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6 The Case of F. C. B. Cadell: Periodisation, Taste and Professional Identity

Ysanne Holt

Recent accounts of the Edwardian era across the field of the visual arts, their surrounding critical discourses, support networks and markets, have largely concentrated on the city of London, the administrative and cultural heart of empire with its ever-expanding scale, cosmopolitan status and proliferating international connections.¹ While this chapter attends to this field, it adopts a less London-centric approach, taking as its focus the contemporary context of another capital, the Scottish city of Edinburgh, through a case study of the Edinburgh-born painter Francis Campell Boileau Cadell (1883–1937).

Until the staging of an impressive retrospective at the National Galleries of Scotland in 2011, the first since 1942, Cadell had received relatively little critical attention. Previous surveys record meticulously the artistic development of this painter, along with his fellow, later-designated, Scottish Colourists.² The group, so termed by T.J. Honeyman in 1950, consists of Cadell's friend Samuel J. Peploe (1871–1935) and Leslie Hunter (1877–1931) who, along with John Duncan Fergusson (1874–1961), all trained or spent time in Paris through the 1890s and 1900s.³ In rejecting the conventional academic system in Edinburgh, Peploe and Cadell were part of the broader, international movement from the early 1880s of young artists attracted both to the training delivered in French ateliers and to the degree of liberation from the perceived cultural conformity of home. The Colourists responded over the years to a progression of artists including James McNeill Whistler (1834–1903), John Singer Sargent (1856–1925), Claude Monet (1840–1926) and Henri Matisse (1869–1954), whose influence on Cadell was brought to bear in an evolving series of portraits of interior spaces in the period up to and following World War One. My focus on these portraits, and the figures and objects therein, draws upon insights from recent studies of design, the decorative arts and

social geography, as well as art historical writings on the artist himself.⁴ My concern is with the value of exact periodisation here in the face of ongoing developments within early twentieth-century modernism and modernity and their implications for shifting constructions of professional artistic identity. In this context I focus on the broadly discernable tendency within the artist's oeuvre from impressionistic still lifes and intimate, atmospheric depictions of rarefied upper-middle class social life in high-ceilinged Edinburgh drawing rooms, to precisely defined, brightly coloured arrangements of decorative objects. These arrangements might be seen to correspond to shifting patterns of taste and consumption amid emerging markets for art, design and decorative goods.

Studies of the early twentieth century typically highlight the specificities and the impact of social modernity, of greater mobilities and newly available technologies, all contributing to the general speeding up of the pace of everyday life and providing more access to new experiences for wealthier sections of society. The ever-greater spread of forms of visual communication is marked: photography, film, the mass circulation of illustrated magazines and periodicals; and a widely encouraged demand for spectacle fostered through processions and pageants, public displays and popular exhibitions. This was a high point in the taste for theatre and developing dramatic forms, the emergence of cinemas in the sites of the then transforming old music halls, the widening use of the camera and the growing possibilities for travel and tourism at home and abroad. Among all of these developments arose opportunities for new social, gender and spatial identities and for transgressing old boundaries, all to varying degrees. For those with a measure of affluence, the Edwardian era, however defined, witnessed an increased consumption of goods in general in a sphere habitually gendered female. This is the epoch of the department store, most famously of Selfridges on Oxford Street which opened in 1909 with its well-documented, sophisticated strategies for mingling worlds of individual choice and freedom, sociability and conformity.⁵

Amid this sense of an endless proliferation was the emergence too of more, and more diverse, formal and informal artists' groups, societies and organisations, often extending outwards to larger international networks across Europe, the Empire and the Atlantic. These years witnessed the particular expansion of museums and art galleries, the latter's dealers and associated critics and collectors all cannily attuned to the specificities of locations and markets, frequently transforming their profile and diversifying their stock to stimulate and then suit demand.⁶ The flip-side of this particular narrative of relentless diversification lay in the drably monotonous, ever-spreading suburbs which were subjected to the most biting critiques across the social and political spectrum of contemporary observers.⁷ To shift focus from these largely London-centric accounts of early twentieth-century modernity to the practices of a painter in Edinburgh is to challenge what appears a still governing centre-periphery model, and to take up Lisa Tickner's pertinent call for consideration of the 'local inflections to the web of relations that make up the cultural field'.⁸ In 2011 *The Scotsman's* Tim Cornwell, commenting on Cadell's acute observations of social life, deemed him a 'consummate Edinburgh painter'.⁹ What can we assume from such a description? How might we understand this artist's professional practice in relation to some of the developing social, cultural and class experiences at play within the Scottish capital across this period, and how relevant here are notions of the Edwardian era per se?

Modern Edinburgh and Social Geographies

Less than half the size of Glasgow (which, at the peak of its industrial success in 1901 in international trade and ship-building, was considered the 'second city of the empire'), Edinburgh's traditions were based largely upon the solid middle-class professions of banking, law and publishing and were conducted within very distinct social and spatial geographies.¹⁰ The city itself went through an intense period of development from the mid-1890s with

special consequences for developing patterns of social distinction.¹¹ The effects of second-wave New Town development from the 1820s had already been to marginalise the medieval quarter of the Old Town with what Patrick Geddes (1854–1932) termed ‘the disastrous increase in the social separation of the classes so that the upper and middle classes have been wont to traverse Edinburgh by means of viaducts high above the festering squalor below’.¹² In 1902 Geddes, mystic visionary, social evolutionist, utopian town planner and founder of both the Edinburgh Social Union and the Franco-Scottish Society, was to observe a community sharply divided between Old Town and New Town: ‘seldom is so full and dramatic a set of contrasts crowded into one narrow region’.¹³

In her detailed study of the Arts and Crafts Movement in Edinburgh, Elizabeth Cummings considers how projects developed by Geddes and his circle were concerned to address the impoverished conditions of the Old Town through regeneration, ‘cultural reclamation’ and the decoration of interiors in public buildings.¹⁴ Associated with painters such as Charles Mackie (1862–1920) and John Duncan (1866–1945) and the Irish-born artist, embroiderer and illustrator Phoebe Traquair (1852–1936), the movement evolved an intensely decorative, other-worldly aesthetic, its strong sense of pattern and design referencing ancient Celtic carvings, Symbolism and Art Nouveau as well as Eastern influences. Cited too is the possible influence of European alliances such as the 1903 Wiener Werkstatte in Vienna on the ambitions of the 1908 new Edinburgh College of Art above the Old Town’s Grassmarket, with its ideal ‘union of designer, architect, craftsman and artisan’.¹⁵ Such a concept has some interesting parallels and distinctions when we come to consider Cadell’s paintings and his keen interests in the arrangement and decoration of private, interior spaces.

