

Phoebe Anna Traquair HRSA (1852-1936) and her Contribution
to Arts and Crafts in Edinburgh

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ABSTRACT

The thesis examines the career of the artist and craft worker Phoebe Traquair (1852-1936) and her role in both the establishment and development of an Edinburgh arts and crafts school between the 1880s and the 1920s. The first chapter looks at early influences on Traquair, concentrating on the nature of art training in her native Dublin and both private and public taste in the visual, including decorative, arts in the Scottish capital. The second chapter describes the formation and early history of the Edinburgh Social Union, which gave Traquair her first mural scheme commission in 1885, and relates the Union to current guild developments in British arts and crafts: her work in the field of manuscript illumination is discussed in the contexts of relationship to the scheme and of her encouragement by Ruskin. An account in chapter three of public debate in Edinburgh on the interdependence of British applied arts and architecture introduces three further major Edinburgh mural schemes by Traquair which display increased confidence, technical proficiency and a more direct awareness of wider English developments.

Chapter four views Traquair's involvement in technical experimentation as one aspect of an Edinburgh craft renaissance of the nineties. Her work in the disciplines of illustration, illumination and bookbinding, and her established identity not only as a mural decorator but as both an individual craft worker and a member of local and British guilds in this decade are discussed in chapter five. The breadth of her London

reputation, partly symptomatic of closer personal links between Edinburgh and London in the new century, is described in an essay on her enamelwork which forms chapter six. The final chapter discusses further commissions received from private patrons and through architects in the post-1900 period, ranging from ecclesiastical and domestic decoration to book illustration. In conclusion, the career of Phoebe Traquair, like that of fellow Edinburgh craftworkers, is seen to have been both stylistically and theoretically allied to English and especially London practice. In personal terms Traquair's approach to her work is judged to have been essentially the result of loyalty to the values of Ruskin, with an intrinsic dedication to spiritual ideals, and of a broad and alert interest in and response to historic and contemporary arts, shared with members of various circles of friends in and outside Edinburgh including scholars, clerics, craftworkers, architects, and collectors.

I declare that this thesis has been composed by myself and is entirely my own work.

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations have been used

cat.	catalogue
coll.	collection
EUL	Edinburgh University Library
exhib.	exhibited
fol.	folio
GUL	Glasgow University Library
ill.	illustrated
MS	manuscript
NLS	National Library of Scotland
pl.	plate
ref.	reference
SRO	Scottish Record Office
vol.	volume

*To the artist, be he the poet, painter or musician,
the world is a great treasure house, stored with
endless material for him to use, teach yourself to
match the beauty of red-tipped buds, sunlight through
green leaves, the yellow gorse on the hill, the song of
wild birds, so on, step by step, the world opens out.
This is life. This is to live, the perfection comes
when one's own life is in harmony with this beauty ...*

Phoebe Traquair in a letter of c. 1893
to her nephew Willie Moss

Introduction

When Phoebe Traquair died in Edinburgh on 4 August 1936 at the age of 84, the fullest obituary notice was published not in *The Scotsman* but in the *London Times*. Whereas the Edinburgh newspaper labelled her a 'notable personality' the *Times* notice, from the pen of the retired director of the National Gallery of Scotland, Sir James Lewis Caw, was headed 'Mrs Traquair: Mural Painting and Art Craftsmanship'.²

Caw chronicled the career of this 'little woman ... sparely built but overflowing with nervous energy' in broad terms, lightly covering the various media in which she worked: embroidery, illumination, tooled leatherwork and enamelling.³ However he concentrated principally on her mural decorations which had also preoccupied his article for *The Art Journal*, published in London, in 1900. There, with considerably more space at his disposal, Caw had written of Traquair that

Since the golden age of decoration in Italy mural work more competent in technique has been done time and again, but scarce anything so beautiful and nothing more truly inspired. Her art is the spontaneous efflorescence of her imagination, her religion, and her love of beauty: and these are of no common order. So that despite defects of technique and drawing, her work possesses the elusive yet abiding elements of charm, and the indefinable yet authentic marks of a noble passion and an exalted inspiration.⁴

Although Traquair was elected an honorary member of the Royal Scottish Academy in 1920 -- the first woman to receive this honour -- in her lifetime, as Caw noted in his obituary, her work and name were declared to be known to only a small circle which excluded 'even the *habitués* of

Scottish art exhibitions'. The 'unusual character' of her art work then, as now, was more familiar in London than in Edinburgh, her adopted city.

In common with a number of artist-craftsmen, Traquair's varied career as a member of the British arts and crafts movement from the 1880s to the early 1920s is only now beginning to be reassessed. Some instances of this may be cited here. In the new display at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London given to *British Design 1900 to 1960*, an important haliotis shell chalice of 1905 [catalogue F.56], designed by her architect son Ramsay with enamels by Phoebe Traquair and set in a silver mount by the Edinburgh silversmith J M Talbot graces an Ashbee cabinet. In the museum's redisplayed Jewellery Gallery, she is almost the sole representative of Scottish *fin-de-siècle* jewellers, with seven pieces credited to her: the other is the Glasgow designer Talwin Morris. The acquisition of a number of good pieces by her in the mid-1970s has allowed the museum to show adequately this single facet of her career, building on her representation in their major 1952 exhibition of *Victorian and Edwardian Decorative Arts*. Alan Crawford's recent biography of C R Ashbee has placed Traquair in the same league as the leading enameller of the arts and crafts movement, Alexander Fisher.⁵ Again, a review by Robert Harbison of the Edinburgh volume in the series *The Buildings of Scotland*, published in the *London Sunday Times* in 1984 singled out the architect Sir Robert Lorimer (1864-1929) and 'the intriguing Phoebe Traquair, an art nouveau Blake' as the two Edinburgh designers worthy of mention.⁶ Despite such exposure in London, albeit on a limited scale, her work like many products of the Edinburgh arts and crafts school remains little known nowadays. Published research on the history of

design and craftsmanship of this period in the Scottish capital has, to date, concentrated largely on a single architectural practice, that of Lorimer.⁷ Few public collections own examples from Traquair's extraordinarily wide career which in its dedication, breadth and both symbolic and literary nature qualified her as a true arts and crafts worker.

An examination and assessment of Traquair's career is the primary object of this study, which includes, as an appendix, a summary reference catalogue of all work known to have been executed by her. The arts and crafts movement generally was one involving not only designer-craftsmen but theorists, sociologists, historians and patrons. In view of this and the largely unresearched nature of Edinburgh work, it has been found essential to chronicle the nature of local aesthetic taste and the history and interaction of such bodies as the Edinburgh Social Union, the Edinburgh membership of the Guild of Women-Binders and the Edinburgh Arts and Crafts Club in all of which Traquair played her part. The distinct nature of arts and crafts in Edinburgh over more than three decades, here analysed and defined, demands appraisal in terms of her relationship with both fellow workers and designers and members of town and gown.

The history thus related is a complex one in which the work discussed must be seen in terms also of outside developments and influences. In one of only two published interviews Traquair was quoted as declaring that 'art should be national' rather than purely local;⁸ her life and career are also examined on such terms. Broadly speaking, the format devised for the text devotes separate chapters to distinct subject areas of Traquair's role in the development of Edinburgh arts and crafts over a period of thirty years.

While most chapters are arranged thematically, often by her association with a particular Edinburgh social circle or the chosen medium of a related group of workers, two chapters adopt a broader vision. Firstly, the opening chapter, in an examination of early influences on Traquair, looks briefly at British decorative art education, especially that in her native Dublin, and at aesthetic responses in Edinburgh, where she lived from the age of twenty-one, to London ideas. Secondly, a short central chapter examines the wider concept of her involvement in a conscious nineties artistic renaissance in the Scottish capital. In this and other parts of the study may be found an examination of the broader, and to date unresearched, dialogue between Edinburgh and London, the birthplace and focal point of British arts and crafts.

The full documentation of any artist's career requires manuscript and published sources in addition to artefacts. Two important collections of Traquair's correspondence in particular have been consulted. A series of letters to her nephew Willie Moss, while a schoolboy at Rugby, provides an invaluable insight into her work during the 1890s: these now rest with the National Library of Scotland.⁹ Between 1900 and 1920 Traquair wrote as frequently as twice monthly to a friend of her elder son Ramsay, Percy Erskine Nobbs, who like her son was to become a leading architect of the arts and crafts manner in Canada. A selection of these letters, now surviving in typed transcript with members of the Nobbs family, has been made accessible.¹⁰ Both sets of letters describe both her own work and philosophy and her reactions to surrounding events. Published sources used have mostly been contemporary reviews, principally given in London

journals. Only one article (1966), devoted to certain of her embroideries, has appeared since her death fifty years ago.''

The Traquair material listed in the catalogue lies scattered worldwide. A high percentage of objects are still in private hands. Many which were exhibited at contemporary shows, in particular those of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society in London, the Edinburgh Arts and Crafts Club and the Scottish Guild of Handicraft have, like those items commissioned through the Guild of Women-Binders, disappeared without trace. Some items which are listed here are known only through the pages of these exhibition catalogues but have been included in the cause of documentation. Few lists, however, can hope to be definitive where many works remain untraced in private collections, often the gift or unrecorded commission from the artist -- in Traquair's case these were most often conveniently small items of enamelling, bookbinding, or even manuscript illumination. Attempts to trace these as they have appeared in recent auction sale catalogues have frequently yielded few results. The items both traced and catalogued do, however, present a sufficiently detailed picture of the career of this 'woman the size of a fly' whose broad, alert and consuming interest in art as the exact yet passionate expression of the human spirit provided Scotland with a leading art worker.¹²

Chapter One. Beginnings: Education and Taste

Phoebe Anna Moss was born on 24 May 1852 in Dublin, the third daughter and sixth child of a physician, William Moss, and Teresa Richardson of Kilternan. Her brothers were Edward Lawton, RN MD FRCS, lost at sea with the ship *Atalanta* in 1880, William, a cotton miller who settled near Bolton, and Richard, a public analyst and secretary of the Royal Dublin Society. An elder sister, Elizabeth, married Arthur Hughes, a corn merchant. The other, Amelia, remained unmarried. Her younger sister, Teresa, married William Elvery: their seven children included, of note, the concert pianist Edna Baiss, Beatrice Glenavy, a ceramicist and painter, the South African artist Dorothy Kay and the Irish hockey internationalist Marjorie Tweed. The twin-faceted vocational character of the Moss family, scientific or medical and artistic, has survived in succeeding generations.

Prior to her marriage in Dublin on 5 June 1873 to a Scots palaentologist, Ramsay Heatley Traquair (1840-1912), then employed as keeper of the museum run by the Royal Dublin Society, Phoebe Moss [plate 1a] attended the art classes organised by the Society under the 'South Kensington system', which had also dictated her schooling. This government controlled method of teaching applied to both schools and student art classes across the British Isles. In an undated letter to a friend the Edinburgh biologist, sociologist, environmentalist and townplanner Patrick Geddes (1854-1932) recalled his boyhood, and in particular his schooling in Perthshire

The best drawings of the class, which happened to be mine and another boy's, were sent up to South Kensington and were duly returned with prizes,

but when it came to sorting out drawings and taking them home, that boy and I, happening to have each done drawings from the same bundle, could not for the life of us tell his from mine til we had looked for our names on the back. Here then was the clash, we realised that we had been copying machines. Recalling my friend's different method, a sketch of familiar and favourite landscape was attempted but this I soon saw was but mechanical copy too. Hence utter discouragement, whence returned to science and to this day with no more drawing save that necessary for blackboard teaching or working diagram. Convalescence from mechanical copying might doubtless have come, as amongst artists proper who often might make rapid decisions and abide by them.'

