

Christiana Herringham and the Art Collection of  
Royal Holloway and Bedford New College  
Volume One: Text

Michaela Jean Kathleen Jones

A thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
Royal Holloway, University of London

2019

## **Declaration of Authorship**

I, Michaela Jones, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Signed:

Date:

## **Acknowledgements**

The completion of this PhD would not have been possible without the tireless support of my supervisors, Stella Moss and Laura MacCulloch, who both helped me to keep going, even when I doubted my own abilities. I would also like to thank the rest of the History Department at Royal Holloway, which provided a supportive community, helped me to develop my ideas, and grow as a scholar. Special thanks must go to Jane Hamlett, Alex Windscheffel, and Sarah Ansari.

I would like to thank the many researchers, curators, archivists and librarians who have helped bring this project to fruition – this thesis would not have been possible without their help. In particular, I would like to thank Timothy Perry and the rest of the archives team at the University of Missouri, in addition to George Breeze, Henrietta McBurney-Ryan, Sarah Victoria Turner, Annabel Valentine, and the whole of the library team at Royal Holloway, who have kept me well stocked with gossip and cake over the years. I am also incredibly grateful to Meghan Clarke and Lynda Nead for examining my thesis.

Various members of Herringham's family have been incredibly generous with their time and support; their enthusiasm for the project has helped to spur me on. Special thanks must go to James Dixon, whose sponsorship partially funded this thesis, as well as Jenny Hobbs and Charlotte Fulford. I would also like to thank Mary Lago's descendants, who gave me permission to consult her research material.

I am most grateful for the unwavering support of my friends and family. Thanks to my parents and my sister who have had to endure my constant ramblings about Christiana Herringham, despite their lack of interest in art history. Thank you to my friends who have helped to keep me sane and provided much needed distractions from work. Lastly, I would like to thank my boyfriend, Steven, who has provided endless encouragement and borne the brunt of my PhD stress while working on his own.

I hope I have done Christiana Herringham justice, although I suspect that she would be bewildered as to why I have spent the past four years of my life poring over every aspect of hers.

## **Abstract**

This thesis explores the life, work, and influence of Christiana Herringham (1852-1929); a central figure in the late Victorian and Edwardian art world. This thesis is the first academic study to place Herringham's artworks at the centre of the discussion and includes the first catalogue raisonné of the Herringham Collection at Royal Holloway, University of London. By utilising a wide range of sources and an interdisciplinary approach, this thesis provides a greater understanding of Herringham's achievements and places them in the wider context. It makes an important contribution to the fields of both feminist history and art history by uncovering how some women were able, despite the challenges they faced, to contribute to the cultural sphere at the turn of the twentieth century.

The thesis draws upon the strengths of the collection to explore the major themes in Herringham's work. The first chapter considers the impact of gender on Herringham's artistic practice. It examines the obstacles that women faced; the societal expectations placed on their work; and discusses how these factors impacted Herringham's own work. Chapter two employs Herringham's tempera copies and her translation to discuss her technique and her role in the British Tempera Revival. The third chapter analyses Herringham's contributions as an art writer. In addition to examining Herringham's own work, it places her writings in the wider context and compares her experiences to those of other contemporary women art writers. The final chapter investigates Herringham's representations of India, including her copies of the Ajanta frescoes, her sketches and watercolours of the country, and her photographs. It examines how these representations differ and places them in the wider imperial context. These chapters are supported by the catalogue raisonné, which includes all the works in the Herringham Collection, and includes new identifications and information about each of the works.

## **Table of Contents: Volume One**

<b>ABBREVIATIONS .....</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>CHAPTER ONE: HERRINGHAM, GENDER, AND ARTISTIC PRACTICE.....</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>CHAPTER TWO: HERRINGHAM AND THE BRITISH TEMPERA REVIVAL .....</b>	<b>59</b>
<b>CHAPTER THREE: HERRINGHAM AND ART WRITING .....</b>	<b>91</b>
<b>CHAPTER FOUR: HERRINGHAM IN INDIA.....</b>	<b>125</b>
<b>CATALOGUE .....</b>	<b>162</b>
<b>CONCLUSION.....</b>	<b>260</b>
<b>APPENDIX I. WORKS PURCHASED AND COMMISSIONED BY CHRISTIANA HERRINGHAM IN THE COLLECTION AT ROYAL HOLLOWAY .....</b>	<b>268</b>
<b>APPENDIX II. THE HERRINGHAM BOOK COLLECTION AT ROYAL HOLLOWAY .....</b>	<b>275</b>
<b>APPENDIX III. PHOTOGRAPH ALBUMS IN THE HERRINGHAM COLLECTION AT ROYAL HOLLOWAY .....</b>	<b>293</b>
<b>APPENDIX IV. ALL KNOWN WORKS BY CHRISTIANA HERRINGHAM NOT IN THE COLLECTION AT ROYAL HOLLOWAY .....</b>	<b>294</b>
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY.....</b>	<b>299</b>

## **Abbreviations**

The following names and organisations have been abbreviated in the footnotes to the text:

CH	Christiana Herringham
WH	Wilmot Herringham
WR	William Rothenstein
AR	Alice Rothenstein
HTT	Hugh Thackeray Turner
LB	David Alexander Robert Lindsay, Lord Balcarres
SPAB	Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings
RHUL	Royal Holloway and Bedford New College Archives
UM:ML	University of Missouri, Columbia, MO: Mary Lago Papers
CU:WB	Cambridge University Library, Department of Manuscripts and University Archives: William Bateson Papers: Scientific Correspondence and Papers
WGAA	William Morris Society, London: Women's Guild of Arts Archive

## Introduction

Now and again there comes a painter wistfully aware of the exquisite form and colour of life, whose approach, while his spirit is determined, is shy and reverent. Such an [*sic*] one was Christiana Herringham, of whom the writer can say he has known no one more responsive to beauty, quicker to detect it under whatever guise it presented itself, in nature or in art ... There are some, still living, who knew her vivid spirit. To speak of such an [*sic*] one to those who never came within its range seems of little use.<sup>1</sup>

Christiana Jane Herringham (1852-1929; from 1914 Lady Herringham) (**fig. 1**) was an extraordinary woman and a central figure in the late Victorian and Edwardian art world.<sup>2</sup> She was an important contributor to the cultural heritage of both Britain and India. Her professional and social circle included many of the most significant figures of the day, among them Roger Fry, D. S. MacColl, Millicent Garrett Fawcett, and William Rothenstein. She was the 'arch-priestess' of the British Tempera Revival; co-founder of the Art Fund; and played a key role in altering British perceptions of Indian art.<sup>3</sup> This thesis is only the second major research project to focus solely on Herringham and the first to be completed in over twenty years. It will draw primarily upon the 168 of her artworks in the collections at Royal Holloway, University of London, most of which are examined for the first time in this thesis. Illuminating the strengths of the collection, it will provide an in-depth look at previously unknown aspects of Herringham's life and work. It will enable a greater understanding of women's artistic careers and their contribution to a nation's cultural heritage. By taking Herringham's experiences as a case study, this thesis will make an important contribution to feminist historical and art historical scholarship, as it will reveal how women could fight against, and overcome, the barriers to women's achievements in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In addition, undertaking an in-depth analysis of Herringham's experiences will allow an exploration

---

<sup>1</sup> William Rothenstein, 'Foreword,' in *Memorial Exhibition of Paintings in Tempera and Water Colours by the Late Lady Herringham (1852-1929)* (London: Beaux Arts Gallery, 1935), Royal Holloway, University of London Archives (hereafter cited as RHUL Archives), BC AR/322/3/3.

<sup>2</sup> As this thesis focuses on Herringham's life before 1914, this work will not use her title.

<sup>3</sup> 'Oral History Interview with Daniel Varney Thompson, 1974 September 25-1976 November 2,' Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, accessed 22 March 2019, <https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/interviews/oral-history-interview-daniel-varney-thompson-13166>.

of how factors such as gender, class, and race impacted the lives of women at the turn of the twentieth century.

Christiana Herringham (née Powell) was born on 8 December 1852 into a wealthy, liberal family. Her father, Thomas Wilde Powell (1818-97), was a stockbroker and philanthropist. Her mother, Mary Elizabeth Powell (1826-71), was an intelligent woman who had been left frustrated by her lack of educational opportunities.<sup>4</sup> Mary died shortly after giving birth to her ninth child in 1871, leaving Christiana, as the eldest, responsible for the household and her siblings.<sup>5</sup> Yet, the research undertaken for this thesis has uncovered that she was still able to pursue an artistic education; studying at the Female School of Art (c.1871), the Slade School of Fine Art (c.1875-79), and in Paris (unknown dates).

In 1878 she met Wilmot Herringham (1855-1936) (**fig. 2**), when a mutual friend invited him to the Powell's family home at Blackheath to play tennis.<sup>6</sup> The son of an Anglican clergyman, the pair met while he was still a medical student; he later became a renowned physician and was knighted in 1914. During the First World War he served as the only consulting physician on the Western Front until spring 1916.<sup>7</sup> Christiana and Wilmot were married at St Nicolas' Church in Guildford in September 1880 and had two sons: (Roger) Christopher (1881-93) and Geoffrey (1883-1914). Looking back on their life together, Christiana later wrote of the 'true love' that existed between them: 'I think perhaps it was a nobler love than if we just had the affection of superficially suiting without ever any rubs.'<sup>8</sup> As Herringham acknowledged, the marriage was not always happy. Christopher died from kidney failure in 1893, likely a complication of his

---

<sup>4</sup> Rosamond E. Wills and Charles M. Powell eds., *A Family Memoir: Being Some Account of T. W. Powell and his Wife M. E. Powell and of their Ancestors, Compiled by Two of their Children* (London: Women's Printing Society, 1903), 62-3.

<sup>5</sup> Christiana's siblings were Mary (1854-1907); Charles (1855-1928); (Thomas) Edmund (1857-1901); Eleanor (1859-1945); Rosamond (1861-c.1919); Herbert (1863-1950); Agnes (1865-1918); Theodora (1871-c.1921).

<sup>6</sup> Mary Lago, *Christiana Herringham and the Edwardian Art Scene* (London: Lund Humphries, 1996), 20.

<sup>7</sup> Hugh Clegg, 'Herringham, Sir Wilmot Parker (1855-1936), physician,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, accessed 14 February 2019, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/33838>.

<sup>8</sup> CH to WH, 21 June 1911, University of Missouri, Columbia, MO: Mary Lago Papers (hereafter cited as UM:ML), B.27.F.33.

rheumatoid arthritis.<sup>9</sup> Christiana almost completely withdrew from the relationship following Christopher's death.<sup>10</sup> As their relationship became increasingly strained, Wilmot embarked on an emotional affair with an unknown woman.<sup>11</sup> However, the two ultimately decided not to end their marriage; a decision likely to have been at least partly shaped by the stigma associated with divorce at this time, with Wilmot confessing to his sister that his duty was 'plain'.<sup>12</sup>

It was in the 1890s, during this particularly low point in Herringham's life, that she increasingly entered the so-called 'public sphere'. Women's growing independence at the end of the nineteenth century, the emergence of the socially liberated 'New Woman', and the foundation of the organised suffrage campaign, meant that Herringham was able to dedicate herself to her work as an artist, patron, and campaigner.<sup>13</sup> Following Christopher's death, Herringham appears to have thrown herself into her artistic work to distract from her grief. She set about creating a second, improved, English translation of Cennino Cennini's *Il Libro dell'Arte*. Originally written around 1400, the work is a treatise describing how to prepare panels, grind colours, and apply gilding. Published in 1899, Herringham's translation established her as a leading figure in the emergent British Tempera Revival; a position which was cemented in 1901 when she co-founded the Society of Painters in Tempera. In the early years of the twentieth century, she regularly contributed to the specialist art journal *The Burlington Magazine* and became a widely respected authority on art. After an extended holiday to India in the winter of 1906-07, Herringham returned to the country twice between 1909 and 1911 and embarked on an ambitious project to create copies of the ancient frescoes in the Ajanta Caves. This project preserved an important part of India's heritage and also challenged ideas surrounding the superiority of western art.

---

<sup>9</sup> Wilmot later became a renowned expert on diseases of the kidney, publishing numerous papers and a monograph on the subject. Surely, Wilmot's special focus on this subject must have been a consequence of his son's condition and death. Wilmot Herringham and Herbert Williamson, *Kidney Diseases* (London: Henry Frowde; Hodder & Stoughton, 1912).

<sup>10</sup> WH to William Walton Herringham, 20 May 1893, UM:ML, B.27.F.30.

<sup>11</sup> WH to 'Kitty' (Alice) Herringham, 2 January 1897, UM:ML, B.27.F.30. Wilmot was also named in divorce documents filed by William Rothenstein in March 1916. Rothenstein accused Wilmot of having an affair with his wife, Alice, although ultimately the case was dropped. The National Archives, Kew (hereafter cited as TNA): Divorce Court File: 7756, J 77/1240/7756.

<sup>12</sup> WH to 'Kitty' (Alice) Herringham, 2 January 1897, UM:ML, B.27.F.30.

<sup>13</sup> For changes and upheaval of gender roles in the late-nineteenth century, see: Elaine Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy: Gender and Culture at the Fin de Siècle* (London: Viking Penguin, 1990).

Herringham's ability to dedicate herself to her interests and to act as patron was aided by a generous inheritance. Soon after the passing of the Married Women's Property Act in 1882, Herringham's father endowed her with £31,000. Following his death in 1897, she inherited a further £12,000.<sup>14</sup> In 1903, she used £200 of this money to cover the initial start-up costs of what was known then as the 'National Art Collections Fund' (a name suggested by Herringham).<sup>15</sup> The critic D. S. MacColl later recalled that, with this act, Herringham 'became the real Founder of the Fund.'<sup>16</sup> Although her father specified that the money should go towards philanthropic and artistic causes, this financial security also offered Herringham a degree of freedom that would have been unimaginable to many women. Yet, she was not always at ease with her wealth. Soon after the establishment of the National Art Collections Fund, she asked the chair, Lord Balcarres, when she should pay the money, adding, 'Please do not mention it at the Committee but let me know privately.'<sup>17</sup> Similarly, she wished her financial support of William Bateson's scientific research to remain anonymous, stating that she did not want 'to pose as a millionaire.'<sup>18</sup>

Herringham also used her wealth to improve the lives of women. In 1888, she became a founding director of the Ladies' Residential Chambers Co., which built flats for independent middle-class women. At Herringham's suggestion, priority was given 'to women earning their own livelihood'.<sup>19</sup> She was involved with the suffrage cause by 1889,

---

<sup>14</sup> Lago, *Christiana Herringham*, 15.

<sup>15</sup> The proposed name was initially the National Art Collections League. In a letter to the chairman, Lord Balcarres, Herringham wrote: 'I should prefer "Fund" to League. I think the less combative the name is the more good can be done—and the name emphasizes the need of money which is the great need.' CH to LB, 16 July [1903], UM:ML, B.28.F.24.

<sup>16</sup> D. S. MacColl, 'Twenty-One Years of the National Art Collections Fund,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* (April 1924): 175.

<sup>17</sup> CH to LB, 19 July 1903, UM:ML, B.28.F.24.

<sup>18</sup> CH to William Bateson, 17 February [1904?], Cambridge University Library, Department of Manuscripts and University Archives: William Bateson Papers: Scientific Correspondence and Papers (hereafter cited as CU:WB), MS Add. 8634/H.50. For further information on Bateson and his friendship with Herringham, see: Alan G. Cock and Donald R. Forsdyke, *Treasure Your Exceptions: The Science and Life of William Bateson* (New York: Springer, 2008).

<sup>19</sup> Among the company's directors was Agnes Garrett (Millicent Garrett Fawcett's sister). The company's first building, Chenies Street Chambers, was opened in 1889 by Millicent Garrett Fawcett. The company's second venture, York Street Chambers, was designed by Herringham's brother-in-law, Hugh Thackeray Turner, and opened in 1892. Ladies' Residential Chambers: Directors' Minute Book (1888-1912), City of Westminster Archives, 0975/1. For more information on the company, see:

when she signed a petition demanding women be granted the right to vote.<sup>20</sup> In the early years of the twentieth century, she became further involved with the campaign. Herringham offered financial support to multiple suffrage societies, including the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS), the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU), and the Women's Freedom League (WFL), in addition to donating money to suffrage periodicals and founding her own short-lived feminist periodical, *The Women's Tribune*, in 1906. She also used her identity as an artist to further the cause by joining the Artists' Suffrage League and embroidering suffrage banners.<sup>21</sup>

Herringham and her achievements were mostly forgotten in the decades following her death. Her omission from the historical record is likely to have been at least partly a consequence of the fact that she spent the final eighteen years of her life in various mental institutions, after suffering a breakdown on her return from India in 1911.<sup>22</sup> Her works have largely remained in either private collections or in the stores of public collections. Consequently, they have been hardly researched and are little known by the public. This thesis aims to redress this imbalance and restore Herringham to the art historical narrative, by undertaking significant and in-depth analysis of the 168 of Herringham's works within Royal Holloway's collections.

The Herringham Collection as extant today was originally donated to Bedford College by Wilmot, who served on the College's council. It was later transferred to Royal Holloway when the two colleges merged in 1985. Wilmot arranged for her collection to be divided between Bedford College and Newnham College, Cambridge soon after Herringham was institutionalised. The collection included not only Herringham's own work, but also artworks which she had purchased and commissioned from other artists, photograph albums, and over 300 items from her personal library. Herringham had intended to bequest her collection to a public gallery or museum, but Wilmot decided 'that they would

---

Elizabeth Crawford, *Enterprising Women: The Garretts and their Circle*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London: Francis Boutle, 2009), 207-17.

<sup>20</sup> London and National Society for Women's Service Central Committee, *Declaration in favour of women's suffrage: being the signatures received at the office of the Central Committee for Women's Suffrage, etc*, 1889, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/60224329>.

<sup>21</sup> Elizabeth Crawford, *The Women's Suffrage Movement: A Reference Guide 1866-1928* (London: Routledge, 2001), 283.

<sup>22</sup> See: Lago, *Christiana Herringham*, 231-42; Copy of Herringham's medical notes, UM:ML, B.28.F.2.

be more appreciated by such a place as Newnham, with which she was connected, or Bedford College.<sup>23</sup> Bedford College acquired the majority of Herringham's artworks, her book collection and photograph albums, while Newnham received much of her collection of Eastern arts and crafts, as well as a few of Herringham's own artworks.

After Royal Holloway and Bedford College merged, many of the items, including Herringham's photograph albums and a portfolio of her sketches and watercolours, were stored away and largely forgotten. The catalyst for this thesis was in 2014, when the curator Dr Laura MacCulloch had a conversation with the rare books' librarian about Herringham's book collection, and the librarian mentioned that there were also some drawings. MacCulloch expected to find one or two artworks, but instead discovered a portfolio containing 120 sketches and watercolours.<sup>24</sup> This thesis will be the first time that the entirety of the Herringham works at Royal Holloway have been individually researched and catalogued. It will also utilise these recently rediscovered sources, combined with extensive historical and art historical research, to place Herringham in a wider context and answer questions relating to themes including, the relation of women to the artistic canon, women as writers of art history, craftsmanship and the British Tempera Revival, and women as agents of empire.

To date, the only extensive study to be completed of Herringham's life is Mary Lago's *Christiana Herringham and the Edwardian Art Scene* (1996). As Lago's book was a biography it did not, for the most part, attempt to contextualise Herringham's work. This work included comprehensive research into Herringham's role in the founding of the Art Fund. Few new sources on this subject have come to light since the publication of Lago's work. Additionally, there are no works within the collection at Royal Holloway which connect to this aspect of Herringham's life and, as this thesis is designed to build on the strengths of the collection, this subject will not be examined in detail. While Lago also explored Herringham's time in India, she employed largely textual sources, and was not

---

<sup>23</sup> Herringham had multiple connections to Newnham; she was close friends with the historian Mary Bateson (1865-1906) and in 1900 she donated the funds for the college's first research fellowship. Lago, *Christiana Herringham*, 172; Gillian Sutherland, *Faith, Duty and the Power of Mind: The Cloughs and their Circle 1820-1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 145; WH to Margaret Tuke, 13 May 1917, RHUL Archives, BC AR/322/1/2.

<sup>24</sup> Laura MacCulloch, personal communication with the author, July 2014.

aware of the numerous artworks relating to these travels. Indeed, Lago was unaware of the vast majority of the Herringham art collection. By contrast, this thesis will make extensive use of Herringham's artworks, and employ both historical and art historical analysis.<sup>25</sup>

This thesis is divided into two sections: the first is comprised of four chapters, drawing on the strengths of the collection to discuss Herringham's life and work, while a catalogue raisonné of the collection of works by Herringham forms the second part. The thesis is supported by an additional volume which includes images of all the items in the collection, as well as accompanying illustrations. The appendices to the thesis include details of the other items in the Herringham Collection at Royal Holloway. This encompasses artworks which she purchased or commissioned, her book collection, and her photograph albums. It also includes the details and locations of all of the known works by Herringham outside of Royal Holloway's collections.

Chapter one examines how Herringham's gender impacted her artistic practice. With the majority of Herringham's collection yet to receive any major visual or art historical analysis, the question of gender in regards to Herringham's work has not been previously considered. Herringham's *oeuvre* includes many flower paintings and copies; subjects which have traditionally been dismissed by both critics and art historians as 'amateur' and 'feminine'. Herringham's reputation as an 'amateur' was backed by the belief that she had not received any professional training. Yet the research undertaken for this thesis has revealed that she did attend art school. Life studies were also discovered in the portfolio, indicating professional aspirations. Herringham benefitted from the efforts of artists such as Eliza Fox (1824-1903), Laura Herford (1831-70), Anna Mary Howitt (1824-84), and Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon (1827-91), who had campaigned for women's access to training and employment in the 1840s and 1850s. Their efforts helped to open the doors to art schools and meant it was increasingly socially acceptable for women to pursue art as a career.

---

<sup>25</sup> Lago, *Christiana Herringham*.

Despite women's advancements in the profession, women's access to life classes remained a contentious issue throughout the nineteenth century. It was not until the very end of the century that art schools in England began to allow their female students to study from the nude model. Women artists depicting the nude remained controversial even at the end of Herringham's career, as demonstrated by the reactions to Laura Knight's *Self Portrait* in 1913.<sup>26</sup> This chapter examines Herringham's artworks within the wider context to consider the challenges and restrictions placed on women artists during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It considers how these restrictions, in addition to societal conventions, affected the art Herringham produced and its reception. Moreover, it discusses the extent to which Herringham's art fits within the expectations and conventions of what women's art 'should' be.

By undertaking an in-depth analysis of Herringham's artworks, the first chapter scrutinises ideas surrounding what constituted 'amateur' or 'professional' artistic practice. It builds upon the work of feminist art historians, including Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock, and the research by Jan Marsh, Pamela Gerrish Nunn, and Deborah Cherry on women artists of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>27</sup> The emergence of feminist scholarship in the late twentieth century led to attempts within art history to recover and restore the place of women artists. In 1981, Parker and Pollock noted that 'feminists rummage in dusty basements and return to ancient sources in search of "Old Mistresses" to rescue them from undeserved neglect and re-establish their reputations'. However, this approach meant that art historians 'tended only to exchange one set of stereotypes for another'. By justifying their research 'according to the establishment's criteria,' feminist art historians focused on women artists whose work conformed with the narrow, male-defined categories of greatness.<sup>28</sup> Consequently, their work repeated old patriarchal patterns of analysis, and failed to tackle the question of why women's art has been considered inferior to that produced by men. As Linda Nochlin noted in her ground-breaking 1971 essay 'Why Have There Been No Great Women

---

<sup>26</sup> Rosie Broadley, *Laura Knight: Portraits* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2013), 16.

<sup>27</sup> See: Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock, *Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology* (London: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd, 2013); Griselda Pollock, *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and the Histories of Art* (London: Routledge, 1993); Deborah Cherry, *Painting Women: Victorian Women Artists* (London: Routledge, 1993); Jan Marsh and Pamela Gerrish Nunn, *Women Artists and the Pre-Raphaelite Movement* (London: Virago Press, 1989).

<sup>28</sup> Parker and Pollock, *Old Mistresses*, 45.

Artists?', the denial of women's access to life drawing classes limited them to the 'lower' categories of art, such as landscape and still life.<sup>29</sup> Yet, feminist art historians have often ignored artists whose work focuses on these genres, and work by these artists continues to be largely dismissed as 'amateur'. Artists such as Herringham, whose work straddles the boundary between 'amateur' and 'professional' practice, have been overlooked. This chapter seeks to address and correct these shortcomings in the historiography by widening the art historical framework to take into account female experience.

The second chapter of this thesis considers Herringham's role as a leading figure in the British Tempera Revival at the turn of the twentieth century. In 1899, she published the second English translation of Cennino Cennini's *Il Libro dell'Arte*. This chapter analyses her translation and its influence on other artists. Herringham's translation improved upon the first English edition by Mary Philadelphia Merrifield, which had been published in 1844, and benefitted from additionally drawing upon Italian, German, and French translations of the original text. More importantly, her notes on 'medieval art methods' included details of her own experiments with tempera. These descriptions offered guidance for contemporary artists as to how Cennini's advice could be applied practically, and also provide, when taken in conjunction with Herringham's own tempera paintings, an important insight into her artistic practice. By examining her copies of early Renaissance paintings, this chapter provides a greater understanding of Herringham's methodology, and the extent to which she followed Cennini's advice. Furthermore, by placing Herringham's artworks and writings on tempera in the wider context, this chapter reveals how the work of Herringham and other tempera artists fits within the wider ongoing contemporary discussions and debates surrounding the role, purpose, and intentions of art.

In contrast to many of the other artistic movements of the period, the British Tempera Revival has received little scholarly attention. Abbie Sprague and Hannah Spooner have undertaken most of the existing research.<sup>30</sup> Expanding on this research, this chapter aims

---

<sup>29</sup> Linda Nochlin, 'From 1971: Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?' ARTnews, 30 May 2015, <http://www.artnews.com/2015/05/30/why-have-there-been-no-great-women-artists/>, accessed 4 April 2019.

<sup>30</sup> Abbie N. Sprague, 'The British Tempera Revival: The Pre-Raphaelites and the Link with America,' *Apollo* 150:453 (1999): 47-53; Abbie N. Sprague, 'The British Tempera Revival: A Return to

to return Herringham – as one of its founding members – to the centre of the study of the movement. Few examinations have been completed on the artists of the British Tempera Revival. In 1980, George Breeze published a study into the life and work of Joseph Southall, which accompanied an exhibition focusing on the artist.<sup>31</sup> In 1984, Breeze and Gaynor Andrews co-curated an exhibition on Margaret Gere at Cheltenham Art Gallery.<sup>32</sup> While some of the more notable members of the Society of Painters in Tempera have received attention from scholars, this research has mainly focused on other aspects of their work. For example, Walter Crane is now largely remembered for his socialist politics and his work as an illustrator, and the significance of his tempera paintings has not been considered.<sup>33</sup> Even less is known about many of the female members of the Society of Painters in Tempera, such as Marianne Stokes and Mary Sargent Florence, despite the key role that they played in the movement.<sup>34</sup> By focusing on this little studied aspect of British art history, this chapter contributes to a greater understanding of artistic movements in the early twentieth century. Furthermore, by placing a particular focus on Herringham's role within the movement, this chapter reveals the significance and influence of female artistic authority.

The third chapter focuses on Herringham's work as an art writer and connoisseur and examines Herringham's art writings on numerous topics, including tempera, architectural restoration, and Indian fine and decorative art. It additionally draws upon Herringham's sketches and studies of religious works, decorative objects, and architecture, as well as her book collection. Moreover, although it was previously known

---

Craftsmanship,' *The British Art Journal* 3:3 (2002): 66-74; Hannah Spooner, 'Pure Painting: Joseph Southall, Christiana Herringham and the Tempera Revival,' *The British Art Journal* 4:2 (2003): 49-56.

<sup>31</sup> George Breeze, *Joseph Southall 1861-1944: Artist-Craftsman*, exh. cat. (Birmingham: Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, 1980).

<sup>32</sup> George Breeze and Gaynor Andrews, *Margaret Gere, 1878-1965*, exh. cat. (Cheltenham: Cheltenham Art Gallery and Museums, 1984).

<sup>33</sup> See: Morna O'Neill, *Walter Crane: The Arts and Crafts, Painting and Politics, 1875-1890* (London: Yale University Press, 2010).

<sup>34</sup> In 2009, Marianne Stokes and her husband, Adrian Stokes, were the subjects of an exhibition. See: Magdalen Evans, *Utmost Fidelity: The Painting Lives of Marianne Stokes and Adrian Stokes* exh. cat. (Bristol: Sansom & Company Ltd, 2009). To date, there has been no extensive study completed on Mary Sargent Florence, although she is discussed (alongside Joseph Southall and John Dickson Batten) in Alan Powers, 'The Fresco Revival in the Early Twentieth Century,' *The Journal of the Decorative Arts Society 1850-the Present* 12 (1988): 38-46. Elizabeth Crawford has also included entries on Sargent Florence in two of her books. See: Crawford, *The Women's Suffrage Movement*, 223-4; Elizabeth Crawford, *Art and Suffrage: A Biographical Dictionary of Suffrage Artists* (London: Francis Boutle, 2018), 93-6.

that Herringham held connections to Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB), research undertaken for this thesis has revealed the significance of Herringham's involvement with the organisation and its impact on her artistic and architectural interests.

Herringham's personal library includes works by many of the most significant critics and writers of the day; several of whom were within her professional circle, including John Ruskin, Bernard Berenson, Roger Fry, and Ernest Havell. These books reveal the various influences on Herringham's own writings. Herringham's artworks provide an insight into her methodology and reveal how her practice of connoisseurship was object-based, involving extensive, first-hand observation. By examining her studies in the wider context, they also reveal how art historical theory was put into practice at the turn of the twentieth century. To further contextualise Herringham's art writing, this chapter additionally considers her texts alongside the writings of other contemporaneous women art writers, such as Julia Cartwright (1851-1924) and Constance Jocelyn Ffoulkes (1858-1950). By comparing these texts to Herringham's own works, it is possible to establish how far Herringham's experiences as an art writer can be considered typical for the period.

Lago only briefly discussed Herringham's translation of Cennini and did not examine her other writings.<sup>35</sup> However, women's early contributions to the art historical discipline have recently begun to be studied by scholars. Meaghan Clarke has undertaken the most extensive research on this topic, including her monograph, *Critical Voices: Women and Art Criticism in Britain 1880-1905* (2005).<sup>36</sup> Clarke's research has helped to illuminate the scale of women's contributions to art criticism at the *fin de siècle* and revealed the significance of feminist interventions to visual culture. As part of her research, she has considered Herringham's contributions to the discipline and her practice of scientific connoisseurship.<sup>37</sup> Hilary Fraser has also studied women who wrote about art in the

---

<sup>35</sup> Lago, *Christiana Herringham*, 36-9.

<sup>36</sup> See: Meaghan Clarke, *Critical Voices: Women and Art Criticism in Britain 1880-1905* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005); Meaghan Clarke, 'The Art Press at the Fin de Siècle: Women, Collecting, and Connoisseurship,' *Visual Resources* 31:1-2 (2015): 15-30.

<sup>37</sup> Meaghan Clarke, "'The Greatest Living Critic': Christiana Herringham and the Practice of Connoisseurship,' *Visual Resources* 33:1-2 (2017): 94-116; Meaghan Clarke, 'On Tempera and Temperament: Women, Art, and Feeling at the *Fin de Siècle*,' *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long*

nineteenth century, but her research focuses on women who wrote outside the established parameters of the art history discipline.<sup>38</sup> This aspect of art historiography is currently expanding and the growing interest in the contributions of women art writers, historians, and critics can be seen in the conferences that have recently been held on the subject. Several papers presented at the University of Sussex in July 2015 were published in a special issue of *Visual Resources* in 2017, while a conference held at the National Gallery in November 2017 resulted in the publication of a special issue of *19*.<sup>39</sup> The research in this thesis adds to this growing field of study; it builds upon existing scholarship to create a fuller picture of Herringham as an art writer and contextualises her work in comparison to other women writing at the turn of the twentieth century. As such, it contributes to a greater understanding of women's contributions to art history.

The final chapter uses Herringham's sketches, paintings, and photographs of India as a case study to examine British women's engagement with imperial India. Women's increasing emancipation and mobility sometimes translated into greater freedom to travel independently. Herringham travelled to India on three occasions between 1906 and 1911; her first trip was an extended holiday with her husband, while on the final two trips Herringham led a copying project at the Ajanta Caves. Assisted by another British artist, Dorothy Larcher (1884-1952), and several male Indian art students, Herringham's project created a record of the deteriorating ancient Buddhist frescoes before they potentially disappeared forever. The collection at Royal Holloway includes the only Ajanta copy still held by a British collection.<sup>40</sup> In addition to the other copies created during the project, this painting provides an interesting insight into contemporary debates surrounding the beauty and worth of Indian art. At the beginning of the twentieth

---

*Nineteenth Century* 23 (2016): <http://dx.doi.org/10.16995/ntn.767>; Meaghan Clarke, 'Women in the Galleries: New Angles on Old Masters in the Late Nineteenth Century,' *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 28 (2019): <https://doi.org/10.16995/ntn.823>.

<sup>38</sup> Hilary Fraser, *Women Writing Art History in the Nineteenth Century: Looking Like a Woman* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

<sup>39</sup> 'Women and the Culture of Connoisseurship,' University of Sussex, 1-2 July 2015; 'Special Issue: Women's Expertise and the Culture of Connoisseurship,' *Visual Resources*, eds. Meaghan Clarke and Francesco Ventrella 33:1-2 (2017); 'Knowing "as Much of Art as the Cat": 19th-Century Women Writers on the Old Masters,' The National Gallery, London, 10 November 2017; 'Special Issue: Old Masters, Modern Women,' *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, eds. Maria Alambritis, Susanna Avery-Quash and Hilary Fraser 28 (2019).

<sup>40</sup> The remaining copies were originally loaned to the V&A in London. Around 1930, they were transferred to Hyderabad, where they remain as part of the collection at Telangana State Archaeology Museum in Hyderabad, India.

century, it was widely believed that the country did not have a fine art tradition. The Ajanta copies served as a direct challenge to these assumptions, by demonstrating that Indian art was beautiful and worthy of admiration in its own right.

This chapter additionally compares and contrasts Herringham's Ajanta copies with the sketches, watercolours, and photographs which she produced in India. Herringham's studies of India focus almost entirely on the architectural landmarks of the country. Her photographs are more wide ranging in their focus; many are of the ordinary people and were taken on the streets of India. This chapter investigates how the audience and intentions of these works differed to her copies and discusses how these works contrast in their representations of the country. Taken in conjunction with her writings and personal correspondence, these artworks can be considered a response to empire and reveal Herringham's imperial attitudes. Herringham's experiences in India are examined in the broader landscape, and her artistic and photographic representations of the country are compared with those produced by other British travellers and residents of the country. As it is inevitable that women's experiences and relations to empire are impacted by their gender, this chapter pays particular attention to the depictions of India produced by women.

While Lago's book focused especially on Herringham's time in India and provides an important insight into this aspect of Herringham's life, she did not attempt to place Herringham's experiences into the wider imperial context. By contrast, this aspect is a major focus of this chapter. Sarah Victoria Turner has also explored the Ajanta project as part of her wider investigations into the cultural exchanges which took place between Britain and India taking place at the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>41</sup> However, the copies themselves have received little art historical analysis. Additionally, this chapter is the first investigation and analysis of Herringham's Indian sketches, watercolours and photographs.

---

<sup>41</sup> Sarah Victoria Turner, 'From Ajanta to Sydenham: "Indian" Art at the Sydenham Palace,' in *After 1851: The Material and Visual Cultures of the Crystal Palace at Sydenham*, eds. Kate Nichols and Sarah Victoria Turner (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 136.

Drawing upon previous postcolonial scholarship, Edward Said's monumental work, *Orientalism*, provides the theoretical framework for this chapter.<sup>42</sup> First published in 1978, Said argued that, through the construction of texts, the West has created – and continues to create – an image of the East that is fundamentally different and inferior to the West. In short, the European worldview throughout much of history has been that, 'There are Westerners, and there are Orientals. The former dominate; the latter must be dominated'.<sup>43</sup> Although Said claimed that Orientalism 'was an exclusively male province,' the experiences of Herringham and other women travellers prove otherwise.<sup>44</sup> It has therefore been essential to also draw upon the work of feminist postcolonial scholars, including Sara Mills, who has researched the role of white women within the British Empire.<sup>45</sup> It also draws upon the research of Indira Ghose and E. Ann Kaplan to consider the implications of the imperial gaze and how it impacted Herringham's work.<sup>46</sup>

The second section of the thesis is formed of the catalogue raisonné. Although Herringham's art collection comprises approximately one-third of Royal Holloway's fine art collection, many of the artworks within the collection have never before been identified, catalogued, or researched. The catalogue therefore provides the first documentation and in-depth examination of Herringham's work. Of the 120 works in the portfolio which was rediscovered in 2014, only two were inscribed with the year, and the vast majority were untitled. To identify and date these works it has been necessary to undertake extensive original research and cross-reference the works with the places that Herringham visited, largely achieved by using letters written by Herringham, her husband, and other friends with whom she travelled. Each of the works in the collection has been given a title; in addition to identifying the subject of most of the works, in certain cases old titles have been corrected as new information has been discovered. It has been possible to establish an approximate date for some of the works by cross-referencing them with other sources, such as contemporary exhibition catalogues. Additional

---

<sup>42</sup> Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Classics, 2003).

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid*, 36.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid*, 207.

<sup>45</sup> Sara Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism*, (London: Routledge, 1993).

<sup>46</sup> Indira Ghose, *Women Travellers in Colonial India: The Power of the Female Gaze* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); E. Ann Kaplan, *Looking for the Other: Feminism, Film and the Imperial Gaze* (London: Routledge, 1997).

primary and secondary research has been undertaken to provide background information on the works. This research has enabled greater insight into Herringham's decision to depict certain subjects and has placed her work in the wider artistic and historical context. The catalogue also includes factual information such as inscriptions, measurements, and where the works have been exhibited and referenced in any literature.

The catalogue raisonné will be an important resource for future researchers. Its inclusion of details about Herringham's work means that it can be employed by curators and conservators. The contextual information provided means that it will be useful for scholars researching both Herringham as well as female artists more generally. The catalogue may also assist researchers examining several other themes prominent in Herringham's work, such as the British Tempera Revival and western representations of India. It additionally provides an important resource for Royal Holloway, as Herringham is by far the most represented artist in the collections, and her works are a notable aspect of the College's history. The creation of this catalogue, which will be made available online, will increase public engagement with the collection and highlight its research potential to scholars. This will also help the College to achieve its wider goal to make its art collections more accessible.

Public engagement with the collection was additionally facilitated by the exhibition, 'Christiana Herringham: Artist, Campaigner, Collector', which took place at Royal Holloway between 14 January and 30 March 2019 and was co-curated by the present author and the college curator, Dr Laura MacCulloch.<sup>47</sup> The chapters and catalogue raisonné of this thesis formed the foundational research for this exhibition. Since Herringham's death in 1929 there have been two solo exhibitions held of her work. The first was held at the Beaux Arts Gallery in London between January and February 1935, and the second was held at Guildford House between 19 May and 2 June 1951. In more recent years, a handful of Herringham's works have been included in wider exhibitions. Two of Herringham's flower paintings, loaned from the collection at Newnham College,

---

<sup>47</sup> See: Maria Alambritis, 'Review of "Christiana Herringham: Artist, Campaigner, Collector"', Royal Holloway, Emily Wilding Davison Building, *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 28 (2019): <http://doi.org/10.16995/ntn.852>.

were included in *Pre-Raphaelite Women Artists*, which toured Manchester, Birmingham, and Southampton from 1997 to 1998.<sup>48</sup> In 2016, Guildford Museum included three Herringham works from their collections in a temporary exhibition, for which the present author provided the interpretation.<sup>49</sup> One of Herringham's copies, on loan from Museums Sheffield, was included in an exhibition focusing on John Ruskin at Two Temple Place in 2019.<sup>50</sup> Royal Holloway also lent *India: Ajanta – Fragment from the Hamsa Jataka (cat. no. 119)* to *Artist and Empire*, held at Tate Britain from 25 November 2015 to 10 April 2016. This Ajanta copy was the first time that a work by Herringham from Royal Holloway had been exhibited in sixty-five years. The exhibition that accompanied this thesis therefore provided, for many, the first opportunity to see Herringham's works.

The exhibition included items from the collections at Royal Holloway, and loans from Newnham College, the William Morris Society, Cartwright Hall Gallery in Bradford, and private collections. The inclusion of these objects meant that the exhibition was able to fully encompass Herringham's achievements, featuring not only her own works, but also ones that she commissioned, books she owned, and objects she collected. Although there are many overlaps in Herringham's work, the exhibition was broadly divided into seven themes: family life, art training, women's rights, collecting and connoisseurship, tempera, continental travel, and travel beyond Europe. A series of talks and late openings were held throughout the exhibition, which were open to both students and members of the public and picked up on various aspects of Herringham's work. To coincide with the exhibition, a symposium on Herringham and her circle was held at Royal Holloway on 2 March 2019. It brought together numerous scholars who have encountered Herringham in their research on wider and interrelated topics such as Annie Swynnerton and women art writers.<sup>51</sup>

This thesis has been largely shaped by feminist history and art history. It builds upon a wealth of knowledge which has been built up over several decades of research into

---

<sup>48</sup> *Pre-Raphaelite Women Artists*, Manchester City Art Gallery, 22 November 1997-22 February 1998; Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, 7 March-25 May 1998; Southampton City Art Gallery, 6 June-2 August 1998.

<sup>49</sup> *Highlight on Art*, Guildford House Gallery, 23 July-4 September 2016.

<sup>50</sup> *John Ruskin: The Power of Seeing*, Two Temple Place, London, 26 January-22 April 2019.

<sup>51</sup> Papers relating to the exhibition and symposium will be deposited in Royal Holloway's Art Collections' records.

women's lives and work. In some ways, this thesis continues the work which first emerged in the 1970s alongside second-wave feminism; echoing the work of Sheila Rowbotham, it seeks to rescue a woman who has been largely 'hidden from history'.<sup>52</sup> This thesis examines the numerous ways in which a middle-class woman could hold a variety of 'professional' roles, such as writer and artist, alongside those of wife and mother. In doing so, it further demonstrates that the division between the 'public' and 'private' sphere, first proposed by Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, was not clear-cut or a universal experience. Davidoff and Hall argued that the rise of evangelicalism, alongside the increasing separation of work and home life, meant that (especially middle-class) women were increasingly excluded from public life.<sup>53</sup> Their work centred on ideologies, rather than lived realities, and the work of later historians such as Amanda Vickery, Hannah Barker and Kathryn Gleadle has shown that women continued to play an important role in the 'public' sphere, regardless of the restrictions placed on them in a patriarchal society.<sup>54</sup>

Women's professional status and identity will be a common theme throughout this thesis. During Herringham's lifetime, major gains were made for women's social and political rights, and this wider context provides an important backdrop to the thesis. She was born at the advent of the organised women's movement, and died in 1929, the year after British women were granted suffrage on the same terms as men. Over the course of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, social, legal, and political advancements coincided with broadening opportunities for women from a range of social backgrounds to pursue paid employment and indeed a career. In the 1850s and 1860s, the work of the Langham Place Circle, its publication *The English Woman's Journal*, and the associated Society for Promoting the Employment of Women (SPEW) helped to open professions such as art and writing to women.<sup>55</sup> Later in the century, changes to legislation such as

---

<sup>52</sup> Sheila Rowbotham, *Hidden from History: 300 Years of Women's Oppression and the Fight Against It* (London: Pluto Press, 1973).

<sup>53</sup> Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle-Class, 1780-1850* (London: Hutchinson, 1987).

<sup>54</sup> See: Amanda Vickery, 'Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History,' *The Historical Journal* 36:2 (1993): 383-414; Hannah Barker, *The Business of Women: Female Enterprise and Urban Development in Northern England 1760-1830* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Kathryn Gleadle, *Borderline Citizens: Women, Gender, and Political Culture in Britain 1815-1867* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

<sup>55</sup> Deborah Cherry, *Beyond the Frame: Feminism and Visual Culture, Britain 1850-1900* (London: Routledge, 2000), 20-1.

the Married Women's Property Acts meant that married women retained control of property they inherited or income they earned. The first act was passed in 1870, just as Herringham approached adulthood, and shortly before she commenced her art training, meaning that she came of age knowing that she would be able to both marry and retain her financial independence. Over the latter decades of the nineteenth century, women continued to make strides and enter professions such as medicine, following the pioneering example of Elizabeth Garrett Anderson.<sup>56</sup> In exploring women's engagement in voluntary work and entry into professional careers, historians have revealed the ways by which many middle-class women entered fields, such as social work, which contemporaries saw as drawing on their (supposedly natural) nurturing maternal instincts and innate moral authority.<sup>57</sup> From 1875 women were eligible for election as Poor Law Guardians; to vote in county council elections from 1888; and in parish and district council elections from 1894.<sup>58</sup> Notably, Herringham appears on the 1903 electoral register for Guildford.<sup>59</sup>

From the late nineteenth century onwards, suffrage campaigners lobbied for greater recognition of women's contributions – and potential contributions – to civil society, including in terms of paid employment. Suffrage propaganda often pointed to women's professional contributions and achievements as evidence as to why women should be granted the right to vote.<sup>60</sup> They also sought to define themselves by their professions, with the creation of organisations such as the Actresses' Franchise League and the Artists' Suffrage League – of which Herringham was a member. Following the major role played by women in paid work during the Great War, the passing of the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act in 1919 enabled women to enter a range of professions for the first time,

---

<sup>56</sup> For an in-depth discussion of Garrett-Anderson, see: Crawford, *Enterprising Women*.

<sup>57</sup> See: Ruth Livesey, 'The Politics of Work: Feminism, Professionalisation and Women Inspectors of Factories and Workshops,' *Women's History Review* 13:2 (2004): 233-62; Jane Lewis, *Women and Social Action in Victorian and Edwardian England* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991); Ellen Ross, 'Good and Bad Mothers: Lady Philanthropists and London Housewives before World War I,' in *Gendered Domains: Rethinking Public and Private in Women's History*, eds. Dorothy Helley and Susan Reverby (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 59-78.

<sup>58</sup> Ben Griffin, *The Politics of Gender in Victorian Britain: Masculinity, Political Culture and the Struggle for Women's Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 13.

<sup>59</sup> South Western Surrey County Constituency Electoral Register, 1903, Surrey History Centre, Woking, CC802/14/6.

<sup>60</sup> See images published by the Suffrage Atelier, such as *Polling Station, 1909-13* and *What a Woman may be, and yet not have the Vote, 1913*.

including law.<sup>61</sup> While women continued to face gender discrimination, including in terms of unequal pay, for much of the twentieth century, it is clearly apparent that Herringham's experiences were inevitably moulded by the broader social, political and economic context of her times.<sup>62</sup>

Class was a predominant factor. As historians have illuminated, it was arguably among middle-class women that the debate surrounding paid employment and access to professional careers was most pronounced. Many working-class women had no choice but to work. Indeed, for many, access to more advanced schooling – let alone higher education – and training were not accessible until well into the twentieth century. Individual experiences might also be shaped by a myriad of other factors, including location, religion, sexuality, and race.<sup>63</sup> Historians have focused on the numerous ways in which women have been able to navigate the obstacles placed before them and carve out their own lives. Recent developments in feminist and women's history have also acknowledged that women's success in overcoming these hurdles was dependent on a number of factors, and sometimes at the expense of other women. It must be remembered that although Herringham faced numerous obstacles due to her sex, as a married, upper-middle class, white woman, she also experienced privileges, such as her opportunities to travel extensively, which would have been denied to many other women.

In exploring Herringham's evolving engagement with art and art writing, this thesis highlights the ways in which she was confronted by and traversed boundaries of amateur and professional status. It is impossible to ascertain how much money Herringham earned from her work as an artist and writer, but it is clear that she wrote for periodicals,

---

<sup>61</sup> For women's entry to the legal profession in Britain, see: Mary Jane Mossman, *The First Women Lawyers: A Comparative Study of Gender, Law and the Legal Professions* (London: Bloomsbury, 2006), 113-54.

<sup>62</sup> See: Patricia M. Thane, 'What Difference did the Vote Make? Women in Public and Private Life in Britain since 1918,' *Historical Research*, 76:192 (2003): 268-85; Francesca Carnevali and Julie-Marie Strange, eds., *Twentieth-Century Britain: Economic, Cultural and Social Change*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014).

<sup>63</sup> See: Martha Vicinus, *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women: 1850-1920* (London: Virago, 1985); Kathryn Gleadle, *British Women in the Nineteenth Century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001); Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska ed., *Women in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Harlow: Longman, 2001); Lesley A. Hall, *Sex, Gender and Social Change in Britain since 1880*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Wendy Webster, *Imagining Home: Gender, Race and National Identity, 1945-1964* (London: Routledge, 1998); Alison Oram, *Her Husband was a Woman! Women's Gender-Crossing in Modern British Popular Culture* (London: Routledge, 2007).

which typically paid their contributors, and was at least attempting to sell her work at exhibitions. While professional status does not equate solely with remuneration, it is apparent that Herringham neither conceived of herself nor was understood by her contemporaries to be solely an amateur.

This study focuses on the life and experiences of one singular woman; a tactic which is often employed by feminist historians, including June Purvis, Lesley Hall and Laura Beers.<sup>64</sup> Barbara Caine has noted that historians have increasingly focused on individual lives 'because of the many ways in which they can illustrate how differences of wealth and power, of class and gender and of ethnicity and religion have affected historical experiences and understanding.'<sup>65</sup> However, this thesis is not a straightforward biography. Like Kali Israel's study of Emilia Dilke, it employs Herringham as a 'point of entry' into the wider cultural world of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>66</sup> It draws upon microhistory, and how the approach can be used to examine the lives of historical figures, 'to show wider social patterns or to cast light on the society in which they lived.'<sup>67</sup> Eve Colpus is just one historian whose recent research has focused on the lives of individual women in order to examine wider societal and cultural changes.<sup>68</sup> By examining the life and work of Christiana Herringham and employing visual as well as textual sources, this thesis will make an insightful contribution to the discipline of women's history, by contributing to historians' understanding of women's lives and highlighting the multifaced nature of women's experiences.

The methodologies of this thesis have necessitated an interdisciplinary approach, drawing particularly upon the fields of history, art history, gender studies, and postcolonial studies. Engaging with such a wide range of fields has facilitated a fuller exploration of the primary sources. This thesis has drawn upon primary sources from a number of different archives and collections. While the main source of primary material

---

<sup>64</sup> See: June Purvis, *Christabel Pankhurst: A Biography* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018); Lesley A. Hall, *The Life and Times of Stella Browne* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2011); Laura Beers, *Red Ellen: The Life of Ellen Wilkinson, Socialist, Feminist, Internationalist* (London: Harvard University Press, 2016).

<sup>65</sup> Barbara Caine, *Biography and History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 2.

<sup>66</sup> Kali Israel, *Names and Stories: Emilia Dilke and Victorian Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 8.

<sup>67</sup> Caine, *Biography and History*, 112.

<sup>68</sup> Eve Colpus, *Female Philanthropy in the Interwar World: Between Self and Other* (London: Bloomsbury, 2018).

was the Herringham Collection at Royal Holloway, a number of other collections and archives hold a wealth of valuable material about Herringham. Newnham College, which is the other major repository of Herringham's art collection, was a particularly important resource. The Mary Lago Papers at the University of Missouri was the principal source of archival material. The collection was compiled by Mary Lago in the course of her research and includes copies of correspondence between Herringham and her husband; correspondence with their friends, the Rothensteins; medical notes from Herringham's time at Barnwood House Institution; and Lago's own research notes. A few examples of Herringham's communications with other significant figures, such as the geneticist William Bateson, are also extant in archives.

There are many areas of Herringham's life for which no sources appear to have survived, and therefore must remain a mystery. However, it is hoped that this thesis, and the accompanying exhibition, will be a significant contribution to bringing Herringham and her work out of the shadows. It furthers Mary Lago's ground-breaking research by considering different avenues and using new sources. By uncovering Herringham's experiences and placing her in the wider context, this study will contribute to and encourage further debates surrounding women's involvement with the cultural sphere at the *fin de siècle*. Taken in conjunction with the catalogue raisonné of the Herringham Collection, the chapters of this thesis will provide a fuller picture of Herringham's life and enable a more expansive understanding of women artists. It is hoped that this research will contribute to a greater understanding of Herringham's life and work and, in doing so, that it will encourage a new generation of scholars to examine and appreciate her achievements.

## **Chapter One: Herringham, Gender, and Artistic Practice**

The surviving works by Christiana Herringham in the collections at Royal Holloway cover a variety of subjects and mediums and include, among others, flower paintings, copies of early Renaissance paintings, life studies, and portraits. Her works highlight the significant deficiencies of the existing art historical analytical framework; her work cannot be neatly categorised as either ‘amateur’ or ‘professional’. Rather, it occupies a space which bridges the gap between these two classifications. The assumption that style and gender are intrinsically linked is one that has been repeated by both critics and art historians.<sup>1</sup> Artistic styles, subjects, and media are consistently classified as either ‘masculine’ or ‘feminine’. This gendered lens was demonstrated by Herringham’s friend, the artist William Rothenstein (1872-1945). In 1935 he contributed to a catalogue for an exhibition of her work. Rothenstein greatly admired Herringham and believed that there had been ‘insufficient recognition’ of women’s artistic achievements. Yet, he clearly believed that style was gendered, stating that in all of her work ‘may be seen a nervous delicacy, as vital in its way as the more obviously powerful painting by men.’<sup>2</sup>

Many of the subjects that Herringham depicted were classified as feminine. Flower paintings and copies were believed to be more suitable subjects for women and were considered the territory of the lady amateur. She also often worked in watercolour, a medium that was regarded as more delicate and suitable for women, as it could easily be used at home, and was generally used for working on a smaller scale.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, the existence of life studies suggests that Herringham was striving to improve her work and ensure she reached a professional standard. Furthermore, Herringham’s establishment and membership of associations such as the Society of Painters in Tempera and the Women’s Guild of Arts show that she was working and exhibiting alongside professional artists. Her works reflect the wider difficulty in categorising women artists.

---

<sup>1</sup> Whitney Chadwick, *Women, Art and Society*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (London: Thames & Hudson, 2012), 25.

<sup>2</sup> William Rothenstein, ‘Foreword,’ in *Memorial Exhibition of Paintings in Tempera and Water Colours by the Late Lady Herringham (1852-1929)* (London: Beaux Arts Gallery, 1935), RHUL Archives, BC AR/322/3/3.

<sup>3</sup> Jordana Pomeroy, “‘We Got Upon Our Elephant & Went Out After Subjects’”: Capturing the World in Watercolor,’ in *Intrepid Women: Victorian Artists Travel*, ed. Jordana Pomeroy (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2005), 39.

This chapter will assess how factors such as education, marriage and motherhood impacted Herringham's work, and how women's growing emancipation shaped their ability to pursue art as a career. By examining several of Herringham's works it will also assess how gender influenced her artistic practice.

Whitney Chadwick has noted that, unless specified, artists are always assumed to be male.<sup>4</sup> The work of women artists has often been dismissed as 'amateur' or considered to be inferior by contemporary critics and art historians. Reflecting on her career in 1959, the German artist Hannah Höch (1889-1978) stated, 'Most of our male colleagues continued for a long time to look upon us as charming and gifted amateurs, denying us implicitly any real professional status.'<sup>5</sup> Women artists have had to navigate these assumptions and prejudices. From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, organisations such as the Society of Female Artists (1855), the Manchester Society of Women Painters (1876), and the Glasgow Society of Lady Artists (1882) were established to provide women with a space to network, exhibit and sell their work. By the beginning of the twentieth century there was an increasing belief that woman-only societies were concessionary and increased the segregation of women's work.<sup>6</sup> However, even if women were reluctant to define themselves by their gender, single-sex organisations remained a 'practical necessity' for these artists who were still barred from membership of associations such as the Royal Academy.<sup>7</sup> Organisations such as the Women's Guild of Arts – of which Herringham was a founding member – attempted to navigate these restrictions by encouraging mixed-gender events and collaborations with the all-male Art Workers' Guild.<sup>8</sup> Herringham seems to have favoured a collaborative approach rather than a separatist one, as indicated by her membership of the Guild and her involvement with numerous mixed-sex artistic societies. At least at the end of her career, she wished for her work to be judged solely on its merit, believing 'the work of artists should be

---

<sup>4</sup> Chadwick, *Women, Art and Society*, 28.

<sup>5</sup> Edouard Roditi, 'Interview with Hannah Höch,' *Arts Magazine* 34:3 (December 1959): 29, quoted in Peter Boswell, 'Hannah Höch: Through the Looking Glass,' in *The Photomontages of Hannah Höch*, exh. cat. (Minneapolis: Walker Art Center, 1997), 8.

<sup>6</sup> Zoë Thomas, "'I Loathe the Thought of Suffrage Sex Wars Being Brought into it': Institutional Conservatism in Early Twentieth-century Women's Art Organizations,' in *Suffrage and the Arts: Visual Culture, Politics and Enterprise*, eds. Miranda Garrett and Zoë Thomas (London: Bloomsbury Arts, 2019), 26-7.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, 27. Annie Swynnerton became the first woman to be elected an associate member of the Royal Academy in 1922.

<sup>8</sup> Women were not permitted to join the Art Workers' Guild until 1964.

judged without regard to questions of sex.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, whether or not an artist saw herself as a *woman* artist, her gender undeniably impacted the creation and reception of her work.

It must be remembered that the qualifiers that determine what makes a 'great' artist have been decided by an art establishment and art historical discipline dominated by men. This shaping of the discipline by men has often led to the work of women being completely overlooked. E. H. Gombrich's *Story of Art* and H. W. Janson's *History of Art* were both first published in the early 1960s and claimed to survey the entirety of the history of western art. Yet they both failed to mention a single female artist.<sup>10</sup> Determined to prove women's capability to create 'great art', feminist art historians have often focused on women whose work conforms to the male-defined parameters of greatness. With the emergence of second-wave feminism, feminist art historians searched for evidence of 'Old Mistresses' in the hopes of rescuing them from neglect. However, as Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock argued, they justified their research 'according to the establishment's criteria.'<sup>11</sup> In turn, this has solidified the hierarchy of art and further condemned artists such as Herringham, who do not neatly fit into these categories, to obscurity. It is not enough to simply 'recover' talented women artists. It is equally important to challenge the existing hierarchies and question why certain genres and art forms are considered masculine or feminine, and why some are valued over others.

To best interpret and understand Herringham's work as an artist, it is necessary to consider the prejudices that have hindered the progress of women artists. Linda Nochlin argued that while studying women artists does contribute to our understanding of art history, such attempts fail to tackle the underlying assumptions surrounding women's talents or capabilities.<sup>12</sup> She noted:

---

<sup>9</sup> CH and May Morris to the Secretary of the Women's Section of the National Scottish Exhibition, c.1907-08, William Morris Society, London: Women's Guild of Arts Archive (hereafter cited as WGAA), folder 13c.

<sup>10</sup> Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock, *Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology* (London: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd, New ed. 2013), 4.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, 45.

<sup>12</sup> Linda Nochlin, 'Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?' In *Art and Sexual Politics: Women's Liberation, Women Artists, and Art History*, eds. Thomas B. Hess and Elizabeth C. Baker (New York: Macmillan, 1973), 3.

The fact of the matter is that there have been no supremely great women artists, as far as we know, although there have been many interesting and very good ones who remain insufficiently investigated or appreciated ... That this should be the case is regrettable, but no amount of manipulating the historical or critical evidence will alter the situation; nor will accusations of male-chauvinist distortion of history.<sup>13</sup>

As early as 1914, Herringham's friend, the stained-glass artist Mary Lowndes (1856-1929), pointed out: 'How many times have women been reminded ... that their sex has produced no Michael Angelo, and that Raphael was a man?'<sup>14</sup> It is important to consider why women's work has been considered inferior to that produced by men, and why women have been limited to certain genres and materials in their work. These restrictions have consequently further added to the assumption that female artists are fundamentally less talented than male artists.

### **WOMEN ARTISTS IN CONTEXT**

Women in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries faced a multitude of barriers in attempting to enter paid employment. This resistance was shaped by wider beliefs surrounding women's place and role in society. While many working-class women had no choice but to work, the possibility of middle-class working women met much resistance. In the second half of the nineteenth century, these barriers were slowly and indeed often only partially eroded due to two main factors: the concentrated efforts of campaigners and a growing realisation that many middle-class women needed to support themselves. The 1851 census revealed that there were 500,000 more women than men in Britain, and that there were 2,500,000 unmarried women.<sup>15</sup> Some proposed emigration to the colonies as a potential solution to this 'surplus woman problem', which prompted the formation of organisations such as the Female Middle Class Emigration Society (established 1862).<sup>16</sup> Others believed that opening a wider range of careers to women was the answer. The art historian Anna Jameson wrote: 'There are 800,000 women over and above the number of men in the country; and how are they all to find husbands, or find work and honest maintenance? The market for governesses is

---

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, 5.

<sup>14</sup> Mary Lowndes, 'Genius, and Women Painters,' *The Common Cause*, 17 April 1914, 31.

<sup>15</sup> Kathrin Levitan, 'Redundancy, the "Surplus Woman" Problem, and the British Census, 1851-1861,' *Women's History Review* 17:3 (2008): 363.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid, 367.

glutted.<sup>17</sup> Inspired by Jameson, the women of the Langham Place group, including Jessie Boucherett, Barbara Smith Bodichon and Adelaide Anne Proctor, attempted to put these ideas into action. In 1858, they founded the *English Woman's Journal* and in 1859, the Society for Promoting the Employment of Women (SPEW).<sup>18</sup>

Feminist campaigners, such as the Langham Place circle, fought for women's representation not just in the professions, but also in the wider public sphere. Lynda Nead has shown that middle-class unchaperoned women were a common sight on London's streets by the 1860s.<sup>19</sup> The foundation of women's reading rooms, clubs, restaurants, and tea rooms in London's West End meant that Herringham and other middle-class women had greater mobility and opportunities to network with similarly-minded women.<sup>20</sup> These spaces 'provided a private space within the public sphere that produced public women.'<sup>21</sup> As Deborah Cherry has noted, the practice of art demanded urban mobility as women moved across the metropolis to art classes, galleries, studios, exhibitions, and suppliers.<sup>22</sup> Herringham benefited from women's increased mobility, but she also contributed to it as a director of the Ladies' Residential Chambers (est. 1888). The company built flats which offered middle-class women a respectable place to live independently in the metropolis. At Herringham's suggestion, priority was given to women who were earning their own livelihood.<sup>23</sup>

Although the efforts of SPEW and other feminists helped to increase women's employment opportunities, they were still often marginalised within their professions. Agnes (1845-1935) and Rhoda Garrett (1841-82) had initially intended to pursue careers

---

<sup>17</sup> Ellen Wood, 'A Wreath on the Grave of the Late Anna Jameson,' *The Argosy: A Magazine of Tales, Travels, Essays, and Poems* 31 (June 1881): 455.

<sup>18</sup> Jane Rendell, 'Langham Place Group (act. 1857-1866),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2005, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/93708>, accessed 8 April 2019.

<sup>19</sup> Lynda Nead, *Victorian Babylon: People, Streets and Images in Nineteenth-century London* (London: Yale University Press, 2000), 64.

<sup>20</sup> See: Lynne Walker, 'Home and Away: The Feminist Remapping of Public and Private Space in Victorian London,' in *The Unknown City: Contesting Architecture and Social Space*, eds. Iain Borden, Joe Kerr, Jane Rendell and Alicia Pivaro (London: MIT Press, 2002), 296-310.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid*, 304.

<sup>22</sup> Deborah Cherry, *Beyond the Frame: Beyond the Frame: Feminism and Visual Culture, Britain 1850-1900* (London: Routledge, 2000), 24.

<sup>23</sup> Directors Minute Book, Ladies Residential Chambers Minutes Books, City of Westminster Archives, London, 0975/1.

in architecture but endured a 'weary and fruitless search' to obtain apprenticeships.<sup>24</sup> Although eventually successful, they ultimately turned to interior design, which was perhaps considered more suited to women's 'natural' talents. Other women attempting to enter the profession faced similar obstacles. They were largely restricted to work tracing architectural plans; an essential task, but also the least prestigious and most tedious one in the firm.<sup>25</sup> Beliefs in women's physical limitations, in addition to the desire for men to retain their monopoly over the profession, meant that it was not until 1898 that Ethel Mary Charles became the first woman to enter the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA).<sup>26</sup>

Women's entry into architecture at the end of the century was aided by its changing classification from a business to an 'art'.<sup>27</sup> In 1861, the author and critic Thomas Purnell claimed art was 'the profession in which, more than all others, women may be expected to excel, and even successfully compete with the stronger sex.'<sup>28</sup> While there were numerous 'satisfactory reasons' against women entering other professions, art was the exception. This was due to the sex's 'quick perception of the laws of harmony and contrast of colour, their fineness of hand, their powers of arrangement, and their natural good taste.'<sup>29</sup> A decade later, the *Art Journal* asserted the merits of further opening the profession to women, as it recognised that not all women are "'called" to the happiest lot' and that, 'There may be an "ideal" of single, as well as of married, life.'<sup>30</sup> Even John Ruskin, who, with *Sesame and Lilies*, became one of the most outspoken proponents of the ideal of separate spheres, came to believe that art could provide an alternative occupation.<sup>31</sup> In 1884, he told a group of female art students: 'Most girls think it very nice to be married,

---

<sup>24</sup> Maude Parry, 'Pen and Ink Sketches: Rhoda Garrett,' *Routledge's Every Girl's Annual* 52 [1883], 302. Agnes was the sister of Millicent Garrett Fawcett and Elizabeth Garrett Anderson; Rhoda was their cousin. For more information on Agnes and Rhoda, see: Elizabeth Crawford, *Enterprising Women: The Garretts and their Circle*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London: Routledge, 2009).

<sup>25</sup> Lynne Walker, 'Women and Architecture' in *Gender Space Architecture: An Interdisciplinary Introduction*, eds. Jane Rendell, Barbara Penner and Iain Borden (London: Routledge, 2000), 248.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid*, 252.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid*, 249.

<sup>28</sup> Thomas Purnell, 'Woman, and Art,' *Art Journal* (April 1861): 108.

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

<sup>30</sup> 'Art-Work for Women: II. Why the Work is Not Done,' *Art Journal* (April 1872): 103.

<sup>31</sup> In his essays he declared, 'The man's power is active, progressive, defensive. He is eminently the doer, the creator, the discoverer, the defender... But the woman's power is for rule, not for battle,— and her intellect is not for invention or creation, but for sweet ordering, arrangement, and decision.' John Ruskin, 'Sesame and Lilies,' (1865) in *The Works of John Ruskin*, vol. 28, eds. E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn (London: George Allen, 1905), 121-2.

but I should think to be an artist is quite as happy a life.'<sup>32</sup> As Ruskin's comment suggests, art could provide women with personal fulfilment, as well as a necessary income. For many middle-class women, art was far more attractive than 'the drudgery of teaching at servants' wages'.<sup>33</sup> An artistic career offered women such as Anna Mary Howitt (1824-84) a 'life of aspiration'.<sup>34</sup>

Nevertheless, restrictions continued to be placed on women's artistic ambitions. *The Art Journal* justified art as a career for women as it could be undertaken at home.<sup>35</sup> This suggests that women would be expected to work on a small-scale, not requiring much space, or to travel in search of subjects. Furthermore, Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon suggested that, in addition to professions such as nursing, social work and teaching, 'Women can be designers for art, manufacture, and, with proper training, show themselves remarkably apt at ornamentation.'<sup>36</sup> This statement suggests that it was expected that women would train as *decorative* rather than *fine* artists. Yet, Bodichon was herself a successful landscape artist. She attended art classes at Bedford College and trained under Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot in Paris, exhibited at the Royal Academy, and held several solo exhibitions at Gambart's French Gallery in Pall Mall, London.<sup>37</sup> This reveals that women did not always comply with societal expectations.

Despite the growing acceptance of art as an occupation for women, entry to the profession remained difficult, even at the end of Herringham's lifetime. Women were prevented from attending the Royal Academy schools for much of the nineteenth century. Although the Academy's influence declined in the nineteenth century, its schools remained the most prestigious in the country. Significantly, the Royal Academy schools were free to attend, meaning that aspiring female artists were forced to rely on fee-paying

---

<sup>32</sup> John Ruskin, 'An Address to "Academy Girls" (February 1884),' in *Works*, vol. 34 (1908), 641.

<sup>33</sup> Leader Scott [Lucy Baxter], 'Women at Work: Their Functions in Art,' *The Magazine of Art* 7 (January 1884): 99.

<sup>34</sup> Anna Mary Howitt, *An Art Student in Munich*, vol. 2 (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1853), 56.

<sup>35</sup> 'The Nude in Statuary,' *Art Journal* (September 1851): 227.

<sup>36</sup> Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon, 'Women and Work,' *Friends' Intelligencer* 16 (1859): 238.

<sup>37</sup> Pam Hirsch, 'Bodichon, Barbara Leigh Smith (1827-1891), Artist and Women's Activist,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2007, accessed 19 April 2019, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2755>; *The Royal Academy Summer Exhibition: A Chronicle, 1769-2018*, eds. Mark Hallett et al. (London: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2018), <https://www.chronicle250.com>.

schools or private tuition. In 1859, a letter was sent to all the members of the Royal Academy and published in the press, calling for the opening of the Royal Academy Schools to female students:

The difficulty and expense of obtaining good instruction oblige many women artists to enter upon their profession without adequate preparatory study, and thus prevent their attaining the position for which their talents might qualify them. It is in order to remove this great disadvantage, that we ask the members of the Royal Academy to provide accommodation in their Schools for properly qualified Female Students ...<sup>38</sup>

This was part of the wider campaign by mid-century feminists to increase women's access to vocational training. The letter was signed by thirty-eight women, including artists such as Eliza Bridell Fox, Laura Herford, Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon, and Henrietta Ward, the art historian Anna Jameson, and the head of the Female School of Art, Louisa Gann. In June the following year, Laura Herford succeeded in becoming the first female student to be admitted to the Royal Academy schools, when she submitted her work signed only with her initials.<sup>39</sup> She was followed by three female students in January 1861 – not quite the 'invasion' described by G. D. Leslie in his history of the Royal Academy, but an opening nonetheless.<sup>40</sup>

The decline in the Royal Academy's influence was partly due to the numerous new art schools which were established from the mid-nineteenth century. Herringham benefited from the opening of two new schools which admitted women. The Female School of Art in London, which Herringham attended in the early 1870s, was initially founded as the Female School of Design in 1842. It was one of several design schools established by the government in an attempt to not only provide training, but also to 'elevate' public taste. It aimed to train young women who intended to become decorative artists. The school's all-male council did not want to provide training for young ladies who sought to practise art as an accomplishment. Again demonstrating the barriers placed on women's aspirations, they were also eager to avoid accepting students who aspired to become fine

---

<sup>38</sup> 'The Royal Academy,' *The Athenaeum*, 30 April 1859, 581.

<sup>39</sup> Register of Admission of Probationers 07 Jul 1825 – 04 Jul 1905, Royal Academy of Arts Archives, RAA/KEE/1/2; Ellen C. Clayton, *English Female Artists*, vol. 2 (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1876), 2-3.

<sup>40</sup> G. D. Leslie, *The Inner Life of the Royal Academy* (London: John Murray, 1914), 42.

artists. To ensure this, each applicant had to explicitly state her reasoning for wishing to attend the school and her financial need for pursuing training.<sup>41</sup>

In spite of the council's intentions, it appears that at least some of the students did aspire to become fine artists. Moreover, these aspirations were encouraged by the first headmistress, Fanny McLan. An artist herself, she disregarded the recommendations of the council regarding the curriculum. In 1845 she was rebuked by the council as too many of her students were working in oils. In 1848 she was censured for holding classes at her house, where students could draw from the nude model, and was chastised once again for encouraging students to paint in oil and on a large scale.<sup>42</sup> The council claimed McLan's adoption of these teaching methods was a 'useless and unprofitable expenditure of the pupils' time and labour.'<sup>43</sup> This statement was telling of the committee's expectations for the female students. Students with aspirations of becoming fine artists would expect to begin their training working in watercolours, but progress to working primarily in oils. Furthermore, the highest genres, such as history painting, were painted on a large scale and required artists to master figure painting, for which drawing from the nude was considered essential. By preventing students from obtaining training in these two areas, the committee were attempting to limit the aspirations and achievements of the female students. However, McLan's teaching methods proved fruitful. Her students won so many of the prizes offered to those attending the Schools of Design that the council had to introduce a second set of prizes to appease the egos of the male students.<sup>44</sup> Many of these prize-winning students went on to exhibit in major London exhibition venues.<sup>45</sup>

---

<sup>41</sup> Anthea Callen, *Angel in the Studio: Women in the Arts and Crafts Movement 1870-1914*, (London: Astragal Books, 1979), 29; *Minutes of the Council of the Government School of Design from May 1844 to April 1846*, vol. 2 (London: W. Clowes and Sons, 1847), 35.

<sup>42</sup> *Fourth Report of the Council of the School of Design 1844-45* (London: W. Clowes, 1845), 16; Committee of Management of the School of Design, Minute Books, October 1847-January 1849 (Public Records Office: Ed9/2), 105 in F. Graeme Chalmers, 'Fanny McLan and London's Female School of Design, 1842-57: "My Lords and Gentlemen, Your Obedient and Humble Servant"?' *Woman's Art Journal* 16:2 (1995-6): 6.

<sup>43</sup> Select Committee on the Schools of Design, *Report from the Select Committee on the School of Design; Together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, and Index*, 1849, HC 576, 391.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid*, 120; Callen, *Angel in the Studio*, 28.

<sup>45</sup> Chalmers, 'Fanny McLan,' 5.

The school's reputation had declined by the time Herringham attended in the early 1870s. In 1852, Henry Cole became the head of the Schools of Design and removed the ban on accomplishment students, providing they paid a higher fee.<sup>46</sup> This meant it was increasingly perceived as a finishing school, ultimately resulting in the withdrawal of funding in 1859, with the government justifying their decision 'on the grounds that the state should not finance an institution that served the accomplishment needs of ladies'.<sup>47</sup> Fanny McLan was replaced by Louisa Gann, a former student, in January 1858. The school turned to fundraising through patronage, private donors, the sale of students' work, and bazaars.<sup>48</sup> The employment of such methods added to its increasingly genteel image. By 1861, only twenty of the school's 118 students were attending with the intention of ultimately supporting themselves.<sup>49</sup>

While only a small percentage were *intending* to maintain themselves through art, a much higher number may have been attending to provide them with a potential career if they did not marry. As Paula Gillett has noted, bankruptcy rates were high in the Victorian period, with only the wealthiest professional men having enough savings to effectively insulate their families during difficult times. The unexpected death of the breadwinner could be disastrous.<sup>50</sup> Annie Swynnerton and two of her younger sisters entered Manchester Art School in 1869 after their father's firm was declared bankrupt, training as artists in order to support their family.<sup>51</sup> Herringham's father's business had weathered setbacks and difficulties in the late 1850s which lasted for several years following investment in the American railways.<sup>52</sup> She may have enrolled the Female School of Art to ensure she had a profession to fall back on if the business failed.

---

<sup>46</sup> Stuart MacDonald, *The History and Philosophy of Art Education* (Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 2004), 140.

<sup>47</sup> Paula Gillett, *Worlds of Art: Painters in Victorian Society* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1990), 142.

<sup>48</sup> Callen, *Angel in the Studio*, 36.

<sup>49</sup> Purnell, 'Woman and Art,' 108.

<sup>50</sup> Gillett, *Worlds of Art*, 142.

<sup>51</sup> Rebecca Milner, 'Opportunity, Struggle and Activism: Swynnerton's Early Years in Manchester,' in *Annie Swynnerton: Painting Light and Hope*, exh. cat., eds. Katie JT Herrington and Rebecca Milner (Manchester: Manchester Art Gallery, 2018), 9.

<sup>52</sup> Rosamond E. Wills and Charles M. Powell, eds. *A Family Memoir: Being Some Account of T. W. Powell and his Wife M. E. Powell and of their Ancestors, Compiled by Two of their Children* (London: Women's Printing Society, 1903), 118-20.

Although most of the Female School of Art's records have not survived, the proceedings from the annual meetings and distribution of medals and prizes reveal that Herringham attended the school under her maiden name, Christiana Powell. She passed all four subjects of the second-grade examination in 1871; received a prize for achieving an 'excellent' in her exam on perspective, and passed exams in freehand, geometry, and models.<sup>53</sup> Herringham's strengths in these subjects are indicated in her later architectural studies, which repeatedly focus on elements such as columns and arches.<sup>54</sup> The surviving records indicate that she did not continue with her education at the Female School of Art after this year. Herringham's artistic education was likely interrupted by her mother's death in March 1871. As the eldest child, Herringham became responsible for her younger siblings and the household. Her father later recalled that 'dear Chrissie took up her new burdens with wonderful strength and ability.'<sup>55</sup> Significantly, it appears that these new domestic responsibilities only temporarily interrupted her artistic ambitions; later in the decade Herringham attended classes at the newly opened Slade School of Fine Art in London.

Her ability to continue her artistic education suggests that her family, and in particular her father, supported her ambitions. The Slade's prospectus for 1876-77 stated that the fee for the general course was £19 19s. Individual courses were far more affordable, with the course on anatomy costing £1 11s 6d, but it is highly unlikely that Herringham would have had the independent means to finance her tuition fees.<sup>56</sup> Thus, her artistic education would have been financed by her father. Herringham's decision to attend the Slade suggests more serious aspirations than her attendance at the Female School of Art. Edward Poynter, the first Slade Professor, stated that the school's purpose was to provide a place 'where the study of fine art may be encouraged to the extent of its being the only object of the institution.'<sup>57</sup> Although he accepted that not all of the students may be

---

<sup>53</sup> *Statement of the Proceedings at the Annual Meeting and Distribution of Medals and Prizes to the Students of The Female School of Art*, 25 March 1871, 16-17, Central Saint Martins Archives, London, B.4731.

<sup>54</sup> See the catalogue for examples, including: *Italy: Rome – Basilica of San Paolo Fuori le Mura* (**cat. no. 74**) and *Italy: Verona – Basilica of San Zeno* (**cat. no. 86**).

<sup>55</sup> T. W. Powell, 'Autobiography,' in *A Family Memoir*, 23.

<sup>56</sup> *University College London Calendar 1876-77* (London: Taylor and Francis, 1876), 45-6, University College London: UCL Records Online, [http://digital-collections.ucl.ac.uk/R/?func=collection-result&collection\\_id=4960](http://digital-collections.ucl.ac.uk/R/?func=collection-result&collection_id=4960), accessed 1 April 2019.

<sup>57</sup> Edward J. Poynter, 'Lecture III. Systems of Art Education,' in *Lectures on Art*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (London: Chapman and Hall, 1897), 96.

intending to pursue art as a profession, he emphasised that they should all be, 'as far as possible, compelled to look upon art in a serious light.'<sup>58</sup>

When the Slade School opened in 1871 it was considered ground-breaking for its focus on Continental teaching methods, which emphasised the study of the living model rather than casts from ancient statues. Notably, it admitted women on the same terms as men from its foundation, and the school's medals and scholarships were also open to female students. Male and female students worked alongside each other in all classes except that which was for the study from the nude.<sup>59</sup> The Slade had several other advantages: it was free of the restrictions of Henry Cole's state system, was in a stronger financial position than many other private art schools, and the institution's affiliation with the University of London brought it additional status.<sup>60</sup> The benefits meant that women often outnumbered men in the school's early years. Many of the most successful British women artists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries attended the Slade, including Evelyn De Morgan, Kate Greenaway and Gwen John. Several of the artists in Herringham's circle also trained at the Slade, including William Rothenstein, Mary Lowndes, Margaret Gere, and Mary Sargant Florence.<sup>61</sup>

There are few surviving records from the Slade's early years, but there is evidence that Herringham attended classes in 'Fine Art Anatomy' during the 1875-76 academic year. She also attended and was awarded certificates in 'Painting from Antique' and 'Drawing from Antique' for the academic year of 1878-79.<sup>62</sup> Although these sources indicate that Herringham may have only attended individual courses at the Slade, rather than the full course of study, this could be reflective of her domestic responsibilities rather than a lack

---

<sup>58</sup> Ibid, 111.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid, 112.

<sup>60</sup> Alice Strickland, 'Opening Doors: The Entry of Women Artists into British Art Schools, 1871-1930,' in *The Concept of the 'Master' in Art Education in Britain and Ireland, 1770 to the Present*, ed. Matthew C. Potter (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 130.

<sup>61</sup> William Rothenstein, *Men and Memories: Recollections of William Rothenstein 1872-1900* (London: Faber & Faber Limited, 1931), esp. 22-35; George Breeze and Gaynor Andrews, *Margaret Gere, 1878-1965* (Cheltenham: Cheltenham Art Gallery and Museums, 1984), 6; Elizabeth Crawford, *Art and Suffrage: A Biographical Dictionary of Suffrage Artists* (London: Francis Boutle, 2018), 93 and 144;

<sup>62</sup> *University College London Calendar 1876-77* (London: Taylor and Francis, 1876), 75, 167, University College London: UCL Records Online, [http://digital-collections.ucl.ac.uk/R/?func=collections-result&collection\\_id=4960](http://digital-collections.ucl.ac.uk/R/?func=collections-result&collection_id=4960), accessed 1 April 2019; University College London-Prizes, 1878-79,' *The Building News and Engineering Journal* 37 (1879): 53.

of commitment to art. It is possible that taking on the role of mistress of the household meant that she was unable to pursue a full-time education. However, there are indications that Herringham also undertook training abroad; a crucial step for any aspiring professional artist. Writing in 1911, Herringham stated that she had ‘personal experience’ of being an art student in Paris as well as London.<sup>63</sup> It is unknown where or when she studied in Paris, but it is most likely to have been before her marriage in September 1880.

Although Herringham exhibited two paintings at the Royal Academy in the 1870s, it seems that her career was put on hold following her marriage to Wilmot Herringham and the births of Christopher and Geoffrey (in 1881 and 1883, respectively).<sup>64</sup> Herringham’s marriage to a physician was rather unusual for an artist. Most female artists who continued to work after marriage married fellow artists. Annie Swynnerton married the sculptor Joseph Swynnerton, Henrietta Ward married fellow painter Edward Matthew Ward, and Dame Laura Knight’s husband was the artist Harold Knight. Finding a spouse who shared their career aspirations probably meant that these women were more able to continue their careers, as their husbands understood the importance of their work, and in particular, the need for solitude to focus. Ward admitted that her success after marriage was greatly due to her husband’s support and his compliance with the rule that she was not to be disturbed during certain hours of the day.<sup>65</sup> Yet, marrying an artist was no guarantee that a woman would be able to continue her career, especially after motherhood. Georgiana MacDonald was a promising artist when she married Edward Burne-Jones in 1860. The couple ‘in many ways [shared] the life of the studio’ until the birth of their first child in 1861. She later recalled ‘the feeling of exile with which I now heard through its closed door the well-known voices of friends together with Edward’s familiar laugh, while I sat with my little son on my knee and dropped selfish tears upon him as “the separator of companions and the terminator of delights”.’<sup>66</sup> This conflict

---

<sup>63</sup> C. J. Herringham, ‘The Caves of Ajanta,’ *The Englishwoman* 9:25 (January 1911): 70.

<sup>64</sup> These paintings were *Early Summer – Apple Blossom* (1874) and *Study of Wild Roses* (1877) (both current location unknown). *The Exhibition of the Royal Academy of Arts, 1874* (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1874), 31; *The Exhibition of the Royal Academy, 1877* (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1877), 36.

<sup>65</sup> Mrs E. M. Ward, *Memories of Ninety Years*, ed. Isabel G. McAllister (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1924), 124.

<sup>66</sup> Georgiana Burne-Jones, *Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones*, vol. 1 (London: Macmillan & Co, Ltd., 1904), 235-6.

between a woman's career and her domestic duties remained at the end of the nineteenth century and continued well into the twentieth. As Louisa Starr (1845-1909) noted in 1899: 'when a woman has a profession it means in most cases that she has two professions.'<sup>67</sup> Augustus John, remembering his time as a student at the Slade in the 1890s, recalled that although the female students had reigned 'supreme', 'these advantages for the most part came to nought under the burdens of domesticity which ... could be for some almost too heavy to bear.'<sup>68</sup>

The question of whether she would be able to continue to pursue her career after marriage would have weighed heavy on a female artist's mind. Starr married Enrico Canziani in 1882. She wrote to him on their engagement, warning him that, 'In all your plans you must not forget that I am an artist at bottom, and that you cannot change it.'<sup>69</sup> It is not clear whether Wilmot expected Christiana to abandon her artistic ambitions. Before their marriage, he wrote in a letter to a family friend, 'Mrs Jo' that although he had yet to see Christiana's work: 'I am told she promises to paint well'.<sup>70</sup> Elsewhere, he urged Mrs Jo to let Christiana paint her daughter, as 'the only way to make that young woman happy is to occupy her: without a paintbrush she gets fearfully restless, with one she is perfectly contented for years together.'<sup>71</sup> This statement suggests that Wilmot perhaps considered Herringham's art as little more than a hobby to occupy her time; certainly it seems unlikely that the portrait would have been a paid commission.

After her marriage, Herringham does not appear to have exhibited any of her work until 1897, when she presented four of her tempera copies in the 'Woman's Work' section of the Victorian Era Exhibition in 1897. A letter written by Wilmot in 1885 does however reveal that she continued to draw and paint after the birth of her sons. He remarked that one of her copies had just been hung in the dining room, and that, 'She is after sketching the children and wants to do a large picture of them almost life size'.<sup>72</sup> Herringham's

---

<sup>67</sup> *The International Congress of Women of 1899*, vol. 3: *Women in Professions* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1900), 86.

<sup>68</sup> Augustus John, 'Lady Smith: Grand Epoch of the Slade School,' *The Times*, 1 February 1958.

<sup>69</sup> Quoted in Estella Canziani, *Round About Three Palace Green* (London: 1939), 29.

<sup>70</sup> WH to Mrs Jo, n.d. [late 1870s], UM:ML B.27.F.30. 'Mrs Jo' was Josephine Henrietta Wright (1849-1938). She was married to Henry Smith Wright (1839-1910), a barrister and Conservative Party politician.

<sup>71</sup> WH to Mrs Jo, 22 May 1879, UM:ML B.27.F.30.

<sup>72</sup> WH to William Walton Herringham, 31 January[?] 1885, UM:ML B.27.F.30.

intention to complete this portrait as 'life size' was incredibly ambitious, and suggests that perhaps she had not given up her professional aspirations. However, it appears that it was not until after the death of Christopher in 1893 that Herringham stepped back into the public art world, with her translation of *Il Libro dell'Arte* and her experiments with tempera. This work could have functioned as a distraction from her grief; a loss which was possibly felt more acutely after Geoffrey entered boarding school at Eton.<sup>73</sup> Additionally, after this time, she presumably would have had more opportunities to pursue her work.

Although the possibility to work from home enabled art to be considered acceptable employment for women, working from home also presented challenges. Henrietta Ward noted that there were limitations to the agreement that she was not to be disturbed. She found she was still 'occasionally confronted by an alarmed servant coming to tell me of a domestic tragedy; some knotty point that could only be solved by the mistress of the house.'<sup>74</sup> It was clear that Ward's work as an artist was still considered second to her role as mistress of the house, despite her professional success. Herringham also struggled to work from home. In a letter to William Rothenstein, Herringham wrote that she had recently taken a studio near the family home as she was constantly having to climb up and down stairs because she was 'often fetched down'.<sup>75</sup>

Herringham was fortunate to be a woman of independent means. This enabled her to secure a studio where she could work uninterrupted. In addition to providing a space to work, owning or renting a studio was a way in which Herringham could publicly assert her identity as an artist. As Zoë Thomas has indicated, a studio allowed women to 'shape their professional identity, and physically validate their commitment to the arts.'<sup>76</sup> Additionally, it must be noted that women such as Ward and Herringham were only able to pursue their artistic work due to the labour of other women. Herringham's wealth

---

<sup>73</sup> Geoffrey attended Eton until 1899. E. L. Vaughan, *List of Etonians who Fought in the Great War, 1914-1919* (Eton: Privately Printed, 1921), 124. Geoffrey's friends at Eton included the economist, John Maynard Keynes. Donald Moggridge, *Maynard Keynes: An Economist's Biography* (London: Routledge, 2002), 38, 39, 71.

<sup>74</sup> Ward, *Memories*, 124.

<sup>75</sup> Unfortunately, it has not been possible to discover the exact location of Herringham's studio. CH to WR, [early 1909?], UM:ML B.27.F.31.