Despite those utopian Arts and Crafts interventions Scots socialist and nationalist Edwin Muir (1887–1959) was to describe the Old Town’s overcrowded, mostly unsanitary slums in *Scottish Journey* (1935) as still marked with ‘some sort of dirty scurvy produced by poverty,

filth and long-continued sorrow'.¹⁶ Decay and darkness continually defined the area across the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, with its squalid dilapidations recorded in contemporary social surveys and, in some contexts, rendered picturesque. Muir noted the sharp contrast, the atmosphere and social distinction of Edinburgh's prosperous New Town, to the other side of Princes Street Gardens and Princes Street characterised by classical principles of enlightened rationalism. This, for Muir, was the town of Hume. 'Everything in it breathes spaciousness, order and good sense'.¹⁷ Here in Ainslie Place, Cadell, son of an eminent Edinburgh surgeon, spent some of his childhood years. In tall houses such as these, as Eric Linklater's fictional character Magnus Merriman later observed of New Town's Rothesay Place, 'was respectability achieved in such high perfection as to be magnificent indeed. Here was dignity wrought by endeavour and most zealously preserved'.¹⁸

It is along Princes Street, separating off Old and New Town, that 'modern' Edinburgh emerges from the 1890s. French realist Jean-François Raffaëlli's (1850–1924) representation of *Princes Street, Edinburgh* (c.1890), with its observation of nineteenth-century social types in their distinctive milieu, matches his records of Parisian boulevards from the same period.¹⁹ This comparison underlines Siân Reynolds' observations of common 'cultural threads' and ongoing developments in the modernising Scottish and French capitals.²⁰ In 1913 Raffaëlli's conception was radically updated by a sub-Futurist depiction of the same Edinburgh street by the then twenty-six-year-old Scots painter, Stanley Cursiter (1887–1976).²¹ The fractured profiles and glimpses of modern, fashionable figures in Cursiter's *Sensation of Crossing the Street* (Aberdeen Art Gallery) celebrate the spectacle of a rapid process of modernisation that had occurred along the main commercial thoroughfare, here depicted at the junction between Shandwick Place, Queensferry Street and Lothian Road. This followed the advent of electric lighting and the tram system from the 1890s, and the 1897 redesign of North Bridge at the opposite end of Princes Street to allow for the rebuilding of Waverley Station near the Scott

Monument; both witness to the developing ‘Sir Walter Scottification’ of the city. Good hotels, new theatres and department stores all followed. Edinburgh’s own Selfridges appeared in the form of Forsyth’s, one of the first steel-framed buildings in Scotland, but with internal alabaster ionic columns, echoing architectural historian Alan Powers’s point about the existence in the period of ‘modernity without modernism’.²² Cadell’s artistic practice then developed amid a relatively compact urban space with very sharply defined social and cultural distinctions and rapidly developing and diverse forms of consumption and entertainment.

Directly across from the Scott Monument, Jenners, then the largest store in Scotland, re-opened after a fire in 1895 with electric lighting, hydraulic lifts and caryatids on the outside to ‘show symbolically that women are the support of the house’.²³ Shopping as a pleasurable activity was underlined by the luxurious décor and the use of glass and reflective surfaces, as revealed in contemporary images of the store made by the architectural photographers Bedford Lemere & Co (see Figure 6.1).²⁴ As Erika Rappaport has commented of the later Selfridges, in such colourful, light and glittering environments customers perceived buying as a social and cultural event.²⁵ In Edinburgh, that quality of experience was extensively publicised in 1902 at the opening of the three-hundred-bed North British railway hotel just across the road, then the largest railway hotel to be built outside London.²⁶ All of this speaks of a developing modernity quite at odds with nearby New Town’s hushed respectability, referred to by Linklater and, as discussed below, the refined atmosphere of Cadell’s interior portraits such as *Afternoon*, (Figure 6.2, 1913)

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The continual transformation of the city of Edinburgh in these years through new and wider patterns of consumption and mobility was not without its critics. Muir, for example, who

reads at times like a Scots C. F. G Masterman, declared in those interwar years that the city was no longer Scottish in any real sense, but with a way of life ‘as cosmopolitan as the cinema’.²⁷ Borrowing a phrase from Robert Louis Stevenson’s *Edinburgh: Picturesque Notes* (1878), Princes Street, he noted, was ‘a mile of commercial palaces’.²⁸ A ‘deplorable hotch potch of vulgarity’, it represented the worst of Edinburgh bourgeois life, most completely summed up by the ‘smug assurance of the tea rooms’ which, by that time, ‘virtually lined the street at first floor level from end to end’.²⁹ An early feature of Jenners’ store, the tea room began life as an important site for rest and sociability where shoppers, mostly women, could meet and mingle away from the isolation of the home. To be a focus for important designers in both Glasgow and Edinburgh, for Muir, the effect of a tea room was ‘to produce an air of luxury in an industrial civilisation [leading] the hypnotically blissful tea-drinker ... to the mistaken conclusion that here is something as good as the richest and most leisured can enjoy’.³⁰ Muir’s tea-drinkers would include residents of the spreading ‘Bungalurbia’ on the periphery of the city, as well as those from ‘Edinburgh’s fashionable Arts and Crafts’ suburb, Colinton, built in the 1890s.³¹ All were diverse representatives of the capital’s expanding, upwardly mobile working and lower-middle classes with a steadily growing income and leisure time, as well as its established professional middle class, and all with increasingly easy access to the centre of the city through the development of local railways.³²

The site of these converging facilities for leisure and consumption was very close, but crucially distinct, from that of the developing art trade of the period. This was situated in and around George Street, the grandest and widest of the New Town streets just behind and running parallel to Princes Street where, in 1909, Cadell took the first of two studios, the second in 1913. Originally a residential street and site of the Assembly Rooms and the Royal Society of Edinburgh, this was the location of Doig, Wilson & Wheatley, the dealers, restorers and print-sellers, where Cadell had his first exhibition in 1908. George Street was

also the first business location of Peter McOmish Dott (1856–1934), son of Aitken Dott, the framer and artists' colourmen turned picture dealer. McOmish Dott founded the Scottish Gallery, the oldest commercial gallery in Scotland at Number 127 in 1896, before moving round the corner to South Castle Street in around 1901.³³ Cadell exhibited there in 1909. Five minutes from his studio was 'The New Gallery' at 12 Shandwick Place. This was home to the private, artist-run Society of Eight, an all-male grouping which included John Lavery (1856–1941), Patrick William Adam (1854–1929) and Samuel J. Peploe. Cadell was a founder member in 1912 and thereafter a regular exhibitor.