Geddes was among some seventy thousand schoolchildren of the 1860s in Britain and Ireland receiving such teaching: in addition more than sixteen thousand art students were taught by this method of mechanical copy.² The system, established by the Department of Practical Art in 1852 in the wake of disappointment in the manufactures shown in the 1851 Great Exhibition, was primarily intended to improve design standards. Commerce ruled national governmental thinking in art education. Previous attempts to reform standards in British design, based in the Government Normal School of Design founded in Somerset House in the first year of Victoria's reign, had obviously failed. Art had to be brought to apply to industry, and a strictly controlled system of teaching, backed for art school students by the study of the cream of past and present international (but especially British) design, as housed in the Museum of Ornamental Art, was introduced.

This museum, subsequently rechristened the South Kensington Museum and later still after the late Queen and her Consort, was built on a plot of ground in South Kensington adjoining the new National Art Training School (now the Royal College of Art). For Henry Cole, director of the Department of Science and Art, as it was labelled from 1853, and his superintendents, inspiration and technical expertise were ideally to be closely integrated.

Gabriel Tinto, assistant to Cole in the 1850s, clearly stated the dangers awaiting the design student who strayed from such study

... the moment the artisan student is taught to be an artist instead of a draughtsman, his mind becomes unsettled and aspirations arise in his bosom calculated to lead him out of the sure and solid path of commerce into the thorny and devious tract which leads to Fine Art.³

Thus a system conceived for the apprentice artisan engaged in the manufacture of mass produced wares was made to apply equally to the teaching of art to children. In the 1860s payment of both elementary and advanced teachers was no longer on certificates but by results. Henry Cole issued a notice to all art schools in March 1863

... all payments made to masters by the Department will in and after 1st October be superseded by a system of payment on the results of their teaching, that is, the masters will be paid a sum per head for such pupils ... provided that such people are artisans, children of the labouring poor, persons in training or art teachers or employed as designers for manufacturers ...⁴

The full impact of Cole's departmental control was most keenly felt in art schools. The results of the National Competition of 1866 revealed the compliance of certain art schools in Britain: of one hundred and twelve such schools, Manchester won eight medals, the Royal Dublin Society seven, Birmingham four, Edinburgh five and Glasgow three.

The particular relationship between the Department of Science and Art and the (Royal) Dublin Society, which had held drawing classes since the 1740s, was a colourful but tense one, with resistance to London control countered by what amounted to financial blackmail. The growth of state control affected not only the educational art classes, but extended to the Museum of Irish Industry and Government School of Science, founded in 1847, the Natural History Museum, Botanic Garden and the Society's library and

lecture courses. The Dublin Science and Art Museum Act, passed in 1877, finally vanquished all Society hopes of maintaining control of educational affairs.

The Dublin Society's School of Design, approved by the Board of Trade and the Treasury in 1849, professed 'the same commercial objects as those already established on the continent and in Great Britain'.⁵ Founded on the lines of the London Normal School of Design, this from the outset had a nationalist as well as a commercial flavour. Professor Allman of Trinity College stated in an early report that

... the want of a competent supply of art educated workmen and designers in Ireland operates against the successful competition in the English and Continental markets, of many Irish products of acknowledged merit ... and leads to the necessity of expending large sums on the purchase of foreign ornamental patterns ...⁶

The first Headmaster, Henry McManus, to suffer dismissal without pension in 1862 after a series of unfortunate *contretemps* with the Society, emphasised the commercial nature of training in his very first report: the Society school was to provide art education in connection with saleable wares, and to stimulate Irish manufacturers, particularly of lace, poplin and silver. Success in design depended on being close to the place of manufacture. Classes did however include figure drawing (recalling its eighteenth century origins and including principles of light and shade, drawing from casts and anatomy), ornament (drawing from flowers and plants, landscape, painting in watercolours and tempera), modelling (elementary figure drawing, modelling the figure, modelling ornament, flowers and nature), and architecture (elementary ornament, use of instruments, descriptive geometry as applied to masons' and carpenters' work, working drawings, perspective and isometric

projection, shading architectural detail, architecture as a Fine Art). Complementary studies on 'science as applied to art' were also available. Most of the classes continued when the new London system was applied to Dublin in late 1853. McManus insisted in particular on the maintenance of classes in elementary drawing as essential for both Fine Art and 'ornamental art'.

By the late 1860s when Phoebe Moss attended the art classes, Edwin Lyne had succeeded McManus as headmaster, and London control had become considerably tighter. The number of women students had grown steadily in the 1850s and 1860s, taught from 1863 by Miss Mary Julyan, who was necessarily equipped for the post having spent five years at the Art Teacher Training School in London, and with three teaching certificates under her belt. The class curriculum gave an equal balance to the study of fine and decorative art, but still with a pronounced emphasis on 'mechanical' copying from casts and models. The necessity of a Fine Art element in the Dublin teaching continued to prevail under both McManus and Lyne, countering the essentials of the South Kensington system. In a report to the Royal Dublin Society in 1876, Lyne stated that

... the practical application of design in individual operations I regard as a matter of secondary importance with the broader aim of our Schools in aiming at the diffusion among all ranks of society of just ideas, right practice and correct taste in art ...⁷

He was also aware of the dangers of tradework being 'imitations of prevailing fashions in designs, and attempts to rival the latest novelties' which could result from manufacturers' prize competitions. In short, a healthy attitude developed and continued in the 1860s and 1870s which

fulfilled to a certain extent Cole's principles of 1851-52 but countered the stricter realities of his School system.

In more detailed respects Dublin however did follow London's controlling system. Examinations were closely monitored by London, the first two grades assessed in Dublin by a visiting Departmental Inspector, and the best work submitted to the School in South Kensington's National Competition. Among items sent was a painted fan decorated by Phoebe Moss which won a Queen's medal.⁸ Success in the third grade resulted in an Art Master's certificate, judged in London by Royal Academicians. In Dublin the lack of a study collection of 'ornamental art', lamented as early as 1850 and to be repropounded in 1868, was rectified with the provision of loan exhibitions. Similarly, in the area of painting, sculpture and drawing, the Irish Institution, which had first met on 1 November 1853 in Charlemont House, had stated its aims as not only 'the promotion of Art in Ireland by the formation of a permanent Exhibition in Dublin and eventually of an Irish National Gallery' but the education of public taste by the display of loan fine art exhibitions.⁹

The relationship between Dublin and London is not only relevant to the study of a decorative artist trained in the Irish capital but of particular interest to a study of design training in Edinburgh and its association with London, providing in some respects a close parallel. The financial situation was better in Scotland by 1868 when the Royal Dublin Society stated that 'Dublin being a metropolitan city, and the natural centre for art operations in Ireland, should like London and Edinburgh receive a special grant'.¹⁰ In Edinburgh, governmental control had a headstart, stemming from the 1707

Treaty of Union between Scotland and England, which led to the appointment of twenty-one Commissioners in 1714 to improve Scottish fisheries and industries. An Act of Parliament of 1726 had established them as an Honourable Board of Trustees for Fisheries, Manufactures and Improvements in Scotland. During the eighteenth century the principal industry to benefit from the Board reports and government funds had been the linen trade.

In design, however, advances were first made by the Select Society's awards for 'the Encouragement of Art, Science and Manufacture in Scotland' from 1755 until 1761, which inspired in part the move of the Honourable Board of Trustees to establish the Trustees' Academy of Design in 1760 -- one of the earliest schools of design in Britain financed by the government, better equipped than those run by such bodies as the Royal Dublin Society, and involving as teaching masters a clutch of the most remarkable artists of the day, including Delacour, Pavillon, Runciman and Allan.

Ties with London increased in the early years of Victoria's reign with the removal of William Dyce from the Trustees' Academy to the office of Superintendent of the Normal School of Design at Somerset House in 1838. At this date it is possible to see in the figure of Dyce a prevailing influence from north to south in methods of design teaching and reform. In the 1840s the classes offered in London and Edinburgh ran close to those of Dublin: in Edinburgh the Academy students studied Drawing from the Antique, Pictorial Colouring, Drawing from Life and Ornamental Design in form and colour (including architecture, perspective, modelling and fresco painting -- the last especially following Dyce's reports), in classes held in the new

Playfair building on the Mound owned by the Royal Institution for the Promotion of the Fine Arts in Scotland.¹¹

Following the establishment of Cole's Department of Science and Art it was hoped in London to tighten control of design teaching in Edinburgh. In 1855 the Treasury, in a letter of 24 January to the Board of Manufactures largely relating to the housing of a National Gallery and Royal Scottish Academy in a new building south of the Royal Institution, congratulated the Board on its Schools of Design and Art: as the School in Dublin had gained through governmental control so would Edinburgh.¹² But although there was a certain degree of autonomy in the management of the Edinburgh Schools (the Royal Scottish Academy Life School of fine art neatly complementing the Board's Academy), more so than in Dublin, there was a growth of dissatisfaction with the method of payment by results, which, allied to internal friction between members of the Royal Scottish Academy, accelerated towards the 1880s, and in the early 1890s finally led to the establishment of an alternative design school. The latter, like many British arts and crafts developments, was closely affiliated to architectural training and skills.

Edinburgh, however, was one of the few cities outside London which responded to Cole's formula of a design school accompanied by a museum of ornamental art, centrally sited, for the education of both students and public. As in Dublin, a new National Gallery would educate in the area of fine art: the Board of Manufactures had a fine collection of plaster casts brought to Edinburgh in the 1820s and 1830s. Contemporary with the founding of the National Gallery was that of an Industrial Museum of

Scotland in 1854, the exhibits and administration directly issuing from the London Department of Science and Art. A new building, designed by Captain Francis Fowke RE, engineer to the Department from 1857, rose from 1861 and was renamed in 1864, at the conclusion of the first stage of construction, the Museum of Science and Art, a title which both echoed the government department itself and clearly stated its twin purposes. Fowke, who in 1856 had designed a gallery of the South Kensington Museum to house the Sheepshanks Gift, also prepared the final approved designs for Dublin's National Gallery of Ireland in 1858. a building which employed a forerunner of reinforced concrete.¹³ The Edinburgh building was equally practical and modern, a structure of utility and lightness inside, clothed in an exterior of Venetian renaissance derived detailing.

Although the building was erected in three stages between 1861 and 1888, from the outset there was a drive from London to present a range of quality displays, quite distinct from the Society of Antiquaries' historic collection. Natural history collections were assembled, ready made, in 1865 with the transfer of those belonging to the University of Edinburgh from the adjacent building, although the specimens were still cared for by the Professor of Natural History. In other subject areas there was a pronounced emphasis on the display of loan collection exhibitions initiated by the Museum of Science and Art in London. By the late 1870s the *Edinburgh Courant* was able to report that

... within the last year or two, as is well known, much has been done at the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art for the gratification of lovers of art ... the object contemplated in the institution of such repositories -- the development of artistic tastes, and the creation of refined and accurate

opinions on such subjects, on the part of the public -- has, it is safe to say, been served in considerable measure by every successful display ...'⁴

The Art and Ethnographical Department was concerned equally with the acquisition of major collections of historic decorative art and the provision of important loan exhibitions. As early as 1877 the director, Thomas Archer, was able to report to the Department of Science and Art that a major haul of enamels and metalwork, pottery and porcelain dating from the Middle Ages to the early nineteenth century had been purchased at the sale of the 'well-known Shandon Collection made by the late Robert Napier, Esq., one of the warmest friends of this museum'.⁵ The vast Shandon collection, catalogued by the English connoisseur and collector Sir John Charles Robinson, had been exhibited at the South Kensington Museum in 1862 under his curatorship. The purchase of a substantial number of pieces, particularly of German and Italian *cinquecento* metalwork, by Edinburgh in 1877 and during the 1880s, demonstrated one aspect of the continuity of close ties between the two museums. A similar pattern of exhibition and purchase also applied to the collection of medieval silver and ecclesiastical plate formed by the Edinburgh collector Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, Bart., of which fifty-two items were purchased in 1892. Of another important metalwork collection, in which 'every object was of the rarest quality',⁶ formed by Sir Thomas Gibson Carmichael, Bart., however, only seven lots were purchased at Sotheby's in 1902.