<sup>76</sup> Zoë Thomas, 'At Home with the Women's Guild of Arts: Gender and Professional Identity in London Studios, c.1880-1925,' *Women's History Review* 24:6 (2015): 5.

meant that she did not have to shoulder the majority of the domestic work, but could delegate to her servants: the 1911 census revealed that she and her husband employed a cook, parlour maid, housemaid, and kitchen maid.<sup>77</sup> Likewise, Alison Light noted in her study of Virginia Woolf that ‘without all the domestic care and hard work which servants provided there would have been no art, no writing, no “Bloomsbury”’.<sup>78</sup>

### **GENDER AND GENRE**

Herringham’s aspirations and the obstacles that she faced in her pursuit of an artistic career are reflected in the collections at Royal Holloway. One of the most interesting discoveries among the 120 works in her portfolio was the existence of four life studies. Women’s access to life classes slowly and gradually widened in the late nineteenth century but obstacles remained, even at the end of Herringham’s career. The existence of these studies demonstrates that she attempted to take her work beyond the field of ‘accomplishment’ and show that she took her work seriously and aspired to a professional standard. All of the works depict a female model. Three of these studies are completed in pencil: one shows the model seated facing away from the viewer (**cat. no. 14**); one shows the model facing towards the viewer, her legs tucked beneath her (**cat. no. 15**); another shows the model with her back to the viewer, her arms raised (**cat. no. 16**). The final study also depicts the model with raised arms and her back to the viewer, but includes further detail and shading completed in chalk (**cat. no. 17**). None of the works include any clues as to where or when they were made. However, the similarities between the works, and the fact that they were all completed on the same pink paper, suggests that they were all made around the same time, perhaps in the same sitting.

It is doubtful that they were completed at the Female School of Art. Although Fanny McIan was providing private classes where her students could draw from the nude in 1848, it can be assumed that this practice ceased after she was censured by the council. There were no human models when Eliza Turck (1832-91) entered the school’s figure class in 1852; only ‘a few casts from the antique’ to study from.<sup>79</sup> However, by 1864, when the government appointed a Select Committee to investigate the workings of the nation’s art

---

<sup>77</sup> Census Returns of England and Wales, 1911, TNA.

<sup>78</sup> Alison Light, *Mrs Woolf and the Servants* (London: Penguin, Fig Tree, 2007), xvii.

<sup>79</sup> Clayton, *English Female Artists*, vol. 2, 148.

school's, a life class was held two days a week.<sup>80</sup> The Committee's report listed the stages of instruction taught at the school, including 17b: painting the human figure from nature, nude or draped.<sup>81</sup> In 1868, the *Illustrated London News* published an image of the life class at the Female School. This image showed students surrounded by casts, and drawing a female model wearing costume (**fig. 3**). Although Herringham would have had the opportunity to draw from a clothed model during her time at the school, it is unlikely that she would have had access to the nude figure.

Despite the high standard of education it offered, Herringham would not have been able to draw from the nude while attending the Slade. Although the school was founded with the intention of offering equal opportunities to both men and women, this principle did not extend to the fully nude model. Women did not have access to the nude figure until a separate life class was established for them in 1898.<sup>82</sup> These restrictions were part of a wider debate that raged in the nineteenth century over women's admittance to life classes. Learning to draw the human figure from life was an essential aspect of artistic training, especially if an artist aspired to the higher genres of history and genre painting. Yet, the nude model was 'virtually inaccessible to women' in the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>83</sup> Although the Royal Academy admitted female students from 1860 onwards, it was not until 1893 that they were granted access to a partially draped model. The committee minutes stated:

The drapery worn by the model shall consist of ordinary bathing drawers, and a cloth of light material eight feet by two feet, which shall be wound round the loins over the trousers, passed between the thighs and twisted in over the waistband; and finally a thin leather strap shall be fastened round the loins in order to insure that the cloth keeps in place.<sup>84</sup>

---

<sup>80</sup> Select Committee on Constitution and Working of Schools of Art Supported by Government Grants, and System of Promotion of National Education in Art, *Report from the Select Committee on Schools of Art; Together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, and Index* (London: House of Commons, 1864), 422-3.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid*, 293.

<sup>82</sup> Gillett, *Victorian Painter's World*, 181.

<sup>83</sup> Alison Smith, *The Victorian Nude* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 37.

<sup>84</sup> Royal Academy Council Minutes for 14 December 1893, Royal Academy of Arts Archives, RAA/PC/1/19.

The specifications detailing the exact form such drapery should take reveal the apprehension that this decision caused among the council members of the Royal Academy.

The reasons for this reluctance to admit women to life classes were numerous. Some moralists considered the study of the nude a symptom of the decline in social values and morality.<sup>85</sup> These anxieties were reflected in a letter which appeared in *The Times* in 1885, signed 'A British Matron'. The writer declared, 'Women artists as yet seem content to shame their sex by representations of female nudity; it needs but pictures of unclothed men, true to the life, executed by the same skilful hands, to complete the degradation of our galleries' walls.'<sup>86</sup> The actual author of the letter was not a 'matron' at all, but rather the artist and treasurer of the Royal Academy, John Calcott Horsley.<sup>87</sup> Similarities can be drawn between the debates surrounding women's access to life classes and those voiced in opposition to women studying medicine and partaking in the dissection of the human body.<sup>88</sup> Artist models came largely from the working classes; male models tended to be characterised as poorly-educated and drunken, while female models were considered with the mixture of revulsion and pity reserved for 'fallen' women.<sup>89</sup> Added to this was the widely-held belief in men's uncontrollable sexual desire. Consequently, there were concerns about middle-class female art students being 'contaminated' by coming into contact with life models. However, although many claimed that the refusal to admit women to life classes was out of concern for their moral wellbeing, feminist art historians have noted that this restriction was as much about power as it was protection. By controlling access to the higher levels of training, the establishment could limit entry to the profession. As Lynda Nead has noted, in almost every study of the subject, the nude is represented as 'the fountainhead of artistic expression.' The subject is considered to have a 'flawless historical pedigree' and hold a timeless appeal.<sup>90</sup> 'To be deprived of this

---

<sup>85</sup> Smith, *Victorian Nude*, 33.

<sup>86</sup> A British Matron, 'A Woman's Plea,' *The Times*, 20 May 1885, 10.

<sup>87</sup> Smith, *Victorian Nude*, 227.

<sup>88</sup> Alison Bashford, *Purity and Pollution: Gender, Embodiment and Victorian Medicine* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), 107-26.

<sup>89</sup> Smith, *Victorian Nude*, 28.

<sup>90</sup> Lynda Nead, *The Female Nude: Art, Obscenity and Sexuality* (London: Routledge, 1992), 43.

ultimate stage of training,' Linda Nochlin stated, 'meant, in effect to be deprived of the possibility of creating major art works ...'<sup>91</sup>

One possibility concerning Herringham's life studies is that she made them while studying in Paris. The Académie Julian offered both male and female students the opportunity to draw from the nude from the school's establishment in 1868.<sup>92</sup> It was reportedly frustration with the inequality of art education that led Annie Swynnerton (1844-1933) and Susan Isabel Dacre (1844-1933) to seek training abroad at the Académie Julian and in Rome.<sup>93</sup> Another possibility is that Herringham could have collaborated with other female artists to form their own private life classes. When Margaret Dicksee attended the Royal Academy Schools in the 1880s, she proposed to her fellow female students that they should form a life class of their own, which she held during the evening in her father's studio.<sup>94</sup> After Swynnerton and Dacre returned to Britain, they established the Manchester Society for Women Painters in 1879, which held classes where women artists could study from the nude model.<sup>95</sup> Alternatively, Herringham could have privately hired a model and worked from her own studio.

Significantly, Herringham's life studies all feature a female model. By the mid-nineteenth century, 'the female nude had become the dominant form in European figurative art.'<sup>96</sup> As feminist art historians have observed, this shift reflected wider societal shifts in expectations and beliefs surrounding femininity and female sexuality, where there was an increasing emphasis on women's passivity. Under these circumstances, the study of the female body by the male artist became a way of reaffirming patriarchal structures and the idea of the virile, male artistic genius.<sup>97</sup> Taking this wider context into consideration, Herringham's studies can be taken as a subversion of this trope, by being a representation of the female body by a woman artist. Obtaining a male model would also have been

---

<sup>91</sup> Linda Nochlin, 'From 1971: Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?' ARTnews, 30 May 2015, <http://www.artnews.com/2015/05/30/why-have-there-been-no-great-women-artists/>, accessed 4 April 2019.

<sup>92</sup> Catherine Fehrer, 'Women at the Académie Julian in Paris,' *The Burlington Magazine* 136:1100 (November 1994): 752, 753.

<sup>93</sup> Milner, 'Opportunity, Struggle and Activism,' 16-17.

<sup>94</sup> Arthur Fish, *Henrietta Rae (Mrs Ernest Normand)*, (London: Cassell and Company, 1905), 26.

<sup>95</sup> Sara Gray, *The Dictionary of British Women Artists* (Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 2009), 255.

<sup>96</sup> Nead, *The Female Nude*, 47.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid*, 49.

incredibly controversial and difficult for a female artist – and especially one of Herringham’s social status. When Louisa Starr was working on a painting in the early 1870s, she went to the art supplier Rowney to enquire about hiring a ‘tall, handsome, dark young man’ as a model, where she was met with contempt:

The shopman stammered something about inquiring and disappeared rather abruptly, I fancied, and when he reappeared at last ... I did not quite see why he should be twinkling all over, down to the very end of his nose; nor, when some instinct made me glance up at those two elderly ladies, could I understand why, with chins held indignantly high, they should regard me with such freezing and glowering countenances.<sup>98</sup>

If Herringham did hire the model, either by herself or in collaboration with other female artists, then it would have been much easier and less contentious to hire a female model.

These life studies form a very small portion of Herringham’s portfolio, indicating that her experience with drawing the human figure remained limited. This inexperience may also explain why Herringham completed few portraits and rarely included figures in her work. Even Wilmot later stated, ‘Chrissie with all her wonderful feeling for line had really no talent for mass. I think you notice that in her attempts at portraits.’<sup>99</sup> Although she planned in 1885 to execute a portrait of her sons, there is no evidence that this portrait was actually completed. The only known portrait by Herringham of one of her children – probably Christopher – is a small pen drawing she has titled, *A Xmas Dream of Delight* (**cat. no. 23**). The surviving portraits which show both her children were commissioned by Herringham and completed by other artists. These are: a pastel work by Ethel Webling (*Geoffrey and Christopher Herringham*, c.1887, Royal Holloway, University of London) (**fig. 4**), and an oil painting by Annie Swynnerton (*Geoffrey and Christopher Herringham*, 1889, Royal Holloway, University of London) (**fig. 5**).<sup>100</sup>

---

<sup>98</sup> Quoted in Canziani, *Three Palace Green*, 41-2.

<sup>99</sup> WH to Rosamund Wills, 24 February 1918, UM:ML, B.27.F.30.

<sup>100</sup> The pastel portrait was catalogued as being by an artist named Ethel Webbing, but no such artist appears to have existed. Ethel Webling (1859-1929) was an artist who specialised in portrait miniatures. It is unknown how Herringham and Webling knew each other, but one possibility is that they met while they were both studying at the Slade during the 1870s. *University College London Calendar 1876-77* (London: Taylor and Francis, 1876), 75, 167, University College London: UCL Records Online, [http://digital-collections.ucl.ac.uk/R/?func=collections-result&collection\\_id=4960](http://digital-collections.ucl.ac.uk/R/?func=collections-result&collection_id=4960), accessed 1 April 2019.

In addition to *A Xmas Dream of Delight*, the collections at Royal Holloway include five portraits by Herringham. These include a portrait of the interior designer and suffragist, Rhoda Garrett (**cat. no. 18**), three portraits of women wearing traditional (probably French) costume (**cat. no. 20-22**), and a portrait of Wilmot's grandmother, Susanna Herringham (**cat. no. 19**) – which Wilmot believed to be Herringham's best portrait.<sup>101</sup> Most of her portraits are comparable to her paintings of other subjects; they are characterised by her use of tiny, precise brushstrokes and a clear attention to detail. The portraits all possess a similar focus on the head of the subject. In her portrait of Rhoda Garrett, the use of red chalk is similar to the style used in studies of antique sculpture. The subject's head emerges from the blank background, floating on the page and despite the level of detail and shading Herringham has included, she has made no attempt to depict Rhoda's shoulders or chest. Similarly, in one of her portraits of French women (**cat. no. 21**), while Herringham has depicted the face in detail, and has begun drawing the subject's bonnet, she has sketched only a few lines to indicate a very vague outline of the rest of subject's body. Even in one of her more finished portraits (**cat. no. 20**), Herringham has included a far higher level of detail on the subject's head compared to the rest of the piece. In contrast to the small, precise brushstrokes used on the face, the subject's dress and scarf are rendered with much looser brushstrokes.

Apart from *A Xmas Dream of Delight*, all of Herringham's surviving portraits depict female subjects. Herringham's portrait of Susanna Herringham, in addition to her attempts to represent her sons, perhaps suggest a more stereotypically 'feminine' practice; they all depict family members. They could therefore be painted within the home and were not painted for a commission. Her portrait of Rhoda Garrett, however, demonstrates the importance of women's networks for the careers of female artists. Shut out from many of the networking opportunities offered by the artistic establishment, women's networks generally lacked the influence and authority of those created by men. Yet, they could still play an important role. As Deborah Cherry has noted, women's artistic networks often overlapped with those securing women's rights.<sup>102</sup> It is notable that Herringham's portrait of Rhoda Garrett appears to have been due to her connections with the suffrage

---

<sup>101</sup> WH to Rosamund Wills, 24 February 1918, UM:ML, B.27.F.30.

<sup>102</sup> Cherry, *Beyond the Frame*, 14-15.

movement.<sup>103</sup> Likewise, Herringham's commissioning of Swynnerton and Webling's work may have been due to their shared links to the suffrage movement; in 1889, all three artists signed the same petition demanding votes for women.<sup>104</sup> Indeed, Swynnerton's work was purchased and commissioned by numerous suffrage campaigners within Millicent Garrett Fawcett's circle.<sup>105</sup>

On the other hand, Herringham's portraits of women in traditional costume suggest a more professional practice. These portraits include one of a woman wearing a black lace bonnet and, around her neck, a large pink bow and a gold crucifix (**cat. no. 21**); a portrait of seemingly the same woman, also wearing a black lace bonnet, pink bonnet, and crucifix, but also showing her wearing a blue shawl over a black dress (**cat. no. 20**), as well as a less finished study of a woman's head, wearing a pink lace bonnet (**cat. no. 22**). In a letter which she sent to William Rothenstein's wife, Alice, in 1909 she described working on a portrait of a 'peasant woman' from France; it seems likely that her letter corresponds to one of these pieces. She stated her intention was for the work to be included in the Society of Painters in Tempera's upcoming exhibition.<sup>106</sup> Herringham's depictions of these two women suggest that she must have asked – and possibly paid – them to model for her work.

While these studies from life form a very small portion of Herringham's portfolio, flowers were a subject that Herringham depicted frequently, as evidenced by the surviving works in the collections at Royal Holloway. In the 1870s, Herringham exhibited two watercolours at the Royal Academy Summer Exhibition under her maiden name: *Early Summer – Apple Blossom* (exh. 1874) and *Study of Wild Roses* (exh. 1877).<sup>107</sup> This was a

---

<sup>103</sup> For more information on Herringham's connections to Rhoda Garrett, see entry for **cat. no. 18**.

<sup>104</sup> London and National Society for Women's Service Central Committee, 'Declaration in favour of women's suffrage: being the signatures received at the office of the Central Committee for Women's Suffrage, etc,' LSE Selected Pamphlets, 1889, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/60224329>.

<sup>105</sup> In addition to commissioning the portrait of her sons, Herringham also purchased Swynnerton's *Oceanid*. She initially offered *Oceanid* to the Tate Gallery in 1906. After they rejected the work, she presented it to Cartwright Hall Gallery, Bradford in 1908. CH to Sir Charles Holroy, 17 July 1906, National Gallery Archives, London: NG7/312/12; CH to Sir Charles Holroy, 27 July 1906, National Gallery Archives, London, NG7/312/15; Katie JT Herrington and Rebecca Milner, *Annie Swynnerton: Painting Light and Hope* (Manchester: Manchester Art Gallery, 2018), 86. For more information on the links between Swynnerton and the Garrett family see: Crawford, *Enterprising Women*, 292-9.

<sup>106</sup> CH to AR, 17 August [1909], UM:ML, B.27.F.31.

<sup>107</sup> *The Exhibition of the Royal Academy of Arts, 1874* (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1874), 31; *The Exhibition of the Royal Academy, 1877* (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1877), 36.

considerable achievement, as non-Academians' work had to be submitted to a jury to be selected for the exhibition. The current location of these works is unknown and therefore it is not clear how similar they were to the flower paintings in Royal Holloway's collection. Her painting *Polynathus* (private collection), which appears to be an early work, is on a much smaller scale and it is possible that these exhibited works were of a similar size. None of her paintings are dated, which means it is difficult to establish for how much of her career she used flowers as her subject matter. It is notable that both of the works she exhibited at the Royal Academy are flower paintings, as this was considered to be a feminine genre. It could be suggested that these works are reflective of the Academy's expectations of women artists. Perhaps the Academy were more likely to accept works by women that fitted with their assumptions of what women 'should' and 'could' paint.

Flower painting's relation to femininity was made clear in 1860, when the French critic Léon Legrange wrote that while men should 'busy themselves with all that has to do with great art', women should 'occupy themselves with those types of art they have always preferred, such as ... the painting of flowers, those prodigies of grace and freshness which alone can compete with the grace and freshness of women themselves.'<sup>108</sup> Significantly, flower painting's increased association with femininity coincided with its dismissal as a serious artistic subject. Mary Moser's success as a flower painter led to her becoming one of the founding members of the Royal Academy in 1768, alongside the history painter Angelica Kauffman. However, by the mid-nineteenth century, flower painting was denigrated and dismissed as a genre which required little talent.<sup>109</sup> One 1880 guide written for aspiring amateurs, stated, 'The study of the human figure must be prolonged and arduous before success may even be hoped for', while 'many a failure must pave the way to ultimate success' when attempting to paint landscapes. Paintings of flowers, however, could be completed without much difficulty within the artist's own home.<sup>110</sup> They were therefore a popular subject for amateur artists, and especially amateur women artists. While Herringham's independent wealth allowed her to travel through

---

<sup>108</sup> Léon Legrange, 'Du rang des femmes dans l'art,' *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1860), trans. in Parker and Pollock, *Old Mistresses*, 13.

<sup>109</sup> See: Pamela Gerrish Nunn, *Problem Pictures: Women and Men in Victorian Painting* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995), 29-47.

<sup>110</sup> F. Edward Hulme, *Flower Painting in Water Colours*, 2nd ed. (London: Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co., 1880), 3.

Europe and beyond in pursuit of subjects, other aspiring women artists, who lacked Herringham's independence and financial freedom, would have had limited opportunities to travel. This restricted mobility explains why many women often chose to focus on plants and flowers. Yet this connection with femininity meant that women artists and the flowers they painted became 'mere reflections of each other'. The painting of flowers became considered an extension of the artist's femininity, and the artist came to be considered as only fulfilling her delicate, feminine nature.<sup>111</sup> This association effectively removed the artists and their works from the field of fine art and, consequently, meant that their works have been ignored and dismissed by art historians.

When flower painting emerged as a branch of still-life painting in sixteenth and early seventeenth-century Europe, the flowers appeared as allegories of morality, mortality, vanity, birth, death and decay.<sup>112</sup> Yet Herringham appears to have been less concerned with symbolism; with her paintings of flowers such as *Asphodel* (**cat. no. 24**) and *Pink Aquilegia, Yellow Foxgloves, Cow Parsley* (**cat. no. 33**), she appears to have been aiming to demonstrate the beauty of nature. Rather than portraying carefully posed vases of flowers, she depicted wild flowers in their natural setting. Her works appear to be in the Pre-Raphaelite tradition, which attempted to paint 'truth to nature'. The Pre-Raphaelite focus on 'the loving depiction of familiar objects' perhaps made their approach 'suitable' and appealing for female artists, as it did not require artists to travel far in search of subjects.<sup>113</sup> The Pre-Raphaelites followed the teachings of John Ruskin, who advised young artists to: 'go to Nature ... rejecting nothing, selecting nothing, and scorning nothing; believing all things to be right and good, and rejoicing always in the truth.'<sup>114</sup> In 1857 Ruskin expanded on this idea when he wrote:

All lovers of art, or of flowers, would rejoice in seeing a bank of blossoms fairly painted; but it must be a bank with its *own* blossoms, not an unexpected picnic of polite flowers in the country ... I believe the most beautiful position in which flowers can possibly be seen is precisely their most natural one – low flowers relieved by grass or moss, and tree blossoms relieved against the sky.<sup>115</sup>

---

<sup>111</sup> Parker and Pollock, *Old Mistresses*, 58.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid*, 51.

<sup>113</sup> Alison Smith, 'The Enfranchised Eye,' in *Pre-Raphaelite Vision: Truth to Nature*, exh. cat. (London: Tate Publishing, 2004), 12.

<sup>114</sup> John Ruskin, 'Modern Painters: Volume I,' (1843) in *Works*, vol. 3 (1903), 624.

<sup>115</sup> John Ruskin, 'Academy Notes, 1857,' in *Works*, vol. 14 (1904), 115-6.

By painting flowers and foliage as they appeared in real life, such as in *Lords and Ladies* (cat. no. 28) and *Autumn Leaves* (Guildford House Gallery) and *The Edge of the Cornfield* (private collection) (fig. 6), Herringham put Ruskin's advice into action.

Although by choosing to paint flowers Herringham could be said to be following convention, Jan Marsh and Pamela Gerrish Nunn have noted the atypical scale of her works.<sup>116</sup> Her flower paintings are very large, suggesting that she was trying to paint the plants life-size. By painting her flowers on this scale, it could be argued that Herringham was also attempting to differentiate herself from lady amateurs painting similar subjects. While Marsh and Gerrish Nunn speculate that Herringham made studies from life which she scaled-up in her studio, it seems likely that at least some of her flower paintings were made *en plein air*.<sup>117</sup> Studies which correspond to Herringham's flower paintings have yet to be uncovered, but her portfolio includes a number of small-scale sketches of plants and flowers which appear to have been made from nature, such as *Mountain Houseleeks* (cat. no. 41) and *Study of Plants* (cat. no. 44).

The extent to which Herringham exhibited flower paintings after the 1870s is not clear, but a partial exhibition label on the reverse of *Lords and Ladies* (cat. no. 28) reads: 'Mrs Herringham / 40 Wimpole [St],' in her own hand, suggesting that she did so on at least one occasion post-1900.<sup>118</sup> It is possible that she was less likely to exhibit her flower paintings as she was perhaps aware that exhibiting this subject would likely lead to her work being dismissed as amateur for, as Gerrish Nunn has argued, specialism in the subject 'would inhibit an artist's fame'.<sup>119</sup> Although the flower paintings in the collections at Royal Holloway and Newnham College are undated, they are accomplished in style and also illustrate her mature colour palette, suggesting that she continued to depict flowers and plants in her later work. It is possible that Herringham's large-scale flower paintings

---

<sup>116</sup> Jan Marsh and Pamela Gerrish Nunn, *Pre-Raphaelite Women Artists*, exh. cat. (Manchester: Manchester City Art Galleries, 1997), 151.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

<sup>118</sup> The Herringhams moved to 40 Wimpole Street in either 1900 or 1901. Christiana sent a letter to Hugh Thackeray Turner in March 1900 from 13 Upper Wimpole Street (their previous address), but they were at 40 Wimpole Street by 31 March 1901, when the census was taken. CH to HTT, 1 March [1900], Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings Archives (hereafter cited as SPAB): Guildford. St Mary's Church (Surrey); Census Returns of England and Wales, 1901, TNA.

<sup>119</sup> Gerrish Nunn, *Problem Pictures*, 29.

date from her early years in the asylum. In a letter in the archives at Newnham College a relative referred to them as ‘Aunt Chrissie’s mad flower paintings’.<sup>120</sup> She is known to have returned to the subject after her breakdown. Discovered within her portfolio at Royal Holloway was a pencil study of leaves (**cat. no. 47**) – one of the very few works she dated – inscribed 26 June 1911, one week after she entered Barnwood House Hospital.<sup>121</sup> No longer able to travel or to even leave the perceived safety of the institution in search of subjects, these plants remained accessible to her, presumably in the hospital gardens. It is however unlikely that her large-scale paintings date from these final years; Wilmot asserted that he found her uninterested in art when he visited her in the asylum, and her access to wildflowers would have been limited. This suggests that Herringham’s relative was likely mistaken and that the dated pencil study is the latest work in the collections.

Herringham regularly painted copies throughout her career and exhibited these works at venues including the Carfax Gallery (1905) and the Whitechapel Gallery (1908). Many of these copies are now in the collections at Royal Holloway. As will be further discussed in chapter two, with her copies, Herringham did not seek to create exact replicas, but rather new interpretations of early Renaissance paintings. Copying, like flower painting, was another artistic activity which was characterised as feminine in the nineteenth century. Copying had long been an aspect of artistic training, as art students were expected to first master copying paintings and sculptures before moving on to painting from life. By the mid-nineteenth century it had fallen so far in prestige that, in terms of the hierarchy of art, they were considered ‘a species of art work deemed too humble even for inclusion on the ladder.’<sup>122</sup> While there continued to be a market for the works through tourism, by 1852 it was ‘not *fashionable* to purchase copies’.<sup>123</sup> According to the German author Fanny Lewald: ‘people must have originals, and they must be, if possible, the works of dead masters.’<sup>124</sup> An article which appeared in the *Art Journal* in 1890 contended that, for

---

<sup>120</sup> Henrietta McBurney-Ryan and Laura MacCulloch, ‘Christiana Herringham’s Legacy to Bedford and Newnham Colleges,’ paper delivered at *Christiana Herringham and her Circle*, 2 March 2019, Royal Holloway, University of London.

<sup>121</sup> Herringham was admitted to Barnwood House on 19 June 1911, UM:ML, B.28.F.2.

<sup>122</sup> Jan Marsh and Pamela Gerrish Nunn, *Women Artists and the Pre-Raphaelite Movement* (London: Virago Press, 1989), 15.

<sup>123</sup> Meaghan Clarke, ‘Women in the Galleries: New Angles on Old Masters in the Late Nineteenth Century,’ *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 2019 (28): <http://doi.org/10.16995/ntn.823>; Fanny Lewald, *The Italian Sketch-Book* (London: Simms and McIntyre, 1852), 68.

<sup>124</sup> Lewald, *Italian Sketch-Book*, 68.

copyists, copying 'secures them from the responsibility of individual effort, [but] enables them to pose as artists before the general public.'<sup>125</sup> This accusation that copyists were 'posing' as artists reveals much of the condescending and dismissive attitude held towards copyists by the end of the nineteenth century. The belief that copying did not belong within the category of fine art was further evidenced at the Victorian Era Exhibition in 1897, where Herringham's paintings were exhibited in the 'Woman's Work Section'. Herringham's copies were not shown in the Fine Art Division, but rather in the Applied Arts and Handicrafts Division.<sup>126</sup>

Much like flower painting, copying's decline in status coincided with the feminisation of the subject. Copying 'became a legitimate career for women artists once it had been discarded as an appropriate activity for the male artist.'<sup>127</sup> This feminisation was part of a wider belief in the definition of the 'genius' as male, which had begun in the eighteenth century and expanded in the nineteenth century. This belief was cemented by writers such as Thomas Carlyle, whose *On Heroes and Hero-Worship* (1841) reinforced the idea that, 'The genius can be *all* sorts of men; but he is always a "Hero", and never a heroine.'<sup>128</sup> The movement of Romanticism additionally elevated the artist to the status of genius. Women were consequently further relegated to the status of 'other', as it became increasingly accepted that, 'being a creator and a truly feminine female were deemed to be in conflict.'<sup>129</sup> This idea of the male genius was exemplified by Walter Sickert's affirmation that, 'Women of genius like Mrs Herringham ... count as men.'<sup>130</sup> His comment suggests the concept of a female genius was one that he considered completely alien. Similarly, in 1910, the preface to the English translation of Octave Uzanne's *Études de Sociologie Féminine* observed the writer's belief that, 'The woman of genius not only does not exist, but *when she does she is a man*.'<sup>131</sup>

---

<sup>125</sup> E. C. Somerville, 'Paris Copyists,' *Art Journal* (1890): 264.

<sup>126</sup> *Victorian Era Exhibition, 1897, Earl's Court: Catalogue of the Woman's Work Section* (London: Riddle & Couchman, 1897), 82.

<sup>127</sup> Lisa Heer, 'Copyists,' in *Dictionary of Women Artists*, vol. 1, ed. Delia Gaze (London: Fitzborn Dearborn, 1997), 59.

<sup>128</sup> Christine Battersby, *Gender and Genius: Towards a Feminist Aesthetics* (London: The Women's Press, 1994), 19.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid*, 9.

<sup>130</sup> Walter Sickert, 'Mural Decoration,' *English Review*, July 1912 in *Walter Sickert: The Complete Writings on Art*, ed. Anna Gruetzner Robins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 324.

<sup>131</sup> Emphasis in original. Bettina von Hutten, 'Introduction,' in Octave Uzanne, *The Modern Parisienne* (London: William Heinemann, 1912), ix.

Originality and authenticity in art were increasingly important, placing more emphasis on the singularity of the artist. At the end of the nineteenth century, the artist was transformed into an 'exempla of national identity'.<sup>132</sup> This was achieved through a variety of publications that highlighted the individual character and creativity of the (usually male) artist. Examples included biographical monographs; M. H. Spielmann's series 'Glimpses of Artist-Life', published in *The Magazine of Art*; and the photographic volume *Artists at Home* (which showed artists in their studios).<sup>133</sup> Contemporary gender theory additionally prioritised the *reproductive* role of women – this role was not only to biologically reproduce, but also to culturally reproduce and transmit social ideologies.<sup>134</sup> While a woman's art education often ended before she had a chance to master drawing from life, the newly-established public galleries were open to all. They provided women such as Herringham with increasing opportunities for copying. At the South Kensington Museum (which became the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1899) and the National Gallery, 'student's days', where artists were allowed to copy, were held three days a week, while the Louvre was open to copyists five days a week.<sup>135</sup> When the Uffizi in Florence opened to the public in 1769 the only requirement for copying was a letter of petition, while to be allowed to copy at the Louvre in the nineteenth century, one simply had to ask at the office of Secretary, where permission would be granted for a year, and easels provided by the administration.<sup>136</sup>

To be granted permission to copy in the National Gallery in London, applicants had to submit an example of their work to the Keeper for approval. Although the copyist register at the National Gallery for the years 1855-1900 has long been lost, surviving letters in their archives indicate that Herringham was working in the gallery before 1895. She was also copying in Florence's galleries in 1895.<sup>137</sup> Herringham's copies indicate that, in

---

<sup>132</sup> Julie F. Codell, *The Victorian Artist: Artists' Lifewritings in Britain, ca. 1870-1910* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 5.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid*, 48, 56; F. G. Stephens and J. P. Mayall, *Artists at Home* (London: Sampson Low & Co., 1884).

<sup>134</sup> Heer, 'Copyists,' 59.

<sup>135</sup> Margaret Bertha Wright, 'Copyists at the Louvre,' *The Art Amateur* 2:6 (May 1880): 117.

<sup>136</sup> Sheila Barker, 'The Female Artist in the Public Eye: Women Copyists at the Uffizi, 1770-1859,' in *Women, Femininity and Public Space in European Visual Culture, 1789-1914*, eds. Temma Balducci and Heather Belnap Jensen (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 65; *ibid*.

<sup>137</sup> She had some difficulty in obtaining permission to copy in Florence, which resulted in Charles L. Eastlake (the gallery's Keeper) providing her with a personal recommendation. This appears to have

addition to working at the National Gallery and in Florence, she also made copies in Paris, Siena, Milan, Venice and from private collections.<sup>138</sup> The public galleries of London and Europe provided Herringham with a space to strengthen her art training, while copying provided her with a way to publicly assert and demonstrate her technical knowledge of tempera.

By working in the galleries Herringham and other female copyists were conspicuously completing their work in *public*. Copyists were frequently characterised as female in contemporary articles and images. Léon Legrange declared in 1860, 'Go to the Louvre on a study day: you will see nothing but petticoats perched on ladders, nothing but female hands ardently brushing immense canvases.'<sup>139</sup> Similarly, one writer stated in 1902 that visitors to the Tate gallery on its copyist days would find themselves 'in a garden of girls'.<sup>140</sup> It is not clear whether this prevalence of the female copyist was overstated. At the Uffizi the number of women petitioners seeking to copy remained around 10 percent, even in 1859 (the year the archival preservation of copyists' petitions ceased).<sup>141</sup> Women's presence in the galleries may have increased over the following decades, as only female copyists can be seen in a 1907 photograph of the Turner Room at the National Gallery (**fig. 7**).

Working in the public galleries exposed these women and their work to scrutiny. Aviva Briefel has noted how contemporary discourse emphasised the visibility of the female copyist.<sup>142</sup> Similarly, Sheila Barker has argued that 'the woman copyist was as fascinating a spectacle as the art itself: she was a woman on display to be compared to the beautiful

---

been successful, as she later exhibited several copies made from paintings in Florence's galleries. Charles L. Eastlake to CH, 4 April 1895, transcript in UM:ML, B.29.F.8.

<sup>138</sup> These include copies of: Sandro Botticelli, one of the *Lemmi Villa frescoes*, c.1483-5, Musée du Louvre, Paris; Pietro Orioli, *The Visitation*, late 15th century, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena; Sandro Botticelli, *Madonna of the Book*, c.1480, Poldi Pezzoli, Milan; Cosmè Tura, *Madonna and Child*, mid-late fifteenth century, Accademia, Venice; Florentine School, *Madonna and Child*, c.1460-70, previously in the private collection of Anne Susanna Zileri.

<sup>139</sup> Léon Legrange, 'Du rang des femmes dans l'art,' *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1860), trans. in Paul Duro, 'The "Demoiselles à Copier" in the Second Empire,' *Woman's Art Journal* 7 (1986): 1.

<sup>140</sup> C. L. H. 'Copyists and Craftsmen,' *The Academy and Literature*, 18 October 1902, 423.

<sup>141</sup> Barker, 'The Female Artist,' 67.

<sup>142</sup> Aviva Briefel, *The Deceivers: Art Forgery and Identity in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Cornell University Press, 2006), 37.

art in her midst'.<sup>143</sup> Margaret Bertha Wright, writing on 'Copyists at the Louvre,' in 1880 noted that:

Now and then among the younger and prettier of the lady artists, or those who have striking or easily-caricatured peculiarity of person, dress, or work, one will be discovered to look very uneasy, and to wriggle on her tall stool or abandon it entirely for a while, as she strolls away into another room. Then it may be discovered that some guileless and innocent-looking creature near her, pretending to study the Perugino over her head or the Botticelli opposite, has been slyly sketching her with fiendish intent to bring her out next week as natural as life, if less large, in some one of the illustrated journals ...<sup>144</sup>

This accuracy of this statement was evidenced by the article's accompanying illustrations of female copyists at work in the galleries. Female copyists, and particularly those who were young and attractive, were also frequently depicted in paintings by male artists, including Étienne Azambre, *At the Louvre* (1894, oil on canvas, Musée du Louvre); Pieter Oyens, *A Copyist at Work in the Galeries du Luxembourg, Paris* (1882, oil on canvas, current location unknown); and Louis Béroud, *Copyists in the Musée du Louvre* (1909, oil on canvas, private collection). The attention which the female copyist attracted is evident in other contemporary images. She is often shown surrounded and observed by men, women, and children. Examples include John Sloan's 1908 etching *Copyist at the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (**fig. 8**) and Charles Stanley Reinhart's 1890 illustration showing a copyist in the Louvre (**fig. 9**).<sup>145</sup> The public nature of copying, and the ways its practice could invite (often unsolicited) comments and judgement of a copyist's work, is demonstrated by the fact that Herringham was reportedly copying in the National Gallery when she was approached by Ruskin, who questioned her use of tempera.<sup>146</sup>

In addition to Herringham's sketches and paintings, she was also a talented embroiderer. There are no examples of this medium in the collections at Royal Holloway, but they were an important aspect of her work. Herringham's sister, Mary Elizabeth Turner (1854-

---

<sup>143</sup> Barker, 'The Female Artist,' 74.

<sup>144</sup> Wright, 'Copyists,' 116.

<sup>145</sup> Reinhart's illustration accompanied the article 'The Copyist in the Louvre,' *Harper's Weekly* 34 (4 January 1890): 12.

<sup>146</sup> Roger E. Fry, 'Tempera Painting,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 7:27 (June 1905): 175; Mary Sargent Florence, 'A Survey of the Society's History,' 1933 in *Papers of the Society of Mural Decorators and Painters in Tempera: Third Volume: 1925-1935*, ed. M. Sargent Florence (Brighton: The Dolphin Press, 1936), 77.

1907) was an embroiderer and a member of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society.<sup>147</sup> With May Morris (1862-1938), she co-founded the Women's Guild of Arts shortly before her death in 1907.<sup>148</sup> Unlike her sister's, Herringham's embroidery appears to have been a mainly private enterprise. Although embroidery is traditionally categorised as a craft rather than an art, Parker and Pollock have noted that this categorisation is problematic, as the distinction between the two is divided along both class and gender lines.<sup>149</sup> In her ground-breaking work, *The Subversive Stitch*, Parker classified embroidery as an art 'because it is, undoubtedly, a cultural practice involving iconography, style and a social function.'<sup>150</sup> Embroidery has been neglected as a subject of study by art historians as it was largely completed by women within the domestic sphere. Rather than being recognised as an art form which requires talent and creativity, it has been dismissed as merely an 'expression of femininity.'<sup>151</sup>

There is one significant exception to Herringham's embroidery as a private venture. In 1907 she became a founding member of the Artists' Suffrage League, which was established by Mary Lowndes. The organisation's intention was to bring together professional artists to make propaganda material for the cause. Although Herringham does not appear to have designed posters or postcards for the organisation, she played an important role. In 1908, Herringham and Lowndes were the Artists' Suffrage League's representatives on the committee organising the procession held by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies on 13 June.<sup>152</sup> Ten thousand women took part in the procession, which was intended to demonstrate to politicians and the public the great support for the cause. The suffrage societies taking part carried over 70 banners during the procession, which were designed by Lowndes. The banners were sewn and embroidered by members of the Artists' Suffrage League, including Herringham. She also provided silk for the banners which she had brought back from India.<sup>153</sup> There are limited

---

<sup>147</sup> Mary E. Turner, 'Modern Embroidery,' in *Arts and Crafts Essays: By Members of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society* (London: Rivington, Percival, & Co., 1893) 355-64.

<sup>148</sup> H. J. L. J. Massé, *The Art-Workers' Guild 1884-1934* (London: Shakespeare Head, 1935), 28.

<sup>149</sup> Parker and Pollock, *Old Mistresses*, 51.

<sup>150</sup> Rozsika Parker, *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine* (London: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd, 2010), 6.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid*, 4.

<sup>152</sup> NUWSS Executive Committee Minutes, 2 April 1908, London School of Economics: Women's Library, 2NWS/A1/03.

<sup>153</sup> Millicent Garrett Fawcett, *What I Remember* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1924), 191.

records for the Artists' Suffrage League and therefore it is unclear exactly how many banners Herringham worked on, but they include at least two that survive in the collections of the Museum of London: the banner for the Women Writers' Suffrage League (**fig. 10**), and the banner for the Artists' Suffrage League itself.<sup>154</sup> Banners were part of a long British tradition used by organisations such as trade unions and friendly societies, to both declare a message and craft a public image. By partaking in the embroidery of suffrage banners, Herringham was making an explicitly political message by engaging in a traditionally feminine craft. The banners took a private feminine enterprise into the public sphere. As Parker has noted, the British suffrage movement aimed to use the connections between embroidery and femininity to their advantage. 'Far from desiring to disentangle embroidery and femininity,' she claims, 'they wanted embroidery to evoke femininity – but femininity represented as a source of strength, not as evidence of women's weakness.'<sup>155</sup>

## **CONCLUSION**

Herringham's choice of subjects, which included flowers and copies, in addition to the fact that she was not reliant on selling her art to support herself, would seem to suggest that she would be considered an 'amateur' artist. Yet, this chapter has shown this distinction was not clear cut. Herringham's life studies are indicative of a desire to improve her work and to reach a professional standard. She also exhibited works throughout her career; both at the Royal Academy summer exhibition in the 1870s and later in her career, in exhibitions at smaller London venues, such as the Carfax Gallery and the Whitechapel Gallery. Significantly, Herringham sold her works, or at least attempted to. At the first exhibition of the Society of Painters in Tempera in 1905, one of Herringham's works, *North Porch, Chartres*, was on sale for 50 guineas (although it is not clear if it sold, as it remains within the collection of the family).<sup>156</sup> It is highly likely that she also exhibited examples of her work at the private exhibitions held by the Women's Guild of Arts. No records exist for these exhibitions, but from the surviving archives it

---

<sup>154</sup> Lisa Tickner, *The Spectacle of Women: Imagery of the Suffrage Campaign, 1907-14* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1987), 84, pl. x.

<sup>155</sup> Parker, *The Subversive Stitch*, 197.

<sup>156</sup> *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Works by Members of the Society of Painters in Tempera, 17 June - 20 July 1905* (London: Carfax & Co., Ltd., 1905), 13.

appears that many of these exhibitions were relatively informal affairs, where members could display examples of their work at events held in members' studios.

Herringham's professional status is further supported by her membership and founding of numerous societies. She established the Society of Painters in Tempera in 1901. She was also a founding member of the Women's Guild of Arts in 1907, serving at various points as vice-chair and chair of the executive committee. From the Guild's establishment, its founders were keen to ensure that its membership would be comprised solely of professional artists. An early document stated: 'The Women's Guild is strictly limited to those women who are seriously engaged as craft-workers and designers, candidates being elected on the strength of their work, of which a representation example shall be submitted for inspection at a meeting of the Guild.'<sup>157</sup> Her tenure as chair also reveals Herringham's determination for her work to be judged by its merit, and to be exhibited alongside the work of male artists. Earlier in her career she seems to have been content for her work to be categorised by her gender; her copies were included in the 'Woman's Work' section of the Victorian Era Exhibition, held in 1897. By 1908 her opinion had changed. A letter, signed by Herringham and May Morris, was sent to the Secretary of the Women's Section of the National Scottish Exhibition. They declined the Guild's invitation to exhibit, stating that, 'We object as a matter of principle to women's sections in Art exhibitions. There can surely be no doubt that the work of artists should be judged without regard to questions of sex.'<sup>158</sup> Arguably, Herringham's membership of the Guild gave her the strength to stand up against such discrimination. Her views may have also changed due to her increasing involvement with the suffrage campaign.

Herringham served on the committee of the Women's Guild of Arts until the end of 1909, when she resigned ahead of her second trip to India. However, it does appear that she remained involved with the Guild on her return, as the notice for the annual meeting of 1911 states that outgoing members of the committee included Herringham. Her membership of the Artists' Suffrage League further attests to Herringham's professional status. While the Suffrage Atelier was established with the intention of also providing

---

<sup>157</sup> Draft letter stating the objectives of the Women's Guild of Arts, c.1907, WGAA.

<sup>158</sup> CH and May Morris to the Secretary of the Women's Section of the National Scottish Exhibition, c.1907-8, WGAA, folder 13c.

artistic training to women, the Artists' Suffrage League's membership was formed of professional artists. These affiliations also suggest that Herringham was considered by her peers to be a professional artist. Furthermore, Herringham's declaration that she was 'more of an artist than anything else' suggests that she saw her work as a serious occupation, rather than a hobby to merely occupy her time.<sup>159</sup>

A contributing factor to Herringham's ambiguous status is that, like many female artists of this period, she seems to have struggled with the need to publicise herself and promote her work. As Jan Marsh has noted, girls' upbringings warned them against 'showing off' and taught them to shun publicity.<sup>160</sup> Ambition was seen as a 'pejorative attribute' in women and as a result, women tended to undersell themselves.<sup>161</sup> In a letter to William Rothenstein, Herringham stated she was uncomfortable with asking people to come and see her work and having recently 'had one day – and there is the Tempera Society's day,' she was reluctant to do anymore, as, 'It makes me feel rather miserable'.<sup>162</sup>

Ultimately, Herringham gives the impression that she was an artist who worked mainly for the *enjoyment* of her work, rather than out of any concern to earn a living. Her work as an artist cannot be neatly defined. The subjects she chose were often stereotypically feminine, depicting flowers, or copies of works created by male masters. Due to these subjects' association with femininity, art historians have largely considered artists who focused on these genres as inferior and their work has been dismissed as amateur. Yet, Herringham pushed the boundaries of these genres: she painted her flowers life-size, pursued life drawing, and, as will be further discussed in chapter two, created new interpretations of the paintings that she copied.

Moreover, a study of these works reveals the restrictions and expectations placed on women artists during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Barred from accessing the higher levels of training, women often had no choice but to limit themselves

---

<sup>159</sup> CH to LB, 14 July [1903], UM:ML, B.28.F.24.

<sup>160</sup> Jan Marsh, 'Art, Ambition and Sisterhood in the 1850s,' in *Women in the Victorian Art World*, ed. Clarissa Campbell Orr (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 36.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid; Jan Marsh, 'Women and Art 1850-1900,' in Marsh and Gerrish Nunn, *Pre-Raphaelite Women Artists*, 46.

<sup>162</sup> CH to WR, 31 May [1910?], UM:ML, B.27.F.34.

to the 'lower' genres of art. Yet, Herringham's life studies reveal how she attempted to break free from these limitations. They demonstrate how women artists were proactive in furthering their careers, either by seeking training abroad, by collaborating with other female artists, or by independently hiring models. The fact that she exhibited her work, in addition to playing a key role in multiple professional organisations, including the Society of Painters in Tempera, the Women's Guild of Arts, and the Artists' Suffrage League, suggests that Herringham was an artist with professional ambitions. Herringham's combination of what could be described as amateur subjects with professional practice indicates that the boundary between amateur and professional is not as fixed and rigid as has been previously assumed.

## **Chapter Two: Herringham and the British Tempera Revival**

The British Tempera Revival was a small-scale but significant artistic movement which emerged during the *fin de siècle*. Herringham was a pivotal figure in the revival. According to Roger Fry, it was Herringham who opened John Ruskin's eyes to the medium. When Ruskin came across Herringham copying paintings in the National Gallery he questioned her decision to use tempera to copy oil paintings. Herringham responded by pointing out that many of the early paintings Ruskin so admired were painted in tempera rather than oil.<sup>1</sup> In 1899, she published the second English translation of Cennino Cennini's *Il Libro dell'Arte*, and in 1901, she co-founded the Society of Painters in Tempera. In addition to her extensive knowledge of the medium, Herringham was a skilled tempera artist and many of her works are now in the collections at Royal Holloway. In spite of her important contributions to the movement, her role has been largely forgotten.

Although egg tempera has been used in painting since antiquity, it was rendered largely obsolete by oil painting. By the nineteenth century it had fallen almost completely out of use. At the end of the century, a new generation of artists, including Joseph Southall (1861-1944), Walter Crane (1845-1915), and Marianne Stokes (1855-1927) sought a return to the medium, believing it to be both physically and morally superior to oil. The art historian Daniel V. Thompson, who published an updated version of Cennini's treatise in 1933, stated that Herringham's translation 'served as the almost sole basis' for the revival of tempera in Britain.<sup>2</sup> Despite her talent and expertise, Herringham has remained a shadowy figure in the history of the movement. This may be because the majority of her paintings in tempera were copies rather than original works, in addition to the fact that her career was ended by her admittance to an asylum in 1911. This chapter will trace the history of the British Tempera Revival and review how the movement fit within wider ongoing debates surrounding the arts and craftsmanship. Furthermore, it will explore Herringham's translation and examine her copies to gain a greater understanding of

---

<sup>1</sup> Roger Fry, 'Tempera Painting,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, 7:27 (June 1905): 175.

<sup>2</sup> Daniel V. Thompson, *The Materials and Techniques of Medieval Painting* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1956), 62.

Herringham's contributions to the movement and restore her to the art historical narrative surrounding the revival.

### **THE EMERGENCE OF THE MOVEMENT**

The British Tempera Revival was the culmination of a series of debates surrounding art that raged in nineteenth-century Britain. John Ruskin, who rose to prominence in the mid-century, was a major influence on the artists of the British Tempera Revival. Ruskin argued the importance of art's moral dimension and was the most vocal proponent of the belief that industrialisation had led to the deterioration of both art and society. As he stated in his 1853 essay *The Stones of Venice*: 'You must either make a tool of the creature, or a man of him. You cannot do both.'<sup>3</sup> Ruskin believed that while technology and machines allowed workers to achieve preciseness and perfection, 'soul and sight [are] worn away, and the whole human being [is] lost at last'.<sup>4</sup> Joseph Southall was particularly influenced by Ruskin. As a young man he worked as a clerk at an architectural firm and came to believe that architecture had become removed from true craftsmanship. He later wrote that modern architecture had a 'deadness' compared to that of the medieval period; this was because the modern architect had become 'a superior person who did no handicraft himself'.<sup>5</sup> Ruskin's teachings also had a significant impact on Herringham and she owned several of his books.<sup>6</sup>

It could be argued that the British Tempera Revival was 'directly akin to, if not the final outcome of, the pre-Raphaelite [*sic*] movement'.<sup>7</sup> The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood was founded in 1848 by Dante Gabriel Rossetti, John Everett Millais and William Holman Hunt. These artists sought to reject the ideals taught by the Royal Academy and to return to those values depicted by the artists before Raphael. Although the Pre-Raphaelites experimented with fresco, they did not fully embrace the possibilities of tempera. Both Rossetti and Millais died before the British Tempera Revival came to fruition, but Holman

---

<sup>3</sup> John Ruskin, 'The Stones of Venice: Volume II: The Sea-Stories,' (1853) in *The Works of John Ruskin*, vol. 10, eds. E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn (London: George Allen, 1904), 192.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Joseph Southall, letter to the editor, *The Birmingham Post*, 2 March 1937, quoted in George Breeze, *Joseph Southall 1861-1944: Artist-Craftsman*, exh. cat. (Birmingham: Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, 1980), 11.

<sup>6</sup> See **Appendix II**.

<sup>7</sup> 'Art Sales and Exhibitions,' *The Observer*, 18 June 1905, 8.

Hunt was a major supporter of the Society of Painters in Tempera. He invited the members to visit his studio and told them: 'If I had my time over again I should be in the thick of it – one of you!'<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, George Breeze has argued that Edward Burne-Jones' development of his body-colour technique, as demonstrated in his large-scale *The Star of Bethlehem* (1887-91, watercolour and bodycolour on paper, Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery), opened the door which enabled the acceptance of alternative mediums such as tempera.<sup>9</sup> Burne-Jones was also a great supporter of Southall's work, and Southall regularly visited his studio for advice until Burne-Jones' death in 1898.<sup>10</sup>

Yet, it was the Arts and Crafts Movement which can perhaps be considered to be the revival's direct inspiration. The movement, which emerged in the 1870s, looked to the past to transform craftsmanship. Influenced by Ruskin, they believed that industrialisation and modern society had led to the deterioration of decorative arts and crafts. Figures such as William Morris (1834-96) looked nostalgically to the medieval period, believing that it was when British manufactures had peaked, and attempted to revive long-forgotten methods of illumination, dyeing, and weaving. Morris stated that the main difference between the Middle Ages and his own time was that:

when goods are made now they are always made ugly ... in the Middle Ages everything that man made was beautiful, just as everything that nature makes is always beautiful ... The beauty of the handicrafts of the Middle Ages came from this, that the workman had control over his material, tools, and time.<sup>11</sup>

Ruskin promoted similar principles. He stated that in order to create true art, 'men must paint and build neither for pride nor for money, but for love.'<sup>12</sup> Herringham echoed these beliefs. In the notes to her translation, she wrote: 'Much of the painting of the fifteenth century has that intrinsic beauty which comes when we enjoy the material we work with,

---

<sup>8</sup> 'A Meeting at Holman Hunt's Studio,' 5 November 1907, in *Papers of the Society of Mural Decorators and Painters in Tempera: Second Volume 1907-1924*, ed. John D. Batten (Brighton: The Dolphin Press, 1925), 6; Quoted in Viola Borradaile and Rosamund Borradaile, *The Student's Cennini: A Handbook for Tempera Painters* (Brighton: The Dolphin Press, 1942), 5.

<sup>9</sup> George Breeze, 'Decorative Painting: For the Common Good and Beauty of Our Towns,' in *By Hammer and Hand: The Arts and Crafts Movement in Birmingham*, ed. Alan Crawford (Birmingham: Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, 1984), 66.

<sup>10</sup> Breeze, *Joseph Southall*, 12-13.

<sup>11</sup> William Morris, 'Art and Labour,' 1884,

<https://www.marxists.org/archive/morris/works/1884/art-lab.htm>, accessed 19 April 2019.

<sup>12</sup> John Ruskin, 'The Relation of Art to Use,' in *Works*, vol. 20 (1905), 115.

and feel that we have in our hands the means of success, and are not desirous of other means.’<sup>13</sup> She reiterated this notion in a letter to William Rothenstein: ‘The dreariness of so many pictures seems to me to be the want of love for what you paint ... Love never faileth’.<sup>14</sup> Herringham’s views on art were undoubtedly influenced by her upbringing. Her father, Thomas Wilde Powell, was a patron of the Arts and Crafts Movement and commissioned one its principal architects, Richard Norman Shaw (1831-1912), to build several buildings in Guildford. These included the family’s home, Piccard’s Rough, which was completed in 1878.<sup>15</sup>

Like the Arts and Crafts Movement, the artists of the British Tempera Revival looked to the past for inspiration. They believed that it was essential to be involved in every step of the artistic process – from preparing the panel to gilding the frame – to ensure the quality of their work. By the end of the nineteenth century, developments in technology, mass production, and marketing meant that artists no longer mixed their own paints, but bought them ready-made from art suppliers.<sup>16</sup> As Melissa R. Katz has noted, the consequences of these advancements were twofold, as these new colours ‘were often dazzling, but also alarmingly unstable.’<sup>17</sup> A growing number of artists began to express concerns about the longevity of oil and the quality of commercially produced materials. Holman Hunt, in a lecture delivered to the Society of Arts, stated, ‘In old days the secrets were the artist’s; now he is the first to be kept in ignorance of what he is using.’<sup>18</sup> These fears were heightened by the realisation that many nineteenth-century paintings were already deteriorating. An 1891 article in *The Magazine of Art* on Royal Holloway’s art collection described the poor state of Luke Fildes’ *Applicants for Admission to a Casual*

---

<sup>13</sup> Christiana J. Herringham, ‘Notes on Medieval Methods,’ in Cennino Cennini, *The Book of the Art of Cennino Cennini: A Contemporary Practical Treatise on Quattrocento Painting, Translated from the Italian, with Notes on Medieval Art Methods*, trans. Christiana J. Herringham (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd, 1899), 188.

<sup>14</sup> CH to WR, 23 November [unknown year], Tate Gallery Archives, London: Uncatalogued William Rothenstein Papers, TGA 962.

<sup>15</sup> Mary Lago, *Christiana Herringham and the Edwardian Art Scene* (London: Lund Humphries, 1996), 13-14.

<sup>16</sup> Melissa R. Katz, ‘William Holman Hunt and the “Pre-Raphaelite Technique”,’ in *Historical Painting Techniques, Materials, and Studio Practice: Preprints of a Symposium, University of Leiden, the Netherlands, 26-29 June 1995*, eds. Arie Wallert, Erma Hermens and Marja Peek (Marina Del Rey, CA: Getty Conservation Institute, 1995), 158-9.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*, 159.

<sup>18</sup> W. Holman Hunt, ‘The Present System of Obtaining Materials in Use by Artist Painters, as Compared with that of the Old Masters,’ *Journal of the Society of Arts* 28:1431 (23 April 1880), 492.

*Ward* (1874, oil on canvas). 'Every painter should take a lesson from its present unsatisfactory state,' the writer declared, 'for it is time, indeed, for Englishmen to study the properties of the pigments they have to employ. The chemistry of colours is as necessary to their art as a thorough training in the technical branches of drawing ...'<sup>19</sup>

Some believed that answers lay in the paintings of the past. Early oil paintings, such as Jan van Eyck's *The Arnolfini Portrait* (**fig. 11**) captured the attention of both artists and critics alike for their 'near-miraculous state of preservation'.<sup>20</sup> *The Arnolfini Portrait* was first exhibited in London in 1841 at the British Institution and purchased by the National Gallery shortly afterwards. Elizabeth Prettejohn has recently argued that the painting's acquisition was a 'momentous' milestone that shaped the trajectory of British art through to the early twentieth century.<sup>21</sup> Commenting on the work in 1841, *The Athenaeum* proclaimed, 'We feel persuaded Van Eyck must have used some vehicle or mixture now unknown, which gave that wondrous firmness and translucency to the impasto of his works, and which ... has preserved a miracle of splendour like this in all its freshness for upwards of four hundred years.'<sup>22</sup> *The Illustrated London News* expressed similar praise when it first went on display at the National Gallery, stating the work's remarkable condition meant that it, 'affords as much amusement to the public as it administers instruction to the colour-grinders, painters, and connoisseurs'.<sup>23</sup> Herringham was one of numerous researchers who used the work of van Eyck to investigate the methodology of early oil painting.<sup>24</sup> She attempted to create her own copy of *The Arnolfini Portrait* in order to replicate the effects of the original. In a 1902 article she stated she had been experimenting with amber oil varnish on her copy.<sup>25</sup> She wrote: 'By grounding powder colours in good drying-oil and this varnish in varying proportions I think it is possible to

---

<sup>19</sup> Walter Shaw-Sparrow, 'The Royal Holloway College Picture-Gallery,' *The Magazine of Art* (January 1891): 235-6.

<sup>20</sup> Jenny Graham, *Inventing van Eyck: The Remaking of an Artist for the Modern Age* (Oxford: Berg, 2007), 95.

<sup>21</sup> Elizabeth Prettejohn, *Modern Painters, Old Masters: The Art of Imitation from the Pre-Raphaelites to the First World War* (London: Yale University Press, 2017), 96.

<sup>22</sup> [George Darley], 'Fine Arts,' *The Athenaeum*, 3 July 1841, 509.

<sup>23</sup> 'Van Eyck's Picture in the National Gallery,' *The Illustrated London News*, 15 April 1843, 257.

<sup>24</sup> For a discussion of the various investigations into van Eyck's technique, see: Elise Effmann, 'Theories about the Eyckian Painting Medium from the Late-Eighteenth to the Mid-Twentieth Centuries,' *Studies in Conservation* 51: supplement 1 (2006): 17-26.

<sup>25</sup> C. J. Herringham, 'Van Eyck's Discovery,' *The Architectural Review: For the Artist and Craftsman* 11:66 (May 1902): 169.

get the texture and lustrous effects of the original.<sup>26</sup> Unfortunately, it is not known whether her experiment was a success, as the current location of this copy is unknown.

### **HERRINGHAM'S TRANSLATION**

For artists who sought to understand the painting methods of the past, the main source of information was *Il Libro dell'Arte*, written by Cennino Cennini in about 1400. The first English translation, by Mary Philadelphia Merrifield, was published in 1844.<sup>27</sup> Herringham is believed to have discovered Merrifield's translation in the 1870s, which led to her first experiments with tempera.<sup>28</sup> However, she stated that Merrifield's translation contained many errors. She speculated these were due to Merrifield's lack of practical knowledge on the subject.<sup>29</sup> Herringham emphasised that, in addition to reading 'everything' she could find on the subject, it was the skills she had gained by painting tempera copies that enabled her to create a greatly improved edition.<sup>30</sup> As well as utilising her expertise, Herringham's translation drew upon the Italian translation by Gaetano and Carlo Milanese (1859).<sup>31</sup> She used the German edition by Albert Ilg (1871) to assist in 'translating difficult passages' and owned the French translation by Victor Mottez (1858).<sup>32</sup> Gaetano and Carlo Milanese had access to a vast body of sources and examined three earlier manuscripts. This enabled them to produce a version that was a marked improvement on the Giuseppe Tambroni edition from 1821.<sup>33</sup> The Milanese text also included several passages that had not been included in previous editions. Herringham's own copy of the Merrifield edition is filled with her notes, as she amended the mistakes and wrote her own corrections alongside the text (**fig. 12**). She likely did

---

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Cennino Cennini, *A Treatise on Painting by Cennino Cennini*, trans. Mary Philadelphia Merrifield (London: Edward Lumley, 1844).

<sup>28</sup> Christiana Herringham, *How to Paint Tempera Pictures* (Loughton: Madderton & Co., 1903), 3.

<sup>29</sup> Christiana J. Herringham, 'Preface,' in Cennini, trans. Herringham, v.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid, vi.

<sup>31</sup> Cennino Cennini, *Il Libro dell'Arte: o, Trattato della Pittura*, trans. Gaetano Milanese and Carlo Milanese (Firenze: F. Le Monnier, 1859).

<sup>32</sup> Herringham, 'Preface,' in Cennini, trans. Herringham, v. Herringham owned the 1888 edition of Ilg's translation. Cennino Cennini, *Das Buch von der Kunst: oder Tractat der Malerei des Cennino Cennini da Colle di Valdelsa*, trans. Albert Ilg, new ed. (Vienna: W. Braumüller, 1888); Cennino Cennini, *Traité de la Peinture de Cennino Cennini: Mis en Lumière pour la Première Fois avec des Notes*, trans. Victor Mottez (Paris: J. Renouard, 1858).

<sup>33</sup> Cennino Cennini, *Trattato della Pittura*, trans. Giuseppe Tambroni (Rome: Torchi di Paolo Salviucci, 1821); Thea Burns, 'Cennino Cennini's *Il Libro dell'Arte*: A Historiographical Review,' *Studies in Conservation* 56:1 (2011): 6.

this to allow her own translation to imitate Merrifield's style, which she believed was 'pleasant,' and meant that in her own translation she intentionally 'kept as far as possible to the words I had grown accustomed to before I knew the original Italian.'<sup>34</sup> She was also careful to closely follow the sentence structure of the Milanesi edition to ensure that her version was as precise and exact as possible. It is not known where Herringham gained her extensive knowledge of languages, as little is known about her education. However, her mother had at least some knowledge of Greek, Latin, German, Italian, and French, and it seems probable that she passed on this knowledge to her eldest daughter.<sup>35</sup>

Herringham's translation was published by George Allen (1832-1907). A close associate of Ruskin, his publishing house was established in 1870 to distribute Ruskin's works.<sup>36</sup> Her translation was simultaneously published in New York by Francis P. Harper, with the title *The Art of the Old Masters as Told by Cennino Cennini in 1437*.<sup>37</sup> One review called it an 'excellent rendering', while another said, 'Miss [sic] Herringham has certainly performed a most useful work ... The book is really an exceedingly learned and valuable one, and one which artists and art craftsmen will find not only useful but amusing.'<sup>38</sup> The translation was incredibly successful and reprinted several times until it was superseded by the publication of Thompson's edition in 1933. The artist Walter Sickert was a great admirer of Herringham's translation. Upon reading her work he declared that she was 'the greatest living critic', believing that the book was 'The most important piece of art-criticism that has appeared in Europe in modern times'.<sup>39</sup>

Herringham's translation was instrumental in stimulating the British Tempera Revival at the turn of the century. Jill Dunkerton states that the publication of Merrifield's translation had little immediate impact on painters and theorists in Britain.<sup>40</sup> Herringham's translation, however, appealed to the growing number of artists who were

---

<sup>34</sup> Herringham, 'Preface,' in Cennini, trans. Herringham, v.

<sup>35</sup> Rosamond E. Wills and Charles M. Powell, eds., *A Family Memoir; Being Some Account of T. W. Powell and His Wife M. E. Powell and of Their Ancestors* (London: Women's Printing Society, 1903), 66, 75.

<sup>36</sup> E. T. Cook, rev. David Wootton, 'Allen, George (1832-1907),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/30384>, accessed 20 April 2019.

<sup>37</sup> With thanks to Abbie Sprague for bringing this to my attention, in conversation 17 March 2018.

<sup>38</sup> 'Art Methods of the Quattrocento,' *The Outlook*, 17 February 1900, 90; 'Reviews of Recent Publications,' *The Studio* 18:80 (November 1899): 214.

<sup>39</sup> Walter Sickert, 'The Greatest Living Critic,' *Art News*, 3 March 1910, in *Walter Sickert: The Complete Writings on Art*, ed. Anna Gruetzner Robins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 200.

<sup>40</sup> Jill Dunkerton, 'Technical Note: Joseph Southall's Tempera Drawings,' in Breeze, *Joseph Southall*, 18.

looking for a way to create art which was both pure and permanent. Her publication went a step further than earlier translations, as it included notes concerning her own attempts in tempera. In recording her experiments, Herringham was able to provide feedback on the practicality of Cennini's advice and offer contemporary artists advice on how they could realistically apply the methods of the past to their own artistic practice. In 1903, Herringham additionally published a small booklet entitled *How to Paint Tempera Pictures*, where she gave a personal account of her approach (and promoted her translation), thereby once again providing practical information for artists.<sup>41</sup>

In her booklet, Herringham wrote that 'the test of twenty-five years' demonstrated that her method of using egg yolk as a binding medium was 'durable', dating her first experiments to the 1870s.<sup>42</sup> John Roddam Spencer Stanhope was also painting in tempera in the 1870s – although his most famous early 'tempera' work, *Love and the Maiden* (1877, Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco) has recently been discovered to have been painted in oil.<sup>43</sup> Southall began working in tempera in the 1880s after reading Ruskin's comment in *St. Mark's Rest* of how he had recently come to the realisation that many of the early paintings he so admired were painted in tempera.<sup>44</sup> As Herringham is believed to have been the one who brought this fact to Ruskin's attention, it would suggest that she was also indirectly responsible for Southall's adoption of the medium. Southall briefly abandoned tempera after undertaking several 'blundering experiments' but returned to the medium in the 1890s after reading Merrifield's translation. He had mostly mastered the technique by the time Herringham's edition was published. Marianne Stokes was also

---

<sup>41</sup> Herringham, *How to Paint*. This booklet was published by Madderton & Co. Ltd. Madderton was founded by A. P. Laurie, a chemist who specialised in paint analysis, in 1891 to create 'permanent' colours for artists using medieval recipes. Herringham's work was number 2 in a series of 'tracts for artists'. The first in the series appears to have been A. P. Laurie's *The Selection of the Palette* in 1891, but no more subsequent titles have been uncovered. See: Jacob Simon, 'British Artists' Suppliers, 1650-1950 – M,' *National Portrait Gallery*, <https://www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes/directory-of-suppliers/m/>, accessed 9 May 2019; 'Publications To-Day,' *The Times*, 23 May 1891.

<sup>42</sup> Herringham, *How to Paint*, 3.

<sup>43</sup> R. Spencer Stanhope, 'Yolk of Egg Tempera,' 23 April 1903, in *Papers of the Society of Painters in Tempera, 1901-1907*, ed. Christiana Jane Herringham (London: Women's Printing Society, 1907), 38; Elise Effmann Clifford, 'Love and the Maiden by John Roddam Spencer Stanhope: Assumptions and the Importance of Analysis,' in *Tempera Painting 1800-1950: Experiment and Innovation from the Nazarene Movement to Abstract Art*, eds. Patrick Dietemann et al. (London: Archetype Publications, 2019), 182.

<sup>44</sup> J. E. Southall, 'Grounds Suitable for Painting in Tempera: A Paper Read before the Society of Tempera Painters at Leighton House,' 20 May 1901, reprinted in *Papers of the Society* (1907), 1.

evidently experimenting with the medium by the 1890s, as in 1892 she exhibited a tempera painting entitled *The Princess and the Enchanted Prince* (current location unknown).<sup>45</sup>

Herringham's translation introduced the medium to a widening audience. It was read and used as a practical guide, alongside her other writings on tempera, by numerous other artists, including Walter Crane and G. F. Watts.<sup>46</sup> Although Stokes was experimenting with the medium in the 1890s, it was not until she read Herringham's translation that she was able to break away from oil.<sup>47</sup> Southall also referred to Herringham's version in a paper he read to the Society in 1901.<sup>48</sup> Fry's assertion that the publication of Herringham's translation resulted in the 'diffusion of practical knowledge' of tempera painting was supported by the fact that, according to D. S. MacColl, it was Herringham's influence that inspired Fry to make his own experiments with the medium.<sup>49</sup> In 1901, likely encouraged by the new impetus that Herringham's translation had given to the revival, several of these similarly-minded artists came together to hold an exhibition of their work at Leighton House in London. Shortly after the exhibition's opening, Herringham and many of the other exhibitors established the Society of Painters in Tempera.<sup>50</sup> The Society held two official exhibitions in the decade following its foundation: in 1905 at the Carfax Gallery, and in 1909 at the Baillie Gallery.<sup>51</sup>

---

<sup>45</sup> Magdalen Evans, *Utmost Fidelity: The Painting Lives of Marianne and Adrian Stokes*, exh. cat. (Bristol: Sansom & Company Ltd, 2009), 93.

<sup>46</sup> 'Favourite Books of 1900,' *The Academy*, 8 December 1900, 578; Julia Dudkiewicz and Carol Willoughby, 'A Long-Lost Painting by GF Watts Rediscovered and Identified: Meeting of Samson and Delilah,' *The British Art Journal*, 11:1 (2010): 107, n.48. The 1905 exhibition of the Society of Painters in Tempera included an unfinished painting by Watts, entitled *The Utmost for the Highest*, which he had begun painting shortly before his death in 1904. *Society of Painters in Tempera: First Exhibition: June 1905* (London: Carfax and Co., 1905).

<sup>47</sup> Evans, *Utmost Fidelity*, 79.

<sup>48</sup> Southall, 'Grounds Suitable,' 8.

<sup>49</sup> Fry, 'Tempera Painting,' 175; D.S. MacColl, 'A Note on Roger Fry,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 65:380 (November 1934): 232.

<sup>50</sup> Sargent Florence, 'A Survey,' 77-9.

<sup>51</sup> The Society, which changed its name to the Society of Mural Decorators and Painters in Tempera in 1912, also held at least three exhibitions in later years: 1914 at the Art Worker's Guild Hall; 1922 at Brighton Public Art Galleries; and in 1930 at Whitechapel Gallery. 'Current Exhibitions,' *The Athenaeum*, 16 May 1914, 697; 'Court Circular,' *The Times*, 22 July 1922; Maxwell Armfield to Geraldine Jebb, 15 June 1930, RHUL Archives, BC AR/322/3/2.

## **THE PAINTINGS OF THE BRITISH TEMPERA REVIVAL**

The Society's exhibitions and London's burgeoning gallery scene at the turn of the twentieth century offered Herringham the opportunity to exhibit her tempera paintings to a wider audience. Among her exhibited works were landscapes and architectural studies, including *Italy: Venice – St Mark's Basilica: In the Narthex* (**cat. no. 84**) (exh. 1909), *North Porch, Chartres* (exh. 1905) (**fig. 13**) and *The Lake Orta, with the Isola Bella* (exh. 1901, tempera on panel, current location unknown). However, the vast majority of works she exhibited were copies of fifteenth-century Italian paintings. These included her copy of Gherardo di Giovanni del Fora's *The Combat of Love and Chastity* (exh. 1901 and 1905) (**cat. no. 1**) and Cosmè Tura's *Madonna and Child* (exh. 1908) (**cat. no. 4**), both now in the collections at Royal Holloway, as well as her copies of Pietro Orioli's *The Visitation* (exh. 1901) (**fig. 14**) and Fra Angelico's *The Paradise* (exh. 1908, current location unknown).<sup>52</sup>

Sites such as the Carfax Gallery and the Baillie Gallery were fashionable and associated with artists who rejected the elitism of the Royal Academy, such as the members of the New English Art Club and the Camden Town Group.<sup>53</sup> Meanwhile, the Whitechapel Gallery, where Herringham exhibited several copies in 1908, had a more diverse audience, including the local population of the East End. Herringham's copies would have been interpreted differently depending on the context in which they were seen. When displayed alongside works by the other members of the Society of Painters in Tempera, they would have been interpreted as a demonstration of the beauty and possibilities of the medium. When seen by the wider-ranging audience of the Whitechapel Gallery, her copies would have been considered an opportunity for members of the public to see works from European galleries that they might not have the chance to see in person, and a way to educate the public about early Renaissance art.<sup>54</sup>

---

<sup>52</sup> *The Visitation* was exhibited as *The Salutation*, after Giacomo Pacchiarotti.

<sup>53</sup> See: Samuel Shaw, 'The Carfax Gallery and the Camden Town Group,' in *The Camden Town Group in Context*, eds. Helena Bonett, Ysanne Holt and Jennifer Mundy (Tate Research Publication, May 2012), <http://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/camden-town-group/samuel-shaw-the-carfax-gallery-and-the-camden-town-group-r1104371>.

<sup>54</sup> For further discussion of the 1908 Whitechapel exhibition, see: Meaghan Clarke, 'Women in the Galleries: New Angles on Old Masters in the Late Nineteenth Century,' *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 2019 (28): <http://doi.org/10.16995/ntn.823>.

At the Whitechapel Gallery, Herringham's copies added to the institution's programme of providing 'rational recreation' to the working classes. It was part of a wider attempt to mould working-class people's leisure to create a more moral, educated, and healthier population.<sup>55</sup> Museums and galleries played a key role in this campaign. Henry Cole (the first director of the South Kensington Museum) believed that these institutions would enable the nation to 'vanquish Drunkenness and the Devil'. Museums would lead the working-class man 'to wisdom and gentleness, and to Heaven, whilst the [public house] will lead him to brutality and perdition.'<sup>56</sup> Herringham obviously approved of the Whitechapel Gallery's intentions; in addition to exhibiting her work and lending objects for exhibitions, she (and her husband) provided financial support to the gallery.<sup>57</sup> Almost three decades before her involvement with the Whitechapel Gallery, she was commissioned by Ruskin to contribute to his 'utopian social mission,' the Guild of St George.<sup>58</sup> Herringham painted a study of the angel Gabriel from Verrocchio's *Virgin and Child with Two Angels* (**fig. 15**).<sup>59</sup> This copy, like all the works and objects included in the museum, was intended to morally uplift and intellectually elevate the working population of Sheffield.<sup>60</sup>

Herringham's copies illustrate how the artists involved with the British Tempera Revival were motivated by a belief in the moral and spiritual properties of art. As Ruskin stated in his *Lectures on Art* series in 1870: 'All the great arts have for their object either the

---

<sup>55</sup> See: Peter Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830-1885* (London: Routledge, 1978); Brad Beaven, *Leisure, Citizenship and Working-Class Men in Britain, 1850-1945* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005); Catriona M. Parratt, 'Making Leisure Work: Women's Rational Recreation in Late Victorian and Edwardian England,' *Journal of Sport History* 26:3 (1999): 471-87. For the role of museums, see: Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1995), 17-48.

<sup>56</sup> Henry Cole, 'National Culture and Recreation: Antidotes to Vice,' in *Fifty Years of Public Work*, vol. 2 (London: George Bell and Sons, 1882), 368.

<sup>57</sup> See: Whitechapel Art Gallery Report, 1907, Whitechapel Gallery Archives, WAG/TRU/6/7 (ii) and Whitechapel Art Gallery Report, 1908, Whitechapel Gallery Archives, WAG/TRU/6/8 (ii).

<sup>58</sup> Stuart Eagles, *After Ruskin: The Social and Political Legacies of a Victorian Prophet, 1870-1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 52.

<sup>59</sup> This copy, unusually for Herringham, is on paper, and appears to be painted largely in bodycolour, with some watercolour. Although the date of the copy is unknown, it was in Ruskin's collection by 1881. It is possible that Herringham had not yet perfected her tempera technique at this time. Alternatively, it may have been painted in watercolour at Ruskin's request, as he approved of only watercolour for copying. Louise Pullen, Curator, Ruskin Collection, Museums Sheffield, email message to author, 27 September 2018.

<sup>60</sup> Eagles, *After Ruskin*, 81-2.

support or exaltation of human life,—usually both'.<sup>61</sup> Tempera artists' belief in the spiritual nature of art was summed up by Southall's declaration that, 'Art is a language of the soul'.<sup>62</sup> Tempera was believed to be the ideal medium to create art which reflected this message. Herringham considered it to be a 'purer' and less 'decadent' medium than oil, while Marianne Stokes stated that tempera was 'a medium which lends itself most to spirituality, sincerity, and purity of colour'.<sup>63</sup> Many of these artists appear to have sought a return to a time when, as Ruskin contended, art was 'employed for the display of religious facts' rather than 'religious facts [being] employed for the display of art'.<sup>64</sup>

Religion was a significant influence on many of these artists. Among the exhibitors at the Society of Painters in Tempera was an Anglican Benedictine nun named Catharine Weekes, whose works included *Angel with Ilex Branch* (exh. 1905, current location unknown) and *Saint Mary, Day in Lent* (exh. 1905, current location unknown).<sup>65</sup> In 1900, Stokes stated in an interview that one of the biggest influences on her work was being born and raised in the Catholic country of Austria.<sup>66</sup> Several of Stokes' tempera paintings are of religious subjects, such as *Madonna and Child* (**fig. 16**), *Madonna and Child with Symbols from a Litany* (exh. 1905, current location unknown), and *The Infant St John* (exh. 1900, tempera on panel, private collection). Likewise, Marianne's husband, Adrian Stokes, was a member of the Society of Painters in Tempera and an ardent Catholic.

Southall also held strong religious beliefs as a devout Quaker. By pursuing art as a career, he had rejected Quaker norms of plainness. Nonetheless, Roger Homan states that Southall's religion is key to understanding his works, as 'His subjects prompt reflections,

---

<sup>61</sup> John Ruskin, 'The Relation of Art to Religion,' in *Works*, vol. 20 (1905), 45.

<sup>62</sup> Joseph Southall, 'The Graphic Arts in Education,' *Friends Quarterly Examiner* 234 (1925): 137 in Roger Homan, 'The Art of Joseph Edward Southall,' *Quaker Studies* 5:1 (2000): 73.

<sup>63</sup> Herringham, 'Preface,' in *First Exhibition*, 8; Marianne Stokes, quoted in Aymer Vallance, 'The Revival of Tempera Painting,' *The Studio* 23:101 (August 1901): 164.

<sup>64</sup> John Ruskin, 'Modern Painters: Volume III,' (1856) in *Works*, vol. 5 (1904), 77.

<sup>65</sup> Peter F. Anson, *Building up the Waste Places: The Revival of Monastic Life on Medieval Lines in the Post-Reformation Church of England* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2015), 211. Her name is spelled as both 'Catharine' and 'Catherine' in the exhibition catalogue. A notice in the Society's papers gives her name as 'Catharine Weekes'. It is possible that she was also the same artist as the 'Sister Catharine Ruth' who exhibited two religious works at the 1901 exhibition. See: *First Exhibition*, 13, 16; *Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition of Modern Paintings in Tempera from April 15 to June 1, 1901* (London: Leighton House, 1901), 15; Father Paulinus, 'Methods of the Beuron Artists,' 26 May 1914, in *Papers of the Society* (1925), 45-7.

<sup>66</sup> Harriet Ford, 'The Work of Mrs Adrian Stokes,' *The Studio* 19:85 (April 1900): 150.

illustrate virtues, and make allegorical statements of Quaker testimony.<sup>67</sup> These themes can be seen in his painting *St Dorothea and her Two Sisters Refusing to Worship the Idol* (1901-02, tempera on canvas, private collection). This work portrays a third-century martyr who refused to bow down to the image of a Roman deity, drawing upon the themes of integrity and self-sacrifice. Yet, as Homan points out, at the time Southall painted this work, he was also engaged in a personal crusade; refusing to pay the tax of the 1902 Education Act which subsidised schools of the Church of England.<sup>68</sup> Homan argues that this painting touches on this incident, as, 'In both its immediate theme and in its sub-text the painting attests to conscience and the unconquerable will.'<sup>69</sup>

Herringham made numerous copies of religious paintings, including several which depict the Virgin Mary. These include a copy of Cosmè Tura's *Madonna and Child*, now in the collections at Royal Holloway (**cat. no. 4**). She also painted, among others, copies of: *Madonna and Child with Saints*, after Botticelli (current location unknown, previously Bedford College); *The Annunciation*, after Fra Filippo Lippi (**fig. 17**); and a painting referred to as the *Cambridge Madonna*, of the Florentine School (**fig. 25**).<sup>70</sup> Significantly, as Herringham was making copies of early Renaissance paintings (and particularly of the Italian Renaissance), she was copying representations associated with the Catholic Church. Although anti-Catholicism had declined by the beginning of the twentieth century, Britain remained a Protestant country.

The image of the Virgin Mary, as Carol Engelhardt Herringer has discussed, was a major source of contention within both Protestantism and Catholicism in the nineteenth century.<sup>71</sup> The growth of Catholicism in nineteenth-century Britain coincided with a resurgence of Marian devotion. The Catholic Church presented Mary as a sinless, eternal

---

<sup>67</sup> Roger Homan, 'Quakers and Visual Culture,' in *The Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies*, eds. Stephen W. Angell and Pink Dandelion (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 504.

<sup>68</sup> His refusal to pay the tax resulted in his goods repeatedly being seized and sold at auction, where he would buy them rather than voluntarily paying the tax. This protest and the associated court appearances continued for over forty years. Homan, 'The Art of Joseph Edward Southall,' 77.

<sup>69</sup> Roger Homan, 'The Inward and the Outward Eye: Quaker Attitudes to Visual Culture,' *Quaker Studies* 18:2 (2014): 146.

<sup>70</sup> The *Cambridge Madonna* has been listed as a copy of a painting by either Botticelli or Fra Lippo Lippi. The original painting is now in the Courtauld Gallery, London, where it is attributed to the Florentine School, c.1460-70. Alexander Roestel, email message to author, 7 February 2019.

<sup>71</sup> Carol Engelhardt Herringer, *Victorians and the Virgin Mary: Religion and Gender in England, 1830-85* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014).

virgin mother, who retained her close relationship with her Son throughout his earthly life and beyond.<sup>72</sup> This image of the Virgin Mary provided the possibility of Mary as an independent woman with a significant degree of power. This concept of Mary as a woman who was able to possess and exert power due to her (divinely ordained) maternal and domestic role may have appealed to a feminist like Herringham.<sup>73</sup> This feminine image of spiritual and moral influence can also be seen in Herringham's depictions of the Magdalene and St Catherine (**cat. no. 2 and 3**).

George Breeze has noted that Arts and Crafts painting, such as tempera, was especially suited to Anglo-Catholicism; both movements were rooted in tradition, while Anglo-Catholicism sought to bring people closer to God by evoking majesty and splendour. 'What could be more appropriate as a means of achieving this end,' asks Breeze, 'than the use of gilding, and the rich colouring of the tempera medium, which at the same time has a calmness and stillness indicative of the eternal?'<sup>74</sup> Birmingham tempera artists such as Charles Gere, Henry Payne and Kate Bunce all painted works intended for High Church places of worship.<sup>75</sup> In 1909, Herringham presented a copy of Piero della Francesca's *The Baptism of Christ* (**fig. 18**) to Sansepolcro Cathedral in Tuscany, where it remains on display to this day.<sup>76</sup> The original painting had formed part of a polyptych and previously hung in the cathedral. It is unclear whether Herringham was commissioned to make this copy, or whether she made the decision to present the copy herself. Either way, its display in the cathedral resulted in it serving a notable role in Catholic worship.

Yet, it is unclear how far Herringham's art was motivated by her religious beliefs, as she does not discuss these in the surviving sources. Her father-in-law, William Walton Herringham, was a clergyman, while Wilmot's attendance of Keble College at Oxford suggests sympathies for the Oxford Movement and High Anglicanism.<sup>77</sup> However, these

---

<sup>72</sup> Ibid, 21.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid, 35-76.

<sup>74</sup> Breeze, 'Decorative Painting,' 76.

<sup>75</sup> Gere and Payne both worked on the chapel at Madresfield Court, while Bunce painted reredos for St Mary's, Longworth. Ibid, 74-5, 77-9.

<sup>76</sup> With thanks to Rosemary Raza for bringing this copy to my attention. In conversation, 1 February 2019.

<sup>77</sup> Keble College was founded in 1870 as a monument to John Keble (1792-1866), one of the leaders of the Oxford Movement, which sought a reinstatement of some Catholic traditions, such as the use of vestments and incense, to the Church of England. Lago, *Christiana Herringham*, 17.

familial connections cannot be considered proof of Herringham's own personal beliefs. One possible indication is that St Nicolas' Church in Guildford, where Christiana and Wilmot married in 1880, is associated with the High Church tradition. However, it seems that Herringham was more interested in the connections and impact of religion on culture, rather than specific religious beliefs. This is indicated not only by her writings and her choice of artistic subjects, but also by her book collection, which included a large number of works drawing on Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism, in addition to Christianity.<sup>78</sup> Herringham appears to have been more focused on how art has been used to tell religious stories and influence its followers. This interest can be seen not only in Herringham's tempera copies, but also her decision to copy the Ajanta frescoes.

Politics was another factor that motivated many tempera artists. Many of the exhibitors with the Society of Painters in Tempera were involved in liberal or radical politics. Both Southall and Maxwell Armfield's Quakerism meant that they were ardent pacifists, while Southall was additionally a committed socialist.<sup>79</sup> Arthur Gaskin also held socialist beliefs, while May Morris followed in her father's footsteps and joined the Socialist League.<sup>80</sup> Despite these views, none of the works that were exhibited at the Society's exhibitions were explicitly political. However, these artists' choice of medium could be considered in itself a political statement. Morna O'Neill has argued that the artistic practice of Walter Crane, who was an early member of the Society of Painters in Tempera, indicates that 'art is never removed from ideology'.<sup>81</sup> His integration of 'fine' and 'decorative' art considered the role that art played in everyday life. This, in turn, led to his political activism, and ultimately, led him to create socialist art and propaganda.<sup>82</sup> By embracing a medium which was associated with a period in which art work was more democratic and the labour of the craftsman was more widely appreciated, tempera artists could be

---

<sup>78</sup> For Herringham's book collection, see **Appendix II**.

<sup>79</sup> Nicola Gordon Bowe, 'Constance and Maxwell Armfield: An American Interlude,' *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* 14 (Autumn 1989): 15, n.42.

<sup>80</sup> Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, *Arthur & Georgie Gaskin*, exh. cat. (Birmingham: Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, 1981), 10; Jan Marsh, 'Morris, Mary [May] (1862-1938), Designer and Craftswoman,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2007, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/37787>, accessed 19 April 2019.

<sup>81</sup> Morna O'Neill, *Walter Crane: The Arts and Crafts, Painting, and Politics, 1875-1890* (London: Yale University Press, 2010), 5.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid*, 6.

considered to have been making a political statement, by calling for a return to these values.

Herringham clearly recognised the importance of art as a political tool, as demonstrated by her involvement with the Artists' Suffrage League (discussed in chapter one). The Society of Painters in Tempera counted several suffrage supporters among its exhibitors and members. Marianne Stokes worked alongside Herringham and embroidered suffrage banners for the NUWSS' procession on 13 June 1908.<sup>83</sup> Mary Sargant Florence was an ardent supporter of the suffrage cause. Like Herringham, she was a member of numerous suffrage societies, including the Artists' Suffrage League. She was also a founding member of the Women's Tax Resistance League and designed the organisation's badge and banner.<sup>84</sup> Additionally, Ada P. Ridley contributed illustrations to *An Anti-Suffrage Alphabet*, which was sold to raise proceeds for the WSPU, while Mary Lanchester's woodcut print of a women's suffrage procession also suggests sympathy for the cause.<sup>85</sup>

In addition to being motivated by religious and political beliefs, the artists of the British Tempera Revival took inspiration from history, and were particularly influenced by debates surrounding the Renaissance. Nineteenth-century England saw what has been called 'a renaissance of the Renaissance'.<sup>86</sup> In many ways, the century also saw the crafting of the idea of the Renaissance itself.<sup>87</sup> Writers in the nineteenth century, and through to the twentieth, debated the definition and the chronological limits of the Renaissance, in addition to the period's characterisation.<sup>88</sup> Jules Michelet, writing in the

---

<sup>83</sup> Mrs Henry Fawcett, 'The Woman Suffrage Procession,' *The Times*, 13 June 1908.

<sup>84</sup> Elizabeth Crawford, *Art and Suffrage: A Biographical Dictionary of Suffrage Artists* (London: Francis Boutle, 2018), 94.

<sup>85</sup> Laurence Housman, *An Anti-Suffrage Alphabet*, ed. Leonora Tyson (London: 1911); Mary Lanchester, *June 18 1910*, c.1910, colour woodblock print on paper, British Museum, 1936,0613.100.

<sup>86</sup> Allen Staley, *Victorian High Renaissance* (Minneapolis: The Minneapolis Institute of Arts: 1978), 18, quoted in Hilary Fraser, *The Victorians and Renaissance Italy* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1992), 44.

<sup>87</sup> See: Fraser, *The Victorians*; J. B. Bullen, *The Myth of the Renaissance in Nineteenth-Century Writing* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994); John E. Law and Lene Østermark-Johansen, eds., *Victorian and Edwardian Responses to the Italian Renaissance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005).