This was a tightly defined geographical area characterised by clear social distinctions and demarcations in taste.³⁴ Within this specific network focussed on the display and exchange of particular luxury goods, the artist established a practice largely built on the patronage of Scottish business or professional-class collectors including Edinburgh advocate and later Unionist MP, Sir Patrick Ford (1880–1945). Ford was an early patron of Lavery and, in 1910, funded Cadell's trip to Venice along with his friend, the poet and Duke of Argyll's grandson, Ivar Campbell, acquiring several of the artist's works on his return. Cadell would likely have visited the Lavery retrospective at the Biennale in Venice that same year.³⁵ The overall theme of Cadell's own Venice works, the leisured and pleasurable world of fashionable society women, was to dominate the years to follow, even if his Edinburgh paintings, where climate was a consideration, were carefully composed and artfully informal interiors, not pavement café scenes.³⁶

Cadell's first George Street studio/living space was decorated largely in white and grey with the floorboards, a glossy black, reflecting back the available light and surrounding colours.³⁷ Purged of bric-a-brac, objects and furniture were fastidiously well chosen and, notably, in striking contrast to the ornate, overly upholstered examples that contemporary Bedford Lemere's photographs document as being on sale in nearby Jenners. Cadell's white theme,

with obvious references to Whistler, was easily translated into spacious Edinburgh drawing-room scenes dominated by a white marble fireplace with vast over-mantle mirror, its reflections visually expanding the overall space. Such a refined, glittering and pristine interior appears in *Afternoon* (Figure 6.2) a conversation piece of three stylish young women with a silver and porcelain tea service forming a glistening still life in the foreground. The artist's presence is indicated by the glance of the seated figure with newspaper, and the group conveys an atmosphere of easy familiarity. The work is all slashing, broad brush strokes, shimmering, swiftly applied highlights and thick dabs of paint, referencing Lavery, and, with the elegantly elongated background figure in the black coat, Édouard Manet (1832–1883) and Diego Velázquez (1599–1660). With such a painting in mind, perhaps, Duncan Macmillan has described Cadell's works as summarising 'the informal elegance of the Edwardian age better than almost any of his contemporaries'.³⁸

Recent interest has focused on artists' own living and working spaces such as this. As Martina Droth comments in an essay on sculpture, from the latter part of the nineteenth century, artist's houses and interiors were frequently reported upon in the contemporary illustrated press and were a source of much curiosity. These periodicals often pictured artists in their own immediate environments in order to portray their unique aesthetic vision and sensibility. They were implicitly engaged in a process of differentiation, or specialisation, crucial to the maintenance of distinctive professional profiles. For Droth, their houses 'were as much show-homes as places to work and live'.³⁹ Cadell himself was photographed in his second George Street studio in 1914. In a relaxed pose smoking a pipe and wearing his white painting coat, the easel behind him displays the recently completed *The Black Hat*, and what appears to be a painting of the inner Hebridean island of Iona, the two works representing the artist's twin specialisations at this date.⁴⁰ The sense of public and private spaces merging is also conveyed in his dashing, half-length *Self-Portrait* (Figure 6.3) of the same year. Here he

is presented at work, again in his painting coat, its collar elegantly popped, in what appears both a private living and public studio context.

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Social Networks

Afternoon, as noted, implies an intimately connected social group that extends to include the artist himself. The importance of portraiture as a means of forging social transactions or underlining social connections also emerges in two titled portraits the artist produced of Hazel, John Lavery's American-born, Anglo-Irish wife. A painter herself and a prominent society hostess who attracted publicity across fashionable circles in Edinburgh and Glasgow, as in London and Dublin, Hazel Lavery (1880–1935) epitomised an ideal of style and femininity that translated easily through the Edwardian era proper and into the 1920s. During this decade she was photographed by Cecil Beaton, and a reproduction of one of John Lavery's portraits of her appeared in an advertisement for Pond's Cold Cream.⁴¹ In Cadell's unfinished *Lady Lavery* (1912, Edinburgh Museums and Galleries) and *Lady Lavery in Black* (undated, private collection) she is a chic figure, dark hair against porcelain-skin, wearing a wide-brimmed, rose-trimmed black hat. The portraits may well have signalled the artist's obvious connection to wider celebrity networks to Scottish society's elite. Kenneth McConkey records the particular professional benefit John Lavery himself gained from his wife's centrality in London circles, quoting the artist, 'She made sitters talk to her, which set them at their ease while I was painting them'.⁴² By 1909 the couple's social status was such that John Lavery would depict his own *Artist's Studio* (1909–1913, National Gallery of Ireland) in direct homage to Velasquez' *Las Meninas*, with Hazel in an exotic silk paisley coat and feathered turban, his daughter and stepdaughter plus Moroccan maid, all centre stage in the seemingly vast and shadowy interior space of his South Kensington studio. Two years

later he was commissioned to paint *The King, The Queen, The Prince of Wales and the Princess Mary, Buckingham Palace* (1913, National Museums, Northern Ireland), now profiting from a niche market in portrait interiors of the grander drawing rooms and expansive hallways of the British aristocracy, diplomats and so forth in London and overseas.⁴³

Unmarried and always Edinburgh-based, ‘Bunty’ Cadell’s social position and his personal and professional identity manifested itself in different ways. In 1950, T.J. Honeyman remembered him as ‘an inheritor of the gay nineties tradition in social brilliance [who, if in London] would have adapted himself to the formulae of introductions to circles which operated as honorary publicity agents’.⁴⁴ Clearly though the artist did just this in the particular circumstances of the Edinburgh upper and upper-middle class with its idiosyncratic social rituals. For Honeyman, and indicated by that white painting coat, ‘There was nothing of the bohemian in his make-up. Adventures had their fascination, but they must not be experienced at the expense of personal comfort or conducted at too great a distance from a hot bath and an aperitif’.⁴⁵ This suggests a persona, reaffirmed by later biographers, of gentlemanly amateurism, a professional strategy just as much as, say, the calculated bohemianism of the artist Augustus John (1878–1961), and directed towards equally distinctive social circles and clienteles.⁴⁶ Success in this regard resulted at an early stage in increased sales to clients such as John James Cowan, Edinburgh accountant and son of a prosperous paper manufacturer. Cowan was initially a patron of Lavery and through him a collector of Whistler, who painted his (never finished) portrait in the late 1890s.⁴⁷ Another key patron was Glasgow shipping merchant George W. Service whom Cadell met in 1913 on a sailing boat tour of what was to be the first of his annual visits to Iona following the War.⁴⁸ Service reportedly had paintings by Cadell in almost every room of his Glasgow town house and his summer residence at Cove in Argyll.⁴⁹

With considerable cultural capital, the confidence of class, taste and distinction, for a time Cadell was able to pursue a particular entrepreneurial direction, inspiring affluent Scottish clients to purchase his pictures and potentially something of his taste in interior décor. The maintenance of social networks was crucial in that, as both Frances Fowle and Alice Strang note, he most often sold directly to patrons through commissions rather than through dealers. That gentlemanly amateurism extended to his management of sales and the market value of his work. Apparent disregard for finance, despite the ever-increasing need to make money, matched the aristocratic connections he maintained. That particular social world was at some distance, all the more appealing, perhaps, to that of his actual patrons.

