited skill, among the Greek women. In her Athenian drawing room as well as on the decks of crowded and

⁵³ 'Reproduce Classic Designs: Greek Embroideries and Lace Show Patterns of Great Antiquity', *The New York Times*, 4 June 1906.

cramped Greek steamers, Lady Egerton drew, stitched, read, or let her shining needles fly over the stuffed cushions whereon her lace lay.⁵⁴

According to one report she discovered a number of instances where antique designs had been preserved as part of a peasant needlework tradition. In Thessaly, for example, she found that women were working designs found on vases recovered from the ruins of Pompeii.⁵⁵ Working with the political and social elite in Athenian society she set up a new school and workshop in the city centre on land donated by the French philhellene, the Countess Louise de Riancourt, who had settled in Greece. Lady Egerton also found markets for the cloth in Britain and elsewhere.

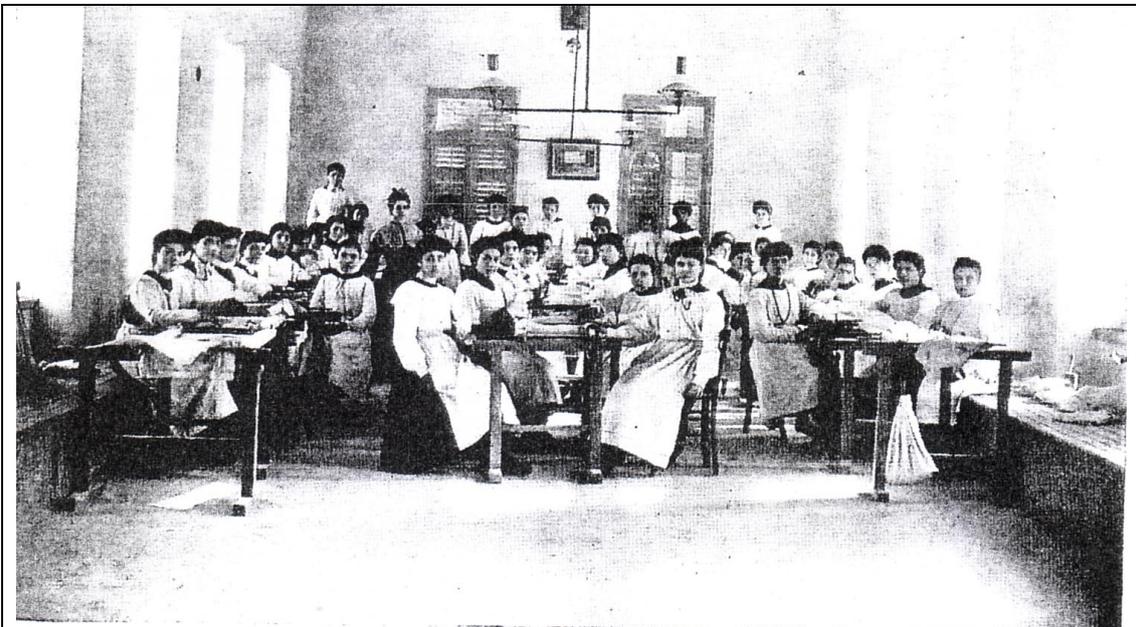


Fig. 83. An embroidery class at the Royal Hellenic School, about 1906.

⁵⁴ Bowman Dodd 1906:123.

⁵⁵ *The New York Times*, 4 June 1906.

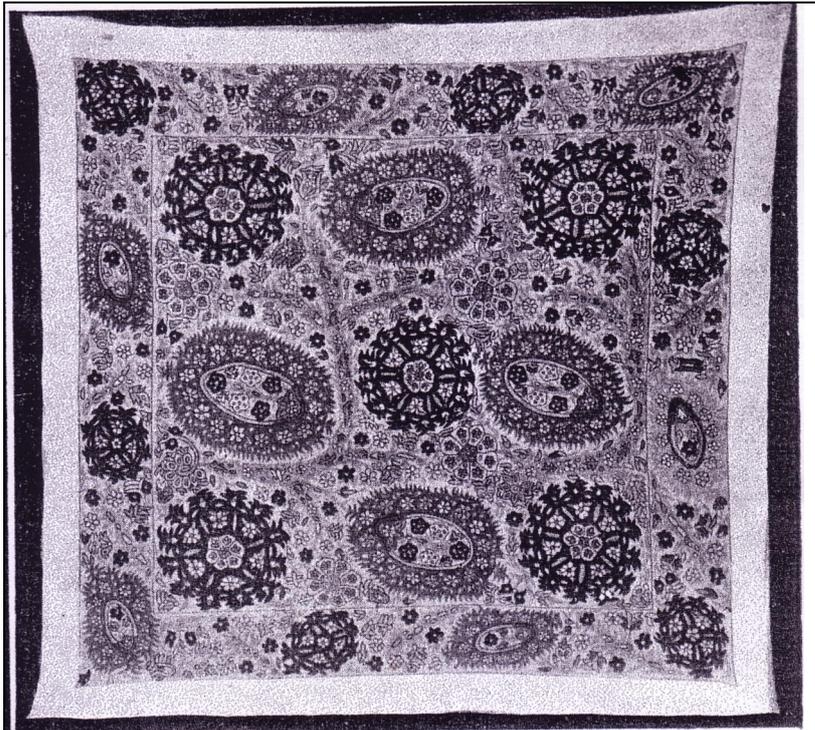


Fig. 84. Cushion, embroidery based on traditional designs from Epirus, Royal Hellenic School.

Her most successful coup was to persuade Liberty's, the department store in Regent Street, London to put on an exhibition of the School's work. Its owner, Arthur Lasenby Liberty, had managed the 'oriental' department of Farmer and Roger's, another London store, before opening Liberty's in 1875. It was thus one of several establishments with an 'oriental' department but Liberty's combination of the bazaar or 'curio' market with new artistic furnishings for the home established it at the cutting edge of design and craftsmanship. The exhibition of the school's work, 'Modern Greek Embroideries, the work of Greek Refugees', opened on 23 May 1898. It was advertised as being 'held on behalf of the Thessalian School of Embroidery established in Athens by Lady Egerton ... with the object of finding remunerative work for Greek Refugees for whom help has become necessary by events of the recent war'.⁵⁶ There were over seventy items in the exhibition, including:

⁵⁶ Liberty's, 1898.

Embroideries on coarse linen in a variety of forms for use as Afternoon Tea Cloths, as Slips and Squares for Toilet and other tables, for Cushions, for Antimacassars, for Table Centres for Book and Music Covers and Cases, and for a score of other useful and decorative purposes.⁵⁷

They were praised for their 'artistic restraint in design', their 'dainty precision of line', their harmonious colouring and the skill and precision with which they were executed which the catalogue saw as giving 'these embroideries a distinction and a charm that are all their own' as well as being full of promise for the future. The Liberty's catalogue also promoted the enduring quality of the items and described them as 'practically indestructible'. They ranged in price from a child's nightdress case embroidered in light blue, outlined with black at eight shillings to a table centre, embroidered in the cross-over stitch in bright red, green, indigo and yellow colourings, with edging to match at fifty-one shillings.