<sup>88</sup> The Renaissance was characterised by the revival of the classical tradition, which was reflected in the art, architecture, and literature of the period. The Renaissance is generally dated as c.1400-c.1600, but this periodisation has been extensively debated by scholars. See: Wallace K. Ferguson, *The Renaissance in Historical Thought: Five Centuries of Interpretation* (Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1948); Erwin Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972); Peter Burke, 'Introduction: Framing the Renaissance,' in *The European Renaissance: Centres and Peripheries* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), 1-17; Charles R. Mack, 'When and Where?' in *Looking at the*

mid-century, believed that the Renaissance brought light to the barbaric Middle Ages, claiming that the period marked, 'The discovery of the world, the discovery of man.'<sup>89</sup> In contrast with this, Ruskin characterised the Renaissance as 'a foul torrent'.<sup>90</sup> In Ruskin's texts, the Renaissance 'towers ... like some terrible incubus in the history of the West.'<sup>91</sup> Ruskin believed a nation's morality was reflected in its art and architecture, and therefore the Renaissance, which he considered to be a period of degeneracy, ultimately led to the ruin of art. Raphael – who had been regarded as the 'summit of perfection' since the sixteenth century – was considered the beginning of the downfall of art.<sup>92</sup> The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood also adopted this view. From their perspective, early Italian artists were 'uncompromising realists' and they compared this to the artifice of High Renaissance art.<sup>93</sup>

In the late nineteenth century, a new generation of scholars tackled the subject. Figures such as the writer and poet, John Addington Symonds (1840-93); the Italian-based art writer and novelist Vernon Lee (pseudonym of Violet Paget) (1856-1935); and her close friend, the writer and aesthete Walter Pater (1839-94), held a more sympathetic view towards the Renaissance than their predecessors.<sup>94</sup> They presented it as the period of transition from the bleak and dark Middle Ages to the modern world. While they acknowledged the immoral character of the period, they believed it to be an inevitable consequence of a period witnessing such upheaval and change.<sup>95</sup> Lee believed that, 'The Renaissance possessed the germs of every modern thing'. Like Jacob Burckhardt, she argued that the age witnessed the birth of self-cognizance.<sup>96</sup> 'In this lies the immense greatness of the Renaissance', she claimed: 'to this are due all its achievements in literature and science, and, above all, in art: that, for the first time since the dissolution of

---

*Renaissance: Essays Toward a Contextual Appreciation* (Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 2005), 7-20; William Caferro, 'The Renaissance Question,' in *Contesting the Renaissance* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 1-30.

<sup>89</sup> Jules Michelet, *Renaissance* (1855) in *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Paul Viallaneix, viii (Paris: Flammarion, 1978), 51, trans. in Bullen, *The Myth*, 1.

<sup>90</sup> John Ruskin, 'The Seven Lamps of Architecture,' in *Works*, vol. 8 (1903), 98.

<sup>91</sup> Bullen, *The Myth*, 124.

<sup>92</sup> Fraser, *The Victorians*, 45.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid*, 122.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid*, 230.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid*, 235.

<sup>96</sup> Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy*, trans. S. G. C. Middlemore (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1892).

antique civilisation, men were free agents, both in thought and in deed ...<sup>97</sup> Taken in this context, Herringham's copies can be seen as contributing to this wider debate. Herringham chose to copy paintings from the early Renaissance period, and almost all of the paintings that she copied dated from the fifteenth century. Like the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, Herringham was highlighting those artists who came before the High Renaissance; indicating the superiority of their choice of medium as well as their art. Her artworks suggest that, like Ruskin and the Pre-Raphaelites, she considered the Renaissance a critical moment in the history of art. Herringham and other artists of the British Tempera Revival considered the adoption of oil to be the turning point that marked the beginning of art's deterioration, as it was a medium which they considered to be aesthetically, physically, and spiritually inferior.

While Herringham copied works by numerous early Renaissance artists, she most often copied the works of Sandro Botticelli (c.1445-1510). At the 1901 exhibition, Herringham exhibited ten paintings. Of these, nine were copies, and six were copies of works by Botticelli. Herringham was not alone in her admiration of Botticelli. In the late nineteenth century, Botticelli underwent a 'rediscovery' in Britain. His name had begun to be acknowledged by the early nineteenth century in Continental Europe, and Sir Charles Eastlake had acquired the first work by Botticelli for the National Gallery in 1855. Yet it was not until the 1870s that the writings of Ruskin and Pater encouraged a new public appreciation of the artist.<sup>98</sup> This popularity became so widespread that it led the critic Herbert Horne to refer to the 'peculiarly English cult' of Botticelli.<sup>99</sup> Bernard Berenson similarly remarked in 1896: 'What is it then that makes Sandro Botticelli so irresistible that nowadays we may have no alternative but to worship or abhor him?'<sup>100</sup>

Many of the other paintings of the British Tempera Revival also show the clear influence of the early Renaissance. One article on Joseph Southall, published in 1917 in *The Studio* made countless comparisons between Southall's own work and that of the Italian

---

<sup>97</sup> Vernon Lee, *Euphorion: Being Studies of the Antique and the Medieval in the Renaissance*, vol. 1 (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1884), 46-7.

<sup>98</sup> Michael Levey, 'Botticelli and Nineteenth-Century England,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 23:3-4 (1960): 299-300.

<sup>99</sup> Herbert P. Horne, *Sandro Botticelli* (London: Chiswick Press, 1908), xiii.

<sup>100</sup> Bernard Berenson, *The Florentine Painters of the Renaissance: With an Index of their Works* (London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1896), 69-70.

'Primitives'.<sup>101</sup> Southall's fresco *Corporation Street, Birmingham in March 1914* (1915-16, Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery) was compared to the work of Fra Angelico and Filippo Lippi, while *The Daughter of Herodias* (**fig. 19**) and *Beauty Receiving the White Rose from her Father* (**fig. 20**) were both described as 'Botticellian in character'.<sup>102</sup> Drawing inspiration from Botticelli and the other artists of the early Renaissance, contemporary tempera artists hoped to instigate a return to pure art, unadulterated by the corruption of industrialised society. Spencer Stanhope explained that tempera had 'never had a decadence, but was suddenly arrested in the full tide of youth'.<sup>103</sup> These artists believed that employing tempera would enable them to recapture that quality which characterised early Renaissance art.

With their paintings, these artists were not only partaking in the wider debates surrounding the Renaissance, but also reinterpreting history through their depictions of a nostalgic or imaginary past. Like the artists of the Pre-Raphaelite movement, they often took inspiration from folk tales, medieval literature, or poetry set in the distant past. Stokes stated that, in addition to Catholicism, the other major stimulus for her work was an edition of Grimm's *Fairy Tales* that she was gifted as a child.<sup>104</sup> This factor was clearly evidenced at the 1901 exhibition of tempera paintings, where Stokes exhibited *Little Brother and Little Sister* (**fig. 21**), which was based on a fairy tale by the Brothers Grimm.<sup>105</sup>

For Southall at least, this decision to focus on the tales and scenery of the past in his works was motivated by the fact that he believed that contemporary life was not 'beautiful'. As he explained in a paper to the Society of Painters in Tempera: 'frock coats and trousers, railroads and factories do not make beautiful pictures.'<sup>106</sup> This view was reflected in many of the paintings that Southall exhibited at the 1901 exhibition. These works included *Gismonda Drinking the Poison* (now known as *Sigismonda Drinking the Poison*) (**fig. 22**), which was inspired by a tale from Giovanni Boccaccio's *The Decameron* from the

---

<sup>101</sup> Arthur Finch, 'The Paintings of Joseph Southall,' *The Studio* 71:292 (July 1917): 43-53.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid*, 48.

<sup>103</sup> Herringham, 'Notes,' 189.

<sup>104</sup> Ford, 'The Work of Mrs Adrian Stokes,' 150.

<sup>105</sup> *Little Brother and Sister* repro. in Vallance, 'Revival,' 159.

<sup>106</sup> J. E. Southall, 'The Medieval Painter in Relation to the Modern,' 6 December 1906, reprinted in *Papers of the Society* (1907), 48.

mid-fourteenth century, and *Beauty at the Fountain* (now known as *Beauty Seeing the Image of her Home in the Fountain*, 1897-98, tempera on panel, The Wilson, Cheltenham Art Gallery and Museum). Many paintings by other exhibitors also drew upon similar themes. These included John Dickson Batten's *Saint George* (**fig. 23**) and Seymour Garstin Harvey's *The Lady of Shalott* (c.1901, current location unknown).<sup>107</sup>

Herringham's copies can be considered reinterpretations of the past, and in particular, the fifteenth century. Her copies of *Head of the Magdalene* (**cat. no. 2**) and *Head of St Catherine* (**cat. no. 3**) demonstrate how, as William Rothenstein stated, she understood not only the methodology of these ancient painters, but also their 'spirit'.<sup>108</sup> Both of these copies are details taken from Botticelli's *Madonna and Child with Six Saints* (also known as *Sant'Ambrogio Altarpiece*) (**fig. 24**). Herringham has focused on the two female saints on the edges of the painting and has isolated these figures from the wider context. In the original altarpiece the Magdalene is holding a jar of ointment, which she used to anoint the feet of Jesus, while St Catherine's hand is on a wheel, as a symbol of her martyrdom. However, by depicting solely the faces of these saints, she has omitted these symbols. Instead, as Hannah Spooner has argued, the painting has been reconstructed into 'saintly character studies ... We are invited to contemplate at close range the physical appearance of the pure in heart.'<sup>109</sup> They demonstrate how Herringham was, 'no mechanical copyist, but an interpreter.'<sup>110</sup> In these paintings, she transformed a large altarpiece into individual, intimate icons. In doing so, she demonstrated Ruskin's influence, who declared that 'the highest thing that art can do is to set before you the true image of the presence of a noble human being.'<sup>111</sup>

Examining Herringham's other copies further proves Rothenstein's assertion. The first of these is a painting known as the *Cambridge Madonna* (Newnham College, Cambridge) (**fig. 25**). The original painting, depicting the Virgin Mary holding the infant Christ, is now

---

<sup>107</sup> A slightly different version of Batten's *Saint George*, dating from 1911 or later, is now in the collections of Phoenix Art Museum, Arizona.

<sup>108</sup> William Rothenstein, 'Foreword,' in *Memorial Exhibition of Paintings in Tempera and Water Colours by the Late Lady Herringham (1852-1929)* (London: Beaux Arts Gallery, 1935), RHUL Archives, BC AR/322/3/3.

<sup>109</sup> Hannah Spooner, 'Pure Painting: Joseph Southall, Christiana Herringham and the Tempera Revival,' *The British Art Journal* 4:2 (Summer 2003): 52.

<sup>110</sup> Rothenstein, 'Foreword'.

<sup>111</sup> John Ruskin, 'The Relation of Art to Religion,' in *Works*, vol. 20 (1905), 46.

in the collections of the Courtauld Gallery (**fig. 26**) and in a poor condition. There are large areas of paint loss and the face of the child is no longer visible.<sup>112</sup> In Herringham's copy these flaws are not shown. Instead, she has chosen to depict the painting intact, as it would have when it was first painted. Here, she adopted a similar approach as she did later at Ajanta (see chapter four). She has filled the holes in the composition, so as to best show the beauty of the original work. She did the same with her copy of Botticelli's *Villa Lemmi Fresco* (current location unknown). When it was exhibited in 1908, the catalogue noted that one of the figures in the painting was a 'suggested restoration', as the face was damaged in the original.<sup>113</sup> As Meaghan Clarke has shown, this work reveals not only Herringham's confidence at replicating Botticelli's technique, but also how copies could provide 'an "imagined" restoration' and therefore translate, but not damage, the original painting.<sup>114</sup> Herringham's copy of Cosmè Tura's *Madonna and Child* (also known as *Madonna of the Zodiac*) (**cat. no. 4**) additionally demonstrates her role as 'interpreter'. In this painting, the Virgin is surrounded by the symbols of the zodiac, indicating her designation as the Queen of Heaven. These symbols, painted in gold, are now barely visible in the original painting. However, in Herringham's copy, they can clearly be seen. By showing how the work would have looked when it was freshly painted, Herringham was ensuring that she was demonstrating the possibilities of tempera and showing the potential beauty and luminosity of the medium to its fullest extent.

Herringham's copies were intended to prove the aesthetic and physical superiority of tempera over oil. She disparaged oil painting's 'convenience,' believing that it 'too readily lends itself to false finish and smugness.'<sup>115</sup> Other tempera artists expressed similar views. Alice Meynell wrote that Marianne Stokes believed that oil painting was 'too tolerant of handling and re-handling', and that the adoption of oil painting had 'separated the art of Europe from simplicity.'<sup>116</sup> Herringham's copy of Botticelli's *Portrait of a Lady Known as Smeralda Bandinelli* (**cat. no. 5**) is one example of how she was able to

---

<sup>112</sup> Alexander Roestel, email message to author, 7 February 2019. This painting was previously in the private collection of Anne Susanna Zileri (1865-1965), who was also an artist and copyist. Zileri was adopted by the sisters Susan and Joanna Horner after the death of her parents. Herringham also exhibited *Copy of a Picture Belonging to Miss Horner* in 1901. *Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition*, 13.

<sup>113</sup> *Whitechapel Art Gallery: Spring Picture Exhibition, 1908, March 12 to April 26* (London: Whitechapel Art Gallery, 1908), 25.

<sup>114</sup> Clarke, 'Women in the Galleries'.

<sup>115</sup> Herringham, 'Preface,' in *First Exhibition*, 8.

<sup>116</sup> Alice Meynell, 'Mrs Adrian Stokes,' *The Magazine of Art* (March 1901): 243.

demonstrate tempera's superiority. The original painting was owned by Dante Gabriel Rossetti between 1867 and 1880.<sup>117</sup> According to the writer Aymer Vallance, Rossetti attempted to copy the work in oil, but was unsuccessful.<sup>118</sup> By contrast, Herringham's copy is one of her more accomplished tempera works, and her skill at working with the medium is demonstrated by her success of replicating the translucency of the sitter's robes. As Vallance noted, a tempera painter would have claimed that Rossetti's failure was due to him adopting the wrong medium, and indeed Herringham stated that Rossetti would have found it 'easy' had he used tempera.<sup>119</sup> Aspects such as luminosity and subtlety of colour, as seen in both the original painting by Botticelli, and Herringham's copy, are effects which are not achievable by painting in oil, or even watercolour.

### **TEMPERA AND CRAFTSMANSHIP**

One of the main reasons why artists had abandoned tempera for oil was due to the difficulties of working with the medium. As John Roddam Spencer Stanhope stated in 1903: 'Perfect work with yolk of egg as a medium would mean completing each day's work so that it would require no retouching, but it is rarely possible to reach this point, and retouching means the loss of a certain amount of purity and freshness in the work.'<sup>120</sup> Due to its translucency, colours need to be gradually built up in layers, and once applied tempera sets rapidly, meaning that there is little margin for error. While it does set rapidly, the surface of the painting does remain 'soft and liable to injury' until it entirely dries, and during this period of time the painting is also vulnerable to mould.<sup>121</sup> Additionally, the use of egg means that the paints must constantly be mixed fresh.

However, although tempera takes a long time to completely dry – with Cennini recommending artists' waiting at least one year before varnishing a picture – once it has, it is very durable, able to withstand factors such as dirt and damp much better than oil.<sup>122</sup> The importance of these factors was illustrated by Herringham when she proclaimed:

---

<sup>117</sup> Gail S. Weinberg, 'D. G. Rossetti's Ownership of Botticelli's "Smeralda Brandini"', *The Burlington Magazine* 146:1210 (2004): 20-6.

<sup>118</sup> Quoted in Aymer Vallance, 'The Tempera Exhibition at the Carfax Gallery,' *The Studio* 35:150 (September 1905): 291.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid*; Herringham, 'Preface,' in *First Exhibition*, 7.

<sup>120</sup> Stanhope, 'Yolk of Egg Tempera,' 28.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid*, 28-9.

<sup>122</sup> Cennini, trans. Herringham, 133.

‘Can we emphasize too strongly the importance of knowing exactly what we are painting with, knowing that it is not adulterated and that it is a material capable of lasting for centuries, as pure and fresh and luminous as the day it was first laid on?’<sup>123</sup> Tempera artists believed that their work was made all the better for conquering these obstacles. As Herringham stated, ‘But without difficulty there would not be achievement; if there is no struggle there is no victory; and the triumph of a technique lies in the elaboration of its possibilities and the conquest of its difficulties’.<sup>124</sup> Unlike oil, tempera ‘can never forget its surface’, meaning that the labour and craftsmanship involved in creating a work could never be completely hidden.<sup>125</sup>

To gain a greater understanding of Herringham’s technique, six of Herringham’s tempera paintings from the collection at Royal Holloway underwent conservation and analysis between 2017 and 2018. These included all five of her tempera copies, in addition to *Italy: Venice – St Mark’s Basilica: In the Narthex* (**cat. no. 84**).<sup>126</sup> This has provided a greater insight into how Herringham interpreted Cennini’s treatise and approached her own work. One of the works to be conserved was Herringham’s copy of *The Combat of Love and Chastity*. In a paper she delivered to the Society of Painters in Tempera in 1902, she mentioned this painting as an example of tempera on display at the National Gallery in London. She stated the painting exhibits ‘a high finish and depth of tone hardly to be matched except in Flemish oil painting’.<sup>127</sup> This statement suggests that with this copy, Herringham was undertaking an investigation into materials and technique.

The analysis revealed that Herringham was using a combination of both traditional and more modern techniques in her copies. Gas chromatography–mass spectrometry (GC-MS) was undertaken on *The Combat of Love and Chastity* and *Madonna and Child*. It revealed that the primary binding medium in both paintings was egg, therefore

---

<sup>123</sup> Herringham, ‘Preface,’ in *First Exhibition*, 6.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>126</sup> Herringham’s copies are: *The Combat of Love and Chastity* (after Gherardo di Giovanni del Fora) (**cat. no. 1**); *Head of the Magdalene* (after Botticelli) (**cat. no. 2**); *Head of St Catherine* (after Botticelli) (**cat. no. 3**); *Madonna and Child* (after Cosmè Tura) (**cat. no. 4**); and *Portrait of a Lady Known as Smeralda Bandinelli* (after Botticelli) (**cat. no. 5**).

<sup>127</sup> C. J. Herringham, ‘Methods of Tempera as Exemplified in a Few Pictures at the National Gallery,’ (21 October 1902), in *Papers of the Society* (1907), 17.

definitively confirming Herringham's use of tempera.<sup>128</sup> In addition to egg, traces of rosin, drying oil, and wax were found to have been used in *The Combat of Love and Chastity*, suggesting that Herringham experimented with her technique. Analysis shows that Herringham was using traditional pigments, such as lead white, yellow ochre, and red-brown paints composed primarily of natural earth pigments. However, she was additionally using colours which were not available until the nineteenth century, such as zinc white and viridian.<sup>129</sup> These findings are perhaps not surprising, as in the notes to her translation, she wrote that:

It would be antiquarianism to limit ourselves in paintings to the pigments available in the fifteenth century. As was evidently done by the school Cennino represents, we should exercise a wise eclecticism, and in doing so, should reject for some purposes pigments which he employed, having now better ones.<sup>130</sup>

Her pamphlet, *How to Paint Tempera Pictures*, presents a similar picture. In this text, she noted that she used the following colours: zinc oxide, burnt sienna, yellow ochre, ultramarine (real and artificial), aureolin (cobalt yellow), cobalt (blue), raw sienna, blue black, vermilion, viridian, Venetian red, and ruby madder.<sup>131</sup> Herringham's open-mindedness and her willingness to experiment with materials demonstrates that she was an artist who was willing to look forwards as well as to the past.

Herringham experimented with a variety of surface coatings for her tempera paintings. In a letter to the artist Estella Canziani in 1901, Herringham discussed her recipe for a compound varnish, which used oil amber varnish by Cornelissen, ready prepared picture mastic varnish by Rowney's, and Canada balsam 'specially purified and dry like resin' (which she noted could be obtained already dissolved from Cooper's on Greek Street in London).<sup>132</sup> *The Combat of Love and Chastity* was covered in a thick layer of natural resin varnish. Herringham appears to have exhibited this painting at both the 1901 and 1905

---

<sup>128</sup> Hannah Tempest, 'Technical Analysis of Two Paintings by Christiana Jane Herringham,' *Tempest Conservation and Analysis*, December 2017-January 2018, CJH-HP-RHPG/2017, Royal Holloway, University of London.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> Herringham, 'Notes,' 244.

<sup>131</sup> Herringham, *How to Paint*, 7.

<sup>132</sup> CH to Estella Canziani, 5 July 1901, in 'Appendix I,' in Estella Canziani, *Round About Three Palace Green* (London: 1939), 389.

tempera exhibitions.<sup>133</sup> The 1901 exhibition catalogue states that this work was painted with egg yolk tempera and unvarnished, yet the 1905 exhibition catalogue does not state whether or not the work was varnished. It is possible that, if this work had only recently been finished at the time of the 1901 exhibition, that Herringham was following Cennini's advice, which stated that artists should wait at least one year before varnishing a picture.<sup>134</sup> By choosing to varnish this copy, Herringham was most likely attempting to replicate the effect of the original painting, as the conservation records of the original work state that it was cleaned and varnished on its acquisition by the National Gallery in 1885.<sup>135</sup>

She also exhibited two other varnished copies at the 1901 exhibition: *Portrait of a Young Man* (tempera on panel, current location unknown) and a *Madonna and Angels* (tempera on panel, current location unknown), both after Botticelli.<sup>136</sup> Interestingly, both *Portrait of a Young Man* and *The Virgin and Child with Saint John and Two Angels* are now listed by the National Gallery as being tempera and oil. Herringham did note in her translation the difficulty of discerning whether a varnished tempera painting was in tempera or not, and later, in a paper presented to the Society of Painters in Tempera on the subject of tempera paintings at the National Gallery, she stated that the main difficulty they faced was that 'we scarcely know which pictures are tempera and which are not.'<sup>137</sup>

Herringham's copies of *Madonna and Child*, *Head of the Magdalene* and *Head of St Catherine*, were all covered with wax, rather than varnish. Wax was also detected in the sample from *The Combat of Love and Chastity*. Wax was a method that had long been employed in the preservation of paintings; the paintings at Pompeii were covered with

---

<sup>133</sup> Herringham is known to have completed more than one copy of the same painting, as demonstrated by the two copies she made of Botticelli's *Madonna of the Book*; one of these copies is now in the collection of Guildford House Gallery, while the other is in a private collection. However, the copy of *The Combat of Love and Chastity* in the collections at Royal Holloway is the only one known to exist.

<sup>134</sup> Cennini, trans. Herringham, 133.

<sup>135</sup> National Gallery Conservation Record relating to Gherardo di Giovanni del Fora, *The Combat of Love and Chastity* (NG1196), National Gallery Archives, London.

<sup>136</sup> Both of these works were listed as being copies from the National Gallery, although it is uncertain whether the title of *Madonna and Angels* refers to *The Virgin and Child with Saint John and an Angel* or *The Virgin and Child with Saint John and Two Angels*. This copy may be the same painting as *Madonna and Child with Saints*, which was previously in the collections at Bedford College.

<sup>137</sup> Herringham, 'Notes,' 183; Herringham, 'Methods of Tempera,' 17.

experimental treatments of hot wax after their discovery in the eighteenth century.<sup>138</sup> It was also employed elsewhere by members of the Society of Painters in Tempera. In 1912, Mary Sargent Florence won a competition to complete a fresco panel on the subject of 'Literature' in Chelsea Town Hall.<sup>139</sup> The Papers of the Society of Painters in Tempera state that this work was actually completed in tempera on canvas and fixed to the wall. In 1914, Florence expressed concern about the possible effects of condensation in the hall on the painting. On the recommendation of Noel Heaton, it was protected by a layer of pure white ceresine wax, which had been dissolved in toluol.<sup>140</sup>

Herringham's other tempera paintings, including *Portrait of a Lady Known as Smeralda Bandinelli* and *Italy: Venice – St Mark's Basilica: In the Narthex* reveal that she did not always apply protective layers to her works. Neither of these paintings appeared to have a surface coating.<sup>141</sup> Southall was steadfastly against the varnishing of his works, as he believed that leaving his paintings unvarnished would spare them the attention of restorers.<sup>142</sup> Many of his works, including *The Rose Bowl* (1905, tempera on canvas laid down on panel, private collection), *Sigismonda Drinking the Poison*, and *Beauty Receiving the White Rose from her Father* include inscriptions with Southall's strict instructions that the works were never to be varnished.<sup>143</sup>

---

<sup>138</sup> Eric M. Moormann, 'Destruction and Restoration of Campanian Mural Paintings in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries,' in *The Conservation of Wall Paintings: Proceedings of a Symposium Organized by the Courtauld Institute of Art and the Getty Conservation Institute, London, July 13-16, 1987*, ed. Sharon Cather (Marina del Rey, CA: Getty Conservation Institute, 1991), 95-6. Herringham would have been aware of its use at Pompeii, as she researched the Pompeii frescoes for a report she wrote for the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) on the condition of the wall paintings at St Mary's Church in Guildford. She also provided SPAB with extracts from Wolfgang Helbig's *Wandgemälde der vom Vesuv Verschütteten Städte Campaniens*, which she had used in her research and translated into English. CH to HTT, 1 March [1900], Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings Archives (hereafter cited as SPAB): Guildford. St Mary's Church (Surrey).

<sup>139</sup> Elizabeth Crawford, *The Women's Suffrage Movement: A Reference Guide 1866-1928* (London: Routledge, 2001), 224.

<sup>140</sup> Noel Heaton, 'Encaustic Treatment of Tempera Painting in Chelsea Town Hall 1914,' September 1924 in *Papers of the Society* (1925), 44.

<sup>141</sup> Harriet Pearson, conservation reports for Christiana Herringham, *Smeralda Bandinelli* and Christiana Herringham, *Italy: Venice – In the Narthex of St Mark's Cathedral* (RHUL, 2019).

<sup>142</sup> Breeze, *Joseph Southall*, 22.

<sup>143</sup> 'Lot 13: Joseph Edward Southall, R.W.S. (1861-1944): The Rose Bowl,' *Christie's*, <https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/joseph-edward-southall-rws-1861-1944-the-rose-6089737-details.aspx>, accessed 19 April 2019; *ibid*, 32, 34.

Analysis also revealed that Herringham appears to have prepared the supports for her paintings herself. In *How to Paint Tempera Pictures* she noted that egg tempera ‘will not adhere to any ground which has oil in it, so the ordinary colourmen’s canvasses and panels are useless.’<sup>144</sup> The panel for *Madonna and Child* was formed from two pieces of wood, which appear to have been cut from one original board, possibly as an experiment into the preparation of panels.<sup>145</sup> Herringham also appears to have prepared the canvas for *Italy: Venice – In the Narthex of St Mark’s Cathedral*. The spacing and positioning of the tacks, which attach the canvas to the stretcher is uneven, suggesting that it was not carried out by a professional.<sup>146</sup>

In the preparatory layers of her panels, Herringham was faithfully copying *quattrocento* methods. Interestingly, although Botticelli did apply a woven layer to his panel for *Portrait of a Lady Known as Smeralda Bandinelli*, Herringham has not replicated his technique in her copy. It is possible that she thought she was being historically accurate, as a complete fabric layer was unusual by the time that Botticelli painted his work.<sup>147</sup> In the case of her copy of Tura’s *Madonna and Child*, a woven material was applied to the wood, followed by gesso. The analysis suggests that Herringham was applying *gesso grosso* and *gesso sottile* in sequential layers, as described by Cennini.<sup>148</sup> Fourier transform infrared (FTIR) spectroscopy analysis was undertaken and identified the primary component of the ground as gypsum, with traces of an unidentified protein. If Herringham was following the teachings of Cennini, this is likely to be animal size. These results coincide with Herringham’s notes on her experiments. She wrote that she primed her panels with plaster of Paris mixed with size, which she made by boiling parchment shavings.<sup>149</sup>

---

<sup>144</sup> Herringham, *How to Paint*, 6.

<sup>145</sup> Harriet Pearson, conservation report for Christiana Herringham, *Madonna and Child* (RHUL, 2018).

<sup>146</sup> Harriet Pearson, conservation report for *Italy: Venice – In the Narthex of St Mark’s Cathedral* (RHUL, 2019).

<sup>147</sup> Nicola Costaras and Clare Richardson, ‘Botticelli’s Portrait of a Lady known as Smeralda Bandinelli: A Technical Study,’ in *Botticelli Past and Present*, eds. Ana DeBenedetti and Caroline Elam (London: UCL Press, 2019), 40; Harriet Pearson, conservation report for *Smeralda Bandinelli* (RHUL, 2018).

<sup>148</sup> Gesso is made by mixing a binder (traditionally, animal skin glue) with chalk or plaster. *Gesso sottile* is a thin mixture, while *gesso grosso* is thick. Thompson, *Materials and Techniques*, 32.

<sup>149</sup> Herringham, *How to Paint*, 3.

The results demonstrate that Herringham was taking the idea of craftsmanship seriously; she was preparing her own panels, and likely to be mixing at least some of her own paints. This reflects how the revival of tempera emerged from the Arts and Crafts Movement. This generation of artists believed it was essential to be involved with every step of the artistic process. Southall's artistic practice demonstrates the dedication that these artists showed towards their work; he kept his own chickens to guarantee a steady supply of fresh eggs, and even sometimes dug up his own pigments to guarantee their purity.<sup>150</sup> By emphasising the practical aspects of their work they were also, like followers of the Arts and Crafts Movement, hoping to once again bring fine arts and craftsmanship together. Many of the artists exhibiting their work with the Society of Painters in Tempera, such as Walter Crane, John Dickson Batten, May Morris, and Arthur and Georgie Gaskin, were also members and exhibitors at the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society.<sup>151</sup> The exhibitions held by the Society of Painters in Tempera included not only tempera paintings, but also a number of examples of decorative arts and crafts. Exhibits included illuminated manuscripts by Allan F. Vigers, Phoebe Traquair and Jessie Bayes; gilded mirrors by John Paul Cooper; carved and gilded boxes by Ada P. Ridley; and painted pottery by Alfred Hoare Powell.

This emphasis on craftsmanship can be additionally observed in the carefully designed frames for the paintings included in the Society's exhibitions. These were often a collaboration between multiple exhibitors. Herringham's copy of Tura's *Madonna and Child* is presented in an almost-exact replica of the original frame, which she is highly likely to have designed herself. Her copy of Pietro Orioli's *The Visitation* is presented in a slightly altered version of the original frame, to account for the omission of the two adjoining panels. Moreover, the frame to Herringham's *Cambridge Madonna* includes moulded flowers and a vine pattern similar to that seen on the original painting's frame. The gilding for these frames was possibly completed by Mary Batten (1874-1932), as Herringham is known to have collaborated with her. Batten was the wife of John Dickson Batten, one of the founding members of the Society of Painters in Tempera. In 1905, Herringham exhibited a copy of Botticelli's *Calumny* with a frame designed by herself and

---

<sup>150</sup> Breeze, 'Decorative Painting,' 66; Spooner, 'Pure Painting,' 50.

<sup>151</sup> See: *Arts & Crafts Exhibition Society: Catalogue of the Sixth Exhibition, the New Gallery, 121 Regent St 1899* (London: Chiswick Press, 1899).

gilded by Mary, although unfortunately, the current location of this copy and its frame are unknown.<sup>152</sup> They were also both founding members of the Women's Guild of Arts in 1907.<sup>153</sup> Although Herringham's designs for these particular frames do not appear to have survived, the collections at Royal Holloway include multiple examples by Herringham of studies or possible designs for frames, such as **cat. no. 161** and **162**. These works by Herringham can be taken in conjunction with her study of a panel (**cat. no. 154**), which includes her notes of how to design and create such objects.

Mary Batten also worked with her husband on the frames for many of his paintings, including *St George and the Dragon* (exh. 1901, current location unknown) and *Mother and Child* (unknown date, current location unknown). In a paper delivered in 1933 to the Society she stated that her method had remained almost unchanged since the end of the nineteenth century, and that she always followed Cennini's instructions.<sup>154</sup> Joseph Southall regularly designed and carved his frames, such as the one for *St Dorothea and Her Two Sisters Refusing to Worship the Idol*.<sup>155</sup> He also collaborated with several craftworkers on the gilding of his frames, including May Morris, Winifred Boielle, and his wife, Anna Elizabeth ('Bessie') Southall.<sup>156</sup> The dedication which this group of artists and craftworkers showed towards their work is demonstrated through Bessie Southall's notes, which she kept so that she could charge her husband for her labour and materials.<sup>157</sup> Her notes state that the frame for *Changing the Letter* (**fig. 27**) took 128 ½ hours to complete, over a period of four months.<sup>158</sup>

By designing their own frames and entrusting the gilding to other artists within their personal and professional circles, the artists of the British Tempera Revival were ensuring the quality of their work. Herringham noted modern methods were unsuitable

---

<sup>152</sup> *First Exhibition*, 16.

<sup>153</sup> Paper roll of members of the Women's Guild of Arts, WGAA.

<sup>154</sup> Mary Batten, 'On Gilding,' 16 May 1933, reprinted in *Papers of the Society* (1936), 53.

<sup>155</sup> Abbie N. Sprague, 'The British Tempera Revival: A Return to Craftsmanship,' *The British Art Journal* 3:3 (2002): pl.3, 70.

<sup>156</sup> *First Exhibition*, 13.

<sup>157</sup> George Breeze, 'Joseph Southall and the Tempera Revival,' in *Tempera Painting 1800-1950: Experiment and Innovation from the Nazarene Movement to Abstract Art*, eds. Patrick Dietemann et al. (London: Archetype Publications, 2019), 125.

<sup>158</sup> Breeze, *Joseph Southall*, 41.

if one wanted 'to make a gold drapery or background, or to gild a frame to be really like the old work in quality'. It was useless to go to the 'trade', as:

The mischief-making desire of the modern gilder is to make his ground as smooth and level as the face of a plate-glass mirror ... Rather than aim at machine-like perfection in mouldings and surface, it is better deliberately to aim at a certain ruggedness and want of finish, and in frames, rounded corners, and obtuse angles and half-choked hollows, for the sake of the gold, that its reflecting planes may be multiplied.<sup>159</sup>

This disapproval of 'machine-like perfection' echoed Ruskin's view of modern craftsmanship; in *The Stones of Venice* he criticised 'all those accurate mouldings, and perfect polishings, and unerring adjustments of the seasoned wood and tempered steel' that filled the contemporary home.<sup>160</sup> William Morris expressed similar beliefs. In a paper he delivered in 1889, he stated that the invention of modern dyes, such as aniline dyes, meant that there was now 'an absolute divorce between the *commercial process* and the *art* of dyeing.' Like Herringham, he believed that to achieve true craftsmanship it was necessary to look to the past and advised that to produce a truly artistic dyed textile it was essential to abandon modern methods in favour of ancient ones.<sup>161</sup>

## **CONCLUSION**

The British Tempera Revival can perhaps be considered a natural culmination of the artistic debates and movements of the mid-to-late nineteenth century. The teachings of John Ruskin, which had influenced so many artists, were absorbed with a new intensity by the artists of the British Tempera Revival. They sought to overturn the decline in the quality of art, which in turn would have a positive effect on society. They believed that art has a higher, almost spiritual purpose, and therefore artists should pursue suitably unadulterated methods and mediums in order to create truly 'pure' art. The influence of the Pre-Raphaelites can be observed as this new generation of artists embraced the beauty of the past and constructed a nostalgic vision of a pre-industrial age. Like the Pre-Raphaelites, they designed their own frames, but took Pre-Raphaelitism a further by also

---

<sup>159</sup> Herringham, 'Notes,' 239-40.

<sup>160</sup> Ruskin, 'The Stones of Venice: Volume II,' 193.

<sup>161</sup> William Morris, 'The Art of Dyeing,' 29 October 1889, *The William Morris Internet Archive*, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/morris/works/1889/dyeing.htm>, accessed 19 April 2019.

employing the materials and techniques of the past. In addition to gilding their own frames, they prepared their own panels and mixed their own paints.

In doing so, the artists of the British Tempera Revival brought together art and craftsmanship. In this way, the revival can also be seen as a progression of the Arts and Crafts Movement. Many tempera artists also exhibited with the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society or, like Herringham, were additionally members of the Women's Guild of Arts. The artists and craftworkers involved with both of these artistic movements sought to blur the boundaries between fine and decorative arts. To achieve this, both the exhibitions of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society and those of the Society of Painters in Tempera displayed fine and decorative works of art alongside each other. By listing the names of all of the artists involved in the works, such as the gilders of the frames, they also ensured that all of the workers involved in the works received equal recognition. Furthermore, the artists of both movements believed that it was necessary to turn away from modern methods and seek a return to ancient methods to create true art.

Herringham's translation served as an inspiration to this new generation of artists, who wanted to ensure both the quality and the longevity of their work. Her translation and accompanying notes provided contemporary artists with practical advice on how to apply historical art methods to modern art. Fry's assertion that Herringham was responsible for the spread of practical knowledge of tempera was demonstrated by the small, yet significant, group of artists, craftsmen, and craftswomen, who used her translation as a manual for their own work. The revival of tempera in Britain also paved the way for the medium's renaissance in the United States between circa 1930-50. Like the British movement, it took place amid a backdrop of concerns surrounding industrialisation, the loss of craftsmanship, and an obsession with the past.<sup>162</sup> Although Herringham's impact on the American revival was less direct, it is known that Thomas Hart Benton, one of its leading artists, used Herringham's translation in his early experiments with the medium.<sup>163</sup> The British Tempera Revival additionally influenced

---

<sup>162</sup> Richard J. Boyle, 'The American Tempera Revival in Context,' in Richard J. Boyle, Hilton Brown and Richard Newman, *Milk and Eggs: The American Revival of Tempera Painting, 1930-1950*, exh. cat., eds. Richard J. Boyle, Hilton Brown and Richard Newman (London: Washington University Press, 2002), 24.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid*, 22.

the mural revival in Mexico, which emerged in the 1920s and was led by figures such as Diego Rivera. Daniel V. Thompson stated that the developments in Mexico were based directly upon Herringham's work.<sup>164</sup> Moreover, tempera was also used by the artists of the Bengal School in the early twentieth century and Nandalal Bose, who worked with Herringham at Ajanta, employed her translation to assist with his later work.<sup>165</sup>

Although Herringham was perhaps the single most significant figure who facilitated the British Tempera Revival, she was one of a number of women, such as Marianne Stokes and Mary Sargent Florence, who were active within the movement. It can be considered that women artists were maybe more willing to experiment and be flexible in their artistic approach and methodology, and that this was a direct result of them being denied access to the Academy and the establishment. While Herringham's paintings had perhaps less of a lasting impact on the British Tempera Revival than her writings, they offer a significant insight. They reveal the influence which the early Renaissance had on these artists and the impact of wider contemporary debates surrounding the superiority of historical methods and materials. Furthermore, Herringham's copies provide an important comprehension of the working practices of tempera artists at the turn of the twentieth century. They demonstrate how Herringham was flexible, open-minded and experimental in her technique; willing to both employ the expertise of the past, as well as looking forward to the future.

---

<sup>164</sup> Thompson, *Materials and Techniques*, 62.

<sup>165</sup> Partha Mitter, *The Triumph of Modernism: India's Artists and the Avant-Garde 1922-1947* (London: Reaktion Books, 2007), 86.

## **Chapter Three: Herringham and Art Writing**

In 1899, Christiana Herringham published her first piece of art writing: a translation of Cennino Cennini's (c.1370-c.1440) *Il Libro dell'Arte*. In the following decade, Herringham became well-established in the art historical field as an expert on tempera and Indian art, until her breakdown in 1911 ended her career. In addition to her translation, her *oeuvre* included articles for the periodical press, content for exhibition catalogues, and public lectures. Her texts cover a wide and disparate range of topics, reflecting Herringham's own artworks and her choices as a collector. Taken as a case study, Herringham's writings can reveal wider trends in the emerging discipline of art history and when examining these in relation to those by other women, it uncovers the extent to which her work is typical of the period. Herringham's status as a female art writer demonstrates the semi-professionalised nature of the field at this time, and evidences how there was still space for more 'amateur' experts within the discipline. Furthermore, when taken in conjunction with Herringham's artworks, her writings allow an insight into the object-based nature of her research.

As discussed in chapter two, Herringham's interest in early Renaissance art reflects wider academic and public interest in the period and historical art methods. Yet, by focusing on tempera, Herringham was also exploring an underexamined and overlooked aspect of art history. Likewise, while her articles on carpet patterns are indicative of wider enthusiasm for Eastern craftsmanship, Herringham's writings go a step further, by also focusing on Indian fine art. Herringham's wide range of interests are reflected in her artworks, which include depictions of decorative details, architectural studies, and copies of religious paintings. Despite the disparate nature of the subjects that she wrote about, there is also a clear focus. Throughout her work there is a recurring interest in recovering and conserving the past. Herringham's studies of European churches and cathedrals directly link to her concerns surrounding restoration and her work with the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB). The intentions of Herringham's artworks and her writings were therefore intertwined.

However, the extent to which Herringham saw herself as an art writer is unknown. In a 1903 letter, in which she considered her place within the National Art Collections Fund, she called herself ‘more of an artist than anything else’.<sup>1</sup> She downplayed her ambitions and appeared hesitant to declare any aspirations of becoming a true ‘connoisseur’ or art historian, dismissing such claims even at the end of her career.<sup>2</sup> Yet, she also appeared confident in her knowledge and analytical abilities, as evidenced by her claims to have improved on the previous English translation of *Il Libro dell’Arte*, and by contributing to discussions surrounding the attribution of paintings. Herringham’s ambiguous status within the art historical field can be taken in context as part of a wider difficulty in defining what it meant to be an art historian at the turn of the twentieth century; a period when qualifications and eligibility had yet to be fully formalised.

Academics have only recently begun to research the work of early female art historians. As Deborah Cherry noted in 1993: ‘feminine spectators have remained beneath the surface of historical discourse.’<sup>3</sup> Meaghan Clarke’s research focuses on women writing for the art press at the *fin de siècle*. Clarke has explored the obstacles that these women faced, in addition to the varied and numerous ways they crafted a public identity for themselves.<sup>4</sup> Clarke has also researched Herringham’s role as an art writer, including Herringham’s ‘scientific’ approach to connoisseurship and the ways in which her practice was informed by her role as an artist.<sup>5</sup> Hilary Fraser’s most recent book, *Women Writing Art History in the Nineteenth Century: Looking Like a Woman* (2014), focuses on women writing outside the established parameters of the art historical discipline, such as through poetry or novels.<sup>6</sup> John Paul M. Kanwit’s recent work examines the role of women writers within the field of art criticism during the Victorian period. While he does examine some less-researched women, such as Emilia Dilke, the book places most emphasis on the writings about art which appeared in novels by women, rather than

---

<sup>1</sup> CH to LB, 14 July [1903], UM:ML, B.28.F.24.

<sup>2</sup> CH to WR, 31 May 1911, UM:ML, B.27.F.31.

<sup>3</sup> Deborah Cherry, *Painting Women: Victorian Women Artists* (London: Routledge, 1993), 116.

<sup>4</sup> Meaghan Clarke, *Critical Voices: Women and Art Criticism in Britain 1880-1905* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005); Meaghan Clarke, ‘The Art Press at the Fin de Siècle: Women, Collecting, and Connoisseurship,’ *Visual Resources* 31:1-2 (2015): 15-30.

<sup>5</sup> Meaghan Clarke, ‘“The Greatest Living Critic”: Christiana Herringham and the Practice of Connoisseurship,’ *Visual Resources* 33:1-2 (2017): 94-116.

<sup>6</sup> Hilary Fraser, *Women Writing Art History in the Nineteenth Century: Looking Like a Woman* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

formal art criticism.<sup>7</sup> This attempt within art history to redress the previous neglect of women's achievements can be seen in the recent issues of *Visual Resources* and *19* focusing on the topic.<sup>8</sup> This chapter will add to this emerging field by analysing both Herringham's artworks and her writings. By taking into consideration how Herringham's copies and architectural studies fit into her wider interest in heritage and restoration, it will create a fuller picture of Herringham as an art writer. It will also contextualise her work in comparison to other women writing about art at the *fin de siècle*.

Kate Hill's research suggests that art writing was not the only profession which allowed women to possess knowledge and wield cultural authority. Museums underwent a process of significant growth and development in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Although they became increasingly professionalised – with the Museums Association founded in 1889 – boundaries were yet to be fully established, and it was still possible to build a curatorial career without academic qualifications up until the First World War.<sup>9</sup> Constance Jocelyn Ffoulkes (1858-1950) worked in several museums in order to supplement the poor pay she received for writing, including cataloguing at the South Kensington Museum, and lecturing at the National Gallery.<sup>10</sup> Jane Ellen Harrison (1850-1928), an expert on Ancient Greek art, lectured at the British Museum until she was awarded the first research fellowship at Newnham College, which coincidentally was funded by Herringham.<sup>11</sup> Herringham gained influence in the museums sector when she became one of the founders of the National Art Collections Fund, which was established

---

<sup>7</sup> John Paul M. Kanwit, *Victorian Art Criticism and the Woman Writer* (Columbus, OH: The Ohio State University Press, 2013).

<sup>8</sup> 'Special Issue: Women's Expertise and the Culture of Connoisseurship,' *Visual Resources*, eds. Meaghan Clarke and Francesco Ventrella, 33:1-2 (2017); 'Special Issue: Old Masters, Modern Women,' *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, eds. Maria Alambritis, Susanna Avery-Quash and Hilary Fraser 28 (2019).

<sup>9</sup> Kate Hill, *Women and Museums, 1850-1914: Modernity and the Gendering of Knowledge* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 27.

<sup>10</sup> Julia Cartwright noted that Ffoulkes was paid 15 shillings a day for her work at the South Kensington Museum, in contrast to the 10 cents a line she earned writing for *L'Arte*. Julia Cartwright, *A Bright Remembrance: The Diaries of Julia Cartwright 1851-1924*, ed. Angela Emanuel (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989), 188, 212, 224.

<sup>11</sup> Arlen Shelley, "For Love of an Idea": Jane Ellen Harrison, Heretic and Humanist,' *Women's History Review* 5:2 (1996): 168; Gillian Sutherland, *Faith, Duty and the Power of Mind: The Cloughs and their Circle 1820-1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 145.

to help finance purchases for Britain's public galleries.<sup>12</sup> However, in museums, as in the related fields of archaeology and anthropology, roles were increasingly segregated by gender. Although women were able to carve out a space for themselves, they also found themselves largely relegated to the more 'feminine' roles of cataloguing, interpretation, and public engagement. By contrast, men were associated with the role of the expert and learned curator in museums, while male anthropologists and archaeologists were aligned with the trope of the heroic explorer.<sup>13</sup> Although Herringham's personal money created the NACF, she still found her role limited by the other, male, committee members, who refused to appoint any more women to the committee.<sup>14</sup>

### **WOMEN ART WRITERS OF THE *FIN DE SIÈCLE***

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, increasing numbers of women wrote for newspapers and magazines. Like art, writing was a career which was considered by many (though not all) as 'acceptable' for middle-class women. The 1904 book *Press Work for Women*, which was aimed at aspiring journalists, noted that such a career appealed to many women as little training was required to enter the profession.<sup>15</sup> However, the author warned readers:

the statements that from time to time appear in the Press as to the elegant dress of this well-known journalist, or the expensive entertainments given by another, must not be taken as affording any clue to the incomes actually earned by these individuals. In nine cases out of ten, such ladies have well-to-do husbands or fathers, who contribute to their support.<sup>16</sup>

It advised women that they could expect a modest income of no more than £100-£150 a year.<sup>17</sup> As this figure was for women who pursued writing as a full-time career, it can be concluded that Herringham did not earn a significant income from her writing, as she was published sporadically. Despite this, she was still able to establish herself as an expert in her field.

---

<sup>12</sup> For a detailed discussion of the foundation of the NACF and its purchase of the Rokeby Venus, see: Mary Lago, *Christiana Herringham and the Edwardian Art Scene* (London: Lund Humphries, 1996), 69-143.

<sup>13</sup> See: Hill, *Women and Museums*, 17-46, 156-82.

<sup>14</sup> CH to LB, 20 August 1903, UM:ML, B.28.F.24.

<sup>15</sup> Frances H. Low, *Press Work for Women* (London: L. Upcott Gill, 1904), 1.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*, 4.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*, 5.

Despite the success of Herringham and numerous other art writers, *Press Work for Women* stated that art criticism continued to be 'almost wholly in the hands of men', even in women's papers at the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>18</sup> Yet, in the late nineteenth century, women such as Alice Meynell (1847-1922), Florence Fenwick Miller (1854-1935), and Elizabeth Robins Pennell (1855-1936) achieved professional success and public recognition writing about art for both specialist and popular publications. These women did not limit themselves to writing about art. Meynell regularly submitted articles for the *Magazine of Art* and the *Art Journal* and, from 1893, wrote a weekly column on art for the *Pall Mall Gazette*. She also worked as a poet. In addition to her journalism, Fenwick Miller was a successful public lecturer. She regularly interweaved her feminist politics into her writings on art for publications such as the *Art Journal* and the *Illustrated London News*. Pennell wrote on art for publications such as *Woman*, the *Fortnightly Review*, and the *Star*; she was additionally the author of a notable biography of Mary Wollstonecraft and several travelogues.<sup>19</sup>

At the beginning of the twentieth century, women also wrote for new periodicals such as *The Connoisseur* and *The Studio*. *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* was another new periodical, aimed at collectors and art experts. The editorial to the first issue in March 1903 stated that the publication sought to correct the 'curious and shameful anomaly' that Britain was the only major European country without 'any periodical which makes the serious and disinterested study of ancient art its chief occupation.'<sup>20</sup> Between its first issue and December 1911, 39 different women contributed signed articles to the publication.<sup>21</sup> Nonetheless, compared to the male contributors, the number of female contributors was small. In 1908, there were six female contributors (including Herringham), compared to 58 male contributors; there were more male contributors to the January 1908 issue alone than there were female contributors for the entirety of the year.

---

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, 23.

<sup>19</sup> See chapters 3-5 of Clarke, *Critical Voices* for an in-depth discussion of these women and their work.

<sup>20</sup> [Robert Dell], 'Editorial Article,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 1:1 (March 1903): 5.

<sup>21</sup> This number does not include the writers of book reviews – the vast majority of these are either unsigned or signed with only initials. Herringham was one of a very small number of reviewers who did sign with her name – probably to avoid confusion with C. J. Holmes, one of the editors of the magazine.

Herringham was a frequent contributor to *The Burlington* during these years, submitting nine articles, as well as several book reviews and letters. Only one woman, Alethea Wiel, contributed more signed articles to the publication in this period. Several women who wrote for the magazine, such as May Morris, Margaret Jourdain, Julia Cartwright, and Eugénie Sellers Strong contributed multiple articles and were prominent figures in their field. Other women wrote for the magazine either anonymously or under a pseudonym, including Mary Berenson, who wrote three lengthy reviews for the magazine in 1903 under the initials 'M.L.'.<sup>22</sup> No archival records exist for the first decades of *The Burlington's* existence, meaning that it is difficult to ascertain how many women were contributing to the periodical anonymously. Female contributors wrote on a variety of subjects, although they tended to focus on decorative rather than fine arts, and particularly textiles. Morris wrote several articles on embroidery and Jourdain wrote several on lace, making Herringham's focus on carpets not unusual. What does make Herringham unusual is the breadth of content she wrote about. Most of these women writers focused on one subject; all of Wiel's pieces were about Italy, and chiefly Italian monuments and heritage. By contrast, Herringham wrote about not only carpets, but also heritage and Indian art, as well as weighing in on debates surrounding the authenticity of Renaissance paintings.

Although many male art writers specialised on a singular subject, it would perhaps have been considered less unusual for a man's expertise to cover such a range of subjects. For example, Roger Fry, one of the founders of *The Burlington* and its co-editor from 1909 to 1919, was well regarded for his knowledge of early Italian 'primitive' paintings, but also his criticism of modern art. He coined the term 'post-impressionism' and was greatly influential in introducing the style to British audiences.<sup>23</sup> C. J. Holmes, the co-editor of *The Burlington* from 1903 to 1909, also wrote on a wide range of subjects, including John

---

<sup>22</sup> Barbara Pezzini, 'Connoisseurship as "The Art-Element in Art": Three Unknown Articles by Mary Berenson in the Burlington Magazine (1903),' *The Burlington Magazine Index Blog*, 19 March 2014, accessed 20 April 2019, <https://burlingtonindex.wordpress.com/2014/03/19/mary-berenson-burlington-magazine/>.

<sup>23</sup> Fry organised the famous *Manet and the Post-Impressionists* exhibition, held at the Grafton Galleries in London in 1910. The exhibition is credited with introducing modern French artists, such as Paul Cezanne, Vincent Van Gogh and Paul Gauguin, to the British public. See: Elizabeth Berkowitz, 'The 1910 "Manet and the Post-Impressionists" Exhibition: Importance and Critical Issues,' *BRANCH: Britain, Representation and Nineteenth-Century History*, ed. Dino Franco Felluga (January 2017) [http://www.branchcollective.org/?ps\\_articles=elizabeth-berkowitz-the-1910-manet-and-the-post-impresionists-exhibition-importance-and-critical-issues](http://www.branchcollective.org/?ps_articles=elizabeth-berkowitz-the-1910-manet-and-the-post-impresionists-exhibition-importance-and-critical-issues).

Constable, Japanese art, early Italian painting, and James Abbott McNeill Whistler.<sup>24</sup> There were possibly differing expectations for men and women in regard to their expertise. Julia Cartwright's knowledge included both Renaissance and contemporary art. Yet, she noted one reviewer of her work commented that, 'I am *too versatile* to be an original authority on any subject!'<sup>25</sup>

In addition to writing for the press, women published books on art for both popular and more specialist audiences. Maria Alambritis has noted that eleven of the thirty volumes of the popular series *Great Masters in Painting and Sculpture* (1899-1914) were written by women.<sup>26</sup> In particular, gallery handbooks and translations were two areas of art writing which were considered more acceptable for women to undertake. Caroline Palmer has shown that in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, travel accounts and guidebooks were an 'acceptably genteel format' which allowed women to discuss art and avoid accusations of arrogance and impropriety.<sup>27</sup> Fraser has similarly shown that, throughout the nineteenth century, women's early forays into art writing often took the form of travelogues, guidebooks, practical manuals, or translations.<sup>28</sup> This trend can be seen in the works of numerous women writing in the early-to-mid-nineteenth century, including Anna Jameson (1794-1860) and Elizabeth Rigby Eastlake (1809-93). Translation was perhaps considered a more suitable outlet for women because it did not require 'independent creative effort'.<sup>29</sup> Translations have historically been categorised as feminine; summarised by John Florio's declaration at the beginning of the seventeenth

---

<sup>24</sup> According to *The Burlington's* archive, Holmes wrote a total of 214 articles, letters and reviews between 1903 and 1939. These included: C. J. Holmes, 'Constable's Dedham Vale, 1811,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 12:56 (November 1907): 66, 74-7; C. J. Holmes, 'The Use of Japanese Art to Europe,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 8:31 (October 1905): 2-7, 9-11; C. J. Holmes, 'The Fisherwomen: A Colour-Print by Hokusai,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 11:49 (April 1907): 28-9; C. J. Holmes, 'Where Did Michelangelo Learn to Paint?' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 11:52 (July 1907): 235-6; C. J. Holmes, 'The Shop of Verrocchio,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 24:131 (February 1914): 279-81, 283-4, 287; C. J. Holmes, 'Whistler and Modern Painting,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 14:70 (January 1909): 196, 204-6.

<sup>25</sup> Cartwright, *A Bright Remembrance*, 193.

<sup>26</sup> Maria Alambritis, 'Such a Pleasant Little Sketch [...] of this Irritable Artist': Julia Cartwright and the Reception of Andrea Mantegna in Late Nineteenth-Century Britain,' *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 28 (2019): <http://doi.org/10.16995/ntn.825>.

<sup>27</sup> Caroline Palmer, "'I Will Tell Nothing That I Did Not See': British Women's Travel Writing, Art and the Science of Connoisseurship, 1776-1860,' *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 51:3 (2015): 250.

<sup>28</sup> Fraser, *Women Writing*, 63.

<sup>29</sup> Claire Richter Sherman and Adele M. Holcomb, 'Precursors and Pioneers (1820-1890),' in *Women as Interpreters of the Visual Arts, 1820-1979*, eds. Claire Richter Sherman and Adele M. Holcomb (London: Greenwood Press, 1981), 9.

century that because all translations are necessarily 'defective' they are 'reputedly female'.<sup>30</sup> Much like copying, another field considered more suitable for women, translation often involved a woman interpreting the work of a male 'genius'. While men did continue to partake in translation, its feminine categorisation can perhaps explain why it was an area of writing in which women were particularly dominant.<sup>31</sup> The dominance of female translators by the mid-nineteenth century led *The Athenaeum* to note, in a review of Mary Merrifield's (1804-89) translation of Cennini's treatise, that the field had 'lately become the Amazonian domain of literature, where males are only now and then admitted for very urgent purposes.'<sup>32</sup>

Despite the success of several women writers, they faced challenges and were subjected to condescension from their male peers. They also had to contend with the widespread societal assumption that, while women could be in possession of 'good taste', they could not have a 'good eye'. While taste could be learned, a 'good eye' was supposedly innate.<sup>33</sup> Jameson wrote several works on Christian and Italian Renaissance art in the early and mid-nineteenth century, including the first systematic study of Christian iconography written in English and was arguably the first professional English art historian.<sup>34</sup> Yet, she was dismissed by John Ruskin as knowing 'as much of art as the cat'.<sup>35</sup> Bernard Berenson (1865-1959) implied that Ffoulkes' work lacked originality, describing her as 'a slave to [Giovanni] Morelli'.<sup>36</sup> In 1892, Berenson wrote to his future wife, Mary Costelloe, claiming that, 'Vernon [Lee] said something *worthy of me* yesterday'.<sup>37</sup> He ignored the fact that Lee was actually more established as an art writer than himself at the time.<sup>38</sup> Furthermore,

---

<sup>30</sup> Sherry Simon, *Gender in Translation: Cultural Identity and the Politics of Transmission* (London: Routledge, 2003), 1.

<sup>31</sup> Palmer, 'I Will Tell Nothing That I Did Not See,' 255; Sherman and Holcomb, 'Precursors and Pioneers,' 13; Fraser, *Women Writing*, 72-3.

<sup>32</sup> 'Fine Arts,' *The Athenaeum*, 15 March 1845, 274.

<sup>33</sup> Francesco Ventrella, 'Constance Jocelyn Ffoulkes and the Modernization of Scientific Connoisseurship,' *Visual Resources* 33:1-2 (2017): 118.

<sup>34</sup> Adele M. Holcomb, 'Anna Jameson: The First Professional English Art Historian,' *Art History* 6:2 (June 1983): 171-87.

<sup>35</sup> John Ruskin, *Ruskin in Italy: Letters to his Parents, 1845*, ed. Harold I. Shapiro (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 216.

<sup>36</sup> Cartwright, *A Bright Remembrance*, 188.

<sup>37</sup> Bernard Berenson, *The Selected Letters of Bernard Berenson*, ed. A. K. McComb (London: Hutchinson, 1965), 17.

<sup>38</sup> Fraser, *Women Writing*, 2. He also downplayed Mary's influence; she helped to research and write much of his work. See: Tiffany Latham Johnston, 'Mary Berenson and the Conception of Connoisseurship,' (PhD Thesis, Indiana University, 2001).

Mary later remembered that around the time he made this statement, Lee had come to visit Bernard and discuss Botticelli. 'My husband sat at her feet like a little boy,' she wrote, 'drinking in her words.'<sup>39</sup>

Women art writers navigated these challenges by employing a variety of techniques to ensure their work stood up to scrutiny. They were able to take advantage of the somewhat fluid nature of the field at the time. Although the development of the popular press led to the emergence of a class of professional art critics in the 1860s and 1870s, the field of art writing was still not fully professionalised by the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>40</sup> Indeed, Elizabeth Prettejohn has noted that the turn of the twentieth century represents a 'unique moment' in the history of art writing. Writers could benefit from the vast number of recently published works on art history, but the roles of critic, art historian, and connoisseur had yet 'to fragment into separate specialisms' which were practised in different institutions.<sup>41</sup> While universities in continental European cities such as Berlin and Vienna had begun to teach art history as an academic subject in the early nineteenth century, British universities trailed far behind.<sup>42</sup> Although institutions such as the Slade School offered their students lectures in art history, it was not until the mid-twentieth century that British universities began to offer undergraduate programmes in the subject.<sup>43</sup> Thus, even university-educated writers on art did not possess a degree in art history, and rather obtained their knowledge through reading and first-hand examination of works. Indeed, Giovanni Morelli (1816-91), who is considered one of the fathers of modern art historical methodology, had an educational background

---

<sup>39</sup> Quoted in Francesco Ventrella, 'Befriending Botticelli: Psychology and Connoisseurship at the *Fin de Siècle*,' in *Botticelli Past and Present*, eds. Ana Debenedetti and Caroline Elam (London: UCL Press, 2019), 125.

<sup>40</sup> Elizabeth Prettejohn, 'Aesthetic Value and the Professionalisation of Victorian Art Criticism 1837-78,' *Journal of Victorian Culture* 2:1 (1997): 71-94.

<sup>41</sup> Elizabeth Prettejohn, 'Out of the Nineteenth Century: Roger Fry's Early Art Criticism,' in *Art Made Modern: Roger Fry's Vision of Art*, exh. cat. ed. Christopher Green (London: Courtauld Gallery, 1999), 41.

<sup>42</sup> Fraser, *Women Writing*, 19.

<sup>43</sup> Some of the first History of Art Departments were those at Glasgow (1948) and Leeds (1949). Griselda Pollock, 'Art History and Visual Studies in Great Britain and Ireland,' in *Art History and Visual Studies in Europe: Transnational Discourses and National Frameworks*, eds. Matthew Rampley et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 359.

in medicine rather than art.<sup>44</sup> It was therefore often possible for women writers to possess a similar knowledge of the subject as their male counterparts.

Clarke has shown that the networks linking writers, artists, and critics played an important role in this period. While women often encountered difficulties in obtaining access to professional organisations and were barred from homosocial spaces such as men's clubs, networks could still play an important role.<sup>45</sup> Herringham moved within the social circles of some of the most prominent men of the late Victorian and Edwardian art scene, including Roger Fry and D. S. MacColl, with whom she also worked with in establishing the National Art Collections Fund in 1903. Herringham's connections to these men, who both served as editors of *The Burlington*, may have led to her becoming a contributor to the magazine. As one of the magazine's initial subscribers, Herringham additionally helped to save *The Burlington* after it floundered in its first few months of publication.<sup>46</sup> Herringham's article for *The Architectural Review* in 1902 may have also been due to her connections to the editorial committee, which included MacColl, as well as Richard Norman Shaw, who had designed several buildings for her father.<sup>47</sup>

It seems likely that Herringham's friendships and connections to female art writers also had an impact on her work. Although the extent of the relationship between Herringham and Ffoulkes is not known, they evidently admired each other's work. It is possible that they met through their mutual acquaintance with Fry, who encouraged and supported Ffoulkes' research.<sup>48</sup> Ffoulkes praised Herringham's talents as a connoisseur on multiple occasions, and Herringham contributed a note on technique to Ffoulkes' book on Vincenzo Foppa.<sup>49</sup> Additionally, Herringham named Ffoulkes as 'the most suitable person

---

<sup>44</sup> 'Morelli, Giovanni [Lorenzo],' in *Dictionary of Art Historians*, ed. Lee Sorensen, accessed 20 April 2019, <http://arthistorians.info/morellig>.

<sup>45</sup> Clarke, *Critical Voices*, 28-9.

<sup>46</sup> C. J. Holmes, *Self and Partners (Mostly Self)* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936), 214-5.

<sup>47</sup> C. J. Herringham, 'Van Eyck's Discovery,' *The Architectural Review: For the Artist and Craftsman* 11:66 (May 1902): 165-9.

<sup>48</sup> Ventrella, 'Constance Jocelyn Ffoulkes,' 122.

<sup>49</sup> Constance Jocelyn Ffoulkes and Rodolfo Maiocchi, *Vincenzo Foppa of Brescia, Founder of the Lombard School, His Life and Work* (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1909), 53. Ffoulkes also called Herringham a 'distinta conoscitrice' (distinguished connoisseur) in an article for the Italian journal *L'Arte* in 1905. Ventrella, 'Constance Jocelyn Ffoulkes,' 127; Mrs Herringham, 'The Technique and Condition of Foppa's Pictures in London,' Appendix 1, Note 6 in Ffoulkes and Maiocchi, *Vincenzo Foppa*, 287-8.

among my acquaintance' when suggesting women who could potentially be appointed to the committee of the National Art Collections Fund.<sup>50</sup>

Networks could be an important source of knowledge. When Herringham was researching her translation of Cennini's treatise, she wrote directly to Charles Locke Eastlake, the Keeper of the National Gallery, to ask for advice and potential sources.<sup>51</sup> In the notes to her translation, Herringham also recorded verbal conversations with figures such as the artist John Roddam Spencer Stanhope and Sir Arthur Herbert Church (Professor of Chemistry at the Royal Academy of Arts).<sup>52</sup> Merrifield similarly referenced conversations she had with artists and picture-restorers.<sup>53</sup> Herringham attended exhibitions with family and friends, including Fry, with whom she would discuss and share opinions on the works.<sup>54</sup> Cartwright visited the National Gallery with fellow experts, including Bernard Berenson; they spent two hours there while 'he poured out all manner of interesting things' about the paintings.<sup>55</sup> Perhaps most significant for Cartwright was her friendship with Edward Burne-Jones; she referred to him as her 'own dear painter'.<sup>56</sup> Their friendship was undoubtedly a great asset when she wrote a study of the artist for *The Art Annual* in 1894.<sup>57</sup>

The Herringhams also entertained other art experts at their home at 40 Wimpole Street in London's West End. Wilmot recounted one such evening in April 1909. Visitors included, 'Mrs Strong, that lissome gossamer of art, and Martin the carpet man'.<sup>58</sup> He was

---

<sup>50</sup> CH to LB, July 14 [1903], UM:ML, ref: B.28.F.24.

<sup>51</sup> C. L. Eastlake to CH, 6 January 1896, UM:ML, B.29.F.8, original in NG archives.

<sup>52</sup> Christiana Herringham, 'Notes on Mediæval Methods,' in Cennino Cennini, *The Book of the Art of Cennino Cennini: A Contemporary Practical Treatise on Quattrocento Painting, Translated from the Italian, with Notes on Medieval Art Methods*, trans. Christiana J. Herringham (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd, 1899), 189, 210.

<sup>53</sup> Mary Philadelphia Merrifield, *Original Treatises, Dating from the XIIth to XVIIIth Centuries of the Arts of Painting*, 2 vols. (London: John Murray, 1849).

<sup>54</sup> In 1904 Roger Fry took Herringham to an exhibition of Max Beerbohm's caricatures and was delighted that 'Mrs H. quite appreciated them.' Roger Fry to Helen Fry, [April 1904] in *Letters of Roger Fry*, vol. 1, ed. Denys Sutton (London: Chatto and Windus, 1972), 221. In an undated letter to William Rothenstein, she also related seeing a number of 'Bruegels' with Fry: CH to WR, [1905?], UM:ML, B.27.F.31.

<sup>55</sup> Cartwright, *A Bright Remembrance*, 188.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid*, 228.

<sup>57</sup> Julia Cartwright, *The Art Annual for 1894: Sir Edward Burne-Jones, Bart. His Life and Work* (London: J. S. Virtue & Co., 1894).

<sup>58</sup> WH to WR, 9 April 1909, UM:ML, B.27.F.30.

probably referring to Eugénie Sellers Strong, an expert on Greek and Roman art, and Fredrik Robert Martin, known for his book *A History of Oriental Carpets before 1800*.<sup>59</sup> The artist William Rothenstein was also one of Herringham's closest friends, and they encouraged each other's interest in Indian art – although he admitted she was much more knowledgeable on the subject than him.<sup>60</sup> Herringham's involvement with the India Society brought her into contact with important figures such as Ernest Havell, the principal of the Government School of Art in Calcutta and a noted authority on Indian art and architecture. Herringham's connections also meant that she met J. H. Marshall, the Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India, with whom she discussed Indian monuments and their restoration.<sup>61</sup>

These connections are indicative of the importance of social class to Herringham's success. Even if Herringham's gender meant that she was excluded from more official networks, she could socialise with these figures and get to know them in more informal settings. Such opportunities would not have been open to a woman (or even potentially a man) from a lower-class background. These connections allowed her access to people who had significant influence. As one of the founders and committee members of the National Art Collections Fund, she was part of a wider body that was contributing to Britain's cultural heritage. Additionally, meeting Marshall allowed her to gain an insight into the work of his department, and meant she was able to open up a line of communication between Marshall and the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB).<sup>62</sup>

### **HERRINGHAM AS CONNOISSEUR**

Although connections remained important, Herringham was also writing in a period which witnessed the rise of a new methodology; that of modern 'scientific' connoisseurship. Scientific connoisseurship was first proposed by Giovanni Morelli in the

---

<sup>59</sup> Herringham was a fan of Martin's work, calling him 'the best exponent there has yet been of this complicated subject' in one of her articles on carpets. Christiana J. Herringham, 'Notes on Oriental Carpet Patterns,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 14:67 (October 1908): 29.

<sup>60</sup> William Rothenstein, *Men and Memories: Recollections of William Rothenstein, 1900-1922* (London: Faber & Faber Limited, 1931), 231.

<sup>61</sup> Herringham met Marshall while travelling on a ship from Rangoon to Calcutta. CH to HTT, 9 February 1907, SPAB: India. Ancient Monuments I.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

mid-nineteenth century. It was further developed by Bernard Berenson, who became one of the most influential writers on Italian Renaissance art. The methodology involves studying and comparing the small details of a work of art, such as the artists' rendition of ears or hands. Morelli believed that these aspects remained the same throughout an artist's career and therefore could help to identify unsigned works by artists, as well as to detect forgeries. Berenson applied this technique in his role as a consultant for many major American museums and private collectors. The method emphasised the importance of examining works of art first-hand, and of viewing as many works as possible, meaning that extensive travel was necessary to be considered a 'connoisseur'. However, these changing approaches to the discipline did not necessarily prevent women from writing about art. Once again, class was a critical factor, and one that played almost as significant a role as gender.

Good art historical practice increasingly emphasised the importance of observing works of art. In 1879, the critic and curator Sidney Colvin wrote of how 'picture-blindness' was the condition of the majority of population: 'The only cure for picture-blindness lies in habitual and rightly directed looking ...'<sup>63</sup> Herringham was able to apply this theory of 'looking' in her own work. As Rothenstein later recalled, 'To look over reproductions with her, to go with her to the National Gallery, was a spiritual entertainment. She saw as few see, line, colour, meaning, and could discern the depths of a great mind, whether Rembrandt's or Botticelli's, as though her own sent out infra-red rays.'<sup>64</sup> While Colvin's comment suggested that 'looking' was something that was learned, Rothenstein's statement implied that Herringham's talent and artistic judgement was something innate. She possessed the all-important 'good eye'.

An insight into Herringham's technique can be gleaned from the collections at Royal Holloway, which include several studies of religious paintings and icons (**cat. no. 6-13**). Some of these works are studies of individual paintings, while on other sheets Herringham has drawn thumbnail-style images, which she has numbered. In some places, instead of depicting the work, she has written a brief description. Two of the works (**cat.**

---

<sup>63</sup> Sidney Colvin, 'Art and Criticism,' *Fortnightly Review*, 26:152 (August 1879): 212.

<sup>64</sup> William Rothenstein, 'Foreword,' in *Memorial Exhibition of Paintings in Tempera and Water Colours by the Late Lady Herringham (1852-1929)* (London: Beaux Arts Gallery, 1935), RHUL Archives, BC AR/322/3/3.

**no. 10 and 11**) include the inscriptions 'Left of mantelpiece' and 'Right of mantelpiece' suggesting that the studies were made at a gallery or during a visit to a private collection. Herringham has written notes next to several of the works, discerning the materials, and making judgements such as 'good workmanship' and 'coarse modern work'. By comparing one of the works to 'very minute Japanese lacquer work', Herringham was also demonstrating her knowledge of art from Eastern as well as Western cultures. It is unknown why Herringham made these studies; they do not directly relate to any of her known writings. It is possible that she made these observations for her own, private research, as she sought to improve her skills and knowledge.

Although there is no evidence that Herringham used these studies to directly inform her writing, a similar technique can be seen in her texts. In 1900, SPAB's committee asked Herringham to prepare a report on the condition of the paintings in St Mary's Church in Guildford. Herringham was chosen as 'she has spent the greater part of her life in studying the technique of early paintings, and probably knows more of the subject than anyone living.'<sup>65</sup> (However, she may have also been chosen because of the influence of the Society's secretary, Hugh Thackeray Turner, who was her brother-in-law).<sup>66</sup> Herringham carefully inspected the paintings, reporting that the surface painting, which she determined was probably in tempera, was fast peeling away, leaving only the under-design. She concluded that it would be impossible to save much of the paintings.<sup>67</sup> Herringham employed the same approach in her contribution to the monograph on Vincenzo Foppa, co-written by Ffoulkes and Rodolfo Maiocchi, a Catholic priest and art historian. In Herringham's note, she commented on Foppa's technique and materials, and made judgements on the condition and where the paintings had been retouched.<sup>68</sup> Once again, her conclusions were based on her own first-hand examination of the works.

---

<sup>65</sup> HTT to Canon Grant, 5 January 1900, SPAB, Guildford: St Mary's Church (Surrey).

<sup>66</sup> Hugh Thackeray Turner (1853-1937) was an architect. Trained under George Gilbert Scott, he entered into partnership with Eustace Balfour in 1885. He was hired as the secretary for SPAB in 1882. Through his work for SPAB he met the Powell family, and married Herringham's sister, Mary, in 1888. He was later commissioned by Herringham's father to build the Wycliffe Buildings in Guildford, and by the Ladies' Residential Chambers Co. (of which Herringham was a director), to build the York Street Chambers in London. William Whyte, 'Turner, Hugh Thackeray (1853-1937),' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2011, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/64099>.

<sup>67</sup> C. J. Herringham, 'Report about St Mary's Paintings Guildford,' 22 January 1900, SPAB, Guildford: St Mary's Church (Surrey).

<sup>68</sup> Herringham, 'Foppa's Pictures in London,' 287-8.

This skill was directly related to Herringham's own practical experience as a copyist. As Clarke has recently noted, Herringham's connoisseurship was 'inherently grounded in her artistic practice.'<sup>69</sup> Her experience of careful and close observation of paintings in pursuit of making copies directly benefitted her art historical research. Rothenstein acknowledged that it was through copying that Herringham had gained her 'rare knowledge' of art.<sup>70</sup> In making copies of works such as Botticelli's *Portrait of a Lady Known as Smeralda Bandinelli* (**cat. no. 5**), Herringham would have looked at the same painting for hours at a time to accurately replicate the effect, colours, and technique of the original. Herringham also made practical experiments, particularly with tempera, but also with oil and fresco, which helped her to recognise certain materials and learn how they reacted. She was therefore able to make conclusions about works that were informed by her own personal experience. It was the 'coolness of the colour and a something in the substance of the paint' which allowed Herringham to definitively assert in a lecture that Gherardo di Giovanni del Fora's *The Combat of Love and Chastity* in the National Gallery was painted in tempera.<sup>71</sup> This decision was undoubtedly aided by the process of making her own copy of the painting, which is now in the collections at Royal Holloway (**cat. no. 1**). Herringham's analysis of Fra Angelico's *The Annunciation* in the same paper was no doubt also informed by her experience of copying the painting.<sup>72</sup>

By copying works and writing her observations on paintings, Herringham demonstrated that she had seen the actual works in person. As previously noted, scientific connoisseurship emphasised the importance of seeing as many works in person as possible. Her copies evidence that she visited numerous galleries throughout Europe, including the Louvre in Paris, Museo Poldi Pezzoli in Milan, the Accademia in Venice, as well as Constantine Ionides' private collection in London.<sup>73</sup> Other women writers

---

<sup>69</sup> Clarke, 'The Greatest Living Critic,' 96.

<sup>70</sup> Rothenstein, *Men and Memories*, 97.

<sup>71</sup> C. J. Herringham, 'Methods of Tempera as Exemplified in a Few Pictures at the National Gallery,' 21 October 1902, in *Papers of the Society of Painters in Tempera, 1901-1907*, ed. Christiana Jane Herringham (London: Women's Printing Society, 1907), 24.

<sup>72</sup> This copy is now at Newnham College, Cambridge. Meaghan Clarke, 'Women in the Galleries: New Angles on Old Masters in the Late Nineteenth Century,' *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 2019 (28): <http://doi.org/10.16995/ntn.823>.

<sup>73</sup> These copies include: Sandro Botticelli, one of the *Lemmi Villa frescoes*, c.1483-5, Louvre, Paris; Sandro Botticelli, *Madonna of the Book*, c.1480, Poldi Pezzoli, Milan; Cosmè Tura, *Madonna and Child*, mid-late fifteenth century, Accademia, Venice; Sandro Botticelli, *Smeralda Bandinelli*, 1470-80, V&A (previously private collection of Constantine Ionides).

explicitly stated that they had personally seen the works they were discussing, thereby offering an anticipatory defence of their work. Emilia Francis, Lady Dilke (1840-1904), in her 1899 publication *French Painters of the XVIIIth Century*, established her authority in the preface by stating: 'I have described nothing, I have criticised nothing that I have not seen for myself'.<sup>74</sup>

The nature of the field meant that practical knowledge was considered almost as valuable as academic knowledge. Thus Herringham's background as an artist and copyist was an advantage. One article, published in 1890, claimed that a critic 'should be a painter who cannot paint'. Their reasoning was that, having failed in their own artistic endeavours, these writers would have a greater insight into technique. Additionally, their 'knowledge of difficulty overcome' would give them a greater appreciation of works.<sup>75</sup> Samuel Shaw has claimed that it was more likely than not that a critic would also be a practising artist in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>76</sup> Indeed, many of the male writers in Herringham's circle, such as Fry, MacColl, and Holmes were also artists. Rothenstein also tried his hand at writing, publishing a series of articles in *The Studio* in the 1890s and a monograph on Goya in 1900.<sup>77</sup>

However, Herringham appears to have been the exception, rather than the rule, when it came to women writers. Other women art writers in this period, such as Julia Cartwright, Eugénie Sellers Strong, and Vernon Lee wrote about art, but did not produce it. Ella and Marion Hepworth Dixon originally trained as artists, but they abandoned their artistic ambitions on taking up writing.<sup>78</sup> Among the 39 women contributors to *The Burlington* in the years 1903-11, only three – including Herringham – appear to have also been practising artists. Moreover, Herringham was the only female contributor who also worked as a painter; both Louisa Pesel and May Morris worked in the fields of embroidery

---

<sup>74</sup> Lady Dilke, *French Painters of the XVIIIth Century* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1899), vi.

<sup>75</sup> 'Art Critics,' *The Speaker*, 1 (31 May 1890): 593.

<sup>76</sup> Samuel Shaw, "'Scarcely a Scholar": William Rothenstein and the Artist as Art-Writer in English Periodicals, ca. 1890-1910,' *Visual Resources* 31:1-2 (2015): 50.

<sup>77</sup> W. Rothenstein, *Goya* (London: At the Sign of the Unicorn, 1900).

<sup>78</sup> Valérie Fehlbaum, 'Sisters in Life, Sisters in Art: Ella and Marion Hepworth Dixon,' in *Michael Field and their World*, eds. Margaret D. Stetz and Cheryl A. Wilson (High Wycombe: Rivendale Press, 2007), 108-9.

and design. These differences between male and female art writers were likely due to the barriers that women faced in attempting to pursue art as a profession.

In addition to her practical experience as an artist, Herringham was able to use her experience as a collector to inform her writings. Despite criticising Britain and America for 'draining the East of its hoarded treasures' and 'consuming [them] callously', Herringham built her own collection of artefacts from a wide variety of cultures, including India, Japan, China, North Africa, and Turkey.<sup>79</sup> This collection included carpets, Indian miniatures, bronzes, embroidered textiles and painted silk hangings. After Herringham entered a mental institution in 1911, she gifted several items to friends and acquaintances, and requested that Wilmot and Geoffrey sell three 'valuable' rugs and donate the proceeds to the suffrage campaign via Mary Lowndes.<sup>80</sup> Part of her collection still survives at Royal Holloway and Newnham College.<sup>81</sup> Herringham possibly considered her own collection to be an exception to her criticism; she may have justified her own collecting as she was not blindly and thoughtlessly purchasing items. Rather, her private library makes it clear that she was attempting to educate herself on the history of arts and craftsmanship from other cultures, and therefore held a great appreciation of the items as individual works of art.<sup>82</sup> Purchasing Indian miniature paintings and lending them for exhibitions also coincided with Herringham's work with the India Society, as it was another way in which she could highlight the beauty of India's fine art.<sup>83</sup> By lending her collection of Chinese and Japanese art and antiques to a suffrage bazaar held by the

---

<sup>79</sup> Christiana J. Herringham, 'Notes on Oriental Carpet Patterns—II,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 14:68 (November 1908): 84.

<sup>80</sup> CH to WH, 5 July [1911?], UM:ML, B.27.F.31.

<sup>81</sup> See **Appendix I** for the items at Royal Holloway. Many of the items from the collection at Bedford College were unaccounted for or sold before the merger. Among the items sold were a carved jade Buddha and a sixteenth-century Mughal painting titled, *A Prince Riding an Elephant in Procession*, c.1570. The Buddha is reproduced in: I. B. Horner, *Women Under Primitive Buddhism: Laywomen and Almswomen* (London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd, 1930), frontispiece. The painting was purchased by Howard Hodgkin and is currently on long-term loan to the Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford.

<sup>82</sup> Some of the many books in Herringham's collection that reflect this interest are: E. B. Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting, Illustrated by Typical Masterpieces, with an Explanation of their Motives and Ideals* (London: John Murray, 1908); Kakuzo Okakura, *The Ideals of the East, with Special Reference to the Art of Japan* (London: John Murray, 1903); Georges Perrot and Charles Chipiez, *History of Art in Persia* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1892); Vincent Arthur Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911).

<sup>83</sup> Herringham lent many of her Indian miniatures (listed as 'Old Mogul Pictures') to the Festival of Empire in 1911. *Indian Court: Festival of Empire, 1911: Guide Book and Catalogue* (London: Bemrose & Sons Limited, 1911), 105, 110.

Women's Freedom League in 1908, she hoped that her collection would prove 'a stepping-stone for some visitors to the too-little-known treasures of the British Museum and of the South Kensington collection.'<sup>84</sup>

Herringham utilised her personal collection in her writings on the subject of 'oriental' carpets. These included a series of articles in *The Burlington* between 1908 and 1909, and entries in the catalogue accompanying the *Muhammadan Art and Life* exhibition at the Whitechapel Gallery in 1908. Herringham was not the only woman to utilise her own collection in her career. Lady Charlotte Schreiber (1812-95), who was a collector of ceramics, compiled the catalogue for the items in her private collection, which she later donated to the South Kensington Museum (now the V&A).<sup>85</sup> Both Schreiber and Herringham were able to draw upon their own collections to establish themselves as authorities on their subject.

Herringham's practical experience as an artist and collector was supported by her large book collection, which covered a variety of artistic subjects. Such resources were vital in a period where it was not yet possible to obtain a formal art historical education. The first Director of the National Gallery, Sir Charles Eastlake, as well as the renowned Italian art experts Giovanni Morelli and Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle, built up their own private libraries, which they used in their research and to assist them in attributing works.<sup>86</sup> Examining the titles in Herringham's private collection, now at Royal Holloway, reveals some of the influences on her work. In addition to possessing several of Ruskin's works, she also owned books by those involved with the Arts and Crafts Movement, such as W. R. Lethaby; the works of Morelli and Bernard Berenson; as well as texts by those within her personal circle, such as Fry and Havell.<sup>87</sup> Reading these works helped Herringham to develop her expertise, and she was evidently confident in her own judgement. As Clarke has noted, Herringham continued to exhibit her copy of *Portrait of a Lady Known as*

---

<sup>84</sup> 'The Suffragists' Bazaar,' *Women's Franchise*, 26 March 1908, 456. Herringham was initially an anonymous lender, but her identity was revealed after the bazaar: M. H., 'Saving the Bills,' *Women's Franchise*, 9 April 1908, 480.

<sup>85</sup> Ann Eatwell, 'Private Pleasure, Public Beneficence: Lady Charlotte Schreiber and Ceramic Collecting,' in *Women in the Victorian Art World*, ed. Clarissa Campbell Orr (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 125-45.

<sup>86</sup> S. Avery-Quash, 'The Eastlake Library: Origins, History and Importance,' *Studi di Memofonte* (October 2013): 7.

<sup>87</sup> For a full list of Herringham's book collection, see **Appendix II**.

*Smeralda Bandinelli* as a 'copy of Botticelli', despite owning works by Berenson in which he claimed that the painting was by another artist he called 'Amico di Sandro'.<sup>88</sup> Herringham's library also demonstrates how she relied on books for her practical knowledge of art. Her collection included works such as: George Fields' *A Grammar of Colouring Applied to Decorative Painting and the Arts* (1877), Pierre François Tingry's *The Varnisher's Guide* (1832) and J. G. Vibert's *The Science of Painting* (1892). She most likely used these books to assist her experiments with various materials.

Herringham additionally drew upon archival sources to back up her research, therefore building upon and expanding upon the methodology of Morellian connoisseurship. In the bibliography of her translation of Cennini's treatise, Herringham cited copies of manuscripts held in the British Museum and the National Gallery, as well as a manuscript held in the library of Lucca Cathedral.<sup>89</sup> Herringham similarly employed archival documents when discussing Jan van Eyck's early method of oil painting. In the sixteenth century, Vasari claimed that van Eyck had 'discovered' oil painting. Herringham challenged this claim, referring to several early documents, including the Lucca manuscript, the *Mappae Clavicula*, manuscripts from the Sloane collection, and a document from a Florentine convent, to aid her arguments.<sup>90</sup> In 1904, she wrote a review of *Les Origines de la Peinture à l'Huile* by Charles Dalbon for *The Burlington*. She compared the work unfavourably to Sir Charles Eastlake's *Materials for a History of Oil Painting* (1847) and Marcellin Berthelot's *Histoire de la Chimie du Moyen Age* (1893), thereby demonstrating her knowledge of both English and Continental scholarship.<sup>91</sup> Specifically, she criticised Dalbon's work for its 'absence of serious practical purpose' and for not being scientific; to support her criticisms she included the findings of A. P. Laurie's experiments with oils and resins, as well as evidence from archival documents.<sup>92</sup> By backing up her arguments and conclusions with documentary and scientific evidence, Herringham was declaring the objectivity and accuracy of her work.

---

<sup>88</sup> Clarke, 'The Greatest Living Critic,' 103.

<sup>89</sup> Herringham, 'Principal Authorities and Books of Reference,' in Cennini, trans. Herringham, 265.

<sup>90</sup> Herringham, 'Van Eyck's Discovery,' 165-9.

<sup>91</sup> C. J. Herringham, 'Review,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 6:19 (October 1904): 74, 81.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*

Other women art writers also attempted to employ an impartial approach. Writers such as Anna Jameson, Elizabeth Rigby Eastlake, and Emilia Dilke emphasised their factual, historical, almost scientific approach to art, which they often contrasted with Ruskin's focus. Eastlake was scathing in her anonymous review of Ruskin's *Modern Painters*:

Mr Ruskin's principles, as applied to art, are unsound from the outset; and that, the foundation having a radical defect, it follows that the structure he has raised upon it, however showy, is untenable. Throughout, therefore, as a consequence of this false beginning, we observe a prevailing unfitness between the means of investigation he uses and the object for which he uses them.<sup>93</sup>

She referred to Ruskin's writings as a 'hobby', contrasting them with her own professional approach, and accused him of writing merely to have something to write about.<sup>94</sup> Dilke similarly criticised Ruskin's outlook, writing in a review of his works: 'Art itself is neither religious, nor irreligious; moral, nor immoral; useful, nor useless'.<sup>95</sup> In the introduction to their co-authored monograph, Ffoulkes and Maiocchi stated their conclusions were 'founded upon the testimony of documents, wherever this was possible.' As they explained: 'Documentary research is one of the most important factors in the accurate and scientific study of the history of art; for where historical basis is lacking even the most closely reasoned arguments are liable to break down.'<sup>96</sup> Elsewhere, Ffoulkes included full-page reproductions of relevant documents in her writings; a tactic which, as Francesco Ventrella has noted, 'made her discoveries verifiable and unassailable.'<sup>97</sup> By applying this methodology, women art writers, including Herringham, were perhaps attempting to compensate for their lack of a university education; although art history was only just beginning to emerge as a subject that could be studied at degree level, many male writers had attended university. This was an option which was still closed to many women. They may have also been attempting to demonstrate that women were capable of rational thought and crafting a serious analysis.

---

<sup>93</sup> [Elizabeth Eastlake], 'Modern Painters,' *The Quarterly Review* 98:156 (March 1856): 387.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid, 401; Kanwit, *Victorian Art Criticism*, 70. However, Eastlake's condemnation of Ruskin's work may have been partly personal; she had supported Euphemia 'Effie' Gray during her separation from Ruskin in 1854. See: 'Rigby [Eastlake], Elizabeth; Lady Eastlake (from 1850),' in *Dictionary of Art Historians*, ed. Lee Sorensen, accessed 20 April 2019, <http://arthistorians.info/rigbye>.