Following active service in World War One, and on the strength of his sales, in 1920 Cadell purchased a four-floor apartment at 6 Ainslie Place in the heart of the New Town across from Number 22 where he'd lived as a child. Bethia Hamilton Don Wauchope, the unmarried daughter of a Scottish Baronet whom Cadell painted consistently for fifteen years from 1911, lived at Number 12. His friend the church and country house architect Reginald (Reggie) Fairlie, once apprenticed to the renowned Robert Lorimer, also lived, sometime later, next door at Number 8. Fairlie's private apartments were kept in a 'state of old-world Catholic gentility', his drawing room containing a Sieneese Madonna, a Flemish pieta, a tapestry and Chinese ceramics.⁵⁰ This was a rarefied social set within which Cadell was entirely at ease.

Models, Dress and Fashionability

As a probable model in *Afternoon*, and as posed alone in front of a mirror in a fashionable hat and gold hoop earrings (as in *The Black Hat*, 1915, City Art Centre, City of Edinburgh), the striking, dark-haired Bethia Wauchope appears a comparable figure to Hazel Lavery. That she was Cadell's friend and neighbour, not an anonymous model, was important. Both unmarried, a form of professional partnership amid Edinburgh social circles clearly existed

between the two, and yet the paintings of Wauchope are more properly defined as interior scenes or portrait interiors than portraits of an individual. Her personality remains opaque in these works. Self-contained and unremittingly stylish, she is not the energetic New Woman who might have ridden a bicycle from the 1890s or marched along Princes Street in the suffragette procession in 1909. Samuel J. Peplow had described the typical Edinburgh 'New Woman' as seeming to 'look for convenience above all in her clothing', as throwing on a cloth cap simply to cover her head, noting that any 'Parisienne who saw her would faint'.⁵¹ Wauchope by contrast is highly accomplished in the art of wearing hats.

Style in dress was clearly important to Cadell himself. His acts of self-fashioning reportedly involved loud tartan trousers, scarves and yellow waistcoats and, as often noted, taking his readymade army Private's uniform to his tailor in 1914–1915 for a superior cut in better fabric. Equally concerned with women's clothing, in this context both his pre- and interwar interiors with Wauchope refer us to the world of haute couture as assimilated within a section of upper and upper-middle-class Edinburgh society. Her wardrobe was likely acquired direct from designers, or copies from a personal dressmaker. Within the period, for example, London and Parisian firms were staging fashion shows at the better Edinburgh hotels. The black dresses and dramatic wide-brimmed hats Wauchope frequently wears in Cadell's pictures resemble the designs of Lucille, Lady Duff Gordon (1863–1935), wife of Sir Cosmo (1862–1931), the Scottish baronet, sportsman and landowner.⁵² Relevant here is a recent account of Lady Duff Gordon's own belief that 'interiors and environments could affect clients psychologically ... a beautiful interior would make a client want to consume more of her designs'.⁵³ Across the early twentieth century, the designer, the artist, and, as discussed by Alexander Medcalf in this volume, a newly emerging class of advertising agent influenced by both American and European strategies of persuasion, were all increasingly engaged in

techniques of identifying and implicitly encouraging customers or clients first to desire and then to consume particular goods or services.

The references so far to exclusive fashion and fine art are firmly linked to a broader cultivated context, all of which signified advanced taste to the upwardly mobile consumer.⁵⁴

Parallels emerge across the early twentieth century between the strategies of fine artists and fashion designers such as Patou and Poiret for self-promotion; for, as Nancy Troy notes, acquiring and retaining ‘an audience, a discourse, a profile in the public sphere’.⁵⁵ At stake was the issue of how to maintain the exclusivity capable of attracting an elite clientele, but at the same time to make goods accessible to the middle classes. There are connections with Cadell here: his ‘impression management’ and performed artistic identity, his ability to maintain networks amongst an elite social milieu of Dukes and the daughters of Baronets, as well as his professional and business-class patrons. Like the designer Patou, who hired noted American women to display his clothes in the United States, Cadell perhaps knew the advantage of a well-connected Edinburgh society figure appearing in his paintings.

Further parallels with Cadell’s paintings and his own professional performance emerge from recent studies of the use of textiles in interiors. As Clive Edwards has observed, trimmings and soft furnishings, draped, wrapped and applied in diverse ways, were understood to enhance both an interior and the bodies therein. They produced a sense of harmony, an air of luxury, a note of exoticism.⁵⁶ Like their later Victorian forebears, early twentieth-century chroniclers of taste were well aware of the use of textiles as a means of self-definition, of connecting the individual to surroundings, and, by extension, to broader networks. In this regard a 1923 painting of Wauchope draped in a Chinese shawl, *The Embroidered Cloak* (Ferens Art Gallery, Hull) is illuminated by Sarah Cheang’s recent account of the fashion after World War One for eighteenth-century chinoiserie, the ‘lacquer-inspired black, red and gold’ in interiors (as in Cadell’s own of that period), and for the incorporation of Chinese

motifs, draped embroideries and garment shapes, producing what Cheang terms a ‘cultural cross-dressing of bodies and rooms’.⁵⁷ Cheang reproduces a contemporary magazine image of a model in a fashionable Chinese shawl, which had usurped the more modest kimono of the 1880s and 1890s. Its pattern is strikingly like the version Wauchope wears. Adopted and adapted, the Chinese shawl links the body and interior as vibrant and exotic. It is a similar effect, if in a more consciously modern context, to that created by the silk paisley coat and feathered turban worn in John Lavery’s 1909 depiction of Hazel Lavery in the cavernous space of his London studio. For Cheang, as for Edwards, ‘textiles mediate between self and society, interior and exterior, body and room’.⁵⁸ By the interwar years dress, textiles and interior decoration in general were ever-more widely regarded across diverse and expanding markets as an important aspect of taste and distinction, with related articles and illustrations in the pages of *Vogue* as well as interior design-orientated magazines such as *Our Homes and Gardens*, *Ideal Home* and the *Studio* magazine – all directed at various informed and discerning readerships. Cadell’s practice is attuned to the broader developments here, all steadily in train across a variety of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century fashions and practices of consumption.