It was obviously the intention that this link between the School and Liberty's would continue into the future. The catalogue contains the statement: 'This collection will be reinforced from time to time by other consignments making what will practically be a Permanent Exhibition of Modern Greek Embroideries a feature of the galleries of East India House'.⁵⁸ Although I have not been able to find any other evidence of a direct relationship between Liberty's and the Royal Hellenic School, it does seem likely that embroideries from Athens and elsewhere in Greece continued to be sold in the London store. Garnett mentions Liberty's as an outlet for the products of the school in 1914.⁵⁹ Certainly Liberty's was still selling Greek embroideries in the 1920s and early '30s as were other London department stores. Taylor illustrates the different price ranges of Greek embroideries available in London in the late 1920s by contrasting the collecting habits of Mrs Barbara Cook and A. J. B. Wace, formerly archaeologist at the British School at Athens, at this period:

⁵⁷ Liberty's, 1898.

⁵⁸ Liberty's, 1898.

⁵⁹ Garnett 1914:208.

Wace directed her [Mrs Cook] to fine pieces that he saw on the London market, and she paid 250 and 350 guineas for Yanina [sic] and Rhodian pieces from Liberty's while Wace was paying 4 shillings for a Naxos piece from Waring and Gillow.⁶⁰

The Liberty's catalogue cited the close links between the Greek royal family and Britain as one of the reasons for Lady Egerton's initial enthusiasm for the project and went on to describe the interest of many influential people in London society in the venture including the Duke of Westminster. One exhibit was marked as having already been purchased by the Queen of Greece adding a certain cachet to the sale. Liberty's encouraged visitors to support the exhibition for both artistic and philanthropic reasons and saw its links with the project as long-term:

In the interest of Art, but above all in the interests of the unhappy Greek refugees, East India House is a centre from which now and in the future may radiate kindly efforts to encourage an art-industry which is not only full of attraction in itself, but which is a peculiarly womanly and suitable method of enabling these Greek refugee women and girls to earn a livelihood.⁶¹

Lady Egerton returned to England in about 1903 when her husband's period of duty ended but her interest in both Greek embroidery and craft education continued. She travelled to Crete on several occasions where she took an interest in the craftwork undertaken by the convent of St John the Baptist at Korakies, Chania. The Domestic Science school founded there in 1903 was subsequently named the Lady Egerton School in recognition of her support. Both a type of twisted silk used for embroidery and Cretan belts woven in colourful geometric designs (fig. 85) were known as 'Lady Egerton's'.⁶²

⁶⁰ Taylor 1998:180.

⁶¹ Liberty's, 1898.

⁶² Mitsotaki 1999:175 and a telephone conversation with the author, June 2009.

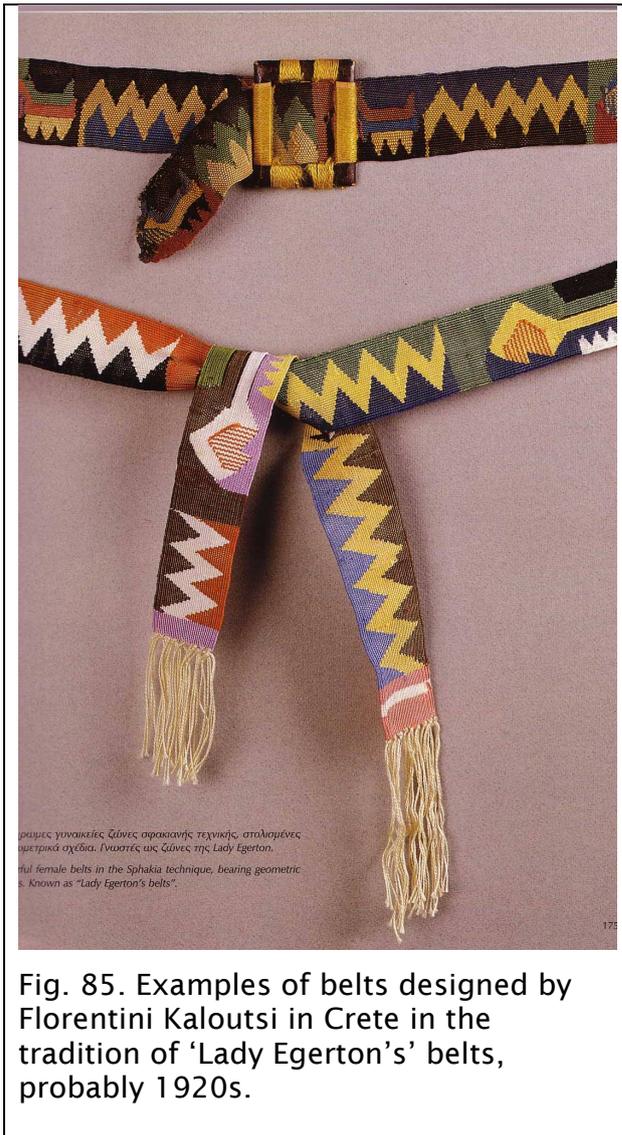


Fig. 85. Examples of belts designed by Florentini Kaloutsi in Crete in the tradition of 'Lady Egerton's' belts, probably 1920s.

She donated examples of Greek embroidery to the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1909 and 1911.⁶³ Two years later the museum was offered as a purchase a long cotton border embroidered with twenty-four ewers in red and green silk with a repeating design of flowers round the edge. As funds were unavailable it was bought by Lady Egerton who gave part of the embroidery to the museum.⁶⁴ In 1918 she was running holiday classes for the museum helping young people doing needlework or making and decorating clothes. These were so successful that she agreed to continue them on Saturday afternoons in term time. A letter dated 22 July 1918 from

⁶³ For example nine examples of pillow-made lace borders from the Greek islands, T104-111.1909.

⁶⁴ Egerton file, V&A archives MA/1/E353.

A. F. Kendrick, head of the department of Textiles to the Museum Director, Cecil Smith, also stated that the embroidery classes she was running for teachers for the London County Council were well attended.⁶⁵

The Royal Hellenic School was said to provide permanent employment for nearly two hundred women and girls in 1898.⁶⁶ It went from strength to strength under the direction of Louisa Pesel whose own embroidery collection is discussed in chapter five. Pesel was recommended to the school by the Arts and Crafts designer, Lewis F. Day, and travelled to Athens in 1903. She worked as designer but also took over direction of the school following Lady Egerton's departure. A committee report of the British School at Athens recorded that, among the external users of their resources, Pesel had made use of the School library for Hellenic and Byzantine designs.⁶⁷ This indicates that she was continuing Lady Egerton's approach of researching and adapting historic designs for use in the school. Pesel organised the dyeing of silk in the basement of the Athens school so as to copy more closely the beautiful colouring of the ancient pieces.⁶⁸

The school was visited in 1906 by the American travel writer and journalist, Anna Bowman Dodd who wrote a vivid and illustrated description of the institution for *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*. She described her first impressions:

From the dust and glare of the windy Athenian Streets we passed into a quiet quarter close to the National Museum, where a wide white building housed a hundred and more Athenian children, growing girls and young women who were workers in the Royal School of Embroideries.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Letter from A. F. Kendrick to C. Smith dated 22.07.1918 in the Egerton file, V&A archives MA/1/E353.