<sup>95</sup> E. F. S. Pattison, 'General Literature and Art,' *The Academy*, 10 September 1870, 305-6.

<sup>96</sup> Ffoulkes and Maiocchi, *Vincenzo Foppa*, xi.

<sup>97</sup> Ventrella, 'Constance Jocelyn Ffoulkes,' 124.

Many of these women come across as confident in their knowledge and abilities. In the prefaces to their monographs, women often emphasised the contribution their work was making to the discipline, such as by pointing to the lack of English-language scholarship on their subject.<sup>98</sup> Maud Cruttwell (1860-1939), an expert on Italian Renaissance artists and a close friend of the Berensons, was keen to emphasise that all the scholarly work in her gallery handbooks was her own, including the translations from primary sources.<sup>99</sup> In response to *The Times'* slight against her expertise in a review, Julia Cartwright privately noted in her diary, '... I do know my subject better than they think.'<sup>100</sup> Likewise, Herringham appears to have been confident in her abilities as an art historian, suggesting attributions for paintings, and contributing to debates surrounding the authenticity of works. In 1881 she proposed that Ghirlandaio or one of the Pollaiuolo brothers was the artist of *Virgin and Child with Two Angels* in the National Gallery (now considered to be the work of Verrocchio and an assistant) (**fig. 28**).<sup>101</sup>

In September 1904 Herringham weighed in on an issue being debated in *The Burlington*, concerning the National Gallery's acquisition of *The Painter's Father*, supposedly by Albrecht Dürer (now believed by the gallery to be a copy of a lost work) (**fig. 29**).<sup>102</sup> The previous issue included an article by C. J. Holmes defending the acquisition of the painting.<sup>103</sup> In this article, Holmes quoted both Herbert Horne and Herringham to support his argument that the parchment used in the painting was authentic.<sup>104</sup> As Clarke notes, this suggests that Herringham was not only one of the 'experts' responsible for examining the painting, but that her reputation meant her opinion was considered a worthy

---

<sup>98</sup> Alambritis, 'Such a Pleasant Little Sketch ...'

<sup>99</sup> Fraser, *Women Writing*, 72.

<sup>100</sup> Cartwright, *A Bright Remembrance*, 193.

<sup>101</sup> John Ruskin to John Pincher Faunthope, 27 November 1881, in *The Works of John Ruskin*, vol. 30, eds. E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn (London: George Allen, 1907), 194. Herringham was not the only person to suggest attributions for this work. It was first attributed to Ghirlandaio by Sir Charles Eastlake and Otto Mündler, the National Gallery's travelling agent, when they purchased the work for the National Gallery in 1857. Over the following decades various other artists' names were suggested; Mündler later changed his mind and suggested it was the work of one of the Pollaiuolo brothers, while Joseph Crowe and Giovanni Cavalcaselle attributed it to Lorenzo di Credi. See: Jill Dunkerton and Luke Syson, 'In Search of Verrocchio the Painter: The Cleaning and Examination of *The Virgin and Child with Two Angels*,' *National Gallery Technical Bulletin* 31 (2010): 6-7.

<sup>102</sup> Campbell Dodgson et al., 'The Portrait of Dürer the Elder,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 5:18 (September 1904): 570-2.

<sup>103</sup> C. J. Holmes, 'The History of Our New Dürer,' *The Burlington Magazine* 5:17 (August 1904): 426-37.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid*, 433.

endorsement.<sup>105</sup> The following issue included a series of responses to the article by experts such as Roger Fry, Walter Armstrong, and Campbell Dodgson. Herringham also responded to the article, where she denied having supported the attribution.<sup>106</sup> She appears, like Fry and Armstrong, to have been sceptical about the authenticity of the painting, referring to 'the disfigurement of what may *possibly* be the original picture.'<sup>107</sup>

Herringham's judgement was well respected and her knowledge widely acknowledged. In 1910, Walter Sickert referred to her as 'the greatest living critic' and a woman of 'genius'.<sup>108</sup> He also claimed that she was 'the most useful and authoritative critic living.'<sup>109</sup> Ffoulkes similarly believed her to be 'one of the most accomplished connoisseurs of technique in England.'<sup>110</sup> Herringham's expertise was acknowledged by the rumour that it was her who had corrected Ruskin's erroneous belief that the paintings by early Renaissance artists in the National Gallery were in oil. This story was repeated by both Fry and Mary Sargent Florence, but its veracity is unknown.<sup>111</sup> When Ruskin wrote in 1877 that he had recently been corrected on this belief, he did not mention Herringham.<sup>112</sup> Similarly, Herringham does not mention the supposed incident in any of the surviving sources. Ruskin did, however, privately acknowledge Herringham's prowess. Regarding Herringham's suggestions for the attribution of *Virgin and Child with Two Angels* in the National Gallery, Ruskin remarked in a letter to Reverend John Pincher Faunthorpe: 'I have no doubt Mrs. Herringham is right, but I don't know either Ghirl[ando] or Poll[aiuolo] ... well enough to have much opinion.'<sup>113</sup> Ruskin's statement, deferring to Herringham's superior knowledge, is especially significant considering it was made in 1881, almost two decades before her first publication.

---

<sup>105</sup> Clarke, 'The Greatest Living Critic,' 106.

<sup>106</sup> C. F. [*sic*] Herringham in 'The Portrait of Dürer the Elder,' 572.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>108</sup> Walter Sickert, 'The Greatest Living Critic,' *Art News*, 3 March 1910, and 'Mural Decoration,' *English Review*, July 1912 in *Walter Sickert: The Complete Writings on Art*, ed. Anna Gruetzner Robins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 200, 324.

<sup>109</sup> 'The Polish Rider,' *The New Age*, June 23, 1910, in *ibid.*, 251.

<sup>110</sup> Ffoulkes and Maiocchi, *Vincenzo Foppa*, 53.

<sup>111</sup> Roger E. Fry, 'Tempera Painting,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 7:27 (June 1905): 175; Mary Sargent Florence, 'A Survey of the Society's History,' (1933) in *Papers of the Society of Mural Decorators and Painters in Tempera: Third Volume: 1925-1935*, ed. M. Sargent Florence (Brighton: The Dolphin Press, 1936), 136.

<sup>112</sup> John Ruskin, 'St Mark's Rest,' in *Works*, vol. 24 (1906), 364.

<sup>113</sup> Ruskin purchased Herringham's copy of this painting for the Guild of St George. John Ruskin to John Pincher Faunthorpe, 27 November 1881, in *Works*, vol. 30 (1907), 194.

Herringham's writings on art reached a wide and varied audience. By writing for specialist publications such as *The Burlington*, Herringham was able to reach a narrow but significant audience which consisted of fellow art historians and collectors. In 1908 she contributed content on carpets for a catalogue accompanying the *Muhammadan Art and Life* exhibition at the Whitechapel Gallery.<sup>114</sup> These catalogue entries differed from her articles on the same subject for *The Burlington*; the content was organised by country rather than thematically, and she employed clearer, more straightforward language. This adaptation was presumably because the Whitechapel Gallery's intended audience was the local population. The gallery was designed with the intention of morally and spiritually uplifting the poor, and therefore the visitors to the exhibition would have been from a much wider and less educated section of the population than the readers of *The Burlington*.<sup>115</sup> Herringham's reports for SPAB had a more limited readership, yet they were circulated among the organisation's membership, and were read by several influential figures. Letters in the Society's archives reveal that a copy of Herringham's report on Indian monuments was sent to Lord Balcarres and Sydney Cockerell (director of the Fitzwilliam Museum from 1908).<sup>116</sup> Cockerell was so impressed by her report that he sent it to Georgiana Burne-Jones (widow of the artist Edward Burne-Jones), and asked her to forward it to the architect Philip Webb – who noted that Herringham's report was 'excellently explained'.<sup>117</sup>

Yet, despite Herringham's expertise, and her noticeable confidence in her published writings, she downplayed her aspirations. In the first of her series of articles on 'Oriental Carpet Patterns' for *The Burlington*, she claimed to be no expert on the subject, and that her only intention was 'to attempt to place a few carpet designs in their appropriate niche in the general grouping and classifying of symbolic and historic ornament.'<sup>118</sup> Almost

---

<sup>114</sup> *Muhammadan Art and Life*, exh. cat. (London: Whitechapel Art Gallery, 1908).

<sup>115</sup> The Whitechapel Gallery began as a series of annual exhibitions held in a local school, organised by the clergyman Samuel Barnett and his wife, Henrietta, who were dedicated social reformers. The success of these exhibitions led to the building of the permanent Whitechapel Gallery, which opened in 1901. Deborah E. B. Weiner, *Architecture and Social Reform in Late-Victorian London* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 214-5.

<sup>116</sup> LB to HTT, 9 April 1907; S. C. Cockerill to HTT, 18 March 1907, SPAB: India. Ancient Monuments I.

<sup>117</sup> S. C. Cockerill to HTT, 18 March 1907, SPAB: India. Ancient Monuments I; Philip Webb to S. C. Cockerell, 22 March 1907, in *Letters of Philip Webb*, vol. 4, ed. John Aplin (London: Routledge, 2015), 225.

<sup>118</sup> Herringham, 'Oriental Carpet Patterns—II,' 84.

three years later, after completing her project at Ajanta, she once again diminished any suggestion that she was aspiring to the role of connoisseur. In a letter to Rothenstein, she stated her anxieties surrounding Victor Goloubew, an Orientalist who had joined the camp at Ajanta as a photographer, and who intended to publish a book on his experiences. She wrote: 'I fancy he thinks I am embarked on a career of Indian expert connoisseurship and shall compete with him, which is not at all the case ...'<sup>119</sup> Considering she had started writing a book on Ajanta several months earlier, the accuracy of this statement is unclear.<sup>120</sup>

Although Herringham was reluctant to publicly aspire towards the role of connoisseur, she appeared more confident in the artistic judgements which she made in private. Like many other men and women during this time, Herringham shared her thoughts and ideas about works informally and privately via correspondence. Pamela Gerrish Nunn has previously discussed how such discourse was a way for women to partake in art criticism.<sup>121</sup> Herringham engaged in discussions about art in her letters with friends and family. She enthusiastically debated art with Rothenstein, discussing a wide range of genres. In addition to offering her views on Renaissance artists such as Botticelli and Piero della Francesca, she was, in her private letters, willing to criticise contemporary artists, and even Rothenstein's own works.<sup>122</sup> She wrote to Rothenstein after visiting an exhibition of modern art to share her impressions. She criticised Charles Conder's exhibited painting, believing that it depicted 'woman as man has made her'.<sup>123</sup> Herringham also found fault with Augustus John's painting of a mother and child. She declared: 'I feel as if with two or three touches I could put it right – and yet there would be something fundamental that two or three touches couldn't cure.'<sup>124</sup> Regarding Rothenstein's own picture, she told him that she believed it to be 'better' than the other one he was painting of the same people. Yet, she advised him: 'It seems to me that you

---

<sup>119</sup> CH to WH, 31 May 1911, UM:ML, B.27.F.31.

<sup>120</sup> However, the remainder of the letter, in which she accuses the Rothensteins' parlour maid of spying on her, seems indicative of the declining state of her mental health by this point. CH to WR, 31 May 1911, UM:ML, B.27.F.31; CH to AR, 25 October [1910], UM:ML, B.27.F.31.

<sup>121</sup> Pamela Gerrish Nunn, 'Critically Speaking,' in *Women in the Victorian Art World*, ed. Clarissa Campbell Orr (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 107-24.

<sup>122</sup> CH to WR, 1 November [1907], UM:ML, B.27.F.31.

<sup>123</sup> CH to WR, [1909?], UM:ML, B.27.F.31. Lago believed she was discussing the *Exhibition of Fair Women*, held between February and March 1909. However, no paintings matching Herringham's descriptions appear to have been included in this exhibition.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid.

want to let yourself go as you have done in those drawings – and for work aiming at solidity you aren't quite solid enough.'<sup>125</sup> Although Rothenstein's responses to Herringham's criticisms have not survived, he later wrote that 'she was one of the few who encouraged me in my aims, and who understood them.' He called her friendship 'an asset in my life.'<sup>126</sup>

### **HERRINGHAM'S SUBJECTS**

Although Herringham's writings cover a wide variety of subjects, there is a common focus in all her work on restoration and heritage. In July 1905, *The Burlington* published a letter by Herringham in which she criticised 'fiendish' modern restorers who prize 'temporary smugness' over the 'priceless quality' of original work.<sup>127</sup> She lamented the condition of *Simplicity* (**fig. 30**), which she wrote was 'formerly by Sir Joshua Reynolds, now not, except the general design and a portion of one hand'.<sup>128</sup> Herringham's criticisms were part of a wider contemporary criticism of restoration, regarding both painting and architecture. As Aviva Briefel has shown, restoration was considered a matter of national importance in the nineteenth century; a country's failure to properly care for the art in its possession challenged the nation's claim to them.<sup>129</sup> Critics often employed emotive language to compare the careless restoration of works to torture, disease and rape.<sup>130</sup> The collector John Morris Moore published a series of scathing attacks on the National Gallery between 1846-47. He wrote that Rubens' *Peace and War* ('the finest Rubens we possess') had been 'completely flayed'.<sup>131</sup> In a further letter, he reported that Titian's *Bacchus and Ariadne* had been 'cruelly violated by the merciless assaults of Mr Eastlake and his "daring familiars",', and that Eastlake had declared Paolo Veronese's *Consecration of St Nicholas* was to be 'his next victim'.<sup>132</sup>

---

<sup>125</sup> Ibid.

<sup>126</sup> Rothenstein, *Men and Memories*, 97.

<sup>127</sup> Christiana J. Herringham, 'The Tweedmouth Pictures,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 7:28 (July 1905): 336.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid, 335.

<sup>129</sup> Aviva Briefel, *The Deceivers: Art Forgery and Identity in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Cornell University Press, 2006), 88.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid, 87.

<sup>131</sup> 'The National Gallery,' *The Times*, 26 October 1846, reprinted in Verax [John Morris Moore], *The Abuses of the National Gallery* (London: William Pickering, 1847), 7.

<sup>132</sup> 'The Abuses of the National Gallery,' *The Times*, 30 December 1846, reprinted in *ibid*, 32.

These anxieties surrounding the restoration of paintings were commonly discussed by the artists of the British Tempera Revival. The private letters and notebooks of Joseph Southall were filled with criticisms of restorers and recently cleaned paintings. He wrote that paintings at the Accademia in Venice had been ‘flayed in various degrees’, while in Vicenza the paintings had been ‘ravaged by cleaners and scrubbers of the most ruthless kind’.<sup>133</sup> He even refused to varnish his own works in an attempt to spare them the attention of restorers.<sup>134</sup> In 1922, forty-three members of the Society of Mural Decorators and Painters in Tempera signed a letter to the President of the Royal Academy, Sir Aston Webb, condemning the ‘great and irreparable damage’ caused by restorers, and warning against the spread of the ‘infection’ which had already ‘caused such havoc abroad’.<sup>135</sup>

Founded by William Morris in 1877, SPAB was one of the most prominent groups dedicated to preserving cultural heritage at this time. Herringham’s family were early members of the organisation: a ‘Miss Powell’ – most likely Herringham, but possibly one of her sisters – was listed as a member by 1878.<sup>136</sup> Herringham’s sister Mary married Hugh Thackeray Turner, the Society’s secretary, in 1888. Herringham was involved with several of SPAB’s campaigns. She wrote to Turner to inform him of the condition of monuments and the restoration she had witnessed on her travels, such as at Campo Santo in Pisa.<sup>137</sup> At the beginning of the twentieth century, SPAB became embroiled in a fierce debate surrounding the restoration of St Mark’s Basilica in Venice. In December 1904, *The Times* disclosed the details of a report compiled by the architect Manfredo Manfredi and the engineer Luigi Marangoni on the condition of St Mark’s and their proposed scheme of restoration. The report stated that, ‘the dangers to St. Mark’s are many ... under the magnificent dress of marble and mosaic is concealed the most alarming

---

<sup>133</sup> Notes made by Southall at the Accademia, Venice 8.V.1921 (sketch/notebook in private collection) and letter to Maxwell Armfield 3.IV.1930 (collection of Alexander Ballard), quoted in George Breeze, *Joseph Southall 1861-1944: Artist-Craftsman* (Birmingham: Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, 1980), 22.

<sup>134</sup> Breeze, *Joseph Southall*, 22.

<sup>135</sup> ‘A Letter to the President of the Royal Academy,’ 1 June 1922 in *Papers of the Society of Mural Decorators and Painters in Tempera: Second Volume 1907-1924*, ed. John D. Batten (Brighton: The Dolphin Press, 1925), 55.

<sup>136</sup> The link to the family is confirmed by Miss Powell’s address: The Cherry Orchard, Charlton, where the family were living at this time. Index of early SPAB members supplied by Maggie Goodall, SPAB Education and Training Manager, email message to author, 7 December 2017.

<sup>137</sup> CH to HTT, 25 November [1891?], SPAB: Pisa. The Campo Santo.

decrepitude.’<sup>138</sup> It came to the conclusion that, ‘Restoration of more or less importance must be undertaken almost everywhere’.<sup>139</sup>

This forceful approach alarmed many of SPAB’s members, including Herringham and the architect Reginald Blomfield, who both wrote letters to the editor of *The Times* to express their concern.<sup>140</sup> It is possible the Society had asked its members to speak out, as Turner thanked Herringham ‘for helping us with your excellent letter’.<sup>141</sup> It appears that she also discussed the issue with C. J. Holmes, the co-editor of *The Burlington*. Holmes proposed that she write something on the subject to be included in the magazine; he stated that ‘if you sent your suggestions in the form of a letter we could call attention to them by means of an editorial note at the beginning. This, I think, would be best the way of giving the desired publicity to your views’.<sup>142</sup> Herringham’s letter was submitted with the full support of SPAB’s committee, and published in February 1905.<sup>143</sup> Perhaps with the intention of further investigating these restorations, Herringham appears to have returned to Venice while this debate was ongoing, as the paper used for *Italy: Venice – Piazza San Marco* (**cat. no. 82**) is watermarked with the year 1905.

Herringham’s depicted the interior and exterior of St Mark’s Basilica at least five times. Four of these works are now at Royal Holloway, while the fifth is in the collection of the British Museum. In her work, *Italy: Venice – St Mark’s Basilica: In the Narthex* (**cat. no. 84**), Herringham focused on the basilica’s golden mosaic decoration and flooring, highlighting the beauty of their contrast with the marble pillars supporting the domes. In this work she demonstrated the significance of these aspects of the cathedral. As she wrote in *The Burlington*: ‘... St. Mark’s is its marbles and mosaics ... Deface a gothic cathedral as you may, there remains the mighty structure of pillars and arches and vaults. Deface St. Mark’s, and there remains nothing but its proportions – a great something, but

---

<sup>138</sup> ‘The Preservation of St. Mark’s,’ *The Times*, 16 December 1904.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid.

<sup>140</sup> Reginald Blomfield and Christiana J. Herringham, ‘The Preservation of St. Mark’s,’ *The Times*, 20 December 1904.

<sup>141</sup> HTT to CH, 20 December 1904, SPAB: ‘Venice’ [St Mark’s, Venice]. Press Coverage Correspondence.

<sup>142</sup> C. J. Holmes to CH, 30 December 1904, SPAB, ‘Venice’ [St Mark’s, Venice]. Press Coverage Correspondence.

<sup>143</sup> HTT to the Editor of The Burlington Magazine, 13 January 1905, SPAB: ‘Venice’ [St Mark’s, Venice]. Press Coverage Correspondence.

not all that was intended.<sup>144</sup> Herringham wrote how many of the cathedral's golden mosaics, seen in her painting, had already been ruined at the hand of the restorers:

No longer were the vaults a mystery of red gold and glowing fire, vast, unfathomable ... Closer examination seemed to show that the tesserae of the figure-groups had been reset, with the results that the faces had lost their human look and had become wooden, and the lines of the draperies had lost their expressiveness and grace.<sup>145</sup>

The partially completed releveling and resetting of the marble pavements had caused great 'injury', and she stated in her letter to *The Times* that one of her artist friends had witnessed 'barrow-loads of tesserae being taken away.'<sup>146</sup> Ruskin had similarly lamented the 'scraping' of Venice when it was undergoing restoration in the 1840s, writing to his father: '... how painful it is to be in Venice now I cannot tell you ... the modern work has set its plague spot everywhere.'<sup>147</sup> Although there was no longer any pleasure in staying in Venice, he wrote that he had extended his trip 'to get a few of the more precious details before they are lost forever.'<sup>148</sup>

Herringham's depictions of Siena Cathedral are evidence that her interest in heritage was long-standing. In 1867, Giuseppe Partini was appointed chief architect of the cathedral, overseeing a series of restorations that would continue up until his death in 1895. His intention was to follow the teachings of his mentor, Lorenzo Doveri, who made proposals 'to return the Temple as much as possible to its primitive state' by removing the later Baroque additions.<sup>149</sup> Herringham's paintings of the cathedral were most likely made while these works were ongoing. *Italy: Siena – Siena Cathedral: Arch (cat. no. 78)*; *Italy: Siena – Siena Cathedral: Columns and Pulpit (cat. no. 79)* and *Italy: Siena – Siena Cathedral: Pulpit (cat. no. 80)* were presented by Herringham together in the same frame. This series of watercolours, showing the interior of the cathedral and its pulpit from various angles, was perhaps an attempt to record the interior and its decorations before

---

<sup>144</sup> C. J. Herringham, 'On the Proposed Restoration of St. Mark's, Venice,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 6:23 (February 1905): 412.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

<sup>146</sup> Christiana J. Herringham, 'The Preservation of St. Mark's,' *The Times*, 20 December 1904.

<sup>147</sup> Ruskin, *Ruskin in Italy*, 201.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid, 200.

<sup>149</sup> Quoted in Nancy M. Thompson, 'Architectural Restoration and Stained Glass in 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Siena: The Place of Light in Giuseppe Partini's *Purismo*,' in *The Year's Work in Medievalism*, vol. 19, ed. Gwendolyn A. Morgan (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2006), 43.

they were irrevocably altered.<sup>150</sup> In her other watercolours of the cathedral, she included architectural features that were targeted by Partini. Some of Giuseppe Mazzuoli's (1644-1725) statues of Christ, the Virgin and the twelve Apostles (**fig. 31**) can be detected in two of Herringham's works (**cat. no. 76** and **77**). These features were removed in 1881 as part of Partini's campaign to return the cathedral to its original, medieval state.<sup>151</sup> Herringham possibly painted these works around the time of their removal, as **cat. no. 76** shows a brown canopy attached to the columns, which is likely protecting the floor during the restoration works. Further evidence can be seen in *Italy: Siena – Siena Cathedral: Arch* (**cat. no. 78**). At the centre of the work is what appears to be a white screen – possibly another temporary structure which was erected while restoration works were ongoing.<sup>152</sup>

While Herringham's power to prevent such restoration was limited, with her artworks she was able to create a record of how these monuments survived at a particular moment in time, before they were potentially destroyed. Many of the other European churches and cathedrals she depicted were also the subject of debates surrounding their restoration during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, including the Basilica of Saint Francis at Assisi (**cat. no. 70**), Southwell Minster (**cat. no. 68**), and Laon Cathedral (**cat. no. 53**). As she stated:

We must bear that decay's effacing fingers should sweep the lines where beauty lingers, but the piteous thing and the unendurable is the effacement by human hands of the work and aspirations and records wrought by other hands, plus brains, long ago—to see the beauty which time and decay have spared, utterly and for ever annihilated, and all coming generations robbed of their heritage ...<sup>153</sup>

Herringham's decision to create such representations of European architecture was likely due to Ruskin's influence. In 1870, he similarly declared:

---

<sup>150</sup> Imogen Tedbury, "A Perfectly Mediaeval City Where the Arts Still Live"? Christiana Herringham, Sieneese *Purismo* and the British Reception of Siena,' paper delivered at *Christiana Herringham and her Circle*, Royal Holloway, University of London, 1 March 2019.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid.

<sup>153</sup> Herringham, 'On the Proposed Restoration,' 412.

the feudal and monastic buildings of Europe, and still more the streets of her ancient cities, are vanishing like dreams: and it is difficult to imagine the mingled envy and contempt with which future generations will look back to us, who still possessed such things, yet made no effort to preserve, and scarcely any to delineate them: for when used as material of landscape by the modern artist, they are nearly always superficially or flatteringly represented, without zeal enough to penetrate their character, or patience enough to render it in modest harmony.<sup>154</sup>

In this context, Herringham's depictions of European cathedrals may be considered an answer to Ruskin's call; a way to correct this neglect by attempting to adequately represent these monuments. Like her later copies of the Ajanta frescoes, they were a way of preserving these relics for future generations.

Herringham's concern for the preservation of architecture is also demonstrated by her concentration on architectural details in her artworks. In her sketches and watercolours, such as *Italy: Verona – Chiesa di Sant'Anastasia* (**cat. no. 89**) and *Italy: Rome – Basilica of San Paolo Fuori le Mura* (**cat. no. 74**), Herringham made details such as arches and columns the focus of the work. She also made several small studies of architectural details. In India, Herringham made studies of columns at sites including Ellora (**cat. no. 123 and 124**) and Ajanta (**cat. no. 122**). It is possible that these studies were intended to inform Herringham's lecture on Indian architecture, which she delivered at the Women's Guild of Arts in 1908.<sup>155</sup> Unfortunately, as the text of this lecture has not survived, it is not possible to confirm this link. However, considering the extent to which Herringham's connoisseurship was connected to her artistic practice, it seems highly likely that they assisted her research into the topic.

In addition to Herringham's studies of architectural details, the art collection at Royal Holloway reflects her interest in decorative and ornamental art. Herringham made several studies of patterns, such as **cat. no. 168**, which shows a study of two, possibly border, patterns; one features a lotus flower, while the other is an interlocking knot design. **Cat. no. 155** includes sketches of floral designs, with a further, more detailed drawing, which is likely to be a close-up of one of the patterns. Herringham did not

---

<sup>154</sup> John Ruskin, 'The Relation of Art to Use,' in *Lectures on Art and Aratra Pentelici: With Lectures and Notes on Greek Art and Mythology 1870* in *Works*, vol. 20 (1905), 105.

<sup>155</sup> Herringham also gave a lecture at the Women's Guild of Arts on an unknown subject in November 1907. Sidney Cockerell's diary, 29 November 1907, quoted in *Letters of Philip Webb*, vol. 4, 225, n.2.

indicate the subjects of these works and therefore it is difficult to ascertain where or when these studies were made. **Cat. no. 156** shows a floral pattern with a border of a trailing vine and flowers; it may be a study she completed as part of her research into carpet patterns for *The Burlington*.<sup>156</sup> The articles focused on different types of patterns, such as floral, geometric, meander and key patterns, and compared their use by different cultures. She had already written for *The Burlington* a similar article on the topic of 'The Snake Pattern in Ireland, the Mediterranean and China,' which was published in June 1908.<sup>157</sup> Like her articles on carpets, it compared how the same motifs and symbols have appeared throughout art history in different cultures. The articles also featured numerous illustrations of the patterns she was discussing, examples of which can be seen in **fig. 32** and **fig. 33**. Although it is not clear which of these illustrations are taken from other sources such as exhibition catalogues, Herringham explicitly stated that she drew at least some of them.<sup>158</sup> While none of the studies in the collection at Royal Holloway appear to directly match the illustrations in her articles, it seems likely that many of Herringham's studies of patterns and decorations informed her texts, as in her comparisons she drew upon not just rug patterns, but also decoration on the Sanchi Stupa in India, an Egyptian tomb, and Greek vases.<sup>159</sup>

Herringham's writings on Ajanta are another way in which her connoisseurship was directly linked to her artistic practice. Herringham held a distinct advantage over many of her contemporaries. Due to Ajanta's inaccessible and remote location, few other Europeans had visited the caves and seen the works in person. This was significant because, as previously discussed, it was considered increasingly important for art historians to examine works of art first-hand. Herringham was, therefore, one of a small

---

<sup>156</sup> Herringham, 'Oriental Carpet Patterns,' 28-30; Herringham, 'Oriental Carpet Patterns-II,' 84, 87-9, 92-4; Christiana J. Herringham, 'Notes on Oriental Carpet Patterns-III. Ghiordes Rugs, Rose and Pomegranate Patterns,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, 14:69 (December 1908): 147-9, 151-3, 156-8; Christiana J. Herringham, 'Notes on Oriental Carpet Patterns-IV: The Origin of Some Geometrical Patterns,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 14:70 (January 1909): 218, 223-5, 228-30; Christiana J. Herringham, 'Notes on Oriental Carpet Patterns-V: Ladik Rugs,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 14:71 (February 1909): 262, 292-3, 296-300; Christiana J. Herringham, 'Notes on Oriental Carpet Patterns-VI: Meander and Key Patterns,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 15:74 (May 1909): 98-9, 102-4.

<sup>157</sup> Christiana J. Herringham, 'The Snake Pattern in Ireland, the Mediterranean and China,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 13:63 (June 1908): 132-7.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>159</sup> Herringham, 'Oriental Carpet Patterns-II,' 88; Herringham, 'Oriental Carpet Patterns-III,' 157; Herringham, 'Oriental Carpet Patterns-V,' 297.

number of experts who was qualified to make judgements on the condition and technique of the frescoes. In her writings about the caves, she emphasised the importance of patience and careful looking: 'To see all this there must be patience and powerful lamps, or more patience in waiting for the short spells of natural light when level rays of sunlight fall on the floors and are reflected on the walls. Many people go with a candle and see almost nothing.'<sup>160</sup> Once again, Herringham employed an object-based approach in her analysis of the paintings. She would undoubtedly have also utilised this methodology in the book she planned to write on the history of Ajanta. However, although she started writing this work in 1910, it remained unfinished on her institutionalisation in June 1911.<sup>161</sup>

Herringham's writings on Ajanta were also informed by her practical experience of copying, including *India: Ajanta – Fragment from the Hamsa Jataka* (**cat. no. 119**), and her sketch showing the interior of a vihara (monastery) at Ajanta (**cat. no. 120**). In an unpublished description of Ajanta, Herringham stated her 'daily association' with the frescoes 'lifted the veil of obscurity'.<sup>162</sup> The time she spent observing the frescoes, in conjunction with her initial sketch of the Bodhisattva Padmapani from Cave 1 (**cat. no. 121**), allowed Herringham to describe the work at length in her article for *The Burlington*:

The dignity and reposeful treatment of these figures, their large design and noble characterization equal in grandeur the finer statues of Egyptian kings. The flesh tones of the prince are pale and silvery. The queen is nearly black. In the general colouring, sober reds and some vivid pale blues and good bluish greens are introduced among greys, browns and whites. The effect is rich and quiet.<sup>163</sup>

---

<sup>160</sup> Lady Herringham, 'Notes on the History and Character of the Paintings,' (1911), republished in India Society, *Ajanta Frescoes: Being Reproductions in Colour and Monochrome of Frescoes in Some of the Caves at Ajanta After Copies Taken in the Years 1909-1911 by Lady Herringham and Her Assistants, With Introductory Essays by Various Members of the India Society* (London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1915), 18-19.

<sup>161</sup> CH to AR, 25 October [1910], UM:ML, B.27.F.31.

<sup>162</sup> Christiana Herringham, 'Ajanta Frescoes,' 5, handwritten manuscript, copy in UM:ML, B.27.F.47. This is possibly the paper Herringham delivered at the Royal Asiatic Society in June 1910. However, her indications as to where to add footnotes suggest it was intended for publication. Perhaps this is a preliminary draft for Herringham's unfinished book on Ajanta.

<sup>163</sup> Christiana J. Herringham, 'The Frescoes of Ajantà,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 17:87 (June 1910): 137.

By employing this methodology, in conjunction with her knowledge of ancient mediums such as tempera and fresco, Herringham was also able to write on the technique of how the caves were originally painted. ‘The technique adopted,’ she wrote:

with perhaps some few exceptions, is a bold, red-line drawing on the white plaster ... Next come[s] a thinnish terra-verde monochrome showing some of the red through it; then the local colour; then a strengthening of the outlines with blacks and browns giving great decision, but also a certain flatness; last a little shading if necessary. There is not very much definite light and shade modelling, but there is great definition given by the use of contrasting local colour and of emphatic blacks and whites.<sup>164</sup>

*India: Ajanta – Fragment from the Hamsa Jataka (cat. no. 119)*, in the collections at Royal Holloway, illustrates how Herringham replicated this style in her copies of the Ajanta paintings.

## **CONCLUSION**

Herringham’s copies and her writings on the Ajanta frescoes demonstrate how her artistic practice and her research were directly linked and informed each other. Her research was largely object-based; placing close observation of artworks and objects at the centre of her work. Her work as an artist emphasises this, as her sketches and watercolours were a form of notation – a way of recording architectural details and the art she saw. She supported this first-hand inspection of artworks with knowledge gained, like many other women writing during this period, through extensive primary and secondary research, and by employing personal and professional networks. The success of Herringham and other female writers, despite their lack of professional qualifications, can be taken as evidence of the semi-professionalised nature of the art historical field at the turn of the century. As one of the few women writers who was also a practising artist, Herringham could use her expertise to add further authority to her judgements. Yet, Herringham’s success also indicates the significance of class, as social networks played an important role in the progression of women’s careers. Her wealth afforded her access to cultural authority, as it enabled her to co-found the National Art Collections Fund and help save *The Burlington*. Furthermore, as a woman with considerable independent

---

<sup>164</sup> Ibid, 138.

means, Herringham could afford to travel extensively to see artworks in person and to dedicate time to her research.

Despite Herringham's broad choice of genres and subjects, there were similar themes appearing in all her writings. Foremost, she placed an emphasis on heritage and protecting aspects of art and architecture which she believed were underappreciated. Motivated by the writings and teachings of influential figures such as Ruskin and the work of SPAB, Herringham's sketches and watercolours of European architecture can be considered, when taken in the wider context, to be an attempt to create a representation of these wonderments, which would survive even if the buildings did not. This motivation drove not only Herringham's work in Europe, but also in India, where she sought to preserve another aspect of cultural heritage through her reproductions of the Ajanta frescoes. Taken in conjunction with her sketches and studies in the collection at Royal Holloway, they reveal how Herringham's work as an artist and an art writer were often intertwined; both her artworks and her writings were influenced and informed by the other.

## **Chapter Four: Herringham in India**

Between 1906 and 1911, Herringham made three journeys to India, recording her experiences through sketches, watercolours, and photographs. These journeys offered her the opportunity to dedicate herself fully to her work and to satisfy her wish to 'observe other people's lives and doings rather than take part in the doing myself.'<sup>1</sup> Herringham first travelled to India with her husband in the winter of 1906-07. The trip was the fulfilling of a 'dream of many years' to be able 'to see that middle of Asia, and all those old cities.'<sup>2</sup> The Herringhams visited their son Geoffrey, who was serving in the army and stationed in the country with his regiment, and stayed with family friends, the Casson Walkers, who were living at Hyderabad. They also travelled widely throughout the country, stopping at cities including Bombay, Ahmedabad, Udaipur, Delhi, Agra, and Benares. They explored both popular tourist sites and off the beaten track. It was during this first trip that Herringham first encountered the Ajanta Caves. Between 1909 and 1911, Herringham returned to India twice, without her husband, in an attempt to create a series of copies of the rapidly deteriorating cave paintings at Ajanta. Her project was a collaboration between British and Indian artists, and she worked alongside a fellow female artist and five Indian male students from the Government Art Schools at Bombay and Calcutta.

Herringham intended her Ajanta project to not only create a record of 'this most interesting, but slowly perishing, ancient picture gallery', but also demonstrate to both Indian and British audiences the beauty and worth of Indian fine art.<sup>3</sup> This chapter will examine how Herringham's copies challenged contemporary attitudes surrounding Indian art, and how they contributed to wider attempts to encourage an appreciation for Indian culture. It will also consider Herringham's sketches, watercolours, and photographs of India in the collections at Royal Holloway. While Mary Lago argued that Herringham 'carried none of the ideological baggage of the professional orientalist', her

---

<sup>1</sup> CH to WR and AR, 8 November 1906, UM:ML, B.27.F.31.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> C. J. Herringham, 'The Caves of Ajanta,' *The Englishwoman* 9:25 (January 1911): 66.

representations of India appear to disprove this point.<sup>4</sup> As Antoinette Burton has suggested, many British women in this period found themselves ‘trapped within an imperial discourse they did not create and perhaps which they could not escape.’<sup>5</sup>

For Herringham and the numerous other women travelling within (and beyond) the British Empire, travel provided freedom as well as power. For female artists, mobility offered them the power to capture and present a vision of the empire for audiences back home. Women who wrote about and painted the British colonies were engaging in the process of acquiring knowledge of the nation’s dominions and were therefore actively assisting imperial control. As Edward Said argued, ‘To have such knowledge of such a thing is to dominate it, to have authority over it.’<sup>6</sup> Yet, while Said claimed that Orientalism is ‘an exclusively male province’, the work of researchers such as Indira Ghose and Sara Mills has shown that women were involved in the construction of colonialism and the idea of the Other. They have shown that, although these women did experience obstacles and prejudice due to their gender, their race and class (as only wealthy women could afford to travel) also gave them power over colonised people.<sup>7</sup> These women directly benefited from the subjugation of other races, and in many cases, helped to contribute to existing power structures. As Ghose has shown, the information that these women acquired and circulated, ‘served to bolster the colonial project of “knowing” the Other to facilitate control.’<sup>8</sup> Consciously or not, these women were part of the colonial process. Susan Casteras has shown that the conquest of these women, ‘was not of a male political or military sort, but it was empowering and substantive nonetheless, projecting a highly personalised and subtle vision of how they came, saw, and visually conquered a place.’<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> Mary Lago, *Christiana Herringham and the Edwardian Art Scene* (London: Lund Humphries, 1996), 185.

<sup>5</sup> Antoinette M. Burton, ‘The White Woman’s Burden: British Feminists and “The Indian Woman,” 1865-1915,’ in *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance*, eds. Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1999), 137.

<sup>6</sup> Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Classics, 2003), 32.

<sup>7</sup> Sara Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women’s Travel Writing and Colonialism* (London: Routledge, 1993); Indira Ghose, *Women Travellers in Colonial India: The Power of the Female Gaze* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

<sup>8</sup> Ghose, *Women Travellers*, 138.

<sup>9</sup> Susan P. Casteras, ‘With Palettes, Pencils, and Parasols: Victorian Women Artists Traverse the Empire,’ in *Intrepid Women: Victorian Artists Travel*, ed. Jordana Pomeroy (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2005), 23.

Westerners could also demonstrate their conquest over a place by literally taking possession of parts of the country's culture, by building up collections of souvenirs. Historians now widely acknowledge that acts of consumption 'express values, identities and the contests around them.'<sup>10</sup> Herringham built up her own collection of a vast variety of textiles, statuettes, weapons, and paintings from not just India, but also China, Japan and North Africa, many of which survive in the collections at Royal Holloway and Newnham College.<sup>11</sup> Although she is not known to have visited China or Japan, and therefore likely bought these artefacts in London, she purchased her Indian artefacts (and presumably at least some of those from North Africa) during her travels. Wilmot remarked to Geoffrey that at Benares, Christiana spent several hours in the market attempting to decide what Indian miniatures to buy, in addition to purchasing 'a filthy brass pot' that he resignedly noted she cleaned using his nail brush.<sup>12</sup> Christiana was proud of her purchases, telling William Rothenstein on her return that 'They are very good, better than I thought' even though 'I had to decide quickly yes or no—and now I see how good these are—I think very likely I let some go which would have been worth getting.'<sup>13</sup>

Building up a diverse collection allowed Herringham to build a carefully curated image of the East, which complemented her own artistic representations of India. Herringham's paintings of the country focus mainly on sites that would have been familiar to many British audiences, such as Agra Fort and Fatehpur Sikri. These sites were often recommended in popular travel guides and reproduced in commercial photographs by studios such as Bourne and Shepherd.<sup>14</sup> These contrast with many of Herringham's own photographs. In addition to capturing tourist sites such as the Taj Mahal, she also focused on less identifiable spaces and the people. These differences are perhaps due to the different contexts of display. Her photograph albums were probably less widely circulated and only seen by close friends and family, and perhaps members of the India

---

<sup>10</sup> Joanna de Groot, 'Metropolitan Desires and Colonial Connections: Reflections on Consumption and Empire,' in *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*, eds. Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 169.

<sup>11</sup> See **Appendix I** for details of the items at Royal Holloway.

<sup>12</sup> WH to Geoffrey Herringham, 22 and 23 January 1907; UM:ML B.27.F.30.

<sup>13</sup> CH to WR, 11 April [1907], UM:ML B.27.F.31.

<sup>14</sup> Photographs by commercial studios such as Bourne and Shepherd appear in Herringham's photograph albums, in addition to her own photographs.

Society. They were therefore taken for more personal reasons. Herringham's watercolours, however, appear to have been intended for a wider audience, as she has given instructions for how they should be presented, and so may have chosen more recognisable subjects. As discussed in the previous chapter, Herringham's depictions of architecture seem to be attempts to create records of these monuments. Perhaps she was attempting to depict India's architecture before industrialisation and imperialism fully took hold. Alternatively, Herringham may have felt that different mediums were more suitable for representing different subjects. By examining her original artworks and photographs, this chapter will reveal the extent to which Herringham was influenced by contemporary discourses surrounding empire, and how these depictions fit within this wider context of surveillance and control.

### **THE AJANTA PROJECT**

The thirty caves at Ajanta date from around 200 BC to 650 AD and are decorated with a series of frescoes that depict the lives of the Buddha. Herringham first visited Ajanta in late 1906 at the request of Laurence Binyon of the British Museum, who had asked her to report back on the condition of the paintings. In the early 1900s, the caves remained very much off the beaten track. When Christiana and Wilmot asked Thomas Cook & Son at Bombay for advice the company 'knew nothing about the place or the way to get there,' although they were able to provide them with the necessary information the following day.<sup>15</sup> In 1891 the politician and temperance advocate W.S. Caine described the journey to Ajanta thus:

Travellers bound for the caves of Ajunta [*sic*] will stop at Pachora station ... The caves are thirty-five miles distant, and the road bad and rough, only fit for horseback or bullock-cart ... The mamlutdar of Pachora will provide a country bullock-cart which, with a change of bullocks half-way at Sindurni, where there is no traveller's accommodation of any sort, will reach Fardapur, four miles from the caves, before dark the same day, if a very early start be made in the morning. At Fardapur there is a Dak bungalow of some sort, but no messman ... It is a rough, hard journey, and unless the traveller is an intelligent student of Buddhist antiquities, anxious to see both Ajunta and Ellora, he had better pass Ajunta by in the favour of Ellora, a much easier expedition, and undoubtedly the more interesting, to the ordinary tourist, of the two great groups of cave temples.<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>15</sup> Herringham, 'The Caves of Ajanta,' 64.

<sup>16</sup> W. S. Caine, *Picturesque India: A Handbook for European Travellers* (London: George Routledge and Sons Limited, 1891), 417.

Although Caine had not actually been to the caves, his source informed that ‘it was a very hard journey, and quite unfit for the two ladies who accompanied me.’<sup>17</sup>

Herringham did not let these difficulties deter her. She proclaimed: ‘You take the rough with the smooth when you are off beaten tracks in India’.<sup>18</sup> In a later account, Wilmot recalled their first trip to the caves. They arrived at a nearby village, stopped for lunch:

then took a little cart, and put Chrissie and her drawing things in it, while I walked, to the caves. We went up into a line of hills, winding into a ravine with a stream nearly dry now, at the bottom. It took us two hours and it was as hot as we wanted. The little bullocks took the cart over the most impossible ground. Up and down steep rocks, across the bed of the stream, never the least put out, and never altering their pace. We left them at last, for even they could go no further, and finished the walk on foot.<sup>19</sup>

A photograph possibly taken on this journey was found in one of Herringham’s albums in the collections at Royal Holloway (**fig. 34**).<sup>20</sup> On their arrival, Christiana and Wilmot discovered the paintings were in a poor condition, having suffered from centuries of neglect, the occupation of nesting bats and bees, and, in more recent decades, the attempts of visitors to remove pieces of the paintings as souvenirs. Nonetheless, Christiana ‘made one small sketch by candle-light of some very majestic figures – of one especially, called “India” ... a most majestic, god-like being.’<sup>21</sup> Lago believed Christiana was referring to the Bodhisattva Padmapani in Cave One, and it is highly likely that the sketch she made is the one seen in **cat. no. 119**, which is now in the collections at Royal Holloway.<sup>22</sup> This study, made quickly and in the poor lighting of the caves, is not a particularly close copy. It suggests that Herringham was unaccustomed to depicting an eastern culture, as the facial features show a western influence. Her copy employs shades of red, blue and yellow, in contrast to the original fresco, where the colour palette is formed of oranges and greens. The small sketch is unable to convey the sense of scale which is visible in the original.

---

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Herringham, ‘The Caves of Ajanta,’ 66.

<sup>19</sup> WH to Mary Herringham, 11 December 1906, UM:ML B.27.F.30.

<sup>20</sup> See **Appendix III** for details of the albums.

<sup>21</sup> Herringham, ‘The Caves of Ajanta,’ 65.

<sup>22</sup> Lago, *Christiana Herringham*, 166.

Nonetheless, on their return to England, Binyon's enthusiastic response to this sketch inspired Herringham to consider returning to Ajanta to make further copies of a 'few selected portions' of the paintings.<sup>23</sup> Three years after her first visit to India, the Herringhams were invited to once again stay with the Casson Walkers. Medical assignments kept Wilmot in England, but Christiana decided to go ahead with the trip. Representations to the Government were made on her behalf by three influential men: Sir Theodore Morison (former principal of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College, and member of the Council of India), Ernest Binfield Havell (former principal of the Government Art School in Calcutta) and J. H. Marshall (Director of the Archaeological Survey in India).<sup>24</sup> Her host, Sir George Casson Walker, was Assistant Minister of Finance to the Nizam of Hyderabad. Due to his connections, the Nizam agreed to provide a camp at the nearby village of Fardapur, ready for whenever she arrived. This offer meant that Herringham's vision of the project changed: 'I found myself provided with such a complete and satisfactory camp,' she said, 'that, finally, my intention to do some specimen copies developed into a strong wish to make a fairly complete record of this most interesting, but slowly perishing, ancient picture gallery.'<sup>25</sup>

Over the winters of 1909-10, and 1910-11, Herringham presided over this project to create a series of copies of the paintings at Ajanta. She was accompanied by a fellow British artist, Dorothy Larcher, and five art students from the Government Schools of Bombay and Calcutta: Nandalal Bose, Asit Kumar Haldar, Syad Ahmad, Muhammad Fazl ud Din, and Samarendranath Gupta.<sup>26</sup> Dorothy Larcher (1884-1952) had trained at the Hornsey School Art and later became a successful textile designer, working alongside her

---

<sup>23</sup> Herringham, 'The Caves of Ajanta,' 65.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. Herringham had previously met Marshall during her first trip to India, CH to HTT, 9 February 1907, SPAB: India. Ancient Monuments I.

<sup>25</sup> Herringham, 'The Caves of Ajanta,' 65-6.

<sup>26</sup> India Society, *Ajanta Frescoes: Being Reproductions in Colour and Monochrome of Frescoes in Some of the Caves at Ajanta After Copies Taken in the Years 1909-1911 by Lady Herringham and Her Assistants, With Introductory Essays by Various Members of the India Society* (London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1915), 9-11. Haldar later recalled that Herringham was accompanied by a second British artist named 'Miss Luke'. Charles Müller, who visited the Ajanta camp in the winter of 1910-11, also noted that Herringham was accompanied by two English women. However, 'Miss Luke' does not appear alongside any of the copies published in *Ajanta Frescoes*, or in the list of copyists that Herringham provided for the Festival of Empire exhibition catalogue. Asit Kumar Haldar, *Art and Tradition*, rev. ed. (Lucknow: The Universal Publishers, 1952), 103; Charles Müller, *Cinq Mois aux Indes: de Bombay à Colombo* (Paris: H. Floury, 1924), 115; *Indian Court: Festival of Empire, 1911: Guide Book and Catalogue* (London: Bemrose and Sons, 1911), 89.

partner Phyllis Barron.<sup>27</sup> Nandalal Bose (1882-1966) and Asit Kumar Haldar (1890-1964) both later became significant figures in the nationalist artistic movement known as the Bengal School.

This was the third project to copy the Ajanta frescoes. The Royal Asiatic Society commissioned Major Robert Gill to make the first copies between 1844 and 1863. These paintings were brought back to England and exhibited in the Indian Court at the Crystal Palace, where most of them were destroyed in the fire that broke out in 1866. The second set of copies, commissioned by the Government of Bombay, were made by the principal of the Bombay School of Art, John Griffiths, and several of his students, between 1872 and 1885. Once again, fire destroyed many of the paintings soon after they arrived in London – this time in the stores of the India Museum.<sup>28</sup> Unfortunately, these lost works had not been photographed, and by the time Herringham visited Ajanta many of the frescoes had further disintegrated.

Lago has noted the unique nature of Herringham's project: British and Indian artists of Christian, Hindu, and Muslim faiths, with communication possible only in English, copying ancient Buddhist paintings in a largely Hindu state, under a Muslim ruler.<sup>29</sup> The idea of two white middle-class Englishwomen, working alongside Indian men, in dark and isolated caves, would have been controversial. Perhaps Herringham was conscious of how this situation may have been perceived by British audiences, for when she wrote of her experiences at the caves for *The Englishwoman* in 1911, she insisted: 'They were exceedingly nice to me, behaving with a simple delicacy which was very charming ... I never had a moment to complain of their conduct to me.'<sup>30</sup> When Herringham returned to Ajanta to complete the project in the winter of 1910-11, she was accompanied by William Rothenstein. She had 'pressed' him to visit the country with her and, encouraged

---

<sup>27</sup> See: Marjorie Orpin Gaylard, 'Phyllis Barron (1890-1964). Dorothy Larcher (1884-1952). Textile Designers and Block Printers,' *The Journal of the Decorative Arts Society 1890-1940* 3 (1979): 32-9; Barley Roscoe, 'Phyllis Barron and Dorothy Larcher,' in *Pioneers of Modern Craft: Twelve Essays Profiling Key Figures in the History of Twentieth-century Craft*, ed. Margot Coatts (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 61-70.

<sup>28</sup> Divia Patel and Nicola Costaras, 'Conserving the Copies of the Ajanta Cave Paintings at the V&A,' *Conservation Journal* 52 (Spring 2006): <http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/journals/conservation-journal/issue-52/conserving-the-copies-of-the-ajanta-cave-paintings-at-the-v-and-a/>.

<sup>29</sup> Lago, *Christiana Herringham*, 183.

<sup>30</sup> Herringham, 'The Caves of Ajanta,' 71.

by photographs he had seen of Benares (perhaps Herringham's own), he decided to accompany Herringham to Ajanta before heading off in search of subjects to paint.<sup>31</sup> Although it would have been considered perhaps unconventional for a woman to travel accompanied by a man other than her husband or a relative, it was not the first time that Herringham had done so. In 1894, she had spent several weeks travelling through Italy, Switzerland and Austria with the geneticist William Bateson (1861-1926). The nature of their relationship caused much confusion to those they met, with Bateson writing to his sister: "The people in the inns are naturally puzzled to discover our relationship. I see them "exercising of their brains" endlessly on this score."<sup>32</sup>

Around the same time, a woman named Adela Breton (1849-1923) was making her own copies of another set of ancient paintings. After the death of Breton's parents, she found that travel allowed her to escape the 'gilded cage of English civilization'.<sup>33</sup> Between 1900 and 1908 she made thirteen visits to Mexico, with the intention of recording archaeological sites and, perhaps most significantly, to make a series of copies of the frescoes at Chichén Itzá (**fig. 35**). She believed that copying was a superior method of documentation to photography, as photographs distorted the scale of the monuments and, crucially, were not in colour. By making her copies full-size replicas in colour, she was able to fully convey the feelings of awe that the original works inspired. Herringham similarly believed that photographing the Ajanta frescoes would lack the effect that copies could convey. In a letter to Rothenstein, in which she appears to be discussing Ajanta, she stated, 'What I feel is wanted is colour and human and animal interest in the pictures. People wouldn't care for photographs—One should think of the painting of Bible and other religious subjects on church wall in early days—by painted stories to teach the people.'<sup>34</sup>

---

<sup>31</sup> William Rothenstein, *Men and Memories: Recollections of William Rothenstein 1900–1922* (London: Faber & Faber Limited, 1931), 231-2. For Herringham's photographs of Benares, see *I. Domestic Architecture – Rajput*, RHUL Archives, 722.4 IND FOLIO.

<sup>32</sup> William Bateson to Anna Bateson, 26 July 1894, Cambridge University Library, Department of Manuscripts and University Archives, William Bateson Papers: Scientific Correspondence and Papers (hereafter cited as CU:WB), MS Add. 8634/A.42.

<sup>33</sup> Adela Breton to 'Don Alfredo' (Alfred Tozzer), 20 August 1903, Alfred Tozzer Papers, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, in Mary F. McVicker, *Adela Breton: A Victorian Artist Amid Mexico's Ruins* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 112.

<sup>34</sup> CH to WR, 2 June [1909?], UM:ML, B.27.F.31.

Although Herringham was sceptical of photography's ability to represent Ajanta, during the winter of 1910-11, her project coincided with an attempt to create a photographic record of the caves and their frescoes by Victor Goloubew, a Russian-born scholar who worked at the *École française d'Extrême-Orient* in Paris. His secretary, Charles Müller, kept a journal during their Indian travels, in which he recorded his impressions of both Rothenstein and Herringham (whom he referred to as 'M. Blauenfeld' and 'Mrs. Hoppkins').<sup>35</sup> As Lago has noted, Müller's tone was condescending and his descriptions of Rothenstein were often anti-Semitic.<sup>36</sup> Müller could not understand Herringham's decision to copy the frescoes, remarking that she would die before she could finish the work – a task which Goloubew, with his camera, would complete in a few weeks.<sup>37</sup> Goloubew's photographs were exhibited alongside Herringham's copies at the Festival of Empire in 1911, and later published in a volume of the series *Ars Asiatica* (**fig. 36**).<sup>38</sup> The photographs were able to capture a larger area of the paintings within a single photograph than the copies could. Furthermore, they more accurately represented the paintings as they survived at this particular point in time. However, as Herringham noted, the absence of colour meant they were unable to fully convey the sense of awe that the original paintings conveyed. The photographs, with all the gaps and holes in the frescoes visible, distracted from the beauty of the paintings.

Müller noted the difficult conditions under which Herringham worked during her time at Ajanta. She endured extreme heat by day and extreme cold by night, and worked every day, perched on a stool in the dark, fetid caves, straining both her eyes and her health.<sup>39</sup> Breton faced similar challenges. At both Ajanta and Chichén Itzá, many of the original paintings were obscured by their poor condition. The earlier copying attempts at Ajanta had actually contributed to the deterioration of the paintings, as the varnish previously applied to the frescoes to brighten the colours had now yellowed, further obscuring the paintings underneath.<sup>40</sup> The murals at Chichén Itzá were also in a poor condition. As the

---

<sup>35</sup> Müller, *Cinq Mois*.

<sup>36</sup> Lago, *Christiana Herringham*, 206.

<sup>37</sup> Müller, *Cinq Mois*, 115.

<sup>38</sup> Victor Goloubew, *Documents pour Servir à l'Étude d'Ajanta: Les Peintures de la Première Grotte*, *Ars Asiatica* 10 (Paris and Brussels: Librairie Nationale d'Art-Vanoest, 1927).

<sup>39</sup> Müller, *Cinq Mois*, 115.

<sup>40</sup> Christiana J. Herringham, 'The Frescoes of Ajantā,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 17:87 (June 1910): 137.

archaeologist Alfred Maudslay reported in the 1890s: ‘Very little of the design can now be made out to ones [*sic*] satisfaction ...’ he wrote, ‘They have suffered much from natural decay and still more from mutilation by visitors who have left their names scrawled with the end of a burnt stick over a greater part of the walls.’<sup>41</sup> At both sites, one of the main challenges was the lighting. At Ajanta, a lack of natural light meant it was incredibly difficult to make out many of the subjects. Even after Herringham made a forty-hour round-trip to Hyderabad for an incandescent oil lamp, ‘there was still much groping in half-dark for some people and some subjects.’<sup>42</sup> At Chichén Itzá, the deterioration and collapsing of part of the roof allowed in uneven natural light, which made it difficult to ensure the accuracy of the colour of the copies, and when it rained, water poured down the walls.<sup>43</sup>

Both Herringham and Breton, working for months at a time in isolated conditions in foreign lands, found they were considered something of a curiosity. In a letter to William Rothenstein’s wife, Alice, Herringham wrote that the camp was ‘a great event here’, with people coming to visit from all over.<sup>44</sup> In December 1910, Percy Brown, the principal of the Calcutta School of Art, visited Ajanta with his wife. They marvelled at how Herringham endured the journey to and from the caves nearly every day in the bullock cart.<sup>45</sup> Müller was baffled as to why Herringham would choose to toil away, day after day, for no material reward; he speculated that maybe this work was some sort of atonement for the sins of a past life.<sup>46</sup> Visitors to Chichén Itzá similarly marvelled at Breton’s dedication to her work. The archaeologist and anthropologist Alfred Tozzer first met Breton at Chichén Itzá and described her in a letter to his mother: ‘You look at Miss Breton and set her down as a weak, frail and delicate person who goes into convulsions at the sight of the slightest inconventionality [*sic*] in the way of living. But I assure you, her

---

<sup>41</sup> Quoted in McVicker, *Adela Breton*, 57.

<sup>42</sup> Herringham, ‘The Caves of Ajanta,’ 69.

<sup>43</sup> McVicker, *Adela Breton*, 67.

<sup>44</sup> CH to AR, 4 January 1910, UM:ML, B.27.F.31.

<sup>45</sup> CH to WR, 29 December 1910, UM:ML, B.27.F34.

<sup>46</sup> Müller, *Cinq Mois*, 115.

appearance is utterly at variance with her real self. She seems to court discomfort at any cost.'<sup>47</sup>

Interestingly, both Herringham and Breton appear to have been haunted by their respective projects. On her return from India in 1911, Herringham became convinced that she was pursued by vengeful Indians who sought revenge on her for trespassing upon sacred ground.<sup>48</sup> Breton similarly felt that she was cursed for having encroached upon the ruins of Chichén Itzá. In 1904, she warned Tozzer against any involvement with the ruins: 'Everyone who has, has been unlucky.' Her warning came shortly after the death of her beloved servant and guide, Pablo Solorio, which came soon after the deaths of both her sister-in-law and niece. In the same letter she confided, 'I did think I might escape [the curse], as I was not digging up graves or hidden things.'<sup>49</sup> Yet, while Herringham's breakdown ended her career, Breton continued to work and travel until her death in 1923.

Both Herringham and Breton were motivated to make their copies by a desire to record these monuments before they potentially disappeared forever. However, their approaches to their projects differed significantly. Breton approached her work from the viewpoint of an archaeologist or anthropologist, as demonstrated by her writings on the subject published in *MAN* (the journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute).<sup>50</sup> By contrast, Herringham's intentions were to highlight the beauty of the paintings and their importance to the field of art history, writing on the subject for *The Burlington*.<sup>51</sup> As Sarah Victoria Turner has acknowledged, Herringham often stressed that her relationship with India was as an artist, rather than a historian or archaeologist.<sup>52</sup> Indeed, in an essay accompanying the publication of the copies, Frederick William Thomas of the India Office

---

<sup>47</sup> Quoted in McVicker, *Adela Breton*, 76.

<sup>48</sup> Copy of Herringham's medical notes, UM:ML, B.28.F.2.

<sup>49</sup> Quoted in McVicker, *Adela Breton*, 123.

<sup>50</sup> See: Adela C. Breton, 'Some Mexican Portrait Clay Figures,' *MAN* 3 (1903): 130-3; Adela C. Breton, 'Archaeology in Mexico,' *MAN* 8 (1908): 34-7.

<sup>51</sup> Herringham, 'The Frescoes of Ajantā,' 134, 136-9.

<sup>52</sup> Sarah Victoria Turner, 'From Ajanta to Sydenham: "Indian" Art at the Sydenham Palace,' in *After 1851: The Material and Visual Cultures of the Crystal Palace at Sydenham*, eds. Kate Nichols and Sarah Victoria Turner (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 136.

wrote that they should be considered, 'as fragments, having a higher value for the purpose of artistic appreciation than on the archaeological side.'<sup>53</sup>

These differing contexts likely explain the differences in how these artists executed their copies. For Breton, recording the frescoes exactly as they survived at the time was of the most importance, and hence her copies also show the gaps where pieces were missing. On the other hand, Herringham stated, 'We have thought it advisable, for the sake of the beauty of the composition and of intelligibility, to fill up the smaller holes. But, though some people may call this restoration, altering our work from literal copies to studies, I think we may fairly claim that this omission of damage had been done very cautiously...'<sup>54</sup> Turner has noted that Herringham's copies can perhaps not be considered copies, but rather 'translations produced by intermediaries ... resulting in visual interpretations of this ancient Buddhist cycle for a modern audience.'<sup>55</sup> Once again, as with her copies of Renaissance paintings, Herringham was acting as an 'interpreter'. For Herringham, who hoped her copies would be appreciated as works of art, it was more important to show the Ajanta paintings to their very best advantage, rather than being completely exact.

*India: Ajanta – Fragment from the Hamsa Jataka (cat. no. 119)* at Royal Holloway is the only copy from Herringham's project that remains within Britain. After the Festival of Empire ended, the other copies were initially loaned by the India Society to the Victoria and Albert Museum, before they were transferred to the state collection of Hyderabad around 1930.<sup>56</sup> It is unclear why this work remained within Herringham's private collection. The fresco shows the Bodhisattva's life as a golden goose. The King wished to capture the golden goose his wife had seen in a dream and ordered a hunter to lay in wait at a lake outside the city. The Bodhisattva, sensing the trap, warned the others in his flock, who all escaped except his loyal minister, Sumukha, who refused to abandon his master.<sup>57</sup> This work demonstrates how Herringham's copies can be considered

---

<sup>53</sup> F. W. Thomas, 'Buddhist Cave-Temples and their Paintings,' in India Society, *Ajanta Frescoes*, 25.

<sup>54</sup> Lady Herringham, 'Notes on the History and Character of the Paintings,' (1911), republished in India Society, *Ajanta Frescoes*, 17.

<sup>55</sup> Turner, 'From Ajanta to Sydenham,' 137.

<sup>56</sup> WH to WR, 28 June 1930, UM:ML, B.27.F.30; S. F. Markham and H. Hargreaves, *The Museums of India* (London: Museums Association, 1936), 157.

<sup>57</sup> *The Jātaka: Or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*, vol. 4, ed. E. B. Cowell, trans. W. H. D. Rouse (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1901), 264-7.

translations rather than exact copies; she employed a different colour palette than used in the original frescoes. While the colours in the original fresco are deep, rich oranges and greens, the colours in Herringham's copy are more delicate, employing shades of pink similar to those seen in her original watercolours of India. Herringham's reason for this choice of colours is not clear; it is possible that she was attempting to depict this scene as she believed it would have appeared hundreds of years ago, or she perhaps was just attempting to emphasise the beauty of the piece to ensure it appealed to a modern audience. Furthermore, Herringham omitted the texture of the wall in her copy. This was done, Alison Smith notes, 'to accentuate the elegance and legibility of the design.'<sup>58</sup>

While all of the artists working at Ajanta were copying from the same source material, there are differences in their approaches: Herringham's copies are a naturalistic style. Like her other artworks, the brushstrokes are visible, which is perhaps due to her choice of medium. Dorothy Larcher's copies employ a modern style which is almost reminiscent of Art Deco painting (**fig. 37**). This style reflects Larcher's later work as a designer, and especially her use of woodblock printing. In many cases, the copies by the Indian artists appear to be more true to the originals, as can be seen in Bose's copy of the *Vessantara Jataka* in Cave 17 (**fig. 38**). The curriculum at the Government School of Art in Calcutta encouraged students to take inspiration from their culture's own traditions, meaning these artists already had significant experience in studying Indian art.

The original paintings at Ajanta were made in *fresco secco* (where the paint is applied to dry plaster).<sup>59</sup> Both Gill and Griffiths made their copies in oil, while the artists involved with Herringham's project used watercolour. Herringham, however, according to the volume *Ajanta Frescoes*, made her copies in tempera.<sup>60</sup> By using tempera, Herringham appears to have not only been aiming at an authenticity of medium, but she was also making a connection between ancient Indian art and the art of the West. She was building on the comparisons she made elsewhere between the Ajanta frescoes and the art of fifteenth-century Italy.<sup>61</sup> By linking early Italian art, which was widely admired by both

---

<sup>58</sup> Alison Smith, *Artist and Empire*, exh. cat. (London: Tate Publishing, 2015), 212.

<sup>59</sup> James C. Harle, *The Art and Architecture of the Indian Subcontinent*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London: Yale University Press, 1994), 361.

<sup>60</sup> India Society, *Ajanta Frescoes*, 9-11.

<sup>61</sup> Herringham, 'Notes on the History and Character,' 18; Herringham, 'The Frescoes of Ajantā,' 138.

art historians and the public, and Indian art, which was largely overlooked, Herringham likely hoped to encourage the public to reconsider Indian art with these comparisons in mind.

At this time, Indian art was dismissed in Britain as being of little value compared to the great art of the West. Praise was reserved for India's decorative, rather than its fine, art. A lack of aesthetic appreciation was a common feature across European interpretations of Indian art, apart from 'occasional, tantalising glimpses' in the case of architecture. Indian art was examined for its archaeological significance rather than its importance to art history.<sup>62</sup> In museums and at exhibitions, displays of Indian artefacts more often resembled cabinets of curiosities, with examples of art placed alongside manufactured and commercial goods. These displays were designed to emphasise the cultural and racial differences between western and Indian societies. When the Crystal Palace reopened in 1854, Indian paintings were exhibited alongside various objects not only from India, but also China, Japan, and Persia. They were merely grouped together due to their 'exotic' and 'Oriental' status. When India was given its own separate court the following year, it was in cramped quarters that were added on as an afterthought.<sup>63</sup> Attitudes had scarcely changed in the half century that had since passed.

Rothenstein later recalled that, in turn of the century London, Herringham alone shared his admiration for Indian art.<sup>64</sup> Herringham was keen to emphasise the unique place in the history of art that the caves held, as they were one of the few remaining examples of Buddhist painting in India.<sup>65</sup> She declared, "They are not crude, barbaric work at all ... In both the naturalism and the stylistic conventions, we are aware of centuries of slow building up or evolution. The style is marked by great brilliancy and decision, by forceful dramatic expression through greatly varied gesture and grouping."<sup>66</sup> Herringham's analysis contributed to a wider movement that was beginning to emerge in both Britain and India. In India, there were growing concerns that Indian artists were being taught to

---

<sup>62</sup> Partha Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters: A History of European Reactions to Indian Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 266.

<sup>63</sup> Turner, 'From Ajanta to Sydenham,' 125-6.

<sup>64</sup> Rothenstein, *Men and Memories*, 231.

<sup>65</sup> Herringham, 'The Caves of Ajanta,' 68.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid*, 69-70.

emulate European art at the expense of forgetting their own culture. It was for this reason that Abanindranath Tagore, the vice-principal of the Government School of Art in Calcutta, encouraged his students to return to traditional Indian art forms. He believed Herringham's project could provide his students with a valuable learning experience, and so persuaded her to employ three of his own students: Nandalal Bose, Asit Haldar, and Samarendra Gupta.<sup>67</sup> Tagore's decision was supported by the Indian Society of Oriental Art, which he had co-founded in 1907 with his brother, Gaganendranath.<sup>68</sup> The organisation was keen to encourage Indian art students to visit and study sites in India, rather than in Europe. For the students, Ajanta would serve as an inspiration that would impact their own later work. The activist and nationalist, Sister Nivedita, who visited the camp at Ajanta, wrote that, 'The sight of Mrs H at 57 years of age, working on a ladder day after day as hard as any workman would seem to have been a spiritual impetus – a new ideal – to them.'<sup>69</sup>

Encouraging Indian artists to embrace their own culture made the British government nervous. Although Herringham herself does not appear to have faced much scrutiny, Tagore's students did. The radical nationalist movement was particularly prevalent in Bengal at this time and thus the involvement of Bengali artists in a project that celebrated Indian culture attracted a significant amount of suspicion. In early 1910, the Governor of Bombay, George Clarke, visited the camp at Ajanta. Believing the Bengali artists posed a potential threat, they were removed to a camp five miles away and surrounded by armed sepoy throughout his visit.<sup>70</sup> Soon after, Herringham was travelling to Ellora when the Bengali students with her were detained by the authorities, with no reason given. On the reverse of **cat. no. 123** Herringham drafted a telegram, which she composed in an

---

<sup>67</sup> Partha Mitter, *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 305.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid. Herringham's connections to the Tagore family are evidenced by an Indian miniature painting at Royal Holloway, which was previously owned by Gaganendranath Tagore. Herringham most likely either purchased or was gifted the work directly from Gaganendranath. Kangra School, *The Evening Dance of Shiva from the Sivapradosa Stotra*, late 18th century, watercolour and gold on paper, P0507.

<sup>69</sup> The Irishwoman Sister Nivedita (born Margaret Noble) (1867-1911) moved to Calcutta and converted to Hinduism in 1895. She opened a girls' school in the city in 1898. Sister Nivedita to Mr and Mrs S. K. Ratcliffe, 3 March 1910, in *Letters of Sister Nivedita*, vol. 2, ed. Sankari Prasad Basu (Calcutta: Nababharat Publishers, 1960), 1074.

<sup>70</sup> Sister Nivedita to Mr and Mrs S. K. Ratcliffe, 23 February 1910, in *ibid*, 1068-9.

attempt to negotiate their release.<sup>71</sup> Sister Nivedita later recounted Herringham's anger and frustration that, even with all her connections at Hyderabad, she found herself helpless when faced 'with one ridiculous English official.'<sup>72</sup> Furthermore, after the India Office learned of Rothenstein's plans to join Herringham in India in 1910, he was called for a meeting by the Permanent Under-Secretary of State for India, Sir Richmond. Rothenstein later recalled that Richmond 'was afraid that my sympathy for Indians and for things Indian would encourage the Nationalists ... [and] I must promise to keep in touch with the officials ...'<sup>73</sup>

Although this was Rothenstein's first visit to India, he was already a significant figure in the campaign to promote the country's culture. The year 1910 has been referred to by art historians as a 'watershed' for the reception of Indian art in Britain.<sup>74</sup> In February that year, Ernest Havell gave a lecture on the subject of 'Art Administration in India' at the Royal Society of Arts in London. Until 1909, Havell had been the principal of the Government School of Art in Calcutta, working alongside Tagore in an attempt to reshape the curriculum. In his paper, Havell blamed British influence for the decline of Indian craftsmanship: 'Indian art is not dead;' he stated, 'it has been sleeping, but is now awakening; and to continue to ignore it in the future as we have done in the past is, I am convinced, the worst of all bad policies, and one which is fraught with evil consequences to our Empire.'<sup>75</sup> After the lecture, George Birdwood – an Anglo-Indian official who had published several books on Indian art – stood up and claimed that no fine art had ever been produced in India. When a statue of the Buddha was put forward as a counter-

---

<sup>71</sup> Handwritten note by Herringham on verso of **cat. no. 149** states: 'Students visiting Ellora with me detained travellers' bungalow Aurangabad police orders Simcox Collector Jalgaon Please communicate by wire with him – Herringham'.

<sup>72</sup> Sister Nivedita to unknown recipient, 23 February 1910, in *Letters of Sister Nivedita*, vol. 2, 1070; Sister Nivedita to Mr and Mrs S. K. Ratcliffe, 3 March 1910, in *idem*, 1073-4.

<sup>73</sup> Rothenstein, *Men and Memories*, 232.

<sup>74</sup> Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters*, 282; Robert Skelton, 'The Indian Collections: 1798 to 1978,' *The Burlington Magazine* 120:902 (May 1978): 303.

<sup>75</sup> E. B. Havell, 'Art Administration in India,' *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 58:2985 (4 February 1910): 285.

argument, Birdwood responded that, 'A boiled suet pudding would serve equally well as a symbol of passionless purity and serenity of soul!'<sup>76</sup>

The comment prompted outrage. Soon after, a letter appeared in *The Times*, supporting Havell's work and condemning Birdwood. Drafted by Rothenstein and signed by numerous artists, designers, architects, and writers, the letter stated that:

Confident that we here speak for a very large body of qualified European opinion, we wish to assure our brother craftsmen and students in India that the school of national art in that country, which is still showing its vitality and its capacity for the interpretation of Indian life and thought, will never fail to command our admiration and sympathy so long as it remains true to itself.<sup>77</sup>

With this act, Partha Mitter has argued, 'Indian art could at last be said to have arrived'. The moment marked a turning point when Indian art was at last acknowledged as having more than simply archaeological value.<sup>78</sup> Rothenstein was so 'disgusted' by Birdwood's comments that he proposed to Havell the establishment of the India Society (not to be confused with the Indian Society of Oriental Art), with the intention of promoting Indian art and culture.<sup>79</sup> Although Herringham was still in India while these events were unfolding, she joined the Society when she returned home and served as the only female member of the executive committee.<sup>80</sup> By 1911 members included sculptors such as Jacob Epstein and Eric Gill; the feminist Annie Besant, who campaigned for Indian home rule; the writer H. G. Wells; and the future first Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru. By 1914 other members included Laurence Binyon, and the feminist, activist and poet Sarojini Naidu.<sup>81</sup> The Society achieved its aims through publishing the work of figures such as the art historian Ananda Coomaraswamy and the writer, artist and musician,

---

<sup>76</sup> Ibid, 287.

<sup>77</sup> Frederick Brown et al., 'Fine Art in India,' Letter to the Editor, *The Times*, 28 February 1910, 6.

<sup>78</sup> Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters*, 282.

<sup>79</sup> Rothenstein, *Men and Memories*, 231.

<sup>80</sup> 'Imaginative Art in India,' *The Times*, 29 April 1911, 5.

<sup>81</sup> Sarah Victoria Turner, 'Crafting Connections: The India Society and the Formation of an Imperial Artistic Network in Early Twentieth-Century Britain,' in *India in Britain: South Asian Networks and Connections, 1858-1950* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 99.

Rabindranath Tagore (uncle of Abanindranath) who, in 1913, became the first non-European to win the Nobel Prize for Literature.<sup>82</sup>

The Society also arranged for the exhibition of Herringham's Ajanta copies at the Festival of Empire. The Festival was held at the Crystal Palace between May and October 1911 – sixty years after the Great Exhibition was held at the same site – and was designed to demonstrate the might of the British Empire. It may therefore appear an unusual choice for a project with Herringham's and the Society's intentions. Herringham acknowledged, in the essay she wrote for the exhibition catalogue, that, 'Copies of detached portions of these wall-paintings, deprived of their surroundings and framed, can give very little notion of the real effect of the whole.'<sup>83</sup> The copies reduced the vast, cohesive original cave paintings to individual scenes, detached from their connections to their surroundings. These copies were also unable to capture the atmosphere experienced when viewing the paintings surrounded by the awe-inspiring carved temples and sculptures. Furthermore, when the paintings were brought back to London, they were framed and put on display within the Crystal Palace; a building which symbolised modernity, industrialisation and the might of the British Empire (**fig. 39**). This context meant that Herringham's copies could have potentially been read as evidence of the empire's power: a way of capturing and possessing a geographically remote area of the empire for the consumption of British audiences. Moreover, Sarah Victoria Turner has recently noted that within this imperialistic context, 'the copies were interpreted as a material manifestation of the Festival's message about the bonds of union of the "imperial family" that the pageant had also conveyed.'<sup>84</sup> Herringham expressed her misgivings over the title of the exhibition and later resigned from the Festival's committee.<sup>85</sup> Meanwhile, Havell worried that the exhibition was not necessarily suitable for the message they were

---

<sup>82</sup> See: Ananda Coomaraswamy, *Indian Drawings* (London: Printed for the India Society at the Essex Press, 1912); Rabindranath Tagore, *Gitanjali (Song Offerings)* (London: Printed for the India Society at the Chiswick Press, 1912). Herringham owned several books published by the India Society, including Coomaraswamy's *Indian Drawings*.

<sup>83</sup> Herringham, 'Notes on the History and Character,' 18.

<sup>84</sup> Turner, 'From Ajanta to Sydenham,' 137.

<sup>85</sup> CH to WR, 1 June 1911, UM:ML, B.27.F.34.

trying to convey, but hoped that it would pique interest in the subject and 'lead to better things afterwards'.<sup>86</sup>

The Festival of Empire was not the first time that copies from Herringham's project were displayed. Earlier that year, the copies were included in the Fourth Exhibition held by the Indian Society of Oriental Art in Allahabad.<sup>87</sup> The exhibition also included Indian paintings from the Mughal period, which had been personally selected by Ananda Coomaraswamy. Other exhibits included modern paintings by artists of the Bengal School and 'a small collection of modern and ancient sculpture.'<sup>88</sup> When the copies were displayed in this context, they would have presented a powerful message to the Indian population. They represented the country's past artistic achievements and, as many of the copies were completed by contemporary Indian artists, they simultaneously served as a promise for the future of Indian art. Like the sculpture exhibit, they showed, 'the vitality of the old traditions' and were a 'hopeful indication of their continuation in the future.'<sup>89</sup>

Furthermore, back in London, despite the imperialist context of the exhibition, when displayed alongside the original work of artists such as Abanindranath Tagore and Nandalal Bose, the copies could have been taken as a nationalist statement; a representation of what Coomaraswamy described as a 'national re-awakening'.<sup>90</sup> Herringham appears to have been successful in her attempt to transmit the beauty and wonder of Indian art to a British audience. *The Times* called them the 'most striking feature' of the gallery of the Indian Section at the Festival, while another critic wrote, 'It is quite amazing to find in frescoes deriving so early from so exotic a sphere of culture, so great a mastery of the problems of form and composition, with nothing primitive about it, but displaying rather a great and matured style of painting.'<sup>91</sup> With her copies, Herringham presented a vision of India as an accomplished civilisation, with evidence of

---

<sup>86</sup> Ernest Havell to WR, 15 February 1910, UM:ML, B.27.F.38.

<sup>87</sup> 'Indian Art Exhibitions, 1908-1912: A Remarkable Record of Progress,' *The Dawn and Dawn Society's Magazine* 15:4 (April 1912): 23.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid*, 23-4.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid*, 24.

<sup>90</sup> Ananda Coomaraswamy, 'The Modern School of Indian Painting in 1910,' in *Indian Court: Festival of Empire*, 106; Turner, 'From Ajanta to Sydenham,' 137.

<sup>91</sup> 'The Festival of Empire,' *The Times*, 13 June 1911; E. K. [Ernst Kuhnel], 'An Exhibition at the Crystal Palace,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 19:102 (September 1911): 351.

an achieved culture that stretched back hundreds of years. Yet, at the Festival of Empire, it was Goloubew's photographs which won the 'Grand Prix' of the exhibition.<sup>92</sup> The copies won nothing.

### **SKETCHES AND WATERCOLOURS**

The copies were not the only representations of India that Herringham created during her time in the country. She also produced several sketches and watercolours of the sites she visited, now in the collections at Royal Holloway. Few paintings of imperial India by female artists appear to have survived, which makes Herringham's artworks even more significant. Female artists faced more restrictions, both personally and professionally, than their male counterparts, and consequently were less likely to travel beyond Europe in search of subjects. Although many middle- and upper-class women were travelling to India, either to accompany their husbands working in the country, or for leisure, the output of these women would likely have been categorised as 'amateur'. Therefore, few works by these women have been widely publicised or exist in public collections. Even fewer female artists appear to have travelled to India with the explicit purpose of pursuing their art.

One notable exception is Marianne North (1830-90), who travelled all over the world in search of artistic subjects. North's motivation for making her paintings was primarily scientific. She focused on detailed representations of the plants and fauna of the places she visited, and also completed some landscape paintings. Antonia Losano argues that her artworks illustrate an 'anti-humanist view of the world: enormous vivid flowers, itty bitty grey people.'<sup>93</sup> More significantly, North's paintings can be seen as part of a wider attempt to categorise and therefore control or possess these foreign lands. Her work as a botanist aided the process of 'epistemic violence', where the plants of non-western countries were bestowed with new, European names. This signified the ownership of the landscape, and therefore left 'indelible reminders of Britain's colonial presence.'<sup>94</sup> As

---

<sup>92</sup> *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry* 15 (1912): 21.

<sup>93</sup> Antonia Losano, 'A Preference for Vegetables: The Travel Writings and Botanical Art of Marianne North,' *Women's Studies* 26:5 (1997): 433.

<sup>94</sup> Eadaoin Agnew, "'An Old Vagabond": Science and Sexuality in Marianne North's Representations of India,' *Nineteenth-Century Gender Studies* 7:2 (2011): <http://www.ncgsjournal.com/issue72/agnew.htm>, accessed 8 May 2019.

shown by Eadaoin Agnew, the focus of North's paintings puts forward an 'Edenic' image of India; a representation of a country as yet untouched by industrialisation. This can be seen in her image of the Taj Mahal (**fig. 40**). The building is viewed through the surrounding gardens, while the monument and the small figures in the foreground, 'are rendered as timeless features in a primitive and dynamic landscape, seemingly untouched by colonial history'.<sup>95</sup> When North's paintings were put on permanent display at Kew Gardens, she was able to present her image of the country to audiences back home.

Many of Herringham's sketches of India remain unfinished, suggesting that she did not have enough time to complete them. In a letter to William and Alice Rothenstein she noted that at Agra she had managed to do little sketching, as 'I am not quick, and we move on too fast.'<sup>96</sup> Some of her sketches, such as those of the decoration at Agra Fort (**cat. no. 113 and 114**) include colour notes; perhaps she planned to complete them later or use them to help complete a larger work. Other works, such as her watercolour, *India: Udaipur – The Udaipur Island Palace* (**cat. no. 111**), also exist as unfinished studies (**cat. no. 110 and 112**). This indicates that, while she may have started these works *in situ*, she likely completed these works at a later date, perhaps after she had already arrived home. This claim is also supported by the many photographs she took of architectural and archaeological sites in India. Some of these photographs are markedly similar to sketches she completed of the same sites, such as her watercolour *India: Agra – Agra Fort: Nagina Masjid* (**cat. no. 102**), suggesting that she may have used her photographs to help her complete her sketches. One album is filled with photographs of architectural details; it is possible that she used these photographs to help her finish her artworks, although there are no captions detailing where the photographs were taken.<sup>97</sup> This connection between the photographic and artistic representations created by female travellers can be seen elsewhere in the album of Millicent Pilkington (1872-1960). The daughter of a Lancashire industrialist, she created an album recording the time she spent in India from 1893-94. She often displayed sketches and photographs of the same subject on the same page. On multiple occasions, the similarities between the two are so close that it suggests that the

---

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> CH to WR and AR, 10 January [1907], UM:ML, B.27.F.31.

<sup>97</sup> Christiana Herringham, *VI. Architectural Details. Miscellaneous*, RHUL Archives, 915.4 IND FOLIO.

sketches were made after Pilkington had arrived home, using the photograph as a reference point.<sup>98</sup>

Herringham's sketches of India include depictions of historical and archaeological landmarks such as Agra Fort, Fatehpur Sikri, and the Red Fort at Delhi. As in North's paintings, there is a notable absence of any sign of Britain's imperial presence. In Herringham's watercolours, India appears as a land frozen in time, perfectly embodying the unchanged 'old East' that Herringham admired.<sup>99</sup> Herringham's focus on these subjects corresponds with her interest in European architecture. As discussed in chapter three, with her watercolours of sites such as St Mark's Basilica in Venice and the Basilica of San Zeno in Verona, Herringham was potentially recording these monuments before they succumbed to the efforts of restorers and were lost forever. For Herringham, such buildings were evidence of the superiority of past craftsmanship. With her Indian sketches, she hoped to capture these relics of the past, perhaps before they were wiped away due to colonialism. It could be suggested that it was in India that Herringham was able to satisfy her fascination with the past; she was able to find what she had been looking for in European architecture, and which she feared had been lost in modern European society. 'Do you think factory life & commercialism have to win?' she asked the Rothensteins, 'Or can the world get wholesome again, and make things & grow things because they are wanted—for use & for beauty.'<sup>100</sup>

Although Herringham erased any explicit references to British colonialism in her paintings, her sketches still fit an exoticised, Othered image of the country. Jordana Pomeroy has argued that images produced by women artists emphasised the distance between themselves and their picturesque subjects; they suggested 'an unbridgeable chasm' between the viewer and the subject.<sup>101</sup> Herringham, like other artists, was inevitably influenced by the prevailing contemporary discourse, which framed the East as fundamentally different to the West. This image of the East was often a romanticised

---

<sup>98</sup> Renate Dohmen, 'Material (Re)collections of the "Shiny East": A Late Nineteenth-Century Travel Account by a Young British Woman in India,' in *Travel Writing, Visual Culture and Form, 1760-1900*, eds. Mary Henes and Brian H. Murray (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 56.

<sup>99</sup> CH to WR and AR, 10 January [1907], UM:ML, B.27.F.31.

<sup>100</sup> CH to WR and AR, 8 November 1906, UM:ML, B.27.F.31.

<sup>101</sup> Jordana Pomeroy, "'We Got Upon Our Elephant & Went Out After Subjects": Capturing the World in Watercolour,' in *Intrepid Women*, 44.

one and was summed up the British writer Flora Annie Steel. In 1906 Steel published an article entitled 'Picturesque India,' in which she described the distinct 'spell' of India; one which held, 'small appeal to the present, no appeal to the future of man, but an unending one to the mysterious Past.'<sup>102</sup> Herringham wished to prevent India from losing this magical quality, which she feared westernisation and industrialisation would cause. Her desire to see what she considered the more authentic India was the reason she gave for liking the 'native states' they had visited, as it was there that 'the old East is almost unchanged'.<sup>103</sup>

Herringham's watercolours reflect this view of the country. In *India: Udaipur – The Udaipur Island Palace* (cat. no. 111), the building is viewed across the water, which is confined in the top half of the work; the bottom half of the paper shows the building's reflection upon the water. The work's composition emphasises the distance between the viewer and the object. The watercolour also mirrors Herringham's view of the palace and the city. In a letter to the Rothensteins she described the city as being 'like an enchanted town in the Arabian nights – It lies pure white on the edge of a lake encircled by mountains. On the lake float white marble palace pavilions which quite cover two islands'.<sup>104</sup> Walter Crane similarly compared the palace at Udaipur to scenes from *Arabian Nights*. He described one of the lake's pavilions as 'a dream of beauty ... the whole scene from there seems almost unreal in its splendour'.<sup>105</sup> Herringham represents this fairy tale atmosphere in her watercolour by painting the scene in romantic pinks, purples and blues, and the palace appears as if it is rising out of the water, truly floating.

Many other writers across the imperial period also compared scenes on their travels to *Arabian Nights*.<sup>106</sup> Norah Rowan Hamilton travelled to India in the early years of the twentieth century. She compared India to the fantasy lands of fairy tales throughout her

---

<sup>102</sup> F. A. Steel, 'Picturesque India,' *Fortnightly Review* 80:479 (November 1906): 806.

<sup>103</sup> CH to WR and AR, 10 January [1907], UM:ML, B.27.F.31.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>105</sup> Walter Crane, 'Glimpses of India from the Picturesque Point of View,' *Journal of Indian Art and Industry* 15 (1912): 12.

<sup>106</sup> Emily Eden, *'Up the Country': Letters Written to her Sister from the Upper Provinces of India* (London: Richard Bentley, 1867), 61; Marianne North, *Recollections of a Happy Life: Being the Autobiography of Marianne North*, vol. 2, ed. Janet Catherine Symonds (London: Macmillan and Co., 1894), 52.

travelogue.<sup>107</sup> The Maharajah's palace at Udaipur was, 'A veritable story-book palace.' She imagined:

Here surely must live the wicked uncle of fairy tales; the beautiful princess; the knights and ladies; the little hunchback that turns into a prince; the cruel step-sister who is forced to assume some humiliating form at night; the merchants from far countries; the sorcerers, soothsayers, perhaps even, who knows, the magic carpet.<sup>108</sup>

Herringham also wrote of the India's magical potential. Writing to William Rothenstein, she described the religious ceremonies she had witnessed at Benares:

I felt as if I had been spirited back to a far-away antiquity into a quintessence of Pagan worship and beauty—and felt that the veil was lifted for a moment from the classic times of the Greeks as well as the old Aryans ... the wonder of it—it is not the dead past—but the living present.<sup>109</sup>

Herringham's watercolour, *India: Delhi – Red Fort: Rang Mahal* (**cat. no. 108**) additionally conforms with this romanticised image of the country. It depicts what Herringham referred to as 'The Maid's Court' – or part of the zenana.<sup>110</sup> In the foreground of the work is a marble, lotus-shaped fountain in the floor. The viewer's eye follows the water channel, which leads from the fountain to the arches in the distance. It is drawn through the use of perspective and also colour; while the rest of the work is depicted in purples, the light shining beyond the arches is light yellow, contrasting the rest of the scene. The watercolour also appears to be unfinished: the fountain and arches in the distance are rendered in detail, but the work is less detailed at the edges, and fades into the rest of the page. This scene, dissolving into the white background, adds an almost dreamlike quality to the image.