Artists and Decorators

These recent studies of the subject of interiors in histories of the decorative arts, design and visual culture all affirm the clear recognition from the late nineteenth century onwards that interior spaces, objects and dress were vital to the formation and performance of individual identity.⁵⁹ Within this rather pressured context, Christopher Reed cites a 1904 *Studio* magazine ‘Lay Figure’ asserting ‘that a really fine scheme of decoration can only be realised by a great artist and is not to be bought over the counter’.⁶⁰ Those Bedford Lemere photographs of Jenners document its wide array of ready-to-wear clothing, of textiles for

dress-making and soft furnishings and the vast display of furniture suiting tastes for both antiques and reproduction. Alongside such an assortment of styles, then, lay the value of an artist's good taste and the perceived need for direction on design and decoration. That *Studio* 'Lay Figure' expressed what was to be the journal's guiding principle through the 1920s, by which point, as this chapter will go on to consider, the developing social and economic imperatives underlying the promotion of taste in design and decoration had particular consequences for many artists, including Cadell.⁶¹

The arrangement of furnishings in the artist's portraits of interiors was fundamental to their overall effect and, potentially, their appeal to his patrons. Some of the furniture was especially commissioned from the longstanding (since 1807) Edinburgh cabinet-makers Whytock and Reid, originally located in George Street. They catered also, for example, to church and country house architect Robert Lorimer (1864–1929) and to Arts and Crafts painter and designer Robert Burns (1869–1941) in his decorations for Crawford's 1926 Hanover Street restaurant. The *Studio* was to note the firm's especially 'high reputation in the North where their productions are increasingly sought after by people of judgement and taste'.⁶² In this vein Honeyman recalled in 1950 that Cadell 'liked people and places to be beautiful, and if they were not it was his vocation to make them so. To paint pictures was not enough. One had to express one's idea of decoration in everything'.⁶³ Such an idea was endorsed by the *Studio*'s criticism of the view that a 'superiority of artistry' should be allotted solely to 'a work enclosed within a gold frame'.⁶⁴

As Alice Strang and others have observed, and as the Ainslie Place paintings reveal, an eclectic, grand period style of highest quality workmanship and materials dominated the objects and furniture the artist arranged in his double drawing room and dining room. Furnishings extended to a Louis XV-style armchair, a Regency settee, black lacquered Regency elbow chairs, a chaise-longue and an eagle over-mantel mirror, but set against vivid

colour combinations and brightly contrasting shawls, fans and ceramics.⁶⁵ All here was in tune with the marked shift in the artist's palette away from those pre-War refined whites and pearl-greys towards the bright, unmodulated colours of Matisse, increasingly apparent following his visit with Peplow to Cassis in 1923–1924

The character of Cadell's painting of Bethia Wauchope in the Ainslie Place drawing room, *Interior: The Orange Blind*, is a striking contrast to that pre-War influence of Whistler or Lavery. As in *Afternoon*, the glass chandelier above balances the gleaming silver tea service in the foreground, but there the similarities end, and the work brings to a close those artfully informal interiors and evocations of relaxed conversations. The reflective surface of an overmantle mirror gone, Wauchope with her habitual black hat is a marked contrast to the tall, brilliant orange blind in the background, the darkened surrounding walls, the decorative Chinese lacquer screen to her side and the richly patterned chaise longue on which she sits. The painting is a bold, dramatically coloured arrangement, and each element balanced in a striking harmony, equivalent to the pianist's (that figure a reference perhaps to Matisse's *The Piano Lesson*, (1916, Museum of Modern Art, New York)) at the far-left-hand side of the composition. Airy informality is contrasted here by the relative immobility of the rigidly posed, sophisticated but un-individuated figure, now formally integrated into a tightly constructed interior decor. That pose, the carefully repeated, stylised pattern of shapes and the flatly applied colours conjure associations with contemporary Art Deco advertising posters, fashion plates in magazines, even stills from glamorous film sets, more than the refined, private world of upper or upper-middle class Edinburgh sociability. Indeed, an archive of Cadell's scrapbooks contains a number of contemporary photographs from newspapers and magazines of studio shots of female film stars and posed in interiors beside mirrors.

The broad development of Cadell's interior portraits from the Edwardian era onwards largely anticipates the advice on interior design in interwar publications such as *Modern Furnishing and Decoration* by Derek Coventry Patmore, writer, decorator and grandson of the celebrated mid-Victorian author of *The Angel of the House* (1854–1862). Patmore identifies a 'definite return to the use of colour as opposed to the all-white and monotone colour scheme' and with fabrics returning to coloured decorative patterns, many with an Eastern influence.⁶⁶ He advocates a 'brilliantly coloured Spanish shawl or a piece of old Chinese embroidery flung across a settee' to enrich an otherwise commonplace room, or 'the glittering beauty of a modern Venetian glass chandelier'.⁶⁷ A related painting by Cadell himself appears, by chance, in reproduction in Stephen Calloway's 1988 survey of *Twentieth-Century Decoration*. Labelled as an unknown room, its decorative scheme with 'deep blue walls, black curtains trimmed with gold and black and apple-green paintwork' suggest to Calloway the influence of Basil Ionides (1884–1950).⁶⁸ Following a similar trajectory to Patmore, Ionides initially trained as an architect and later an interior decorator working in an Art Deco style. Grandson of Whistler's patron Alexander Constantine Ionides (1810–1890), he was born and trained in Scotland but his career was established in London and his ideas on taste were widely circulated, as in his 1926 text *Colour and Interior Decoration*. Ionides appealed to a broadly similar, expanding middle-class readership as Patmore. Both were asserting an authority constructed in part on familial connections and personal networks and in the context of steadily evolving, not suddenly emerging, aesthetic tastes and fashions.

What all of these various texts, illustrations and career trajectories underline is the continual crossover between professional practices, identities and forms of visual and material culture throughout the early twentieth century. Strong antecedents lie in later nineteenth-century Arts and Crafts and Aesthetic Movement ideals and notions of *gesamtkunstwerk*, but these are crucially adapted to the exigencies of contemporary social and economic contexts and the

need to identify new markets. Patmore's advice to his readers, for example, to plan colour schemes around a carefully selected painting is accompanied by a photograph of one modest modern room orchestrated around a South of France landscape by Cadell's friend and fellow Colourist John Duncan Fergusson. A simple, purely functional style of furnishings appears here, directed to a growing market for newly built apartments and small homes, like those in Edinburgh's continually developing sub-urban bungalow belt. This endorses Design historian Grace-Lees Maffei's survey of domestic advice writers, with Patmore one of her examples, noting a transition in tone across the interwar period from an aristocratic taste and manners typically adapted for a broader public, to one reconciling an enlarged middle class to modernist design.⁶⁹ Cadell's developing output clearly resonates here and it becomes possible to perceive him in the context of that broader contemporary shift from male artist-aesthete to male artist-decorator.