⁶⁶ Liberty's, 1898.

⁶⁷ French 2009:98.

⁶⁸ Unpublished letter from Laura Pesel to Miss Binnington dated 22 March 1968, Louisa Pesel archives, ULITA.

⁶⁹ Bowman Dodd 1906:120.

The Royal Hellenic School of Needlework and Lace certainly had the dual aim of reviving the art of embroidery and self-improvement for the women and girls involved (fig. 83). Bowman Dodd's guide round the school emphasised improvements in cleanliness, deportment and dress among the girls remarking:

In the very first week I noticed a marked change in improved cleanliness and manners among the children ...the second week ambition began to work its usual subtle effects. The girls must have their hair artificially coiffed like the older ones. In a month the transformation was complete. When I saw the latest, most effective design in ties and collars work by a newcomer, the result of her work at home after school-hours, then I knew that the school had done at least half its work.⁷⁰

This extract indicates that the Royal Hellenic School shared the same dual purpose as the HAIA: teaching craft skills and improving life skills, particularly those relating to the female domestic sphere. In hindsight this was not necessarily a positive benefit. Hatzimichali commented that the approach was not without its problems; the schools and magazines of the period had the effect of both encouraging decorative work over useful work and promoting individual aspirations to everything that was luxurious and foreign.⁷¹

According to her sister, Pesel made sure that the work of the school was promoted as widely as possible as well as designing and teaching.⁷² She realised that in order to succeed it had to be run as a business and she developed outlets through Europe and in Cairo. Her sister went on to relate how, by 1904, outposts of the school were set up on the islands of Aegina, Spetsai, Hydra, and Kefallonia, and in Corinth and in Koropi on the outskirts of Athens. The United States Consul General in Athens, George Horton, sent a report on the school back to the State Department at Washington together with some examples of the work produced. These were put on show in the

⁷⁰ Bowman Dodd 1906:125-6.

⁷¹ Hagimihali 1937:46.

⁷² Unpublished letter from Laura Pesel to Miss Binnington dated 22 March 1968, Louisa Pesel archives, ULITA.

Bureau of Manufactures, Washington in June 1906 and were offered as loans to individuals who wanted to examine and study the work. *The New York Times* carried details of Horton's report and the exhibition adding that some wealthy Americans had become patrons of the school while its products had been acquired by many of the European royal families.⁷³ The school was still active in the 1930s.

The work of Florentini Kaloutsis on Crete continued the inspiration of Lady Egerton and Pesel (see fig. 85 above). Kaloutsis, née Skouloudi, was born in Rethymnon, Crete in 1890 into an educated and broad-minded family who allowed her to travel to London in 1906 to study at the Royal Academy Schools under the painter, Walter Sickert. She spent five years in Britain at a time when the Arts and Crafts Movement was at its height. When she returned to Crete in 1911, opened a studio in Chania, and in 1919 married George Kaloutsis. As well as continuing to paint and to teach others she returned to Crete inspired by ideas about the importance of traditional decorative arts. Her experience in London had also introduced her to the practical benefits of using graph paper to develop her designs. It was not available in Greece so she had paper sent or brought over by her English friends. She revived the local weaving tradition at a time when many women were abandoning the craft and breaking up their looms for firewood.⁷⁴ Her team of homeworkers eventually numbered about two hundred, providing these women with a regular income and creative work.⁷⁵ She was inspired by both traditional Cretan embroideries as typified by the Sandwith collection discussed in chapter five and the series of Minoan excavations carried out by Sir Arthur Evans on the island. She adapted patterns from many of the finds including her favourite double axe (see figs 86-8 below). From 1922 the workshop was known as 'Diplous Pelekys' (Double Axe).

⁷³ *The New York Times*, 4 June 1906.

⁷⁴ Mitsotaki 1999:43.

⁷⁵ Hagimihali, 1937, p. 22.

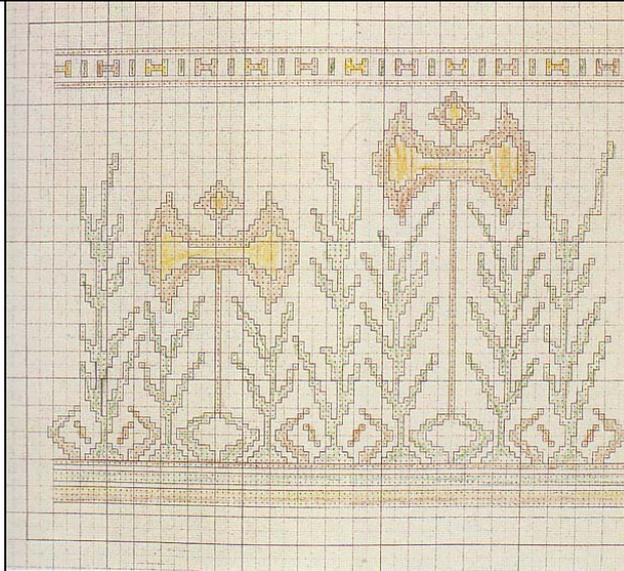


Fig. 86 (left). Pithos decorated with double axes, Archaeological Museum, Heraklion, inv.no. 7757.
Fig. 87 (above). Florentini's design on graph paper.

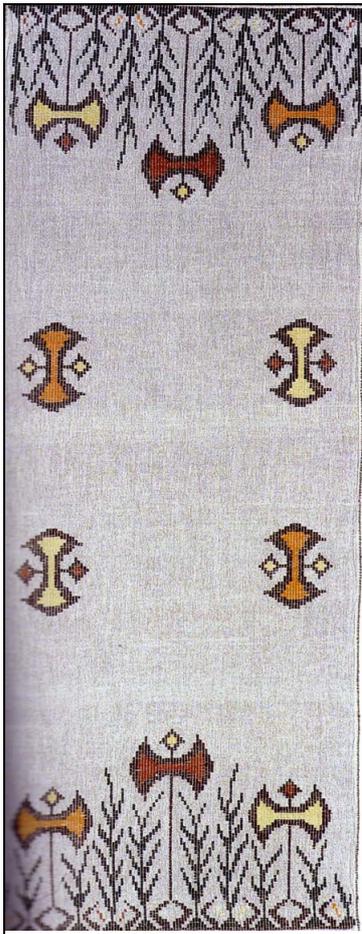


Fig. 88 (left). Woven design by Kaloutsis featuring the double axe motif.