Throughout the last decades of the nineteenth century reserve collections in this museum department were considerably small. Most items were displayed and gave a powerful reason for the expansion of premises.

Both education and taste were fostered by a treasure house of which aspects were developed or complemented in the temporary exhibition. These ranged from the first, held in 1861 in older premises to the south and west of the new building, on Industrial and Decorative Art, to exhibitions of German, Dutch and French engravings and of Indian decorative work from the collection of the Prince of Wales, both held in early 1879. Some were entertainingly specialised, such as *Pipes of All Peoples*, mounted in 1880. International presentations included a large Viennese exhibition in 1873 which covered historic and contemporary enamels and porcelain. Whether exhibitions of design or ethnographical interest, most were intentionally planned to demonstrate technical expertise.

One of the most substantial shows mounted was devoted to *Art Needlework* in 1878. This was the first occasion which allowed an Edinburgh public access to contemporary British and European embroidery, alongside historic examples. The contrast with the previous exhibition in the museum, a large loan exhibition of over four hundred *Water Colour Drawings illustrative of the rise and progress of the art in England from 1710, selected from the National Gallery of British Art at South Kensington*, could not have been more marked. This was even larger, covering work from the Middle Ages onwards, and in certain respects it was the successor to the London and Liverpool exhibitions held in 1873 and 1875 respectively. It was also a most topical subject for an exhibition, for 'Art Needlework' was becoming increasingly fashionable in middle- and upper-class circles during the later 1870s. The Royal School of Art Needlework had been founded in 1872 by two amateur embroidresses, Helen Welby and Marianne Margaret Cust, Viscountess

Alford, under the direct patronage of HRH Princess Christian. Lady Alford had stated her objective of her establishment in her opening address

... we wish to adorn and improve, by harmonious decoration, rooms already designed in a particular style ... I would impress on all, workers and superintendents too, that nothing should be left to the imagination of the stitcher, that each must copy humbly and faithfully the design which should always be placed before her ..'7

The spirit and location of this School fell in neatly with Cole's departmental concept, and was perhaps one of the few strictly non-governmental educational successes of the decade. Its influence was far flung, not just through the establishment of local classes but by publication of a number of pattern books and pamphlets, such as *Crewel and Silk Embroidery* by Miss Turner, published in 1877, which widely disseminated concepts and details.

On 4 December 1873 the *Edinburgh Courant* had carried the announcement of Ramsay Traquair's appointment to the post of Keeper of Natural History at the museum following the resignation of the previous keeper, Professor Wyville Thomson, who retained the Chair of Natural History at the university until 1882. Thomson's brief term of office (three years) and resignation from the keepership formalised a break between university teaching and curatorship which had been looming for a decade, a largely impractical arrangement which had worsened with the generous but time-consuming addition of substantial gifts of natural history specimens to the already extensive teaching collections.

Phoebe Moss, winner of a student award for copying from the Royal Dublin Society's antique casts, had provided illustrations for Ramsay Traquair's research papers in Dublin. At the time of her marriage and

removal to Edinburgh, she was prepared to study and utilise what was accessible in exhibition and museum displays. In Edinburgh the 1878 exhibition of *Art Needlework* mounted at her husband's museum was the first influence to become apparent. Her first pieces of embroidery worked in Scotland were, understandably, of a domestic nature: their sons Ramsay and Harry were born in 1874 and 1875, and a daughter, Hilda, in 1879. One piece, a tablecover worked in crewel wools [E.1: pl. 2a], was a study of appleblossom (a subject particularly recommended by Miss Turner), using bright pinks and greens and depicting a wealth of natural detail -- birds, butterflies and blossoms. The design, like many suggested by the School of Needlework, was derived in essence from the 1860s textile designs of the Morris firm. A second cover [E.2: pl. 2b], worked in 1880, the following year, again used natural forms, the design more vigorous with a trellis of bending cacti branches in place of boughs, peopled by monkeys, a parrot, a kingfisher and butterflies. The design was witty, lively and full of movement. Pink and lilac wools and silks provided a foil for the introduction of gold thread. A third embroidery more directly reflected needlework shown at the 1878 exhibition. This teacloth of 1880 has been shown by Barbara Morris to relate directly to Yannina embroidery from northern Greece.¹⁸ The cloth, and accompanying teacosy [E.3, E.4], were worked in herringbone stitch, using reds, browns, blues, greens and gold thread.

Yet these embroideries could not be called, strictly speaking, art embroidery, as they had a primarily practical purpose. By 1880 the current fashion in London circles was for large decorative figural panels used to furnish a room. *The Art Journal* recorded the new fashion in 1886

... needle tapestries on a large scale (which may, in fact, be called pictures in needlework) are being extensively executed as decorative work, while at home we have 'schools and societies without number, besides the private firms which produce artistic needlework ...'¹⁹

The large panels stitched for room decoration were often of narrative form, with a stronger pictorial element than hitherto seen in the medium. A dark outline of form was filled with differing colours, stitches and even materials to provide an interesting surface texture. It can be said, however, that the dominating influence was a stylistic one deriving less from Morris than from Burne-Jones. One of the most celebrated examples of such work was designed by Burne-Jones and stitched by 1884 by Frances Graham, daughter of the Glasgow member of Parliament, India merchant and collector William Graham, whose collection already included examples of historic needlework. This showed, on a large scale, an angel with great red wings illustrating Canto XXXVIII of Dante's *Paradiso*, *L'Amor che muove il Sole l'Altre Stelle*.²⁰ It now hangs in the village church at Mells in Somerset.

Phoebe Traquair's response to the new embroidery increased in the mid-1880s. In 1887 she completed a panel measuring more than 180cm in height, for which she subsequently created two accompanying side panels in the early 1890s. The *Angel of Death and Purification* [E.5: pl. 3] was stitched to her own design and marked her entry into the field of purely artistic embroidery. By this date, with her first ambitious Edinburgh mural scheme behind her [A.1] -- to be discussed in the following chapter -- she would not have considered subscription to the Royal School of Art Needlework pattern books. The embroidery relied stylistically but not iconographically on Burne-Jones prototypes, and in particular the Mells piece mentioned above: the heavy-lidded eyes, the

strong jaw, and flowing red hair accompanied a pair of brilliant red wings. The heavily peopled and already personal iconography, which included a phoenix rising from a flaming skull, and a miniature sacrifice of Isaac, also contained a wealth of natural detail relating it to Burne-Jones, the Morris School, medieval illumination and to the Dublin emphasis on relating design to a study of natural history. The design concentration on one full-size figure related it to such works by Burne-Jones as *The Seasons* (1869-70) for Frederick Leyland, or the four designs for *The Virtues* executed for the publisher F S Ellis which had had been sold at Christie's, London, on 16 May 1885, a sale at which, coincidentally, Phoebe Traquair's brother William Moss purchased an important Rossetti.²¹

The Edinburgh circle who responded to the English Aesthetic Movement in the early 1880s was relatively small. At this date there was little opportunity locally for the general public to see contemporary work: commissions would, in any event, have come only from a few select and wealthy clients and remained behind closed doors. Much of the debate in the visual arts concentrated on fine art which was the only field in which new, as opposed to historic, work could be regularly seen, at the annual exhibitions of the Royal Scottish Academy. There was a continuing preoccupation with not only technical 'finish' but with the subject of a painting, notably portraiture, narrative subjects and landscape. The third Marquess of Bute, in his address at the 1880 banquet to mark the opening of the annual Academy exhibition, advised artists to 'abandon the portrayal of the details of everyday life' and to exert their energies 'in the direction of subjects of higher thought and graver feeling'. Works by members of the Glasgow School, when

accepted, were not hung prominently, although several became associate members and Guthrie was eventually elected an academician in 1892 and president in 1902. McTaggart, a local boy, had his work regularly criticised as 'tantalisingly wanting in finish' and 'wanting in texture, and definition, and deficient in aerial perspective'. In 1889 the painting section of the National Association for the Advancement of Art and its Application to Industry meeting in Edinburgh gave much of its debate specifically to the content and technique of easel painting.

Such a prevailing climate did not elicit much response among artists to developments in the decorative arts south of the Border, despite the literary quality of much of the English school. In the field of poetry and literature it was Tennyson and Browning rather than Morris and Rossetti who were widely appreciated, but, generally speaking, these were publically broadcast in detail only by a relatively small but influential group of intellectuals. In the 1860s Andrew Lang (1844-1912), who was to maintain strong personal links with Edinburgh although his Scottish base was St Andrews, had come under the spell of Morris and Rossetti while at Oxford, but by the 1880s he scorned and parodied the superficial 'sand culture' attitude in two books of poems, *xxii Ballades in Blue China* (1880) and *xxxii Ballades in Blue China* (1881). David Masson (1822-1907), Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature at Edinburgh University from 1865 until 1895, had known Carlyle, Thackeray and Browning in London, and maintained their friendships in Edinburgh. Furthermore, he was one of a small team of university teachers who actively disseminated appreciation of the arts in Edinburgh outside the university gates, most notably in his classes for women in Shandwick Place. These were held in the 1870s and 1880s

prior to parliamentary authorisation of universities to admit women as students in 1889. Under the aegis of the Association for the University Education of Women, founded in 1867, a wide range of classes in the arts and sciences were organised.²² Another Association course tutor in the eighties, Gerard Baldwin Brown (1849-1932), first holder of the Watson Gordon Chair of Fine Art at the university from 1880 to 1930, had been a colleague of the critic Walter Pater while a Fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford, during the mid-1870s.

Undoubtedly it was the personal contact between a few men of letters of Edinburgh's town and gown and writers in England with informal teaching which helped to accelerate local interest in their work. The work of the Pre-Raphaelites and the Aesthetic Movement was further exposed by two particular men, both of whom were known to Traquair from the mid-eighties. John Miller Gray (1850-94) and Patrick Geddes both published *critiques* which reached an interested although limited audience. Gray was a self-taught connoisseur, whose family circumstances had prevented a university education. During his apprenticeship with the Bank of Scotland in Newington, south Edinburgh, he had felt 'cribbed, cabined and confined'.²³ A born antiquarian and aesthete -- he wrote occasional poetry from an early age -- he sent reviews of exhibitions and books to a wide variety of periodicals, including *The Perthshire Courier*, *The Edinburgh Courant*, *The Scots Magazine*, *The People's Friend*, *The Scottish Art Review*, *The Dumfriesshire Herald*, *The Madras Mail*, and in London *The Academy*, *The Magazine of Art* and *The Art Journal*. He also contributed entries to the *Dictionary of National Biography* and to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* on Leech, C R Leslie and Linnell. Many of the friendships he struck up

were with writers whose work he particularly admired, from Dr John Brown to William Bell Scott. His sensitive review of Browning's *Pacchiarotto*, published in the *Edinburgh Courant* on 4 August 1876, was sent to the poet on Brown's advice. In 1877 he travelled to London to meet Browning and visit the studio of Burne-Jones and to Oxford to meet Pater.