British artists added to this romantic image of India by choosing, as a general rule, not to include white Europeans in their renderings of India. In this way, they were able to present an idealistic image of the empire, unspoilt by the realities of imperialism. While Herringham's works do not include depictions of Europeans, more unusually, her works

---

<sup>107</sup> Norah Rowan Hamilton, *Through Wonderful India and Beyond* (London: Holden & Hardingham, 1915), 30, 194.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid*, 74.

<sup>109</sup> CH to WR, [late December 1906], UM:ML, B.27.F.35.

<sup>110</sup> The zenana was the part of the house or palace reserved for the women of the household.

also do not include representations of the indigenous population. Although her photographs of sites such as the Agra Fort (**fig. 41**) reveal that other visitors were present at the time she visited, her watercolours erase all trace of human presence. Herringham's watercolour *Men Sitting Under Arches* (**cat. no. 153**), probably made in either India or in Egypt, is a rare attempt to portray people outside of Europe. Yet, the men, who are dressed in all white, appear almost as silhouettes rather than full-bodied people. All but one of the men faces away from the viewer; the one man facing us is not rendered in any detail, and his face appears as a blank space. The use of shades of only brown and white mean that the people appear almost as one with the architecture.

In contrast to Herringham's works, the indigenous people are included in the paintings of India by artists such as Marianne North, Constance Gordon-Cumming (1837-1924), Clementina Marshall (d.1905), Lady Charlotte Canning (1817-61), and Adela Breton's watercolours of Mexico.<sup>111</sup> In North's paintings, people are deliberately painted small in order to highlight the importance of the plants, until they are 'dissolved' into the scenery.<sup>112</sup> As Lynne Helen Gladstone notes, the people in North's paintings are not rendered in detail and '[t]hey do not have discernible personalities; they are merely furniture attached to her architectural renderings and the placement of flora and fauna.'<sup>113</sup> In works such as *Hill Temples amongst the Deodars and Indian Elms at Nachar, India* (1864, pencil and watercolour on paper, current location unknown) by Gordon-Cumming, the indigenous people appear only as faceless figures who serve to enhance the picturesque nature of the scene. It must be noted however that Herringham also rarely represented people in her European scenes. *Europe: Cathedral Interior with Seated Figures* (**cat. no. 129**) and *Europe: Shepherds and their Flock, Walking Towards a Church* (**cat. no. 144**) are two of the few works where Herringham has included people, but again, she has not depicted the figures in detail. The lack of human representation in the work of women artists may not necessarily have been a conscious attempt to abstract the

---

<sup>111</sup> See, for example: Marianne North, *Street in Ajmere and Gate of the Daghar Mosque*, c.1878, oil on board, Marianne North Gallery, Kew; Constance Gordon-Cumming, *Raby Lodge in the Indian City of Shimla*, unknown date, watercolour on board, current location unknown; Adela Breton, *The Volcano of Orizaba or Citlaltépetl - Star Mountain - Varacruz, Mexico*, unknown date, watercolour on paper, Bristol Museum and Art Gallery.

<sup>112</sup> Losano, 'A Preference for Vegetables,' 433, 436.

<sup>113</sup> Lynne Helen Gladstone, 'The Hybrid Work of Marianne North in the Context of Nineteenth-Century Visual Practice(s),' (PhD Thesis, University of Nottingham, 2012), 232.

identity of the Other, but rather a consequence of the limited artistic training that these women had received.<sup>114</sup> Herringham appeared to lack confidence in her ability to depict the human figure, as demonstrated by her abandoned study of an Egyptian man and child on the reverse of *Egypt: Karnak – Obelisk* (**cat. no. 100**).

Herringham's other Indian sketches include architectural details such as decoration and columns, such as her studies of the decoration in Agra Fort (**cat. no. 113 and 114**). Some of these works, and especially those with colour notes, may have been used to help Herringham complete her watercolours at a later date. Or, as discussed in chapter three, they may have also informed her research on Indian art and architecture. Other sketches of details, such as *India: Ajanta – Study of Columns and Decorative Details at the Ajanta Caves* (**cat. no. 122**) reflect Herringham's wider interest in architecture, and the influence of figures such as Ruskin, and the Arts and Crafts Movement. Those involved in the Arts and Crafts Movement considered an architectural space and its interiors as a whole, believing that a space's decoration should reflect the building. At Ajanta, Herringham was therefore not just interested in the paintings on the walls, but also how the columns and carvings added to the aesthetics and atmosphere of the entire space. By making studies of the architectural details in addition to creating representations of buildings, Herringham noted the importance of all of the separate elements in helping to create the effect of the whole. Herringham's focus on architectural details was a theme throughout her work and likely relates to her concerns for heritage and conservation.

Evidence has yet to be uncovered that Herringham's Indian sketches and watercolours were ever publicly displayed. It is possible that she had plans to exhibit these works which were interrupted by her breakdown and subsequent institutionalisation. However, she may have shared her works among those within her personal and professional circle, such as with members of the India Society. After she was admitted to Barnwood House Hospital, she wrote to Wilmot to request that her portfolio of Indian sketches be given to the Begum of Bhopal, whom she had met in January 1907; her reasoning being: 'I think they would be a great pleasure to her – she like[s] architecture.' Herringham specified that the works should 'only mounted – not framed.'<sup>115</sup> Among the sketches she selected

---

<sup>114</sup> Ibid.

<sup>115</sup> CH to WH, 10 July 1911, UM:ML, B.27.F.33.

to be presented to the Begum were *India: Udaipur – The Udaipur Island Palace* (**cat. no. 111**) and *India: Delhi – Red Fort: The Diwan-i-Khas* (**cat. no. 107**). However, Wilmot evidently did not fulfil his wife's wishes, as these works are now part of the collection at Royal Holloway. Other works in Royal Holloway's collection were also possibly intended to be presented to the Begum, or at the very least, were intended to be displayed, as they are signed and include instructions detailing how the works should be mounted. On her watercolour of *India: Agra – Agra Fort: Moti Masjid* (**cat. no. 101**) she has drawn a border to illustrate the lines to which the work should be mounted, and she has specified a 'White Drawing paper mount'.

Herringham's sketches and watercolours of India can be compared to those made by Rothenstein on his trip to the country in 1910-11. He first accompanied Herringham to the Ajanta Caves – where he completed at least one study of the architecture (**fig. 42**) – and then travelled independently throughout the rest of the country. Like Herringham, Rothenstein was inspired to visit India in search of subjects for his art. As it was Herringham who encouraged his trip to India, it is interesting to compare and contrast the works that they both created during their time in the country. By 1910, he was well established as an artist. Yet, in some ways he remained outside of the establishment – perhaps partly due to his identity as a Jewish man.<sup>116</sup> When he was nominated for election to the position of Associate Member of the Royal Academy, he felt uncomfortable at the prospect of joining the Academy and asked for his name to be withdrawn.<sup>117</sup>

Rothenstein completed at least four oil paintings in the country: *Ghats at Benares* (**fig. 43**), *Morning at Benares* (oil on canvas, 1910, current location unknown), *Evening in Benares, India* (**fig. 44**) and *Bathing on the Ganges* (**fig. 45**). Both *Evening in Benares* and *Ghats at Benares* are remarkably similar in their depictions of figures at the riverside. As noted by Rupert Arrowsmith, *Morning at Benares* 'is painted in Rothenstein's characteristic landscape style,' which shows the influence of Corot, Velázquez and

---

<sup>116</sup> For a discussion of Rothenstein's Jewish identity, see chapter 3 of Samuel Shaw, *'Equivocal Positions': The Influence of William Rothenstein, c.1890-1910* (PhD thesis, University of York, 2010), 128-80.

<sup>117</sup> According to Rothenstein, Herringham was particularly horrified at his decision to withdraw his name. Rothenstein, *Men and Memories*, 191-2.

Goya.<sup>118</sup> This style is also evident in Rothenstein's other oil paintings of India. In these works, he appears to have been inspired by Herringham's earlier letters, in which she told him:

The most beautiful thing that I have ever seen at all here connected with religious rites was the ceremonial bathing at Benares and on the great irregular flights of broad stone steps to the temples ... The men nearly all come in a loose white loin cloth or long drapery—and then a square white piece over their head and shoulders—and the women come in a short sari both with a red edge, of one colour and an enveloping veil sari of another—practically you can see every juxtaposition of two colours that you can think of—Carrying their offering of flowers and green leaves in a brass basket, and holding their loose draperies of thin cotton or muslin round them they are as beautiful moving objects as you could well see.<sup>119</sup>

Rothenstein appears to have taken to heart Herringham's suggestion that it was 'a sin and a shame that a really splendid descriptive picture should not be painted' of the scene as all of these paintings depict scenes similar to those Herringham described.<sup>120</sup> In his Indian paintings, Rothenstein employed a similar colour palette of purples, pinks and oranges, which is quite different to the colours he used in the paintings he made elsewhere.

Yet, Rothenstein was dissatisfied with his paintings. After leaving Benares, he reflected that, if he had more time, he would have liked to attempt a figure painting, but must instead be content with his drawings.<sup>121</sup> The drawings which Rothenstein made in India depict various people he encountered along his travels and show an interest in religion and dress. These themes can be detected elsewhere in his work, such as in his series of eight paintings depicting Jewish ritual in London's East End (**fig. 46**).<sup>122</sup> Rothenstein's Indian sketches are largely 'characterful portrayal[s]' of figures rather than formal portraits.<sup>123</sup> This can be seen in the sketches *Kneeling Indian Man in Robes, Holding a*

---

<sup>118</sup> Rupert Richard Arrowsmith, "'An Indian Renaissance' and the Rise of Global Modernism: William Rothenstein in India, 1910–11,' in *The Burlington Magazine* 152 (April 2010): 231.

<sup>119</sup> CH to WR, [late December 1906], UM:ML, B.27.F.35.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

<sup>121</sup> Quoted in Arrowsmith, 'An Indian Renaissance,' 231, 232.

<sup>122</sup> See: William Rothenstein, *Carrying the Law*, 1907, oil on canvas, Cartwright Hall Gallery, Bradford; William Rothenstein, *A Corner of the Talmud School*, 1907, oil on canvas, Gallery Oldham, Manchester; William Rothenstein, *Jews Mourning in a Synagogue*, 1906, oil on canvas, Tate; William Rothenstein, *Reading the Book of Esther*, 1907–9, Manchester Art Gallery.

<sup>123</sup> Arrowsmith, 'An Indian Renaissance,' 232.

*Book* (fig. 47), and *Study of Seated Young Indian Man* (fig. 48). In these works it can be seen that it was ‘the “psychological character” of an individual viewed within a religious context’ that most captured Rothenstein’s attention; an interest which can be detected in the works he made at home as well as in India.<sup>124</sup> Similarities can be detected between Rothenstein’s sketches and Herringham’s abandoned study of an Egyptian man and child (cat. no. 100), which was revealed during conservation. Like Rothenstein’s Indian studies, the people appear to be candid rather than posed. However, Herringham’s decision to hide this piece, by laying the work down on card, suggests that she was not happy with her sketch.

### **PHOTOGRAPHY**

Rothenstein’s focus on the individual character of the Indian people more closely correlates to Herringham’s photographs. In contrast to her sketches and watercolours, people frequently feature in her photographs. At the time Herringham visited India, photography was a relatively new method by which people could capture and represent the empire. The introduction of cameras for the mass market, such as Kodak, meant that bulky and heavy special equipment was no longer necessary, and that tourists could now take quick snapshots.<sup>125</sup> Kodak introduced their ‘Box Brownie’ camera in 1900. Costing only five shillings and easy to use, it brought photography into the reach of most of the population.<sup>126</sup> Photography was practised by women as well as men, with *Photographic News* commenting in 1905 that, ‘It is as much a feminine as a masculine hobby these days, perhaps more so.’<sup>127</sup> One Kodak advertisement, dating from the same year, showed a young woman photographing the sights while travelling via rickshaw in Japan.<sup>128</sup> Like the woman in the advert, Herringham embraced the possibilities photography offered, wandering through the streets of India and photographing the people, as well as the landmarks, she encountered.

---

<sup>124</sup> Ibid.

<sup>125</sup> James R. Ryan, *Photography and Exploration* (London: Reaktion Books, 2013), 14.

<sup>126</sup> Patricia Holland, ‘“Sweet it is to scan ...”: Personal Photographs and Popular Photography,’ in *Photography: A Critical Introduction*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., ed. Liz Wells (Oxon: Routledge, 2009), 145.

<sup>127</sup> Quoted in Brian Coe and Paul Gates, *The Snapshot Photograph: The Rise of Popular Photography, 1888-1939* (London: Ash & Grant, 1977), 28.

<sup>128</sup> Reproduced in *ibid*, 27.

Photography was yet another way in which travellers could capture and present images of empire to audiences back home. The photographs of Hariot, Lady Dufferin (1843-1936), who was Vicereine of India between 1884 and 1888, are just one example of this. Her photographs of Mandalay in Burma (Myanmar), shortly after the territory was annexed by Britain in 1886 demonstrate how her photographs were a way of ‘taking possession – both literally and figuratively – of her empire’s newest acquisition.’<sup>129</sup> For Herringham, she hoped with her camera to capture an image of ‘authentic’ India to share back home. She wrote to the Rothensteins from Agra:

It is a fine sight to see a group of young women each carrying two big brass water pots poised one over the other on her head—draped in all sorts of fine red orange green blue—some of them also carrying a fine naked boy astride on their hips—We go about with a camera—but it is extremely difficult to get these poses. Generally they haven’t got the sun on them, and you can’t get instantaneous shots without—and a little focusing is necessary, so that even if there is sun the picture has gone before you can take it—and if you do take there is no colour.<sup>130</sup>

Although Herringham failed in her attempts to capture this scene, she did succeed in photographing many of the other people she encountered on her travels. Significantly, a large proportion of these photographs are of Indian men, as seen in **fig. 49** and **fig. 50**. The concept of a woman undertaking street photography of men she did not know would surely have been unconventional, and possibly contentious, at this time. One photograph shows Christiana and Wilmot’s guide to the Udayagiri Caves in February 1907 (**fig. 51**). Although Herringham did not caption this picture he is identifiable due to a letter Wilmot wrote to Geoffrey, in which he described their guide as ‘an elderly person clad in a loincloth and a battle axe’.<sup>131</sup>

Herringham was a wealthy white woman travelling in a country which had been colonised by her own. This status was one that afforded Herringham a degree of power to observe and categorise the indigenous population, which is evidenced by her photographs. As researchers such as Ann Maxwell and James Ryan have noted, photography was frequently used by European colonial powers as a way of signifying

---

<sup>129</sup> Eadaoin Agnew and Leon Litvack, ‘The Subcontinent as Spectator Sport: The Photographs of Hariot Lady Dufferin, Vicereine of India,’ *History of Photography* 30:4 (2006): 350.

<sup>130</sup> CH to WR and AR, 10 January 1907, UM:ML, B.27.F.31.

<sup>131</sup> WH to Geoffrey Herringham, 12 February 1907, UM:ML, B.27.F.30.

possession and conveying the racial inferiority of colonised peoples.<sup>132</sup> From the mid-nineteenth century, the new field of anthropology sought to use photography to reveal the characteristics of all the different racial ‘types’. Just one example of this was *The People of India*, edited by John William Kaye and J. Forbes Watson of the India Office and published in eight volumes from 1868 to 1875.<sup>133</sup> This photographic project ‘may be read as a form of imperial surveillance; part of the imperial desire for the total visibility of peoples and places.’<sup>134</sup> Herringham’s own photographs show that she was influenced by these contemporary ideas surrounding race and anthropology. Herringham’s album of Kashmir includes a sheet entitled ‘Hemis festival’. The photographs are accompanied by careful captions explaining the celebrations and the figures involved (**fig. 52**). Another sheet in the same folder includes photographs of people from the area, with a photo captioned ‘A typical Ladaki’ (**fig. 53**). These photographs further demonstrate how Herringham was influenced by contemporary anthropology and discourse surrounding ideas of racial superiority.

Herringham’s photographs can also be considered a reflection of her desire, similar to that of an anthropologist, to fully immerse herself in the culture and get to know the ‘real’ India. In 1909 she even wrote an article for *The Englishwoman* entitled, ‘Travel Sketches of Indian Women,’ which touched upon anthropological themes, by comparing the experiences of Indian women due to their religious or cultural background.<sup>135</sup> As her first trip to India came to an end in 1907, she wrote of her desire to return, to not only more seriously pursue her art, but also as she, ‘should like to be able to talk a little to the people’.<sup>136</sup> In January 1911, *The Englishwoman* published a further article by Herringham in which she admitted, despite having lived and worked in the heart of ‘authentic’ India: ‘I only wished I could talk to the village people and hear their legends and their lives.’<sup>137</sup> Herringham’s photographs closely correspond to those by ‘professional’ travellers, such

---

<sup>132</sup> Ann Maxwell, *Colonial Photography and Exhibitions: Representations of the “Native” and the Making of European Identities* (London: Leicester University Press, 2000); James R. Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997).

<sup>133</sup> John William Kaye and J. Forbes Watson, eds. *The People of India*, 8 vols. (London: India Museum, 1868-75).

<sup>134</sup> Ryan, *Picturing Empire*, 158.

<sup>135</sup> Christiana J. Herringham, ‘Travel Sketches of Indian Women,’ *The Englishwoman* 8:3 (September 1909): 199-207.

<sup>136</sup> CH to WR, [early 1907], UM:ML, B.27.F.35.

<sup>137</sup> Herringham, ‘The Caves of Ajanta,’ 70.

as those by Gertrude Bell (1868-1926). Most well-known for her work as an archaeologist in the Middle East, Bell took countless photographs recording her travels, including her visit to India in 1903. Her photographs, like Herringham's, record the architecture of the country, as well as many of the ordinary people. As in Herringham's photographs, the people often return her gaze (**fig. 54**). Significantly, the presentation of Herringham's photographs in her albums, which include numbering and captions, suggests that she intended these albums to be displayed; perhaps as a way to educate British people back home about India and its people. Moreover, they reflect a desire to record the 'native' way of life as lived by the ordinary people, as opposed to the Anglo-educated elite. These photographs suggest that Herringham was perhaps attempting to record with her photographs, as she had done with her art, an aspect of India which she feared may soon disappear at the hands of colonialists.

By contrast, photographs by other women travellers often sought to erase the presence of the indigenous people. Beryl White (1877-1954) was the daughter of a political officer in Sikkim, and although she lived in India, she created two albums recording her experiences travelling around the country between 1901 and 1904. Her albums feature no reference to native life or the native population.<sup>138</sup> Millicent Pilkington's albums, which cover her travels within the country from 1893-94, reveal a disinterest in the cities of Hyderabad and Bombay, where she spent most of her time in India. Instead, her album places the most emphasis on the hill stations of Ooty and nearby Wellington – places which were geographically separated from the native population, and which attempted to recreate Britain in India.<sup>139</sup> There is little evidence in these pages of the significant native presence that ensured the smooth running of these hill stations. As Renate Dohmen has argued, her album, 'engages the Picturesque to transform the native presence into pleasing colourful sights such as liveried servants, snake charmers, elephants and sumptuous Oriental decoration.'<sup>140</sup> By representing the native people as

---

<sup>138</sup> Renate Dohmen, 'Memsahibs and the "Sunny East": Representations of British India by Millicent Douglas Pilkington and Beryl White,' *Victorian Literature and Culture* 40 (2012): 160.

<sup>139</sup> Dohmen, 'Material (Re)collections,' 58.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid*, 59.

'smiling and unthreatening', she obscures the colonial relations that underpin the album.<sup>141</sup>

When these travellers did include the indigenous population in their photographs, the people were usually carefully posed in ways to emphasise their Otherness and inferiority. However, many of Herringham's photographs appear to be candid rather than posed, as can be seen in **fig. 55** and **56**. It is interesting to note that in these images, and in many of her other photographs, the people being photographed are gazing straight into the camera, and at the photographer. In India, while Herringham's Britishness afforded her a degree of power, her race and gender also meant she was an object of curiosity, especially when travelling off the beaten track. Undoubtedly, Herringham and her camera attracted a significant amount of attention. Wilmot wrote that while he waited as she took her photographs, he 'could generally tell where she was by observing a dense throng, and she used to reappear at intervals followed by a crowd of about 50, chiefly boys, to whom her proceedings were of the greatest interest.'<sup>142</sup> The people's curiosity is evident in Herringham's photographs, many of which feature people looking with interest or, in some cases, smiling at the camera. They were likely unaccustomed to the sight of a white woman with a camera.

Herringham's photographs also have implications regarding the direction of the gaze. As E. Ann Kaplan has discussed, it can be proposed that there are significant differences between the 'gaze' as opposed to 'looking'. Whereas 'look' can be used 'to connote a process, a relation,' the term 'gaze' implies 'a one-way subjective vision.'<sup>143</sup> Herringham's photographs suggest that the people were not passive, merely being observed by Herringham, but rather than they were returning her gaze. In terms of the imperial gaze, Kaplan has asked 'What happens when the look is returned – when black people own the look and startle whites into knowledge of their whiteness?'<sup>144</sup> The disruptive nature of being made aware of their own Otherness often appears in the accounts of women travellers. Herringham was keenly aware that she stood out. She wrote to the

---

<sup>141</sup> Ibid.

<sup>142</sup> WH to Geoffrey Herringham, 17 January 1907, UM:ML, B.27.F.30.

<sup>143</sup> E. Ann Kaplan, *Looking for the Other: Feminism, Film, and the Imperial Gaze* (London: Routledge, 1997), xvi.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid, 4.

Rothensteins: 'You have no idea how queer it feels to walk about feeling that you have written on you "Ruling Nation" especially when it is also "Woman of Ruling Nation".'<sup>145</sup> Nettie Fowler Dietz, who travelled to Africa in the early twentieth century, was 'the only white woman for 1000 miles'. She found that she was 'as much of a curiosity to the natives, and perhaps more so, than they are to me.'<sup>146</sup> When Marianne North visited Hardwar in India she wrote of her discomfort at being observed:

A tomb was in the centre of the room, covered with green satin drapery, and a real live Fakir, entirely naked, was there too, with a long white beard and some dabs of yellow paint on him, who stared like a wild beast (as he was). I longed to stay and paint the scene, but it would have taken long, and the holy man might possibly have got hungry and eaten me up.<sup>147</sup>

Another woman, travelling with her husband off the beaten track in India in the 1880s, found herself 'the object of what was for me rather unpleasant interest to the inhabitants.'<sup>148</sup>

In addition to considering how these women related to their surroundings, it is also important to consider how female travellers were choosing to represent *themselves* in their photographs and albums. Pilkington's album, documenting her year in India, was filled with watercolour sketches, autographs, newspaper clippings, as well as her photographs. Both Pilkington and White were young, unmarried women at the time they made their albums, and consequently they represented themselves through their albums as women devoted to their family. As Dohmen has noted, for women of their age and marital status, the tasteful arrangement of an album was a way in which they could showcase 'carefully choreographed femininity.'<sup>149</sup> Albums were not a private enterprise, but rather they were intended to be placed in the drawing room, where they could be perused by visitors.<sup>150</sup>

---

<sup>145</sup> CH to WR and AR, 10 January 1907, UM:ML, B.27.F.31.

<sup>146</sup> Nettie Fowler Dietz, *A White Woman in a Black Man's Country: Three Thousand Miles up the Nile to Rejaf* (Omaha, NE: Privately Printed, 1926), 183.

<sup>147</sup> North, *Recollections*, vol. 2, 350.

<sup>148</sup> 'An Indian Journey,' *Chamber's Journal of Popular Literature, Science and Arts*, 2 November 1889, 702.

<sup>149</sup> Dohmen, 'Memsahibs and the "Sunny East",' 156.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid*, 155-6.

Herringham was almost sixty years old when she assembled these albums, and she had already been married for about thirty years. This is perhaps partly why Herringham's representation of herself differs. Herringham also clearly took her role as an artist seriously, and was less concerned with subscribing to contemporary ideas surrounding gender roles. In her albums, she presents herself as an intrepid traveller, venturing off the beaten track. It is notable that she has included only one image of herself in these albums. This photograph does not show Herringham at a famous or recognisable tourist site, such as the Taj Mahal, or even relaxing at a hill station or in the company of the Casson Walkers. Rather, it shows her travelling (possibly on her first journey up to the Ajanta Caves) by bullock cart; a mode of travel said to be only used by the natives of India, 'for being without springs, [it is] very jolting and severe ... Travelling by this method is most fatiguing, even to the natives, who are used to it.'<sup>151</sup> The rarity of a western woman travelling by bullock cart was noted by Wilmot, who in a letter to his sister described the people they passed on the road, including, 'now and again a closed cart with a woman's face peeping out of the curtain to see the Mem Sahib [*sic*].'<sup>152</sup>

## **CONCLUSION**

Herringham's artistic and photographic representations of India reveal the complexities, and often contradictions, of interpretation. Herringham's Ajanta project can be interpreted as part of the wider attempts by the British to capture and possess parts of India, created for the consumption of the population back home. Yet, the intentions which Herringham had for her project complicate this conclusion. Herringham sought with her Ajanta project to challenge contemporary ideas surrounding Indian art and culture. The project contributed to a growing interest in the caves and a greater understanding of their importance in the global history of art, meaning that today, the Ajanta Caves are a world-famous heritage site. As suggested by Sister Nivedita, the opportunity to study at the Caves did prove an inspiration for the artists who worked alongside Herringham. Nandalal Bose's time at Ajanta led him to attempt to revive the mural tradition in India, using Herringham's translation of Cennino Cennini to explore the use of tempera and

---

<sup>151</sup> 'Two Modes of Travelling in India,' *The Ladies' Treasury – A Household Magazine*, 1 December 1883, 674.

<sup>152</sup> WH to Mary Herringham, 11 December 1906, UM:ML, B.27.F.30.

fresco.<sup>153</sup> Later works by Asit Kumar Haldar also showed the influence of Ajanta. As noted by Partha Mitter, his work, *The Negro Princess* (current location unknown) used a well-known figure from the Ajanta frescoes: *The Dying Princess* in Cave 16.<sup>154</sup> Furthermore, his work, *Megasthenes in Chandragupta's Court* (**fig. 57**), shows the clear influence of the frescoes in both his use of colour and his use of line and form in the figures. These artists became leading figures of the Bengal School in the early twentieth century. The spotlight which Herringham's project shone on the Ajanta Caves also later influenced other artists who were attempting to revive Indian artistic tradition, such as Amrita Sher-Gil. The influence of Ajanta is clear in Sher-Gil's South Indian trilogy, completed in 1937, soon after she visited the caves: *Brahmacharis* (oil on canvas, National Gallery of Modern Art, New Delhi), *Bride's Toilet* (**fig. 58**), and *South Indian Villagers Going to Market* (oil on canvas, private collection).

Herringham's sketches, watercolours and photographs, which do not appear to have been publicly exhibited, did not have the wider public impact of her Ajanta copies. Yet, these works offer insight into how a British woman, who lacked any official imperial power, engaged with empire. Her photographs, when examined alongside her artworks, reveal that despite Herringham's desire to preserve and celebrate Indian culture, she continued to seek the Orientalised version of India, and to categorise the people. While her Ajanta project was an attempt to encourage an appreciation of Indian art, by creating representations of India she contributed to the colonialist discourse of acquiring and disseminating knowledge about a culture and in doing so, increased colonial power. Although she may not have intentionally sought to support British rule in India, her comment to the Rothensteins about being a 'Woman of Ruling Nation' suggests that she was aware of the power her status provided. Herringham, like other British women at this time, found herself trapped within an imperial discourse from which could not escape. Art and photography offered Herringham the opportunity to survey, capture, and possess both India's landscapes and its people in a manner that could then be presented to the population back home. Yet, her statement reveals she was also conscious of the

---

<sup>153</sup> Partha Mitter, *The Triumph of Modernism: India's Artists and the Avant-Garde 1922-1947* (London: Reaktion Books, 2007), 86.

<sup>154</sup> Mitter, *Art and Nationalism*, 306, repro. fig. 158; *Ajanta Caves 16: Dying Princess Painting*, Google Arts and Culture, [https://www.google.com/culturalinstitute/beta/asset/ajanta-caves-16-dying-princess-painting/gAGovN\\_Fx-f1qA](https://www.google.com/culturalinstitute/beta/asset/ajanta-caves-16-dying-princess-painting/gAGovN_Fx-f1qA), accessed 13 May 2019.

attention she drew as a woman. This is further demonstrated by her photographs. They show that the people of India were not simply passive objects being observed; many of them were also returning her gaze, suggesting that for some native people, the concept of the white female traveller was as much of a spectacle for them as they were to her.

# Catalogue

## INTRODUCTORY NOTE:

The following catalogue is a complete inventory of the 169 artworks by Christiana Herringham in the collections of Royal Holloway and Bedford New College. The Herringham Collection also includes artworks by other artists which were collected and/or commissioned by Herringham. An inventory of these works, in addition to Herringham's ten photograph albums and her personal library, can be found in the appendices to this thesis.

Unless stated otherwise, all of the works in this collection were acquired by Bedford College through the gift of Wilmot Herringham. Wilmot first contacted Bedford College regarding his wife's collections in May 1917.<sup>1</sup> He likely also communicated with Newnham College around the same time. Christiana's sister, Agnes Dixon, acted as Wilmot's deputy while he was in France serving at the Front. Christiana explicitly stated the *Cambridge Madonna* was to be given to Newnham, but apart from this one painting, Margaret Tuke (Principal of Bedford College, 1907-29) and Katharine Stephen (Principal of Newnham College, 1911-20), were given the freedom to divide the collection between themselves.<sup>2</sup> The works were transferred to Bedford College in 1918 and made a permanent gift after Christiana's death in 1929.<sup>3</sup> On the merger of Bedford College with Royal Holloway College in 1985, the collection was transferred to the campus of Royal Holloway in Egham, Surrey.

The catalogue is divided into seven broad sections, covering the major themes in the collection: copies of European art; portraits and life studies; nature studies; Great Britain and Europe; beyond Europe; unidentified landscapes; miscellaneous studies. The vast majority of these works had never before been researched and lacked both titles and dates. By undertaking extensive archival and empirical research, the subjects of the majority of these works has now been identified. A lack of sources means that it has still

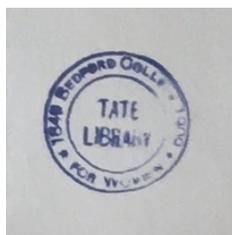
---

<sup>1</sup> WH to Margaret Tuke, 13 May 1917, RHUL Archives, BC AR/322/1/2.

<sup>2</sup> Agnes Dixon to Margaret Tuke, 6 June 1917, RHUL Archives, BC AR/322/1/2.

<sup>3</sup> W. H. Winterbotham to Margaret Tuke, 8 July 1918, RHUL Archives, BC AR/322/1/2.

not been possible to date most of the works. Details of exhibitions and catalogue numbers have been included wherever possible, however, although several of Herringham's paintings have been included in exhibitions, many of the pieces were exhibited with only vague titles alluding to the subjects of the works. As Herringham often depicted similar subjects, or the same subject multiple times, it has not always been possible to positively identify which of her works were the ones exhibited.



All inscriptions are in pencil, unless otherwise stated. On the reverse of the majority of these works is a stamp in purple or blue ink, stating 'Tate Library', indicating that the works were part of the collection held within the Tate Library at Bedford College.

Abbreviations:

irregular size: irr.

top: t

centre: c

bottom: b

right: r

left: l

Abbreviated exhibition references:

'Woman's Work Section,' *Victorian Era Exhibition*, Earl's Court, London, 1897. **Victorian Era, 1897.**

*Loan Exhibition of Modern Paintings in Tempera*, Leighton House, 15 April – 1 June 1901. **Loan Exhibition, 1901.**

*Society of Painters in Tempera: First Exhibition*, Carfax Gallery, London, 17 June – 20 July 1905. **Tempera, 1905.**

*Spring Picture Exhibition*, Whitechapel Gallery, London, 12 March – 26 April 1908. **Spring Picture Exhibition, 1908.**

*Exhibition of Works by Members of the Society of Painters in Tempera*, Baillie Gallery, London, November 1909. **Tempera, 1909.**

*Exhibition of Tempera Painting, Organised by the Society of Mural Decorators and Painters in Tempera*, Whitechapel Gallery, London, 1 July – 15 July 1930. **Tempera, 1930.**

*Memorial Exhibition of Paintings in Tempera and Water Colours by the Late Lady Herringham (1852-1929)*, Beaux Arts Gallery, London, 21 January – 2 February 1935. **Memorial Exhibition, 1935.**

*Guildford Corporation Exhibition of Paintings in Tempera and Water Colour by Lady Herringham*, Guildford House, 19 May – 2 June 1951. **Guildford Corporation, 1951.**

*Christiana Herringham: Artist, Campaigner, Collector*, Royal Holloway, University of London, Egham, 14 January – 30 March 2019. **Artist, Campaigner, Collector, 2019.**

## COPIES OF EUROPEAN ART:

### CATALOGUE NO. 1 [P1279]

The Combat of Love and Chastity (after Gherardo di Giovanni del Fora), exh. 1901

Tempera on panel, 428 x 351 mm

LITERATURE: Michaela Jones, “‘If there is no struggle there is no victory’”: Christiana Herringham and the British tempera revival,’ in *Tempera Painting 1800-1950: Experiment and Innovation from the Nazarene Movement to Abstract Art*, eds. Patrick Dietemann et al. (London: Archetype Publications, 2019), 120-1, repro. 121

EXHIBITIONS: *Loan Exhibition*, 1901 (2); *Tempera*, 1905 (62); *Artist, Campaigner, Collector*, 2019.

The original painting (**fig. 59**) by Gherardo di Giovanni del Fora (1444/5-97) dates from the late fifteenth century and is a fragment from a panel in a series depicting the ‘Triumphs’ by the fourteenth-century poet Petrarch. The first part of the panel shows the chariot of Love being pulled by four white horses. In the panel shown in Herringham’s copy, Cupid has leapt from his chariot to begin his combat with Chastity.<sup>4</sup> They meet at the centre of the panel, as described in Petrarch’s poem:

As when two lions roaring in their rage together crash,  
Or blazing thunderbolts plunge downward, riving air and earth and sea,  
So I saw Love, with all his armaments,  
Moving to capture her of whom I write.<sup>5</sup>

Chastity is armed with a shield and a chain-like whip which she will use to bind her opponent. In the third part of the panel, Chastity is shown accompanied by her followers, the Virtues.<sup>6</sup> It is Chastity who will eventually triumph.

---

<sup>4</sup> Andrea Bayer, ed. *Art and Love in Renaissance Italy*, exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2008), 296.

<sup>5</sup> Quoted in Cristelle L. Baskins ‘*Il Trionfo della Pudicizia: Menacing Virgins in Italian Renaissance Domestic Painting*,’ in *Menacing Virgins: Representing Virginity in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, eds. Kathleen Coyne Kelly and Marina Leslie (London: Associated University Presses, 1999), 120.

<sup>6</sup> Bayer, ed. *Art and Love*, 296.

Over the years, the three parts of the panel have been attributed to numerous artists, including Botticelli, Mantegna and Cosimo Rosselli. It was not until 1967 that Everett Fahy identified all three sections as being the work of Gherardo.<sup>7</sup>

Herringham's copy differs slightly from the original. While in her version the painting extends slightly to the left of Cupid's foot, in the original work Cupid's foot is cut off by the edge of the panel. Underlayers of paint also indicate that the original contours of the figures in the copy were narrowed during painting, suggesting that Herringham struggled with the composition of the piece. Although now varnished, when this work was first exhibited in 1901, it was unvarnished. It is possible that it had only recently been painted, and that Herringham was following Cennini's advice to wait at least one year before varnishing a tempera picture.<sup>8</sup>

#### **CATALOGUE NO. 2 [P0746]**

Head of the Magdalene (after Botticelli), exh. 1897

Tempera on panel, 453 x 298 mm

LITERATURE: Hannah Spooner, 'Pure Painting: Joseph Southall, Christiana Herringham and the Tempera Revival,' *The British Art Journal* 4:2 (2003): 52, repro. 50; Meaghan Clarke, 'On Tempera and Temperament: Women, Art, and Feeling at the *Fin de Siècle*,' *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 23 (2016): <http://dx.doi.org/10.16995/ntn.767>, 24, repro. 25; Meaghan Clarke, "'The Greatest Living Critic": Christiana Herringham and the Practice of Connoisseurship,' *Visual Resources* 33:1-2 (2017): 98; Jones, 'If there is no struggle ...' 119, repro. 120.

EXHIBITIONS: *Victorian Era*, 1897 (234); *Loan Exhibition*, 1901 (6); *Memorial Exhibition*, 1935 (3 or 4)

---

<sup>7</sup> Everett Fahy, 'Some Early Italian Pictures in the Gambier-Parry Collection,' *The Burlington Magazine* 109:768 (March 1967): 132.

<sup>8</sup> Cennino Cennini, *The Book of the Art of Cennino Cennini: A Contemporary Practical Treatise on Quattrocento Painting, Translated from the Italian, with Notes on Medieval Art Methods*, trans. Christiana J. Herringham (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd, 1899), 133.

### CATALOGUE NO. 3 [P0145]

Head of St Catherine (after Botticelli), exh. 1897

Tempera on panel, 452 x 298 mm

LITERATURE: Spooner, 'Pure Painting,' 52, repro. 50; Clarke, 'On Tempera and Temperament,' 24; Clarke, 'The Greatest Living Critic,' 98; Jones, 'If there is no struggle ...' 119, repro. 120.

EXHIBITIONS: *Victorian Era*, 1897 (246); *Loan Exhibition*, 1901 (8); *Memorial Exhibition*, 1935 (3 or 4)

These two studies are taken from *Madonna and Child with Six Saints*, or the *Sant' Ambrogio Altarpiece* by Sandro Botticelli (about 1445-1510) (**fig. 24**). The altarpiece was originally at the church of Sant' Ambrogio in Florence and completed around 1470. It depicts the enthroned Madonna and Child at the centre of the painting. Surrounding them are Mary Magdalene and John the Baptist on the left, and St Francis and St Catherine on the right. St Cosmas and St Damian kneel at the foot of the throne. The altarpiece shows Mary Magdalene holding a jar of ointment – referencing the Anointment of Christ, while St Catherine rests her hand on a wheel, symbolising her martyrdom. These significant symbols are omitted from Herringham's copies, which focus solely on the heads of the saints.

The altarpiece was transferred to the Accademia in Florence (as a work of Ghirlandaio) in 1808, where Herringham would have made this copy.<sup>9</sup> At the beginning of the twentieth century it was believed to be 'a school picture of good quality' rather than an original work by Botticelli.<sup>10</sup> When the painting underwent restoration in 1992, old retouchings were removed and it was reattributed to Botticelli.<sup>11</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup> David Savage, 'Botticelli,' in *Cavallini to Veronese: A Guide to the Works of the Major Italian Renaissance Painters*, [http://cavallinitoveronese.co.uk/general/view\\_artist/46](http://cavallinitoveronese.co.uk/general/view_artist/46), accessed 3 April 2019.

<sup>10</sup> P. G. Konody, *The Uffizi Gallery: With Fifty Reproductions in Colour of its Most Famous Pictures*, ed. T. Leman Hare (New York: Dodge Publishing Company, 1912), 84.

<sup>11</sup> Gloria Fossi, *Uffizi: Art, History, Collections*, trans. Catherine Frost (Prato: Giunti, 2004), 260, 315.

#### CATALOGUE NO. 4 [P069A]

Madonna and Child (after Cosmè Tura), c.1896-1908

Tempera on panel, 646 x 430 mm

INSCRIPTION: verso l: PANEL SPLITTING / a little / Handle Gently [blue ink]; frame verso: WITH CARE / BEDFORD COLL [sic] / Regent's Park / N.W.1 [printed and handwritten ink on paper label]; 38 H [green ink on paper label]; P0069A [black ink]

LITERATURE: Jones, 'If there is no struggle ...' 119-122, repro. 121.

EXHIBITIONS: *Spring Picture Exhibition*, 1908 (117); *Memorial Exhibition*, 1935 (2); *Artist, Campaigner, Collector*, 2019

This tempera painting is a copy of a work by Cosmè (or Cosimo) Tura (c.1430-95) (**fig. 60**). The date of the original work is uncertain; although it is usually dated to the late 1450s or early 1460s, Joseph Manca places it in the 1470s.<sup>12</sup> During his lifetime Tura was employed for many decades by the d'Este family (the rulers of Ferrara). Herringham may have been inspired to copy this work by the renewed interest in Ferrarese painting in the nineteenth century, which was assisted by the gradual uncovering of the Schifanoia frescoes, attributed to Tura, between 1835 and 1840.<sup>13</sup> Charles Eastlake also acquired many Ferrarese paintings for the National Gallery in London as the Costabili collection in Ferrara was gradually broken up and sold in the mid-century.<sup>14</sup>

Herringham most likely painted this copy after 1896, when the original work was acquired by the Italian state for Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice.<sup>15</sup> As Herringham's copy was exhibited at the Whitechapel Gallery in London in 1908, her copy must date from these intervening years.

Tura's painting is also known as *The Madonna of the Zodiac*, due to the symbols of the zodiac in the background. These symbols allude to the Madonna's epithet as the Queen of Heaven.<sup>16</sup> The Madonna was closely associated with the zodiac, and particularly Virgo,

---

<sup>12</sup> Joseph Manca, *Cosmè Tura: The Life and Art of a Painter in Estense Ferrara* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 62.

<sup>13</sup> Jaynie Anderson, 'The Rediscovery of Ferrarese Renaissance Painting in the Risorgimento,' *The Burlington Magazine* 135:1085 (August 1983): 539.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid*, 544.

<sup>15</sup> Manca, *Cosmè Tura*, 157.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*, 158.

the sign of the Virgin. In this painting, Virgo is depicted as a half-nude woman, just above the Virgin's right sleeve.<sup>17</sup> The image of the sleeping Christ alludes to His death and foreshadows the *Pietà*.<sup>18</sup> The grapes and goldfinches in the top corners of the painting symbolise the shedding of Christ's blood and His sacrifice. The inscription along the bottom of the painting reads: 'Awaken your son, sweet, pious mother, to make my soul happy at last', referencing the Resurrection.<sup>19</sup>

This painting is an example of how Herringham's works can be considered interpretations of Renaissance paintings, rather than exact copies. The zodiac symbols surrounding the Virgin are now much less visible on the original painting. Herringham likely chose to make them more visible in her copy as she wanted to represent the paintings as they would have originally looked when they were first painted, to fully demonstrate the beauty of tempera.

Herringham likely prepared the painting's panel herself, using Cennini's advice. The panel was made from two pieces of wood, which were joined vertically. The pieces were originally joined with little adhesive, meaning that over time, the panel came apart. The panels were re-joined when the painting underwent conservation in 2017.<sup>20</sup>

Herringham's copy is presented in an almost-exact replica of the original frame. The main difference is at the very top, where Herringham's frame features extra decoration. The semi-circular panel at the top of the frame features two angels, which are much degraded in Herringham's copy. It is likely that Herringham commissioned someone to craft this frame for her, perhaps using detailed sketches which she had made in the gallery. The frame was possibly gilded by Mary Batten, who was a member of the Women's Guild of Arts.<sup>21</sup> At the 1905 exhibition of the Society of Painters in Tempera, Herringham exhibited a copy of Botticelli's 'Calumny', with a frame which she had designed and which had been gilded by Batten.<sup>22</sup>

---

<sup>17</sup> Stephen J. Campbell, *Cosmè Tura of Ferrara: Style, Politics and the Renaissance City, 1450-1495* (London: Yale University Press, 1997), 147.

<sup>18</sup> Manca, *Cosmè Tura*, 158.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid*, 63.

<sup>20</sup> Harriet Pearson, conservation report for Christiana Herringham, *Madonna and Child* (RHUL, 2018).

<sup>21</sup> List of members of the Women's Guild of Arts, Women's Guild of Arts Archives, WGA.

<sup>22</sup> *Society of Painters in Tempera: First Exhibition: June 1905* (London: Carfax and Co., 1905), 16.

## CATALOGUE NO. 5 [P0451]

Portrait of a Lady Known as Smeralda Bandinelli (after Botticelli), c.1880-97

Tempera on panel, 728 x 476 mm

LITERATURE: Clarke, 'On Tempera and Temperament,' 26; Clarke, 'The Greatest Living Critic,' 99 and repro.

EXHIBITIONS: *Victorian Era*, 1897 (236); *Loan Exhibition*, 1901 (7); *Memorial Exhibition*, 1935 (5); *Guildford Corporation*, 1951 (4); *Artist, Campaigner, Collector*, 2019

Herringham's enthusiasm for copying Botticelli's work reflects the wider interest in the artist at the end of the nineteenth century. Although Botticelli began to receive recognition in Continental Europe in the early nineteenth century, it took much longer for his work to gain recognition in Britain.<sup>23</sup> In the 1870s, the writings of Walter Pater and John Ruskin led to a rapid rise in public appreciation for Botticelli's work. By 1903, the art historian Julia Cartwright could confidently declare that he was 'as popular in the present day as he was in his own lifetime.'<sup>24</sup>

The original portrait of *Smeralda Bandinelli* (**fig. 61**) dates from the 1470s. Although it was first attributed to Botticelli in 1841, it was not until the 1930s that this attribution was confirmed.<sup>25</sup> The Pre-Raphaelite painter Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828-82) purchased the work at Christie's in 1867 for only £20. The explosion of interest in Botticelli during the 1870s meant the painting rapidly increased in value. In 1880 Rossetti sold the painting to the patron and collector Constantine Alexander Ionides for £315. Ionides subsequently bequeathed the work to the V&A and it has been in the museum's collection since 1900.

A label on the reverse of the frame, from when the copy was exhibited in 1897 (**fig. 62**), suggests this copy was made while the original was in Constantine Ionides' possession.

---

<sup>23</sup> See: Michael Levey, 'Botticelli and Nineteenth-Century England,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 23:3-4 (1960): 291-306.

<sup>24</sup> Julia Cartwright, *Sandro Botticelli* (London: Duckworth & Co., 1903), 2.

<sup>25</sup> Mark Evans, Elizabeth Prettejohn and Stephen Calloway, 'Portrait of a Lady Known as Smeralda Bandinelli,' V&A, <https://www.vam.ac.uk/articles/portrait-of-a-lady-known-as-smeralda-bandinelli>, accessed 3 April 2019.

Although it is unknown how Herringham came into contact with the Ionides' family, she is known to have been friends with one of Constantine's daughters, Euterpe Ionides Craies.<sup>26</sup> Constantine and Herringham also shared a mutual friend in Rhoda Garrett (see **cat. no. 18**).<sup>27</sup> One of Constantine's other daughters, 'Lallie' (Helen) later exhibited an illumination at an exhibition of the Society of Painters in Tempera, which Herringham co-founded in 1901.<sup>28</sup>

#### **CATALOGUE NO. 6 [2019.20]**

Sketch of Archangel Michael of the Apocalypse

Pencil and chalk on paper, 177 x 227 mm

INSCRIPTION: verso br: Tate Library stamp [blue ink]

#### **CATALOGUE NO. 7 [2019.18]**

Sketch of *Noli me Tangere*

Pencil and watercolour on paper, 282 x 394 mm [irr.]

INSCRIPTION: verso br: Tate Library stamp [purple ink]

#### **CATALOGUE NO. 8 [2019.17]**

Sketches of the Old Testament Trinity and the Ascension

Pencil and chalk on paper, 251 x 352 mm

INSCRIPTION: tr: 40; below right image: Virgin dull-red mantle / dark blue dress - / on each side angel red face hands hair / & wings / white drapery / on each side groups of apostles / very deep colours well contrasted / & fine simple drapery distinction[?] / Virgins [*sic*] figure dark & very graceful / against light drapery / of angels -; below left image, directly under left angel: red angel green bit at throat; directly under middle angel: green mantle / red underdress; directly under right angel: brown mantle / red underdress; b: gold wings & frame of table / Holy Trinity inscribed above / but scarlet letters apparently / later -; verso br: Tate Library stamp [purple ink]

---

<sup>26</sup> Mary Lago, *Christiana Herringham and the Edwardian Art Scene* (London: Lund Humphries, 1996), 144.

<sup>27</sup> Elizabeth Crawford, *Enterprising Women: The Garretts and their Circle* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London: Francis Boutle Publishers, 2009), 192.

<sup>28</sup> *First Exhibition*, 21.

### **CATALOGUE NO. 9 [2019.19]**

Sketch of Three Saints

Pencil and chalk on paper, 226 x 178 mm

INSCRIPTION: t: [writing in Old Church Slavonic]; verso br: Tate Library stamp [purple ink]

### **CATALOGUE NO. 10 [2019.21]**

Study of Numbered Scenes (nos. 1-13)

Pencil and chalk on paper, 178 x 229 mm

INSCRIPTION: above top row of images: 1; 2; 3; tr: (1); above middle row of images: 4; 5; 6; 7; 8; above bottom row of images: 9; 10; 11; 12; 13; bl: 1, 2, 3 old design but coarse modern work oil painting / 4 central figure white drapery on gilt & antique in proportions and drawing / lacquer painting – saints elongated / 5 Fine design & a lot of [illegible]-good scheme[?] of white horse and drapery / pink architecture & very dark blue / & gold; br: antique feeling something like; br corner: Left of mantelpiece; verso br: Tate Library stamp [purple ink]

### **CATALOGUE NO. 11 [2019.23]**

Study of Numbered Scenes (nos. 14-34)

Pencil and chalk on two pieces of paper sewn together with cotton thread, 188 x 323 mm [irr.]

INSCRIPTION: above top row of images: 14; 15; 16 < old good; 17; 18; tr: (2); middle row of images: 19; 20; 21; 22; 23; 24; 25; 26 / 2 female saints; bottom row of images: 27; 28 / modern / stoning of saint / a sort of lacquer / much cracked; 29 / a seated Xr / with saints; 30 / The resurrection / lacquer; 31; 32; 33; 34 < baptism / < three angels; bottom left to right: 20 with decorative feeling of reds & gold. / brocade & floral patterns / heads dignified old / 21 a group of angels; 31 Abraham & 3 angels / tough paint dark lines / much raised / same type of angel / curls round forehead & hanging / down back; 23 Visit of wise men / Thin red & black lacquer / painting on gold.; Right of mantelpiece [half-circled]; 25 / like very minute / Japanese lacquer work. / Virgin white veil dark blue / dress blk [sic] mantel; 33 Elijah taken / into heaven; verso br: Tate Library stamp [blue ink]

### **CATALOGUE NO. 12 [2019.24]**

Study of Numbered Scenes (nos. 35-54)

Pencil and chalk on two pieces of paper taped together, 177 x 450 mm

INSCRIPTION: top row of images: 35 / a Virgin / holding scroll; 36; 37 / a Christ; 38 / very similar / to 3. but the sky / full of angels / carrying saints / into heaven.; missed / <sup>v</sup> 3rd of Triptych / 39; missed / <sup>v</sup> Veronicas [*sic*] / cloth; 40 / Virgin & / white angels / & apostles; 41; 42; 43; 44 / an uninteresting triptych / still good workmanship / long glassy cracks; middle row of images: 45 / 3 saints / rich brocade / dresses - good / old -; 46; 47 / presentation Xr / in temple - / elongated figures; 48 / The red horse; 49 / ascension of Xr / old good; 50 / Birth of / Xr & other / incidents / same style as / 49 [erased illegible writing underneath]; 51 / 3 angels / gold wings [erased illegible writing underneath]; 52 / Saint & / incidents / of life / good; 53 / Virgin / [illegible word] 54; bottom row of images: Birth of Xr / like 36 but / reversed; Transfiguration / red gold / & blk [*sic*]; Incidents / of birth of Xr.; below images, l: 35, 37 – 39 are a triptych / ^ winged figure like Xr / holding chalice / 46 colouring style / crucifixion [illegible words] / new [illegible words] / 39 Transfiguration of Xr. / with Moses & Elias; below images, r: 41. The Trinity – Fine / Jupiter like figure / powerful good work; 54 crowned Virgin / & saints round; verso br: Tate Library stamp [blue ink]

### **CATALOGUE NO. 13 [2019.25]**

Study of Unnumbered Scenes

Pencil and chalk on two pieces of paper taped together, 177 x 431 mm

INSCRIPTION: verso br: Tate Library stamp [blue ink]

These eight studies of religious paintings and icons serve as an insight into Herringham's methodology. They reveal she was undertaking object-based research, involving the careful and close examination of original works of art, as dictated by contemporary connoisseurship. First-hand examination of paintings was believed to be necessary to learn the stylistic traits of artists. Making studies like these cultivated Herringham's knowledge of art, which she then utilised in her writings. The inscriptions on each of these sketches and the fact that they were all made using similar materials suggests that they were made on the same trip abroad.

Herringham has not depicted the majority of these works in detail and some are represented through a brief written description rather than a sketch. Herringham likely chose to sketch the works which she found most interesting or considered to be most significant. Her annotations include comments and judgements on the age, quality, and condition of the works. The inscriptions, which include the location of the individual works within the room and numbers, suggests that these studies were probably made at a gallery or during a visit to a private collection. The numbering and placement of the sketches indicates that Herringham was attempting to record the arrangement of the works on display. These sketches also demonstrate that Herringham was taking an interest in works from a variety of different cultures, as in addition to making studies of works which appear to be from western Europe (such as **cat. no. 7**), she was also making studies of works which appear to be more Byzantine in style (**cat. no. 9**).

### **PORTRAITS AND LIFE STUDIES:**

#### **CATALOGUE NO. 14 [2019.77]**

Life Study: Seated Woman, Turned Away from the Viewer

Black chalk on pink paper, 306 x 248 mm

#### **CATALOGUE NO. 15 [2019.78]**

Life Study: Seated Woman with her Legs to the Side

Pencil on pink paper, 304 x 244 mm

#### **CATALOGUE NO. 16 [2019.80]**

Life Study: Woman Turned Away from Viewer with Raised Arms

Pencil on pink paper, 485 x 308 mm

#### **CATALOGUE NO. 17 [2019.79]**

Life Study: Woman Turned Away from Viewer with Raised Arms

Black and white chalk on pink paper, 485 x 307 [irr.] mm

EXHIBITIONS: *Artist, Campaigner, Collector*, 2019

It has not been possible to uncover where or when Herringham made these life studies, but the fact that they are all on the same paper with the same model suggests they were made during one sitting. Opportunities for female artists to draw from the fully-nude model remained limited in the nineteenth century, even as art training became increasingly accessible to women. Although Herringham attended both the Female School of Art and the Slade School of Fine Art, neither of these institutions offered women the opportunity to draw from the nude model when Herringham was a student in the 1870s.<sup>29</sup> The existence of these works demonstrates Herringham's desire to improve her work, as mastering the human figure was an essential aspect of an aspiring artist's training.

There are three main possibilities as to where Herringham drew these works. The first is that Herringham attended life drawing classes while studying in Paris.<sup>30</sup> Although it is unknown where she studied, the diaries of Marie Bashkirtseff (1858-84) show that the Académie Julian was offering women access to nude models soon after its establishment.<sup>31</sup> Another alternative is that Herringham collaborated with other female artists to collectively hire a model and hold their own life classes. Lastly, it is possible that Herringham may have privately hired a model and made these studies within her own studio.

#### **CATALOGUE NO. 18 [2019.76]**

Portrait of Rhoda Garrett, before 1882

Red chalk on orange paper, 267 x 251 mm [irr.]

INSCRIPTION: bl: Miss Rhoda Garrett

EXHIBITIONS: *Artist, Campaigner, Collector*, 2019

---

<sup>29</sup> *University College London Calendar 1876-77* (London: Taylor and Francis, 1876), 75, 167, University College London: UCL Records Online, [http://digital-collections.ucl.ac.uk/R/?func=collections-result&collection\\_id=4960](http://digital-collections.ucl.ac.uk/R/?func=collections-result&collection_id=4960), accessed 1 April 2019; 'University College London.-Prizes, 1878-79,' *The Building News and Engineering Journal* 37 (1879): 53.

<sup>30</sup> C. J. Herringham, 'The Caves of Ajanta,' *Englishwoman* 9:25 (January 1911): 70.

<sup>31</sup> Marie Bashkirtseff, *The Journal of Marie Bashkirtseff*, vol. 1, trans. Mathilde Blind (London: Cassell & Company, 1890), 352. Herringham owned a copy of Bashkirtseff's published journals in the original French, which is now in the collections at Royal Holloway (see **Appendix II**).

This is one of only two known portraits of Rhoda Garrett (1841-82) (see **fig. 63** for the other). Moreover, it is the only one in a public collection, making it an important object in the history of the suffrage movement. Although undated, Herringham presumably completed this work before Rhoda's death on 22 November 1882. Rhoda was the cousin of Millicent Garrett Fawcett (President of the NUWSS) and Elizabeth Garrett Anderson (the first female physician in Britain). In 1874, Rhoda co-founded the first professional female-led interior decorating firm with their sister, Agnes Garrett: A & R Garrett House Decorators. Like many other members of her family, Rhoda was actively involved in the fight for women's rights. Her dedication to the suffrage cause meant she overcame her hatred of public speaking to become one of the most powerful early suffrage orators. Her friend Maude Parry remembered that, "Those who heard her speak in public will never forget the impression of that beautiful voice, with its ring of truth and earnestness, carrying conviction as nothing else could ..."<sup>32</sup>

It is not clear exactly how Herringham met the Garrett family, but it seems likely that it was through her father, Thomas Wilde Powell. His company, Heseltine, Powell & Co., gave investment advice to the finance committee of The New Hospital for Women, run by Elizabeth Garrett Anderson.<sup>33</sup> In 1880, Christiana and Wilmot moved to 22 Bedford Square, just metres away from Rhoda and Agnes's home at 2 Gower Street.<sup>34</sup> These connections would suggest that Herringham was probably part of the Garrett's inner circle in the 1870s, and by 1880 at the latest.

Herringham and Rhoda may have bonded over their shared love of architecture. Both women were early members of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB).<sup>35</sup> Like Herringham, Rhoda was said to have 'loved to wander over old churches and buildings, examining ancient mouldings and carvings, and the noble proportions of architecture.'<sup>36</sup>

---

<sup>32</sup> Maude Parry, 'Pen and Ink Sketches: Rhoda Garrett,' *Routledge's Every Girl's Annual* 52 [1883], 304-5.

<sup>33</sup> Crawford, *Enterprising Women*, 71.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 167. Millicent also moved to 2 Gower Street in 1884, following the death of her husband.

<sup>35</sup> Parry, 'Pen and Ink Sketches,' 303.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

Herringham remained part of the Garretts' inner circle after Rhoda's death. In 1888, Herringham and Agnes became founding directors and shareholders of Ladies' Residential Chambers Ltd, which was founded to provide accommodation for professional working women.<sup>37</sup> In 1889, Herringham signed a petition for women's suffrage, alongside Millicent Garrett Fawcett, Agnes Garrett and Elizabeth Garrett Anderson.<sup>38</sup> Herringham continued to work alongside Millicent Garrett Fawcett and support the NUWSS until her institutionalisation in 1911.

### **CATALOGUE NO. 19 [P1062]**

Portrait of Susanna J. Herringham, c.1883

Watercolour on paper, 367 x 309 mm

EXHIBITIONS: *Memorial Exhibition*, 1935 (10)

PROVENANCE: Presumably gifted by Wilmot Herringham to Geraldine Jebb; donated to Bedford College by Geraldine Jebb, 1950-51; acquired on the merger with Bedford College, 1985

This portrait depicts Wilmot's paternal grandmother, Susanna Jackson Herringham, wearing a white bonnet and glasses. Wilmot later stated that he believed this was the best portrait his wife ever painted.<sup>39</sup> When this work was exhibited in 1935, its title stated that it depicted Susanna Herringham at 86 years of age. However, this appears to have been an error, as records indicate that she died in September 1883, at the age of 85.<sup>40</sup>

### **CATALOGUE NO. 20 [2019.75]**

Woman Wearing a Black Bonnet and Dress, Blue Shawl, and White and Pink Bow

Mixed media on paper, 392 x 284 mm

---

<sup>37</sup> Directors' Minute Book (1888-1912), City of Westminster Archives, London: Ladies Residential Chambers Ltd, 0975/1.

<sup>38</sup> London and National Society for Women's Service Central Committee, 'Declaration in Favour of Women's Suffrage,' 1889, LSE Selected Pamphlets, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/60224329>.

<sup>39</sup> WH to Rosamond Wills, 24 February 1918, UM:ML, B.27.F.30.

<sup>40</sup> 'Births, Marriages, Deaths,' *The Essex Standard, West Suffolk Gazette, and Eastern Counties' Advertiser*, 13 October 1883, 5.

**CATALOGUE NO. 21 [2019.74]**

Woman Wearing a Black Bonnet with a Pink and White Bow

Mixed media on paper, 390 x 283 mm

EXHIBITIONS: *Artist, Campaigner, Collector*, 2019

**CATALOGUE NO. 22 [2019.73]**

Woman Wearing a White Bonnet

Mixed media on paper, 387 x 284 mm

INSCRIPTION: verso br: Tate Library stamp [purple ink]

These three portraits depict women wearing traditional European costume, very similar to that worn in the Savoy region. Two of the portraits (**cat. no. 20** and **cat. no. 21**) appear to depict the same woman, although **cat. no. 20** is more complete and shows the woman wearing a blue shawl. These works likely relate to a portrait which Herringham discussed in a letter sent to Alice Rothenstein from France. She wrote: 'I am trying to finish a head of a peasant woman I painted a few years ago in another part of France—to go to the exhibition of our tempera society which will be after I have gone away ...'<sup>41</sup> This letter was probably written in 1909: the second official exhibition held by the Society of Painters in Tempera was held in November of that year, which was after Herringham had left for India. However, no portrait matching this description was ever exhibited at any of the exhibitions held by the society. Herringham stated that she was finding it 'much more laborious to paint now my sight has lost its full focussing power...'<sup>42</sup> It is possible the final portrait was never finished.

Similar portraits were painted by Marianne Stokes and Estella Canziani, who both exhibited with the Society of Painters in Tempera. Stokes made several portraits of people, and especially women, wearing traditional costume while travelling in Hungary, which were later published in a volume co-written with her husband, Adrian Stokes (**fig. 64**).<sup>43</sup> Herringham lent Stokes' *Head of Italian Girl* (current location unknown) to the exhibition held by the Society of Painters in Tempera in 1905. Canziani also painted many

---

<sup>41</sup> CH to AR, 17 August [1909], UM:ML B.27.F.34.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> Adrian Stokes and Marianne Stokes, *Hungary* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1909).

tempera portraits of women wearing the traditional costumes of Italy and the Savoy region, which appeared in her travel books (**fig. 65**).<sup>44</sup> Herringham's interest in traditional rural costume is additionally demonstrated in one of her photograph albums, which included postcards of women making lace.<sup>45</sup>

Herringham appears to have painted these portraits in a mix of watercolour and tempera. Herringham has applied a scumbled layer (a thin coat of opaque colour using a dry brush) over the base colour on the women's faces. She stated that it was this technique which allowed her to obtain '[t]he luminous effect of flesh'.<sup>46</sup> Marianne Stokes also employed this method, as seen in *Candlemas Day* (**fig. 66**).

### **CATALOGUE NO. 23 [2019.12]**

A Xmas Dream of Delight, possibly 1891-92

Sepia ink on paper, 250 x 365 mm

INSCRIPTION: bl: a xmas dream of delight [sepia ink]

EXHIBITIONS: *Artist, Campaigner, Collector*, 2019

Here, Herringham has depicted a fantastical scene. A young boy dressed in a sailor suit is shown seated on a tricycle. He is surrounded by insects, including dragonflies, grasshoppers and praying mantises, which appear to be gathering around the boy, swirling almost in a vortex.

This is the only surviving known work by Herringham of her children. In 1883 Christiana planned to paint an 'almost life size' portrait of Geoffrey and Christopher but, as Wilmot noted, this task was 'awfully difficult' and it is not clear whether she completed this work.<sup>47</sup> Herringham possibly drew this work for her eldest son, Christopher. In 1891, at the age of nine, he had begun to suffer from a mysterious illness that was eventually

---

<sup>44</sup> Estella Canziani, *Costumes, Traditions and Songs of Savoy* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1911); Estella Canziani and Eleanor Rohde, *Piedmont* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1913); Estella Canziani, *Through the Apennines and the Lands of the Abruzzi* (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1928).

<sup>45</sup> *Arundel Club: 1904 – First Year's Publications. Photographs: Architectural*. RHUL Archives, 709 ARU FOLIO.

<sup>46</sup> Christiana J. Herringham, *How to Paint Tempera Pictures* (Loughton: Madderton & Co., Ltd, 1903), 5.

<sup>47</sup> WH to William Walton Herringham, 31 January 1885[?], UM:ML, B.27.F.30.

diagnosed as rheumatoid arthritis.<sup>48</sup> Christiana nursed Christopher through his long illness, including travelling with him to Egypt, in the hopes that the dry climate would improve his health. She may have made this drawing in an attempt to keep up Christopher's spirits while he was too ill to leave his sickbed; the title suggests it was drawn around Christmas. Christopher died from kidney failure on the journey from Egypt in May 1893. He was buried in the English cemetery in Las Palmas, Gran Canaria.<sup>49</sup>

## **NATURE STUDIES:**

### **Large-Scale Flower Paintings:**

#### **CATALOGUE NO. 24 [P0453]**

Asphodel

Tempera or oil on canvas, 915 x 610 mm

EXHIBITIONS: *Memorial Exhibition*, 1935 (46); *Guildford Corporation*, 1951 (28)

The 1935 exhibition catalogue states this painting was in tempera, but it appears to be oil.<sup>50</sup>

#### **CATALOGUE NO. 25 [P0146]**

Bracken and Bluebells

Pencil and watercolour on paper laid on card, 228 x 543 mm [sight]

INSCRIPTION: bl of image: C. J. Herringham [watercolour]

EXHIBITIONS: *Memorial Exhibition*, 1935 (41); *Guildford Corporation*, 1951 (21 or 29)

#### **CATALOGUE NO. 26 [P1291]**

Bracken Fronds

Mixed media on paper, 739 x 455 mm

EXHIBITIONS: *Memorial Exhibition*, 1935 (48); *Guildford Corporation*, 1951 (21 or 29)

---

<sup>48</sup> Lago, *Christiana Herringham*, 34.

<sup>49</sup> G. S. Parry, 'Las Palmas Inscriptions,' *Notes and Queries*, 18 June 1904, 483.

<sup>50</sup> *Memorial Exhibition of Paintings in Tempera and Water Colours by the Late Lady Herringham (1852-1929)*, 1935, RHUL Archives, BC AR/322/3/3.

**CATALOGUE NO. 27 [P0452]**

Iris and Asphodel

Mixed media on paper, 764 x 529 mm

EXHIBITIONS: *Memorial Exhibition*, 1935 (43); *Guildford Corporation*, 1951 (25); *Artist, Campaigner, Collector*, 2019

**CATALOGUE NO. 28 [P0822]**

Lords and Ladies [previous title: Arum Lilies]

Watercolour on paper, 712 x 505 mm [sight]

EXHIBITIONS: *Memorial Exhibition*, 1935 (45)

**CATALOGUE NO. 29 [P1250]**

Martagon Lilies [previous title: Red Lilies on Blue Ground]

Watercolour on paper, 508 x 762 mm

EXHIBITIONS: *Memorial Exhibition*, 1935 (38); *Guildford Corporation*, 1951 (26)

**CATALOGUE NO. 30 [P1290]**

Mimulus

Mixed media on paper, 729 x 502 mm

EXHIBITIONS: *Memorial Exhibition*, 1935 (37); *Guildford Corporation*, 1951 (22).

**CATALOGUE NO. 31 [P0139]**

Narcissus, Forget Me Not and Orchids [unlocated]

LITERATURE: Possibly reproduced in Mary Lago, *Christiana Herringham and the Edwardian Art Scene* (London: Lund Humphries, 1996), 108

**CATALOGUE NO. 32 [P0125A]**

Orchids

Mixed media on paper, 734 x 484 mm

**CATALOGUE NO. 33 [P1267]**

Pink Aquilegia, Yellow Foxgloves, Cow Parsley

Mixed media on paper, 788 x 685 mm

PROVENANCE: Gifted to Bedford College by Mr Dixon, June 1927; acquired on the merger with Bedford College, 1985

**CATALOGUE NO. 34 [P0140]**

Ragged Robin

Watercolour on paper, 728 x 405 mm [sight]

**CATALOGUE NO. 35 [P1641]**

Wild Hyacinths [unlocated]

**CATALOGUE NO. 36 [P0144]**

Wild Roses on a Wall [unlocated]

**CATALOGUE NO. 37 [P0140 duplicate]**

Yellow Foxglove, Ragged Robin and Bindweed [unlocated]

Large-scale flower paintings were a major part of Herringham's *oeuvre*. Examples of this subject by Herringham appear not only in the collections at Royal Holloway, but also at Newnham College, Guildford House Gallery, and in private collections. Bedford College's records reveal that, in addition to the original bequest, 'Mr Dixon' donated two flower paintings in the 1920s.<sup>51</sup> A label on the verso of **cat. no. 33** identifies it as one of those donated by Mr Dixon, but the other has not been determined. Flower paintings were the earliest type that Herringham exhibited. Two watercolours: *Early Summer – Apple Blossom* (exh. 1874) and *Study of Wild Roses* (exh. 1877) were included in the Royal Academy Summer Exhibitions.<sup>52</sup> However, the current location of these works is unknown. It is likely that they were painted on a small scale, such as *Polyanthus* (private collection), which appears to be another early work.

---

<sup>51</sup> Mr Dixon was most likely Charles Dixon; his first wife was Herringham's sister, Agnes. Bedford College, Annual Report of Council, 1926-7, RHUL, BC GB/113/1.

<sup>52</sup> *The Exhibition of the Royal Academy of Arts 1874* (London: William Clowes and Sons, n.d.), 31; *Exhibitions of the Royal Academy 1875-84* (London: William Clowes and Sons, n.d.), 34.

None of the flower paintings at Royal Holloway are dated. Writing in reference to similar works in the collections at Newnham College, a relative described them as 'Aunt Chrissie's mad flower paintings' and suggested they were painted after she entered the asylum in 1911.<sup>53</sup> However, this seems unlikely. Wilmot stated Christiana lost interest in art after her breakdown and she would have struggled to find the wildflowers depicted in her paintings while in the asylum.<sup>54</sup> It is believed though that these works date from later in her career. Multiple factors support this theory. The first is the large size of most of these paintings, suggesting Herringham was a more accomplished artist by this point. Secondly, they exhibit her mature colour palette. Lastly, Herringham appears to have been employing a variety of media in these paintings, including oil and an experimental mix of watercolour with tempera.

Other flower painters working in the nineteenth century, such as Annie Feray Mutrie (1826-93) and Rose Magnus (1859-1900), focused on careful arrangements. This trend continued at turn of the twentieth century, as seen in the work of artists such as Elizabeth Whitehead (1855-1934) and Jessie Algie (1859-1927). Herringham's flower paintings differ by depicting English wildflowers and plants in their natural setting, Although Herringham has not arranged the subjects of her paintings, she has carefully framed each of her compositions to show the plants with their complementary colours to their best advantage, and so most effectively representing the beauty and wonder of nature.

Her paintings put into action the advice of John Ruskin, who told artists to 'go to Nature ... rejecting nothing, selecting nothing, and scorning nothing'.<sup>55</sup> They also show the influence of the Pre-Raphaelites, who had followed Ruskin's advice and were committed to the principle of depicting 'absolute, uncompromising truth'. This was obtained 'by

---

<sup>53</sup> Henrietta McBurney-Ryan and Laura MacCulloch, 'Christiana Herringham's Legacy to Bedford and Newnham Colleges,' paper delivered at *Christiana Herringham and her Circle*, 2 March 2019, Royal Holloway, University of London.

<sup>54</sup> Lago, *Christiana Herringham*, 242.

<sup>55</sup> John Ruskin, 'Modern Painters: Volume I,' (1843) in *The Works of John Ruskin*, vol. 3, eds. E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn (London: George Allen, 1903), 624.

working everything, down to the most minute detail, from nature, and from nature only.’<sup>56</sup>

The Pre-Raphaelites painted their landscapes ‘to the last touch, in the open air, from the thing itself’ to ensure their works were as accurate as possible.<sup>57</sup> While Jan Marsh and Pamela Gerrish Nunn suggested that these paintings would have been made in her studio from scaled-up studies, it seems probable that Herringham, like the Pre-Raphaelites, made at least some of these paintings *en plein air*.<sup>58</sup> Painting flowers life-size meant that Herringham was able to more accurately represent her subjects, while also differentiating herself from ‘amateur’ artists who would work on a smaller scale.

---

### CATALOGUE NO. 38 [2019.2]

Butterflies, Dragonflies and Damselies

Pencil, watercolour and gouache on paper, 368 x 537 mm

INSCRIPTIONS: verso tc: D9 1 / 30174 [sideways]; br: Tate Library stamp [blue ink]

EXHIBITIONS: *Artist, Campaigner, Collector*, 2019

Different species of butterflies, dragonflies and damselies are shown in flight, painted in shades of yellow, orange, blue and green. Herringham most likely painted this work in her studio, yet the sky-blue background suggests a natural setting. Herringham’s study of these insects was possibly inspired by her connections to the scientist William Bateson. Bateson recorded his examination of various butterflies during the extended holiday which they took together in the summer of 1894 (see **cat. no. 71**).<sup>59</sup> In a letter he wrote to his sister (and Herringham’s friend), Mary, in 1895, he suggested that Herringham had also assisted with his research. He stated that Herringham ‘really did very well with the egeria [a species of butterfly] – particularly well in fact – I feared it would be a hard service.’<sup>60</sup> Herringham was obviously interested in insects and often depicted them in her

---

<sup>56</sup> John Ruskin, ‘Pre-Raphaelitism,’ in *Lectures on Architecture and Painting, delivered at Edinburgh in November 1853*, in *Works*, vol. 12 (1904), 157.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 157-8.

<sup>58</sup> Jan Marsh and Pamela Gerrish Nunn, *Pre-Raphaelite Women Artists*, exh. cat. (Manchester: Manchester City Art Galleries, 1997), 151.

<sup>59</sup> William Bateson, Notebook from visit to Switzerland, 1894, CU:WB, MS Add. 8634/F.10.

<sup>60</sup> William Bateson to Mary Bateson, 7 September 1895, CU:WB, MS Add. 8634/A.44.

work. Examples include *A Xmas Dream of Delight* (**cat. no. 23**), *Iris and Asphodel* (**cat. no. 27**) and *Dragon Flies*, which was lent to the 1951 exhibition from a private collection (current location unknown).<sup>61</sup>

### **CATALOGUE NO. 39 [2019.1]**

Goatsbeard

Pencil, watercolour and gouache on paper, 357 x 177 mm

INSCRIPTION: bl: GOATBEARD [*sic*] / JVNE [white watercolour]

The white and green of the goatsbeard plant contrasts starkly against the plain black background. It is an unusual composition for Herringham, who usually presented plants in their natural setting. The word 'June' is inscribed in the Arts and Crafts style underneath the name of the plant. It suggests that this work could have been painted for a calendar, with a plant or wildflower to illustrate each month of the year – perhaps as part of a collaborative project.

### **CATALOGUE NO. 40 [2019.4]**

Indigo and White Flowers

Watercolour and gouache on paper, 155 x 114 mm

INSCRIPTION: verso br: Tate Library stamp [purple ink]

Removed from their natural setting, this small-scale study of indigo and white flowers is reminiscent of botanical illustration. Like flower painting, botanical illustration was increasingly considered a feminine occupation in the nineteenth century.<sup>62</sup> Not only were flowers and plants seen as appropriately feminine subjects for women, but botany was a scientific pastime that could be carried out within the home. The small scale of this study suggests it is an early work.

---

<sup>61</sup> Guildford Corporation, *Exhibition of Paintings in Tempera and Water Colour by Lady Herringham (1852-1929): Catalogue*, 1951, RHUL Archives, BC AR/322/2/2.

<sup>62</sup> Suzanne Le-May Sheffield, *Revealing New Worlds: Three Victorian Women Naturalists* (London: Routledge, 2001), 112.

**CATALOGUE NO. 41 [2019.8]**

Mountain Houseleeks

Watercolour on paper, 269 x 282 mm

*Sempervivum montanum*, also known as mountain houseleeks, are identifiable by their thick stems, which are covered in red-pink leaves, and topped with clusters of pink-purple flowers. They thrive in dry, rocky conditions and are native to the Alps. The small scale of this work suggests that Herringham likely made this study *in situ*. She possibly painted this watercolour while travelling through the Alps with William Bateson in the summer of 1894 (see **cat. no. 71**), but may have made additional visits to the region.

**CATALOGUE NO. 42 [2019.6]**

Study of Flowers, Possibly Bluebells

Pencil and watercolour on card, 365 x 130 mm [irr.]

INSCRIPTION: verso br: Tate Library stamp [purple ink]

Herringham possibly made this small drawing of bluebell-like flowers as a preparatory study for one of her flower paintings. There are splashes of paint on the paper, including a large pink mark on the left.

**CATALOGUE NO. 43 [2019.7]**

Study of Leaves

Red chalk on orange paper, 375 x 260 mm [irr.]

INSCRIPTION: verso tl: Tate Library stamp [blue ink] [upside down]

This study of trailing leaves is unusual for Herringham's *oeuvre* as it is drawn in chalk, rather than pencil or watercolour. It further demonstrates Herringham's willingness to experiment with media, also shown by her large-scale flower paintings, which appear to be a mix of watercolour and tempera.

#### **CATALOGUE NO. 44 [2019.10]**

Study of Plants

Pencil on card, 250 x 353 mm

INSCRIPTION: verso br: Tate Library stamp [purple ink]

This study focuses on various wild plants and small wildflowers. Like Herringham's flower paintings, it demonstrates the Ruskinian ideal of drawing directly from nature. It is possible that this work was a preparatory drawing for one of her larger paintings. In addition to completing paintings focusing on wildflowers, she also completed others focusing on non-flowering plants, such as *Bracken Fronds* (**cat. no. 26**) and *Autumn Leaves* (unknown medium and date, Guildford House Gallery). However, this work does not directly match any of her known paintings.

#### **CATALOGUE NO. 45 [2019.5]**

Study of Small Purple Flowers and Leaves

Pencil and watercolour on pink paper, 316 x 241 mm [irr.]

INSCRIPTION: verso br: Tate Library stamp [purple ink]

These tiny purple flowers, surrounded by green leaves, spread out from the centre of the page. The shade of brown surrounding the central flowers and leaves suggests this work was painted directly from nature. The paper has a partial watermark which reads: '... MSTEL', but it has not been possible to determine the manufacturer relating to this watermark.

#### **CATALOGUE NO. 46 [2019.3]**

Study of Stems and Leaves

Watercolour on card, 373 x 216 mm [irr.]

INSCRIPTION: verso br: Tate Library stamp [purple ink]

This unfinished study of leaves and stems appears to show these plants in their natural setting. Herringham possibly made this study in preparation for making one of her full-scale paintings of plants and flowers.

### **CATALOGUE NO. 47 [2019.9]**

Study of Vine with Flowers, 1911

Pencil on paper, 420 x 267 mm

INSCRIPTION: c: [illegible]; r, under image: June / 26 / 1911 / CJH; bl: and; verso br: Tate Library stamp [purple ink]

EXHIBITIONS: *Artist, Campaigner, Collector*, 2019

The shakily handwritten date on this work – 26 June 1911 – reveals that Herringham made this study exactly one week after she was admitted to Barnwood House Institution.<sup>63</sup> This is probably the latest work by her in the collection. Herringham most likely drew this work in the grounds of the hospital. It is one of only two works in the collection where Herringham has included the exact date. The other (**cat. no. 69**) was, like this work, painted soon after a traumatic event in her life, being painted shortly after the death of her eldest son.

### **CATALOGUE NO. 48 [2019.11]**

Unfinished Study of Stems, c.1895-1911

Pencil on paper, 421 x 267 mm

INSCRIPTION: verso br: Tate Library stamp [purple ink]

Although it is unknown where Herringham made this study, the paper's watermark ('O.W.P & A.C.L') provides a clue to the date. The company O.W. Paper & Arts Co. Ltd. was established in 1895 by the landscape artist John William North. The company aimed to produce the finest quality handmade papers, made from 100% linen rag.<sup>64</sup> This work must therefore have been made in 1895 at the earliest, and most likely before June 1911, when Herringham entered Barnwood House Institution.

---

<sup>63</sup> Copy of Herringham's medical notes, UM:ML, B.28.F.2.

<sup>64</sup> *The Journal of the British Association of Paper Historians* (2003) in Rose Peel and Bill Hamilton, 'Searching for the Paper – Traill,' *AICCM Bulletin* 35:1 (2014): 46.

## **GREAT BRITAIN AND EUROPE:**

### **CATALOGUE NO. 49 [2019.58]**

France: Abbey of St-Jean-des-Vignes

Pencil and watercolour on paper, 322 x 453 mm [irr.]

INSCRIPTION: t: [partly erased] 17 [illegible] + each[?] / narrow[?] [illegible]; b: [crossed out word] Lille[?] [illegible] ^ [crossed out words]

Although the inscription at the bottom of this work has been rendered illegible, it appears to show the cloister of the Abbey of St-Jean-des-Vignes in Soissons, France. It is identifiable by the decoration on its pointed, Gothic arches.<sup>65</sup> The Abbey was founded in 1076 and ransacked and restored several times over the centuries. Partly dismantled during the French Revolution, it also suffered damage due to bombing during the Franco-Prussian War in 1870.<sup>66</sup> Some of this damage seems to be visible in Herringham's work. Her decision to represent the abbey reflects her inclination to record architectural monuments at risk of disappearing, and the influence of her involvement with SPAB.

### **CATALOGUE NO. 50 [P1557]**

France: Aix les Bains [previous title: Spring Blossom]

Pencil and watercolour on paper, 199 x 354 mm

EXHIBITIONS: Possibly *Tempera*, 1930 (as *Marshland?*); *Memorial Exhibition*, 1935 (11); *Guildford Corporation*, 1951 (8)

This landscape shows a river running through green grass and into the distance, where a row of trees can be seen, dotted with pink blossom. Large white clouds and a blue sky provide a background to the trees.

Although catalogued within the collection as *Spring Blossom*, an exhibition label on the reverse of this painting's frame indicates that its original title was *Aix les Bains* –

---

<sup>65</sup> An image of the cloisters in 1918 is reproduced in: *Soissons: Before and During the War* (Clermont-Ferrand: Michelin & Cie., 1919), 48.

<sup>66</sup> Michael Greenhalgh, *Destruction of Cultural Heritage in 19<sup>th</sup>-century France: Old Stones versus Modern Identities* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 227.

presumably a reference to where this painting was made. Aix-les-Bains, located in south-eastern France, is famous for its thermal baths. This town would have held a particular significance for Herringham; her son, Christopher, died on the journey to Aix-les-Bains in May 1893. They had hoped that visiting the town would allow him to recuperate, after the Egyptian climate failed to cure him.<sup>67</sup>

### **CATALOGUE NO. 51 [P1567]**

France: Arles – St Trophime: Cloisters

Pencil and watercolour on paper, 250 x 370 mm

EXHIBITIONS: *Memorial Exhibition*, 1935 (27)

Arles, in the south of France, was called ‘the Mecca of French archæologists’ by Alexandre Dumas.<sup>68</sup> The Romanesque church (and former cathedral) of St Trophime is dedicated to St Trophimus, who was the first Bishop of Arles, and apparently a disciple of St Paul.<sup>69</sup> The cloisters were said to be ‘most famous of Provence, perhaps of France’ and date from several different centuries.<sup>70</sup> The North side dates from the twelfth century; the East from the thirteenth century; the West from the fourteenth century; and the South from the sixteenth century.<sup>71</sup> The capitals of the columns are carved with biblical scenes, while the sides of the pillars feature sculptures of saints.<sup>72</sup>

Herringham included professional photographs of St Trophime in one of her photo albums, alongside images of other architecture, including Chartres Cathedral, Wells Abbey, and the ruins at Glastonbury.<sup>73</sup>

---

<sup>67</sup> WH to William Walton Herringham, 16 May 1893, UM:ML, B.27.F.30.

<sup>68</sup> Alexandre Dumas, *Pictures of Travel in the South of France* (London: Offices of the National Illustrated Library, 1851), 216.

<sup>69</sup> *A Handbook for Travellers in France*, 10<sup>th</sup> ed. (London: John Murray, 1867), 519.

<sup>70</sup> Elise Whitlock Rose, *Cathedrals and Cloisters of the South of France*, vol. 1 (London: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1906), 147.

<sup>71</sup> Karl Bædeker, *Southern France including Corsica*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (London: Dulau and Co., 1902), 439.

<sup>72</sup> *A Handbook for Travellers in France*, 520.

<sup>73</sup> *Arundel Club: 1904 – First Year’s Publications. Photographs: Architectural*. RHUL Archives, 709 ARU FOLIO.

### CATALOGUE NO. 52 [P1575]

France: Arles – St Trophime: Portico [previous title: St Mark's Venice]

Pencil and watercolour on paper, 377 x 250 mm

Although previously accessioned with the title *St Mark's Venice*, research revealed that this work actually depicts the portico of St Trophime in Arles. Herringham included a professional photograph of the cathedral from the same angle in one of her albums, suggesting she may have used this image when drawing her own work.<sup>74</sup>

As with her other watercolour of the cathedral (**cat. no. 51**), Herringham was less interested in the intricate carved figures that adorn the building. Instead, she chose to focus on the building's columns and arches, reflecting her wider interest in these architectural features.

### CATALOGUE NO. 53 [P1571]

France: Laon – Cathedral Towers

Pencil, sepia ink and white gouache on brown paper, 450 x 195 mm

EXHIBITIONS: *Memorial Exhibition*, 1935 (23)

Laon Cathedral in northern France was built in the second half of the twelfth century. Herringham's work focuses on the cathedral's 180 feet high towers, with their arches and columns. On each tower's platform are statues of oxen, which can just be made out in Herringham's work. These statues commemorate the oxen that carried the stones up the steep hill during the cathedral's construction.<sup>75</sup>

Like many other European churches and cathedrals, Laon underwent significant restoration in the nineteenth century. In 1910, the art critic Elizabeth Robins Pennell recorded her disapproval of the recent work. She believed that, 'so many changes had been made for no better reason, as far as I could see, than for the mere sake of change.'<sup>76</sup>

---

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Esther Singleton, 'Laon Cathedral,' in *Famous Cathedrals: As Seen and Described by Great Writers*, ed. Esther Singleton (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1909), 283.

<sup>76</sup> Elizabeth Robins Pennell, *French Cathedrals: Monasteries and Abbeys, and Sacred Sites of France* (New York: The Century Co., 1910), 291.

A local woman cried telling her about the recent alterations, 'and, really, I could have cried with her.'<sup>77</sup> She wrote: 'The worst of it is when your eyes, wandering upward, at last rest in peace on the dulled gold-grey of the towers ... you know what loveliness and tenderness of colour all the cathedral might have, had it never been patched and pieced and refaced'.<sup>78</sup> Pennell's account was accompanied by an illustration of the towers from the same perspective as Herringham's work, drawn by her husband, the artist Joseph Pennell.<sup>79</sup>

#### **CATALOGUE NO. 54 [2019.37]**

France: Rouen – Rouen Cathedral: Cour d'Albane

Pencil, watercolour and gouache on paper, 229 x 508 mm [irr.]

INSCRIPTION: verso br: Tate Library stamp [purple ink]

The Cour d'Albane on the north side of Rouen Cathedral is situated between the Portail des Libraires and the Tour St Romain. The British art critic and writer, Sir Theodore Andrea Cook, stated in 1899: 'This quiet little quadrangle is one of the prettiest nooks of old Rouen.'<sup>80</sup> Although Herringham's focus is the timber-framed houses which line the courtyard, her composition emphasises the impressive and intimidating size of the cathedral on the right of the work. The cathedral extends past the top and the edge of the paper, meaning the houses seem small and delicate by comparison. Most of the buildings in this watercolour were damaged or destroyed during the heavy bombing the city suffered in 1944, meaning that today, only the timber house on the far left survives intact.<sup>81</sup> Although Herringham is known to have visited France on numerous occasions, it has not been possible to discover when she visited Rouen.

#### **CATALOGUE NO. 55 [2019.46]**

France: Rouen – Rouen Cathedral: Entrance to the Library

Pencil and watercolour on paper, 422 x 261 mm

---

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid, 294.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid, 295.

<sup>80</sup> Theodore Andrea Cook, *The Story of Rouen* (London: J. M. Dent & Co., 1899), 218.

<sup>81</sup> Ronald R. Bernier, *Monument, Moment, and Memory: Monet's Cathedral in Fin de Siècle France* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2007), 39.

This Gothic arch, decorated with carved oak leaves, surrounds the entrance to the library at Rouen Cathedral, which is situated at the top of the famous Escalier des Libraires. Herringham has partly drawn the sign inside the arch: 'BIBLIOTHECA'. She most likely drew this work at the same time she completed her other study of the cathedral's interior, which shows the doorway at the bottom of the staircase (**cat. no. 56**).