Somewhat surprisingly bearing in mind her time spent in London and her long-lasting friendship with a number of British artists and archaeologists such as Violet Kingsford, I have been unable to find any reference to Kaloutsi's work in British periodicals. The one Greek craftswoman who was featured was Anna Papadopulos (née Mélas), a talented amateur needlewoman from Euboea. An example of her embroidered work, described as 'cleverly worked and somewhat unconventional' was featured in the 'Studio-Talk' section of *The Studio* in 1901 (fig. 84). According to the magazine:

[She] has adopted the methods of embroidery employed by the peasants of the island who carry out their work without the aid of any pattern or previously arranged design. The charm of the piece here illustrated lies in the successful massing and composition of the colours and the frank subservience of detail to the requirement of needle-craft.⁷⁶

The embroidery, which was given the distinction of a full-page colour illustration in the magazine, has a fresh and free abstract quality which makes it stand out from most traditional Greek work of the period. Even the colour scheme with its emphasis on shades of browns, pinks and lilacs is atypical. Unfortunately there is no indication in *The Studio* of the source of illustration; it seems most likely that it would have been derived from an exhibition, possibly the Exposition Universelle held in Paris in 1900 which, as I have mentioned in both chapter one and earlier in this chapter, included a Greek pavilion. I have also been unsuccessful in finding anything about Papadopoulos's background and early career.

⁷⁶ *The Studio*, vol. XXIII, 1901, p. 285.



Fig. 89. Embroidery by Anna Papadopoulos illustrated in *The Studio*, 1901.

Proodos (Progress) a school of embroidery for girls and young women with a retail outlet in the centre of Athens, was set up in 1907 with Papadopoulos as its first president. The school included a special studio developing designs derived from Byzantine or classical prototypes for application to embroidery and lace. This, together with their insistence that the items produced should all be useful as well as decorative, helped to renew Greek embroidery. Proodos was involved in organising an exhibition held in the park of Kifissia, near Athens, in August 1913. Papadopoulos invited workshops throughout the Greek provinces to send their best work. According to Hatzimihali, it was a very successful show and inspired others

to emulate the work of Proodos.⁷⁷ Lucie Zygomala set up the School of Peasant Embroidery known as 'Attique' in 1915. The school provided free classes for peasant women and girls in order to preserve Greek embroidery traditions but also to provide basic education, craft and design skills, and to give the peasants an additional income for those times when they were not able to work on the land. Following the First World War, Greece's subsequent defeat by Turkey and the mass expulsion of communities that followed in 1923, Papadopoulos set up a workshop and retail outlet called 'Mother's Corner' (Γωνία Μαννάς). Craft workshops were opened in the grounds of the ancient Palais Royal to provide employment and training for refugees from Asia Minor. Papadopoulos herself made pottery which was sold to support the charity but her real skill was in the promotion and marketing the work of others.

One of the most dominant female figures in the folk craft movement at the end of the nineteenth century was Callirhoe Parren. She was born at Rethymnon, Crete, in 1861 but her family moved to Athens when she was still a child. She taught at a girls' school in Adrianopolis in northern Greece from 1878 to '88 and in 1887 she started the *Ladies' Newspaper* (Εφημερίδα των Κυριών) which survived for thirty-two years. Parren had a forceful personality and was the most radical of the individuals involved in women's issues in Greece. She believed in the intrinsic value of handwork as well as the need to improve education. However she also agreed with those opposing female education that girls should be prepared for marriage, motherhood and looking after the home. Unlike many of her contemporaries she also had a more international outlook. Angelika Psarra outlines Parren's relationship with the European, and particularly French, feminist movements and her attempts to develop a specific Greek form of feminism with a historical context and specific national agenda. Her approach is typified by this comment from 1910 quoted by Psarra: 'Feminism does not mean, as many think, the political liberation of women. Feminism means humanism, nation[al]ism, patriotism.'⁷⁸ She set up a Lyceum Club in Athens based on the women-only literary and artistic model devised in 1902 by Constance Smedley, the British author linked with the Arts and Crafts Movement and

⁷⁷ Hagimihali 1937:29.

⁷⁸ Psarra 2007:150.

wife of the artist, Maxwell Armfield. Parren encouraged a revival of interest in Greek national costume, folk music and dance through the Lyceum Club. She collected examples of traditional dress from all over the country and staged dances by professionals working with young girls from affluent and educated backgrounds. In 1911, Queen Olga gave the Lyceum her collection of dolls, originally acquired from London, which she had had dressed in exquisite and accurate costumes from many parts of Greece.



Fig. 90. Dancing girls in Macedonian traditional dress at a Lyceum Club event.

The folk art movement in Greece acquired a great impetus from the first exhibition of handwork organised by the Lyceum Club in 1921 and repeated annually until 1925.⁷⁹ The Club exhibited craftwork, mainly embroidery, lacework and costume, by all the organisations mentioned above as well as others including work from pottery and furniture workshops. Its success inspired a major patron, the poet, Angelos Sikelianos. Together with his wife, the American biscuit heiress, Eva Palmer, he was the moving force

⁷⁹ Hagimihali 1937:45.

behind a major exhibition at Delphi in 1927. This striking and unconventional couple adopted a form of classical draped dress using fabrics dyed and decorated by Eva.⁸⁰ Hatzimichali admired the way the designer had adapted classical costume for modern dress and noted that a number of Greek women, part of Athenian society, had adopted this style of dress, developing their own designs similar to the adherents of the Healthy and Artistic Dress Union mentioned in chapter two.⁸¹ As well as organising the show, the husband-and-wife team donated 150,000 drachmas to enable the committee to purchase exhibits. This inspired confidence among the craftspeople and encouraged them to be generous with their time and efforts. The same year (1927) another major exhibition of handicrafts was held for the first time in Thessaloniki. An exhibition was also held in October 1930 in Athens as part of the Balkan Conference held in the city with the aim of showing the development of contemporary folk crafts. According to Hatzimichali, writing not long after the exhibition, it provided an opportunity for many Greeks and foreign visitors to appreciate the wealth, variety and significance of Greek popular art.⁸²

Conclusion

A number of organisations emerged in Greece in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries with similar aims to the craft workshops that formed the HAIA in England. Developments in both countries were pioneered largely by powerful and imaginative women. They wanted to provide craft training and work, to revive traditional skills and patterns, and to introduce an influence that was aesthetic, educational, socializing and refining to those involved. In largely agrarian Greece, classes and workshops were often geared towards females for both social and economic reasons and therefore mainly concerned with the textile crafts. In Britain some men did practise embroidery and other textile crafts as part of the Arts and Crafts Movement, both as professional and amateurs. William Morris's involvement in embroidery has already been mentioned in chapter one; Charles Winmill is one example of an Arts and Crafts architect who took up embroidery as a

⁸⁰ Angelos Sikelianos's sister was married to Raymond Duncan, the American fashion designer inspired by classical dress and brother of the dancer, Isadora Duncan.

⁸¹ Hagimihali 1937:21.

⁸² Hagimihali 1937:45-6.

hobby.⁸³ In late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Greece, however, the traditional male profession of tailoring was in decline as western fashions were adopted. For men to undertake decorative work as amateurs would have been unthinkable in Greek society.

There was a real surge of activity before the First World War and after 1922 reaching a climax with a series of exhibitions in the 1920s and 30s and the formation in 1931 of the umbrella organisation, the Association of Workshops of Handcraft in Athens under the presidency of Hatzimichali. Its purpose was to promote and develop handwork both in the home and in workshops; it wanted to keep traditional forms as the basis for handwork but discouraged imitations of old work in favour of developing a contemporary approach.⁸⁴ The Association also assisted in the marketing and distribution of wares and set up three outlets in Athens, Patras and Tripoli.