In 1880 Gray had applied without success for the sub-editorship of *The Art Journal*. When he successfully applied for the post of first curator of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery in late 1883 references were submitted by Browning and Pater. Browning's letter declared that in securing Gray's services the Board of Trustees

... will begin their labours auspiciously indeed, associating themselves, as they will, with a gentleman whose literary ability is commensurate with his artistic discrimination -- and may I venture to add? -- with every advantage of bearing and manner that should accompany these ...²⁴

That his writings were held in equally high esteem by Pater was shown by letters from the critic in which he asked for Gray's opinion on the first of his *Imaginary Portraits*.²⁵ The breadth of Gray's scholarship -- he also contributed articles to Mackmurdo's arts and crafts Century Guild *Hobby Horse*, and on the art treasures of Penicuik House to the *Scottish History Society* as well as producing monographs on David Scott and George Manson and a catalogue *raisonné* of Tassie medallions -- made him a remarkable figure in Edinburgh artistic life and a worthy first curator of the gallery which opened its doors in July 1889.²⁶ His personal taste was revealed in letters to his publishers, and in recollections by Katherine Bradley and Edith Cooper, the aunt and niece poet duo who wrote aesthetic pieces under the *nom-de-plume* 'Michael Field'.²⁷ One of the most interesting was addressed to Blackwood's of Edinburgh in the spring of 1882. Gray suggested that he contribute a

review of the forthcoming exhibition of Rossetti's work at the Fine Art Society's gallery in London to the journal *Maga*, to which he had contributed since the previous autumn:

... I am already well acquainted with Rossetti's work, having taken pains to procure admission to four or five private collections which are rich in his pictures. I also know Holman Hunt's main works and carefully studied the Millais exhibition last year, so I would have material for a comparison of Rossetti's art with that of the other Pre-Raphaelite leaders: while the current Academy and Grosvenor exhibitions would give me an opportunity of comparing present-day art with that of the last thirty years. Of course while I recognise the defects and limitations of Rossetti's art, I consider him a great painter -- especially as a colourist and a master of expression, in draughtsmanship he is often faulty -- and my notice of the exhibition, I have little doubt, would be an appreciative one ...²⁸

Four years later 'Michael Field' visited Gray at his home at 25 York Place

where *The Germ* was put in our hands, *The Defence of Guinevere* praised with zeal, Browning read aloud, and all questions that had to do with the literature of the middle of the century, and the art springing from Preraphaelitism discussed merrily, and always with a bias on his part toward appreciation ...²⁹

What Gray's friend the painter W D McKay spurned as 'his excessive admiration for the painters of the Aesthetic School'³⁰ was shared by Patrick Geddes: both were considerably influenced by the writings of Pater, with their emphasis on the analysis of visual perception and on the individual's right to enjoy a work of art on its own terms, regardless of moral preoccupations. Gray came closest to Pater in his review of Whistler's *Ten O'Clock Lecture*, published in *The Scottish Leader* on 11 June 1888. Here was captured Gray's view of the essence of a true work of art. An artist in his opinion

must first of all vindicate himself as such by evincing command over his chosen material, by proving his power to manage form, colour, light and shade, so as to render these in themselves delightful; and must then pass to the expression, by means of these, of something broadly human. Mere words and their combinations are capable of a sweet jingle of their own, just as colours have their own special fairness; but we ask the writer for something more than this -- we expect him to say

something, to state some human fact, or express some human sentiment
...

Gray's concept concurred with the opinion of the Rev David Balsillie, the Edinburgh publisher of *The Children's Guide* and *The Social Pioneer*, reformer and member of the Gray, Geddes and Traquair circle. In *Paris*, an anthology of articles published in *The Scotsman*, Balsillie wrote of the spiritual essence of a great work of art:

... the real essential quality in every work of art, whether it be a statue, a picture, a musical composition, or a poem is the idea of the artist. If the man has not a great and beautiful idea to bestow, he has no right to take into his hand either pen, brush or chisel ...³¹

Arguing against Leighton's theories of the noble subject being the primary quality in a painting, which was still the viewpoint of the academies, he declared that

... form and colour elicit powerful and exquisite emotions to which they alone have the key ... in a work of art the elements of emotion based on human sympathies do not raise it as an artistic creation ...³²

He summarised that

the function of art, then, is not to amuse but to elevate mankind. The one comprehensive canon of art, from the violation of which we are suffering so much, is that it can only elevate by the presentation of what is highest and best ...³³

Both Gray and Balsillie recognised that art was for the artist (Whistler's view) and for an audience. In their lives both carried art to a public: Gray through his published reviews, books and curatorship of a picture gallery, and Balsillie through his Christian socialism evident in both his publications and his philanthropic work, notably his involvement with the Edinburgh Social Union initially led by Geddes.

The specific concern with Pater's analysis of beauty and the nature of comprehension was first, and most strongly, visible in Geddes's essays *Every Man his own Critic*, first published to mark the Manchester

Exhibition of 1887, and reissued with relevant amendments at the Glasgow International Exhibition in 1888.³⁴ In the introduction, *The Aspects of Art*, Geddes advised each observer of a work of art to ask himself, 'What has the painter seen? What is this he would show?' Three short chapters were devoted to *The Art of Seeing*, *The Seeing of Art* and *The Feeling of Art*. A painting was 'a window through which we look out in the world ... and through which we may also look deep in the painter's soul'.³⁵ The observer must learn, according to Geddes,

to look at pictures in the painter's way -- to value them, that is, for and in proportion to their art, and not merely for the excellence of their record or the interest in their story ...³⁶

Art was no longer 'for Fact's sake ... at length we have art for art's sake'.³⁷ It should relate nevertheless to the spirit of life and to the experience of man, 'the growing child of Nature'. And while, like his friend Andrew Lang, he despised the hothouse world of London aestheticism of the 1880s -- the 'weird cult of Kensington which will have none save Sandro Botticelli and Burne-Jones upon their altars' -- and advised artists to abandon 'endless labour on little panels, scattered hither and thither to flap idly upon rich men's walls'³⁸ he did express admiration for three of the 'rich man's' fashionable artists, Watts, Rossetti and Burne-Jones, who were providing the new beginning of Sacred Art. Rossetti, for Geddes, could even transcend Dante in emotional intensity; his symbolism, with that of Burne-Jones, was celebrated in Geddes's articles for the *Glasgow Scottish Art Review*, later edited by his friend James Mavor. The *Review*, although nowadays often referred to as the voice of the Glasgow School painters -- 'the most important contemporary movement in Scottish, perhaps even British, art'³⁹ -- was a lively organ of contemporary opinion in the arts across

Scotland. It published, in addition to a wide range of Scottish articles, contributions from England (Crane, Woolner, Clausen and Havelock Ellis). Its cover and title page designs were by the leading illustrator of the Century Guild, Selwyn Image. Designed in 1888, the year of the founding of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, the journal gave Scotland positive links with English arts and crafts graphic illustration and broader developments in the arts.

Although Geddes, like Gray and Balsillie, could not accept Whistler's limitations of a work of art, painted by a 'type of man who has nothing in common with his fellows, nor they with him, save perchance in meaner qualities', he found common qualities in the artist and the poet:

... as the poet may rise from the mere sensuous perfection of representment [sic] to the discernment of deeper meanings and higher harmonies, so (albeit it later and with more difficulty, yet at length even more fully and profoundly) may and does the artist ...⁴⁰

Of art critics publishing in Scotland one of the few to support Whistler's *Ten O'Clock* was W E Henley, editor of the *London Magazine of Art* and the *Edinburgh Scots Observer*, the latter first published in 1889 and changing its title, significantly, to the *National Observer* during the following year. In May 1891 Henley, writing in the last on *The Ideals of Art*, launched his public support for the American. He declared that the end of art was 'simply to decorate flat spaces with interesting forms and beautiful colours ...'⁴¹ But, while the *Observer* gave space to reviews of books including William Sharp's *Rossetti* and to articles on such eminent writers as Pater,⁴² Whistler was usually supported at the expense of the arts and crafts movement. Two years

earlier the *Scots Observer* had commented on a lack of draughtsmanship in arts and crafts work.⁴³ Henley wrote sharply that

the Crafty Artsman is as anxious as ever to save the souls of his neighbours by demoralising their houses with decoration ... Religion still affords a better occasion for the outpouring of the human soul than all the antic socialism of the Arts and Crafts ...⁴⁴

In Edinburgh the 'antic socialism' was only in part initiated by Geddes, and over a period of twenty years it involved town and gown, artists, craftsmen and architects. The beginnings of arts and crafts in the city, in which Phoebe Traquair played her part, were founded in both a new awareness of fine workmanship -- reflected in museum displays -- and the promotion of London aesthetics and the actions of broader and practical schemes of philanthropy which both reflected and paralleled developments in the English capital.

Chapter Two. 'A little Artistic Society'

Civic awareness of the appalling housing conditions in the Old Town of Edinburgh, caused in part by the removal of the upper and professional classes to the New Town, developed during the nineteenth century. Severe overcrowding had combined with a total lack of sanitary facilities to produce conditions of the utmost squalor and disease. Under Lord Provost William Chambers (1800-83: Lord Provost 1865-69) an improvement scheme was initiated in 1867 with the foundation of an Edinburgh Improvement Trust which met regularly until 1889. The primary action of the trust, however, was one of demolition, not the permanent cure of insanitary conditions prevalent in even new housing. A Royal Commission set up in 1884 to look into the problem of housing the working classes established that the problem was really a social one, fuelled by poverty. Societies, such as the society for Improving the Conditions of the Poor, were founded by philanthropists including the wealthy and influential senior proprietor of *The Scotsman*, John Ritchie Findlay (1824-98), to take into their own hands problems left unresolved by limited municipal action.

The improvement of the quality of life for the citizens of Edinburgh was a growing concern for a number of individuals in the city. The Rev David Balsillie was concerned with the underprivileged as early as 1872. On 27 February he issued a report on the 'best mode of admitting children' into Donaldson's Hospital for Deaf Children 'and of dismissing them when their time has expired'. The limitations of state or municipal action, alongside

his own deep humanitarian concern for the individual, were recognised by Balsillie. In 1889 he wrote that

state action can only deal with the proletariat according to the principle that it is the duty of the weak to yield to the strong. In a deep sense any right exercise of the power of the State to improve the proletaire is ministration. But it is imperfect, because it cannot have the quickening power of incarnation through sympathy ...¹

Balsillie's dedication to social and moral reform was inextricably linked with his desire for spiritual renewal. His close involvement with local schools, co-operative societies and working men's associations set up on the lines of F D Maurice was the expression of the 'practical bearings' : the application of ethical theories to achieve a goodly aim.

For both Balsillie and Patrick Geddes reform was necessary only when conditions demanded it. Geddes's own thinking on evolution came closer to Lamarck (natural change and growth in order to satisfy a fresh need) than Darwin whose theories with those of Spencer encouraged socialist thinkers to accept the inevitability of reform on grounds of historical evidence. Balsillie publically supported Geddes's 'higher natural ethic' and preferred his 'theory of variation' to Darwin's selection theory.² As a biologist Geddes was deeply fascinated with evolutionary theory, and remained so for his whole life. Organic form, nature, was the essence of life, and life, he believed, should contain beauty, not the desperate squalor found in the packed tenements of central Edinburgh.

In the early 1880s art itself was analysed in evolutionary terms by certain British theorists. Walter Crane, writing 'On the Position and Aims of Decorative Art' in *The Art Journal* in 1881, argued that pictorial and decorative art were of equal importance. Beauty itself was 'not something

accidental and fanciful, the luxury and pursuit of a few dreamers and misguided beings³ but an organic form

having its own laws, however various, its own logical causes and consequences ... its history, like that of everything else, is written in the records of the unending struggle for existence throughout Nature; that it is a survival of the fittest throughout its ever-varying forms, by selection, by gradual development, by adaptation, but subject with all living things to recurring seasons of growth, perfection, decline, and renaissance, as we follow its course down the long streams of time, and mark its many habitations from age to age ...⁴

The idea of growth and decline, of epochs when civilisation including the arts peaked, was a topical one. The essay which had won Gerard Baldwin Brown the Chancellor's Prize at Oxford in 1874 was written on 'The Short Periods during which Art has remained at its Zenith in Different Countries'. His first published book, *From Schola to Cathedral* (1886), analysed early medieval architecture in 'relation to the Life of the Church' and in relation to financial and social conditions. The arts at their best were the products of successful civilisations. This approach persisted in Britain for several decades and especially as an element of arts and crafts principles.