Within this shift persists something of the artist's renowned fastidiousness, both of his palette and of his immaculately kept studio. Just as Edwin Muir complained both of the tawdry vulgarity along Princes Street and the grime and decay of the Old Town, so Cadell took to sending letters in the early 1920s to *The Scotsman* complaining about 'Edinburgh smells' and 'Edinburgh litter', the latter offending what he termed his 'Edinburgh eye', ever conscious of nearby disorder.⁷⁰ Both his letters and his paintings reveal his taste for pristine surfaces and gleaming interior spaces and objects, a wider impulse for harmony, order and orderly rituals that underlay the contemporary modernist principles of 'good design' as advocated in interwar magazines and manuals of the kind referred to here. Good design, rational and restrained forms with an absence of excessive ornamental clutter extended in these years to an admiration for the principles of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century architecture and design, such as Edinburgh's Georgian New Town, as for contemporary international Modernism.

Cadell's easy association with the particular order and orderly rituals of Edinburgh's New Town came to an end in the latter part of the interwar period. As both Frances Fowle and Alice Strang underline, the effect of his habitual reliance on personal sales to patrons, rather than through dealers, made him particularly vulnerable at the time of the General Strike, when several of his long-term collectors were suffering financially.⁷¹ Unprotected by the market-savvy skills of the dealer, Cadell initially increased the selling exhibitions in his Ainslie Place apartment. As his economic security reduced, however, the need to sell off his own belongings and a series of necessary house moves within and eventually outside of the New Town altogether, meant that appropriate contexts for the display of models, pictures and luxurious furnishings were no longer available.

The artist's necessary downsizing was not untypical across Britain in the period following World War One, when grander houses were broken up and the market for more modest apartments and smaller homes was increasing as a result of a scarcity of servants, higher taxation and inheritance tax. Hence the *Studio* magazine's campaign throughout the period for adaptable artist/designer/decorators who understood the needs of commerce, were able to turn, for example, to poster design (as in one instance at least did Cadell) and were attuned to that aesthetic of simplicity appropriate for the decoration of small rooms.⁷² This all seems very much in tune with Cadell's developing production of small-scale, intensely coloured, decorative studies such as *The Blue Fan* (Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art, Edinburgh), a further indication of his particular interest in Matisse and his closeness to Peplow. Here a clean-lined, red-painted wooden chair, an un-patterned fan and simple ceramic jug and bowls replace the sophisticated scenes with silver tea services, glass chandeliers and glamorously dressed models all typified and to a degree concluded by *The Orange Blind* (Figure 6.5).

<COMP: Place Figure 6.5 Here>

Cadell's lived experience, his personal and professional identity and the nature of his artistic practice is continually reshaped in relation to personal situation, but also those broader patterns of class and economic change across early twentieth-century Edinburgh; its evolving social geographies, networks and patterns of prosperity, and all in relation to larger national and international contexts. If those gracefully proportioned, socially exclusive and self-assured New Town drawing room scenes that might epitomise Cadell's 'Edwardian Edinburgh' do represent some final garden party before what Douglas Goldring termed 'The Death of Society', or at least of a 'British caste system', then there are some shifts to be observed throughout the interwar period.⁷³ Scenes of 'informal elegance' give way to an increasingly unpeopled, carefully composed and juxtaposed grouping and regrouping of props, producing in effect something like the desirable room settings with simple, well-placed objects as staged in contemporary magazines and household taste manuals.

Cadell's developing output clearly links to broader social, cultural and economic trajectories across the period of the later 1890s and through the interwar years. This calls into question the unique character attributed to the cultural production associated with the period of one monarch's reign, even the 'long' Edwardian era of 1890–1914, as well perhaps the determining impact of the Great War on the subsequent decade. What we see is an evolving post-war economy that, despite the impact of the Depression in particular areas, and notably on some of Cadell's key patrons, essentially extended some pre-War social and cultural developments.

The essential characteristics of social modernity – greater mobility, spreading forms of communication, of marketing and advertising, of individual (or 'consumer') aspiration and the growing availability of goods – continued to proliferate, always influenced by national and international trends and developments. Cadell's practice appears to have responded and adapted to an increasingly stimulated consumer preoccupation with the relationship between

objects, environment, identity and the performance of self, amidst diversifying markets, despite, perhaps, any personal inclination. Overall it appears that the tendencies in Cadell's output, viewed particularly in relation to recent studies of art, design and the decorative interior, confirm that need for a focus on micro-histories and for a continual reconsideration of the 'framing devices of periodisation'.⁷⁴ In this context, as Lynda Nead has recently asserted, lies the value of Raymond Williams' fluid, relational model of cultural history, underlining the constant co-existence within any one period of particular dominant, residual and emerging social and cultural formations.⁷⁵ Attention is continually required, therefore, to the qualitative experience of, and relationships between, dominant forms, spaces and identities, and residual, as well as evolving or emerging manifestations of later-nineteenth and early twentieth-century modernism and modernity.

Figure 6.1 Bedford Lemere & Co, Interior of Jenners Store.

Figure 6.2 *Afternoon*, 1913, Private Collection.

Figure 6.3 *Self-Portrait*, 1914, Scottish National Portrait Gallery.

Figure 6.4 *Interior: The Orange Blind* c.1927, Glasgow, Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum.

Figure 6.5 *The Blue Fan*, c.1922, Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art.

¹ See for example essays in Morna O'Neill and Michael Hatt, eds., *The Edwardian Sense: Art, Design and Performance, 1901–1910* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2010); Pamela Fletcher and Anne Helmreich, eds., *The Rise of the Modern Art Market in London, 1850–1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011); Andrew Stephenson, ed., "Edwardian Art and Its Legacies," themed issue of *Visual Culture in Britain* 14, no. 1 (2013): 1–17.