The patronage of Britain and the United States in particular was an important element in the survival and expansion of many of these workshops. Liberty's provided an important outlet for Greek embroideries and lace and the preservation of the 1898 exhibition catalogue is an important record. The publication, in French, of *L'Art Populaire Grec*, Hatzimichali's survey of folk arts and craft in Greece provided a propaganda tool and a detailed overview.⁸⁵ However these developments seemed to lose ground following the Second World War and the subsequent civil war at the end of the 1940s. In the same way the 1950s and 60s saw the Arts and Crafts Movement at low ebb in Britain. In Greece government and society were trying to develop a western Eurocentric approach; folk crafts in the second half of the twentieth century were seen as backward-looking.

⁸³ Carruthers and Greensted (eds) 1999: 143

⁸⁴ Hagimihali 1937:40.

⁸⁵ Hagimihali 1937, first published in Greek as part of the Great Encyclopedia Greece X, 1934

Conclusion

During the course of my research over the last twelve months on the exchanges between Greece and Britain as part of the Arts and Crafts Movement I have found significant evidence of exchanges between Britain and Greece from the later decades of the nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries. This interaction has taken the form of the exchange of artefacts, ideas, and information as well as the contributions of individuals, particularly from Britons travelling to and working in Greece.

As part of my research I have worked on the material amassed by Robert Weir Schultz and Sidney Barnsley during their studies of Byzantine architecture in Greece. I have worked on this source material, primarily the two men's notebooks and photographs at the British School at Athens, from the perspective of their subsequent careers as Arts and Crafts architects and designers. In the course of my research I have created a previously non-existent link between this material and the related archives at the Barnsley workshop in Hampshire which will be helpful for future scholars. I have concentrated on the notebooks kept by the two men relating to their time in Greece between 1887 and 1891. These are divided between Athens and Hampshire. They contain a mixture of on-site sketches, a few more finished drawings some of which have been pasted in, their written descriptions and notes, transcriptions of background information on Byzantine art and architecture, as well as a few personal details such as basic Greek vocabulary. The notebooks are currently uncatalogued and, apart from the article by Kalligas mentioned in chapter three, little or no published research has resulted from their study. Notebooks and sketchbooks can be more revealing than finished drawings providing insights into the workings of designs and the thoughts of the owner. My long familiarity with Sidney Barnsley's handwriting has meant that I have been able to show how closely the two men worked, often adding details and comments to each others' drawings. This provides useful insights into their way of working.

Schultz and Barnsley were not the only Arts and Crafts architects to use Byzantine architecture as a source of inspiration. Henry Wilson's reworking of the interior of St Bartholomew's, Brighton, between 1899 and

1908, created a sumptuous Arts and Crafts interior inspired by the Byzantine style. And in his study of Arts and Crafts architecture, Davey has referred to Edward Prior's use of overt Byzantine motifs in the design of one of his late churches, St Osmund's, Parkstone, Dorset, completed in 1916.⁸⁶ However the influence of their Byzantine studies on Schultz and Barnsley's architectural work is extensive, based on the use of materials and decorative techniques. In particular, Barnsley's Church of the Wisdom of God in Lower Kingswood, Surrey and Schultz's St Andrew's Chapel in Westminster Cathedral, London provide the most confident and inspiring reworking of the Byzantine style as part of the Arts and Crafts Movement because of their first-hand experience in Greece.

I have also used the notebooks and other source material to trace Byzantine elements in the subsequent design work of both men and, through their influence, in that of their friend and colleague, Ernest Gimson. In previous publications I have suggested that the simple veneered pieces first designed by Barnsley for Kenton & Company immediately on his return from Greece show the influence of Byzantine work.⁸⁷ This piece of research, particularly my study of the notebooks, has confirmed what was previously conjectured. In chapter four I have illustrated how Barnsley's experience in Greece had an impact not only on his later designs but also on others including Ernest Gimson and, through him, on Gordon Russell and British twentieth-century furniture. This sheds light on a number of different aspects in the development of British Arts and Crafts furniture. In particular the relationship between Barnsley and Gimson is one which continues to be reassessed. By 1905 Gimson had emerged as one of the leading designers of his day and his influence is still acknowledged by contemporary designers and makers. The fact that, in 1900, Barnsley was acknowledged as the leading figure in the partnership is often overlooked. I hope that this research will help to demonstrate the importance of his contribution to the partnership.

In chapter four I have also made the link between Byzantine church furniture, the type of work that Schultz and Barnsley photographed as part of

⁸⁶ Davey 1980: 80.

⁸⁷ Comino 1980: 58.

their researches in Greece, and the decorative inlaid work designed by both Barnsley and Gimson. This work, mainly inlaid boxes and cabinets but also significantly the clergy chairs designed by Gimson in co-operation with Schultz for St Andrew's Chapel has often been related to Indian work based on a photograph of a seventeenth-century Indian Gujerat travelling box in the collection of Gimson photographs.⁸⁸ However, based on the evidence of the notebooks and photographs in Athens and Hampshire, I have come to the conclusion that the main inspiration for these designs developed from the time Barnsley and Schultz spent in Greece.

My research has highlighted the importance of the Sandwith collection of Greek embroidery and lace in terms of both the quantity and quality of material it contains. In 1876 it was the first major collection of Greek textiles to be acquired by a public collection outside the country of origin. My research has shown the impact made by its sale to, and almost immediate display in, the South Kensington Museum, one of the most influential public collections for designers and makers. In the course of my research I have emphasised the link between William Morris and the Sandwith collection. Morris would have seen the collection when it went on show at the South Kensington Museum if not before. However I have highlighted the fact that he was also given examples of embroideries collected by Sandwith for his own use. Kelvin's edited letters included one part of the information: the fact that in 1876 Morris gave Thomas Wardle two examples of Greek embroidery that had been brought from Crete by 'the English consul'.⁸⁹ This must refer Thomas Sandwith. I have discussed this with Linda Parry, formerly curator of textiles at the Victoria and Albert Museum and an authority on Morris's work, who corroborates my findings. The Sandwith collection encouraged others to collect Greek embroidery including Morris himself and his friend and colleague Emery Walker. May Morris reputedly gave Walker a piece of Greek embroidery which she had partly unpicked to study the stitches and the collection at the Emery Walker house at 7 Hammersmith Terrace, Chiswick, London includes a number of Greek embroideries which I have studied. Walker, one of participants on the Art Workers' Guild trip to Greece in 1909, was a great collector as was his daughter, Dorothy, and her companion,

⁸⁸ Carruthers 1994: 16.

⁸⁹ Kelvin 1984: 294.

Elizabeth de Haas, who lived in the house until the 1990s. I have studied the embroideries stored in the house and had hoped to do enough work on them to include them in this thesis. Unfortunately the documentation relating to the collection as a whole is patchy; information on the provenance of individual embroideries is minimal. There is however some potential for further research on this collection. The collection of Greek embroideries at Kelmscott Manor has proved more fruitful in the context of my research. It was the conjunction of the Greek embroideries with May Morris's embroideries in the house that led me to make the connection between the Sandwith collection and the popularity of the 'Greek Lace' technique among Arts and Crafts designers from Ruskin through to May Morris and Joseph Southall among others. The contribution of my research in this area has been to link these collections and to emphasise the importance of the Greek connection.