W R Lethaby, architect-theorist of the English arts and crafts movement, wrote as late as 1904 that

... Art is man's thought expressed in his handiwork ... the quality, importance and number of monuments are likely to vary according to the greatness of the periods in which they were produced ... periods of art are those in which a process of development has been set up by which certain ideals have been followed for generations and centuries, so that possibilities of thought-expression have been continuously explored and built up ... a wide view of history makes it evident that periods of art have coincided with the crests of general development ...⁵

Another architect, Robert Rowand Anderson (1834-1921), speaking as an honorary graduand at a University of Edinburgh tercentenary luncheon in

April 1884, which also celebrated the opening of his new medical school, gave his reason for using early Renaissance as his chosen style

... obviously I could not have made use of Greek architecture, and to have adopted Palladian art would have been to sacrifice the interior to the exterior. I have not adopted medieval art, because an architect cannot ignore the spirit and tendency of his time; but I have made use of that phase of art which arose in Italy during the second half of the fifteenth century, when the great minds of that country began to burst the bonds of dogma and ecclesiastical authority, and were determined to inquire into the nature of all things, and which, I believe, will be the meeting-ground where those gifts of the ancients to the modern artists -- viz. those principles of construction evolved and perfected during the middle ages, which so long as we build in stone and lime must be used, and that love of beauty and humanity for its own sake so characteristic of classic art -- will mingle and lead to the production of a phase of art that will respond to and be more expressive of the thought and life of the modern world than anything we have yet seen ...⁶

If the 'beauty and humanity' of the early Italian Renaissance could be applied to the 1880s to improve civilisation -- a parallel vision contrasting in detail only with the new utopian (Middle) Age promoted by Ruskin and Morris -- in Edinburgh the most deserving patient for immediate remedial treatment was the historic Old Town. There, Scots Renaissance buildings, where surviving, were in desperate condition which was closely allied through financial difficulties and subsequent neglect to the living conditions which local philanthropists sought to remedy.

Patrick Geddes had been appointed Assistant in Practical Botany at Edinburgh University in 1880, a post which he held until his appointment to the part-time Chair of Botany at University College, Dundee in 1888. In November 1884, following the setting up of the Royal Commission to examine the state of housing, he established his Environment Society, which only weeks later was renamed the Edinburgh Social Union. Local architects and designers participated in its foundation. James C Oliphant wrote in a

flurry of optimism to his sister-in-law, Anna Morton, who two years later was to marry Geddes, of

the Environment Society which is now being set on its legs ... a preliminary meeting was held .. only a few select friends of Mr Geddes's to hear his statement of its scope and aims .. it is a scheme for the organisation of all benevolent enterprise! But its special aims are to provide or rather improve existing material surroundings, by decorating halls and schools, planting open spaces, providing musical and other entertainments for the people, etc., etc... He and a Mr Deas⁷ have been working it up. I have been made Treasurer and Mr Geddes is Secretary. You will hear more of it when you come ... ⁸

Although the Union was fronted by Geddes, it was a cooperative effort involving also existing central Edinburgh church groups, such as the Home Mission in Fountainbridge, which was actively backed by local congregations and in particular that of St George's Free Church.⁹ Representatives of these groups also sat on Union committees.

The principal Edinburgh Social Union committee first met on 6 January 1885. The minutes of the society, whose new name both declared its purpose and suggested a brotherhood of philanthropists, have survived in part only and exclude the years 1893 to 1901. The Union initially comprised three Guilds dedicated respectively to Art (secretary Mrs MacLagan), Music (the architect Frank Deas) and Nature (Mrs Cunningham). All three had an implicit responsibility in the improvement of living conditions. By mid-January the Guilds were restructured and now responsible for Art, Recreation and Education, a more true statement of their functions. While the main impetus in the creation of such a society was a local one, there was an undoubted awareness of the growing guild movement in arts and crafts circles in England. John Ruskin's Guild of St George had been established in 1871, with Ruskin as Master and an avowed intent to reform society,

to reestablish a medieval hierarchy of master and servant in the face of industrial society. The folly of such a guild, inappropriate to any positive progress whatsoever, contrasted with that established by a Ruskin pupil, Arthur Heygate Mackmurdo, whose successful Century Guild, founded in 1882, was a cooperative of craftsmen and art workers, aiming to improve the standards of design and reacting against 'the official teaching of Henry Cole. The third group of craftsmen, with an approach similar to the Century Guild, was the Art Workers' Guild, founded in London in 1884 by members of the St George's Art Society, all of whom were or had been architectural apprentices in Norman Shaw's office, joined by 'the Fifteen', including Lewis F Day and Crane. This last guild, extant today, had the widest influence of any in Britain. As an offshoot of the Guild, the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society was established in 1888 to provide a regular shop window for craftsmen.

The primary concern of the English guilds was, however, one of the improvement of decorative art design, and, although taking their theoretical lead from the socialism of William Morris, their craftsmen and leaders had less interest in environmental matters. While no absolute parallel can be found with the Edinburgh Social Union, the nearest, in spirit only, was the Guild of Handicraft founded in London's East End on socialist principles by Charles Robert Ashbee four years later in 1888. An initial domination by wider and political issues was a common feature of both societies, but the Edinburgh Social Union was less introspective and involved a field of establishment figures and professional architects, artists and designers working alongside younger art workers and idealists for a common good.

As will be seen, it was not until the early 1890s, when Geddes had moved to new pastures that Ashbee himself was to have direct contact with the Edinburgh Union. Moreover, Ashbee's personal influence on Geddes himself was to become more evident in the 1890s and 1900s than at this period.

From the outset one of the most active sections of the Social Union was the Art Guild. Only ten days after the first meeting of the principal Union committee, a letter was received from the Dispensary at Fountainbridge requesting assistance with the decoration of rooms.¹⁰ The artist selected to execute the work was James C Oliphant.¹¹ By February a second decorative scheme, for the Children's Shelter, was underway, to be painted by Miss Wheeler.¹² Other early buildings -- the surviving list is impressively long -- decorated under the aegis of the Social Union included the Robertson Memorial Mission Hall, built at the west end of the Grassmarket in 1884, decorated 'by means of life sized copies of Millais's *Illustrations of the Parables*'¹³ executed in red chalk by 'amateurs and art students'¹⁴ under the supervision of the designer William S Black;¹⁵ St Leonard's Workmen's Hall, supplied with two large oil monochrome panels after the Nazarene painter Overbeck to complete a series of such painted decorations;¹⁶ and the upper schoolroom of the Cathedral Missionhouse, Water of Leith (the Dean Village), where twelve large panels in oil colour on Willesden paper were hung, and others were in preparation by early 1887.¹⁷ Several rooms including the dormitory of the Children's Holiday Home in the village of Colinton were painted with mural decorations in late 1887.¹⁸

By late 1888 the hall of the Chalmers' Institute, Fountainbridge, had received nine oil landscape paintings, some showing scenes of the local

canal, by R B Nisbet, A G Sinclair and Garden Smith, two of which were illustrated in *The Scottish Art Review*.¹⁹ The hall of James Court, Lawnmarket, where Patrick and Anna Geddes had settled in 1886, was also decorated in 1888.²⁰ Riddell's Court was 'coloured' in late 1889 under the superintendence of the architect Sydney Mitchell (1856-1930), Geddes and a Mr Clarke.²¹ Milton House School in the Canongate and Ponton Street Hall were decorated in late 1888 or early 1889 with gesso and beaten brasswork.²² In 1884 the Ponton Street Hall (Chalmers Institute) had been bequeathed to the Fountainbridge Home Mission, led by Rev George Low, by Thomas Ivory²³ where in the autumn of 1886 the Chalmers University Settlement was established by a group associated with the Medical Faculty of the university. It was but one example of the mutual concern of university, church and social reformers for the welfare of the poor.

By far the most extensive series of decorations was carried out for the Royal Infirmary, where twelve large panels after Burne-Jones's paintings of *The Four Seasons*, *The Six Days of Creation*, *Hope* and *Temperance* occupied ward thirty²⁴, and Mary Hill Burton and Charles Mackie (1862-1920) complemented these with the decoration of another ward -- Mackie illustrating the history of corn, ploughing, sowing, harrowing, reaping, threshing and grinding'.²⁵ In a third, possibly a children's ward, 'enlargement of a series of designs by Kate Greenaway' covered the walls.²⁶ To a considerable extent this aspect of the Union's activities anticipated the publications of the Fitzroy Picture Society in London whose first (1896) catalogue described their products as suitable 'for Schools, Mission-Rooms and Hospitals' and included design contributions from established English

arts and crafts artists such as George Heywood Sumner (1853-1940). From the descriptions given to the schemes in the few surviving references, certain projects would appear to have been executed not only in a Pre-Raphaelite derived style, but in the spirit of the paper wallcoverings depicting Biblical scenes painted by Louisa Anne, Marchioness of Waterford (1818-91), between 1862 and 1883 for the village school at Ford, Northumberland. These too were Overbeckian in feeling, filtered through the illustrations of Millais, in their allegiance to a pure, simplified Raphaelite, or at least Italianate, mode of composition and detail.

The majority of the Edinburgh Social Union decorations displayed the taste of the authorities owning the buildings for which they were painted, and of the Union's Decorative Section Committee which had been formed by at least late 1886, replaced in March 1888 by a professional committee of 'consultation on decoration projects'²⁷ including the architect Sydney Mitchell (1856-1930), the designer William Scott Morton (1840-1903), painters William Hole (1846-1917) and W D McKay, and the sculptor D W Stevenson (1842-1904): the formation of this committee demonstrated the breadth of support for the Union amongst the leading decorative designers in the city. It was, however, one of the earliest schemes commissioned by the Union which earned them and the artist -- Phoebe Traquair -- national fame, and a scheme which was to have a remarkable history withⁱⁿ its first decade of existence. It was regarded in 1887 by both the Union and *The Scotsman* as 'the most important and memorable portion of the art of the Social Union'.²⁸

The commissioning of this particular venture [A.1] is unusually well documented, and is worth relating since it also details the Union method of operation. The early records of the Royal Hospital for Sick Children, for whom Traquair painted this, her first, mural scheme, have survived. Here it is of interest to note that the first moves towards the creation of a mortuary chapel took place simultaneously with the formation of the Union itself. In November 1884 the hospital Ladies' Committee brought to the attention of the directors (who included J R Findlay) the lack of a mortuary as distinct from a post-mortem room at the hospital

... it seems that almost all hospitals are provided with a Mortuary *and* a room for Post Mortem purposes as well. Ours has only one room to serve both purposes and not only are the feelings of Mothers and relations shocked by seeing the necessary surroundings when taken to see the bodies of their little ones, but the combination of the two purposes in one room has a hardening effect on the nurses and also on the relations who are not so softened by the circumstances as some of the more refined are ...²⁹

Mrs Wauchope, secretary of the Ladies' Committee, in her report recommended the conversion of a room adjoining the post-mortem room at an approximate cost of twenty-five pounds, towards which some of the Dormitory Fund surplus could be allocated. At this stage mural decoration was not a priority in the minds of the hospital committee

... the Ladies do not wish anything extravagant or highly decorated but a suitable place where the bodies can be left reverently and lovingly for the parents before the burials ...³⁰

The hospital directors received an additional report from an architect advising that a coal house could be converted for this purpose at a cost of fifteen pounds, and agreed to proceed with the creation of a mortuary [chapel] on 6 November.

By mid-February 1885 a letter had been sent by Mr Meredith, secretary to the hospital, to the Social Union requesting decoration of the new mortuary.³¹ By mid-March a second letter had been received, now 'urging decoration of the Mortuary, Sick Children's Hospital'.³² By this date two other decorative schemes were already underway, at the Fountainbridge Dispensary and the Children's Shelter. Only at the meeting of the Social Union committee held on 21 April was it agreed to entrust decoration of the mortuary to Phoebe Traquair.