#### **CATALOGUE NO. 56 [P1570]**

France: Rouen – Rouen Cathedral: Interior

Pencil and watercolour on paper, 500 x 260 mm

EXHIBITIONS: *Memorial Exhibition*, 1935 (30)

This work shows a doorway in the north transept of the cathedral, through which the canons would have walked to get to the chapter house.<sup>82</sup> On the other side of the door a column and a further entryway can be glimpsed. To the right of the doorway can be seen the famous Escalier des Libraires, which was originally the staircase leading to the cathedral's library and archives. Herringham also drew the doorway at the top of this staircase, as seen in **cat. no. 55**.

#### **CATALOGUE NO. 57 [P1564A.4]**

France: Termignon – Chapel of the Visitation, Close View

Pencil and watercolour on paper, 220 x 255 mm

INSCRIPTION: verso c: 5/B

EXHIBITIONS: *Memorial Exhibition*, 1935 (61 – as *Small Sketches*, no. 1)

#### **CATALOGUE NO. 58 [P1564A.3]**

France: Termignon – Chapel of the Visitation, Front View

Pencil and watercolour on paper, 143 x 256 mm

INSCRIPTION: bl of image: [illegible] [line pointing to image]; bl: white river[?] [line pointing to image]; verso c: 3/B

EXHIBITIONS: *Memorial Exhibition*, 1935 (61 – as *Small Sketches*, no. 1)

---

<sup>82</sup> Benjamin Winkles, *French Cathedrals: With an Historical and Descriptive Account* (London: Charles Tilt, 1837), 158.

**CATALOGUE NO. 59 [P1564A.5]**

France: Termignon – Chapel of the Visitation, Side View

Pencil, watercolour and white chalk on paper, 239 x 378 mm

INSCRIPTION: br: Grass / rough stone wall / Flowers [grey watercolour]; tl: Green / to nearly / top [grey watercolour]; verso c: 4/B

EXHIBITIONS: *Memorial Exhibition*, 1935 (61 – as *Small Sketches*, no. 1)

**CATALOGUE NO. 60 [P1564A.2]**

France: Termignon – Houses and Church

Watercolour on paper, 173 [irr.] x 270 mm

INSCRIPTION: verso c: 2/B

EXHIBITIONS: *Memorial Exhibition*, 1935 (61 – as *Small Sketches*, no. 1)

**CATALOGUE NO. 61 [P1564A.1]**

France: Termignon – Houses and Crucifixes, Surrounded by Mountains

Pencil and watercolour on paper, 197 x 167 mm

INSCRIPTIONS: verso c: 1/B

EXHIBITIONS: *Memorial Exhibition*, 1935 (61 – as *Small Sketches*, no. 1)

Herringham placed these five watercolours of Termignon together in the same frame. Termignon is a village located in the Savoy region of France. It receives only brief mentions in popular travel guides published in the mid-to-late nineteenth century, suggesting Herringham was travelling off the beaten track.<sup>83</sup> The tempera artist Estella Canziani described the village in her book, *Conditions, Traditions and Songs of Savoy* (1911). She stated: 'It is all built of large stones, the roofs are of slate, and we also saw the beautiful stone bridge leading to the church, with its high pointed campanile. It is situated at the foot of jagged peaks, some of which are perhaps the most picturesque in Savoy.'<sup>84</sup>

---

<sup>83</sup> See: *Southern France including Corsica*, 343; *A Handbook for Travellers in Switzerland, and the Alps of Savoy and Piedmont*, 14<sup>th</sup> ed. (London: John Murray, 1872), 495.

<sup>84</sup> Canziani, *Costumes, Traditions and Songs*, 156.

In **cat. no. 60** and **61**, Herringham has focused on the houses of the village. In the other three works she has depicted the Chapel of the Visitation, the interior of which is decorated in the baroque style. The village's white buildings are surrounded by blue, green and yellow mountains.

**CATALOGUE NO. 62 [2019.65]**

Great Britain: Entrance Hall of a House

Pencil, watercolour and gouache on brown paper, 314 x 241 mm

EXHIBITIONS: *Artist, Campaigner, Collector*, 2019

This work shows the front hall of a house in the Arts and Crafts style. The style of the interior indicates that it may depict one of the houses owned by the Powell family – most likely Piccards Rough.

Herringham's father, Thomas Wilde Powell, commissioned the Arts and Crafts architect Richard Norman Shaw to design a number of buildings in and around Guildford in Surrey, including the family home at Piccards Rough. According to Wilmot, the house was 'a revelation of beauty'.<sup>85</sup> Sir Henry Newbolt, who was a university friend of Herringham's brother Bertie, first visited Piccards Rough in the early 1880s. He later recalled: '[T]he moment I entered it I knew that I had come into the Modern Age—what was then called "the Esthetic [*sic*] Period".'<sup>86</sup>

Herringham moved away from Piccards Rough following her marriage in 1880, but she and Wilmot later returned to the area, splitting their time between London and Piccards Cottage, located in the grounds of Piccards Rough.<sup>87</sup>

---

<sup>85</sup> Wilmot Herringham, *Autobiographical Memoir* (private collection) in Lago, *Christiana Herringham*, 22.

<sup>86</sup> Sir Henry Newbolt, *My World as in My Time: Memoirs of Sir Henry Newbolt* (London: Faber & Faber, 1932), 135.

<sup>87</sup> Lago, *Christiana Herringham*, 35-6.

### **CATALOGUE NO. 63 [2019.71]**

Great Britain: Guildford – Millmead

Pencil and watercolour on paper, 217 x 348 [irr.] mm

EXHIBITIONS: *Artist, Campaigner, Collector*, 2019

This watercolour shows buildings by the River Wey along Millmead in Guildford's town centre. Herringham moved to Guildford with her father and siblings after the completion of Piccards Rough in 1878. Guildford and its surrounding area were important to the Powell family throughout their lives, with Sir Henry Newbolt commenting that the siblings remained 'practically an unbroken circle' despite their marriages.<sup>88</sup> Many members of the family continued to live nearby and both Herringham's father and her great-nephew Laurence Powell were bestowed with the honour of Freeman of the Borough for their contributions to the area.<sup>89</sup>

Herringham also completed another watercolour of Guildford, showing houses backing onto the River Wey on Quarry Street, which is now in the collections of Guildford House Gallery (**fig. 67**).

### **CATALOGUE NO. 64 [P1569]**

Great Britain: Oxford – Christ Church Cathedral

Pencil and watercolour on paper, 390 [irr.] x 210 mm

EXHIBITIONS: *Memorial Exhibition*, 1935 (24)

Although the inscription on the work's original mount reads 'St. Mary's, Oxford,' this work in fact shows the interior of Christ Church Cathedral. This suggests Herringham added her inscriptions at a later date and consequently misremembered locations. Herringham's watercolour depicts the pillar which divides the cathedral's Latin Chapel and Lady Chapel. On the pillar is a monument to Robert Burton (1577-1640), writer of *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621). Below the monument is a tomb, believed to be of Sir

---

<sup>88</sup> Newbolt, *My World as in My Time*, 136.

<sup>89</sup> *The Development of Arts & Crafts Architecture in St Catherine's, Guildford*, 2013, <https://www.artington.org.uk/artsandcrafts.pdf>, accessed 1 April 2019.

George Nowers, whom Herringham referred to as 'the Templar'. Nowers, who died in 1425, is thought to have been a companion of the Black Prince.<sup>90</sup>

#### **CATALOGUE NO. 65 [2019.60]**

Great Britain: Oxford – Corpus Christi College, possibly 1870-90

Pencil and watercolour on paper, 283 x 391 mm

INSCRIPTION: br: Corpus Christi Coll. / Oxf.; verso br: Tate Library stamp [purple ink]

Herringham possibly made this watercolour while visiting one of her brothers who attended Corpus Christi College: Charles matriculated in 1874, while Herbert (Bertie) graduated in 1885.<sup>91</sup> Several of Herringham's other siblings also studied at Oxford. Her brother Edmund attended Oriel, while her sisters Theodora and Eleanor both attended Somerville College. Eleanor later became a tutor at Somerville, teaching modern history.<sup>92</sup>

#### **CATALOGUE NO. 66 [2019.16]**

Great Britain: Oxford – Trinity College Gates

Pencil and sepia ink on paper, 283 x 394 mm

INSCRIPTION: verso br: Tate Library stamp [purple ink]

This drawing shows the gates at Trinity College in Oxford; the grounds of the college can be seen in the distance. Today, the gates are missing the top section of the wrought iron panels to the either side of the gate, yet a photograph reveals they were still present in the 1920s.<sup>93</sup> Herringham's drawing also omits some of the elaborate detail surrounding the crest at the top of the centre of the gates. It is unclear whether this detailing was not present when Herringham drew this work, or whether her drawing is unfinished.

---

<sup>90</sup> Edward C. Alden, *Alden's Oxford Guide* (Oxford: Alden & Co., 1890), 63.

<sup>91</sup> *Uppingham School Roll: 1824 to 1894* (London: Edward Stanford, 1894), 128, 179.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid, 132; Elizabeth Crawford, *The Women's Suffrage Movement: A Reference Guide 1866-1928* (London: Routledge, 2001), 206; Pauline Adams, *Somerville for Women: An Oxford College 1879-1993* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 35; see fig. 6 for a photograph of Eleanor at Somerville.

<sup>93</sup> Francis Frith & Co., 'Oxford, Trinity College Gateway,' 1922, [https://www.francisfrith.com/oxford/oxford-trinity-college-gateway-1922\\_72734](https://www.francisfrith.com/oxford/oxford-trinity-college-gateway-1922_72734), accessed 1 April 2019.

### **CATALOGUE NO. 67 [2019.59]**

Great Britain: Old Cleeve, Somerset: St Andrew's Church, c.1878

Pencil and watercolour on paper, 267 x 292 mm

INSCRIPTION: bl: Old Cleeve Somerset; verso br: Tate Library stamp [purple ink]

At the centre of this work is a carved octagonal font, next to which sits a brass jug. Herringham's inscription identifies the subject as St Andrew's Church in the village of Old Cleeve, Somerset. Herringham's father-in-law, the Reverend William Walton Herringham, was the rector of the church, as well as prebendary of Wells Cathedral.<sup>94</sup> The painting's less accomplished style suggests this is an earlier work, which was perhaps made soon after Christiana first met Wilmot in 1878.

### **CATALOGUE NO. 68 [2019.41]**

Great Britain: Southwell Minster – Entrance to the Chapter House, c.1900-09

Pencil and watercolour on paper, 560 x 390 mm

INSCRIPTION: verso br: Tate Library stamp [purple ink]

Southwell Minster was founded in the mid-tenth century and rebuilt as the head church of Nottinghamshire around the year 1100.<sup>95</sup> It became a cathedral in 1884. Herringham's work shows the entrance to the cathedral's chapter house, looking through the arch to the stained-glass windows and the stalls. The historian Arthur Francis Leach, writing in 1891, described the chapter house as 'the most perfect work of the most perfect style of Gothic architecture.'<sup>96</sup> The entrance arch was its 'crowning glory ... Nothing can hope to rival the splendid symmetry of its proportions and the exquisite lightness and grace of its poise.'<sup>97</sup> Particularly admired by visitors was the carefully carved foliage which can be seen on the entrance arch in Herringham's work.<sup>98</sup>

---

<sup>94</sup> Lago, *Christiana Herringham*, 16.

<sup>95</sup> Eric Fernie, *The Architecture of Norman England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 181.

<sup>96</sup> Arthur Francis Leach, ed., *Visitations and Memorials of Southwell Minster* (London: Nichols and Sons, 1891), xvii.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>98</sup> See: Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Leaves of Southwell* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1945).

The paper's watermark reads '190[?]', indicating that this work was drawn in the first years of the twentieth century. However, Herringham may have been influenced by SPAB's earlier interest in the church. In 1851, the architect Ewan Christian was appointed to undertake a survey of the building and advise on a programme of restorations.<sup>99</sup> Further restorations were proposed after a second report was completed in 1875, which were heavily criticised by SPAB.<sup>100</sup> Herringham, her father, and several of her siblings were all early members of the organisation. A 'Miss Powell' – most likely Herringham, but possibly one of her siblings – was a member by 1878.<sup>101</sup>

### **CATALOGUE NO. 69 [P1566]**

Great Britain: View from Old Cleeve, Somerset, Looking Towards Minehead and Dunster [previous title: Landscape with Mountains], 1893

Watercolour on paper, 171 x 247 mm [sight]

INSCRIPTION: verso t: D[?] Herringham; c: "Sunday Night." / Memory view from drawing room at Old Cleeve Rectory / Looking Towards Minehead May 23<sup>rd</sup> 1893 / and Dunster / [illegible word] Smith; b: no 2 / 1 –  $\frac{3}{4}$  white flat & white mt / 3 margin tl: [crossed out] [sideways] Herringham / 40 Wimp St[?]

The inscription on the reverse of this work was uncovered during conservation in 2019. It reveals the painting was made from memory and depicts the view from her father-in-law's house at Old Cleeve in Somerset, looking towards Minehead and Dunster. Herringham painted this work four days after Christopher's death on 19 May 1893. On 20 May, Wilmot wrote to his father to tell him the news. He also noted that there was no ship home for another week, meaning that Christiana spent the days following her son's death alone in another country.<sup>102</sup> Herringham was no doubt attempting to comfort herself and distract from her grief by reliving happier memories.

---

<sup>99</sup> 'Southwell Minster,' *The British Architect* 29:6 (10 February 1888): 95.

<sup>100</sup> William Morris [signed] to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England and Wales, 17 April 1878 and 29 July 1878 in *The Collected Letters of William Morris*, vol. 1, ed. Norman Kelvin (Guildford: Princeton University Press, 1984), 479-81, 490-2.

<sup>101</sup> Index of early SPAB members, supplied by Maggie Goodall, SPAB Education and Training Manager, email message to author, 7 December 2017.

<sup>102</sup> WH to William Walton Herringham, 20 May 1893, UM:ML, B.27.F.30.

## CATALOGUE NO. 70 [2019.38]

Italy: Assisi – Upper Church of San Francesco: The Bishop's Throne and Choir

Pencil and watercolour on paper, 285 x 394 mm

The Basilica of St Francis, situated in the town of Assisi in central Italy, was consecrated in 1253. Herringham's watercolour shows the interior of the Upper Church, which was described by the contemporary art historian Julia Cartwright as 'brilliant and spacious—full of light and glory.'<sup>103</sup> Herringham's work focuses on the wooden choir stalls of the Upper Church. Completed in Venetian-Gothic style, they date from the turn of the sixteenth century.<sup>104</sup> Set within the gable of the thrones is a semi-circular niche, painted in blue and gold. At the bottom left of the work can be seen a lectern, and at the centre of the work, only partly rendered, is the red marble papal throne, which Ruskin depicted in one of his works (**fig. 68**).<sup>105</sup> The degraded frescoes on the walls above are attributed to the Florentine painter Cimabue (c.1240-1302). Herringham may have visited Assisi due to her interest in fresco, as demonstrated by her own experiments with the medium.<sup>106</sup>

In the 1870s, the art historian Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle was appointed to undertake a series of restorations, which were largely condemned by British visitors. Ruskin blamed Cavacaselle for 'the ravage of the lower church, and the miserable repainting of the higher one,' while Cartwright argued that the recent 'so-called restoration' was to be 'deplored'.<sup>107</sup> The architect and arts administrator Charles Heath Wilson wrote: 'However well his judgment on works of painting may be established, it is most unfortunate that he should have an opportunity of showing his inexperience in architecture at the expense of one of the most interesting monuments of that art in Italy.'<sup>108</sup> Most alarming was Cavalcaselle's decision to remove the choir stalls, as they were not of the period or style of the rest of the church. These alterations indicate that Herringham's watercolour dates

---

<sup>103</sup> Julia Cartwright, 'Assisi: II,' *The Portfolio: An Artistic Periodical* 13 (January 1882): 199.

<sup>104</sup> Nicola Giandomenico, *Art and History: Assisi* (Florence: Casa Editrice Bonechi, 2007), 69.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>106</sup> Herringham exhibited copies of Giotto's *Two Apostles* and Botticelli's *Venus and the Three Graces Presenting Gifts to a Young Woman* (exhibited as *Villa Lemmi fresco*) at the 1905 exhibition of the Society of Painters in Tempera.

<sup>107</sup> 'Letter from John Ruskin to Sir Gilbert, 12 June 1876,' in 'Arrows of the Chace,' in *Works*, vol. 34 (1908), 516; Cartwright, 'Assisi: II,' 200.

<sup>108</sup> Charles Heath Wilson, 'The Church of St. Francis at Assisi,' *The Academy*, 20 July 1878, 63.

from the end of the nineteenth century or later, after Cavalcaselle's restorations had been reversed.<sup>109</sup>

**CATALOGUE NO. 71 [2019.53]**

Italy: Isola San Giulio, 1894

Watercolour and gouache on brown paper, 285 x 381 mm [irr.]

INSCRIPTION: verso br: Tate Library stamp [purple ink]

This sketch depicts the island of San Giulio on Lake Orta in north-western Italy. The white buildings in Herringham's work, painted in gouache, appear to almost glow against the brown paper of the background. Although Herringham has depicted the island and its buildings in some detail, the lake upon which it sits is not rendered, adding a mysterious quality to the work. The island is viewed across the water, from the nearby village of Orta San Giulio.

Herringham visited the area in the summer of 1894, when she set out on a trip across Switzerland, Italy and Austria in the company of the geneticist William Bateson. It is unknown exactly how Herringham met Bateson, but it was possibly through her friendship with his sister, the historian and suffragist Mary Bateson. Both Wilmot and Christiana encouraged Bateson's research, with Christiana later financially supporting his work.<sup>110</sup>

Herringham set off with Bateson from London on 1 July. His notes from the trip indicate that they separated at one point, before meeting again on 11 July. In late July, Bateson informed his sister that they had 'moved on' from Piedimulera at Herringham's 'special desire' to visit Lake Orta.<sup>111</sup> He wrote:

---

<sup>109</sup> Donal Cooper, "In Loco Tutissimo et Firmissimo": The Tomb of St. Francis in History, Legend and Art' in *The Art of the Franciscan Order in Italy*, ed. William Robert Cook (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 27.

<sup>110</sup> CH to William Bateson, 16 December 1903 and 19 December 1903, CU:WB, MS Add. 8634/H.50.

<sup>111</sup> William Bateson to Anna Bateson, 27 July 1884, quoted in Alan G. Cock and Donald R. Forsdyke, *Treasure Your Exceptions: The Science and Life of William Bateson* (New York: Springer, 2008), 174.

It is beautiful beyond words. I am sitting this afternoon writing on the inn balcony simply because I can't leave this view. The colour of the lake is quite new to me – a sort of deep colour between Prussian blue and ultramarine shot with pale bright green. In the middle is a tiny island covered with white buildings and reddish roofs. Add the vines and the flowers and the whirr of the insects, and the glorious burning sun 'filling the heart with food and gladness.'<sup>112</sup>

While he wrote this letter, Herringham was 'sitting ... in the full blaze sketching.'<sup>113</sup> This work was possibly a preparatory study for a tempera painting Herringham exhibited in 1901 entitled, *The Lake Orta, with the Isola Bella* (current location unknown).<sup>114</sup> The painting was lent to the exhibition by G. Bateson, Esq.<sup>115</sup> It seems likely that this was a typographic error and the work was in fact lent by William Bateson. She may have gifted the work to him as a souvenir of the trip they took together.

#### **CATALOGUE NO. 72 [P0121]**

Italy: Isola San Giulio – Steps to a Campanile [previous title: Steps to a Campanile], 1894  
Watercolour on paper, 440 x 223 mm

INSCRIPTIONS: r: < / 1 ½ [illegible]

This work shows the campanile (bell tower) located on Isola San Giulio. The tower now lacks the top octagonal section and the roof has been changed, but the campanile, with its old roof, can be seen in Herringham's watercolour of the island (**cat. no. 71**). Herringham has painted the tower isolated from its surroundings, rising up from among the trees and reaching towards the sky.

#### **CATALOGUE NO. 73 [2019.47]**

Italy: Rome – Basilica of San Lorenzo Fuori le Mura

Pencil and watercolour on paper, 250 [irr. due to bl corner being torn] x 177 mm

INSCRIPTION: verso c: San Lorenzo / fuori muri [*sic*] [sideways]

---

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

<sup>114</sup> *Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition of Modern Paintings in Tempera from April 15 to June 1, 1901* (London: Leighton House, 1901), 12.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

The Basilica of San Lorenzo Fuori le Mura (St Lawrence Outside the Walls) is one of the seven major pilgrimage churches of Rome. The cathedral is built over the tomb of St Lawrence and is comprised of two separate, but connected, churches. The architect and architectural historian, Charles A. Cummings stated in 1901 that although there was 'little harmony' between the two sections of the cathedral, 'the effect of its interior is one of great picturesqueness.'<sup>116</sup>

Herringham's work shows the interior of the older church and focuses on the ciborium – a canopy supported by four columns covering the altar. In the background can be seen the two-storied gallery, which is lined with white marble Corinthian columns on the bottom, and smaller columns and arches at the top. The church's *opus alexandrium* mosaic floor can be seen in the foreground of the work.

Herringham visited Rome on at least three occasions, but it is unclear on which of these trips this work was produced. A letter from Wilmot to a family friend in the late 1870s reveals that Christiana had recently visited the city with her family. He declared: 'Chrissie is one of those few people worthy to see Rome'.<sup>117</sup> She visited again, possibly in 1891, writing to her brother-in-law and SPAB's secretary, Hugh Thackeray Turner, from Rome about restoration at Pisa.<sup>118</sup> Additionally, in a letter to William Bateson probably written in 1903, Herringham stated that she was about to head to Rome 'for a little while with a friend'.<sup>119</sup>

#### **CATALOGUE NO. 74 [2019.72]**

Italy: Rome – Basilica of San Paolo Fuori le Mura

Pencil and watercolour on paper, 178 x 269 [irr.] mm

INSCRIPTION: verso tr: 5; br: 15 - 11 ¼ / ½[?] ¼ L

---

<sup>116</sup> Charles A. Cummings, *A History of Architecture in Italy: From the Time of Constantine to the Dawn of the Renaissance*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1901), 33.

<sup>117</sup> WH to 'Mrs Jo,' [late 1870s], UM:ML B.27.F.30.

<sup>118</sup> Her letter is undated, but the content is similar to an article which was published in *The Times* on the same subject in February 1892. CH to HTT, 25 November [1891?], SPAB: Pisa. The Campo Santo; 'The Campo Santo at Pisa,' *The Times*, 9 February 1892.

<sup>119</sup> CH to William Bateson, 19 December [1903?], CU:WB, MS Add. 8634/H.50

Herringham's inscription on the original mount identifies this work as showing the cloisters of St Trophime in Arles, but this description is incorrect. While Herringham did depict the cloisters of St Trophime elsewhere (**cat. no. 51 and 52**) this work shows the Basilica of San Paolo fuori le Mura (St Paul Outside the Walls) in Rome. The cathedral's cloisters are identifiable due to the distinctive twisted columns. The church, which is one of the four major Papal basilicas of Rome, was built at the end of the fourth century and emulates the style of St Peter's Basilica.<sup>120</sup> The church was largely destroyed by a fire in July 1823 and rebuilt on the same site.<sup>121</sup>

The cloisters, as seen in this watercolour, survived the fire. By 1900 they had been declared a *monumento nazionale*.<sup>122</sup> The columns at the centre of this watercolour are decorated with colourful geometric mosaic, known as *cosmati*. Across the courtyard, above the arches, can be seen a mosaic border and inscription, which declares that the cloisters were commenced by the abbot Petrus de Capua (1193-1208) and completed under John V (1208-41).<sup>123</sup> Herringham has focused on the strong architectural and geometric lines of the columns and arches, while the use of colour emphasises the contrast between the architecture and the wild courtyard garden.

#### **CATALOGUE NO. 75 [2019.57]**

Italy: Sacro Monte di Orta: Chapel Eight, c.1905

Pencil, watercolour and gouache on paper, 283 x 392 mm [irr.]

INSCRIPTION: verso br: Tate Library stamp [purple ink]

This unfinished watercolour shows chapel eight at Sacro Monte di Orta, which is situated at the summit of a hill in Orta, north-western Italy. The watermark ('... MAN 1905 B') shows the paper was manufactured in 1905, suggesting Herringham painted this work around this time. Herringham had also previously visited the area in the summer of 1894 (see **cat. no. 71**).

---

<sup>120</sup> Matilda Webb, *The Churches and Catacombs of Early Christian Rome: A Comprehensive Guide* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2001), 207.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>122</sup> Karl Bædeker, *Italy: Handbook for Travellers. Second Part: Central Italy and Rome*, 13<sup>th</sup> ed. (Leipsic: Karl Baedeker, 1900), 383.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*

Construction at the Sacro Monte (Sacred Mountain) commenced in 1583. Built to serve as a pilgrimage destination, it includes twenty chapels dedicated to St Francis of Assisi. Each of the chapels is dedicated to a different moment in the saint's life and contains life-size terracotta figures with background frescoes.<sup>124</sup> Chapel eight, represented in this work, focuses on the moment when St Francis appeared to his brethren in a chariot of fire.<sup>125</sup>

### **CATALOGUE NO. 76 [2019.40]**

Italy: Siena – Siena Cathedral, c.1881

Watercolour on paper, 127 x 155 mm

Herringham's admiration of Siena Cathedral is evidenced by the number of studies she made of the building. Her enthusiasm for the cathedral was at odds with Ruskin's first impression of the building. He believed it to be in 'every way absurd—over-cut, over-striped, over-crocketed, over-gabled, a piece of costly confectionery, and faithless vanity.'<sup>126</sup>

Herringham visited Siena before 1901, when she exhibited a copy of Pietro Orioli's *The Visitation* from the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Siena (now at Newnham College, Cambridge).<sup>127</sup> The brown canopy attached to the near columns in this watercolour provides a further clue as to the date of this work. This sheet is possibly protecting the floor during the restoration work that was undertaken during the late nineteenth century.<sup>128</sup> These works were carried out under the direction of Giuseppe Partini, who served as chief architect from 1865 until his death in 1895.<sup>129</sup> He aimed to emulate the

---

<sup>124</sup> Karl Bædeker, *Italy. Handbook for Travellers. First Part: Northern Italy*, 7<sup>th</sup> ed. (London: Dulau and Co., 1886), 170.

<sup>125</sup> Cynthia Ho, 'The Visual Piety of the Sacro Monte di Orta,' in *Finding Saint Francis in Literature and Art*, eds. Cynthia Ho, Beth A. Mulvaney and John K. Downey (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 125, n.31.

<sup>126</sup> John Ruskin, "'Præterita. Outlines of Scenes and Thoughts Perhaps Worthy of Memory in My Past Life" (1886-1889), volume II,' in *Works*, vol. 35 (1908), 270.

<sup>127</sup> *Loan Exhibition*, 11.

<sup>128</sup> Imogen Tedbury, 'A Perfectly Mediaeval City Where the Arts Still Live'? Christiana Herringham, Sieneese *Purismo* and the British Reception of Siena,' paper delivered at *Christiana Herringham and her Circle*, Royal Holloway, University of London, 1 March 2019.

<sup>129</sup> Jukka Jokilehto, *A History of Architectural Conservation* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), 166.

medieval architect, who was motivated by a love of beauty rather than architectural theory. He removed Baroque altars and sculptures, reshaped windows, and put stained glass in many others, all in an attempt to transport nineteenth-century visitors back to a medieval religious state.<sup>130</sup>

Evidence of Partini's restorations can be seen in this watercolour. Herringham has drawn the outlines of Giuseppe Mazzuoli's (1644-1725) statues, which adorned the striped columns. The statues were removed in 1881, suggesting that Herringham's work dates from around this year.<sup>131</sup> Given her interest in the preservation of architecture, it is possible that she painted this work – and her other studies of Siena Cathedral – in an attempt to record the ongoing restorations.

#### **CATALOGUE NO. 77 [2019.67]**

Italy: Siena – Siena Cathedral, c.1881

Watercolour on paper, 127 x 134 mm

The interior of Siena Cathedral is instantly recognisable due its striking columns, formed of alternating bands of light and dark marble. Herringham's watercolour shows the view looking towards the cathedral's altar. The wall behind the altar is decorated with frescoes and above is a circular stained-glass window by Duccio (c.1255-1319), depicting the Assumption, Burial, and Coronation of the Virgin. In front of the altar, Herringham has sketched some small, vague figures to show the scale of the architecture.

This study was most likely made on the same visit to the cathedral as **cat. no. 76**. In addition to being similar in style, this work also shows Giuseppe Mazzuoli's statue of Christ on the foremost column. Like Mazzuoli's other statues, this was removed in 1881.<sup>132</sup>

---

<sup>130</sup> Nancy M. Thompson, 'Architectural Restoration and Stained Glass in 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Siena: The Place of Light in Giuseppe Partini's *Purismo*,' in *The Year's Work in Medievalism*, vol. 19, ed. Gwendolyn A. Morgan (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2006), 44, 48.

<sup>131</sup> Tedbury, 'A Perfectly Mediaeval City ...'

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*

**CATALOGUE NO. 78 [P0745.2]**

Italy: Siena – Siena Cathedral: Arch, c.1881

Watercolour on paper, 368 x 235 mm [sight]

EXHIBITIONS: *Memorial Exhibition*, 1935 (22)

**CATALOGUE NO. 79 [P0745.1]**

Italy: Siena – Siena Cathedral: Columns and Pulpit, c.1881

Watercolour on paper, 368 x 227 mm [sight]

EXHIBITIONS: *Memorial Exhibition*, 1935 (22)

**CATALOGUE NO. 80 [P0745.3]**

Italy: Siena – Siena Cathedral: Pulpit, c.1881

Watercolour on paper, 370 x 269 mm [sight]

EXHIBITIONS: *Memorial Exhibition*, 1935 (22)

A label on the back of the frame indicates that Herringham exhibited all three of these watercolours together in the same frame. However, it is unknown where or when this exhibition took place.

These works show three different viewpoints of the cathedral's interior and its octagonal pulpit. The pulpit was sculpted from Carrara marble by Nicola Pisano between 1265 and 1268. **Cat. no. 78** shows the interior of the cathedral, seen through an immense arch. Through the arch can be seen further arches on the left. At the top, light streams through the windows. **Cat. no. 79** shows the view looking through a sea of columns, towards a door at the end, and with the pulpit on the left. The final watercolour (**cat. no. 80**) focuses on the cathedral's pulpit and Herringham emphasises the sheer scale of both the pulpit and its surrounding striped columns.

It is possible that these paintings were all made on the same trip as **cat. no. 76** and **cat. no. 77**. A white screen in the east end of the church is shown in **cat. no. 78** – likely a temporary structure erected while restoration works take place.<sup>133</sup>

---

<sup>133</sup> Ibid.

**CATALOGUE NO. 81 [2019.95]**

Italy: Venice – Courtyard of Abbazia di San Gregorio

Pencil on card, 294 x 391 mm

INSCRIPTION: verso tr: Tate Library stamp [purple ink] [sideways]

This drawing shows the cloister of San Gregorio in Venice. The church was founded in the ninth century and became a Benedictine abbey in the thirteenth century. The building went into a long period of decline after the order was suppressed in the late eighteenth century and the *abbazia* was converted into a warehouse in 1808. It was subjected to ‘a series of abuses’ and suffered ‘much damage’.<sup>134</sup>

Despite enduring such injury, Ruskin described the courtyard in 1853 as ‘the loveliest cortile I know in Venice; its capitals consummate in design and execution; and the low wall on which they stand showing remnants of sculpture unique, as far as I know, in such application.’<sup>135</sup> They were also a popular choice of subject with artists of the period, appearing in works such as William Logsdail’s *The Courtyard of San Gregorio Looking Out Over Santa Maria della Salute, Venice* (1882, current location unknown) and Clarence Gagnon’s *Courtyard of San Gregorio, Venice* (1905-06, etching on paper, National Gallery of Canada).

In 1911, the writer Alethia Wiel described the abbey and its cloisters in *The Burlington Magazine*, noting that the District Office for Monuments had recently undertaken an extensive programme of restoration.<sup>136</sup>

**CATALOGUE NO. 82 [2019.33]**

Italy: Venice – Piazza San Marco, c.1905

Pencil, watercolour and gouache on paper, 562 x 393 [irr.] mm

INSCRIPTIONS: tl corner: Green motif[?]; t off-centre: Five ribbony[?] stripes [diagonal line pointing down]; left purple column: [illegible] / no base / [illegible writing] [line

---

<sup>134</sup> Alethia Wiel, ‘The Abbazia of San Gregorio in Venice,’ *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 19:102 (September 1911): 350.

<sup>135</sup> John Ruskin, ‘The Stones of Venice: Volume III: The Fall,’ (1853) in *Works*, vol. 11 (1904), 389.

<sup>136</sup> Wiel, ‘The Abbazia of San Gregorio,’ 350-1.

pointing to grey column]; base of blue column: Grey / [illegible]; uncoloured column: [illegible] / yellow / grey / [line pointing up] Pink; brown column: G[illegible]; light grey column: [illegible]; to right of grey column: < Pink / grey; under main arch, between columns: shadow / [illegible] / whole; D / [illegible] / orange [line pointing left] / white / Pink / < green / [illegible] / D / G / yellow / pink; left under image: S. Mark's / Venice; 1<sup>st</sup> cap above this / [illegible] / next above / warmer [line pointing up]; [illegible] grey white; centre under image: farther [illegible] / very blackish / cap left 3 yrs [sic] ago[?] [illegible]; right under image: Lion has gilt wing / caps of farther cluster of / small columns [illegible] / upper part of cap white

This study was made in Piazza San Marco in Venice. It shows the façade of the Doge Palace to the right of the work, while on the left is pictured the exterior columns of St Mark's Basilica. Herringham's choice of subject reflects Ruskin's influence. He wrote extensively about the architecture of both buildings in his works, including *The Stones of Venice* (1851-53) and *St. Mark's Rest* (1877). While countless artists have depicted Piazza San Marco, Herringham's composition is somewhat unusual. She has drawn this work from a very close point of view, focusing on the architectural lines and details of the two buildings.

It is unknown exactly how many times Herringham visited Venice. In 1905, Herringham wrote that it had been 'two or three years' since she had visited.<sup>137</sup> Herringham likely revisited the city soon after she made this comment, as this work's paper is watermarked with the year 1905. She possibly made this visit to observe the ongoing restoration work (see **cat. no. 84**). In a letter written from the city, which Mary Lago estimated dated from 1907, Herringham advised William Rothenstein on the sights he should visit. 'Venice wants a long time,' she said, 'because you want to wander round and round. The pleasure of the architecture is never-ending.'<sup>138</sup>

---

<sup>137</sup> C. J. Herringham, 'On the Proposed Restoration of St. Mark's, Venice,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 6:23 (February 1905): 412.

<sup>138</sup> CH to WR, undated letter [1907?], UM:ML, B.27.F.31.

### **CATALOGUE NO. 83 [P1568]**

Italy: Venice – St Mark’s Basilica: Columns and Arch

Pencil and watercolour on paper, 429 x 219 mm

EXHIBITIONS: Probably *Memorial Exhibition*, 1935 (25)

In this work, Herringham has depicted the columns and one of the arches on the façade of St Mark’s Basilica. The two stories of columns which support the portico are carved from different coloured and patterned marble: red, tan, white and grey. Ruskin painted a similar work entitled *The South Side of the Basilica of St. Mark’s, from the Loggia of the Doge’s Palace, Venice* (1851, pencil, watercolour and bodycolour on paper, private collection).<sup>139</sup> While his view of the columns is drawn from a height, Herringham’s is from a low point of view and looking upwards, emphasising their large scale. Ruskin wrote that, as the sun’s rays ‘move from porch to porch’ they revealed, ‘quaint shade and delicate colour,’ which was unlike anything else that could be seen in European architecture.<sup>140</sup>

### **CATALOGUE NO. 84 [P1560]**

Italy: Venice – St Mark’s Basilica: In the Narthex [previous title: In the Narthex of St Mark’s Cathedral], exh. 1909

Tempera on canvas, 399 x 278 mm

LITERATURE: Michaela Jones, ‘Christiana Herringham: Art & Soul,’ *SPAB Magazine*, Spring 2019, 54-56, repro. 54

EXHIBITIONS: *Tempera*, 1909 (2); *Memorial Exhibition*, 1935 (25A)

RELATED WORKS: British Museum: *St Marks Venice*, watercolour with gold on paper, 1935,0305.2.

Herringham’s watercolour of St Mark’s highlights the interior’s marble columns, the mosaic floor, and the golden mosaics which decorate the ceiling. These aspects were targeted in a series of restoration plans announced in 1904, which prompted alarm from

---

<sup>139</sup> Robert Hewison, Ian Warrell and Stephen Wildman, *Ruskin, Turner and the Pre-Raphaelites*, exh. cat. (London: Tate Gallery Publishing Limited, 2000), cat. no. 80.

<sup>140</sup> John Ruskin, ‘The Stones of Venice: Volume II: The Sea-Stories,’ (1853) in *Works*, vol. 10 (1904), 449.

SPAB. Herringham, who was a member of SPAB, offered to translate a report on the condition of the building from Italian into English to raise awareness, and she arranged for the Society's petition, which was presented to the Italian authorities, to be translated into Italian.<sup>141</sup>

Supported by SPAB, Herringham published an article in the February 1905 issue of *The Burlington*. She reported that restorations were already underway during her last visit 'two or three' years previously. These interventions had ruined the ceiling mosaics:

No longer were the vaults a mystery of red gold and glowing fire, vast, unfathomable. Ordinary gilding describes the effect more correctly. Closer examination seemed to show that the tesserae of the figure-groups had been reset, with the results that the faces had lost their human look and had become wooden, and the lines of the draperies had lost their expressiveness and grace.<sup>142</sup>

Herringham feared that the cathedral's beauty was at risk of being 'for ever annihilated'.<sup>143</sup>

This work was included in the Society of Painters in Tempera's 1909 exhibition. The catalogue states the painting was 'Pencil and Tempera from a study'. The study is possibly the version of this painting held by the British Museum, which is painted in watercolour with gold.

#### **CATALOGUE NO. 85 [2019.45]**

Italy: Venice – St Mark's Basilica: Pulpit

Pencil and watercolour on paper, 345 x 258 [irr.]

In 1855, the architect George Edmund Street (1824-81) wrote:

---

<sup>141</sup> CH to HTT, 13 February [1905] and CH to HTT, 15 June [1905], SPAB: Venice. St Mark's, West Front Reports.

<sup>142</sup> HTT to the editors of *The Burlington* [C. J. Holmes and Robert Dell], 13 January 1905, SPAB: Venice. St Mark's, West Front Reports; Herringham, 'On the Proposed Restoration,' 412.

<sup>143</sup> Herringham, 'On the Proposed Restoration,' 412.

Over and over again when at Venice must one go into S. Mark's, not to criticise but to admire; and if ever in any building which the main object is the study of art, assuredly here it must be also be to worship. I think I never saw an interior so thoroughly religious and religion-inspiring as this.<sup>144</sup>

Herringham's own admiration for St Mark's was demonstrated by the numerous studies she made of the building. This unfinished watercolour of the cathedral's interior, completed in warm shades of brown, yellow and red, shows the view looking towards the north transept and focuses on one of the church's elaborate pulpits. To the right of the pulpit is the rood-screen, atop which sit sculptures of St Mark, the Blessed Virgin, and the twelve Apostles.<sup>145</sup>

### **CATALOGUE NO. 86 [2019.35]**

Italy: Verona – Basilica of San Zeno (recto); Studies of Tops of Columns (verso), c.1905  
Pencil and watercolour on paper (recto); pencil on paper (verso), 394 x 568 mm [irr.]  
INSCRIPTION: verso tl: plain; br: Tate Library stamp [purple ink]

This watercolour shows the interior of the Basilica of San Zeno in Verona. The church is named after St Zeno, who lived in the third century. Herringham's sketch looks over the double flight of stairs, leading down to the crypt which holds St Zeno's body, and where, legend states, the marriage of Romeo and Juliet took place. The floor above the crypt leads to the main altar and, as can be seen in this work, the balustrade of the balcony is adorned with statues. Contemporary visitors greatly admired the Romanesque church. George Edmund Street claimed that it was:

when standing at the top of the flight of ten or twelve steps which leads down from the door to the floor of the nave, looking down the great length of the church, scanning its singular perspective of timber roofing, the great height and simplicity of its walls, and the mysterious view down into the crypt under the choir through the recently opened arches, that one feels most deeply the great and religious effect of the church.<sup>146</sup>

---

<sup>144</sup> George Edmund Street, *Brick and Marble in the Middle Ages: Notes of a Tour in the North of Italy* (London: John Murray, 1855), 128.

<sup>145</sup> T. Francis Bumpus, *The Cathedrals and Churches of Northern Italy* (London: T. Werner Laurie, [1907]), 159.

<sup>146</sup> Street, *Brick and Marble*, 112.

Edward Burne-Jones and his wife Georgiana visited in 1862, while William Michael Rossetti recorded his visit in a diary entry from 1864, stating it was ‘a most splendid place for antiquity and artistic interest’.<sup>147</sup> Ruskin was also a frequent visitor.<sup>148</sup> George Bernard Shaw testified to the holy and inspiring atmosphere of the church, writing: ‘Let a man go and renew himself for half an hour occasionally in San Zeno, and he need eat no corpses, nor drink any drugs or drams to sustain him.’<sup>149</sup>

Herringham completed at least three other works at San Zeno. One is drawn from the bottom of this set of stairs, looking into the crypt and focusing on the columns and arches; its current location is unknown.<sup>150</sup> Royal Holloway’s collection includes a work depicting the cathedral’s cloisters (**cat. no. 87**), and another of the entrance to the cathedral (**cat. no. 88**). The watermark on this work (‘J. WHAT’) appears to be the other half of that seen on **cat. no. 88**, suggesting these paintings were made during the same visit.

#### **CATALOGUE NO. 87 [2019.56]**

Italy: Verona – Basilica of San Zeno: Cloisters, c.1905

Pencil and watercolour on paper, 263 x 369 mm

INSCRIPTION: verso br: Tate Library stamp [purple ink]

The cloisters of San Zeno lie on the north side of the church and date from the twelfth century. The round arches on the left, projecting onto the cloister, would have originally held a large basin or trough where the monks would wash their hands before prayer.<sup>151</sup> Contemporary writers praised the cloisters for their craftsmanship. George Edmund

---

<sup>147</sup> Georgiana Burne-Jones, *Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones*, vol. 1 (London: Macmillan & Co., 1904), 244; William Michael Rossetti, *Rossetti Papers 1862 to 1870*, ed. William Michael Rossetti (London: Sands & Co., 1903), 57.

<sup>148</sup> Rossetti, *Rossetti Papers*, 58.

<sup>149</sup> G. Bernard Shaw, *On Going to Church* (Boston: John W. Luce & Co., 1905), 32. Coincidentally, Shaw rented Piccards Cottage from the Herringhams between 1900 and 1902. It is possible they were introduced by Herringham’s friend and fellow suffragist, Bertha Newcombe, who was romantically involved with Shaw in the 1890s. *Bernard Shaw and his Publishers*, ed. Michel W. Pharand (London: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 60.

<sup>150</sup> An image of the work within a private collection was reproduced on the front cover of the exhibition catalogue for *Memorial Exhibition of Paintings in Tempera and Water Colours by the Late Lady Herringham (1852-1929)*, 21 January – 2 February 1935, Beaux Arts Gallery, London, RHUL Archives, BC AR/322/3/3.

<sup>151</sup> Cummings, *A History of Architecture in Italy*, vol. 1, 150.

Street wrote in 1874, 'I doubt whether I have ever seen a more lovely cloister than this.'<sup>152</sup> However, he also noted that they were in a sad state of disrepair and filth and feared they would soon 'become ruinous'. Herringham's work suggests that this had not come to pass by the time she visited, probably around 1905 (see **cat. no. 88**).

### **CATALOGUE NO. 88 [2019.42]**

Italy: Verona – Basilica of San Zeno: Entrance, c.1905

Pencil and watercolour on paper, 553 x 391 mm [irr.]

INSCRIPTION: left of paper, top to bottom: Two [illegible] / [illegible] / The swastika moulding / purple colours / cornice round through / archivolt / colours on colours[?] / [illegible] / shafts etc of little arches[?] / on right / ground & tops of / steps softly[?] / whitish / The little / panel / down here / blk [sic] grey / & white / Verona; on image: under arch: emerald green; by sculpted figure: T[?] / W / S[?]; on right of portico: facade / [rest of inscriptions illegible due to faintness]; left of door: 3 panel / [illegible] bottom; on steps: [illegible] / steps; bc: Panel A dark red figures / holding up / blessing hand[?] / cream[?] background; right of paper, top to bottom: Porch / [illegible] / [illegible] / [illegible] / whitish figure / Pink / [illegible] / greenish grey

Charles A. Cummings considered San Zeno to be the 'noblest' of Verona's churches.<sup>153</sup> The architecture illustrated in this work is very similar to that of Verona Cathedral, which Herringham also painted (**cat. no. 91**). The focus of this work is the portico over the entrance doors. At the base of the columns are two carved red marble lions, symbolising the vigilance and strength of the Church.<sup>154</sup> On the façade of the church, either side of the doors, are carved reliefs. The carvings on the right, which can be seen in this sketch, include scenes such as the creation of Adam and the sin of Adam and Eve.<sup>155</sup> The reliefs on the left of the entrance have not been rendered by Herringham, apart from a vague outline of the sculpture depicting the crucifixion, which can be seen on the top right. Above the doors is a sculpture representing a deputation sent to San Zeno by Emperor Gallienus.<sup>156</sup>

---

<sup>152</sup> Street, *Brick and Marble*, 98.

<sup>153</sup> Cummings, *A History of Architecture in Italy*, vol. 1, 146.

<sup>154</sup> *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy*, 239.

<sup>155</sup> Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, vol. 3 (London: Humphrey Milford, 1917), 530-1.

<sup>156</sup> *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy*, 239.

An indication as to when Herringham drew this work is given by the paper's watermark: '[J. WHAT]MAN 1905'.

### **CATALOGUE NO. 89 [2019.32]**

Italy: Verona – Chiesa di Sant'Anastasia

Pencil and watercolour on paper, 393 x 283 mm

INSCRIPTION: br: Capella North [brown watercolour]; verso br: Tate Library stamp [purple ink]

For Herringham, Verona's appeal may have been that it 'enable[s] us to form a fair idea of what the whole of Europe may have been in the palmy days of the Middle Ages.'<sup>157</sup> An 1897 travel guide stated that Sant'Anastasia was 'one of the most complete and representative Gothic brick Churches' in northern Italy.<sup>158</sup> Writers and architectural historians, such as James Fergusson (1808-86) and Ruskin, held up the church as an example of 'pure' Gothic.<sup>159</sup> Although Ruskin claimed that the exterior was 'the most perfect example of Italian Gothic ... which I have yet seen,' inside the church there was 'nothing worthy of extraordinary praise'.<sup>160</sup>

Despite Ruskin's statement, Herringham has focused on the cathedral's interior in this unfinished watercolour. She paid particular attention to the decoration which adorns the internal columns and arches. The striped columns are joined by arches which cross the ceiling. The edges of these arches are painted to represent *voussoirs* (wedge-shaped bricks) in alternating red and white stone, while the underside of the arches is decorated with delicate foliage.

---

<sup>157</sup> The other two cities were Lübeck and Nuremberg. Bumpus, *Cathedrals and Churches*, 60.

<sup>158</sup> *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy*, 16th ed., (London: John Murray, 1897), 233.

<sup>159</sup> James Fergusson, *A History of Architecture in All Countries: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, vol. 2, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (London: John Murray, 1874), 326; John Ruskin, *Notebook M2: J. Ruskin Architectural Note-Book Italy 1850-1851*, 122 in Ian Bliss et al, eds. *The Electronic Edition of Ruskin's Venetian Notebooks*, May 2008, <https://www.lancaster.ac.uk/users/ruskinlib/eSoV/transcripts/m2/m2p122t.html#topright>, accessed 2 April 2019.

<sup>160</sup> John Ruskin, 'The Cavalli Monuments in the Church of St. Anastasia, Verona,' in *Works*, vol. 24 (1906), 127.

### CATALOGUE NO. 90 [2019.36]

Italy: Verona – Verona Cathedral: Cloisters, c.1906

Pencil and watercolour on paper, 393 x 563 mm

INSCRIPTION: above image: Dark / cream border / [illegible word] / brickwork brownish; on image, top to bottom: Dark / Red R; below image, left to right: top columns / purplish / bottom orangy [*sic*] under arches as dark / 2 . 30 as shadow is [illegible word] barred window; verso bl: Tate Library stamp [purple ink]

Charles A. Cummings described Verona Cathedral in 1901 as lacking the ‘majestic simplicity’ of nearby San Zeno (see **cat. no. 86-88**).<sup>161</sup> He stated it was ‘a church “of shreds and patches,” a mixture of the work of many and widely separated ages.’<sup>162</sup> The cathedral was officially consecrated in the late twelfth century, but much of the present interior dates from the fifteenth.<sup>163</sup>

Herringham’s watercolour depicts the cathedral’s cloisters. Although unfinished, it is striking in its use of contrasting shades of beige, red and green. In the centre of the courtyard stands a well carved out of stone; the arcade to the left of the composition is double-storied, featuring narrow arches with double columns of red stone. Behind the well can be seen a single-storied arcade, featuring wider columns of pale stone and red brick. At the bottom of the page are colour notes and two small sketches of the top and bottom of the cloister’s columns.

This study of the cathedral was likely made at the same time as **cat. no. 91**.

### CATALOGUE NO. 91 [2019.34]

Italy: Verona – Verona Cathedral: Entrance, c.1906

Pencil and watercolour on paper, 567 x 392 mm

INSCRIPTION: left of paper, top to bottom: D white / spot / important in / [illegible] / Lower arch / recess / darkest / window / frame / whitish / This moulding / [illegible] / green / white / patch / sparkle / [illegible] green / beak[?] / Verona; on image, top to

---

<sup>161</sup> Cummings, *A History of Architecture in Italy*, vol. 1, 151.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>163</sup> Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, vol. 3, 472.

bottom: Red lime / D / C / A / whitish stripes / [illegible] this space / S / S; under image: Steps cold grey shadows / Fronts of [illegible] and A little lights[?]; right hand of paper, top to bottom: S = stone grey / panels / slightly pink / 2 ditto[?] / 3 [illegible] / grey / 4 / 5 / whitish ground / brownish speckling[?] / C Blue / clock / face / door pale dull / olive green

EXHIBITIONS: *Artist, Campaigner, Collector*, 2019

Herringham's depiction of Verona Cathedral focuses on the portico above the doors. The portico is carved from red and white brick and marble and supported by four pillars. The front two columns are carved with a rope pattern, whilst the rear two are plain. Two carved griffins sit at the base of the front pillars, guarding the entrance. Herringham has only completed the right side of the portico in detail; the griffin and columns on the left are only faintly rendered, with various pencil colour notes.

Ruskin included the cathedral in several of his works and, like Herringham, paid particular attention to the griffins that guard the entrance (**fig. 69** and **70**). Indeed, Herringham may have first seen the sculptures in her copy of the third volume of Ruskin's *Modern Painters* (first published in 1856), in which he presents his sketch of one of the griffins as an example of 'true grotesque'.<sup>164</sup> He later completed another study of one of the griffins, which he discussed in a letter to his mother, stating: 'I am "getting quite round" my favourite Griffin ... the marble of him comes all into beautiful orange and grey, and I'm continually finding out new feathers and sinews in him that I did not know of.'<sup>165</sup>

Although Herringham has not dated this work, it was probably drawn around 1906, as the paper's watermark reads: '[J. WHAT]MAN 1906 B'.

## **CATALOGUE NO. 92 [2019.49]**

Malta: Street in Valletta

Pencil and watercolour on paper, 172 x 247 mm

---

<sup>164</sup> John Ruskin, 'Modern Painters: Volume III,' in *Works*, vol. 3 (1904), pl. 1, opp. 140.

<sup>165</sup> John Ruskin, 'The Cestus of Aglaia and The Queen of the Air, with Other Papers and Lectures on Art and Literature, 1860-1870,' in *Works*, vol. 19, eds. E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn (London: George Allen, 1905), li.

Valetta is famous for its covered, brightly-coloured balconies, which Herringham has captured in this work. In front of these buildings on the steep street is what appears to be storefronts with people looking in, while a horse pulls a cart. The American writer Maturin Murray Ballou observed in 1893: 'One never wearies of wandering about Valletta. There is somehow, amid the scenes encountered in these quaint streets, a suggestion of the Arabian Nights ... We only require a score of over-laden donkeys and a few mournful looking camels to complete the Oriental picture.'<sup>166</sup>

### **CATALOGUE NO. 93 [2019.48]**

Malta: Valletta Harbour

Pencil and watercolour on paper, 173 x 250 mm

INSCRIPTION: verso br: Tate Library stamp [purple ink]

Contemporary steamship routes meant that Herringham would have visited Malta on her departing and return voyages from both Egypt and India.<sup>167</sup> Herringham's watercolour, overlooking the city's grand harbour, shows the fortified walls of the city on the right, while the arrival and departure of ships can be seen on the left. People are down in the harbour and up on the city's walls; as is typical in Herringham's work, these figures are only vague representations. Dotting the scene, they emphasise the scale of the city's walls.

### **CATALOGUE NO. 94 [2019.50]**

Switzerland: Stockalper Palace, possibly 1894

Chalk on paper, 208 x 274 mm [irr.]

INSCRIPTION: verso br: Tate Library stamp [purple ink]

This drawing shows the three towers of the Stockalper Palace, situated in the town of Brig in Switzerland. Herringham possibly drew this work in 1894, when she visited the Valais region during the extended holiday she took with William Bateson. Bateson kept a

---

<sup>166</sup> Maturin M. Ballou, *The Story of Malta* (Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1893), 150-1.

<sup>167</sup> *A Handbook for Travellers in Lower and Upper Egypt*, 10<sup>th</sup> ed., ed. Mary Brodrick (London: John Murray, 1900), 13; *A Handbook for Travellers in India, Burma and Ceylon*, 8<sup>th</sup> edition (London: John Murray, 1911), xxix.

notebook during this trip, and he recorded that the trip included stays at several nearby towns, including Sierre, Vissoie, Zinal and Saint-Luc.<sup>168</sup>

## **BEYOND EUROPE:**

### **CATALOGUE NO. 95 [2019.31]**

Egypt: Ancient Ruins

Pencil and watercolour on paper, 118 x 170 mm

INSCRIPTION: verso br: Tate Library stamp [purple ink]

This small study most likely depicts ruins in Egypt; hieroglyphs can be seen behind one of the columns, and in the foreground are sculpted figures which resemble Egyptian gods. It is possible that Herringham painted this watercolour during her visits to Karnak (**cat. no. 100**) or Dendera (**cat. no. 98**).

Herringham's first known visit to the country was in the winter of 1874-75. Travelling with her father, eldest brother, aunt, and family friends Reverend Morlais Jones and his wife, the trip was made with the intention of aiding her brother's ill health.<sup>169</sup> Almost two decades later, Herringham returned to the country, making multiple visits to the country between 1891 and 1893 in an attempt to cure her son, Christopher.<sup>170</sup> She also made further trips to Egypt, likely in late 1903, and with Wilmot on their return home from India in 1907.<sup>171</sup>

### **CATALOGUE NO. 96 [2019.43]**

Egypt: Cairo – Al-Ghuri Mosque

Pencil and watercolour on paper, 532 x 375 mm [irr.]

---

<sup>168</sup> William Bateson, Notebook from visit to Switzerland, 1894, CU:WB, MS Add. 8634/F.10.

<sup>169</sup> *A Family Memoir; Being Some Account of T. W. Powell and His Wife M. E. Powell and of Their Ancestors*, ed. Rosamond E. Wills and Charles M. Powell (London: Privately Printed, 1903), 193.

<sup>170</sup> Lago, *Christiana Herringham*, 34-5.

<sup>171</sup> In a letter to Lord Balcarres, Herringham wrote that she was going to Egypt 'soon'. The year the letter was written is not stated, but Lago dated it to 1903. CH to LB, 16 November [1903], UM:ML, B.28.F.24; WH to unknown recipient, 2 December 1906, UM:ML, B.27.F.30.

INSCRIPTION: left side of left window: blue / middle / edge; right side of left window: A / [illegible]; surrounding pattern of circles above mihrab: small black / pattern; left mihrab: green / reflection / green; square connecting arches: small / Bk. pattern; second from left mihrab: column [written sideways] / light; right side of main arch: light / <; tr of image: L light; under image: These circles nearer[?]

This sixteenth-century mosque was described by one contemporary travel guide as ‘quite a gem among the mosques of Cairo’.<sup>172</sup> Particularly of note was the ‘striking’ beauty of the decoration; the surviving colour and gilding enabled visitors to imagine the building’s ‘original splendour’.<sup>173</sup> These features are captured in Herringham’s watercolour, which shows the interior of the mosque viewed through a large arabesque arch. The minbar (pulpit) can be seen in the centre of the work. On either side are prayer niches decorated with inlaid patterns of alternating colours. David Roberts also painted the Al-Ghuri mosque (**fig. 71**), as part of his series of works depicting scenes from the Holy Land.

#### **CATALOGUE NO. 97 [2019.101]**

Egypt: Cairo – Ibn Tulun Mosque

Pencil on paper, 540 [irr.] x 377 mm

INSCRIPTION: at top of image: hollow; right of mihrab, right of columns: < This point should be; right column: yellowish[?]; left column: smoke / light; inside mihrab, top to bottom: brown brown R R G / G / R R B / R / B / R R R / B R; left of mihrab, right column: smoke; left column: yellowsh [*sic*]; floor tiles: 2 / 3 ; verso br: Tate Library stamp [purple ink]

The Ibn Tulun Mosque in Cairo was founded in 879 and is the city’s oldest complete mosque. Six arched prayer niches, or mihrab, indicate the direction of Mecca and therefore the direction of prayer. The main mihrab is the focus of Herringham’s drawing. The upper portion of the mihrab is decorated with painted wood; below is a band of glass mosaics with the text of the shahada (testimony of faith); the lower portion is made from panels of coloured marble.<sup>174</sup> On the right of the drawing can be seen the minbar (pulpit)

---

<sup>172</sup> *Handbook for Egypt and the Sudan*, 11<sup>th</sup> ed., ed. H. R. Hall (London: E. Stanford, 1907), 109.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>174</sup> Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture in Cairo: An Introduction* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992), 54.

of the mosque. The original was dismantled around 1867.<sup>175</sup> By 1888 the minbar had been replaced by a pulpit which was seen by contemporary westerners as 'very inferior'.<sup>176</sup> Although Herringham's drawing is only completed in pencil, she has made extensive colour notes, suggesting this was a preparatory study or a work which she intended to complete later.

### **CATALOGUE NO. 98 [P1564]**

Egypt: Dendera – Temple of Hathor [previous title: Egyptian Interior]

Watercolour on paper, 245 [irr.] x 170 mm

INSCRIPTIONS: verso tr: 13; b: 14 ½ + 11 ½ / ½ ¼ L. / Interior Dendurah [sic] Monday Feb 5<sup>th</sup>

EXHIBITIONS: *Memorial Exhibition, 1935 (28 – as Entrance to Egyptian Temple).*

Hathor was an Egyptian goddess who accompanied the deceased to the afterlife and was associated with love, beauty, and rebirth.<sup>177</sup> A contemporary travel guide described the temple at Dendera as one of the 'most interesting monuments of Egypt' due to its 'superior state of preservation.'<sup>178</sup>

Developments in steam travel and the opening of hotels for European visitors meant that tourism was established in Egypt by the 1840s.<sup>179</sup> Travel to the country became increasingly accessible after Thomas Cook & Son launched the first package tours to the country in 1869.<sup>180</sup> Cook's steam ship tours meant that by the beginning of the twentieth century, tourists could easily visit all the major ancient sites along the Nile, including Dendera, in about one month.<sup>181</sup>

---

<sup>175</sup> See catalogue entry for one of the panels in the V&A: <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O86543/panel-unknown/>, accessed 2 April 2019.

<sup>176</sup> Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Art of the Saracens in Egypt* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1888), 130.

<sup>177</sup> Carolyn Graves-Brown, *Dancing for Hathor: Women in Ancient Egypt* (London: Continuum, 2010), 166-7.

<sup>178</sup> *Handbook for Egypt and the Sudan*, 368.

<sup>179</sup> Martin Anderson, 'The Development of British Tourism in Egypt, 1815 to 1850,' *Journal of Tourism History* 4:3 (2012): 259-79.

<sup>180</sup> F. Robert Hunter, 'Tourism and Empire: The Thomas Cook & Son Enterprise on the Nile, 1868-1914,' *Middle Eastern Studies* 40:5 (2004): 28-54.

<sup>181</sup> E. A. Wallis Budge, *Cook's Handbook for Egypt and the Sûdân* (London: T. Cook & Son, 1906), 2.

Herringham's inscription reveals she painted this work on Monday, 5 February, meaning that this work was made the same week that she visited Karnak (**cat. no. 100**).

#### **CATALOGUE NO. 99 [2019.104]**

Egypt: Entrance with Courtyard

Pencil, watercolour and gouache on paper, 392 x 562 mm

INSCRIPTION: bl: Egypt; verso br: Tate Library stamp [purple ink]

At the centre of the work is a wooden doorway, surrounded by decorated arches, while a second entranceway can be seen on the right of the work. Herringham's inscription suggests that she painted this watercolour in Egypt. The shades of orange and purple employed in the work are similar to those which Herringham used in her depictions of Indian architecture, suggesting it is a later work.

#### **CATALOGUE NO. 100 [2019.106]**

Egypt: Karnak – Obelisk (recto); Egyptian Man Holding a Child on his Shoulders (verso)

Watercolour on paper (recto); pencil and watercolour on paper (verso), 351 x 252 mm

INSCRIPTION: verso b: Karnak Friday Feb 9<sup>th</sup>

EXHIBITIONS: *Artist, Campaigner, Collector*, 2019

The inscription on the reverse of this work states it was drawn on 'Friday Feb 9<sup>th</sup>', indicating Herringham made this work the same week as **cat. no. 98**. These dates do not correspond with the years that she is known to have visited the country, suggesting that Herringham made at least one additional trip to Egypt.<sup>182</sup>

The obelisk at the Karnak temple complex in Egypt is identifiable by the damage on its right edge. A hall of ruined columns is behind the obelisk. This sketch lacks the solid, more precise pencil outlines which can be seen in many of her other watercolours, yet her attention to detail is evident in her attempt to accurately depict the hieroglyphs on the obelisk.

---

<sup>182</sup> The 9<sup>th</sup> of February fell on a Friday in the following possible years: 1872, 1877, 1883, 1894, 1900, 1906.

This work was originally laid onto card. After the card was removed during conservation, it was revealed that there was an additional sketch on the reverse of the work, depicting an Egyptian man carrying a child on his shoulders. This discovery is surprising as Herringham rarely focused on the human figure. The people in her study appear to be candid rather than posed, similar to Herringham's photographs of people on the streets of India.<sup>183</sup>

### **Works to be presented to the Begum of Bhopal (and related works):**

Nawab Sultan Kaikhusrau Jahan, Begum of Bhopal (1858-1930), reigned from 1901 until she abdicated in 1926. A devout Muslim, she was the fourth in a line of powerful female leaders who served the region; her mother, grandmother, and great-grandmother all reigned before her. The dynasty was greatly admired in Britain for their support of British rule.<sup>184</sup> Herringham met the Begum in 1907 and described their meeting in an article which appeared in *The Englishwoman* in 1909.<sup>185</sup> It is possible that they bonded over their shared interest in girls' education.<sup>186</sup>

One of the Begum's closest friends was the female poet and political reformer, Sarojini Naidu.<sup>187</sup> Herringham also made the acquaintance of Naidu in India; among her book collection is a signed copy of one of Naidu's books, *The Golden Threshold* (1906), with the note 'A Souvenir of Hyderabad'.

The Begum clearly made an impact on Herringham as in July 1911, after her admittance to Barnwood House Hospital, she wrote to her husband to request that her portfolio of Indian sketches be presented to the Begum. Although only two of the works explicitly state that they are intended to be presented to the Begum, it is likely that Herringham intended several of her other studies of Indian architecture to also be presented. These

---

<sup>183</sup> See **Appendix III** for Herringham's photograph albums.

<sup>184</sup> Nawab Sultan Jahan Begam, *An Account of My Life (Akhtar Iqbal)*, vol. 3, trans. C. H. Payne (Bombay: The Times Press, 1927), 51-2; Siobhan Lambert-Hurley, *Muslim Women, Reform and Princely Patronage* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), 66.

<sup>185</sup> Christiana J. Herringham, 'Travel Sketches of Indian Women,' *The Englishwoman*, 3:8 (September 1909): 206.

<sup>186</sup> Lambert-Hurley, *Muslim Women*, 75-6.

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid*, 60.

twelve works have been identified as those which Herringham has signed and those where she has given precise instructions as to how they should be mounted. These works are also stylistically a group as they show a similar delicacy and use of colour.

### **CATALOGUE NO. 101 [2019.115]**

India: Agra – Agra Fort: Moti Masjid, c.1906-11

Pencil, watercolour and gouache on paper laid on card, 392 x 670 mm [irr.]

INSCRIPTION: left of image: This pier cap is not / high enough / This pier pale[?] shadows / extremely light / reflection / from this / left hand piers; left under image: No; too green ^ on pier; centre under image: ^ Pearl mosque Agra Fort ^ / White Drawing paper mount [more illegible writing underneath]; br corner of image: C. J. Herringham; right of image: this too blue

LITERATURE: Jones, 'Art & Soul,' 56 and repro.

EXHIBITIONS: *Artist, Campaigner, Collector*, 2019

This work shows the view from inside the Moti Masjid (also known as the Pearl Mosque) at Agra Fort, looking out onto its courtyard. James Fergusson claimed that, 'the moment you enter by the eastern gateway the effect of its courtyard is surpassingly beautiful. The whole is of white marble, and the forms all graceful and elegant.'<sup>188</sup> Inside the mosque, lines of supporting columns divide the mosque into multi-bayed aisles.

The Moti Masjid was built by Shah Jahan and completed in 1653.<sup>189</sup> Although Shah Jahan's grandfather, Akbar, had commenced building at Agra Fort, Shah Jahan dismantled almost all of the structures his father and grandfather had built. He replaced them with white marble buildings, many of which were decorated with elaborate carvings and precious stones.<sup>190</sup> The art historian Ernest Havell (1861-1934) noted the marked differences between the two emperors' architectural styles.<sup>191</sup> He wrote: 'Nothing could be more striking, than the contrast between the extreme elegance, bordering on effeminacy, of the

---

<sup>188</sup> James Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture: Forming the Third Volume of the New Edition of the 'History of Architecture'* (London: John Murray, 1891), 599.

<sup>189</sup> Catherine B. Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 187.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid*, 182.

<sup>191</sup> E. B. Havell, *A Handbook to Agra and the Taj, Sikandra, Fatehpur-Sikri and the Neighbourhood* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1904), 64.

marble pavilions of Shah Jahan's palaces,' and the architecture of Akbar's Jahangiri Mahal (cat. no. 104).<sup>192</sup>

Writing to her brother-in-law in 1907, Herringham reported that the mosque's beauty 'depends principally on its proportions, and the tenderness and harmonies of its mouldings and vaultings, and on the clear radiant translucence of its marble.'<sup>193</sup> In addition to making this watercolour, Herringham also took a photograph of a very similar view, looking out from the Moti Masjid (fig. 41). Despite their absence in this painting, this photograph shows that other people were present during her visit.

### CATALOGUE NO. 102 [2019.120]

India: Agra – Agra Fort: Nagina Masjid, c.1906-11

Pencil, watercolour and gouache on paper, 236 x 354 mm [image] 407 x 547 mm [backing paper]

INSCRIPTION: br corner of image: C. J. Herringham; below image: Mount along lines / Ladies pearl mosque / Fort Agra

The Nagina Masjid (meaning 'Gem Mosque') is situated in Agra Fort, in Uttar Pradesh.<sup>194</sup> The three-domed mosque is built of white marble. It is very similar in style to the Moti Masjid (see cat. no. 101), and was built by the Moghul Emperor, Shah Jahan, in the seventeenth century as a private place of worship for the ladies of the royal court.<sup>195</sup>

According to Herringham, the mosque had been restored shortly before her visit, 'and at present you can see which is new & which is the old from the colour, and the new does not possess quite the refinement of the old carving.' However, she noted that this 'failure' was well known and suggested that perhaps 'a better workman will be found some day to do the carving again.'<sup>196</sup>

---

<sup>192</sup> Ibid.

<sup>193</sup> CH to HTT, 9 February 1907, SPAB: India. Ancient Monuments I.

<sup>194</sup> *A Handbook for Travellers in India, Burma and Ceylon*, 176.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid.

<sup>196</sup> CH to HTT, 9 February 1907, SPAB: India. Ancient Monuments I.

As is characteristic of Herringham's work, she has chosen to focus on the columns of the mosque, choosing to completely omit the striking domes. Written instructions at the bottom of the work and pencil lines indicate how the work should be mounted. These instructions, in addition to Herringham's signature, suggest that although this work appears to be unfinished, she may have intended it to be presented to the Begum of Bhopal.

**CATALOGUE NO. 103 [2019.116]**

India: Agra – Agra Fort: The 'Rose Water Fountain Court', c.1906-11

Pencil, watercolour and gouache on paper laid on card, 390 x 567 mm (paper); 495 x 640 mm (card)

INSCRIPTION: br corner of image: C. J. Herringham; below image: ^ / Rose water fountain court marble / Fort Agra / light grey mount –; verso br: Tate Library stamp [blue ink]

EXHIBITIONS: *Artist, Campaigner, Collector*, 2019

This watercolour, which Herringham has inscribed as 'Rose Water Fountain Court' depicts either the Musamman Burj or the Khas Mahal in Agra Fort. It focuses on the building's elaborately, delicately decorated columns. In the foreground can be seen the 'rose water fountain', sunken in the floor. Behind the columns, bright yellow light streams in through the ceiling, bathing the scene in a romantic glow.

**CATALOGUE NO. 104 [2019.113]**

India: Agra – Agra Fort: View from the Balcony of Jahangiri Mahal, c.1906-11

Pencil, watercolour and gouache on paper laid on card, 390 x 269 mm [irr.] (paper); 522 x 325 mm [irr.] (card)

INSCRIPTION: br: C. J. Herringham / Agra Fort; verso br: Tate Library stamp [blue ink]

Work commenced on Agra Fort under the leadership of Akbar in 1565 and was completed around 1571.<sup>197</sup> Havell described the architecture of the Jahangiri Mahal as being 'robust, virile, yet highly imaginative'.<sup>198</sup> Its exterior is formed from carved red sandstone, trimmed with white marble, while its interior is symmetrically arranged around a central

---

<sup>197</sup> Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India*, 47.

<sup>198</sup> Havell, *Handbook*, 64.

courtyard. The positioning of the Jahangiri Mahal within the fort, overlooking the river, suggests that it was probably reserved for the king and his chief queens.<sup>199</sup>

By the early nineteenth century, the fort had become an important foothold of the East India Company. During the Indian Rebellion of 1857, it was used as a place of sanctuary by the British officers and 'the whole of the European population' of Agra until the capture of Delhi.<sup>200</sup>

### **CATALOGUE NO. 105 [2019.109]**

India: Alwar – Fateh Jang's Tomb, c.1906-11

Pencil, watercolour and gouache on paper laid on card, 384 x 269 mm [irr.] (paper); 520 x 320 mm [irr.] (card)

INSCRIPTION: br: C. J. Herringham; b: ^ / Tomb at Alwar mount a rather / lighter cream; verso br: Tate Library stamp [blue ink]

Fateh Jang, who died in 1547, was a minister of the fifth Mughal emperor, Shah Jahan. His tomb is located in the city of Alwar, in northern India (**fig. 72**). Sir Alexander Cunningham, the founder of the Archaeological Survey of India, described the tomb in the early 1880s as consisting of:

three storeys of the same breadth, with seven openings on each face of each storey, and fluted octagonal minârs at the four angles. The dome springs from an octagonal neck standing on a fourth square storey, of smaller sizer, or about 40 feet each side. It is crowned by a small square cupola, resting on a foliated base ...<sup>201</sup>

Herringham has drawn the tomb from a distance, focusing on its arches and dome. Surrounding the tomb is a strong wall and arched entryway. The foreground of the work is unfinished.

---

<sup>199</sup> Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India*, 50.

<sup>200</sup> Havell, *Handbook*, 39.

<sup>201</sup> Major-General A. Cunningham, *Report of a Tour in Eastern Rajputana in 1882-83* (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of the Government Printing, 1885), 121.

**CATALOGUE NO. 106 [2019.107]**

India: Delhi – Red Fort: The Diwan-i-Khas, c.1906-11

Pencil, watercolour and gouache on paper, 420 x 532 mm

INSCRIPTION: bl: Tate Library stamp [purple ink]; br: C. J. Herringham

**CATALOGUE NO. 107 [2019.118]**

India: Delhi – Red Fort: The Diwan-i-Khas, c.1906-11

Pencil, watercolour and gouache on paper, 426 x 542 mm

INSCRIPTION: r: To be framed to the / pencil line –; br corner of image: C. J. Herringham;  
br below image: To Her Highness The Begam [*sic*] of Bhopal / C. J. Herringham – / In the  
Delhi Palace / the Divani Kas(?)

Both of these works show an identical view inside the Diwan-i-Khas in the Red Fort at Delhi. Built between 1639 and 1648, the fort was one of many built by Shah Jahan. The Diwan-i-Khas, or Hall of Private Audiences, was where the emperor would receive courtiers and state guests. Built from white marble, it is decorated throughout with inlaid and painted floral designs. Fergusson claimed: ‘... nothing can exceed the beauty of the inlay of precious stones with which it is adorned, or the general poetry of the design.’<sup>202</sup>

The palace underwent several alterations after it came under British control in 1857, including the removal of the arcaded court surrounding the Diwan-i-Khas. These changes led Fergusson to lament that, ‘Being now situated in the middle of a British barrack-yard, [the public parts of the palace] look like precious stones torn from their settings in some exquisite piece of Oriental jeweller’s work and set at random in a bed of the commonest plaster.’<sup>203</sup> Despite these alterations, Murray’s 1911 guide proclaimed that it was still ‘one of the most graceful buildings in the world.’<sup>204</sup>

Both works are notably similar and signed by Herringham, but the decoration and yellow detailing is more complete in **cat. no. 107**. Herringham has also specified that she intended **cat. no. 107** to be presented to the Begum of Bhopal.

---

<sup>202</sup> Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 593.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid*, 594.

<sup>204</sup> *A Handbook for Travellers in India, Burma and Ceylon*, 197.

**CATALOGUE NO. 108 [2019.117]**

India: Delhi – Red Fort: Rang Mahal, c.1906-11

Pencil, watercolour and gouache on paper, 426 x 540 mm

INSCRIPTION: br corner of image: C. J. Herringham; below image: The Maids Court at Delhi Fort / & rose water fountain –

EXHIBITIONS: *Artist, Campaigner, Collector*, 2019

The Rang Mahal (or Palace of Colour) in the Red Fort is named for the coloured decoration with which it was originally adorned. Down the centre of the court ran the Nahr-i-Behisht (Stream of Paradise). A historian contemporary of Shah Jahan's reign wrote, 'In excellence and glory [the Rang Mahal] surpassed the eight-sided throne of heaven, and in lustre and colour it is far superior to the palaces in the promised paradise.'<sup>205</sup> However, much of the decoration was removed over the years, and particularly after it came under British control in 1857 and was used as a mess-house.<sup>206</sup>

At the centre of Herringham's watercolour is a flower-shaped marble fountain. The Nahr-i-Behisht can be seen leading away from the fountain through the arches in the distance. The fountain had long been dry when Herringham visited the palace at the beginning of the twentieth century, but when it was operational, the dancing and rippling effect of the decoration underneath the running water was said to be 'nothing less than a scene of magic.'<sup>207</sup>

**CATALOGUE NO. 109 [2019.114]**

India: Mandu – Hoshang Shah's Tomb, c.1909-11

Pencil, watercolour and gouache on paper laid on card, 385 x 527 mm (paper); 509 x 637 mm (card)

INSCRIPTION: br corner of image: C. J. Herringham; below image: Tomb Mandu; verso br: Tate Library stamp [blue ink]

---

<sup>205</sup> Muhammad Sālih, *Amal-i-Sālih*, MS in Public Library, Lahore, fol. 583, quoted in Archaeological Survey of India, *Annual Report 1907-8* (Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1911), 23.

<sup>206</sup> *A Handbook for Travellers in India, Burma and Ceylon*, 198.

<sup>207</sup> Sayyid Ahmad Khān, *Āthāru-s-Sanādīd* (Caunpur, 1904), 35, quoted in Archaeological Survey of India, *Annual Report 1907-8*, 27.

This watercolour shows the impressive and somewhat intimidating tomb of Hoshang Shah. He was leader of the Malwa region of central India from 1405 to 1435. The tomb dates from around 1440.<sup>208</sup> In Herringham's work, the large dome on the roof disappears beyond the top of the paper, emphasising the immense scale of the building. To the right of the composition can be seen one of the domes of the nearby Jama Masjid. Herringham's use of white gouache on the tomb makes it stand out against the cream background and highlights the beauty of the architecture. Herringham most likely made her study of the Jahaz Mahal (**cat. no. 127**) around the same time, as these buildings are located only one kilometre apart.

Christiana and Wilmot hoped to visit Mandu on their first trip to India, after reading of its beauty in Murray's travel guide. However, the guide also suggested that the trip would be impossible without camping equipment, and they were met with ignorance when they asked Thomas Cook for advice. After meeting John Hubert Marshall (1876-1958), the Director-General of the Architectural Survey of India, Herringham learned that the ancient city was now more accessible, with the jungle cleared, roads created, and motor cars and accommodation made available for visitors. Herringham was disappointed to have missed the opportunity to see Mandu, but planned to visit the city if she returned to India.<sup>209</sup>

**CATALOGUE NO. 110 [2019.91]**

India: Udaipur – Pencil Study of the Udaipur Island Palace, c.1906-07

Pencil on paper, 265 x 420 mm

INSCRIPTION: verso br: Tate Library stamp [purple ink]

EXHIBITIONS: *Artist, Campaigner, Collector*, 2019

**CATALOGUE NO. 111 [2019.14]**

India: Udaipur – The Udaipur Island Palace, c.1906-07

Pencil, watercolour and gouache on paper, 380 x 432 mm

---

<sup>208</sup> Mehrdad Shokoohy, 'Mandu,' *Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online*, Oxford University Press, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T053732>, accessed 3 April 2019.

<sup>209</sup> CH to HTT, 9 February 1907, SPAB Archives: India. Ancient Monuments I.

INSCRIPTION: br: C. J. Herringham; bl: [illegible partially erased writing]; l [sideways]:  
The Udaipur / Island Palace / to be framed to the / lines - for H. H. the / Begam [sic] of  
Bhopal; verso br: Tate Library stamp [purple ink]

EXHIBITIONS: *Artist, Campaigner, Collector*, 2019

**CATALOGUE NO. 112 [2019.105]**

India: Udaipur – Watercolour Study of the Udaipur Island Palace, c.1906-07

Pencil and watercolour on paper, 356 x 393 mm [irr.]

Building of the palace complex at Udaipur commenced in the mid-sixteenth century. Herringham's watercolour focuses on the palace's pavilions, which lie on the edge of Lake Pichola. This is the only work by Herringham for which there are multiple surviving studies, indicating Herringham's deep interest in the monument and her determination to create an accurate representation.

Udaipur and its palace were widely admired by visitors in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Writing of the palace's pavilions, Fergusson stated he knew of 'nothing that will bear comparison with them anywhere.'<sup>210</sup> Much of the city's appeal was that its architecture had thus far evaded British interference. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the artist Walter Crane noted that the city was 'practically untouched by western innovations', while Havell wrote that it was 'as yet unspoilt architecturally by the modern vandal.'<sup>211</sup> After Herringham visited Udaipur on her first trip to the country, she described the city as being 'like an enchanted town in the Arabian nights—It lies pure white on the edge of a lake encircled by mountains. On the lake float white marble palace pavilions which quite cover two islands.'<sup>212</sup>

---

<sup>210</sup> James Fergusson, *Picturesque Illustrations of Ancient Architecture in Hindostan*, 51, quoted in James Burgess, *Photographs of Architecture and Scenery in Gujarat and Rajputana* (Calcutta, Bombay and Simla: Bourne and Shepherd, 1874), 31.

<sup>211</sup> Walter Crane, 'Glimpses of India from the Picturesque Point of View,' *Journal of Indian Art and Industry* 15 (1912): 12; Ernest Havell, *Indian Architecture: Its Psychology, Structure, and History from the First Muhammadan Invasion to the Present Day* (London: John Murray, 1913), 204.

<sup>212</sup> CH to WR and AR, 10 January [1907], UM:ML B.27.F.31.

**CATALOGUE NO. 113 [2019.97]**

India: Agra – Agra Fort: Detail of Decoration, c.1906-11

Pencil and watercolour on paper, 163 x 421 mm [irr.]

INSCRIPTION: below top image: at the touching of the loop a gold [illegible word]; above bottom image: Dark; below bottom image: light [line pointing to image]; verso bl: Tate Library stamp [purple ink]

This study of a spandrel matches decoration in the building which Herringham described as the 'Rose Water Fountain Court' at Agra. Herringham was referring to either the Musamman Burj or the Khas Mahal, which both have columns with inlaid decoration matching this study. Both this work and **cat. no. 114** were most likely studies for a final work, as they show decoration which can be seen in her finished watercolour of the 'Rose Water Fountain Court' (**cat. no. 103**).

It is highly likely that Herringham made this study around the same time as **cat. no. 128**. These works were made on the same piece of paper, which has been cut irregularly in half.

**CATALOGUE NO. 114 [2019.98]**

India: Agra – Agra Fort: Detail of Decoration, c.1906-11

Pencil and watercolour on paper, 420 x 268 mm

INSCRIPTION: tr: green spot in middle of / T. H. [?] red spots round / brown blue middle [line pointing to image]; on bottom image, clockwise from top: R / LB R R L. B.; verso br: Tate Library stamp [purple ink]

Like **cat. no. 113**, this work was probably made as a study for **cat. no. 103**. The image at the bottom of the paper shows the decoration at the base of one of the columns, while above are studies of the pattern which runs vertically down the columns.

**CATALOGUE NO. 115 [2019.100]**

India: Agra – Sikandra: Rubbing from the Cenotaph of Akbar, c.1906-11

Pencil on four pieces of irregular sized paper pinned together, 400 x 535 mm [irr.]

INSCRIPTION: verso c: Tate Library stamp [sideways] [purple ink]

Akbar's tomb is located in Sikandra, a suburb about five miles outside the city of Agra. The site and design of the tomb is said to have been chosen by Akbar himself and carried out by his son and successor, Jahangir.<sup>213</sup> The square walled garden was divided into four major sections by watercourses, representing the rivers of paradise; Akbar's tomb is metaphorically situated at the centre of this garden.<sup>214</sup> The tomb is five-stories high; the top floor is open to the sky, and in the centre is Akbar's cenotaph, carved from a solid block of white marble. It represents the real tomb in the vault underneath and is carved with flowers and Arabic inscriptions.<sup>215</sup>

This work appears to be a rubbing, made in pencil on multiple pieces of paper pinned together. It matches a drawing in the collections of the V&A of the foot of the tomb (**fig. 73**). The inscription reads, 'Jalla Jalaluhu' (Magnificent is His Glory).<sup>216</sup>

#### **CATALOGUE NO. 116 [2019.119]**

India: Ahmedabad – Dada Harir's Mosque, probably 1906

Pencil, watercolour and gouache on paper, 424 x 545 mm

INSCRIPTION: b: Shah Alam's mosque Ahmedabad.

A contemporary travel guide ranked Ahmedabad's architectural beauty next to that of Delhi and Agra, yet noted the city was little known to European visitors.<sup>217</sup> Herringham's studies of the city demonstrate she travelled off the beaten track.

Herringham has inscribed this sketch as 'Shah Alam's Mosque' at Ahmedabad. However, while there is a Shah-e-Alam's mosque and tomb complex within the city, this sketch does not match its architecture, suggesting she made this inscription at a later date. Instead, this unfinished sketch matches a photograph in Herringham's albums of Dada Harir's Mosque (**fig. 74**).<sup>218</sup> It focuses on one of the mosque's balconied windows, decorated with

---

<sup>213</sup> Havell, *Handbook*, 25.

<sup>214</sup> Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India*, 106.

<sup>215</sup> Havell, *Handbook*, 100.

<sup>216</sup> Vincent A. Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), 427.

<sup>217</sup> *A Handbook for Travellers in India, Burma and Ceylon*, 123.

<sup>218</sup> Christiana Herringham, *Photographs: India and Burma*, RHUL Archives, 915.4 IND FOLIO; Christiana Herringham, *IV. Muslim*, RHUL Archives, 722.4 IND FOLIO.

columns and carved leaves. To the left, a faint outline can be seen of one of the building's arches.

The mosque is named after Bai Sri Harira, who was chief attendant of the harem during Sultan Mahmud Begada's reign (1458-1511). She provided the funds for the building of the mosque, her tomb, and a stepwell at the same site.<sup>219</sup> Herringham also made a study of the stepwell (see **cat. no. 117**), and most likely drew both of these works during the same visit.

### **CATALOGUE NO. 117 [2019.112]**

India: Ahmedabad – Dada Harir Stepwell, probably 1906

Pencil and watercolour on paper, 545 x 230 mm [irr.]

INSCRIPTION: clockwise on image: clockwise on top of image: W D D D D D D; on image [on parapets]: 8 / 8; bl: [o]ctagon; verso tr: Tate Library stamp [purple ink] [upside down]

The Dada Harir Stepwell, in the suburbs of Ahmedabad, was completed in the late fifteenth century.<sup>220</sup> The stepwells of western India were built to store water and keep it as fresh as possible, even during the hottest and driest months. Narrow stairs, going deep into the earth, are designed to keep exposure to the sun at a minimum, while the various galleries provide shade.<sup>221</sup> According to Havell, 'the construction of a well was as much a religious work as the building of a mosque or temple.'<sup>222</sup>

As seen in Herringham's watercolour, the central octagonal shaft of the stepwell is surrounded by eight pillars, connected by a low wall; passageways lead off this central chamber. Although the supporting columns are largely plain, the parapet is covered in carved geometric and floral designs, but only a small amount of this decoration can be seen in Herringham's work.

---

<sup>219</sup> James Burgess, *The Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmadabad: Part II. With Muslim and Hindu Remains in the Vicinity, Archaeological Survey of Western India*, vol. 8 (London: Bernard Quaritch; Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co; William Griggs & Sons, Limited, 1905), 4. Herringham owned a copy of this book.

<sup>220</sup> Jutta Jain-Neubauer, *The Stepwells of Gujarat in Art-Historical Perspective* (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1981), 41.

<sup>221</sup> *Ibid*, xii.

<sup>222</sup> Havell, *Indian Architecture*, 144.

Herringham visited the Dada Harir stepwell with her husband in December 1906, taking photographs in addition to painting this work.<sup>223</sup> Writing to his sister, Wilmot wrote: 'I never saw such a beautiful thing. If it was in Italy the whole world would rush to see it.' Yet, he critically noted that the water and floor were 'filthy as you might expect in this country'.<sup>224</sup>

### **CATALOGUE NO. 118 [2019.111]**

India: Ahmedabad – Jama Masjid, c.1906-11

Pencil, watercolour and white chalk on brown paper, 503 x 174 mm [irr.]

INSCRIPTION: verso br: Tate Library stamp [blue ink]

The Jama Masjid (Friday Mosque) at Ahmedabad was built in the early fifteenth century, during the reign of Ahmad Shah I. Art historians have described the mosque as one of the most 'aesthetically satisfying' in India.<sup>225</sup> Percy Brown (1872-1955), who served as the principal of the Government School of Art in Calcutta from 1909 to 1927, believed that the construction of the mosque 'developed into something more than an orderly pile of moulded masonry, and became a thing of the spirit.'<sup>226</sup> Herringham's work depicts some of the mosque's three-hundred columns, which support the building's domes and multi-storied galleries.<sup>227</sup>

### **CATALOGUE NO. 119 [P0913]**

India: Ajanta – Fragment from the Hamsa Jataka, 1909-11

Mixed media on paper, 1600 x 539 mm

INSCRIPTION: cl: [illegible] [arrow pointing up] top / wing [illegible] / Duck / This / Ducks [sic] / [illegible] / [illegible]

LITERATURE: India Society, *Ajanta Frescoes* (London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1915), repro. pl. XLI (54); Alison Smith, *Artist and Empire*, exh. cat. (London: Tate Publishing, 2015), 212 and repro.

---

<sup>223</sup> Christiana Herringham, *Photographs: India and Burma*, RHUL Archives, 915.4 IND FOLIO.

<sup>224</sup> WH to 'Midgey' [Mary Herringham], 15 December 1906, UM:ML, B.27.F.30.

<sup>225</sup> J. C. Harle, *The Art and Architecture of the Indian Subcontinent*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (London: Yale University Press, 1994), 429.