In researching the craft workshops in Greece from the late nineteenth century through to 1930 I have highlighted the contribution of two women, Lady Olga Egerton and Louisa Pesel. The former was British by marriage and potentially moving in the aristocratic and progressive circles that played a formative role in the development of the Home Arts and Industries movement in late nineteenth-century Britain. Pesel was English and trained in London with the Arts and Crafts designer, Lewis F. Day. I have shown how she would very probably have known the Greek embroideries and lace that make up the Sandwith collection before she went to Athens in 1903. In fact it seems very possible that it was this collection that inspired her to go to Greece. I have also emphasised the important contribution of retail outlets in Britain. The survival of Liberty's catalogue for the 1898 exhibition of the work of the Royal Hellenic School of Needlework and Lace in the National Art Library at the Victoria and Albert Museum is both an indication of the significance of the store's links with international craftwork and the success of that particular Greek enterprise.

The modern Greek nation-state was created in 1832; it was the first east European country to achieve full independence as part of the upheavals that took place in the nineteenth century. Britain, France and Russia all played a major role in creating this new state. The need for nation building,

for the creation of a national identity, as well its rich and varied cultural heritage made Greece an obvious candidate for the vernacular revival that took place in a number of European countries and is linked to the British Arts and Crafts Movement. There were however other factors at play which diluted the scope and impact of the vernacular revival in Greece. Greece's links with Britain were not as strong as those with Germany and France. The monarchy's close links with and attachment to Germany were particularly influential on the development of the new capital city. The German architect, Ernst Ziller, created many of the wide boulevards that dominated the centre of Athens at the end of the nineteenth century. These were lined with large mansions, some designed by him in his distinctive combination of Italian Renaissance and neo-classical architecture. The most complete and beautifully restored example of his work is Iliou Melathron, near Syndagma Square, now the Numismatics Museum, built for the German archaeologist, Heinrich Schliemann, between 1878 and 1880. Vying with Germany, France and particularly Paris were considered the cultural centre of Europe. French was the language of society and culture throughout much of Europe; in Greece many books were published in French including Angeliki Hatzimichali's *L'Art populaire grec*.

Hatzimichali's survey of craft activity in Greece in the first three decades of the twentieth century provides an impressive record which I have documented and added to in chapter six. But what happened to all this activity? Most of the work was domestic in scale and much of it was carried out by women. There were no large workshops, influential architects or designers, or wealthy patrons who could have developed the sorts of building projects that characterise the Arts and Crafts Movement in Britain such as Philip Webb's Standen in West Sussex, W. R. Lethaby's Melsetter House on Hoy in Orkney, or Ernest Barnsley's Rodmarton Manor in Gloucestershire. There are some small-scale buildings in Greece which reflect aspects of the craft revival, including Hatzimichali's own house in Plaka, Athens, built for her by the architect, Aristotelis Zachos, between 1924 and 1927. He wanted to create a new national architecture by combining modern trends with traditional Greek and Byzantine elements. Hatzimichali's house is now the Municipal Folk Art and Tradition Centre and continues to promote handwork.

There was a reaction to the folk revival from the 1930s which I believe has survived up to the present day. In 1937 Ilias Iliou, a young Marxist and subsequently parliamentary speaker of the Greek left wrote an article in *Neoellinika Grammata* entitled 'In Praise of the Blocks'. He argued:

I am a child of our epoch, I understand the Parthenon, Gothic Cathedrals, Byzantine Basilicas, Arabic masterpieces – and I am on the side of the modern block of flats! I respect absolutely the work of Hadjimichali from the collectors' and the museums' point of view, but I refuse her aspirations in every-day life and I cannot admit that a chair from Skyros will give me better rest than a leather or linen armchair on a wooden and metallic frame...I am on the side of the modern blocks of flats, I am with the "blocks".⁹⁰

After World War Two the need for Greece to modernise and for the government to link the country with western Europe were paramount. The continuing tensions between Greece and Turkey have tended to make the country shy away from its Ottoman past which contributed to its vernacular folk traditions. However Nicos Hadjinicolaou argues that the issue of 'the Greekness of Greek Art' has taken over from language and literature as the focus of the great national debate. He continues:

An attempt to discern the 'authentic' national characteristic of a people or of a nation in the art of a society is a sign of a conservative outlook. On the other hand imported European or American culture has been denounced in most countries of the third world as serving imperialist interests...All this indicates that the 'return to national sources' movement, to popular art etc., is not necessarily reactionary but it can derive from a progressive ideology.⁹¹

I would agree with his comment and argue that popular or folk art is not necessarily backward-looking: it can play an important role in revitalising a country's art and national identity.

⁹⁰ Quoted by Hadjinicolaou 1975:14.

⁹¹ Hadjinicolaou 1975:10-11.

My purpose in undertaking this research project has been to investigate and record the exchanges between Britain and Greece as part of the Arts and Crafts Movement. I hope this will raise awareness of craft activity in Greece during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and inspire further research in the future.

Bibliography

- Aav, M. 2005.** 'Finland' in L. Parry and K. Livingstone (eds.), *International Arts and Crafts*, London, 266-275.
- Baker, P. L. 1981.** 'William Morris and his Interest in the Orient' in *William Morris and Kelmscott*, London, 67-71.
- Barnsley, S. H. and Schultz, R. W. 1901.** *The Monastery of St Luke of Stiris in Phocis and the dependent monastery of St Nicholas in the Fields, near Scripou in Boeotia*, London.
- Batkin, M. 1991.** *Good Workmanship with Happy Thought; the work of Alfred and Louise Powell*, Cheltenham.
- Bent, J. T. 2008.** *Island-Hopping in The Cyclades* (abridged from *The Cyclades: or Life among the Insular Greeks*, 1885), Athens.
- Blakesley, R. P. 2006.** *The Arts and Crafts Movement*, London.
- Burrough, B. G. 1970.** 'Three Disciples of William Morris 3. W. R. Lethaby', *The Connoisseur* 175, 33-37.
- Bowe, N. G. (ed.) 1993,** *Art and the National Dream*, Dublin.
- Bowen, J. 1989.** 'Education, ideology and the ruling class: Hellenism and English public schools in the nineteenth century', in G. W. Clarke (ed.), *Rediscovering Hellenism*, Cambridge, 161-186.
- Bowman Dodd, A. 1906.** 'The Royal School of Embroideries in Athens', *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* 72, 120-126.
- Brandon, M. J. 2001.** 'The Lost Jewel in the Arts and Crafts Crown, the Church of the Wisdom of God', BA dissertation for Southampton Institute.

Breeze, G. 1980. *Joseph Southall 1861-1944: Artist-Craftsman*, Birmingham.

Browne, J. D. 1986. 'The Toynbee Hall Travellers Club', *History of Education*, 15, 11-17.