² Key sources on Cadell, all of which I draw upon here, include T.J. Honeyman, *Three Scottish Colourists: S.J. Peploe, F.C. Cadell, Leslie Hunter* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, 1950); Duncan Macmillan and Tom Hewlett, *F.C.B. Cadell: The Life and Work of a Scottish Colourist* (London: Lund Humphries, [1988] 2011); Roger Billcliffe, *The Scottish Colourists: Cadell, Fergusson, Hunter and Peploe* (London: John Murray, 1995); Philip Long and Elizabeth Cumming, *The Scottish Colourists, 1900–1930: F.C.B. Cadell, J.D. Fergusson, G.L. Hunter, S.J. Peploe* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 2000); and Alice Strang, *F.C.B. Cadell* (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 2011).

³ Cadell, accompanied by his mother and sister, was in Paris and registered at the privately run Academie Julian between 1899 and 1902. The Cadell family were also in Munich from 1906 to 1909, in which period he attended the Akademie der Bildenen Künste.

⁴ My interest in the possibilities of a broader approach drawing on recent studies of design, the decorative arts and patterns of taste and consumption was especially prompted by fascinating references to the content of

Cadell's interiors in the writings of Macmillan and Hewlett, *F.C.B. Cadell*, Strang's *F.C.B Cadell* and T. J Honeyman's 1950 personal recollections.

⁵ See in particular Erika D. Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London's West End* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

⁶ See especially, "Introduction," Fletcher and Helmreich, eds., *Rise of the Modern Art Market*.

⁷ On this alternative sense of modernity, the monotony of the suburbs, see for example essays in the 'Modernity and Metropolis' section of Helena Bonnet, Ysanne Holt and Jennifer Mundy, eds., *The Camden Town Group in Context*, May 2012, www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/camden-town-group/modernity-and-metropolis-r1105709, accessed April 15, 2016.

⁸ Lisa Tickner, *Modern Life and Modern Subjects, British Art in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 193.

⁹ *The Scotsman*, October 24, 2011.

¹⁰ Edinburgh's population in 1901 was 316,479.

¹¹ See especially the section "Urban Management in the Early Twentieth Century," in *Edinburgh: The Making of a Capital City*, eds. Brian Edwards and Paul Jenkins (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005).

¹² Geddes, from 'Beginnings of a Survey of Edinburgh',

www.unipa.it/dipartimenti/diarchitettura/content/Infolio/09_infolio.pdf, 78, accessed April 15, 2016.

¹³ Cited in Michael Fry, *Edinburgh: A History of the City* (London: Macmillan, 2009), 321.

¹⁴ See in particular, Elizabeth Cumming, *Hand, Heart and Soul: The Arts and Crafts Movement in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2006), 40.

¹⁵ See Nicola Gordon Bowe and Elizabeth Cumming, *The Arts and Crafts Movement in Dublin and Edinburgh, 1885–1925* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1997), 37.

¹⁶ Edwin Muir, *Scottish Journey*, first pub. 1935 (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing Company, 2008 edition), 9.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹⁸ Eric Linklater, *Magnus Merriman*, first pub. 1934, cited in Michael Fry, *Edinburgh*, 341.

¹⁹ Private collection. Sold Sotheby's New York, 2011. The painting was first owned by the Scottish dealer Alexander Reid.

²⁰ Sian Reynolds, *Paris-Edinburgh: Cultural Connections in the Belle Epoque* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2007).

²¹ Cursiter as Director of the National Galleries of Scotland wrote the catalogue introduction to Cadell's retrospective in 1942.

²² Alan Powers, *Britain: Modern Architecture in History* (London: Reaktion, 2007), 29.

²³ See www.scotsman.com/heritage/people-places/scottish-fact-of-the-day-jenners-department-store-1-3615754, accessed April 15, 2016.

²⁴ <http://canmore.org.uk/site/115649/edinburgh-47-48-49-50-51-52-princes-street-jenners?display=collection>, accessed April 15, 2016.

²⁵ Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure*, 144.

²⁶ The hotel was built to accommodate additional visitors to Edinburgh following the opening of the Forth Road Bridge in 1890.

²⁷ Muir, *Scottish Journey*, 23.

²⁸ Robert Louis Stevenson, *Introductory, Edinburgh: Picturesque Notes*, 1878, cited in Reynolds, *Paris-Edinburgh*, 3.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Muir, *Scottish Journey*, 22. Elizabeth Cumming details David S Crawford's acquisition of the Edinburgh Café Company on Princes Street and Hanover Street in 1922 and his commissioning of Robert Burns to re-design the interiors: Cumming, *Hand, Heart and Soul*, 22. In Glasgow, of course, Charles Rennie Mackintosh's design for The Willow Tea Room had appeared earlier in 1903.

³¹ On Colinton, see, Bowe and Cumming, *The Arts and Crafts movement in Dublin and Edinburgh*, 31–32.

³² *Ibid.* See also Cliff Hague's essay on the changing role of the planner on urban form, in Edwards and Jenkins, eds., *Edinburgh*, 168–83.

³³ Some of the early history of the art trade in this part of the city can be found at www.scottish-gallery.co.uk/images/exhibitions/Portrait_of_a_Gallery_catalogue.pdf and www.npg.org.uk/research/conservation/directory-of-british-framemakers/d.php, accessed April 15, 2016.

³⁴ For valuable discussion of broad issues and methodologies in relation to the study of retail, capital, consumption and space, see Neil Wrigley and Michelle Lowe, *Reading Retail: A Geographical Perspective on Retailing and Consumption Space* (London: Routledge, 2014).

³⁵ On Lavery, see Kenneth McConkey, *Sir John Lavery* (Edinburgh: Canongate Press, 1993) and *John Lavery: A Painter and His World* (London and Edinburgh: Fine Art Society, 2010).