Unlike the decorative schemes introduced at the Royal Infirmary, which may be seen as a subsequent development in the decoration of Edinburgh hospitals, no cost for the mural scheme was originally to have been borne by the Hospital. Although the exact cost of this scheme is not recorded, the minutes of the Union of 21 October 1886 mentioned the 'large expense' and it was agreed to ask the Hospital governors whether they might assist. There is no evidence of any donation being sent or received. The expense of the Traquair mural scheme, covering only the cost of materials, was large only in relation to the painted panels provided elsewhere by the Union, where the works were hung on or let into the walls. Here, a serious attempt at 'wall-painting proper' was made, as Baldwin Brown called it in his article, *Some Recent Efforts in Mural Decoration* published in January 1889 in *The Scottish Art Review*, which first publically championed Traquair as an artist. 'A piece of illumination enlarged', he called it, as it had 'the same curious elaboration of symbolical detail, the same fresh and cheerful appearance, the same refinement in drawing and execution'.³³

The room -- the converted coalhouse -- in which these murals were executed measured only twelve by eight feet. In such a restricted space it was natural to provide detailed paintings, and where there was relatively little light some attempt at a richness of colour was to be expected. By 1885 Phoebe Traquair's personal struggles of the late 1870s with religious belief, recorded in a letter of 1878 from her brother Edward, had been resolved.³⁴ For her it was natural that a room which would serve as a chapel should bear walls painted with a text to strengthen the spirits of the bereaved, as also the hospital authorities had requested. The iconography was complex, known in detail only from Baldwin Brown's illustrated review, a few photographs taken during decoration [pls. 4b-6] and a single surviving detail sketch of the scheme drawn c.1891-2 when its fate was in jeopardy.³⁵ [pl. 4a]

The dense design was relieved and explained by sections of 'illuminated' text below panels framed by borders of linked medallions. Three such panels dominated the room. The first to be worked, and that which greeted the visitor on the wall opposite the entrance door, depicted Motherhood [pl. 4b]. The Virgin displayed the Christchild on her knee, a *Theotokos Hodegetria* in essence which dominated the entire room. Accompanied to either side by a pair of embracing angel and mortal, and above by two further angels bearing open books, each displaying the words *Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus* of the *Te Deum Laudamus*, the figures represented not only motherhood, divine and mortal, but the redemption of mankind, a subject which has been noted in the first chapter to have been worked in the heavily detailed embroidery of 1886-7. To the right of the mural panel a new-born soul received the robe

of holiness, while to the left an angel supported a mortal 'in the effort to offer up its human heart -- an effort beyond it, without the strongest divine help' as the artist later recorded her conceptions of the scheme for a leaflet published by the hospital authorities.³⁶ The panel border contained vignettes showing, to the left, the steps of human development in allegorical terms: the creation of man out of earth, the reception of the fruit of the tree of knowledge by man, the struggle between the powers of good and evil, and lastly nature, the material part of man, in the coils of death and corruption. The remaining vignettes displayed scenes of the salvation of mankind: the incarnation of the Spirit, born out of the death sleep of nature, the Spirit led through the water and fire of purification, and lastly the union of human and divine through sacrifice as shown in the Crucifixion. A second and more narrow outer border depicted souls in flames ascending, terminating in the centre over the mystic symbol of three interlacing circles. Below the principal scenes the text *For he that will save his life shall lose it and he that shall lose his life for my sake, the same shall save it. Amen.* [Matt. 16:25] with the first initial *F*, containing a scene in which a 'spirit lover sends an angel to comfort the lonely lover on the earth below by music'³⁷, was painted in Morrisian Gothic script in gold outlined against a rich red.

Elsewhere in the decoration were to be found elaborate depictions of scenes from the Testaments, symbolic rather than the purely illustrative scenes which Lady Waterford had executed at Ford. On the east wall was a small scene of the Crucifixion as the door to life. Below, an angel embraced a mortal to provide him with the strength necessary to face the ordeal of

death: together they knelt at the foot of the heavenly staircase. On each side stood children to suggest the ideas of reverence for the earth and for the unknown. Four seraphim surrounded the figure of Christ. The details of such scenes, drawn from a close reading of the scriptures, combined with a hugely personal understanding of Christianity to provide a visual text which was medieval in spirit and intent.

Because the mortuary was top-lit the walls could be coated with detail. The two longer side walls were each dominated by a pair of white-robed angelic figures, with arms outstretched at shoulder level to link visually with the figure of Christ crucified. These figures, again singing the triple *sanctus*, carried the message of the redemption panel ringing round the little room, and all proceeded from spheres: in turn each of these enclosed one of the four evangelist symbols, the Living Creatures which again linked the Testaments. Behind these figures white stratified clouds against a blue sky contrasted with the dense (and tense) backgrounds to the scenes of detailed textual illustration. Between each pair of white robed angels a Tree of Knowledge rose, providing a form of architectural framework. Even here small details such as a white dove, or a trefoil containing an angel inspiring an earthly scribe, were marked in to provide a wealth of pattern, colour, and, above all, an inspiration to the reader in a medieval-Byzantine manner.

Three smaller panels of which two illustrated the text *For so He giveth His Beloved Sleep* [Ps. 127:02] and *Can ye drink of the cup that I have drunk of?* [Matt. 20:22] and the third, representing three divine powers, demonstrated the artist's awareness and stylistic acceptance of the work of

Dante Gabriel Rossetti [pls. 5b, 6l. This was not surprising in view of her close friendship with John Miller Gray by this date -- in 1884 she introduced a pen and ink copy of his bookplate into a small early illustrated manuscript of a poem by Garth Wilkinson, *A little Message for my Wife*, which she bound with his initials but retained herself³⁸ -- and with Geddes, who undoubtedly gained her the commission and was publically promoting Rossetti's work within two years of this date. Moreover, as has been noted, a second brother, William, was collecting paintings by the artist. He purchased *La Donna Della Finestra* at Christie's on 16 May 1885³⁹ and *Paola and Francesca* from the Graham collection on 3 April 1886.⁴⁰

The first of these panels [pl. 5b] was closest in concept and style to Rossetti. Here an embroidress stitching a needlework panel (a subject close to Traquair's own heart) of the Virgin and Child fell back dead -- in the manner of Rossetti's swooning *St Cecilia* of 1856-7, published in Moxon's *Tennyson* in 1857 -- into the arms of an angel with richly flowing hair. Set in a room supposedly medieval in decoration, the landscape seen through the window beyond the figures showed Border hills with the river Tweed spanned by the Leaderfoot viaduct, which also appeared in curved form as the Bridge of Life behind the figures of the third of these scenes.

The second panel [pl. 6a] depicted an angel power with scarlet wings holding the cup of humanity: round its stem was curled the serpent of death while the front showed the crucifixion as the acceptance of death. To the left of the cup two figures pressed to it, to attain self-sacrifice through fellowship with each other. To the other side three figures fell back dead,

having drunk of the cup, but dead in body only. Coiled in a wide framework round the panel were more serpents of death.

The third panel [pl. 6b] showed three divine powers bearing globes. The first, to the left, held a globe containing a wreath of grass, symbol of man set forth to live and develop himself and inscribed below *Go forth be fruitful and multiply* [Gen. 8:17]; the second, to the right, bore a globe showing the Red Cross Knight fighting the great dragon (the first appearance in her work of this popular subject), a small depiction of man's struggle with adversity, above the inscription *Death is the author of Life* [Acts 3:15]; lastly, the third angel displayed a globe enclosing three circles forming a cross in which blessed spirits shouted for joy. In a border round the panel Traquair painted tiny portraits of men of art and literature great in her eyes -- Carlyle, Ruskin, Tennyson, Browning, Blake, Burne-Jones, Watts, Rossetti, Bell Scott, Noel Paton, and Dr John Brown [pl. 42b]. This border provided a neat key to her appreciation of certain authors and poets.

In this decorative scheme, details of which iconographically prefigured her later mural paintings and designs for illumination and enamelwork, the dominant theme was the salvation of mankind through divine grace. Symbolism was united with narrative and illustrative detail. In much of it Phoebe Traquair adopted a minimum of pictorial *chiaroscuro*, preferring a rich patterning of strong colour, boldly but not always successfully outlined in form. Ruskin's concept of truth in art, in its finest form closely allied to and exposing the Christian faith (which followed both the Nazarenes and Pugin), lay close to Traquair's own approach. His lectures from the 1850s had declared art to be the impurer for not being in the service of

religion.⁴¹ Here were present what Ruskin called 'clearness outline and simplicity of colour, without the introduction of light and shade'⁴² in his description not of mural painting but of manuscript illumination. A 'well-illuminated missal' was 'a fairy cathedral full of painted windows, bound together to carry in one's pocket'.⁴³ The visual attraction of an illumination for Ruskin was similar to that of a medieval glass window where a painted window should be a simple, transparent harmony of lovely bits of coloured glass ... pretending to no art but that of lovely colour arrangement, and clear outline grouping...⁴⁴

Baldwin Brown's analogy between the mortuary chapel mural scheme and illumination was not only descriptive but placed the scheme in the context of the artist's career. By the date of the commission Traquair was known among a small Edinburgh circle as an illuminator who employed brilliant primary colours if not always accurate draughtsmanship when executing her own ideas and not merely copying. The earliest surviving illuminated page, dated 1883 [G.1: pl. 7], combined an allegorical subject (human choice between Death, Life and Love) with *angst*-ridden tension and colour rhythms, rather than a purely medieval style which would have anticipated her manuscripts of seven years later. The following year, 1884, saw experimentation with an outline technique *sans couleur* which developed compositional elements. Garth Wilkinson, a poet admired by John Miller Gray, and under his influence Traquair, provided in his poem *A Little Message for My Wife* [G.2: pl. 8] a text which could introduce broad elements from the illustrative work of Blake, Flaxman and David Scott, of human bondage, relationships and their corresponding emotive forms.

The first purely religious text illuminated by her had been the first *Psalms of David* (completed during the later 1880s) which may also be claimed for 1884 on grounds of feeble script and tentative iconography [G.3: pl. 9]. Less derivative in detail than *A Little Message*, these ten pages produced gentle elements absent from the earlier pages but introduced into the mortuary chapel decoration. The contrast in terms of technical expertise between these illuminations and a more highly personal manuscript of two years later must suggest that a number of intermediate manuscripts were executed which now remain untraced.

In late 1886 Phoebe Traquair wrote and illuminated this text, subsequently bound by her with the title *Melrose* [G.4: pls. 10, 11], but which she referred to in correspondence as '*The Dream* only eight queer little pages'.⁴⁶ The text, composed by herself, followed several early attempts at poetry,⁴⁷ and was a romantic tale of mystery and imagination, heavy with sensual epithets. Set at sunrise on a summer's day, it was inspired by a religious experience of August 1886 at Dryburgh Abbey. It told an allegorical story of stigmatisation, as nosegays of freshly plucked roses placed by a white-robed figure in 'a forest of outstretched hands' turned into marks of blood. Here the approach was essentially romantic rather than historical: technically also the manuscript was far from authentically medieval, but written with a steel pen, not a wedge-shaped quill. The script, secondary to the illustrations (as they were, although these were largely the fruit of personal expression relating only conceptually to the text), lay beside these awkwardly. The dominant pictorial elements, which occupied approximately half of each page, were a development of the

Wilkinson text. Delicate outline figures were accompanied by angels, some with musical instruments, at times seen in a landscape of slender trees and paths. The page impression was one of the colours found in her 1883 page and the mortuary decoration -- arrangements of strong blue and red, outlined in black -- united with a delicate flow of movement relevant to such a scale of work.