<sup>226</sup> Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (Islamic Period)* (Bombay: D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co. Pvt. Ltd., 1981), 50.

<sup>227</sup> *Ibid*, 51.

EXHIBITIONS: Possibly: *Fourth Exhibition of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Allahabad, 1911; 'Indian Court,' *Festival of Empire*, Crystal Palace, London, 12 May – 1 October 1911 (2 – as *Part of a Goose Jataka; Cave II*); *Artist and Empire*, Tate Britain, London, 25 November 2015 – 10 April 2016; *Artist, Campaigner, Collector*, 2019

This copy was made as part of Herringham's project at Ajanta, undertaken in the winters of 1909-10 and 1910-11. This copy is of a scene from Cave 2. The *Hamsa Jataka* tells the story of the Bodhisattva's life as a golden goose. The King wished to capture the golden goose his wife had seen in a dream and ordered a hunter to lay in wait at a lake outside the city. The Bodhisattva, sensing the trap, warned the others in his flock, who all escaped except his loyal minister, Sumukha, who refused to abandon his master.

This is the only copy from Herringham's project still within a British collection. It is possible that not all of the copies were brought back to England, as Partha Mitter states that Abanindranath Tagore had agreed to pay the expenses of his students in exchange for a set of the copies remaining in India.<sup>228</sup> In 1911, the copies were exhibited at the Festival of Empire. After the closing of the exhibition, the India Society loaned the copies to the V&A, before transferring the copies to the state collection of Hyderabad around 1930.<sup>229</sup> It is not clear why this work was not sent with the rest of the copies. While Herringham gifted the other paintings to the India Society, this work appears to have remained within her possession. While it is possible that this copy was not finished, the catalogue shows it was exhibited alongside the other copies at the Festival of Empire.<sup>230</sup>

An image of this copy was included in the India Society's volume *Ajanta Frescoes*. The book lists all of Herringham's copies as being painted in tempera, but this work appears to have been completed using a combination of watercolour and tempera.

---

<sup>228</sup> Partha Mitter, *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 305.

<sup>229</sup> In a letter from Wilmot to William Rothenstein he states he was not consulted about the removal of the paintings. WH to WR, 28 June 1930, UM:ML, B.27.F.30; S. F. Markham, *The Museums of India* (London: The Museums Association, 1936), 157.

<sup>230</sup> 'List of the Ajanta Pictures,' in *Indian Court: Festival of Empire, 1911: Guide Book and Catalogue* (London: Bemrose and Sons, 1911), 88.

### **CATALOGUE NO. 120 [2019.108]**

India: Ajanta – Interior of Vihara, c.1906-11

Pencil and watercolour on paper, 389 x 558 mm

INSCRIPTION: on top of column, second from left: same / cap ^

EXHIBITIONS: *Artist, Campaigner, Collector*, 2019

This work shows the interior of one of the viharas (monasteries) at the Ajanta Caves, focusing on the carved, decorated columns. This watercolour, in addition to the studies she made of columns at the caves (see **cat. no. 122**), demonstrates Herringham's interest in the architecture of Ajanta, as well as the frescoes. Despite her copying project, Herringham has not attempted in this work to render the frescoes which would have been present on the walls behind the columns. This may have been because a lack of light prevented her from being able to make them out at a distance.

### **CATALOGUE NO. 121 [2019.103]**

India: Ajanta – Sketch of the Bodhisattva Padmapani (Bearer of the Lotus), Cave 1, 1906

Pencil and watercolour on paper, 281 x 386 mm

EXHIBITIONS: *Artist, Campaigner, Collector*, 2019

This sketch depicts a figure which Herringham called 'India'.<sup>231</sup> He is a Bodhisattva, shown holding a lotus flower, at the centre of a crowd of his devotees. In an article for *The Burlington*, Herringham stated that although many of the paintings at the caves were spoiled by the yellowing varnish applied by previous copyists, this painting had 'escaped this disfigurement'. The painting, situated on the wall to the left of the shrine in Cave 1, was, Herringham believed, the 'finest work' at Ajanta.<sup>232</sup> As Fred S. Kleiner has noted, the artists were careful in their consideration of the placement of this painting within the cave, as 'The bodhisattva gazes downward at worshippers passing through the entrance to the shrine'.<sup>233</sup>

---

<sup>231</sup> C. J. Herringham, 'The Caves of Ajanta,' *The Englishwoman* 9:25 (January 1911): 65.

<sup>232</sup> Christiana J. Herringham, 'The Frescoes of Ajantà,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 17:87 (June 1910): 137.

<sup>233</sup> Fred S. Kleiner, *Gardner's Art through the Ages: Non-Western Perspectives*, 13<sup>th</sup> ed. (Boston, MA: Wadsworth, 2009), 19.

Herringham suggested in her article for *The Burlington* that the figure within the work may be Gautama Buddha, and proceeded to describe the painting in great detail:

The prince standing and stooping somewhat, as he looks out on the world which he is about to enter, with an expression of profound pity on his face. He wears a high, jewelled head-dress and a loincloth, and holds in his right hand a blue lotus. There are other personages around him, one of them a queen; all have fine expressive features. The figure of the queen, which is nude to the hips, is full and fine in form, with a natural, not attenuated, waist. The dignity and reposeful treatment of these figures, their large design and noble characterization equal in grandeur the finer statues of Egyptian kings. The flesh tones of the prince are pale and silvery. The queen is nearly black. In the general colouring, sober reds and some vivid pale blues and good bluish greens are introduced among greys, browns and whites. The effect is rich and quiet.<sup>234</sup>

Herringham has attempted to replicate this colouring in her own sketch, made in shades of tan and grey, with splashes of red and blue. However, Herringham's copy is not accurate as it completely omits the bodhisattva's long hair and lacks the detail in his crown. Yet, she had to make this copy quickly and by candlelight, meaning that many of the details may not have been visible.<sup>235</sup> This is most likely the sketch which Herringham showed to Laurence Binyon at the British Museum on her return from India in 1907. His enthusiasm ultimately led her to return to Ajanta.

The final copy of this work was not completed by her, but rather by two of the Indian students: Syad Ahmad and Muhammad Fazl ud Din. Their copy (**fig. 75**) is a much closer replica of the original.

#### **CATALOGUE NO. 122 [2019.90]**

India: Ajanta – Study of Columns and Decorative Details at the Ajanta Caves, c.1906-11

Pencil on paper, 280 x 442 mm

INSCRIPTION: l, under image: Chaitya 10; r, under image: Column / SW End / Veranda / Cave I / Ajanta; verso tr: Tate Library stamp [purple ink sideways]

On the left of this composition is a study of a column which Herringham has identified as being from chaitya (or prayer hall) number 10 at Ajanta. On the right is another study of

---

<sup>234</sup> Herringham, 'The Frescoes of Ajantà,' 137.

<sup>235</sup> Herringham, 'The Caves of Ajanta,' 69.

a column, from the veranda of Cave 1. In the centre of the page are further studies of decorative details, presumably also found at Ajanta. Herringham rarely identified the locations of architectural details which she copied. It is possible that she made these studies as research for her writings on Ajanta, such as the book which she had begun to write on the history of the caves.<sup>236</sup>

**CATALOGUE NO. 123 [2019.86]**

India: Ellora – Study of Column, 1910

Pencil on paper, 250 x 201 mm

INSCRIPTION: verso tl: travellers / ^ / bungalow; top: Students visiting Ellora with me / detained ^ Aurangabad police / orders Simcox Collector Jalgaon / Please communicate / by wire with him – Herringham; br: Tate Library stamp [purple ink]

The inscription on the reverse of this pencil sketch refers to an incident which took place in early 1910, during a trip Herringham took to Ellora with the Bengali artists she had been working with at Ajanta. The Bengali population were regarded with suspicion by the British authorities at this time, due to the unrest following the region's partition by the British in 1905. At Ellora, the Bengali artists were detained by the authorities with '[n]o reasons given'.<sup>237</sup>

The note on the verso of this pencil drawing appears to be a draft telegram that Herringham sent, probably to her friend George Casson Walker, who was the Assistant Minister of Finance to the Nizam of Hyderabad. Sister Nivedita, who had visited the Ajanta camp at Christmas in 1909, later relayed Herringham's frustration that, 'With all her influence at Hyderabad she could do nothing with one ridiculous English official.'<sup>238</sup> This 'ridiculous' official was presumably Arthur Henry Addenbrooke Simcox, whom Herringham refers to in her inscription.

This was not the only incident where the Bengali artists came under suspicion. George Clarke, the Governor of Bombay, was unpopular due to his repression of the Indian

---

<sup>236</sup> CH to AR, October 25, [1910], UM:ML, B.27.F.31.

<sup>237</sup> Sister Nivedita to Mr and Mrs S. K. Ratcliffe, 23 February 1910 in *Letters of Sister Nivedita*, vol. 2, ed. Sankari Prasad Basu (Calcutta: Nababharat Publishers, 1960), 1068-1069.

<sup>238</sup> Sister Nivedita to unknown recipient, 23 February 1910 in *ibid*, 1070.

nationalist movement. When he visited the Ajanta camp in early 1910 the Bengali artists were moved to a camp five miles away and 'surrounded by armed sepoys' as it was feared they posed a threat to Clarke.<sup>239</sup> Witnessing first-hand the prejudice and injustices that the Indian students faced likely challenged Herringham's belief in the benevolence of British rule.

### **CATALOGUE NO. 124 [2019.81]**

India: Ellora – Study of Columns and Decorative Details at the Ellora Caves, c.1910

Pencil on paper, 780 x 285 [approx. – paper is  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a large sheet folded into 3]

INSCRIPTION: clockwise, top left image: top / bottom / From the [partly erased: Ar]lanka[?]; verso middle: Tate Library stamp [purple ink] [upside down]

The Ellora Caves are located around sixty miles from Ajanta. The carved ancient temples include Buddhist, Hindu, and Jain monuments. This sketch matches a commercial photograph in one of Herringham's photograph albums (**fig. 76**) of the exterior of a Jain Temple known as 'Indra Sabha' (also called Cave 32). On top of the carved column is a sarvatobhadra (a single sculpture of four figures that are carved back-to-back and face four directions) of a Jain yaksha (nature deity).<sup>240</sup> Herringham has only drawn a faint outline of these figures in her sketch, and she has not included the more elaborate carved decoration at the bottom of the pillar. Instead, she has focused on the column's strong architectural lines.

A smaller sketch of decoration is at the top left of the page. The inscription suggests it is taken from the 'Lanka' Cave at Ellora.<sup>241</sup> The other small study of decoration on the page is probably an architectural detail from elsewhere at Ellora.

---

<sup>239</sup> Sister Nivedita to Mr and Mrs S. K. Ratcliffe, 23 February 1910 in *ibid*, 1069.

<sup>240</sup> For definitions see: Lisa N. Owen, *Carving Devotion in the Jain Caves at Ellora* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 31, 36, 35 n.42.

<sup>241</sup> Illustrations of this cave appear in James Fergusson, *Illustrations of the Rock-Cut Temples of India: Selected from the Best Examples of the Different Series of Caves at Ellora, Ajunta, Cuttack, Salsette, Karli, and Mahavellipore* (London: John Weale, 1845).

The watermark on the paper, dated 1909, suggests that this study was probably made during the trip she made to the site in early 1910, accompanied by the students from Ajanta (see **cat. no. 123**).

### **CATALOGUE NO. 125 [2019.83]**

India: Ellora – Study of Lion Sculpture Guarding the Entrance to Cave 29, c.1906-11

Pencil on paper, 250 x 200 mm

INSCRIPTION: under image: Cave 29 Ellora; verso br: Tate Library stamp [purple ink]; bl: [illegible] 4 - - / [illegible] 16 / 100 25 25 / 21

EXHIBITIONS: *Artist, Campaigner, Collector*, 2019

This carved lion, with one paw resting upon the head of a small elephant, is one of two dvarapalas which sit outside Cave 29 (also known as the Dhuma Lena) at Ellora (**fig. 77**). A dvarapala is a statue which guards the doorway of a temple and is a common feature in Hindu and Buddhist architecture.

Herringham visited Ellora at least twice. She first visited with Wilmot in late 1906 and returned in early 1910 with the Indian students whom she was working with at Ajanta (see **cat. no. 123**).<sup>242</sup> Ellora was a popular tourist site by the late nineteenth century. A travel guide published in 1891 advised travellers to bypass Ajanta in favour of Ellora, as it was a much easier journey and ‘undoubtedly the more interesting, to the ordinary tourist, of the two great groups of cave temples.’<sup>243</sup> Fergusson stated that, despite lacking the ‘unity and completeness’ of Ajanta, the caves at Ellora were perhaps more interesting due to their ‘variety’ and ‘exceptional magnificence’.<sup>244</sup>

### **CATALOGUE NO. 126 [2019.110]**

India: Fatehpur Sikri – Jama Masjid (recto); Same Subject (verso), c.1906-07

Pencil and watercolour on paper, 565 [irr.] x 390 mm

---

<sup>242</sup> WH to unknown recipient, 8 December 1906, UM:ML, B.27.F.30; CH to WR and AR, 10 January [1907], UM:ML, B.27.F.31.

<sup>243</sup> W. S. Caine, *Picturesque India: A Handbook for European Travellers* (London: George Routledge and Sons Limited, 1891), 417.

<sup>244</sup> James Fergusson, *The Rock-Cut Temples of India* (London: John Murray, 1864), 61. This volume also includes 74 photographs of both Ajanta and Ellora taken by Major Robert Gill, who completed the first set of copies of the Ajanta frescoes.

INSCRIPTION: left side of page (in mihrab): greenish / diamond / red ground blkish [*sic*] / white pattern / greenish ground / white raised / pattern; right side of page (clockwise from top): blue & gold corners quatrefoil[?] / red fillings round[?] / Darkish / reddish / blue stone / white centres; red & blue dots / [illegible] blue; blue / red & gold; 10; 10 petaled / blue dots between each; flesh / ground; green middles with / white do; plain greenish red

The Jama Masjid, situated within the walled city of Fatehpur Sikri, is one of the largest mosques in India. The third Mughal emperor, Akbar, built the city in recognition of Shaikh Salim, the Chishti saint who had predicted the birth of Akbar's son in 1569.<sup>245</sup> The Jama Masjid is built from red sandstone, on high ground in the centre of the city. Akbar himself is said to have swept the floor and called the prayer in this mosque.<sup>246</sup>

This sketch by Herringham shows two of the three mihrabs in the central area of the mosque. They are decorated with white, blue, and gold geometric patterns and inscriptions. The steps to the bottom right of the work show the minbar, from where the imam leads the sermons (**fig. 78**).<sup>247</sup> Herringham has begun to add colour to the minbar, and the rest of the work includes detailed colour notes, suggesting that either she planned to complete this work at a later date, or that this work was a preparatory sketch.

The watermark reveals that the paper was manufactured in 1905. Herringham therefore most likely made this study on her first trip to the country. A fingerprint on this work was made when the paint was still wet – probably Herringham's own.

### **CATALOGUE NO. 127 [2019.87]**

India: Mandu – Insect and Pool at the Jahaz Mahal, c.1909-11

Pencil on paper, 418 [approx. due to paper being folded in half] x 337 mm

INSCRIPTION: tl: Tate Library stamp [blue ink] [sideways]

---

<sup>245</sup> Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India*, 51.

<sup>246</sup> *Ibid*, 55.

<sup>247</sup> Harle, *Art and Architecture*, 421.

The Jahaz Mahal (Ship Palace) is at Mandu in the state of Madhya Pradesh. Mandu, which stood on an 'isolated plateau', was the fortified capital of the Sultans of Malwa in the early fifteenth century.<sup>248</sup> Herringham most likely made these studies around the same time as her watercolour of Hoshang Shah's tomb, also at Mandu (**cat. no. 109**).

The two sketches at the top of the paper show two of the pools as seen from above. The sketch at the bottom of the page shows the edge of one of the pools, along with its distinctive spiral channels. The pools would originally have been filled by water flowing through these curled pathways.<sup>249</sup> At the bottom left, Herringham has sketched an insect which she probably saw at Mandu. It is very similar in appearance to the *Myrmeleon Pardalis* illustrated in a book in Herringham's collection, entitled, *An Epitome of the Natural History of the Insects of India, and the Islands in the Indian Seas*.<sup>250</sup> Herringham was evidently interested in insects, as they feature in several of her works, including **cat. no. 23** and **38**.

#### **CATALOGUE NO. 128 [2019.89]**

India: Study of Column, Possibly from a Cave Temple, c.1906-11

Pencil on paper, 420 x 146 mm [irr.]

INSCRIPTION: verso tl: Tate Library stamp [purple ink] [upside down]

The column in this study is similar to those found at cave temples in India, such as at Ajanta and Ellora. This study was most likely made around the same time as Herringham's study of decoration at the Agra Fort (**cat. no. 113**), as both of these works were drawn on the same piece of paper, which has been cut irregularly in two.

---

<sup>248</sup> D. Fairchild Ruggles, *Islamic Gardens and Landscapes* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 218.

<sup>249</sup> Ibid.

<sup>250</sup> E. Donovan, *An Epitome of the Natural History of the Insects of India, and the Islands in the Indian Seas* (London: T. Bensley, 1800).

## **UNIDENTIFIED LANDSCAPES:**

### **CATALOGUE NO. 129 [2019.44]**

Europe: Cathedral Interior with Seated Figures

Pencil and watercolour on paper, 540 x 378 mm

It is unknown where Herringham made this work, although the people appear to be wearing European costume. Herringham's study emphasises the strong lines of the columns and arches of this cathedral's interior – a repeated theme throughout her work. Through the arches can be glimpsed colourful stained-glass windows, which flood the interior with light. Herringham has employed contrasting shades of tan and dark blue to emphasise the contrast between the light-filled central space and the dark shadows. Two small, seated figures, wearing almost identical outfits of brown, white and blue, blend into the rest of the scene.

### **CATALOGUE NO. 130 [2019.63]**

Europe: Church Interior

Watercolour on paper, 175 x 250 mm

This watercolour reflects Herringham's interest in depicting church interiors, and the focus on the building's arches and columns is characteristic of her work. The style of this work is less precise than many of Herringham's other watercolours. Although the architecture is less firmly depicted, by adding tiny human figures, Herringham has still managed to convey the size and grandeur of the building.

### **CATALOGUE NO. 131 [2019.15]**

Europe: Church by a Canal

Sepia ink on grey paper, 227 x 271 [irr.] mm

INSCRIPTION: b: [illegible as paper trimmed along lower edge]; verso r: 13

This drawing shows houses lining a canal, while in the distance can be seen the pointed steeple of a church. It is not known where Herringham drew this work, but the architecture suggests it was most likely in Northern Europe.

**CATALOGUE NO. 132 [2019.13]**

Europe: Cityscape with Domed Cathedral and Mountains

Watercolour on paper, 171 x 245 mm

This watercolour shows the view over the rooftops of a town or city. In the foreground can be seen several domed churches, with mountains in the distance. The colours and style of the architecture suggests that it was made in Italy. This cityscape is possibly similar to another work by Herringham, entitled *Florence from the Slopes of San Miniato* (current location unknown), which was included in the 1909 exhibition held by the Society of Painters in Tempera.

**CATALOGUE NO. 133 [2019.61]**

Europe: Coastline with Cliffs and Figure

Watercolour on paper, 255 x 236 [irr.] mm

This work shows a small figure standing on a cliff, looking down upon a coastal town, which is populated with red-roofed white buildings. In the distance, across the water, can be seen further cliffs or hills. It is unknown where this work was painted. It possibly relates to **cat. no. 134**, which also depicts a coastal town and includes similar buildings.

**CATALOGUE NO. 134 [2019.62]**

Europe: Coastal Town with Vegetable Patch in Foreground

Pencil and watercolour on paper, 287 x 440 mm

INSCRIPTION: br: [illegible]

The coastal town in this work – possibly in Italy – is populated with red-roofed white buildings. At the centre of the work is a walled garden. In the foreground green plants can be seen, emerging from the purplish soil. At one point, the work was mounted and the

bottom third of the work covered, thereby altering the composition of the piece. Herringham likely made this decision herself.

**CATALOGUE NO. 135 [2019.55]**

Europe: Courtyard with Small Vegetable Market

Watercolour on paper laid on card, 367 x 165 mm

INSCRIPTION: verso br: 18  $\frac{3}{4}$  11 / Tate Library stamp [blue ink] / 4[?]  $\frac{1}{4}$  bl: 19 [sideways]

A small vegetable market is shown by a fountain in a piazza. Surrounding the square are houses with green shuttered windows. Behind the buildings can be seen a church or cathedral; its clock tower overlooks the piazza below. In the foreground, Herringham has begun to draw the outlines of people at the market. As characteristic of her work, the people are only vaguely sketched and remain unfinished.

**CATALOGUE NO. 136 [2019.66]**

Europe: Forest

Watercolour on paper, 213 x 201 mm

INSCRIPTION: verso br: Tate Library stamp [purple ink]

In this watercolour, the leaves of the different trees, painted in various shades of green and brown, have begun to merge as one. Herringham's brushstrokes become less precise towards the edges of the work, and their different directions suggest the movement of the trees in the wind.

**CATALOGUE NO. 137 [P1072]**

Europe: Interior of Church with Tomb [previous title: Melrose Abbey]

Pencil and watercolour on paper, 235 x 359 mm

EXHIBITIONS: *Memorial Exhibition*, 1935 (26)

An exhibition label on the reverse of this work identifies the subject as Melrose Abbey in Scotland. It is not clear however how the painting obtained this title, as it has not been inscribed by Herringham and the architecture depicted in the work does not match Melrose Abbey.

Herringham has painted the work almost entirely in shades of brown and grey, which contrast with the red on the tomb. This choice of colours, in combination with the barren trees that can be seen through the entrance on the left of the work, add to the bleak nature of the scene.

**CATALOGUE NO. 138 [P1572]**

Europe: Interior of a Norman Church [unlocated]

**CATALOGUE NO. 139 [P1563]**

Europe: Landscape with Farm

Tempera on card, 250 x 765 mm

This landscape is unusual among Herringham's *oeuvre*. She has experimented with medium, by using tempera on card, as well as style. Unlike the majority of her other works, this painting demonstrates a flatter, almost modernist, style, with less solid outlines, suggesting the influence of Roger Fry. Herringham has also employed a brighter, more unnatural colour palette than usually appears in her paintings.

**CATALOGUE NO. 140 [P0122]**

Europe: Mountain Landscape

Watercolour and gouache on paper laid on card, 367 x 264 mm

EXHIBITIONS: *Memorial Exhibition*, 1935 (13B – as *Landscape*)

Herringham likely painted her mountain landscapes both at home and abroad, as she visited both Scotland and the mountains of Europe.<sup>251</sup> In addition to forming the focus of her works, mountains also often appear in the background of her watercolours (see **cat. no. 132** and **143**). Herringham's holiday through the Alpine regions of Switzerland and Italy in 1894 included mountain climbing. Her travel companion, William Bateson, noted his surprise at how well she coped with the climb over Monte Moro.<sup>252</sup> Herringham's choice of colour palette, the vineyards in the foreground, and the red-roofed houses in the distance suggest this work was painted in Italy, perhaps in Tuscany.

---

<sup>251</sup> In conversation with James Dixon, 24 January 2018.

<sup>252</sup> William Bateson to Anna Bateson, 26 July 1894, CU:WB, MS Add. 8634/A.42.

### CATALOGUE NO. 141 [P1555]

Europe: Mountain Landscape

Watercolour and gouache on paper laid on card, 235 x 368 mm

EXHIBITIONS: *Artist, Campaigner, Collector*, 2019

Herringham's focus on mountains is another example of Ruskin's impact on her work.

Ruskin was fascinated by mountains, writing that their purpose was:

To fill the thirst of the human heart for the beauty of God's working,—to startle its lethargy with the deep and pure agitation of astonishment ... They are as a great and noble architecture; first giving shelter, comfort, and rest; and covered also with mighty sculpture and painted legend.<sup>253</sup>

He went as far as to declare they were 'the great cathedrals of the earth'.<sup>254</sup>

This painting also suggests the influence of Annie Swynnerton (1844-1933), whom Herringham commissioned to paint her children (**fig. 5**). Herringham's use of shades of pink and purple is similar to those seen in Swynnerton's *Italian Landscape* (**fig. 79**) and *The Olive Gatherers* (1889, oil on canvas, Manchester Art Gallery).

### CATALOGUE NO. 142 [2019.64]

Europe: Norman Arch and Steps

Pencil and watercolour on paper, 238 x 193 mm

INSCRIPTION: verso t: Whole W[illegible] [illegible] only 2 - [illegible]; l [sideways] 40 [illegible]

This Norman arch appears to be merging with the surrounding landscape. Vines and plants cling around the arch's edges, while the stone steps are painted in shades of brown and green which blend into each other, suggesting the architecture is being reclaimed by nature. Herringham's choice of subject reflects her interest in preserving architecture and her membership of SPAB.

---

<sup>253</sup> John Ruskin, 'Modern Painters: Volume I,' (1843) in *Works*, vol. 3 (1903), 118.

<sup>254</sup> *Ibid*, 425.

**CATALOGUE NO. 143 [2019.54]**

Europe: Rooftops and Mountains

Pencil and watercolour on paper, 188 [irr.] x 331 mm

This unfinished work depicts a mountain landscape in the background, completed in fresh shades of blue and green. The unfinished rooftops of the nearby town, with a baroque domed cathedral, are painted in contrasting, earthy shades of brown.

**CATALOGUE NO. 144 [2019.39]**

Europe: Shepherds and their Flock, Walking Towards a Church

Pencil and watercolour on paper, 254 x 372 [irr.] mm

Shepherds lead their herd up a hill towards a domed and towered cathedral. Although it has not been possible to identify the subject of this watercolour, it was likely painted in the Alpine region of either Italy or Switzerland.

**CATALOGUE NO. 145 [P1557A]**

Europe: Spring Landscape with Orange Tree and Foreground Daisies

Pencil, watercolour and gouache on paper, 355 x 205 mm

EXHIBITIONS: *Tempera*, 1930; *Memorial Exhibition*, 1935 (13A – as *Mountains*)

The orange tree and daisies in the foreground of this work suggest the emergence of spring. These bursts of colour contrast with the monochrome brown trees in the background, behind which lie a dark blue mountain and sky.

A letter in Royal Holloway's archives reveals that this work was one of two lent by Bedford College to the exhibition organised by the Society of Mural Decorators and Painters in *Tempera* in 1930. It was lent along with a painting entitled *Marshland* – possibly *France: Aix les Bains (cat. no. 50)*.<sup>255</sup> Despite being lent as tempera paintings,

---

<sup>255</sup> Document dated 25 June 1930, RHUL Archives, BC AR/322/3/3.

Harry Morley, one of the organisers of the exhibition, believed both these works to be painted in watercolour.<sup>256</sup>

**CATALOGUE NO. 146 [2019.70]**

Europe: Stormy Landscape

Charcoal and watercolour on paper, 253 x 360 mm

INSCRIPTION: verso br: Tate Library stamp [purple ink]

This landscape, depicting stormy, grey skies over hilly landscape, was discovered in Herringham's portfolio. Nonetheless, it is unlikely that this work is by Herringham. The work's somewhat haphazard style, with broad and rapid brushstrokes is dissimilar to Herringham's own, which is characterised by its careful application of precise, small brushstrokes. It is possible it was completed by her husband or one of her sons and retained in her portfolio as a keepsake.<sup>257</sup>

**CATALOGUE NO. 147 [2019.51]**

Europe: Street with Sunflower and Figure

Watercolour on paper laid on card, 362 x 211 mm

INSCRIPTION: verso tl: [sideways] 20; br: Tate Library stamp [blue ink] / B 2 ¼; bc: 10 ¾ 1[4?] ¾

This work shows a sunny scene, looking down a small side street. Steep stairs lead from the street up into the houses and apartments above, while a potted plant and sunflower sit on a ledge. A small figure is perched on a step outside the houses. While not rendered in detail, they are clearly looking directly at Herringham as she draws the scene.

**CATALOGUE NO. 148 [2019.68]**

Europe: White Building Surrounded by Cliffs

Watercolour on paper, 264 [irr.] x 371 mm

---

<sup>256</sup> Harry Morley to the Principal of Bedford College [Geraldine Jebb], 27 June 1930, RHUL Archives, BC AR/322/3/2.

<sup>257</sup> Wilmot is known to have made his own attempts at art. In a letter to William Rothenstein in 1930 he remarked that he had 'become a painter in my old age'. WH to WR, 28 June 1930, UM:ML, B.27.F.30.

This watercolour was probably painted in the Alpine region of Europe, and depicts a white towered building, possibly a monastery. The building is surrounded by imposing cliffs, at the top of which sits a tiny white church.

**CATALOGUE NO. 149 [P1556]**

Europe: Winter Landscape with Lake and Mountains

Watercolour on paper, 240 x 415 mm

INSCRIPTIONS: verso r: [illegible] [sideways]; l: 2 [sideways]; c: 16 + 7 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>

This mountain landscape, possibly painted in Scotland, is much darker and gloomier than Herringham's other mountain landscapes (**cat. no. 140** and **141**). The work is painted almost entirely in shades of brown and dark blue. The stormy sky, foreboding mountains, and windswept trees contrast with the small white birds, flying over the lake in the centre of the scene.

**CATALOGUE NO. 150 [P1573]**

Great Britain: Trees Against a Wall

Watercolour on paper, 243 x 311 mm

This watercolour shows a row of trees against a stone wall. It was most likely painted in Britain, but it has not been possible to pinpoint the location.

**CATALOGUE NO. 151 [2019.52]**

Lake Scene

Watercolour and gouache on paper laid on card, 231 x 291 mm [image] 245 x 315 mm [card]

INSCRIPTION: verso br: Tate Library stamp [blue ink]

A light blue lake is depicted under a blue and purple sky. It is surrounded by brown and yellow hills and green and brown vegetation. The colours of the landscape suggest that it was made outside Europe. The choice of colour palette and looser brushstrokes are uncharacteristic of Herringham's style. It therefore seems likely that, although it was discovered in her portfolio, like **cat. no. 146**, Herringham did not paint this work.

**CATALOGUE NO. 152 [P1565]**

Landscape with Trees [unlocated]

**CATALOGUE NO. 153 [2019.102]**

Men Sitting under Arches

Pencil and watercolour on paper, 162 x 218 mm

INSCRIPTION: verso l: Do furniture / for worm [black ink] / Chloroform – [pencil] / Bleaching powder [black ink]; r: Clean the iron / pot boiler - / distemper[?] rug[?] / room - / take striped strips / off curtains. / packing pipes / pantry / water / Corner dry area [pencil] / Mr Spielmann / 12 o clock / Wednesday morning [black ink]

It is unknown where and when Herringham made this work, although the architecture and the figures' clothing suggest it was drawn outside of Europe, probably in either Egypt or India. It is unusual among Herringham's works for its inclusion of non-western people. However, Herringham's use of the same shades of brown and white throughout the work, and the lack of detail on the figures, ensures that the architecture remains the main focus of the work.

The housekeeping notes on the reverse of the work are also unusual, as Herringham rarely reused paper in this way. They offer an insight into Herringham's domestic life. The Mr Spielmann which Herringham has noted she will be meeting is most likely Isidore Spielmann (1854-1925) who sat with Herringham on the executive committee of the National Art Collections Fund.<sup>258</sup> The other notes serve as a to-do list, presumably to be completed before she left on her trip. Letters sent from Wilmot to his sister on the eve of their first trip to India reveal the amount of preparation involved: 'Half the furniture appears to be stacked in my study, and the packing up of precious things has been endless. But besides this ... Chrissie is of course in the thick of innumerable pieces of business, and has been writing about a dozen letters every night, and interviewing the same number of people by day.'<sup>259</sup> She even wrote to Wilmot's sister to ensure that their servants would

---

<sup>258</sup> Lago, *Christiana Herringham*, 81.

<sup>259</sup> WH to 'Midgy' [Mary Herringham], 5 November 1906, UM:ML, B.27.F.30.

be taken care of in the event of their death in India; an idea, Wilmot wrote, 'which cheers us all.'<sup>260</sup>

## **MISCELLANEOUS STUDIES**

### **CATALOGUE NO. 154 [2019.29]**

Diagram of Panels with Inscriptions

Pencil on paper, 203 x 252 mm

INSCRIPTION: tl: Very important in inlaid woodwork / to have similar patterns, inlaid light / on dark & dark on light; tr: Whole panel A. raised / Whole panel C sunk except edge moulding; top image clockwise: R A ; bottom image clockwise: x B x x C ; under image: x. lower level as B - ; bc: Tate Library stamp [purple ink]

These studies of two panels appear to include a hinge (on image A) and a fastening (on image C). The sketches and the accompanying notes suggest that Herringham was attempting to understand how to create panels, potentially for her own work. It corresponds to the beliefs of those involved with the Arts and Crafts Movement and the British Tempera Revival that artists should attempt to engage with every step of the artistic process.

### **CATALOGUE NO. 155 [2019.27]**

Sketch of Floral Detail

Pencil on paper, 176 x 224 mm

INSCRIPTION: verso br: Tate Library stamp [purple ink]

This study of floral decoration, which has a large water stain on the right, is possibly taken from a carpet pattern. Herringham is known to have collected several 'oriental' rugs. Between October 1908 and May 1909 she also wrote a series of articles for *The Burlington* discussing the patterns found in carpets of different cultures. She explained that while many people possess Eastern rugs, 'we pay little attention to them as fragments from that

---

<sup>260</sup> WH to Mary Herringham, 7 November 1906, UM:ML, B.27.F.30.

life which sought to find and express beauty and distinction, and still less as being linked by their design into the universal world development of pattern which we are finding more and more to have an unbroken organic continuity.'<sup>261</sup>

**CATALOGUE NO. 156 [2019.26]**

Sketches of Floral Detail

Pencil on paper, 158 x 202 mm

INSCRIPTION: verso br: Tiles - Powell's / Tate Library stamp [blue ink]

The inscription on the back of this paper suggests that these three studies are likely taken from tiles produced by James Powell & Sons of Whitefriars. The firm was especially renowned for producing stained glass, but also manufactured glass tiles, mosaics and glassware. The firm was particularly associated with the Gothic Revival and the Arts and Crafts Movement; Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Ford Madox Brown and Edward Burne-Jones all designed for the firm until the formation of Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co. in 1861 (later Morris & Co.).<sup>262</sup>

**CATALOGUE NO. 157 [2019.88]**

Study of Architectural Decoration

Pencil on paper, 385 x 283 mm [irr.]

INSCRIPTION: verso tl: Tate Library stamp [purple ink] [upside down]

It is unknown where or when Herringham made this study, but it further demonstrates her interest in recording the craftsmanship of architectural decoration.

**CATALOGUE NO. 158 [2019.85]**

Study of Carved Decoration

Pencil on paper, 250 x 201 mm

INSCRIPTION: verso br: Tate Library stamp [purple ink]

---

<sup>261</sup> Christiana J. Herringham, 'Notes on Oriental Carpet Patterns,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 14:67 (1908): 28.

<sup>262</sup> Charles Harvey and Jon Press, *William Morris: Design and Enterprise in Victorian Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), 41.

These side-by-side studies appear to show segments of carved decoration. Although it is unknown where Herringham made these studies, they could have been taken from a frame, some furniture, or a piece of architecture.

**CATALOGUE NO. 159 [2019.69]**

Study of Church Arches and Windows

Pencil and watercolour on paper, 223 x 178 [irr.] mm

Church windows can be spied through the Gothic arches in this work. Although this watercolour is far from finished, when it was discovered in 2014, it was held in a large mount. This suggests that Herringham intended to display this work.

**CATALOGUE NO. 160 [2019.99]**

Study of Column(?) with Floral Decoration

Pencil on paper, 250 [irr. as paper creased] x 202 mm

INSCRIPTION: verso bm: Tate Library stamp [purple ink]

Herringham possibly made this study of floral decoration from a column.

**CATALOGUE NO. 161 [2019.82]**

Study of Decoration

Pencil on paper, 250 [irr. due to paper creased] x 202 mm

INSCRIPTION: verso bl: Tate Library stamp [purple ink]; br: faint Tate Library stamp [purple ink]

This study of foliage is possibly a study of a frame. Herringham may have made a study of an existing frame as inspiration for her own work, or she may have been inventing her own design.

**CATALOGUE NO. 162 [2019.94]**

Study of Decoration, c.1895-1911

Pencil on paper, 444 x 289 [irr.] mm

INSCRIPTION: verso bl: [two symbols]; bc: [one symbol]; br: Tate Library stamp [purple ink]

The paper's watermark (O.W.P & A.O.L) indicates that Herringham made this study after 1895 (see **cat. no. 48**). Given the inclusion of religious symbols such as the swastika and a Buddhist wheel, it likely dates from towards the end of Herringham's career, when she became interested in Eastern religions and cultures. The study of the floral decoration, the inclusion of religious symbols, and the small study of a key pattern suggest they were research for her articles on 'Oriental Carpet Patterns', published in *The Burlington* between 1908 and 1909.

### **CATALOGUE NO. 163 [2019.30]**

Study of Decoration (Frame?)

Pencil on paper, 251 x 203 mm

INSCRIPTION: tl: Tate Library stamp [purple ink] [upside down]; cr: crown Imperial [line pointing to sketch]; b: all equally raised / about  $\frac{3}{16}$  in . ivory - ground so thin as to be bluish / fastened with [illegible word] -

This elaborate decorated foliage, which Herringham has noted is of crown imperial flowers, is perhaps a study of a frame. Herringham possibly made this study and notes with the intention of creating a frame, as Herringham is known to have designed the frame for her copy of Botticelli's *Calumny* (current location unknown) and presented her copy of Cosmè Tura's *Madonna and Child* in an almost-exact replica of the original frame (**cat. no. 4**).<sup>263</sup> While Herringham may have designed some of her frames, she probably would have commissioned someone else to undertake the making of the frame.

### **CATALOGUE NO. 164 [2019.96]**

Studies of Decoration and Columns

Pencil on paper, 617 [approx.] x 253 [irr.] mm

INSCRIPTION: verso br: Tate Library stamp [purple ink]

---

<sup>263</sup> *Society of Painters in Tempera: First Exhibition: June 1905* (London: Carfax & Co., 1905), 16.

On the top half of this paper, which was folded in half, is a detailed study of a pattern with a leaf and interweaving vines. On the bottom half, Herringham has begun to draw a set of columns.

**CATALOGUE NO. 165 [2019.92]**

Study of Decorative Creature

Pencil on paper, 268 x 181 mm [irr.]

INSCRIPTION: right of image: about 12 or 13 in[?] / long -; verso br: Tate Library stamp [purple ink]

This decorative creature – perhaps a dragon – is possibly a door knocker. Herringham’s depiction of this small, decorative detail reflects her interest in the Arts and Crafts Movement, which taught that everything should have a purpose and be beautiful.

**CATALOGUE NO. 166 [2019.28]**

Studies of Floral Patterns (recto); Studies of Arch, Leaves and Stems, and Decoration with Lion’s Head (verso)

Pencil and pen on paper (recto); pencil on paper (verso), 158 x 204 mm

INSCRIPTION: verso br: Tate Library stamp [blue ink]

Herringham has made various studies of decorative details on both sides of this paper. There are studies of floral border patterns on the front of the paper, and more studies on the reverse, including a more detailed drawing of carved decoration with a lion’s head, possibly taken from a doorway or frame.

Both this work and **cat. no. 156** were drawn on paper with the watermark: ‘Hieratica / (a Vegetable Parchment) / J S & Co’. J. Simmons and Co. was a prominent booksellers and stationers throughout much of the nineteenth century and the ‘Hieratica’ paper was trademarked from at least 1875.<sup>264</sup> It was advertised as ‘The Ancient Writing Paper of the Priests’, rather than as a sketching paper.<sup>265</sup>

---

<sup>264</sup> K. S. Painter, ‘A Roman Christian Silver Treasure from Biddulph, Staffordshire,’ *The Antiquaries Journal* 55:1 (March 1975): 63.

<sup>265</sup> ‘Multiple Advertisements and Notices,’ *The Standard*, 3 November 1881.

**CATALOGUE NO. 167 [2019.93]**

Study of Furniture, c.1896

Pencil on paper, 288 x 228 mm

INSCRIPTION: top of image: six flowers and a leaf / each end; bottom of image: 12; verso  
br: Tate Library stamp [purple ink]

It is unknown where Herringham made this study, which appears to be of a piece of furniture in the Arts and Crafts style. The paper's watermark reads: '... KEY MILL 1896 B'. This suggests Herringham made this study about 1896, and that the paper was produced at the Turkey Mill by J. Whatman.

**CATALOGUE NO. 168 [2019.84]**

Studies of Two Border Patterns

Pencil on paper, 250 x 201 mm

INSCRIPTION: bl: Sleeman[?] - / Strachey - / Hindoo manners & Customs; verso br: Tate  
Library stamp [purple ink]

The study on the left of this paper is formed of interlocking lotus flowers, while a scroll pattern can be seen on the right. The inscriptions on this work are probably references to books on India which Herringham planned to consult. 'Sleeman' could be a reference to Sir William Henry Sleeman (1788-1856), a British soldier and administrator, while 'Strachey' is likely to be the British civil servant, Sir John Strachey (1823-1907). Both men wrote works on India. Herringham's note of 'Hindoo manners & Customs' is possibly alluding to Jean Antoine Dubois' work, *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, first published in English in 1816, and revised in 1897. These references highlight Herringham's attempts to gain a fuller understanding of Indian culture. Although these titles are not present in Herringham's book collection, she owned several books on similar topics (**see Appendix II**).

**CATALOGUE NO. 169 [2019.22]**

Two Composite Elephants in Combat (recto); Study of Interlocking Border (verso)

Pencil, ink and white pigment on tracing paper (recto); pencil and ink on tracing paper (verso), 194 x 253 mm

INSCRIPTION: verso br: Tate Library stamp [purple ink]

This tracing, perhaps from a book, shows two winged figures, known in Persian mythology as peris, riding elephants which are engaged in combat. The bodies of the elephants are composed of various different animals and people. Both the National Gallery of Victoria in Melbourne and the British Museum hold similar works depicting fighting composite elephants, although the riders in these works are demons (see **fig. 80** and **81**).

This tracing reflects Herringham's interest in Indian fine art, as well as its crafts and architecture. This interest is also demonstrated by her collection of a number of Indian miniatures, now in the collection at Royal Holloway (**see Appendix I**).

## Conclusion

It wouldn't much matter ~~to me~~ really if my life were not of much account for the future—I have done a good deal—perhaps as much as is wanted of me.<sup>1</sup>

In 1911, Herringham could be said to have reached the high point of her career. She had become a well-respected name in the art world; her judgement was respected, and she was gaining recognition and praise for her work at Ajanta. In January she told Wilmot: 'I feel as young and strong in this open air life as I ever have felt at all.'<sup>2</sup> However, when she saw Rothenstein in Bombay a few weeks later, he found that 'the state of her health alarmed me. She had overworked, as women will, and the long hours in the close bat-haunted Ajanta courts had done her grave harm.'<sup>3</sup> By the time she returned from India in April 1911, it was clear that she was on the verge of a serious mental breakdown. She believed that the Ajanta copies were in danger and that someone would take advantage of the supposed fire 'curse' and destroy them like the previous copies.<sup>4</sup> Herringham became convinced that she was being watched and followed and refused to leave the house alone. Lashing out at her friends, she thought that she was being conspired against, accusing the Rothensteins' parlour maid of passing information to 'malicious people about my whereabouts'.<sup>5</sup> She claimed she had offended the Indian people by trespassing on the sacred temples at Ajanta and copying the frescoes. Believing that 'seditious Indians' had sent spies to capture her, she feared that suicide was the only escape.<sup>6</sup>

On 19 June 1911, she was admitted to Barnwood House Institution, a private mental asylum in Gloucestershire, under an urgency order signed by her husband and her brother, Herbert. On her admittance, she was diagnosed as being 'the subject of systematised delusional insanity associated with marked depression.'<sup>7</sup> Over the following weeks, the delusions persisted. She was insistent of the danger in her letters to

---

<sup>1</sup> CH to WH, 21 June 1911, UM:ML, B.27.F.33.

<sup>2</sup> CH to WH, 31 January 1911, UM:ML, B.27.F.33.

<sup>3</sup> William Rothenstein, *Men and Memories: Recollections of William Rothenstein, 1900-1922* (London: Faber & Faber Limited, 1931), 254.

<sup>4</sup> The copies from the previous projects by Major Robert Gill and John Griffiths were largely destroyed in fires after their arrival in England. CH to WH, [2 March 1911], UM:ML, B.27.F.33.

<sup>5</sup> CH to WR, [early June 1911], UM:ML, B.27.F.31.

<sup>6</sup> Copy of Herringham's medical notes, UM:ML, B.28.F.2.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

Wilmot, writing, 'If the people are as persistent as they seemed they can easily get me here.'<sup>8</sup> She believed that if they could not capture her, they would target her family instead: 'I am driven nearly wild with the indications that you and Geoffrey are threatened in some way.'<sup>9</sup> Despite remaining at Barnwood House for the next two years, her condition was 'not improved' when she was discharged on 30 April 1913, and she was transferred to the Priory Hospital at Roehampton. It is unclear why Wilmot had her moved; perhaps he was unsatisfied with her progress or wanted her closer to home.

At the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, Geoffrey was sent with his regiment to the Front. When he was killed in action at Messines on 31 October 1914, Herringham failed to comprehend his death.<sup>10</sup> She also seemed unaware that she became Lady Herringham when Wilmot was knighted in the same year. During the war, Wilmot moved her away from London and the threat of air raids to St George's Retreat in Burgess Hill, West Sussex. He continued to visit her and often found her occupied with reading or needlework but disinterested in art.<sup>11</sup> She also showed little interest in women's suffrage; another sign of how her illness diminished her character. Few records survive of the following years. In 1915, she wrote to Wilmot asking how she could transfer to him the ownership of all her property. The letter was erroneously dated, and she had originally written 40 Wimpole Street as her address, before correcting herself. Nonetheless, the letter was the first Wilmot had received from her in a long time and appeared lucid. It gave him hope she would recover, 'But it was only a flicker.'<sup>12</sup> Herringham died at St George's Retreat on 25 February 1929, at the age of seventy-six. Following her death, Wilmot wrote, 'I miss her very much, but her spirit is released from its chain.'<sup>13</sup>

\*\*\*

---

<sup>8</sup> CH to WH, 24 June 1911, UM:ML B.27.F.33

<sup>9</sup> CH to WH, 30 June 1911, UM:ML B.27.F.33.

<sup>10</sup> WH to 'Mrs Jo', 14 and 22 February 1915, UM:ML, B.27.F.30. Geoffrey served in the 6<sup>th</sup> (Inniskilling) Dragoons from 1906, and was promoted to Captain in 1910, serving alongside Captain Lawrence Oates (1880-1912). His body was never recovered; his name is inscribed on the Menin Gate, Ypres, Panel 5. Paul Chapman, *Menin Gate North: In Memory and Mourning* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 2016), 30.

<sup>11</sup> Mary Lago, *Christiana Herringham and the Edwardian Art Scene* (London: Lund Humphries, 1996), 242.

<sup>12</sup> Wilmot Herringham noted on the reverse of this letter that although she had dated it 1914, he recalled receiving it while at the Front in 1915. CH to WH, 9 April [1915], UM:ML B.27.F.35.

<sup>13</sup> WH to Lilian Baylis, 3 March 1929, University of Bristol, Theatre Collection, OV/LB/75.

This thesis has used Christiana Herringham's artworks to gain an insight into her life; it is the first extensive study of Herringham to utilise a primarily art historical perspective. It has provided an understanding of how some women, and one woman in particular, were able to overcome societal expectations and barriers in order to successfully pursue a career that spanned a variety of roles: artist, connoisseur, organiser, patron. Herringham's success in all of these fields was due to a combination of advantages provided by her background, wealth, and her own determination. Herringham benefited in her artistic career from the work of a previous generation of women who had fought for greater opportunities. In other cases, such as her career as an art writer, she was aided by the flexibility of the art historical discipline, as the field's boundaries and entry requirements had yet to be fully set in stone.

Using Herringham and her artworks as a case study has enabled this thesis to answer a number of research questions relating to women artists at the *fin de siècle*. Her sketches and paintings reveal that, despite the advantages gained by women artists in the course of the nineteenth century, there remained numerous obstacles to equal opportunities and status, even at the beginning of the twentieth century. Studying an artist whose works fall into categories which have often been characterised as 'feminine' and therefore 'amateur' has allowed an analysis of subjects that have often been overlooked by art historians. Yet, the study of Herringham's works and her artistic career has also revealed the deficiencies of previous categories of analysis. They show that Herringham, like many other women artists, cannot neatly fit into the category of either amateur or professional, but rather traverses the two categories. It has been a consistent theme throughout this thesis that the boundaries between 'professional' and 'amateur' are not always clear-cut or static. In terms of women's work, professional status is often difficult to define.

Placing Herringham at the centre of the study of the British Tempera Revival has shone new light on the movement. Examining her translation of Cennini's treatise, her writings on the medium, and her role within the Society of Painters in Tempera, has revealed the extent to which Herringham shaped the movement. It has also highlighted the prominent role that women played in the movement. By analysing Herringham's tempera paintings it has been possible to uncover the techniques of the revivalists. In particular, it has

revealed that Herringham's artistic technique closely adhered to both Cennini's teachings and her own writings on the medium. While she observed the ancient methods as advised by Cennini, she was not tied to tradition, and was willing to adopt more modern materials and techniques if she believed them to be superior. Although it was not within the scope of this thesis, future research could consider more widely the materials used by the artists of the British Tempera Revival. The Society's exhibition catalogues reveal a combination of different tempera techniques including, in some cases, mass produced paints, such as those by Haase and Brandt.<sup>14</sup> A wider analysis, which more closely examines the materials and techniques employed by the exhibitors, could therefore answer some significant questions, including: were all of the artists as dedicated to craftsmanship as Herringham?

Studying Herringham's paintings and studies alongside her writings has unveiled how Herringham's art historical research was principally object-based. This approach has additionally shown that her texts and artworks were largely intertwined in their focus, influence, and motivations. Analysing these two types of sources alongside each other and taking them in conjunction with the work of other contemporary writers, reveals how Herringham's artworks can be considered an act of conservation. Her representations of churches and cathedrals, much like her copies of the Ajanta frescoes, were part of an attempt to preserve Europe's heritage, which was widely believed to be at risk of destruction. Furthermore, by utilising Herringham as a case study, this investigation has revealed how women could contribute to the newly-emerging field of art writing at the turn of the twentieth century, despite a lack of formal training.

Finally, Herringham's Ajanta project has provided important insight into the changing cultural relations between Britain and India at the beginning of the twentieth century, as she attempted to promote a more progressive narrative of India's art history. Yet, an examination of Herringham's Indian travels has also shown how a woman, with no official or institutional power, could still possess dominance over a colonised population, due to her race and class. Despite Herringham's aim to publicise the importance and worth of Indian art to the rest of the world, she continued to hold an Orientalised image of the

---

<sup>14</sup> See, for example: *Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition of Modern Paintings in Tempera from April 15 to June 1, 1901* (London: Leighton House, 1901), 16.

country. This wider cultural discourse impacted her own watercolours and photographs of the country, revealing how even those people considered forward-thinking and liberal were influenced by the preconceptions of their time. Both her watercolours and her Ajanta copies provide an insight into how the sights and culture of India were interpreted through western eyes, while her photographs reveal the imperialist lens through which colonised people were viewed.

The creation of the catalogue raisonné means that there now exists a single source which contains all of the factual information about the Herringham Collection. This research will also be made available via Royal Holloway's web-based collections' database, making it easily accessible to researchers. The inclusion of details such as medium and the size of the works will be advantageous for conservators and for those seeking to borrow works by Herringham. The process of compiling the catalogue has involved the identification of the works' subjects and undertaking primary research in order to explore the cultural context in which they were made. The research has also uncovered inaccuracies about some of the works, including those which were made by Herringham herself. One such example is **cat. no. 74**, which Herringham had identified as being the cloisters of St Trophime in France. However, the work actually depicts the cloisters of the Basilica of San Paolo Fuori le Mura in Rome. The research undertaken for the catalogue helped to reveal a fuller picture of Herringham's life and her approach to her work. It made clear themes which appear in her art, such as the connections of many of her subjects to ongoing debates surrounding heritage and restoration.

A persistent theme throughout this thesis has been the influence of earlier artistic philosophies and movements on Herringham's work. In particular, the influence of Pre-Raphaelitism can be discerned in her studies of flowers and nature, her tempera copies, as well as the careful attention to detail that is visible in all of her works. Additionally, the beliefs of William Morris and the Arts and Crafts Movement were impressed upon Herringham from a young age, due to her father's patronage of the movement. The influence of this movement can be seen in her studies of architecture, her emphasis on craftsmanship in her tempera paintings, and her strong beliefs in the importance of preserving heritage. However, most prominent and persistent is the influence of John Ruskin. His presence towers over much of Herringham's work. From her flower studies

that follow the Ruskinian directive to 'go to Nature' and her careful observations of Italian architecture, to her devotion to art produced before oil's corrupting influence, the spirit of Ruskin is present. Furthermore, it must be remembered that this influence was not entirely one-way. Roger Fry's and Mary Sargant Florence's claims that it was Herringham who opened Ruskin's eyes to the beauty and possibilities of tempera demonstrate that she also had an impact on his work and outlook.

Exploring Herringham's life through her art has revealed the multifaceted nature of her outlook. As a progressive, independent woman, who strongly believed in the advancement of women's social and political rights, she strove to improve her work by attending life drawing classes; she undertook extensive research to ensure her writings were as thorough and accurate as possible; and she was instrumental in a number of forward-thinking societies, including the India Society and the Women's Guild of Arts. Yet, much of her artistic perspective was based on looking to the past for inspiration for the future. Her involvement in the British Tempera Revival, her concerns for Europe's architectural heritage, and her attempts to encourage an appreciation of Indian art all involved a rejection of modern, industrial society, and a return to ancient methods and techniques. Her perspective was likely partially shaped by her upbringing, as her family had significant connections to the Arts and Crafts Movement. Her eclectic artistic approach could also be considered a consequence of her gender. Women artists were perhaps more likely and willing to experiment, such as by working with tempera, as a consequence of being denied entry to those organisations associated with the establishment.

Although this thesis has engaged with many of the major themes in Herringham's life, there have been some areas that it has not been possible to include. As this thesis primarily draws upon the collection of her works at Royal Holloway and Bedford New College, elements of her life that are not represented in the collection have not been explored in detail. Suffrage was a significant part of Herringham's life, but there is only one work by her in the collections that directly relates to this theme (**cat. no. 18**). Additionally, there are many gaps in the available primary sources connecting to Herringham's involvement with suffrage. For example, a lack of records concerning the Artists' Suffrage League has meant that it has not been possible to ascertain Herringham's

exact role within the organisation. However, considering Herringham's numerous and long-standing work for the movement, it may be possible for future researchers to build on and more fully understand this aspect of Herringham's life. Research into the connections between Herringham's artistic and suffrage work could add to a growing body of literature on suffragist and suffragette artists by researchers such as Rosie Broadley, Chloe Ward, and Lucy Ella Rose.<sup>15</sup>

Herringham's own art collection could be another potential avenue for future research and in particular to consider Herringham as an anthropologist. This thesis has discussed how Herringham's photographs of India reflect an anthropological desire to record and categorise the population. However, there has not been the scope within this thesis to consider how her photography connects to Herringham's wider attempts to take possession of other cultures. Herringham built up an impressive collection of paintings, bronzes, weapons, carpets, and dress from countries including India, China, Japan, and the region of North Africa. Her collection went beyond Japonisme and Aestheticism; she also collected Indian fine art, which had yet to be appreciated by western audiences. Many of these items survive in the collections at Royal Holloway (see **Appendix I**) and Newnham College. One of the questions that further study could explore is the extent to which this collection further complicates the discussion surrounding Herringham and imperialism.

Only one of the works in the collection appears to date from after Herringham's admittance to an asylum in June 1911 and therefore this thesis has not examined Herringham's life from this point in any detail. However, Herringham's last years could provide an interesting case study for historians of psychiatry and mental health. The final eighteen years of Herringham's life were divided between three asylums and spanned the period of before, during, and after the First World War. What was the impact of the growing acknowledgement of the psychological effects of war – which Wilmot witnessed

---

<sup>15</sup> See: Rosie Broadley, 'Painting Suffragettes: Portraits and the Militant Movement,' and Chloe Ward, 'Images of Empathy: Representations of Force Feeding in *Votes for Women*,' in *Suffrage and the Arts: Visual Culture, Politics and Enterprise*, eds. Miranda Garrett and Zoë Thomas (London: Bloomsbury, 2019), 159-84 and 249-72; Lucy Ella Rose, *Suffragist Artists in Partnership: Gender, Word and Image* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017).

and treated first-hand – on the treatment of civilians’ mental health?<sup>16</sup> However, once again, the obstacle of sources would need to be overcome. There are very few known records for the Priory Hospital. The Wellcome Collection holds what is currently the only known surviving casebook for the hospital, which includes records of patients admitted from 1905-09. Herringham, who was admitted in 1913, is therefore not included. Few records also appear to survive from St George’s Retreat.

Adopting a gendered approach has perhaps been an inevitable result of a project which seeks to recover a female figure from oblivion and return her to the art historical canon and public consciousness. It is hoped that additionally engaging with literature from the fields of postcolonial and gender studies has resulted in a study which is more than a mere profile of an extraordinary woman, but rather one that also considers the significance of race, class, age, and familial context in a woman’s access to power. It has uncovered how one remarkable woman fought against, succeeded, but was also sometimes defeated, in her pursuit of an artistic career. Furthermore, it has demonstrated how Herringham was far from the only woman at this time who was striving for achievement and recognition, as women played a key role in the shaping of both Britain and India’s cultural heritage at the turn of the twentieth century. While Herringham’s mental illness may have contributed to her being largely forgotten, this thesis has attempted to bring Herringham out of the shadows, and into the light.

---

<sup>16</sup> See: Wilmot Herringham, *A Physician in France* (London: Edward Arnold, 1919).

**Appendix I. Works Purchased and Commissioned by  
Christiana Herringham in the Collection at Royal  
Holloway**

**BRITISH ART:**

P0400

Ethel Webling, *Geoffrey and Christopher Herringham*, c.1887

Pencil and pastel on paper mounted on card, 413 x 511 mm

P1280

Margaret Gere, *The Garden of the Slothful*, c.1901

Tempera on silk, 260 x 260 mm

P1367

Annie Swynnerton, *Geoffrey and Christopher Herringham*, 1889

Oil on canvas, 1132 x 1132 mm

P1574

Bertha Newcombe, *Church with Trees*, 1910

Watercolour on paper, 202 x 271 mm

**CHINESE AND JAPANESE ART:**

P0455A

Japanese School, *Sabba and Ogee, Japanese Fish*

Woodblock print

P0455B

Japanese School, *Tush, Japanese Fish*

Woodblock print

P0455C

Japanese School, *Namadze, Japanese Fish*

Woodblock print

P0520

Utagawa Hiroshige, *One of 69 stations of Kisokaido, c.1834-42?*

Woodblock print

[unlocated]

P0706

Kitagawa Utamaro, *Okita of the Naniwaya Teahouse, c.1793*

Woodblock print with mica

P0742

Japanese School, *Amadia, Japanese Fish*

Woodblock print

P0743

Japanese School, *Kanagushua, Japanese Fish*

Woodblock print

P0983

Kitagawa Utamaro, *Japanese Warrior with Demons* [missing?]

Woodblock print

P0984

Japanese School, *Geisha on a Pleasure Boat*

Woodblock print

P1015

Utagawa Hiroshige, *Two Figures by a River*, early-mid 19<sup>th</sup> century

Woodblock print

P1016

Utagawa Kunisada, *Two Figures in Interior*, early-mid 19<sup>th</sup> century

Woodblock print

P1017

Japanese School, *Kingfisher and Flowers*

Woodblock print

P1018

Japanese School, *Monkeys in a Peach Tree*

Woodblock print

P1019

Japanese School, *Mole Startling Bird*

Woodblock print

P1063

Chinese School, *Figures on Horseback*

Possibly watercolour on silk

P1064

Chinese School, *Figures on Horseback*

Possibly watercolour on silk

**INDIAN AND PERSIAN MINIATURES:**

P0503

Rajasthan School, *The musical mode, 'Bhairava ragini' – a woman worshipping the Hindu god Shiva*, c.1700

Watercolour on paper

P0504

Mughal School, *Portrait of a Mughal Courtier*, c.1610

Watercolour and gold on paper

P0505

Deccan School, *The Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb 'Alamgir (r. 1658-1707) receiving a petition from a courtier*, c.1700-20

Watercolour on paper

P0506

Jaipur School, *A Queen Seated on a Balcony and Watching a Performance Below*, mid-late 18<sup>th</sup> century

Watercolour on paper

P0507

Kangra School, *The Evening Dance of Shiva from the 'Sivapradosa Stotra'*, late 18<sup>th</sup> century

Watercolour and gold on paper

P0508

Mughal School, *Samsam ud-Daula Khan Dauran, Chief Paymaster in the Mughal administrative system during the reign of Mughal Emperor Muhammad Shah (r. 1719-48)*, c.1720s

Watercolour and gold on paper

P0509

Indian miniature, *Portrait of a Moghul Courtier*, c.1615-20

Watercolour and gold on paper

P0510

Possibly Amber or Jaipur School, *The musical mode, 'Bhairava ragini' – a woman worshipping the Hindu god Shiva*, c.1690

Watercolour on paper

P0511

Jodhpur School, *A ruler of Marwar (Jodhpur, Rajasthan), possibly Maharaja Bakhat Singh of Mawar*, c. mid-18<sup>th</sup> century

Watercolour on paper

P0512

Mughal School, *Portrait of man with ornate gold borders*, c.1610-20

Watercolour and gold on paper

P0513

Mughal School, ascribed to the artist Nupkar, *Picture of the courtier Mirza Muhammad son of Gojar Beg the foster brother of Begum Sahib*, c.1640-80

Watercolour and gold on paper

P1011

Deccan School, *Portrait of a Mughal Officer*, c. late 17<sup>th</sup> century

Watercolour on paper

P1012

Mughal School, *A Princess and her Attendants on a Terrace*, c.1720-50

Watercolour on paper

P1013

Mughal School, *A Prince with his Companion Seated on a Terrace*, c.1700

Watercolour on paper

P1014

Possibly Iranian Shiraz School, *Palace Scene*, 16<sup>th</sup> century

Watercolour on paper

P1030

Okumnara(?), *Figure in Black and Gold Kimono*

Woodblock print

P1031

Indian Miniature, *Princely Hunt*, c.1740

Watercolour on paper

P1032

European school in the Mughal style (possibly Christiana Herringham?), *A Holy Man with a Musician*, possibly early 20<sup>th</sup> century

Watercolour on paper

P1643 [framed with P1643A]

Hyderabad (in the Deccan) School, Indian Miniature, *Chand Bibi Hawking on Horseback*, 1750-1800

Watercolour on paper

P1643A

Hyderabad (in the Deccan) School, *Three ladies on a terrace*, mid-18<sup>th</sup> century

Watercolour on paper

**DECORATIVE ART:**

There were previously many other items in this part of the collection at Bedford College which are now unlocated. Many items, including a chest containing 'oriental curios' were lost before the merger with Royal Holloway, while other items were sold.<sup>995</sup>

DB2018.54

Chinese, *Sage seated on an ox*, 18<sup>th</sup> century

Bronze with gilding

DB2014.118

Sword, date unknown

Metal

---

<sup>995</sup> For more details, see files in Royal Holloway Archives, BC AR/322.

## **Appendix II. The Herringham Book Collection at Royal Holloway**

- A Book of Songs and Poems from the Old Testament and the Apocrypha.* London: London: Ashendene Press, 1904.
- Addison, Joseph. *The Poetical Works of Mark Akenside: With the Life of the Author.* Edinburgh: Apollo Press, 1778.
- Akenside, Mark. *The Poetical Works of Mark Akenside: With the Life of the Author.* Edinburgh: Apollo Press, 1781.
- Allen, John Romily. *Celtic Art in Pagan and Christian Times.* London: Methuen and Co., 1904.
- Amoni, Leopoldo, ed. *Leggenda di S. Francesco di Assisi: scritta dalli suoi compagni che tuttora conversavano con lu.* Rome: Monaldi, 1880.
- Anatha Dasa, *Vichara-Mala: A Philosophical Poem.* 1864.
- Armstrong, J. *The Poetical Works of John Armstrong, M.D.: With the Life of the Author.* Edinburgh: Apollo Press, 1781.
- Arnold, T. W. *The Preaching of Islam: A History of the Propagation of the Muslim Faith.* 2<sup>nd</sup> rev. ed. London: Constable, 1913.
- Arundel Club. *First Year's Publications. Photographs: Architectural.* London: 1904.
- Aubert, Marcel. *French Sculpture at the Beginning of the Gothic Period, 1140-1125.* Firenze: Pantheon, 1929.
- Bacon, Francis. *Of Gardens: An Essay.* London: Chiswick Press, 1903.
- Baring-Gould, S. *The Lives of the Saints*, 15 vols. London: Hodges, 1874-82.
- Baring-Gould, S. *The Lives of the Saints*, vol. 16. Rev. ed. London: Nimmo, 1898.
- Bashkirtseff, Marie. *Journal de Marie Bashkirtseff*, 2 vols. Paris: Charpentier, 1890.
- Bateson, W. *The Method and Scope of Genetics: An Inaugural Lecture Delivered 23 October 1908.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908.
- Bayet, Ch. *Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de la peinture et de la sculpture chrétiennes en Orient avant la querelle des iconoclastes.* Paris: E. Thorin, 1879.
- Beerbohm, Max. *The Poets' Corner.* London: Heinemann, 1904
- Berenson, Bernard. *The Venetian Painters of the Renaissance.* New York: Putnam, 1894.
- Berenson, Bernard. *Lorenzo Lotto: An Essay in Constructive Art Criticism.* New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1895.
- Berenson, Bernard. *The Florentine Painters of the Renaissance.* New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1899.
- Berenson, Bernard. *The Study and Criticism of Italian Art.* London: G. Bell, 1901.
- Berenson, Bernard. *The Central Italian Painters of the Renaissance.* New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1908.

- Berger, Ernst. *Beiträge zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Maltechnik: Erläuterungen zu den Versuchen zur Rekonstruktion der Maltechnik des Altertums bis zum Ausgang des römischen Reiches*, 3 vols. in 1. Munich: Callwey and C. Wolf, 1893-97.
- Besant, Annie H. *P. Blavatsky and the Masters of the Wisdom*. London: Theosophical Publishing Society, 1907.
- Biagi, Guido. *The Private Life of the Renaissance Florentines*. Florence: Bemporad, 1896.
- Billington, Mary Frances. *Woman in India*. London: Chapman & Hall, 1895.
- Binyon, Laurence and Thomas Walker Arnold. *The Court Painters of the Grand Moguls*. London: Oxford University Press, 1921.
- Blake, William. *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*. London: John Camden Hotten, 1868.
- Blanchet, Adrien and Fr. de Villenoisy. *Guide pratique de l'antiquaire*. Paris: E. Leroux, 1899.
- Bode, Mabel. *German Universities: A Review of Professor Paulsen's Work on the German University System*. London: King, 1905.
- Bose, Jagadis Chunder. *Comparative Electro-Physiology: A Physico-Physiological Study*. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1907.
- Bouchot, Henri. *L'exposition des Primitifs Français: La Peinture en France sous les Valois*. Paris: Librairie Centrale des Beaux-Arts, 1904-5.
- Brant, Sebastian. *Navis Stultifera*. Basel: Lamparter, 1507.
- Brassington, William Salt and John Hannett. *A History of the Art of Bookbinding: With Some Account of the Books of the Ancients: Illustrated with Numerous Engravings, and Photographic Reproductions of Ancient Bindings in Colour and Monotints*. London: E. Stock, 1894.
- Broome, William. *The Poetical Works of Dr William Broome: With the Life of the Author*. Edinburgh: Apollo Press, 1781.
- Brown, Edith M. *A Problem and its Solution*. London: Morgan & Scott, 1910[?].
- Brown, Robert. *The Great Dionysiak Myth*. London: Longmans, 1877.
- Buddhism: An Illustrated Quarterly Review*. 1903.
- Budge, E. A. Wallis. *A Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities*. London: British Museum, 1900.
- Bunyan, John. *The Holy War: Made by King Shaddai upon Diabolus*. London: Nelson, 1853.
- Bunyan, John and George Cheever. *The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to that which is to Come Delivered under the Similitude of a Dream*. London: Bogue, n.d.
- Burgess, James and George Bühler. *The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta in the Krishna District, Madras Presidency, Surveyed in 1882*. London: Trübner, 1887.
- Burgess, James. *The Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmadabad*, 2 vols. London: Bernard Quaritch; Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co; William Griggs & Sons, Limited, 1900-05.
- Bushell, Stephen W. *Chinese Art*. London: Wyman and Sons, 1904.

- Butler, Samuel. *The Poetical Works of Samuel Butler: With the Life of the Author*. Edinburgh: Apollo Press, 1777.
- Caldecott, Randolph. *Randolph Caldecott's "Graphic" Pictures*. London: George Routledge, 1891.
- Carroll, Lewis. *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. London: Macmillan and Co., 1887.
- Carroll, Lewis. *Through the Looking-Glass: And What Alice Found There*. London: Macmillan and Co., 1887.
- Cellini, Benvenuto. *The Life of Benvenuto Cellini*. Translated by John Addington Symonds. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: Nimmo, 1888.
- Celtic Ornaments from the Book of Kells Part VI*. London: Quaritch, 1894.
- Cennini, Cennino. *A Treatise on Painting: Written by Cennino Cennini in the Year 1437; and First Published in Italian in 1821, with an Introduction and Notes, by Signor Tambroni: Containing Practical Directions for Painting in Fresco, Secco, Oil, and Distemper, with the Art of Gilding and Illuminating Manuscripts Adopted by the Old Italian Masters*. Translated by Mary Philadelphia Merrifield. London: Edward Lumley 1844.
- Cennini, Cennino. *Traité de la Peinture de Cennino Cennini: Mis en Lumière pour la Première Fois avec des Notes*. Translated by Victor Mottez. Paris: J. Renouard, 1858.
- Cennini, Cennino. *Il libro dell'arte: o, Trattato della pittura*. Translated by Gaetano Milanesi and Carlo Milanesi. Firenze: F. Le Monnier, 1859.
- Cennini, Cennino. *Das Buch von der Kunst: oder Tractat der Malerei des Cennino Cennini da Colle di Valdelsa*. Translated by Albert Ilg. New ed. Vienna: W. Braumüller, 1888.
- Cennini, Cennino. *The Book of the Art of Cennino Cennini: A Contemporary Practical Treatise on Quattrocento Painting*. Translated by Christiana J. Herringham. London: George Allen, 1899.
- Chaucer, Geoffrey. *The Poetical Works of Geoffrey Chaucer: With the Life of the Author*. Edinburgh: Apollo Press, 1782.
- Christie, Archibald H. *Traditional Methods of Pattern Designing: An Introduction to the Study of the Decorative Art*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910.
- Churchill, Charles. *The Poetical Works of Charles Churchill: With the Life of the Author*. Edinburgh: Apollo Press, 1779.
- Cole, Henry Hardy. *Illustrations of Ancient Buildings in Kashmir*. London: India Museum, 1869.
- Coloma, P. Luis. *Pequeñeces*. 5<sup>th</sup> ed. Bilbao: 1892.
- Congreve, William. *The Poetical Works of William Congreve: With the Life of the Author*. Edinburgh: Apollo Press, 1778.
- Coomaraswamy, Ananda Kentish. *Selected Examples of Indian Art*. Campden: Essex House Press, 1910.
- Coomaraswamy, Ananda Kentish. *Indian Drawings: Second Series, Chiefly Rajput*. London: Old Bourne Press, 1912.

- Cowley, Abraham. *The Poetical Works of Abraham Cowley: With the Life of the Author*. Edinburgh: Apollo Press, 1777.
- Crowe, J. A. *The Early Flemish Painters: Notices of their Lives and Works*. London: John Murray, 1857.
- Crowe, J. A. *The Life and Times of Titian: With Some Account of his Family*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: John Murray, 1881.
- Cunningham, John. *The Poetical Works of John Cunningham: With the Life of the Author*. Edinburgh: Apollo Press, 1781.
- da Vinci, Leonardo. *A Treatise on Painting*. Translated by J. F. Riguard. London: J. Taylor, 1802.
- da Vinci, Leonardo. *Drawings by Leonardo da Vinci*. London: Grosvenor Gallery, 1878.
- Dalbon, Charles. *Les origines de la peinture à l'huile: étude historique et critique*. Paris: Perrin, 1904.
- Darwin, Charles. *The Foundations of the Origin of Species: A Sketch Written in 1842*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909.
- Das, Govinda. *Hinduism and India: A Retrospect and a Prospect*. Benares: Theosophical Publishing Society, 1908.
- Davids, T. W. Rhys. *Buddhism: Being a Sketch of the Life and Teachings of Gautama, the Buddha*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1878.
- Delattre, Alfred Louis Le R. P. *La nécropole punique de Douimès (à Carthage): fouilles de 1895 et 1896*. Paris: Daupeley-Gouverneur, 1897.
- Denham, John. *The Poetical Works of Sir John Denham: With the Life of the Author*. Edinburgh: Apollo Press, 1779.
- Devi, Svarna Kumari Srimati. *The Fatal Garland*. Translated by A. Christina Albers. Calcutta: Kuntaline, n.d.
- Didron, Adolphe Napoléon. *Christian Iconography: or, The History of Christian Art in the Middle Ages: vol. 1*. Translated by Ellen J. Millington. London: Bohn, 1851.
- Didron, Adolphe Napoléon. *Christian Iconography: or, The History of Christian Art in the Middle Ages: vol. 2*. Translated by Ellen J. Millington. London: G. Bell, 1891.
- Dilke, Emilia Francis Strong. *Art in the Modern State*. London: Chapman and Hall, 1888.
- Dillon, Wentworth. *The Poetical Works of Wentworth Dillon, Earl of Roscommon: With the Life of the Author*. Edinburgh: Apollo Press, 1780.
- Donne, John. *The Poetical Works of Dr John Donne, Dean of St. Paul's, London: With the Life of the Author*. Edinburgh: Apollo Press., 1779.
- Donovan, E. *An Epitome of the Natural History of the Insects of China*. London: T. Bensley, 1798.
- Donovan, E. *An Epitome of the Natural History of the Insects of India, and the Islands in the Indian Seas*. London: T. Bensley, 1800.
- Dryden, John. *The Poetical Works of John Dryden: With the Life of the Author*. Edinburgh: Apollo Press, 1778.

- Dyer, John. *The Poetical Works of John Dyer: With the Life of the Author*. Edinburgh: Apollo Press, 1779.
- Eastlake, Charles Lock. *Materials for a History of Oil Painting*. London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1847.
- Eckenstein, Lina. *Woman under Monasticism: Chapters on Saint-Lore and Convent Life between A.D. 500 and A.D. 1500*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1896.
- Edersheim, Alfred. *Jesus the Messiah: Being an Abridged Edition of The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: Longmans, 1890.
- Edinburgh Architectural Association and W. H. Goodyear. *Illustrated Catalogue of Photographs & Surveys of Architectural Refinements in Mediæval Buildings: Lent by the Brooklyn Museum of Arts and Sciences*. Edinburgh: Morrison and Gibb, 1905.
- Evans, Edward Payson. *Animal Symbolism in Ecclesiastical Architecture*. London: Heinemann, 1896.
- Evans, Rachel. *Home Scenes, or, Tavistock and its Vicinity*. London: Simpkin & Marshall, 1846.
- Evelyn. *Antichi pittori italiani: conversazioni artistiche illustrate per la gioventù*. Milan: Al. Solmi, 1905.
- Evelyn. *Impressioni artistiche*. Milan: Solmi, 1908.
- Examples of Celtic Ornament (Reduced) from the Book of Kells & Durrow*. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, 1892.
- Feasey, Henry John, John Thomas Micklethwaite and Edward Bell. *Westminster Abbey Historically Described*. London: G. Bell, 1899.
- Fenton, Elijah. *The Poetical Works of Elijah Fenton: With the Life of the Author*. Edinburgh: Apollo Press., 1779.
- Fergusson, James. *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 2 vols. Rev. ed. London: John Murray, 1910.
- Ffoulkes, Constance Jocelyn and Rodolfo Maiocchi. *Vincenzo Foppa of Brescia, Founder of the Lombard School, His Life and Work*. London: John Lane Bodley Head, 1909.
- Field, George. *A Grammar of Colouring Applied to Decorative Painting and the Arts*. New ed. London: C. Lockwood, 1877.
- Fischer, Alice von. *Die Schlösser des Kantons Bern*. Bern: W. Kaiser, 1897.
- Fletcher, William Younger. *English Bookbindings in the British Museum: Illustrations of Sixty-Three Selected on Account of their Beauty or Historical Interest*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1895.
- Foucher, A. *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra: étude sur les origines de l'influence classique dans l'art bouddhique de l'Inde et de l'Extrême-Orient*. Paris: E. Leroux, 1905.
- Foucher, A. *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art: And Other Essays in Indian and Central-Asian Archæology*. Translated by L. A. Thomas and F. W. Thomas. London: Humphrey Milford, 1917.

- Frazer, James George. *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*. 2<sup>nd</sup> rev. ed. London: Macmillan, 1900.
- Fröhner, Wilhelm. *Notice de la sculpture antique du Musée Impérial du Louvre. Premier volume*. Paris: Librairies-Imprimeries Réunies, 1869.
- Fry, Roger Eliot. *Giovanni Bellini*. London: At the Sign of the Unicorn, 1899.
- Furtwängler, Adolf and Heinrich Ludwig Ulrichs. *Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Skulptur; im Auftrag des K. Bayer. Staatsministeriums des Innern für Kirchen und Schulangelegenheiten*. Munich: Bruckmann, n.d.
- Gardner, J. Starkie. *Ironwork: From the Earliest Times to the End of the Mediaeval Period*. London: Chapman and Hall, 1893.
- Gardner, J. Starkie. *Ironwork – Part II – Being a Continuation of the First Handbook, and Comprising from the Close of the Mediaeval Period to the End of the Eighteenth Century, Excluding English Work*. London: Chapman and Hall, 1896.
- Garth, Samuel. *The Poetical Works of Sir Samuel Garth: With the Life of the Author*. Edinburgh: Apollo Press, 1779.
- Gauguin, Paul and Charles Morice. *Noa Noa*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Paris: Editions de la Plume, n.d.
- Gay, John. *The Poetical Works of John Gay: Including his Fables: With the Life of the Author*. Edinburgh: Apollo Press, 1777.
- Gayet, Albert Jean. *L'art copte: Ecole d'Alexandrie, architecture monastique, sculpture, peinture, art somptuaire*. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1902.
- Gedde, Walter. *A booke of sundry draughtes: principaly serving for glasiars: and not impertinent for plasterers, and gardiners: besides sundry other professions. Whereunto is annexed, the manner how to anniel in glas: and also the true forme of the fornace, and the secretes thereof*. London: The Leadenhall Press, Ltd, 1898.
- George, Walter S. and George Alexander van Millingen. *The Church of Saint Eirene at Constantinople*. London: H. Frowde, 1912.
- Giles, Herbert Allen. *An Introduction to the History of Chinese Pictorial Art*. Shanghai: Kelay & Walsh, 1905.
- Glyn, Margaret Henrietta. *The Rhythmic Conception of Music*. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1907.
- Goblet d'Albiella, Eugene. *The Migration of Symbols*. London: Archibald Constable and Co., 1894.
- Goloubew, Victor, ed. *Les dessins de Jacopo Bellini au Louvre et au British Museum*, 2 vols. Brussels: G. Van Oest & Co., 1908-12.
- Granville, George. *The Poetical Works of the Right Hon. George Granville, Lord Lansdowne: With the Life of the Author*. Edinburgh: Apollo Press, 1779.
- Gray, Thomas. *The Poetical Works of Thomas Gray: With the Life of the Author*. Edinburgh: Apollo Press, 1788.
- Gurney, Edmund. *The Power of Sound*. London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1880.

- Haldane, Richard Burdon. *The Pathway to Reality: Stage the Second, Being the Gifford Lectures Delivered in the University of St. Andrews in the Session 1903-1904*. London: John Murray, 1904.
- Hamilton, Cicely. *A Pageant of Great Women*. London: Suffrage Shop, 1910.
- Hammond, James. *The Poetical Works of James Hammond: With the Life of the Author*. Edinburgh: Apollo Press, 1787.
- Harrison, Jane Ellen. *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1903.
- Harvey, William. *Copy of Diploma conferred upon William Harvey by University of Padua, 1602*.
- Havell, E. B. *A Handbook to Agra and the Taj, Sikandra, Fatehpur-Sikri and the Neighbourhood*. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1904.
- Havell, E. B. *Indian Sculpture and Painting: Illustrated by Typical Masterpieces, with an Explanation of their Motives and Ideals*. London: John Murray, 1908.
- Havell, E. B. *Eleven Plates Representing Works of Indian Sculpture, Chiefly in English Collections*. London: W. Griggs, 1911.
- Havell, E. B. *Indian Architecture: Its Psychology, Structure, and History from the First Muhammadan Invasion to the Present Day*. London: John Murray, 1913.
- Haweis, H. R. *Old Violins*. London: G. Redway, 1898.
- Herringham, Christiana J. *How to Paint Tempera Pictures*. Loughton: Madderton & Co., 1903.
- Hervey, Mary F. S. *Holbein's "Ambassadors": The Picture and the Men: An Historical Study*. London: G. Bell & Sons, 1900.
- Heseltine, John Postle. *Drawings by François Boucher, Jean Honoré Fragonard, and Antoine Watteau in the collection of J. P. H.* London: Autotype Co., 1900.
- Heseltine, John Postle. *Original Drawings by British Painters in the Collection of J. P. H.* London: Chiswick Press, 1902.
- Heseltine, John Postle. *Reproductions of Original Drawings in Colours from the Collection of J. P. H.* Bushey: André & Sleigh, 1903.
- Heseltine, John Postle. *Original Drawings by Old Masters of the Schools of North Italy: In the Collection of J. P. H.* London: Chiswick Press, 1906.
- Heseltine, John Postle. *Original Drawings by Rembrandt in the Collection of J. P. H.* London: Chiswick Press, 1907.
- Heseltine, John Postle. *Ten Little Pictures in the Collection of J. P. H.* London: J. J. Waddington, Ltd, 1908.
- Heseltine, John Postle. *Ten More Little Pictures: In the Collection of J.P.H.* London: J. J. Waddington, Ltd, 1909.
- Heseltine, John Postle. *Original Drawings by Old Masters of the Dutch School in the Collection of J. P. H.* London: Chiswick Press, 1910.
- Heseltine, John Postle. *Drawings of the French School from the Collection of J. P. H.* London: J. J. Waddington, Ltd, 1911.

- Heseltine, John Postle. *Original Drawings, Chiefly of the German School: In the Collection of J. P. H.* London: Chiswick Press, 1912.
- Heseltine, John Postle. *Original Drawings by Old Masters of the Italian School: Forming Part of the Collection of J. P. H.* London: 1913.
- Heseltine, John Postle. *Drawings and Paintings by Artists of Norfolk and Suffolk in the Collection of J. P. H.* London: J. J. Waddington, Ltd, 1914.
- Heseltine, John Postle. *Thirty-Eight Etchings.* London: J. J. Waddington, Ltd, 1915.
- Hewitt, Graily. *A Winter Day.* London: Ashendene Press, 1904.
- Hildebrand, Hans. *The Industrial Arts of Scandinavia in the Pagan Time.* New ed. London: Chapman and Hall, 1892.
- Holbein, Hans. *Reproductions of Holbein's Drawings in the Royal Collection of Windsor: Portraits of Men.*
- Holbein, Hans. *Reproductions of Holbein's Drawings in the Royal Collection of Windsor: Portraits of Women.*
- Hope, W. H. St. John. *The Architectural History of the Cathedral Church and Monastery of St. Andrew at Rochester.* London: Mitchell and Hughes, 1900.
- Hope, W. H. St. John. *The Imagery and Sculptures on the West Front of Wells Cathedral Church.* London: J. B. Nichols and Sons, 1904.
- Hope, W. H. St. John. *On the Early Working of Alabaster in England.* London: Harrison, 1905.
- Hope, W. H. St. John. *The Obituary Roll of John Islip, Abbot of Westminster, 1500-1532 with Notes on Other English Obituary Rolls.* London: Society of Antiquities, 1906.
- Horner, Susan. *Greek Vases: Historical and Descriptive, with Some Brief Notices of Vases in the Louvre.* London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1897.
- Housman, Laurence. *Bethlehem: A Nativity Play.* London: Macmillan, 1902.
- Hughes, John. *The Poetical Works of John Hughes: With the Life of the Author.* Edinburgh: Apollo Press, 1779.
- India Society. *Ajanta Frescoes: Being Reproductions in Colour and Monochrome of Frescoes in Some of the Caves at Ajanta after Copies Taken in the Years 1909-1911.* London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1915.
- Jameson, Anna. *Sacred and Legendary Art.* 8<sup>th</sup> ed. London, Longmans, Green & Co., 1879.
- Jewell, Harry Herbert. *The Church of Our Lady of the Hundred Gates: (Panagia Hekatontapyliani) in Paros.* London: Macmillan and Co., 1920.
- Johnston, Alexander Keith. *The Royal Atlas of Modern Geography.* n.d.
- Johnston, Edward. *Writing & Illuminating, & Lettering.* London: John Hogg, 1906.
- Kalidasa and T. Holme. *Sakuntala: Or, The Fatal Ring: A Drama; to which is Added Meghaduta, Or, The Cloud Messenger.* London: Scott, 1902[?].
- Kervyn de Lettenhove, H. *La Toison d'Or: Notes sur l'institution et l'histoire de l'ordre, depuis 1429 jusqu'à 1559.* Brussels: Van Oest, 1907.

- Keyser, Charles Edward. *A List of Norman Tympana and Lintels with Figure or Symbolical Sculpture Still or till Recently Existing in the Churches of Great Britain*. London: Elliot Stock, 1904.
- Khayyam, Omar. *Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám, the Astronomer-Poet of Persia*. Translated by Edward Fitzgerald. Portland, Maine: Thomas B. Mosher, 1894. [bookbinding by S. T. Prideaux.]
- Khayyam, Omar. *The Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám*. Translated by Edward Fitzgerald. London: Offices of 'The Studio', 1910. [illustrations by Rabindranath Tagore]
- Khayyam, Omar. *The Quatrains of Omar Kheyyam of Nishapour*. Translated by John Payne. London: Villon Society, 1898.
- Kiepert, Heinrich. *Atlas Antiquus: Ten Maps of the Ancient World for Schools and Colleges*. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. Berlin: Reimer, 1867.
- King, William. *The Poetical Works of Dr William King: With the Life of the Author*. Edinburgh: Apollo Press, 1781.
- Kristeller, Paul. *Andrea Mantegna*. Edited by S. Arthur Strong. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1901.
- La Sizeranne, Robert de. *Les Masques et les Visages à Florence et au Louvre: Portraits Célèbres de la Renaissance Italienne*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Paris: Hachette, 1913.
- Lamartine, Alphonse de. *Souvenirs, Impressions, Pensées et Paysages Pendant un Voyage en Orient, (1832-1833): Ou, Notes d'u Voyageur*. Brussels: Langlet, 1838.
- Laurie, A. P. *Greek and Roman Methods of Painting: Some Comments on the Statements Made by Pliny and Vitruvius about Wall and Panel Painting*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910.
- Lecoy de la Marche, A. *L'art d'enluminer*. Paris: E. Leroux, 1890.
- Lémery, Nicolas. *New Curiosities in Art and Nature: Or, a Collection of the Most Valuable Secrets in all Arts and Sciences*. London: J. King, 1711.
- Lethaby, W. R. and Harold Swainson. *The Church of Sancta Sophia, Constantinople: A Study of Byzantine Building*. London: Macmillan and Co., 1894.
- Lethaby, W. R. *Mediaeval Art from the Peace of the Church to the Eve of the Renaissance, 312-1350*. London: Duckworth, 1904.
- Lethaby, W. R. *Westminster Abbey & the King's Craftsmen: A Study of Mediaeval Building*. London: Duckworth, 1906.
- Libri, Guglielmo. *Monuments inédits ou peu connus : faisant partie du cabinet de Guillaume Libri et qui se rapportent à l'histoire des arts du dessin considérés dans leur application à l'ornement des livres*. London: Dulau, 1862.
- Lippmann, Friedrich. *Zeichnungen von Sandro Botticelli zu Dante's Goettlicher Komoedie: nach den Originalen im K. Kupferstichkabinet zu Berlin*. Berlin: G. Grote'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1887.
- Lobachevski, Nicolai Ivanovich. *New Principles of Geometry: With Complete Theory of Parallels*. Austin: Neomon, 1897.