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- ³⁶ A key work in this regard is *Florian's Café*, Venice, 1910, private collection, reproduced in Strang, *F.C.B Cadell*, 20.
- ³⁷ See Honeyman, (1950), 83, 124 and Strang, *F.C.B Cadell*, 17.
- ³⁸ Duncan Macmillan, *Scottish Art in the 20th Century, 1890-2001* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 2001), 39.
- ³⁹ Martina Droth, "Sculpture and Aesthetic Intent in the Late-Victorian Interior," in *Rethinking the Interior, c.1867-1896: Aestheticism and Arts and Crafts*, eds. Jason Edwards and Imogen Hart (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2010), 213.
- ⁴⁰ Reproduced Strang, *F.C.B Cadell*, 18.
- ⁴¹ Information from Sotheby's Scottish Sale catalogue, September 30, 2009. On Hazel Lavery, see Sinead McCoole, *Hazel: A Life of Lady Lavery, 1880-1935* (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1996). The Ponds advertisement is also reproduced in McConkey, *Sir John Lavery*, 186.
- ⁴² McConkey, *Sir John Lavery*, 190.
- ⁴³ McConkey, *Sir John Lavery*, 121, 123.
- ⁴⁴ Honeyman, *Three Scottish Colourists*, 2.
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 81.
- ⁴⁶ On the relationship between performed identities of artists and the mechanisms of the early twentieth century art trade in London in particular, see Anne Helmreich and Ysanne Holt, "Marketing Bohemia: The Chenil Gallery in Chelsea, 1905-1926," *Oxford Art Journal* 33, no. 1 (2010): 43-61.
- ⁴⁷ For further reference to the collector, J.J.Cowan, see University of Glasgow, *The correspondence of James McNeill Whistler*, www.whistler.arts.gla.ac.uk/correspondence/biog/display/?bid=Cowa_JJ, accessed April 15, 2016. For extensive discussion of dealers and collectors in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Edinburgh and Glasgow, see Frances Fowle, "Patterns of Taste: Scottish Collectors and the Making of Cultural Identity in the Late Nineteenth Century," in *A Shared Legacy: Essays on Irish & Scottish Art and Visual Culture*, eds. F. Cullen and J. Morrison (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), see also *Impressionism and Scotland* (Edinburgh: National Gallery of Scotland, 2008).
- ⁴⁸ The simple way of life, crofting and fishing, on isolated islands such as Iona also corresponded to that wider, peculiarly early twentieth-century culture of ruralism in which artists, and the cultured middle classes in general, were drawn to remote, peripheral sites such as Cornwall or the west of Ireland. In this a search for origins plays an important part. Iona, as an originating site of Celtic Christianity, was significant in terms of the nation's religious, mystical or spiritual past: the roots of Scottish identity. For figures such as Cadell, therefore, the island referenced both a wider European cultural modernity and a rooted native Scottishness – with links back to the nineteenth century Romanticism that first drew attention to the Hebrides, and also the Edinburgh-based Celtic Revivalism of Patrick Geddes.
- ⁴⁹ Honeyman, *Three Scottish Colourists*, 90.
- ⁵⁰ On Fairlie see www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=200253, accessed April 15, 2016.
- ⁵¹ Noted in Guy Peplow, *Samuel John Peploe* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2000), 106.
- ⁵² The catalogue for the V&A Lucille archive contains a 1912 ink drawing illustration of a wide-brimmed black hat very like the model worn by Bethia Wauchope.
- ⁵³ See David Frazer Lewis's essay in this volume for more on the Edwardian interior and psychology. Samantha Erin Safer, "Designing Lucille Ltd: Couture and the Modern Interior, 1900-1920s," in *Performance, Fashion and the Modern Interior from the Victorians to Today*, eds. Fiona Fisher, Patricia Lara Betancourt, Trevor Keeble, and Brenda Martin (Berg: London and New York, 2011), 97.
- ⁵⁴ On the relations between theatre and fashion, see Chris Breward's essay, "'At home' at the St James's: Dress, Décor and the Problem of Fashion in Edwardian Theatre," in Fisher, Betancourt, Keeble, Martin, *Performance, Fashion and the Modern Interior*.
- ⁵⁵ For discussion see Nancy Troy, *Couture Culture: A Study in Modern Art and Fashion* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003), 335.
- ⁵⁶ Clive Edwards, "Structure, Cladding and Detail: The Role of Textiles and the Associations between Identity, the Interior and Dress, 1860-1920," in *Fashion, Interior Design and the Contours of Modern Identity*, eds. Alla Myzelev and John Potvin (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2010). 73.
- ⁵⁷ Cheang, "Chinese Robes in Western Interiors: Transitionality and Transformation," Myzelev and Potvin, *Fashion, Interior Design and the Contours of Modern Identity*, 126.
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 140.
- ⁵⁹ See Jeremy Aynsley, Pat Kirkham and Penny Sparke, Introduction to themed issue of *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 16, no. 1 (2008-9), 3; and also Edwards, "Structure, Cladding and Detail," in Myzelev and Potvin, *Fashion, Interior Design and the Contours of Modern Identity*. Edwards is drawing upon the theorisations of Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (London: Routledge, 1990), and Jean Baudrillard, *Political Economy of the Sign*, trans. Charles Levin (New York: Telos, 1981).

⁶⁰ Christopher Reed, “The Paradoxical Edwardian Interior,” in *The Edwardian Sense: Art, Design and Performance in Britain, 1901–1910*, eds. Morna O’Neill and Michael Hatt (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 183.

⁶¹ For further discussion of its developing strategies through the early twentieth century, see my essay ‘The *Studio* magazine in the 1920s’ in Fletcher and Helmreich, *Rise of the Modern Art Market*, 151–74.

⁶² *The Studio*, 94, no. 412 (July 1927), 18.

⁶³ Honeyman, *Three Scottish Colourists*, 89. At the time of writing T.J. Honeyman was Director of Kelvingrove Art Gallery, Glasgow.

⁶⁴ *The Studio*, 1927, 436.

⁶⁵ See especially Strang, *F.C.B Cadell*, 39.

⁶⁶ Coventry Patmore, *Modern Furnishing and Decoration* (London and New York: Studio Ltd, 1934), 12.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 21–23.

⁶⁸ Stephen Calloway, *Twentieth-Century Decoration: The Domestic Interior from 1900 to the Present Day* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1988), 198.

⁶⁹ Grace Lees Maffei, *Design and Home: Domestic Advice Books, Britain and the USA since 1945* (London: Routledge, 2013), 95–96.

⁷⁰ In ‘Edinburgh Smells’ he writes, ‘Either the city fathers ... must be permanently under the distressing influence of colds in head, or they must all live on the South Side, or possibly, for all one knows, in remoter suburbia. These people seem to be devoid of the sense of smell and taste’, *The Scotsman*, December 1923.

⁷¹ Fowle, “Patterns of Taste,” 88–90 and Strang, *F.C.B Cadell*, 9, 43–44.

⁷² For more discussion of this magazines’ strategies see my “The Call of Commerce: The *Studio* Magazine in the 1920s,” in Fletcher and Helmreich, eds., *The Rise of the Modern Art Market in London*.

⁷³ Douglas Goldring, *The Nineteen Twenties: A General Survey and Some Personal Memories* (London: Nicholson & Watson, 1945), 16.

⁷⁴ As David Peters Corbett argues in relation to the end of the Victorian era, “Visualising the Right Question,” *Journal of Victorian Culture* 11, no. 2 (Autumn 2006): 338–48.

⁷⁵ See Nead’s essay, “The age of the ‘hurrygraph’: Motion, Space, and the Visual Image, ca. 1900,” in O’Neill and Hatt, eds., *The Edwardian Sense*.