The importance of the manuscript lay not only in its role as a precedent for later illuminations, but in the link which it forged between Traquair and Ruskin himself. Prompted by his known encouragement of other young artists, his knowledge of manuscripts and the admiration which Geddes had had for him since the early eighties, the illumination was despatched to Ruskin for comment. A letter of 23 June 1887 from Brantwood, placed with the (now bound) manuscript c. 1894, gave Ruskin's opinion of her work

At last I return the beautiful leaves I could not resolve to part with -- with them I send you another book, more interesting than anything I have yet asked you to examine. Keep it as long as you care to ...⁴⁸

One week later Ruskin's housekeeper, Joan Severn, requested the further loan of the manuscript, 'the lovely little square book of your own original illuminations to show a niece now staying with us ... we'd take the greatest care of it and return it at once ...'.⁴⁹ The loan of various medieval illuminations from Ruskin's own collection to Traquair for study marked his approval of her work. One direct copy by her of a loaned manuscript has survived, and is inscribed in pencil 'this is a copy of a book of Hours in the possession of Mr Ruskin, and lent to me in 1887'. The original cannot now be identified. The copy [G.7: pl. 12] however does display her technical skill in handling inks and gold leaf.⁵⁰ Furthermore, a Book of Hours --

and particularly copies produced in France in the later thirteenth century which included the Ruskin manuscript -- was among those historical manuscripts most appreciated by the second spiritual leader of the arts and crafts movement, William Morris. In an apposite paper published only two years before his death, Morris wrote

... the book most often met with, especially when splendidly ornamented is the Psalter, as sung in churches, to which is generally added a calendar, and always a litany of the saints. This calendar, by the way, both in this and succeeding centuries, is often exceedingly interesting, from the representations given in it of domestic occupations. The great initial *B* (*Beatus vir qui non*) of these books affords an opportunity to the illuminator, seldom missed, of putting forth to the full his powers of design and colour ...⁵¹

By the autumn of 1887 the correspondence between Traquair and Ruskin had broadened, and among the subjects discussed was the poetry of Walt Whitman, whose work, with its pronounced emphasis on the honest simplicity of traditional virtues, was keenly appreciated by a number of socialists and arts and crafts practitioners. One undated (1887) letter from Traquair, written in Edinburgh and Dublin, displayed the breadth of her interests also in Ruskin's own published work

... The children are all in bed, and I have finished my week's work, you have been in my thoughts much all day, and now as I sit alone you shall let me write a little note?

What do you think of Walt Whitman? I feel in such doubt when I hear much talk about liberty, or freedom. In designing I have often felt that one only feels free, and enjoys a true sense of liberty when the limitations and object of the thing to be designed is willingly accepted, is it not the same in every thing? This 13 century illumination, is that not the source of much of its beauty, and of much of my failure? Indeed is it not in this overreaching the source of failure is so often found.

I have been reading your Seven Lamps of Architecture much of late. The chapter on Truth, and Life, I find enter into every detail of daily life, heartening me for all things. Power, I do not so well understand ... I trust I did right in giving your Bible into the care of Sir Noel Paton before I left Edinburgh. The more I examine it the more beautiful it grows, one or two letters and borders I have tried to reproduce.

Sir Noel I have known for about a year and he said he would lock it up till I returned. The chapter on *Sacrifice* in your *Seven Lamps of Architecture* is also a great pleasure to me, belonging to life as well as art ...⁵²

Enclosed with the letter was a pencil sketch of her two sons, dated 1887 and inscribed with affectionate descriptions of Ramsay and Harry [C.14: pl. 13a].

In the late eighties Traquair executed several embroidered panels. One in particular reflected her detailed study of illuminations and was also the successor to the panel of *The Angel of Death and Purification*. Relating also to two 1887 oil paintings [C.9, C.10], *The Redemption of Mankind* [E.7: pl. 13b] with its lettered bands framing sections of the composition, this embroidery used more controlled natural details: a sequence of allegorical lunettes, centring on the figures of the Virgin and Child seated on an ox, with, below, the two Marys committing Christ's body to the tomb, and, above, the Ascension. A symbolic door to life was formally equated with the redemption through Christ's sacrifice. In this concept this embroidery followed the mortuary scheme iconography most closely.

If illumination displayed the surviving true spirit of the Middle Ages and

craftsmanship at its best, partly because of the excellence of the work itself, and partly because that work can only suffer from destruction and defacement, and cannot, like medieval buildings, be subject to the crueller ravages of 'restoration'⁵³

more recent exponents of the medium were also influential in the last decades of the nineteenth century. A poem written out and illustrated for Andrew Lang in 1887 [G.6: pls. 14, 15] showed the predominant influence of Blake, whose tiny portrait Traquair had already included in the mortuary decoration. The poem itself, *Almae Matres*, was composed by Lang in memory

of Henry Brown, a close friend who had died while they were both students at St Andrews University. The form of the poem itself may have been derived from Poe's *The City in the Sea*.⁵⁴ While one version of the poem had been published in 1884 in *Ballades and Verses Vain* and a second in *Rhymes à la Mode* in 1885, this edition incorporating Phoebe Traquair's written text and design was intended for a different purpose -- for inclusion in *Alma Mater's Mirror*, a 'Bazaar Book' [H.21] compiled to raise funds for St Andrews University Student Union.⁵⁵ It also marked the first publication of Traquair's work.

The Dundonian rope and twine manufacturer Charles Macgregor Falconer (1844-1906) later recalled a conversation with the Langs on the subject of the poem

... I mentioned having the St Andrews copy of *Almae Matres*. 'Oh, Mrs Fraquair's [sic]?' said he, and they both laughed heartily over the recollection of the bad drawing and crude colouring. 'She had been told to draw better than usually and had drawn worse ...'⁵⁶

While the decorated page lacked the colour strength and density of *The Dream* it introduced a light delicacy of form into her illustration. Traquair was obviously aware of Blake's *Songs of Innocence* [pl. 14b], details of which she adopted here in a poem which marked the death of a young man.

Documentation however only accounts for her actual ownership of a copy of the *Songs* in December 1898.⁵⁷ Rippling forms and natural detail flicked round the text, the Cathedral and sea of St Andrews were quickly delineated, and a sun set on the life of the student [pl. 15]. In turning to Blake she was aware of Rossetti's sympathetic study of a fellow painter-poet in Gilchrist's *Life of William Blake* (1863, revised edition 1880). Rossetti's

published poem, *A Sonnet*, written in 1880, had also used a hand-written and carefully lettered script combined with natural form, although the latter had an Aesthetic weight to it which contrasted with the lightness of Traquair's treatment.

A bound illuminated manuscript of Garth Wilkinson's poem, *Improvisations from the Spirit* [G.5: pl. 161], also executed in 1887, was the natural successor to *The Dream* and shared with it a range of exceptional and powerful imagery. It displayed Traquair's equal interest in natural, decorative and symbolic form, the iconography of medieval manuscripts and again in the work of Blake and his period. The script still occupied a secondary place in the manuscript, fitted somewhat awkwardly into the remaining space available following illustration. The style of illumination united timeless symbolism and contemporary pen portraits of natural detail, as in the fine head of Wilkinson painted on the title page and the tiny scene of a Scottish doocot and sheep pasture which occupied the upper section of a symbolic hour glass of life. The relation of the present to the relentless flow of time was particularly visible in the latter. For her the activities of today's world were but a tiny step in the evolution of man and nature, a progression dwarfed by the eternal truths of religious belief. Each man and beast occupied a minute but essential fragment of time and space. Scientific development and revelation were not in conflict with but consolidated religious belief. The Leaderfoot viaduct and portraits could thus be happily introduced into scenes of religious symbolism in mural, painting or manuscript.

Among the stylistic sources used in the *Improvisations* were neo-classical designs for illustration and funerary sculpture, adopted in a broad romantic fashion. On fol. 21 of the manuscript [pl. 17a] an angel guided a soul to heaven (loosely after the manner of Flaxman's monument designs, such as that to Sarah Morley of c. 1784 for example), the figures rising elegantly and effortlessly from the earth to the gates of heaven against a sky of golden star bubbles, and largely ignoring the winding paradise path below, whose rippling lines balanced the simplicity of the flowing garb worn by these figures. It was a design well suited to the page size. Moreover it was a design adapted with immense success by her for the cover

[H.1: pl. 17b] of *Women's Voices. An Anthology of the Most Characteristic Poems by English, Scotch and Irish Women* by Elizabeth Sharp, wife to Rossetti's biographer, and leading Celtic revival poet, William Sharp (1855-1905). Published in the same year, 1887, in London it was a singular piece of book cover design, economic in a manner scarce before British design of the nineties. Here the two figures, embossed in gold on a rich blue, floated through the universe, denoted by concentric planetary orbital outlines round a flamelike sun, a crescent earth extending to a moon on the spine, and bubbles of heavenly bodies which also spilt out on to the spine. Clad in a tongue of flames the figures also related to the 'comet' souls found in the mortuary scheme.

The purity of the style adopted for this cover design symbolised the strength of the poems, but was in sharp contrast to the design for the cover of an Edinburgh periodical, worked in 1889 and published in the following

year. This, *The Children's Guide* (H.3: pl. 181, appeared each month between January and June 1890. Traquair's design here was deliberately complex to reflect the moral character of the journal and stylistically was indebted above all to Walter Crane. The introduction of a banner bearing the title of the journal woven through the branches of densely foliated trees was particularly derived from Crane, alluding to his covers for *Atalanta* or *Fabian Essays*, both published in 1889. In the Traquair design there was, however, a rhythmic sense of flowing movement more true to her earlier designs and illuminations of 1883-4 than Crane. The busy wood to the left of the design gave way to a rising sun symbolising the light of truth, and a mother and child, with lamb and a lost child found represented the Christian message. Thorns strangling nature in the foreground, overcome by the light of day, were equally symbolic.

Such fierce symbolism was not alien to the religious vein of the journal. Founded and published by David Balsillie, it was intended

to be an aid to parents in their homes and to teachers in schools, in providing for young people the best literature within their reach. For the younger children there will be papers in Fairy Lore, by a writer who has a thorough and loving knowledge of the subject, and who has moreover that magnetic sympathy with children which never fails to win their attention and regard ...

The journal ceased to exist after July 1890 although there were plans to continue publication from the autumn of that year. A reduction from two shillings to one shilling and sixpence *per annum* for bulk purchase of twenty or more copies was allowed to schools, cooperative societies, and working men's associations, presumably for use by their children. The publication followed the foundation by Balsillie of the Scottish branch of the National

Home Reading Union at Edinburgh University in 1889, whose purpose was 'to organise the reading of the people'. This Union had been founded by, among others, the Earl of Aberdeen, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of Argyll, various Church of England bishops and Robert Browning. The Young People's Section was tutored by a magazine published at one shilling *per annum*. A separate magazine was available for an Artisan's Section.

These journals were available in Scotland alongside the ill-fated *Children's Guide*. The lack of success of the *Guide*, published belatedly in the steps of, and not dissimilar to, such English journals as *Sunday at Home* and *Good Words*, lay in the lack of novelty and inappropriateness to the needs of societies and associations. Although the contributors included Traquair, who provided no fewer than eight textual illustrations as well as the cover design, and John Miller Gray, whose series of articles on *Children of the Painters* served to introduce young readers to the lives and work of Chardin, Velasquez and George Manson, the overriding character of the magazine was too severely moralistic. Tales, like *Marina's Probation* by L Sharp (May 1890), were accompanied by the regular 'feature' *The Little One's Page* by 'Aunt Kitty' where in the ultimate issue the moving spirit behind the entire venture was named:

You will have heard of the great Mr Ruskin, who is so clever and so good. He is old and ill now, or else, no doubt, he would have written to you himself, for he is so fond of children and of flowers ...⁵⁰

Other contributors to the periodical included figures active in the field of education in Edinburgh (and members of their families). Ella A G Kerr, the sister of John Kerr, Her Majesty's Senior Inspector of Schools, played a leading role and was possibly the 'Aunt Kitty' of the journal: she provided

book reviews, including one of Lang's *The Blue Fairy Book* (February 1890), and a regular elementary course in French. Marcia Dods, elder sister of Professor Marcus Dods DD of the Free College, was a regular contributor, reviewing Charles Kingsley's *Heroes* and *The Earthly Paradise* of William Morris (May 1890), and a sentimental tale, *Lay of a Lost Dog* in June. Stories by the late Juliana Horatia Ewing (1841-85), originator of *Aunt Judy's Magazine* more than twenty years earlier, were republished. Janet Logie Robertson, wife of James Logie Robertson (Hugh Haliburton) sent a moral tale, *Parnell's Hermit* which appeared in March with illustrations by Traquair. That some of the articles were planned during 1889 was demonstrated by the date given on the Traquair illustrations. Here she used a narrative style densely populated by natural detail but retaining an elegant sense of pattern and movement. This was particularly apparent in illustrations to *The Flower by the Lake* by Emil Gaspar (1889, published February 1890) [pl. 19a] and *William Tell* by F F Roget (1890, published April) [pl. 19b]. Nonetheless, in the later issues might be seen a release of the busy tension which occupied many of the earlier numbers, an acceptance of a more suited childish simplicity. *Marina's Probation* [pl. 20b], for example, depicted Marina lying, in a pose reminiscent of McTaggart's *Spring* (National Gallery of Scotland: 1864), in a more realistic Scottish countryside where the sky cloud patterns almost faded from sight, concentrating attention on figural work, and contrasting with the urgency of both waves and figures in *The Flower by the Lake*.