Bullen, J. B. 2003. *Byzantium Rediscovered*, London.

Carruthers, A. 1994. 'Good Citizen's Furniture', in A. Carruthers and M. Greensted, *Good Citizen's Furniture: The Arts and Crafts Collections at Cheltenham*, 9-27.

Carruthers, A and Greensted, M. 1994. *Good Citizen's Furniture: The Arts and Crafts Collections at Cheltenham*, London.

Carruthers, A. and Greensted, M. (eds) 1999. *Simplicity or Splendour, Arts and Crafts Living: Objects from the Cheltenham Collections*, London.

Clarke, G. W. (ed.) 1989. *Rediscovering Hellenism*, Cambridge.

Clogg, R. A. 1992. *A Concise History of Greece*, Cambridge.

Cockerell, C. R. 2008. *Travels in Greece* (abridged from *Travels in Southern Europe and the Levant 1810-17: the Journal of C. R. Cockerell RA.*, 1903), Athens.

Comino, M. 1980. *Gimson and the Barnsleys: Wonderful Furniture of a Commonplace Kind*, London. (Reprinted 1991, Stroud as M. Greensted).

Cormack R. 2008. Lecture given by Professor Robin Cormack on 'British Arts and Crafts architects and Byzantium' at the Hellenic Centre, London on 18 February 2008.

Crane, W. 1888. 'Presidential Address to the Applied Art Section' in the unedited *Transactions of the National Association for the Advancement of Art and its Application to Industry*, London, 206-217.

Crane, W. 1911. *William Morris to Whistler*, London.

Crane, W. 1920. *The Bases of Design*, London.

Crawford, A. 1997. 'Ideas and Objects, The Arts and Crafts Movement in Britain', *Design Issues* 3, 15-26.

Crowley, D. 2000. 'Haslemere and the Edges of Europe' in D. Crowley and L. Taylor (eds.), *The Lost Arts of Europe*, Haslemere, 44-56.

Davey, P. 1980. *Arts and Crafts Architecture*, London.

Day, L. F. 1888. *Art in Needlework*, London.

De Chaves, L. 1999. *Greek Lace in the Victoria and Albert Museum*, Athens.

Denny, W. B. 2004. *The Artistry of Ottoman Ceramics*, London.

Durrell, L. 1953. *Reflections on a Marine Venus*, London. (paperback edition, 2000).

French, A. 2009. 'The Greek Embroidery Collecting of R. M. Dawkins and A. J. B. Wace' in M. Llewellyn Smith, P. M. Kitromilides, and E Calligas (eds) *Scholars Travellers, Archives*, British School at Athens Studies 17, 93-107.

Gallant, T. W. 2001. *Modern Greece*, London.

Garnett, L. M. J. 1914. *Greece of the Hellenes*, London.

Gere, C. 1996. 'The Art of Dress, Victorian Artists and the Aesthetic Style' in *Simply Stunning: The Pre-Raphaelite Art of Dressing*, Cheltenham 13-24.

Greensted, M. (ed.) 2005. *An Anthology of the Arts and Crafts Movement*, Aldershot.

Hadjinicolaou, N. 1975. 'Introduction' in C. M. Joachimides and N. Rosenthal (eds) *The Greek month in London: four painters of the twentieth century*, London, 11-16.

Hatzimichali, A. 1925. *Helleniki Laiki Techni: Skyros*, Athens

Hagimihali, A. 1937. *L'Art Populaire Grec*, Athens.

Harrod, T. 2000. 'For Love and Not For Money': Reviving 'Peasant Art' in Britain 1880-1930' in D. Crowley, and L. Taylor (eds), *The Lost Arts of Europe*, Haslemere, 13-24.

Herzfeld, M. 1982. *Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology, and the Making of Modern Greece*, Austin TX.

Hitchmough, W. 1997. *Arts and Crafts Gardens*, London.

Holland, R. and Markides, D. 2006. *The British and the Hellenes: Struggles for Mastery in the Eastern Mediterranean 1850-1960*, Oxford.

Ioannou-Yannara, T. 2006. *Greek Embroidery 17th-19th centuries, Works of Art from the collections of the Victoria and Albert Museum*, Athens.

Jenkyns, R. 1989. 'Hellenism in Victorian Painting' in G. W. Clarke (ed.) *Rediscovering Hellenism*, Cambridge, 83-120.

Johnstone, P. 1992. *A Guide to Greek Island Embroidery*, London.

Jope-Slade, R. 1897. 'A Man of Liverpool and his Art', *The Studio* 9, 84-89.

Kalligas, H. 2000. 'Twin reflections of a Byzantine city: Monemvasia as seen by Robert Weir Schultz and Sidney H. Barnsley in 1890' in Cormack R. and Jeffreys, E. (eds), *Through the Looking Glass: Byzantium through British Eyes*, Aldershot, 23-44.

- Kelvin, N. (ed.) 1984.** *The Collected Letters of William Morris I 1848-80*, Princeton NJ.
- Kelvin, N. (ed.) 1987.** *The Collected Letters of William Morris 2 1881-88*, Princeton NJ.
- Keseru, K. 1993.** 'Vernacularism and its Special Characteristics in Hungarian Art' in N. G. Bowe (ed.), *Art and the National Dream*, Dublin 127-142.
- Kinchin, J. 2004.** 'Hungary, Shaping a National Consciousness' in W. Kaplan (ed.), *The Arts & Crafts Movement in Europe & America*, Los Angeles CA 142-177.
- Kotsou, M. (ed.) 1988.** *Catalogue of the Folk Art Museum, Nafplion*. Nafplion.
- Lambourne, L. 1980.** *Utopian Craftsmen*, London.
- Lazarides, P. no publication date.** *The Monastery of Hosios Lukas*, Athens.
- Lethaby, W. R. 1891.** *Architecture, Mysticism and Myth*, London (third edition London 1975).
- Lethaby, W. R. 1892.** 'The Builder's Art and the Craftsman' in Shaw, R. N. and Jackson, T. G. (eds.), *Architecture, a Profession or an Art*, London, 157-172.
- Lethaby W. R. and Swainson, H. 1894.** *The Church of Sancta Sophia, Constantinople*, London and New York
- Liberty's, 1898.** Unpaginated catalogue, 'Modern Greek Embroideries, the work of Greek Refugees', National Art Library, Liberty's (50) 1898.
- MacCarthy, F. 1994.** *William Morris*, London.
- McGrath, M. 2003.** 'Sidney Barnsley, a Quintessential Arts and Crafts Architect and Craftsman', in M. Greensted and S. Wilson (eds), *Originality and Initiative: the Arts and Crafts archives at Cheltenham*, Aldershot, 45-60.

Mackail, J. W. 1899. *The Life of William Morris*, London.

Macrides R. J., 1992. 'The Scottish Connection in Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies', *St John's House Papers* 4, St Andrews, 1-21.

Massé, H. J. L. 1935. *The Art-Workers' Guild*, Oxford.

Mitsotaki, Z. 1999. *Florentini Kaloutsis and the Art of Crete*, Athens.

Morris, M. 1893. *Decorative Needlework*, London.