- Lorrain, Claude. *Drawings by Claude Gellée, Called le Lorrain*. London: Chiswick Press, 1901.
- Lukis, Frederick Collings. *Observations on the Celtic Megaliths and the Contents of Celtic Tombs: Chiefly as they Remain in the Channel Islands*. London: Nichols, 1854.
- Lyttleton, George. *The Poetical Works of Lord Lyttelton: With the Life of the Author*. Edinburgh: Apollo Press, 1781.
- MacRitchie, David. *Accounts of the Gypsies of India*. London: Kegan Paul, 1886.
- Mallett, David. *The Poetical Works of David Mallet: With the Life of the Author*. Edinburgh: Apollo Press, 1780.
- Malory, Thomas. *History of King Arthur and the Quest of the Holy Grail*. Edited by Ernest Rhys. London: Scott, 1886.
- Marks, John George. *Life and Letters of Frederick Walker, A.R.A.* London: Macmillan Co., 1896.
- Marlowe, Christopher. *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus*. Revived by the Elizabethan Stage Society and directed by William Poel. London: A. H. Bullen, 1904.
- Marriage, Margaret S. and Ernest Marriage. *The Sculptures of Chartres Cathedral: Les Sculptures de la Cathédrale de Chartres*. Cambridge University Press, 1909.
- May, Phil. *Sketches from "Punch"*. London: Punch, 1903.
- Mead, G. R. S. *A Mithriac Ritual*. London: Theosophical Publishing Society, 1907.
- Mérimée, J.-F.-L. *The Art of Painting in Oil, and in Fresco: Being a History of the Various Processes and Materials Employed, from its Discovery, by Hubert and John van Eyck, to the Present Time*. Translated by W. B. Sarsfield Taylor. London: Whittaker & Co., 1839.
- Merrifield, Mary P. *The Art of Fresco Painting: As Practised by the old Italian and Spanish Masters, with a Preliminary Inquiry into the Nature of the Colours Used in Fresco Painting, with Observation and Notes*. London: C. Gilpin, 1846.
- Merrifield, Mary Philadelphia, *Original Treatises, Dating from the XIIth to XVIIIth Centuries, on the Arts of Painting, in Oil, Miniature, Mosaic, and on Glass; of Gilding, Dyeing, and the Preparation of Colours and Artificial Gems; Preceded by a General Introduction; with Translations, Prefaces, and Notes*. London: John Murray, 1849.
- Meyer, Kuno. *Cáin Adamnáin: An Old-Irish Treatise on the Law of Adamnan*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1905.
- Migeon, Gaston. *Les Arts Plastiques et Industriels*. Paris: A. Picard et Fils, 1907.
- Mileham, Geoffrey S and David Randall-MacIver. *Churches in Lower Nubia*. Philadelphia: University Museum, 1910.
- Mitford, A. B. *Tales of Old Japan*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: Macmillan and Co., 1874.
- Monier-Williams, Monier. *Religious Thought and Life in India: An Account of the Religions of the Indian Peoples, Based on a Life's Study of their Literature and on Personal Investigations in their Own Country. Part I: Vedism, Brāhmanism and Hinduism*. London: John Murray, 1883.

- Monier-Williams, Monier. *Brahmanism and Hinduism: Or, Religious Thought and Life in India as Based on the Veda and Other Sacred Books of the Hindus*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. London: John Murray, 1887.
- Montaigne, Michel de. *All the Essays*. Translated by Charles Cotton. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. London: John Murray, 1872.
- Montalembert, Charles Forbes René de. *The Monks of the West: From St. Benedict to St. Bernard*. 7 vols. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1861-79.
- The Months of Japanese Ladies: Calendar for 1903*. Tokyo: Hasegawa, 1903.
- Monthly Changes of Japanese Street-Scenes: Calendar for 1902*. Tokyo: Hasegawa, 1902.
- Moore, Edward. *The Poetical Works of Edward Moore: With the Life of the Author*. Edinburgh: Apollo, 1781.
- Morelli, Giovanni. *Italian Painters: Critical Studies of their Works*. Translated by Constance Jocelyn Ffoulkes. London: John Murray, 1892.
- Muhammad, Abd al-Ghafur. *Aja'ib Nigar*. Benares, 1887.
- Mumford, John Kimberly. *Oriental Rugs*. London: Sampson Low, Marston, 1901.
- Müntz, Eugène. *Raphael, his Life, Works, and Times*. Edited by Walter Armstrong. London: Chapman and Hall, 1882.
- Müntz, Jean-Henri. *Encaustic: Or, Count Caylus's Method of Painting in the Manner of the Ancients: To which is Added a Sure and Easy Method for Fixing of Crayons*. London: A. Webley, 1760.
- Muratori, Lodovico Antonio and Filippo Argelati. *Rerum italicarum scriptores: ab anno aerae christianae quingentesimo ad millesimum quingentesimum, quorum potissima pars nunc in lucem prodit ex Ambrosianæ, Estensis, aliarumque insignium bibliothecarum codicibus*. 25 in 28 vols. Milan: Ex Typographia Societatis Palatinae, 1723-51.
- Muratori, Lodovico Antonio. *Antiquitates italicæ mediæ ævi: sive Dissertationes de moribus, ritibus, religione, regimine, magistratibus, legibus, studiis literarum, artibus, lingua, militia, nummis, principibus, libertate, servitute, foederibus, aliisque faciem & mores italici populi referentibus post declinationem Rom. imp. ad annum usque MD. Omnia illustrantur, et confirmantur ingenti copia diplomatum et chartarum veterum, nunc primùm ex archivis Italiae depromptarum, additis etiam nummis, chronicis, aliisque monumentis numquam antea editis*. 6 vols. Milan: Ex Typographia Societatis Palatinae, 1738.
- Naidu, Sarojini and Arthur Symons. *The Golden Threshold*. London: Heinemann, 1906. [signed by Naidu]
- Nandikesvara. *The Mirror of Gesture, Being the Abhinaya Darpana of Nandikesvara*. Translated by Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy and Gopala Kristnayya Duggirala. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1917.
- National Art Collections Fund. *Nineteenth Annual Report 1922*. London: National Art Collections Fund, 1923.
- Neri, Antonio. *The Art of Glass: Wherein are Shown the Ways to Make and Colour Glass, Pastes, Enamels, Lakes, and Other Curiosities. Written in Italian by Antonio Neri, and*

- Translated into English, with Some Observations on the Author. Whereunto is Added an Account of the Glass Drops, made by the Royal Society, Meeting at Gresham College.* Translated by Christopher Merret. London: Printed by A. W. for Octavian Pulleyn, 1662.
- Nicholson, Edward Byron. *The Rights of an Animal: A New Essay in Ethics.* London: Kegan Paul, 1879.
- Nivedita, Sister [Margaret Noble]. *Kali the Mother.* London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1900.
- Nivedita, Sister [Margaret Noble]. *Cradle Tales of Hinduism.* London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1907.
- Norman, Philip. *London Signs and Inscriptions.* London: E. Stock, 1897.
- Okakura, Kakuzo. *The Ideals of the East: With Special Reference to the Art of Japan.* London: John Murray, 1903
- Okakura, Kakuzo. *The Book of Tea.* London: Putnam, 1906.
- Okey, Thomas. *Venice and its Story.* London: Dent, 1903.
- O'Neill, John. *The Night of the Gods: An Inquiry into Cosmic and Cosmogonic Mythology and Symbolism.* 2 vols. London: Quaritch, 1893-97.
- Order of the Proceedings at the Darwin Celebration held at Cambridge, June 22 - June 24, 1909: With a Sketch of Darwin's Life.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909.
- Page, William. *The St. Albans School of Painting (Mural and Miniature): Part 1. Mural Painting.* London: J. B. Nichols, 1902.
- Parker, Arthur. *A Handbook of Benares.* 2<sup>nd</sup> rev. ed. Trivandrum: Trivancore Government Press, 1901.
- Parnell, Thomas. *The Poetical Works of Dr Thomas Parnell. With the Life of the Author.* Edinburgh: Apollo Press, 1778.
- Pearson, Karl. *The Ethic of Freethought: And Other Addresses and Essays.* 2<sup>nd</sup> rev. ed. London: Black, 1901.
- Perrot, Georges and Charles Chipiez. *History of Art in Persia.* London: Chapman and Hall, 1892
- Petrini, Pietro. *Belle Arti: sulla pittura degli antichi. Discorso I(-VI).* Pistoia: 1821.
- Philips, Ambrose. *The Poetical Works of Ambrose Philips. With the Life of the Author.* Edinburgh: Apollo Press, 1781.
- Philips, John. *The Poetical Works of John Philips. With the Life of the Author.* Edinburgh: Apollo Press, 1781.
- Philpot, Isaline [Mrs J. H.]. *The Sacred Tree: Or, the Tree in Religion and Myth.* London: Macmillan and Co., 1897.
- Pilkington, Matthew. *A Dictionary of Painters: From the Revival of the Art to the Present Period.* Rev. ed. Edited by Henry Fuseli. London: J. Walker, 1810.
- Pitt, Christopher. *The Poetical Works of Christopher Pitt: With the Life of the Author.* Edinburgh: Apollo Press, 1782.

- Pitt-Rivers, Augustus Henry Lane Fox. *Antique Works of Art from Benin*. London: Privately Printed, 1900.
- Pliny, the Elder, E. Sellers and Heinrich Ludwig Ulrichs. *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art. Translated by K. Jex-Blake*. London: Macmillan and Co., 1896.
- Pomfret, John. *The Poetical Works of John Pomfret. With the Life of the Author*. Edinburgh: Apollo Press, 1779.
- Pope, Alexander. *The Poetical Works of Alexander Pope: With his Last Corrections, Additions and Improvements. With the Life of the Author*. Edinburgh: Apollo Press, 1780.
- Prideaux, S. T and E. Gordon Duff. *An Historical Sketch of Bookbinding*. London: Lawrence & Bullen, 1893.
- Prideaux, S. T. *Bookbinders and their Craft*. New York: Scribner, 1903.
- Prior, Matthew. *The Poetical Works of Matthew Prior. With the Life of the Author*. Edinburgh: Apollo Press, 1777.
- Quin, Edwin Richard Wyndham. *On an Ancient Chalice and Brooches Lately Found at Ardagh, in the County of Limerick*. Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1874.
- Rein, J. J. *The Industries of Japan: Together with an Account of its Agriculture, Forestry, Arts and Commerce*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1889.
- Reynolds, Joshua. *The Literary Works*. 2 vols. London: T. Cadell, 1835.
- Ricci, Corrado. *Ravenna: con 150 illustrazioni e 2 tavole*. 5<sup>th</sup> ed. Bergamo: Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, 1905
- Rivoira, G. T. *Le origini della architettura Lombarda: e delle sue principali derivazioni nei paesi d'oltra'alp*. Vol. 1. Rome: Ermanno Loescher & Co., 1907.
- Robinson, Frederick S. *The Connoisseur: Essays on the Romantic and Picturesque Associations of Art and Artists*. London: G. Redway, 1897.
- Ross, Ronald. *Philosophies*. London: John Murray, 1910.
- Rossetti, William Michael. *Ruskin: Rossetti: Preraphaelitism: Papers 1854 to 1862*. London: George Allen, 1899.
- Rothenstein, W. *An Address on the Occasion of the Distribution of Prizes to the Students, Birmingham Municipal School of Art, February 13<sup>th</sup>, 1908*. Birmingham: Birmingham Municipal School of Art, 1908.
- Rowe, Nicholas. *The Poetical Works of Nicholas Rowe. With the Life of the Author*. Edinburgh: Apollo Press, 1781.
- Rushworth, John. *Historical Collections of Private Passages of State, Weighty Matters in Law, Remarkable Proceedings in Five Parliaments: Beginning the Sixteenth Year of King James, anno 1618 and Ending... [with the Death of King Charles the First, 1648]*. London: D. Browne, 1721-22.
- Ruskin, John. *The Ethics of the Dust: Ten Lectures to Little Housewives on the Elements of Crystallisation*. London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1866.
- Ruskin, John. *Modern Painters*. London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1873.

- Ruskin, John. *The Stones of Venice. Volume the First. The Foundations*. New ed. London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1873.
- Ruskin, John. *The Stones of Venice. Volume the Second. The Sea-Stories*. New ed. London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1874.
- Ruskin, John. *The Stones of Venice. Volume the Third. The Fall*. New ed. London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1874.
- Ruskin, John. *Sesame and Lilies: Three Lectures*. Rev. ed. New York: Wiley, 1876.
- Ruskin, John. *Unto this Last: Four Essays on the First Principles of Political Economy*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Orpington: George Allen, 1877.
- Ruskin, John. *The Works of John Ruskin: Volume 3. Aratra Pentelici: Six Lectures on the Elements of Sculpture*. Orpington: George Allen, 1879.
- Ruskin, John. *Seven Lamps of Architecture*.
- Ruskin, John. *Lectures on Art: Delivered before the University of Oxford in Hilary Term 1870*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1880.
- Ruskin, John. *The Pleasures of England: Lectures Given at Oxford*. 4 vols. Orpington: George Allen, 1884-85.
- Ruskin, John. *Praeterita: Outlines of Scenes and Thoughts Perhaps Worthy of Memory in my Past Life. Vol. 1*. Orpington: George Allen, 1886.
- Ruskin, John. *Mornings in Florence: Being Simple Studies of Christian Art for English Travellers*. New York: 1902.
- Russell, Bertrand. *A Critical Exposition of the Philosophy of Leibniz: With an Appendix of Leading Passages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900.
- Russell, Bertrand. *The Principles of Mathematics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1903.
- Saladin, Henri. *L'architecture*. Paris: A. Picardet et Fils. 1907
- Santayana, George. *The Life of Reason, or, the Phases of Human Progress. 1: Introduction and Reason in Common Sense*. London: Constable, 1905
- Santayana, George. *The Life of Reason, or, the Phases of Human Progress. 2: Reason in Society*. London: Constable, 1905.
- Savage, Richard. *The Poetical Works of Richard Savage. With the Life of the Author*. Edinburgh: Apollo Press, 1780.
- Schlosser, Julius, Ritter von. *Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der Karolingischen Kunst*. Vienna: C. Graeser, 1892.
- Schlosser, Julius, Ritter von. *Quellenbuch zur Kunstgeschichte des abendländischen Mittelalters: ausgewählte Texte des vierten bis fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts*. Vienna: C. Graeser, 1896.
- Schultz, Robert Weir and Sidney Howard Barnsley. *The Monastery of Saint Luke of Stiris, in Phocis: And the Dependent Monastery of Saint Nicolas in the Fields, near Skripou, in Bœotia*. London: Macmillan and Co., 1901
- Schultz, Robert Weir and William Harvey. *The Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem*. London: B. T. Batsford, 1910.

- Scott, Leader. *The Cathedral Builders: The Story of a Great Masonic Guild*. London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co., 1899
- Sheffield, John Baker Holroyd. *The Poetical Works of the Most Noble John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham. With the Life of the Author*. Edinburgh: Apollo Press, 1780.
- Shenstone, William. *The Poetical Works of William Shenstone. With the Life of the Author and a Description of the Leasowes*. Edinburgh: Apollo Press, 1778.
- Shepherd, George H. *A Short History of the British School of Painting*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. London: Sampson Low, Marston Co., 1891.
- Simpson, William. *The Buddhist Praying-Wheel: A Collection of Material Bearing upon the Symbolism of the Wheel and Circular Movements in Custom and Religious Ritual*. London: Macmillan and Co., 1896.
- Smith, Vincent Arthur. *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911.
- Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings. *Notes on the Repair of Ancient Buildings*. London: Batsford, 1903.
- Society of Antiquaries of London. *Archaeologia: Or, Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity, Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London*. Volume 48 Part II. London: Nichols and Sons, 1885.
- Society of Mural Decorators and Painters in Tempera. *Papers of the Society of Painters in Tempera 1901-1907*. Edited by Christiana J. Herringham. London: Women's Printing Society, 1907.
- Sohnrey, Heinrich. *Wegweiser für Ländliche Wohlfahrts- und Heimatpflege: Im Auftrage und Unter Mitwirkung des Ausschusses für Wohlfahrtspflege auf dem Lande*. Berlin: Deutsche Landbuchhandlung, 1908.
- Somerville, William. *The Poetical Works of William Somerville. With the Life of the Author*. Edinburgh: Apollo Press, 1780.
- Spenser, Edmund. *The Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser. With the Life of the Author*. Edinburgh: Apollo Press, 1778.
- Stael, Madame de. *Corinne: ou, l'Italie*. 2 vols. Paris: Treuttel, 1841-42.
- Stchoukine, Ivan. *Les miniatures indiennes de l'époque des grands moghols au Musée du Louvre*. Paris: Leroux, 1929.
- Stevenson, Robert Alan Mowbray. *The Art of Velasquez*. London: G. Bell, 1895.
- Strange, Edward Fairbrother. *Japanese Colour Prints*. London: Wyman, 1904.
- Strangways, Authur Henry Fox. *The Music of Hindostan*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914.
- Strong, Eugenie. *Roman Sculpture: From Augustus to Constantine*. London: Duckworth, 1907.
- Swift, Jonathan. *The Poetical works of Dr Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin. With the Life of the Author*. Edinburgh: Apollo Press, 1778.
- Swinburne, Algernon Charles. *William Blake: A Critical Essay*. London: Hotten, 1868.
- Swynnerton, Charles. *Romantic Tales from the Panjab*. London: Constable, 1903.

- Symonds, John Addington. *The Life of Michelangelo Buonarroti: Based on Studies in the Archives of the Buonarroti Family at Florence*. London: Nimmo, 1893.
- Tagore, Rabindranath. *The Gardener*. London: Macmillan and Co., 1913.
- Tartini, Joseph Maria and Lodovico Antonio Muratori. *Rerum italicarum scriptores: ab anno aerae christianae millesimo ad millesimum sexcentisimum quorum potissima pars nunc primum in lucem prodit ex Florentinarum bibliothecarum codicibus*. 2 vols. Florence: Ex Typographia Petri Cajetani Viviani, 1748-70.
- Taylor, Algernon. *Convent Life in Italy*. London: Skeet, 1862.
- Taylor, Algernon. *Intérieur des couvents en Italie*. Paris: E. Maillet, 1863.
- Taylor, Algernon. *Scenes in French Monasteries*. London: Skeet, 1866
- Tennyson, Alfred. *The Lady of Shalott*. London: Chiswick Press, 1905.
- Thackeray, Anne Isabella. *The Village on the Cliff*. London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1867
- Thausing, Moritz. *Albert Dürer: His Life and Works. Translated and edited by Frederick Alexis Eaton*. London: John Murray, 1882.
- Theophilus, Presbyter. *Theophili, qui et Rugerus, presbyteri et monachi, libri III. de diversis artibus: seu, Diversarum artium schedula = An Essay upon Various arts, in Three Books, by Theophilus, Called also Rugerus, Priest and Monk, Forming an Encyclopædia of Christian Art of the Eleventh Century*. Translated by Robert Hendrie. London: John Murray, 1847
- Theophilus, Presbyter. *Theophilus Presbyter Schedula diversarium artium: 1. Band*. Translated by Albert Ilg. Vienna: W. Braumüller, 1874.
- Thomson, James. *The Poetical Works of James Thomson: With his Last Corrections and Improvements. With the Life of the Author*. Edinburgh: Apollo Press, 1780.
- Thomson, James. *The Seasons*. London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, 1842.
- Thoreau, Henry David. *Walden*. London: Scott, 1886
- Tickel, Thomas. *The Poetical Works of Thomas Tickel. With the Life of the Author*. Edinburgh: Apollo Press, 1781.
- Tingry, P. F. *The Varnisher's Guide: Being a Practical as well as Theoretical Treatise on the Art of Making and Applying Varnishes, Not Only to Painting, but Also to Other Branches of the Arts. With New Observations and Experiments on Copal; on the Substances Employed in the Composition of Varnish; and on Various Processes Used in the Art*. 3<sup>rd</sup> rev. ed. London: Sherwood, Gilbert and Piper, 1832.
- Tolstoy, Leo. *What is Art?* London: W. Scott, 1898.
- Tuer, Andrew White. *The Book of Delightful and Strange Designs: Being One Hundred Facsimile Illustrations of the Art of the Japanese Stencil-Cutter, to which the Gentle Reader is Introduced by One Andrew W. Tuer, F.S.A., Who Knows Nothing at all About it*. London: Leadenhall Press, 1893.
- Unger, Friedrich Wilhelm and Eduard Chmelarz. *Quellen der byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte / I. Band. Enth.: I-III Buch*. Vienna: W. Braumüller, 1878.
- Vacaresco, Hélène. *The Bard of the Dimbovitza: Roumanian Folksongs Collected from the Peasants*. London: Harper, 1902

- Vasari Society for the Reproduction of Drawings by Old Masters. *Vasari Society's Reproductions*. 10 portfolios. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1905-15.
- Venice, St Mark's: *Photographs of Details of the Architecture of St Mark's*.
- Viardot, Louis. *A Brief History of the Painters of All Schools*. London: Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1877.
- Vibert, J. G. *The Science of Painting*. Translated from the 8<sup>th</sup> ed. London: P. Young, 1892.
- Virgil. *Publii Virgilio Maronis Mantuani opera cum commentariis Servi Mauri ... Aelii donati, Christofori Landini, Antonii Mancinelli & Domicii Calderin*. Impressum regia in civitate Angenten ordinatione, elimatione ac relectone Sebastiani Brant, 1502.
- Vitry, Paul. and Gaston Brière. *Documents de Sculpture Française du Moyen Age*. Paris: Longuet, 1904.
- Vitry, Paul. *French Sculpture During the Reign of Saint Louis, 1226-1270*. Florence: Pantheon, 1929.
- Vivekananda, Swami. *The Complete Works of the Swami Vivekananda: Comprising all his Lectures, Addresses and Discourses Delivered in Europe, America and India*. Rev ed. 3 vols. Mayavati: Prabuddha Bharata Office, 1907-08.
- Walker, Thomas. *The Original*. London: Routledge, 1887.
- Waller, Edmund. *The Poetical Works of Edmund Waller. With the Life of the Author*. Edinburgh: Apollo Press, 1777.
- Ward, Lester F. *Dynamic Sociology, or, Applied Social Sense as Based Upon Statical Sociology and the Less Complex Sciences, Volume 2*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. New York: Appleton, 1902.
- Ware, William. *Palmyra: Being Letters of Lucius M. Piso, from Palmyra, to his Friend Marcus Curtius at Rome*. Edinburgh: Chambers, 1839.
- Watts, Isaac. *The Poetical Works of Isaac Watts, D.D.: With the Life of the Author*. Edinburgh: Apollo Press, 1782.
- Weale, W. H. James. *Hans Memling*. London: G. Bell, 1901.
- West, Gilbert. *The Poetical Works of Gilbert West. With the Life of the Author*. Edinburgh: Apollo Press, 1781.
- Wey, Francis. *Rome: Description et Souvenirs*. Paris: Hachette, 1872.
- Whitman, Walt. *Leaves of Grass*. London: Bogue, 1881.
- Wilkins, W. J. *Hindu Mythology: Vedic and Purānic*. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co., 1882
- Witt, Mary Helene (Marten). *The German and Flemish Masters in the National Gallery*. London: G. Bell & Sons, 1904.
- Witt, Robert Clermont and Mary Helen Marten Witt. *Heseltine, J. P.* London: Privately Printed, 1920.
- Worsaae, J. J. A. *The Industrial Arts of Denmark: From the Earliest Times to the Danish Conquest of England*. London: Chapman and Hall, 1882.
- Wotton, Henry. *The Elements of Architecture*. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1903.

Young, Edward. *The Poetical Works of the Reverend Dr Edward Young. With the Life of the Author.* Edinburgh: Apollo Press, 1777.

## **Appendix III. Photograph Albums in the Herringham Collection at Royal Holloway**

*India and Burma: Photographs.* 915.4 IND FOLIO

*India: Photographs. Architectural.* 722.4 IND FOLIO

*India: Photographs. Miscellaneous: Street Scenes (13 sheets).* 915.4 IND FOLIO

*Burma: Photographs (12 sheets).* 915.91 BUR FOLIO

*I. Domestic Architecture: Rajput (22 sheets).* 722.4 IND FOLIO

*II. Early Cave Architecture (21 sheets).* 722.4 IND FOLIO

*III. Hindoo Temples (14 sheets).* 722.4 IND FOLIO

*IV. Muslim (26 sheets).* 722.4 IND FOLIO

*VI. Architectural Details. Miscellaneous (10 sheets).* Uncatalogued

*V. Kashmir.* 722.4 IND FOLIO

## **Appendix IV. All Known Works by Christiana Herringham not in the Collection at Royal Holloway**

### **NEWNHAM COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE**

Christiana Herringham, *The 'Cambridge Madonna' (after Botticelli)*, tempera on panel, 960 x 480 mm, VPC-PP-017. **Original now reattributed as Florentine School, c.1460-70, The Courtauld Gallery, London.** exh. 1901

Christiana Herringham, *The Salutation (after Giacomo Pacchiarotti)*, exh. 1901, tempera on panel, 1240 x 490 mm, VPC-PP-019. **Original now reattributed as Pietro Orioli, *The Visitation*, late 15<sup>th</sup> century, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena.**

Christiana Herringham, *The Annunciation (after Fra Lippo Lippi)*, tempera on panel, 805 x 1670 mm, VPC-PP-018, exh. 1897

Christiana Herringham, *Iris and Thistles 1*, other details unknown

Christiana Herringham, *Iris and Thistles 2*, other details unknown

Christiana Herringham, *Clematis Seed*, other details unknown

Christiana Herringham, *Foxgloves*, other details unknown

Christiana Herringham, *Bluebells and Ferns*, other details unknown

Christiana Herringham, *Campion and Bracken*, other details unknown

Christiana Herringham, *Wild Rose 1*, other details unknown

Christiana Herringham, *Wild Rose 2*, other details unknown

## **PRIVATE COLLECTIONS**

Christiana Herringham, *Madonna and Child (after Botticelli)*, tempera on panel, poss. exh. 1908. **Original also known as *Madonna of the Book*. Herringham completed an additional copy of this painting, now in the collections of Guildford House Gallery.**

Christiana Herringham, *Polyanthus*, medium unknown, exh. 1935, exh. 1951

Christiana Herringham, *Bracken and Brambles*, medium unknown, exh. 1935, exh. 1951

Christiana Herringham, *The Edge of the Cornfield*, medium unknown, exh. 1951

Christiana Herringham, *North Porch, Chartres*, tempera on canvas, exh. 1905, exh. 1935, exh. 1951

Christiana Herringham, *Beech Trees*, chalk on paper, 380 x 270 mm, exh. 1935

## **GUILDFORD HOUSE GALLERY**

Christiana Herringham, *Madonna and Child (after Botticelli)*, tempera on panel, 580 x 390 mm. **Original also known as *Madonna of the Book*. poss. exh. 1908**

Christiana Herringham, *Autumn Cobwebs*, other details unknown

Christiana Herringham, *Autumn Leaves*, other details unknown

Christiana Herringham, *Quarry Street, Guildford*, watercolour on paper mounted on card

### **COLLECTION OF THE GUILD OF ST GEORGE, MUSEUMS SHEFFIELD**

Christiana Herringham, *Study of the Angel Gabriel, from 'Virgin and Child with two Angels' (after Verrocchio)*, 1881, watercolour, bodycolour and gold on paper, 613 x 326 mm (mount) 650 x 364 mm (framed)

### **BRITISH MUSEUM**

Christiana Herringham, *Siena*, pencil and watercolour on paper, 368 x 238 mm

Christiana Herringham, *St Mark's, Venice*, watercolour with gold on paper, 379 x 259 mm

### **SANSEPOLCRO CATHEDRAL**

Christiana Herringham, *The Baptism of Christ (after Pierro della Francesca)*, c.1909, tempera on panel

### **CURRENT LOCATION UNKNOWN**

Christiana Herringham, *The Lake Orta, with the Isola Bella*, exh. 1901, tempera on panel

Christiana Herringham, *Portrait of a Man (after Botticelli)*, exh. 1901, tempera on panel

Christiana Herringham, *The Nativity (after Botticelli)*, exh. 1901, tempera on canvas

Christiana Herringham, *Copy of a Picture belonging to Miss Horner. Painter unknown*, exh. 1901, tempera on panel

Christiana Herringham, *Two Apostles (after Giotto)*, exh. 1905, buon fresco

Christiana Herringham, *Calumny (after Botticelli)*, tempera on panel(?), with frame gilded by Mary Batten

Christiana Herringham, *Lemmi Villa fresco (after Botticelli)*, exh. 1905, 1908, prev. private collection

Christiana Herringham, *Detail from 'The Paradise' (after Fra Angelico)*, exh. 1908, prev. private collection

Christiana Herringham, *Florence from the Slopes of San Miniato*, exh. 1909, prev. private collection

Christiana Herringham, *Virgin and Child (after Botticelli)*, tempera on panel(?), exh. 1951, prev. private collection

Christiana Herringham, *Fairy Garden*, exh. 1935, prev. private collection

Christiana Herringham, *The Fairy Conclave*, exh. 1935, 1951, prev. private collection

Christiana Herringham, *Brambles*, exh. 1935, 1951, prev. private collection

Christiana Herringham, *Chervil*, exh. 1935, 1951, prev. private collection

Christiana Herringham, *Dragon Flies*, exh. 1935, prev. private collection

Christiana Herringham, *Chateau and Sea*, watercolour, exh. 1935, prev. private collection

Christiana Herringham, *Chartres*, exh. 1935, prev. private collection

Christiana Herringham, *S. Zeno, Verona*, exh. 1935, prev. private collection

Christiana Herringham, *Palazzo Vecchio, Verona*, exh. 1935, prev. private collection

Christiana Herringham, *St Mark's, Venice*, exh. 1935, prev. private collection

Christiana Herringham, *St Mark's, Venice*, exh. 1935, prev. private collection

Christiana Herringham, *Siena*, exh. 1935, prev. private collection

Christiana Herringham, *Romanesque Porch*, exh. 1935, prev. private collection

Christiana Herringham, *Foxgloves*, exh. 1935, prev. private collection

Christiana Herringham, *Study of Dog Roses and Wild Flowers trailing over a Brick Wall, Butterflies nearby*, sold 2008, Toovey's Auction House, Washington, West Sussex

Christiana Herringham, unknown title, sold 2008, Toovey's Auction House, Washington, West Sussex.

# **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

## **PRIMARY MATERIAL**

### **ARCHIVAL SOURCES:**

Cambridge University Library, Department of Manuscripts and University Archives.  
William Bateson Papers: Scientific Correspondence and Papers. MS Add.8634.

Central Saint Martins, London.  
Royal Female School of Art Reports, 1863-1906. B.4731.

City of Westminster Archives, London.  
Ladies' Residential Chambers Ltd. 0975.

The National Archives, Kew.  
Divorce Court File: 7756, J 77/1240/7756.  
Census Returns: 1901, 1911.

National Gallery Archives, London.  
Letters from Mrs Herringham to Sir Charles Holroy. NG7/312/12; NG7/312/15.  
Conservation Records relating to Gherardo di Giovanni del Fora, *The Combat of Love and Chastity*. NG1196.  
Copyists in the Turner Room. 1907, NG30/1907/1.

Newcastle University.  
Gertrude Bell Archive. Photographs: RTW\_vol\_2.

Royal Academy of Arts, London.  
RA Minutes, 1888-93. RAA/PC/1/19.  
Register of Admission of Probationers 07 Jul 1825 - 04 Jul 1905. RAA/KEE/1/2.

Royal Holloway, University of London.  
Bedford College Papers: Herringham Collection. BC AR/322.  
Bedford College Papers: Annual Reports of Council, 1888-1946. BC GB/113/1.

Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, London.

Guildford. St Mary's Church (Surrey).

India. Ancient Monuments I.

Pisa. The Campo Santo.

Venice. St Mark's, West Front Reports.

'Venice' [St Mark's, Venice]. Press Coverage Correspondence.

Surrey History Centre, Woking.

South Western Surrey County Constituency Electoral Register, 1903. CC802/14/6.

Tate Gallery Archives, London.

Study Collection of Drawings and Lithographs by Sir William Rothenstein and Other Artists. TGA 997.

Uncatalogued William Rothenstein Papers. TGA 962.

University College London: UCL Records Online.

UCL Calendars. [http://digital-collections.ucl.ac.uk/R/?func=collections-result&collection\\_id=4960](http://digital-collections.ucl.ac.uk/R/?func=collections-result&collection_id=4960)

University of Bristol, Theatre Collection.

Manuscript letters from Wilmot P. Herringham to Lilian Baylis, 1922-29. OV/LB/75.

University of Missouri, Columbia, MO.

Mary Lago Papers: Research and Publication Files: Christiana Herringham. B.27.F.11-B.29.F.42.

Whitechapel Gallery, London.

Whitechapel Art Gallery Reports. WAG/TRU/6.

William Morris Society, London.

Women's Guild of Arts Archives. WGA.

Women's Library, London School of Economics.

Records of the NUWSS. 2NWS.

## NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS:

*The Academy / The Academy and Literature.* 1870, 1878, 1900, 1902

*The Architectural Review: For the Artist and Craftsman.* 1902

*The Argosy: A Magazine of Tales, Travels, Essays, and Poems.* 1881

*The Art Amateur.* 1880

*Art Journal.* 1851, 1861, 1872, 1890

*The Athenaeum.* 1841, 1845, 1859, 1914

*The British Architect.* 1888

*The Building News and Engineering Journal.* 1879

*The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs.* 1903, 1904, 1905, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1914, 1924, 1934

*Chamber's Journal of Popular Literature, Science and Arts.* 1889

*The Common Cause.* 1914

*The Dawn and Dawn Society's Magazine.* 1912

*The Englishwoman.* 1909, 1911

*The Essex Standard, West Suffolk Gazette, and Eastern Counties' Advertiser.* 1883

*Fortnightly Review.* 1879, 1906

*Friends' Intelligencer.* 1859

*The Illustrated London News.* 1843, 1868

*The Journal of Indian Art and Industry.* 1912

*Journal of the Society of Arts / Journal of the Royal Society of Arts.* 1880, 1910

*The Ladies' Treasury - A Household Magazine.* 1883

*The Magazine of Art.* 1884, 1891, 1901

*MAN.* 1903, 1908

*Notes and Queries.* 1904

*The Observer.* 1905.

*The Outlook.* 1900

*The Portfolio: An Artistic Periodical.* 1882

*The Quarterly Review.* 1856

*Routledge's Every Girl's Annual.* 1883

*The Speaker.* 1890

*The Standard.* 1881

*The Studio.* 1900, 1901, 1905, 1917

*The Times.* 1885, 1891, 1892, 1904, 1908, 1910, 1911, 1922, 1958

*Women's Franchise.* 1908

*The Women's Tribune*. 1906.

CONTEMPORARY EXHIBITION CATALOGUES:

*Arts & Crafts Exhibition Society: Catalogue of the Sixth Exhibition, the New Gallery, 121 Regent St.* 1899. London: Chiswick Press, 1899.

*Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition of Modern Paintings in Tempera from April 15 to June 1, 1901.* London: Leighton House, 1901.

*Society of Painters in Tempera: First Exhibition: June 1905.* London: Carfax and Co., 1905.

*Catalogue of the Exhibition of the Society of Painters in Tempera.* London: The Baillie Gallery, 1909.

*Indian Court: Festival of Empire, 1911: Guide Book and Catalogue.* London and Derby: Bemrose & Sons Limited, 1911.

*Muhammadan Art and Life.* London: Whitechapel Art Gallery, 1908.

*Whitechapel Art Gallery: Spring Picture Exhibition, 1908, March 12 to April 26.* London: Whitechapel Art Gallery, 1908.

*The Exhibition of the Royal Academy.* London: William Clowes and Sons, 1874.

*The Exhibition of the Royal Academy.* London, William Clowes and Sons, 1877.

*Victorian Era Exhibition, 1897, Earl's Court: Catalogue of the Woman's Work Section.* London: 1897.

PUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES:

Alden, Edward C. *Alden's Oxford Guide.* Oxford: Alden & Co., 1890.

Archaeological Survey of India. *Annual Report 1907-8.* Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1911.

*Arts and Crafts Essays: By Members of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society.* London: Rivington, Percival & Co., 1893.

Bædeker, Karl. *Italy. Handbook for Travellers. First Part: Northern Italy and Corsica,* 7<sup>th</sup> ed. London: Dulau and Co., 1886.

Bædeker, Karl. *Italy: Handbook for Travellers. Second Part: Central Italy and Rome,* 13<sup>th</sup> ed. Leipsic: Karl Bædeker, 1900.

Bædeker, Karl. *Southern France including Corsica,* 4<sup>th</sup> ed. London: Dulau and Co., 1902.

Ballou, Maturin M. *The Story of Malta.* Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1893.

Bashkirtseff, Marie. *The Journal of Marie Bashkirtseff,* vol. 1, translated by Mathilde Blind. London: Cassell & Company, 1890.

Batten, John D., ed., *Papers of the Society of Mural Decorators and Painters in Tempera, Second Volume, 1907-1924.* Brighton: The Dolphin Press, 1925.

Berenson, Bernard. *The Florentine Painters of the Renaissance: With an Index of their Works.* London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1896.

- Berenson, Bernard. *The Selected Letters of Bernard Berenson*, edited by A. K. McComb. London: Hutchinson, 1965.
- Borradaile, Viola and Rosamund Borradaile. *The Student's Cennini: A Handbook for Tempera Painters*. Brighton: The Dolphin Press, 1942.
- Brown, Percy. *Indian Architecture (Islamic Period)*. Bombay: D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co. Pvt. Ltd., 1981.
- Budge, E. A. Wallis. *Cook's Handbook for Egypt and the Sudàn*. London: T. Cook & Son, 1906.
- Bumpus, T. Francis. *The Cathedrals and Churches of Northern Italy*. London: T. Werner Laurie, [1907].
- Burckhardt, Jacob. *The Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy*, translated by S. G. C. Middlemore. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1892.
- Burgess, James. *Photographs of Architecture and Scenery in Gujarat and Rajputana*. Calcutta, Bombay and Simla: Bourne and Shepherd, 1874.
- Burgess, James. *The Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmadabad: Part II. With Muslim and Hindu Remains in the Vicinity, Archaeological Survey of Western India*, vol. 8. London: Bernard Quaritch; Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.; William Griggs & Sons, Limited, 1905.
- Burne-Jones, Georgiana. *Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones*, vol. 1 London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1904.
- Caine, W. S. *Picturesque India: A Handbook for European Travellers*. London: George Routledge and Sons Limited, 1891.
- Canziani, Estella. *Costumes, Traditions and Songs of Savoy*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1911.
- Canziani, Estella and Eleanor Rohde. *Piedmont*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1913.
- Canziani, Estella. *Through the Apennines and the Lands of the Abruzzi*. Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1928.
- Canziani, Estella. *Round About Three Palace Green*. London: 1939.
- Cartwright, Julia. *The Art Annual for 1894: Sir Edward Burne-Jones, Bart. His Life and Work*. London: J. S. Virtue & Co., 1894.
- Cartwright, Julia. *Sandro Botticelli*. London: Duckworth & Co., 1903.
- Cartwright, Julia. *A Bright Remembrance: The Diaries of Julia Cartwright 1851-1924*, edited by Angela Emanuel. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989.
- Cennini, Cennino. *Trattato della Pittura*, translated by Guiseppe Tambroni. Rome: Torchi di Paolo Salviucci, 1821.
- Cennini, Cennino. *A Treatise on Painting by Cennino Cennini*, translated by Mrs [Mary Philadelphia] Merrifield. London: Edward Lumley, 1844.
- Cennini, Cennino. *Traité de la Peinture de Cennino Cennini: Mis en Lumière pour la Première Fois avec des Notes*, translated by Victor Mottez. Paris: J. Renouard, 1858.
- Cennini, Cennino. *Il Libro dell'Arte: o, Trattato della Pittura*, translated by Gaetano Milanesi and Carlo Milanesi. Firenze: F. Le Monnier, 1859.

- Cennini, Cennino. *Das Buch von der Kunst: oder Tractat der Malerei des Cennino Cennini da Colle di Valdelsa*, translated by Albert Ilg, new ed. Vienna: W. Braumüller, 1888.
- Cennini, Cennino. *The Book of the Art of Cennino Cennini: A Contemporary Practical Treatise on Quattrocento Painting*, translated by Christiana J. Herringham. London: George Allen, 1899.
- Clayton, Ellen C. *English Female Artists*, vol. 2. London: Tinsley Brothers, 1876.
- Cole, Henry. *Fifty Years of Public Work*, vol. 2. London: George Bell and Sons, 1882.
- Cook, Theodore Andrea. *The Story of Rouen*. London: J. M. Dent & Co., 1899.
- Coomaraswamy, Ananda. *Indian Drawings*. London: Printed for the India Society at the Essex Press, 1912.
- Cummings, Charles A. *A History of Architecture in Italy: From the Time of Constantine to the Dawn of the Renaissance*, vol. 1. Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1901.
- Cunningham, Major-General A. *Report of a Tour in Eastern Rajputana in 1882-83*. Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of the Government Printing, 1885.
- Dietz, Nettie Fowler. *A White Woman in a Black Man's Country: Three Thousand Miles up the Nile to Rejaf*. Omaha, NE: Privately Printed, 1926.
- Dilke, Lady. *French Painters of the XVIIIth Century*. London: George Bell and Sons, 1899.
- Donovan, E. *An Epitome of the Natural History of the Insects of India, and the Islands in the Indian Seas*. London: T. Bensley, 1800.
- Dumas, Alexandre. *Pictures of Travel in the South of France*. London: Offices of the National Illustrated Library, 1851.
- Eden, Emily. *'Up the Country': Letters Written to her Sister from the Upper Provinces of India*, new edition. London: Richard Bentley, 1867.
- Fergusson, James. *A History of Architecture in All Countries: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, volume 2, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: John Murray, 1874.
- Fergusson, James. *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture: Forming the Third Volume of the New Edition of the 'History of Architecture'*. London: John Murray, 1891.
- Fergusson, James. *The Rock-Cut Temples of India*. London: John Murray, 1864.
- Fergusson, James. *Illustrations of the Rock-Cut Temples of India: Selected from the Best Examples of the Different Series of Caves at Ellora, Ajunta, Cuttack, Salsette, Karli, and Mahavellipore*. London: John Weale, 1845.
- Ffoulkes, Constance Jocelyn and Rodolfo Maiocchi. *Vincenzo Foppa of Brescia, Founder of the Lombard School, His Life and Work*. London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1909.
- Fish, Arthur. *Henrietta Rae (Mrs Ernest Normand)*. London: Cassell and Company, 1905.
- Fry, Roger. *Letters of Roger Fry*, vol. 1, edited by Denys Sutton. London: Chatto and Windus, 1972.
- Garrett Fawcett, Millicent. *What I Remember*. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1924.
- Goloubew, Victor. *Documents pour Servir à l'Étude d'Ajanta: Les Peintures de la Première Grotte*, *Ars Asiatica* 10. Paris and Brussels: Librairie Nationale d'Art-Vanoest, 1927.

- Haldar, Asit Kumar. *Art and Tradition*, revised edition. Lucknow: The Universal Publishers, 1952.
- Hamilton, Norah Rowan. *Through Wonderful India and Beyond*. London: Holden & Hardingham, 1915.
- Handbook for Egypt and the Sudan*, 11<sup>th</sup> edition, edited by H. R. Hall. London: Edward Stanford, 1907.
- Handbook for Travellers in France*, 10<sup>th</sup> ed. London: John Murray, 1867.
- A Handbook for Travellers in Switzerland, and the Alps of Savoy and Piedmont*, 14<sup>th</sup> ed. London: John Murray, 1872.
- Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy*, 16<sup>th</sup> ed. London: John Murray, 1897.
- Handbook for Travellers in Lower and Upper Egypt*, 10<sup>th</sup> ed., edited by Mary Brodrick. London: John Murray, 1900.
- A Handbook for Travellers in India, Burma and Ceylon*, 8<sup>th</sup> ed. London: John Murray and Thacker, Spink, & Co., 1911.
- Havell, E. B. *A Handbook to Agra and the Taj, Sikandra, Fatehpur-Sikri and the Neighbourhood*. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1904.
- Havell, Ernest. *Indian Architecture: Its Psychology, Structure, and History from the First Muhammadan Invasion to the Present Day*. London: John Murray, 1913.
- Herringham, Christiana. *How to Paint Tempera Pictures*. Loughton: Madderton & Co., Ltd, 1903.
- Herringham, Christiana Jane, ed. *Papers of the Society of Painters in Tempera, 1901-1907*. London: Women's Printing Society, 1907.
- Herringham, Wilmot and Herbert Williamson. *Kidney Diseases*. London: Henry Frowde; Hodder & Stoughton, 1912.
- Herringham, Wilmot. *A Physician in France*. London: Edward Arnold, 1919.
- Holmes, C. J. *Self and Partners (Mostly Self)*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936.
- Horne, Herbert P. *Sandro Botticelli*. London: Chiswick Press, 1908.
- Horner, I. B. *Women Under Primitive Buddhism: Laywomen and Almswomen*. London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd, 1930.
- Housman, Laurence. *An Anti-Suffrage Alphabet*, edited by Leonora Tyson. London: 1911.
- Howitt, Anna Mary. *An Art Student in Munich*, vol. 2. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1853.
- Hulme, F. Edward. *Flower Painting in Water Colours*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co., 1880.
- India Society. *Ajanta Frescoes: Being Reproductions in Colour and Monochrome of Frescoes in Some of the Caves at Ajanta After Copies Taken in the Years 1909-1911 by Lady Herringham and Her Assistants, With Introductory Essays by Various Members of the India Society*. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1915.
- The International Congress of Women of 1899*, vol. 3: *Women in Professions*. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1900.

- The Jātaka: Or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*, vol. 4, edited by E. B. Cowell, translated by W. H. D. Rouse. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1901.
- Kaye, John William and J. Forbes Watson, eds. *The People of India*, 8 volumes. London: India Museum, 1868-75.
- Konody, P. G. *The Uffizi Gallery: With Fifty Reproductions in Colour of its Most Famous Pictures*, edited by T. Leman Hare. New York: Dodge Publishing Company, 1912.
- Lane-Poole, Stanley. *The Art of the Saracens in Egypt*. London: Chapman and Hall, 1888.
- Leach, Arthur Francis, ed. *Visitations and Memorials of Southwell Minster*. London: Nichols and Sons, 1891.
- Lee, Vernon. *Euphorion: Being Studies of the Antique and the Medieval in the Renaissance*, vol. 1. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1884.
- Leslie, G. D. *The Inner Life of the Royal Academy*. London: John Murray, 1914.
- Lewald, Fanny. *The Italian Sketch-Book*. London: Simms and McIntyre, 1852.
- London and National Society for Women's Service Central Committee, 'Declaration in favour of women's suffrage: being the signatures received at the office of the Central Committee for Women's Suffrage, etc,' LSE Selected Pamphlets, 1889, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/60224329>.
- Low, Frances H. *Press Work for Women*. London: L. Upcott Gill, 1904.
- Markham, S. F and H. Hargreaves. *The Museums of India*. London: Museums Association, 1936.
- Massé, H. J. L. J. *The Art-Workers' Guild 1884-1934*. London: Shakespeare Head, 1935.
- Merrifield, Mary Philadelphia. *Original Treatises, Dating from the XIIth to XVIIIth Centuries of the Arts of Painting*, 2 vols. London: John Murray, 1849.
- Morris, William. *The Collected Letters of William Morris*, vol. 1, edited by Norman Kelvin. Guildford: Princeton University Press, 1984.
- Müller, Charles. *Cinq Mois aux Indes: de Bombay à Colombo*. Paris: H. Floury, 1924.
- Nawab Sultan Jahan Begam. *An Account of My Life (Akhtar Iqbal)*, vol. 3, translated by C. H. Payne. Bombay: The Times Press, 1927.
- Nivedita, Sister [Margaret Noble]. *Letters of Sister Nivedita*, vol. 2, edited by Sankari Prasad Basu. Calcutta: Nababharat Publishers, 1960.
- Newbolt, Sir Henry. *My World as in My Time: Memoirs of Sir Henry Newbolt*. London: Faber & Faber, 1932.
- North, Marianne. *Recollections of a Happy Life: Being the Autobiography of Marianne North*, vol. 2, edited by Janet Catherine Symonds. London: Macmillan and Co., 1894.
- Pennell, Elizabeth Robins. *French Cathedrals: Monasteries and Abbeys, and Sacred Sites of France*. New York: The Century Co., 1910.
- Pharand, Michel W. *Bernard Shaw and his Publishers*. London: University of Toronto Press, 2009.
- Porter, Arthur Kingsley. *Lombard Architecture*, vol. 3. London: Humphrey Milford, 1917.

- Poynter, Edward J. *Lectures on Art*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition. London: Chapman and Hall, 1897.
- Rose, Elise Whitlock. *Cathedrals and Cloisters of the South of France*, vol. 1. London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1906.
- Rossetti, William Michael, ed. *Rossetti Papers 1862 to 1870*. London: Sands & Co., 1903.
- Rothenstein, William. *Goya*. London: At the Sign of the Unicorn, 1900.
- Rothenstein, William. *Men and Memories: Recollections of William Rothenstein, 1900-1922*. London: Faber & Faber Limited, 1931.
- Ruskin, John. *The Works of John Ruskin*, 39 vols., edited by E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn. London: George Allen, 1903-1912.
- Ruskin, John. *Ruskin in Italy: Letters to his Parents, 1845*, edited by Harold I. Shapiro. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972.
- Sargant Florence, Mary, ed., *Papers of the Society of Mural Decorators and Painters in Tempera, Third Volume 1925-1935*. Brighton: The Dolphin Press, 1936.
- Sickert, Walter. *Walter Sickert: The Complete Writings on Art*, edited by Anna Gruetzner Robins. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Shaw, G. Bernard. *On Going to Church*. Boston: John W. Luce & Co., 1905.
- Singleton, Esther, ed. *Famous Cathedrals: As Seen and Described by Great Writers*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1909.
- Smith, Vincent A. *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911.
- Soissons: Before and During the War*. Clermont-Ferrand: Michelin & Cie., 1919.
- Stephens, F. G. and J. P. Mayall. *Artists at Home*. London: Sampson Low & Co., 1884.
- Stokes, Adrian and Marianne Stokes. *Hungary*. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1909.
- Street, George Edmund. *Brick and Marble in the Middle Ages: Notes of Tours in the North of Italy*. London: John Murray, 1855.
- Tagore, Rabindranath. *Gitanjali (Song Offerings)*. London: Printed for the India Society at the Chiswick Press, 1912.
- Uppingham School Roll: 1824 to 1894*. London: Edward Stanford, 1894.
- Uzanne, Octave. *The Modern Parisienne*. London: William Heinemann, 1912.
- Verax [John Morris Moore]. *The Abuses of the National Gallery*. London: William Pickering, 1847.
- Vaughan E. L. *List of Etonians who Fought in the Great War, 1914-1919*. Eton: Privately Printed, 1921.
- Ward, Mrs E. M. *Memories of Ninety Years*, edited by Isabel G. McAllister. London: Hutchinson & Co., 1924.
- Webb, Philip. *The Letters of Philip Webb*, vol. 4, ed. John Aplin. London: Routledge, 2015.
- Wills, Rosamond E. and Charles M. Powell, edited by *A Family Memoir; Being Some Account of T. W. Powell and His Wife M. E. Powell and of Their Ancestors*. London: Women's Printing Society, 1903.

Winkles, Benjamin. *French Cathedrals: With an Historical and Descriptive Account*. London: Charles Tilt, 1837.

#### GOVERNMENT REPORTS:

*Fourth Report of the Council of the School of Design 1844-45*. London: W. Clowes, 1845.

*Minutes of the Council of the Government School of Design from May 1844 to April 1846*, vol. 2. London: W. Clowes and Sons, 1847.

Select Committee on the School of Design. *Report from the Select Committee on the School of Design; Together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, and Index*. House of Commons, 1849.

Select Committee on Constitution and Working of Schools of Art Supported by Government Grants, and System of Promotion of National Education in Art. *Report from the Select Committee on Schools of Art; Together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, and Index*. House of Commons, 1864.

#### **SECONDARY MATERIAL**

##### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES:

Bayer, Andrea, ed. *Art and Love in Renaissance Italy*, exh. cat. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2008.

Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, *Arthur & Georgie Gaskin*, exh. cat. Birmingham: Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, 1981.

Boswell, Peter, Maria Makela, Carolyn Lanchner, Kristin Makhholm. *The Photomontages of Hannah Höch*, exh. cat. Minneapolis: Walker Art Center, 1997.

Boyle, Richard J., Hilton Brown and Richard Newman. 'The American Tempera Revival in Context.' In *Milk and Eggs: The American Revival of Tempera Painting, 1930-1950*, exh. cat. London: Washington University Press, 2002.

Breeze, George. *Joseph Southall 1861-1944: Artist-Craftsman*, exh. cat. Birmingham: Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, 1980.

Breeze, George and Gaynor Andrews. *Margaret Gere, 1878-1965*, exh. cat. Cheltenham: Cheltenham Art Gallery and Museums, 1984.

Broadley, Rosie. *Laura Knight: Portraits*, exh. cat. London: National Portrait Gallery, 2013.

Evans, Magdalen. *Utmost Fidelity: The Painting Lives of Marianne and Adrian Stokes*, exh. cat. Bristol: Sansom & Company Ltd, 2009.

Green, Christopher. *Art Made Modern: Roger Fry's Vision of Art*, exh. cat. London: Courtauld Gallery, 1999.

Hewison, Robert, Ian Warrell and Stephen Wildman. *Ruskin, Turner and the Pre-Raphaelites*, exh. cat. London: Tate Gallery Publishing Limited, 2000.

- Marsh, Jan and Pamela Gerrish Nunn, *Pre-Raphaelite Women Artists*, exh. cat. Manchester: Manchester City Art Galleries, 1997.
- Herrington, Katie JT and Rebecca Milner. *Annie Swynnerton: Painting Light and Hope*, exh. cat. Manchester: Manchester Art Gallery, 2018.
- Smith, Alison, ed. *Artist and Empire*, exh. cat. London: Tate Publishing, 2015.
- Staley, Allen and Christopher Newell. *Pre-Raphaelite Vision: Truth to Nature*, exh. cat. London: Tate Publishing, 2004.

#### MONOGRAPHS:

- Adams, Pauline. *Somerville for Women: An Oxford College 1879-1993*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Anson, Peter F. *Building up the Waste Places: The Revival of Monastic Life on Medieval Lines in the Post-Reformation Church of England*. Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2015.
- Asher, Catherine B. *Architecture of Mughal India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Bailey, Peter. *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830-1885*. London: Routledge, 1978.
- Barker, Hannah. *The Business of Women: Female Enterprise and Urban Development in Northern England 1760-1830*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Bashford, Alison. *Purity and Pollution: Gender, Embodiment and Victorian Medicine*. Houndhills, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998.
- Battersby, Christine. *Gender and Genius: Towards a Feminist Aesthetics*. London: The Women's Press, 1994.
- Beaven, Brad. *Leisure, Citizenship and Working-Class Men in Britain, 1850-1945*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005.
- Beers, Laura. *Red Ellen: The Life of Ellen Wilkinson, Socialist, Feminist, Internationalist*. London: Harvard University Press, 2016.
- Behrens, Doris Abouseif. *Islamic Architecture in Cairo: An Introduction*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992.
- Bennett, Tony. *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*. Oxon: Routledge, 1995.
- Bernier, Ronald R. *Monument, Moment, and Memory: Monet's Cathedral in Fin de Siècle France*. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2007.
- Briefel, Aviva. *The Deceivers: Art Forgery and Identity in the Nineteenth Century*. London: Cornell University Press, 2006.
- Bullen, J. B. *The Myth of the Renaissance in Nineteenth-Century Writing*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.
- Burke, Peter. *The European Renaissance: Centres and Peripheries*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1998.
- Caferro, William. *Contesting the Renaissance*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011.
- Caine, Barbara. *Biography and History*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

- Callen, Anthea. *Angel in the Studio: Women in the Arts and Crafts Movement 1870-1914*. London: Astragal Books, 1979.
- Campbell, Stephen J. *Cosmè Tura of Ferrara: Style, Politics and the Renaissance City, 1450-1495*. London: Yale University Press, 1997.
- Carnevali, Francesca and Julie-Marie Strange, eds. *Twentieth-Century Britain: Economic, Cultural and Social Change*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Abingdon: Routledge, 2014.
- Chadwick, Whitney. *Women, Art and Society*. 5<sup>th</sup> edition. London: Thames & Hudson, 2012.
- Chapman, Paul. *Menin Gate North: In Memory and Mourning*. Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 2016.
- Cherry, Deborah. *Painting Women: Victorian Women Artists*. London: Routledge, 1993.
- Cherry, Deborah. *Beyond the Frame: Feminism and Visual Culture, Britain 1850-1900*. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Clarke, Meaghan. *Critical Voices: Women and Art Criticism in Britain 1880-1905*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005.
- Cock, Alan G. and Donald R. Forsdyke, *Treasure Your Exceptions: The Science and Life of William Bateson*. New York: Springer, 2008.
- Coe, Brian and Paul Gates. *The Snapshot Photograph: The Rise of Popular Photography, 1888-1939*. London: Ash & Grant, 1977.
- Codell, Julie F., *The Victorian Artist: Artists' Lifewritings in Britain, ca. 1870-1910*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Colpus, Eve. *Female Philanthropy in the Interwar World: Between Self and Other*. London: Bloomsbury, 2018.
- Crawford, Elizabeth. *The Women's Suffrage Movement: A Reference Guide 1866-1928*. London: Routledge, 2001.
- Crawford, Elizabeth. *Enterprising Women: The Garretts and their Circle*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. London: Francis Boutle, 2009.
- Crawford, Elizabeth. *Art and Suffrage: A Biographical Dictionary of Suffrage Artists*. London: Francis Boutle, 2018.
- Davidoff, Leonore and Catherine Hall. *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle-Class, 1780-1850*. London: Hutchinson, 1987.
- Eagles, Stuart. *After Ruskin: The Social and Political Legacies of a Victorian Prophet, 1870-1920*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Ferguson, Wallace K. *The Renaissance in Historical Thought: Five Centuries of Interpretation*. Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1948.
- Fernie, Eric. *The Architecture of Norman England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Fossi, Gloria. *Uffizi: Art, History, Collections*, translated by Catherine Frost. Prato: Giunti, 2004.
- Fraser, Hilary. *The Victorians and Renaissance Italy*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1992.

- Fraser, Hilary. *Women Writing Art History in the Nineteenth Century: Looking Like a Woman*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Gerrish Nunn, Pamela. *Problem Pictures: Women and Men in Victorian Painting*. Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995.
- Ghose, Indira. *Women Travellers in Colonial India: The Power of the Female Gaze*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Giandomenico, Nicola. *Art and History: Assisi*. Florence: Casa Editrice Bonechi, 2007.
- Gillett, Paula. *Worlds of Art: Painters in Victorian Society*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990.
- Gleadle, Kathryn. *British Women in the Nineteenth Century*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001.
- Gleadle, Kathryn. *Borderline Citizens: Women, Gender, and Political Culture in Britain 1815-1867*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Graham, Jenny. *Inventing van Eyck: The Remaking of an Artist for the Modern Age*. Oxford: Berg, 2007.
- Graves-Brown, Carolyn. *Dancing for Hathor: Women in Ancient Egypt*. London: Continuum, 2010.
- Gray, Sara. *The Dictionary of British Women Artists*. Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 2009.
- Greenhalgh, Michael. *Destruction of Cultural Heritage in 19<sup>th</sup>-century France: Old Stones versus Modern Identities*. Leiden: Brill, 2015.
- Griffin, Ben. *The Politics of Gender in Victorian Britain: Masculinity, Political Culture and the Struggle for Women's Rights*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Hall, Lesley A. *The Life and Times of Stella Browne*. London: I. B. Tauris, 2011.
- Hall, Lesley A. *Sex, Gender and Social Change in Britain since 1880*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Harle, J. C. *The Art and Architecture of the Indian Subcontinent*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. London: Yale University Press, 1994.
- Harvey, Charles and Jon Press. *William Morris: Design and Enterprise in Victorian Britain*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991.
- Herringer, Carol Engelhardt. *Victorians and the Virgin Mary: Religion and Gender in England, 1830-85*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014.
- Hill, Kate. *Women and Museums, 1850-1914: Modernity and the Gendering of Knowledge*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016.
- Hinojosa, Lynne Walhout. *The Renaissance, English Cultural Nationalism, and Modernism, 1860-1920*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Israel, Kali. *Names and Stories: Emilia Dilke and Victorian Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Jain-Neubauer, Jutta. *The Stepwells of Gujarat in Art-Historical Perspective*. New Delhi: Abhinay Publications, 1981.

- Jokilehto, Jukka. *A History of Architectural Conservation*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2011.
- Kanwit, John Paul M. *Victorian Art Criticism and the Woman Writer*. Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2013.
- Kaplan, E. Ann. *Looking for the Other: Feminism, Film and the Imperial Gaze*. London: Routledge, 1997.
- Kleiner, Fred S. *Gardner's Art through the Ages: Non-Western Perspectives*, 13<sup>th</sup> ed. Boston, MA: Wadsworth, 2009.
- Lago, Mary. *Christiana Herringham and the Edwardian Art Scene*. London: Lund Humphries, 1996.
- Lambert-Hurley, Siobhan. *Muslim Women, Reform and Princely Patronage*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2007.
- Law, John E. and Lene Østermark-Johansen, eds. *Victorian and Edwardian Responses to the Italian Renaissance*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005.
- Lewis, Jane. *Women and Social Action in Victorian and Edwardian England*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991.
- Light, Alison. *Mrs Woolf and the Servants*. London: Penguin, Fig Tree, 2007.
- MacDonald, Stuart. *The History and Philosophy of Art Education*. Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 2004.
- Mack, Charles R. *Looking at the Renaissance: Essays Toward a Contextual Appreciation*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2005.
- Manca, Joseph. *Cosmè Tura: The Life and Art of a Painter in Estense Ferrara*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Marsh, Jan and Pamela Gerrish Nunn. *Women Artists and the Pre-Raphaelite Movement*. London: Virago Press, 1989.
- Maxwell, Anne. *Colonial Photography and Exhibitions: Representations of the 'Native' and the Making of European Identities*. London: Leicester University Press, 1999.
- McVicker, Mary F. *Adela Breton: A Victorian Artist Amid Mexico's Ruins*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 2005.
- Mills, Sara. *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism*. London: Routledge, 1993.
- Mitter, Partha. *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India, 1850-1922: Occidental Orientations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Mitter, Partha. *The Triumph of Modernism: India's Artists and the Avant-Garde 1922-1947*. London: Reaktion Books, 2007.
- Mitter, Partha. *Much Maligned Monsters: A History of European Reactions to Indian Art*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Moggridge, Donald. *Maynard Keynes: An Economist's Biography*. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Mossman, Mary Jane. *The First Women Lawyers: A Comparative Study of Gender, Law and the Legal Professions*. London: Bloomsbury, 2006.
- Nead, Lynda. *The Female Nude: Art, Obscenity and Sexuality*. London: Routledge, 1992.

- Nead, Lynda. *Victorian Babylon: People, Streets and Images in Nineteenth-century London*. London: Yale University Press, 2000.
- O'Neill, Morna. *Walter Crane: The Arts and Crafts, Painting and Politics, 1875-1890*. London: Yale University Press, 2010.
- Oram, Alison. *Her Husband was a Woman! Women's Gender-Crossing in Modern British Popular Culture*. London: Routledge, 2007.
- Owen, Lisa N. *Carving Devotion in the Jain Caves at Ellora*. Leiden: Brill, 2012.
- Panofsky, Erwin. *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art*. New York: Harper & Row, 1972.
- Parker, Rozsika. *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine*. London: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd, 2010.
- Parker, Rozsika and Griselda Pollock. *Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology*. London: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd, 2013.
- Pevsner, Nikolaus. *The Leaves of Southwell*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1945.
- Pollock, Griselda. *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and the Histories of Art*. London: Routledge, 1993.
- Prettejohn, Elizabeth. *Modern Painters, Old Masters: The Art of Imitation from the Pre-Raphaelites to the First World War*. London: Yale University Press, 2017.
- Purvis, June. *Christabel Pankhurst: A Biography*. Oxon: Routledge, 2018.
- Rose, Lucy Ella. *Suffragist Artists in Partnership: Gender, Word and Image*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017.
- Rowbotham, Sheila. *Hidden from History: 300 Years of Women's Oppression and the Fight Against It*. London: Pluto Press, 1973.
- Ruggles, D. Fairchild. *Islamic Gardens and Landscapes*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.
- Ryan, James R. *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire*. London: Reaktion Books, 1997.
- Ryan, James R. *Photography and Exploration*. London: Reaktion Books, 2013.
- Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Classics, 2003.
- Sheffield, Suzanne Le-May. *Revealing New Worlds: Three Victorian Women Naturalists*. London: Routledge, 2001.
- Showalter, Elaine. *Sexual Anarchy: Gender and Culture at the Fin de Siècle*. London: Viking Penguin, 1990.
- Simon, Sherry. *Gender in Translation: Cultural Identity and the Politics of Transmission*. London: Routledge, 2003.
- Smith, Alison. *The Victorian Nude*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996.
- Sutherland, Gillian. *Faith, Duty and the Power of the Mind: The Cloughs and their Circle 1820-1960*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Thompson, Daniel V. *The Materials and Techniques of Medieval Painting*. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1956.

- Tickner, Lisa. *The Spectacle of Women: Imagery of the Suffrage Campaign, 1907-14*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1987.
- Vicinus, Martha. *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women: 1850-1920*. London: Virago, 1985.
- Webb, Matilda. *The Churches and Catacombs of Early Christian Rome: A Comprehensive Guide*. Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2001.
- Webster, Wendy. *Imagining Home: Gender, Race and National Identity, 1945-1964*. London: Routledge, 1998.
- Weiner, Deborah E. B. *Architecture and Social Reform in Late-Victorian London*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994.

#### EDITED COLLECTIONS:

- Clarissa Campbell Orr, ed. *Women in the Victorian Art World*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995.
- Debenedetti, Ana and Caroline Elam. *Botticelli Past and Present*. London: UCL Press, 2019.
- Dietemann, Patrick, Wibke Neugebauer, Eva Ortner, Renate Poggendorf, Eva Reinkowski-Häfner and Heike Stege, eds. *Tempera Painting 1800-1950: Experiment and Innovation from the Nazarene Movement to Abstract Art*. London: Archetype Publications, 2019.
- Garrett, Miranda and Zoë Thomas, eds. *Suffrage and the Arts: Visual Culture, Politics and Enterprise*. London: Bloomsbury, 2019.
- Pomeroy, Jordana. *Intrepid Women: Victorian Artists Travel*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2005.
- Zweiniger-Bargielowska, Ina, ed. *Women in Twentieth-Century Britain*. Harlow: Longman, 2001.

#### CHAPTERS IN EDITED COLLECTIONS:

- Barker, Sheila. 'The Female Artist in the Public Eye: Women Copyists at the Uffizi, 1770-1859.' In *Women, Femininity and Public Space in European Visual Culture, 1789-1914*, edited by Temma Balducci and Heather Belnap Jensen, 65-79. Farnham: Ashgate, 2014.
- Baskins, Cristelle L. 'Il Trionfo della Pudicizia: Menacing Virgins in Italian Renaissance Domestic Painting.' In *Menacing Virgins: Representing Virginity in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, edited by Kathleen Coyne Kelly and Marina Leslie, 117-31, London: Associated University Presses, 1999.
- Breeze, George. 'Decorative Painting: For the Common Good and Beauty of Our Towns.' In *By Hammer and Hand: The Arts and Crafts Movement in Birmingham*, edited by Alan Crawford, 61-83. Birmingham: Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, 1984.
- Burton, Antoinette M. 'The White Woman's Burden: British Feminists and "The Indian Woman," 1865-1915.' In *Western Women and Imperialism*, edited by Nupur

- Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel, 137-157. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999.
- Cooper, Donal. "‘In Loco Tutissimo et Firmissimo’: The Tomb of St. Francis in History, Legend and Art.’ In *The Art of the Franciscan Order*, edited by William Robert Cook, 1-37. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005.
- Dohmen, Renate. ‘Material (Re)collections of the “Shiny East”: A Late Nineteenth-Century Travel Account by a Young British Woman in India.’ In *Travel Writing, Visual Culture and Form, 1760-1900*, edited by Mary Henes and Brian H. Murray, 42-64. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
- Fehlbaum, Valérie. ‘Sisters in Life, Sisters in Art: Ella and Marion Hepworth Dixon.’ In *Michael Field and their World*, edited by Margaret D. Stetz and Cheryl A. Wilson, 107-15. High Wycombe: Rivendale Press, 2007.
- Groot, Joanna de. ‘Metropolitan Desires and Colonial Connections: Reflections on Consumption and Empire.’ In *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*, edited by Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose, 166-90. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Heer, Lisa. ‘Copyists.’ In *Dictionary of Women Artists*, volume 1, edited by Delia Gaze, 55-60. London: Fitzborn Dearborn, 1997.
- Ho, Cynthia. ‘The Visual Piety of the Sacro Monte di Orta.’ In *Finding Saint Francis in Literature and Art*, edited by Cynthia Ho, Beth A. Mulvaney and John K. Downey, 109-27. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Holland, Patricia. “‘Sweet it is to scan ... ’: Personal Photographs and Popular Photography.’ In *Photography: A Critical Introduction*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition, edited by Liz Wells, 117-64. London: Routledge, 2009.
- Homan, Roger. ‘Quakers and Visual Culture.’ In *The Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies*, edited by Stephen W. Angell and Pink Dandelion, 492-506. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Katz, Melissa R. ‘William Holman Hunt and the “Pre-Raphaelite Technique”.’ In *Historical Painting Techniques, Materials, and Studio Practice: Preprints of a Symposium, University of Leiden, the Netherlands, 26-29 June 1995*, edited by Arie Wallert, Erma Hermens and Maria Peek, 158-65. Marina del Rey, CA: Getty Conservation Institute, 1995.
- Moormann, Eric M. ‘Destruction and Restoration of Campanian Mural Paintings in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries.’ In *The Conservation of Wall Paintings: Proceedings of a Symposium Organized by the Courtauld Institute of Art and the Getty Conservation Institute, London, July 13-16, 1987*, edited by Sharon Cather, 87-101. Marina del Rey, CA: Getty Conservation Institute, 1991.
- Nochlin, Linda. ‘Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?’ In *Art and Sexual Politics: Women’s Liberation, Women Artists, and Art History*, edited by Thomas B. Hess and Elizabeth C. Baker, 1-43. New York: Macmillan, 1973.
- Pollock, Griselda. ‘Art History and Visual Studies in Great Britain and Ireland.’ In *Art History and Visual Studies in Europe: Transnational Discourses and National Frameworks*, edited by Matthew Rampley, Thierry Lenain, Hubert Locher, Andrea

- Pinotti, Charlotte Schoell-Glass and Kitty Zijlmans, 355-78. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012.
- Roscoe, Barley. 'Phyllis Barron and Dorothy Larcher.' In *Pioneers of Modern Craft: Twelve Essays Profiling Key Figures in the History of Twentieth-century Craft*, edited by Margot Coatts, 61-70. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997.
- Ross, Ellen. 'Good and Bad Mothers: Lady Philanthropists and London Housewives before World War I.' In *Gendered Domains: Rethinking Public and Private in Women's History*, edited by Dorothy Hellery and Susan Reverby, 59-78. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992.
- Sherman, Claire Richter and Adele M. Holcomb. 'Precursors and Pioneers (1820-1890).' In *Women as Interpreters of the Visual Arts, 1820-1979*, edited by Claire Richter Sherman with Adele M. Holcomb, 3-26. London: Greenwood Press, 1981.
- Strickland, Alice. 'Opening Doors: The Entry of Women Artists into British Art Schools, 1871-1930.' In *The Concept of the 'Master' in Art Education in Britain and Ireland, 1770 to the Present*, edited by Matthew C. Potter, 127-44. Farnham: Ashgate, 2013.
- Thompson, Nancy M. 'Architectural Restoration and Stained Glass in 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Siena: The Place of Light in Giuseppe Partini's *Purismo*.' In *The Year's Work in Medievalism*, vol. 19, edited by Gwendolyn A. Morgan, 41-53. Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2006.
- Turner, Sarah Victoria. 'Crafting Connections: The India Society and the Formation of an Imperial Artistic Network in Early Twentieth-Century Britain.' In *India in Britain: South Asian Networks and Connections, 1858-1950*, edited by Susheila Nasta, 96-114. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Turner, Sarah Victoria. 'From Ajanta to Sydenham: "Indian" Art at the Sydenham Palace.' In *After 1851: The Material and Visual Cultures of the Crystal Palace at Sydenham*, edited by Kate Nichols and Sarah Victoria Turner, 122-42. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017.
- Walker, Lynne. 'Women and Architecture.' In *Gender Space Architecture: An Interdisciplinary Introduction*, eds. Jane Rendell, Barbara Penner and Iain Borden, 244-57. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Walker, Lynne. 'Home and Away: The Feminist Remapping of Public and Private Space in Victorian London. In *The Unknown City: Contesting Architecture and Social Space*, eds. Iain Borden, Joe Kerr, Jane Rendell and Alicia Pivaro, 296-310. London: MIT Press, 2002.

#### ARTICLES:

- Agnew, Eadaoin and Leon Litvack, 'The Subcontinent as Spectator Sport: The Photographs of Hariot Lady Dufferin, Vicereine of India.' *History of Photography* 30:4 (2006): 348-58.
- Agnew, Eadaoin. "'An Old Vagabond": Science and Sexuality in Marianne North's Representations of India.' *Nineteenth-Century Gender Studies* 7:2 (2011). Accessed 8 May 2019. <http://www.ncgsjournal.com/issue72/agnew.htm>.

- Alambritis, Maria. 'Such a pleasant little sketch [...] of this irritable artist': Julia Cartwright and the Reception of Andrea Mantegna in Late Nineteenth-Century Britain,' *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 28 (2019): <http://doi.org/10.16995/ntn.825>.
- Alambritis, Maria. 'Review of "Christiana Herringham: Artist, Campaigner, Collector", Royal Holloway, Emily Wilding Davison Building,' *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 28 (2019): <http://doi.org/10.16995/ntn.852>.
- Anderson, Jaynie. 'The Rediscovery of Ferrarese Renaissance Painting in the Risorgimento.' *The Burlington Magazine* 135:1085 (August 1983): 539-49.
- Anderson, Martin. 'The Development of British Tourism in Egypt, 1815 to 1850.' *Journal of Tourism History* 4:3 (2012): 259-79.
- Arrowsmith, Rupert Richard. "'An Indian Renaissance" and the Rise of Global Modernism: William Rothenstein in India, 1910-1911.' *The Burlington Magazine* 152:1285 (2010): 228-35.
- Avery-Quash, S. 'The Eastlake Library: Origins, History and Importance.' *Studi di Memofonte* 10 (2013): 3-46.
- Berkowitz, Elizabeth. 'The 1910 "Manet and the Post-Impressionists" Exhibition: Importance and Critical Issues.' In *Branch: Britain, Representation and Nineteenth-Century History*, ed. Dino Franco Felluga (January 2017). Accessed 20 April 2019. [http://www.branchcollective.org/?ps\\_articles=elizabeth-berkowitz-the-1910-manet-and-the-post-impressionists-exhibition-importance-and-critical-issues](http://www.branchcollective.org/?ps_articles=elizabeth-berkowitz-the-1910-manet-and-the-post-impressionists-exhibition-importance-and-critical-issues).
- Bowe, Nicola Gordon. 'Constance and Maxwell Armfield: An American Interlude.' *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* 14 (Autumn 1989): 6-27.
- Burns, Thea. 'Cennino Cennini's *Il Libro dell'Arte*: A Historiographical Review.' *Studies in Conservation* 56:1 (2011): 1-13.
- Chalmers, F. Graeme. 'Fanny McIan and London's Female School of Design, 1842-57: "My Lords and Gentlemen, Your Obedient and Humble Servant"?' *Woman's Art Journal* 16:2 (1995-6): 3-9.
- Clarke, Meaghan. 'The Art Press at the Fin de Siècle: Women, Collecting, and Connoisseurship.' *Visual Resources* 31:1-2 (2015): 15-30.
- Clarke, Meaghan. 'On Tempera and Temperament: Women, Art, and Feeling at the *Fin de Siècle*.' *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 23 (2016). Accessed 12 December 2016. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.16995/ntn.767>.
- Clarke, Meaghan. "'The Greatest Living Critic": Christiana Herringham and the Practise of Connoisseurship.' *Visual Resources* 33:1-2 (2017): 94-116.
- Clarke, Meaghan. 'Women in the Galleries: New Angles on Old Masters in the Late Nineteenth Century,' *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 28 (2019): <https://doi.org/10.16995/ntn.823>.
- Clegg, Hugh. 'Herringham, Sir Wilmot Parker (1855-1936), physician,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004. Accessed 14 February 2019. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/33838>.

- Cook, E. T. and David Wootton. 'Allen, George (1832-1907),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004. Accessed 20 April 2019. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/30384>.
- Dohmen, Renate. 'Memsahibs and the "Sunny East": Representations of British India by Millicent Douglas Pilkington and Beryl White.' *Victorian Literature and Culture* 40 (2012): 153-77.
- Dudkiewicz, Julia and Carol Willoughby. 'A Long-Lost Painting by GF Watts Rediscovered and Identified: Meeting of Samson and Delilah.' *The British Art Journal*, 11:1 (2010): 99-107.
- Dunkerton, Jill and Luke Syson. 'In Search of Verrocchio the Painter: The Cleaning and Examination of *The Virgin and Child with Two Angels*.' *National Gallery Technical Bulletin* 31 (2010): 4-41.
- Duro, Paul. 'The "Demoiselles à Copier" in the Second Empire.' *Woman's Art Journal* 7 (1986): 1-7.
- Effmann, Elise. 'Theories about the Eyckian Painting Medium from the Late-Eighteenth to the Mid-Twentieth Centuries.' *Studies in Conservation* 51: supplement 1 (2006): 17-26.
- Evans, Mark, Elizabeth Prettejohn and Stephen Calloway. 'Portrait of a Lady Known as Smeralda Bandinelli,' V&A, <https://www.vam.ac.uk/articles/portrait-of-a-lady-known-as-smeralda-bandinelli>. Accessed 3 April 2019.
- Fahy, Everett. 'Some Early Italian Pictures in the Gambier-Parry Collection.' *The Burlington Magazine* 109:768 (March 1967): 128-39.
- Fehrer, Catherine. 'Women at the Académie Julian in Paris,' *The Burlington Magazine* 136:1100 (November 1994): 752-7.
- Hirsch, Pam. 'Bodichon, Barbara Leigh Smith (1827-1891), Artist and Women's Activist.' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2007. Accessed 19 April 2019. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2755>.
- Holcomb, Adele M. 'Anna Jameson: The First Professional English Art Historian.' *Art History* 6:2 (June 1983): 171-87.
- Homan, Roger. 'The Art of Joseph Edward Southall.' *Quaker Studies* 5:1 (2000): 69-83.
- Homan, Roger. 'The Inward and the Outward Eye: Quaker Attitudes to Visual Culture.' *Quaker Studies* 18:2 (2014): 139-150.
- Hunter, F. Robert. 'Tourism and Empire: The Thomas Cook & Son Enterprise on the Nile, 1868-1914.' *Middle Eastern Studies* 40:5 (2004): 28-54.
- Levey, Michael. 'Botticelli and Nineteenth-Century England.' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 23:3-4 (1960): 291-306.
- Levitan, Kathrin. 'Redundancy, the "Surplus Woman" Problem, and the British Census, 1851-1861.' *Women's History Review* 17:3 (2008): 359-76.
- Livesey, Ruth. 'The Politics of Work: Feminism, Professionalisation and Women Inspectors of Factories and Workshops.' *Women's History Review* 13:2 (2004): 233-62.

- Losano, Antonia. 'A Preference for Vegetables: The Travel Writings and Botanical Art of Marianne North,' *Women's Studies* 26:5 (1997): 423-48.
- Marsh, Jan. 'Morris, Mary [May] (1862-1938), Designer and Craftswoman.' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2007. Accessed 19 April 2019. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/37787>.
- Nochlin, Linda. 'From 1971: Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?' *ARTnews*, 30 May 2015. Accessed 4 April 2019. <http://www.artnews.com/2015/05/30/why-have-there-been-no-great-women-artists/>.
- Orpin Gaylard, Marjorie. 'Phyllis Barron (1890-1964). Dorothy Larcher (1884-1952). Textile Designers and Block Printers.' *The Journal of the Decorative Arts Society 1890-1940* 3 (1979): 32-9.
- Painter, K. S. 'A Roman Christian Silver Treasure from Biddulph, Staffordshire.' *The Antiquaries Journal* 55:1 (March 1975): 62-9.
- Palmer, Caroline. "'I Will Tell Nothing That I Did Not See": British Women's Travel Writing, Art and the Science of Connoisseurship, 1776-1860.' *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 51:3 (2015): 248-68.
- Parratt, Catriona M. 'Making Leisure Work: Women's Rational Recreation in Late Victorian and Edwardian England.' *Journal of Sport History* 26:3 (1999): 471-487.
- Patel, Divia and Nicola Costaras. 'Conserving the Copies of the Ajanta Cave Paintings at the V&A.' *Conservation Journal* 52 (2006). <http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/journals/conservation-journal/issue-52/conserving-the-copies-of-the-ajanta-cave-paintings-at-the-v-and-a/>.
- Peel, Rose and Bill Hamilton. 'Searching for the Paper - Traill.' *AICCM Bulletin* 35:1 (2014): 44-51.
- Pezzini, Barbara. 'Connoisseurship as "The Art-Element in Art": Three Unknown Articles by Mary Berenson in the Burlington Magazine (1903).' *The Burlington Magazine Index Blog*, 19 March 2014. Accessed 20 April 2019. <https://burlingtonindex.wordpress.com/2014/03/19/mary-berenson-burlington-magazine/>.
- Powers, Alan. 'The Fresco Revival in the Early Twentieth Century.' *The Journal of the Decorative Arts Society 1850-the Present* 12 (1988): 38-46.
- Prettejohn, Elizabeth. 'Aesthetic Value and the Professionalization of Victorian Art Criticism 1837-78.' *Journal of Victorian Culture* 2:1 (1997): 71-94.
- Rendell, Jane. 'Langham Place Group (act. 1857-1866).' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2005. Accessed 8 April 2019. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/93708>.
- Shaw, Samuel. "'Scarcely a Scholar": William Rothenstein and the Artist as Art-Writer in English Periodicals, ca. 1890-1910.' *Visual Resources* 31:1-2 (2015): 45-60.
- Shelley, Arlen. "'For Love of an Idea": Jane Ellen Harrison, Heretic and Humanist.' *Women's History Review* 5:2 (1996): 165-190.

- Shokoohy, Mehrdad. 'Mandu,' *Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online*. Oxford University Press. Accessed 3 April 2019. <https://doi.org/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T053732>.
- Skelton, Robert. 'The Indian Collections: 1798 to 1978.' *The Burlington Magazine* 120:902 (May 1978): 296-305.
- Spooner, Hannah. 'Pure Painting: Joseph Southall, Christiana Herringham and the Tempera Revival.' *The British Art Journal* 4:2 (2003): 49-56.
- Sprague, Abbie N. 'The British Tempera Revival: The Pre-Raphaelites and the Link with America.' *Apollo* 150:453 (1999): 47-53.
- Sprague, Abbie N. 'The British Tempera Revival: A Return to Craftsmanship.' *The British Art Journal* 3:3 (2002): 66-74.
- Thane, Patricia M. 'What Difference did the Vote Make? Women in Public and Private Life in Britain since 1918.' *Historical Research* 76:192 (2003): 268-85.
- Thomas, Zoë. 'At Home with the Women's Guild of Arts: Gender and Professional Identity in London Studios, c.1880-1925.' *Women's History Review* (2015): 1-27.
- Vajpeyi, Ananya. 'An Ancient Treatise and the Making of Modern India.' *The Caravan: A Journal of Politics & Culture* (July 2016). Accessed 19 April 2019. <https://caravanmagazine.in/vantage/ancient-treatise-modern-india>.
- Ventrella, Francesco. 'Constance Jocelyn Ffoulkes and the Modernization of Scientific Connoisseurship.' *Visual Resources* 33:1-2 (2017): 117-39.
- Vickery, Amanda. 'Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History.' *The Historical Journal* 36:2 (1993): 383-414.
- Weinberg, Gail S. 'D. G. Rossetti's Ownership of Botticelli's "Smeralda Brandini".' *The Burlington Magazine* 146:1210 (2004): 20-6.
- Whyte, William. 'Turner, Hugh Thackeray (1853-1937).' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Accessed 1 April 2019. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/64099>.

### CONSERVATION REPORTS

- Pearson, Harriet. Conservation report for Christiana Herringham, *Madonna and Child*. Royal Holloway, University of London, 2018.
- Pearson, Harriet. Conservation report for Christiana Herringham, *Smeralda Bandinelli*. Royal Holloway, University of London, 2019.
- Pearson, Harriet. Conservation report for Christiana Herringham, *Italy: Venice - In the Narthex of St. Mark's Cathedral*. Royal Holloway, University of London, 2019.
- Tempest, Hannah. 'Technical Analysis of Two Paintings by Christiana Jane Herringham,' *Tempest Conservation and Analysis*, December 2017-January 2018, CJH-HP-RHPG/2017, Royal Holloway, University of London.

### UNPUBLISHED THESES:

- Gladstone, Lynne Helen. 'The Hybrid Work of Marianne North in the Context of Nineteenth-Century Visual Practice(s).' PhD Thesis, University of Nottingham, 2012.
- Johnston, Tiffany Latham. 'Mary Berenson and the Conception of Connoisseurship.' PhD Thesis, Indiana University, 2001.
- Shaw, Samuel. "'Equivocal Positions": The Influence of William Rothenstein, c.1890-1910.' PhD Thesis, University of York, 2010.

### UNPUBLISHED PAPERS

- McBurney-Ryan Henrietta and Laura MacCulloch. 'Christiana Herringham's Legacy to Bedford and Newnham Colleges.' Paper delivered at *Christiana Herringham and her Circle*, 2 March 2019, Royal Holloway, University of London.
- Tedbury, Imogen. "'A Perfectly Mediaeval City Where the Arts Still Live"? Christiana Herringham, Siennese *Purismo* and the British Reception of Siena.' Paper delivered at *Christiana Herringham and her Circle*, 2 March 2019, Royal Holloway, University of London.

### ONLINE RESOURCES:

- '67: Sir William Rothenstein (1872-1945), Ajanta, signed with initials, titled and dated...'. Accessed 19 April 2019. <https://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2003/modern-british-paintings-w03702/lot.67.html>.
- '69: Sir William Rothenstein (1872-1945), Ghats at Benares, oil on canvas, 71x91.5cm.;...' Sotheby's. Accessed 19 April 2019. <https://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/lot.69.html/2003/modern-british-paintings-w03702>.
- Bliss, Ian, Roger Garside, Ray Haslam and Sarah Quill, eds. *The Electronic Edition of Ruskin's Venetian Notebooks*, May 2008. Accessed 2 April 2019. <https://www.lancaster.ac.uk/users/ruskinlib/eSoV/notes/toplevel.html>
- The Development of Arts & Crafts Architecture in St Catherine's, Guildford*, 2013. Accessed 1 April 2019, <https://www.artington.org.uk/artsandcrafts.pdf>.
- Francis Frith & Co. Archive. <https://www.francisfrith.com/uk/search>. Accessed 1 April 2019.
- Hallett, Mark, Sarah Victoria Turner, Jessica Feather, Baillie Card, Tom Scutt and Maisoon Rehani, eds. *The Royal Academy Summer Exhibition: A Chronicle, 1769-2018*. London: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2018. <https://www.chronicle250.com>.
- 'Lot 13: Joseph Edward Southall, R.W.S. (1861-1944): *The Rose Bowl*.' Christie's. Accessed 19 April 2019. <https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/joseph-edward-southall-rws-1861-1944-the-rose-6089737-details.aspx>.

- 'Lot 53: Sir William Rothenstein (1872-1945): *Bathing on the Ganges*.' Christie's. Accessed 19 April 2019. <https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/sir-william-rothenstein-1872-1945-bathing-on-the-6062391-details.aspx>.
- 'Oral History Interview with Daniel Varney Thompson, 1974 September 25-1976 November 2.' Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. Accessed 22 March 2019. <https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/interviews/oral-history-interview-daniel-varney-thompson-13166>.
- Savage, David. *Cavallini to Veronese: A Guide to the Works of the Major Italian Renaissance Painters*. Accessed 3 April 2019. <http://cavallinitoveronese.co.uk>.
- Shaw, Samuel. 'The Carfax Gallery and the Camden Town Group.' In *The Camden Town Group in Context*, edited by Helena Bonett, Ysanne Holt and Jennifer Mundy. Tate Research Publication. Published May 2012, accessed 19 April 2019. <http://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/camden-town-group/samuel-shaw-the-carfax-gallery-and-the-camden-town-group-r1104371>.
- Simon, Jacob. 'British Artists' Suppliers, 1650-1950.' *National Portrait Gallery*. Accessed 9 May 2019. <https://www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes/directory-of-suppliers/>.
- Sorensen, Lee, ed. *Dictionary of Art Historians*. Accessed 20 April 2019. <http://arthistorians.info/>
- The William Morris Internet Archive: Works. Accessed 19 April 2019. <https://www.marxists.org/archive/morris/works/index.htm>.