Morris M. (ed), 1914. *The Collected Works of William Morris* 22, London.

M. Morris (ed.) 1936. *William Morris, Artist Writer Socialist I*, Oxford.

Mourey, G. 1900. 'Art Nouveau Bing', *The Studio* 22, 64.

Naylor, G. 1971. *The Arts and Crafts Movement*, London.

Naylor, G. 1976. *A History of Gordon Russell 1904-1976*, Broadway.

Nelson, R. S. 2004. *Hagia Sophia 1850-1950*, Chicago.

Nevinson, H. W. 1923. *Changes and Chances*, London.

Great Exhibition 1851. *Official Catalogue of the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industries of All Nations*, London.

Okey, T. 1930. *A Basketful of Memories*, London.

O'Neill, M. and Leader, Z. (eds) 2003. *Percy Bysshe Shelley, The Major Works*, Oxford.

Ottewill, D. 1979. 'Robert Weir Schultz (1860-1951): An Arts and Crafts Architect', *Architectural History* 22, 88-116.

- Parry, L. 1966.** *Textiles of the Arts and Crafts Movement*, London.
- Pesel, L. 1907a.** 'Cretan Embroidery', *The Burlington Magazine* 10, 155-159
- Pesel, L. 1907b.** 'The Embroideries of the Aegean', *The Burlington Magazine* 10, 230-239.
- Pevsner, N. 1982.** *Studies in Art, Architecture and Design*, London.
- Politis, N. 1899-1902.** *Studies of the Life and Language of the Greek People: Proverbs*, Athens.
- Politis, N. 1904.** *Studies of the Life and Language of the Greek People: Traditions*, Athens.
- Powell, A. H. (ed.) 1931.** *Scrip's and Scraps*, William R. Lethaby, published privately.
- Powers, A. 2005.** '1884 and the Arts and Crafts Movement', *Apollo*, April 2005, 60-65.
- Poulson, C. (ed.) 1996.** *William Morris on Art & Design*, Sheffield.
- Psarra A. 2007.** 'A Gift from the New World: Greek Feminists between East and West (1880-1930)' in A. Frangoudaki and C. Keyder (eds), *Ways to Modernity in Greece and Turkey: Encounters with Europe 1850-1950*, London 150-175.
- Pugin, A. W. 1849.** *Floriated Ornament*, London.
- Roupa, E. 2002.** 'An attempt to reform the Greek bourgeois dress at the end of the nineteenth century', *Thessalonikeon Polis* 9, 137-166.
- Ruskin, J. 1851.** *The Stones of Venice I*, London.

- Ruskin, J. 1860.** *Unto This Last*, facsimile edition, Nelson 2000.
- Russell, G. 1968.** *Designer's Trade*, London.
- Schultz, R. W. 1897a.** 'Byzantine Art 1', *The Architectural Review* I: 192-99.
- Schultz, R. W. 1897b.** 'Byzantine Art 2', *The Architectural Review* I: 248-55.
- Schultz, R. W. 1909.** 'Reason in Building' in T. R. Davison (ed.), *The Arts Connected with Building*, London 3-40.
- Sedding, J. D. 1893.** *Art and Handicraft*, London.
- Sharpe, E. 1945.** 'Woodwork' in J. Farleigh (ed.), *Fifteen Craftsmen on their Crafts*, London, 102-108.
- Spiers, R. P. 1905.** *Architecture East and West*, London.
- Stamp, G. 1981.** *Robert Weir Schultz, Architect, and his work for the Marquesses of Bute*, Mount Stuart.
- Stuart-Glennie, J. S. and Garnett, L. M. J. 1885.** *Greek Folk-Songs from the Ottoman provinces of Northern Hellas*, London.
- Stuart-Glennie, J. S. and Garnett, L. M. J. 1888.** *Greek Folk-Songs from the Ottoman provinces of Northern Hellas*, London.
- Studio 1894.** 'The Arts and Crafts Exhibition, 1893', *The Studio* 2, 15.
- Tanner, R. (ed.) 1975.** *The Turn of the Century, extracts from the diaries of Dorothy Walker 1899, 1900, 1901*, published privately.
- Taylor, R. 1998.** *Embroidery of the Greek Islands and Epirus*, London.
- Tozer, H. F. 1890.** *The Islands of the Aegean*, Oxford.

Turner, F. M. 1981. *The Greek Heritage in Victorian Britain*, New Haven and London.

Turner, F. M. 1989, 'Why the Greeks and not the Romans' in G. W. Clarke (ed.) *Rediscovering Hellenism*, Cambridge, 61-81.

Wace, A. J. B. and Dawkins, R. M, 1914a. 'Greek Embroideries – I: Ethnography', *The Burlington Magazine* 26, 49-50.

Wace, A. J. B. and Dawkins, R. M, 1914b. Greek Embroideries – II: The Town and Houses of the Archipelago', *The Burlington Magazine*.26, 99-101.

Weir, R. W. S. 1932, 'William Robert Lethaby', a paper read before the Art Workers' Guild, RIBA

Wildman S. and Christian, J. 1998. *Edward Burne-Jones, Victorian Artist-Dreamer*, New York.

Willink, W. E. 1888. 'The Home Arts Movement' in *Transactions of the National Association for the Advancement of Art and its Application to Industry*, London, 271-276.

Wilson, S. 1996. 'Away with the Corsets, on with the Shifts' in *Simply Stunning: The Pre-Raphaelite Art of Dressing*, Cheltenham 25-36.

Wilson, A. N. 2002. *The Victorians*, London.

Winfield, D. 2000. 'The British contribution to fieldwork in Byzantine Studies in the twentieth century: an introductory survey' in R. Cormack and E. Jeffreys (eds.), *Through the Looking Glass: Byzantium through British Eyes*, Aldershot, 57-68.

Yagou, A. 2003. 'Facing the West, Greece in the Great Exhibition of 1851', *Design Issues* 19, 82-90.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisor, Professor Dimitri P. Tziovas, and the following individuals and institutions for their help with my research:

**Monica Grose-Wilson, Art Workers Guild
Gilly Anderson and James Ryan, Barnsley Workshop
Xenia Politis and Kate Synodinou, Benaki Museum
Martin Brandon
George Breeze
Dr Ruth Macrides and Professor Ken Wardle, Birmingham University
Amalia Kakissis, British School at Athens
Annette Carruthers
Chrysanthi Colbert
Professor Robin Cormack
Helen Brown and Kirsty Hartsiotis, Cheltenham Art Gallery and Museum
Alan Crawford
Ann French
Charles Greensted
Alec Hamilton
Brenda King
Kerem Centindamar and Nick Gordon, Leicester Arts and Museums
Jane Milne and Tristran Molloy, Kelmscott Manor
Mike McGrath
Zoe Mitsotakis
Linda Parry 172
Stephanie Bordie and Richard Workman, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin
Paul Reeves
Clare Browne, Frances Collard and James Sutton, Victoria and Albert Museum
Dr Aileen Reid and Sophie Slade, Emery Walker House
Rev. Garth Barber, Church of the Wisdom of God, Lower Kingswood**