The lack of response to the journal which forced cessation of publication, also applied to a companion magazine, *The Social Pioneer*,

launched in the same month and again, like the later *The Ladder* [H.5], under Balsillie's editorship. To attempt to stimulate interest in it, a close-knit group of leading Edinburgh church dignatories -- the leaders of the philanthropist movement in the city -- educationalists and university professors published a letter of support in *The Children's Guide* in June, by which date financial problems were highly apparent. Under the letter, headed *A New High-Class Monthly Magazine*, they hoped to encourage associations and societies to subscribe. It clearly outlined their philanthropic aspirations as much as support for the written word

... In January 1890 there was started an extremely interesting popular magazine named *The Social Pioneer*. There was also produced a smaller and lighter serial called *The Children's Guide*. The object of these publications was the higher cultivation of all classes of society, and the method was to present the best literary and scientific work in a pleasant and readable form, and at the lowest possible price .. We, the undersigned, believe that the magazines have become most important agencies in the diffusion of genuine culture through all classes of society. They are free from pedantry and from vulgar sensationalism. They are inspired by high and serious social aims while in form they are bright and attractive ...⁵⁹

The professorial adherents of such a cause included David Masson, Alexander Campbell Fraser (Logic and Metaphysics), Henry Calderwood (Moral Philosophy), Donald Mackinnon (Celtic), and John Stuart Blackie (Professor *Emeritus* of Greek). Theological supporters included the poet Rev Walter Chalmers Smith (1824-1908) (Free High Church), Rev Archibald Scott (St George's Church), Dr James Cameron Lees (St Giles' Cathedral), Rev James Macgregor (St Cuthbert's Church), Rev A B Davidson and Professor Marcus Dods DD (both Free College), Thomas M Lindsay (Free College, Glasgow) and Rev George Matheson (St Bernard's Church). John Kerr and the headmaster of George Watson's Boys' College, Dr George Ogilvie, were prominent among

educational leaders. The Liberal Member of Parliament for East Lothian, future statesman and philosopher, Richard Burdon Haldane (1856-1928) was also particularly concerned in the educational aspect of the publications.

There was much common ground between Balsillie's journals and the work of the Edinburgh Social Union in the late 1880s. If 'all classes of society' could be educated and 'cultivated' by *The Social Pioneer* and *The Children's Guide*, they were also taught by the Social Union to create objects of beauty with which to furnish their homes. At the second Annual General Meeting of the Union in early 1887, Gerard Baldwin Brown, by now deeply committed, reported that the art classes were intended

not only to beautify the homes of the poor, but to teach them to do so themselves. In the matter of decoration and feeling for beauty this is no question of upper and lower classes for they all want raising and educating from the Government downwards ... the aim of the Union, therefore, is to establish a little artistic society, where workers can come and try to work out for themselves the answer to some of the difficulties in the way of getting beauty introduced into the common objects of everyday life ... a great deal to be done in turning their [young people's] energies into the field of industrial art ...⁶⁰

The importance of art classes in the work of the Union from the outset can be seen in the minute books. The first class, in wood carving, was initiated in March 1885 in Corstorphine by Miss Florence Sellar and from April was led by Miss Boyd. Already in April it was recognised that a central studio, an art centre, for such work would be advantageous, and a room in Alexandra Buildings, Shandwick Place (possibly that used by the Association for the University Education of Women) procured. Until the autumn of 1886 Classes were efficiently but casually organised. In late October they were more earnestly undertaken, and Art Training Classes in brasswork as well as woodcarving provided. Baldwin Brown's association with the Union was

formalised in December when he agreed to undertake supervision of all classes from the following January, which involved recruiting teachers and buying the necessary brass and wood materials. It is interesting to note that at this date another Social Union method of improving home conditions 'to raise the standard of comfort without waiting for the operation of legislative changes', by the provision of plants and classes in window gardening (which had started in the spring) had developed so quickly that four and a half thousand plants had been sold, at wholesale prices, many to schools to educate a new generation. A Working Men's Flower Show was held at the Corn Exchange in August 1887. Musical entertainments were also provided, as planned, in St Bernard's Mission Hall in March 1886, and at South Queensferry in the autumn of 1887 at the request of the engineers for workers building the Forth Bridge, 'that supreme specimen of ugliness' as Morris called it on completion in 1889.⁵¹

By early 1887 the art workers leading the classes recognised the 'necessity of more thorough training before undertaking wider operations among the poorer classes ...'.⁵² From April a class in design, attended by both workers and pupils, was taught by Phoebe Traquair at her own request. Design was relevant to both brassworking and woodcarving. The latter, a discipline which related both to arts and crafts guild practice (small scale work as well as furniture) and to industrial art, continued to dominate the classes offered. Classes were organised at Corstorphine, Shandwick Place, and, from March 1887, in James Court. In 1888 the Union was able to enter work for the International and Industrial Exhibitions held in Glasgow and Edinburgh: the latter was reviewed for *The Scottish Art Review* by Francis

(Fra) Newbery, director of the Glasgow School of Art. By that year the range of classes offered also included *repoussé* work and modelling in clay.⁶³ Beaten metal work, including brass and copper, was personally led by Gerard Baldwin Brown. Class fees were fixed at a minimum level to cover expenses only.

The concern for the need to train up art workers who were to lead workshops was a measure of the small number of available trained designers, quite apart from those such as William Scott Morton who were already fully employed in manufacture and could only serve on the Union committees in an advisory capacity. In November 1888 the Union decorative committee agreed that

... it is desirable that the training of decorative workers be undertaken by the Society and that the relation of the present decoration department and the Art Classes be reconsidered ...

There was, and continued to be, little consultation between the artists involved in decorating the buildings mentioned above, who were on the whole art school trained, and the amateur however skilled craftworkers employed in the studios. The latter were principally middle class ladies, who if not in the employment of the Union would have served in the Home Arts and Industries Association's branch in Scotland, founded on the lines of Mrs Jebb's 1885 association by Hannah, Countess of Rosebery, and Dr Paton, a leading patron of the Nottingham branch. The Scottish branch followed the successful establishment of a branch in Ireland.

The relationship between the Union and the Edinburgh branch of the Association was a particularly close one. In March 1887 the Union minutes recorded that Florence Sellar had written to the Association to suggest an

affiliation fee to the latter, less than the existing two guinea subscription fee. The idea of affiliation denoted that the Union felt sufficiently self-assured by this date that it considered it deserved a similar status. The objects of the Scottish Association were 'to promote, improve, and develop home industries in Scotland, and to circulate information regarding them, to promote the sale of produce, and to receive money to further their objects'.⁶⁴ There were five branches, in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Inverness and Shetland, which were equally concerned about the welfare of the workers and their education, and the sale of their products. A precedent for such an association had been set in Scotland by Harriet, Duchess of Sutherland, in Golspie as early as April 1849. An exhibition of home crafts had been held in 1850 'at which sufficient profit was made from the sale of the exhibits to show that the continuation of such a society would be of benefit to the country folk'.⁶⁵ The Golspie society had led to the foundation of Sutherland Home Industries which related more directly to the Home Arts and Industries Association, and to the confusingly-named Highland Home Industries and Arts Association. This last organisation covered seven counties from Banff to Sutherland and Caithness, and sought to obtain its purpose through sales in public exhibitions, and not through any commercial outlet. A pamphlet written in Edinburgh and published on the occasion of its foundation in 1889, three years after the passing of the Crofters' Act, described its aims

... it may be that the hand cannot compete with the machine when rapidity of production and immediate profit are aimed at; but there is undoubtedly a growing appreciation of homemade fabrics; and, in some districts of the Highlands, the manufacture of tweeds and the knitting of stockings are even now engaged in profitably, and a market for the products is found through ordinary commercial channels. It cannot be doubted, however, that many

industries, which within quite recent times were practised in every cottage, are fast falling into disuse, and that the time which used to be devoted to them is lost or wasted. It is equally beyond doubt that the revival of such industries would greatly promote thrift and add to the comfort and to the self-respect of the poorer classes of people engaged in agricultural and pastoral occupations ...⁶⁶

By revitalising dormant skills the 'artistic faculty of the race would be revived and stimulated ... and better fabrics for dress and other home uses, better domestic utensils, and more comfortable homes would result ...'

The Home Arts and Industries Association, seeking to expand the activities of the Union into this field, had written to the secretary in December 1887, asking for their encouragement of cottage industries. The independent Union considered Dr Paton's letter in January but replied that while they supported the Association's aims and would like to offer help as the opportunity arose, they were not able to take an active part in it.

There was thus a clear distinction between the Union and the more commercially minded associations which sought to rekindle latent skills, and to do so profitably. This was something overlooked in the article by Miss C P Anstruther, *Women's Work in Art Industries*, which appeared in *The Scottish Art Review* in October 1888. Commenting on wood carving which was 'now beginning somewhat feebly to make its way as an industry for women in the north' she simply pointed out that it was both

interesting and remunerative, but like most other industries it requires a serious training, and there is some difficulty in obtaining this in Scotland. There are studios in Glasgow and Edinburgh (those of the Social Union and of the Home Arts and Industries Association) where ladies can learn this art, and where they are employed to a considerable extent both as teachers and in executing orders; but neither of these societies undertakes the regular training of apprentices as is done in London by the School of Art Wood-carving ...⁶⁷

The two societies grew closer -- physically as much as ideologically -- from the first years of the following decade when the Association was invited to share the Dean Studio in Lynedoch Place. This was the former Dean Free Church which was made available to the Union from 1890. In January a drain problem, which had made the existing studio (a singularly large central studio always being considered essential for teaching purposes) in Alexandra Buildings most unpleasant, persuaded the Union to look for new premises. The following month they resolved to give up the studio and investigate another in Hope Street Lane. The west end of the city was ideally suited to the convenience of the ladies who now attended or gave classes. The sculptor and Union committee member D W Stevenson, interested in acquiring the church and using the lower floor as a workshop, declared his willingness to share the building with Union classes. As a result it was agreed on 21 March that Baldwin Brown offer him forty pounds *per annum* rental for the use of the remaining space. In the fine weather of June 1890 the plaster sculpture casts (which had been presented to the Union by Fra Newbery in early 1889 -- an indication of the serious intent of the Union which was recognised by him) and benches were moved into the new studio.

It is revealing to examine briefly the composition of the Union committees in the late 1880s. It has been noted that the decoration committee in March 1888 included architects, designers, painters and sculptors, a good cross section of leading practitioners in the arts, but not necessarily of an arts and crafts disposition. In November of that year the committee membership had expanded and new invited members, all successful

and well established in their own fields, included the painter (Sir) George Reid (1841-1913), Union founder member and designer William Black, whose works were among those which most closely reflected London taste and who as a wallpaper designer was to exhibit at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair^{es} and design a splendid Lord Provost's chain for the Edinburgh town council in 1899^{es}, the architectural designer and decorator Thomas Kershaw Bonnar (d. 1899), James Mavor, the economist and editor of the Glasgow-based *Scottish Art Review*, and, again from Glasgow, Francis Newbery. Three months later the architect George Washington Browne (1853-1939) and painters William McTaggart (1832-1910) and James Lawton Wingate (1846-1924) were among those who joined the panel. Geddes remained secretary to the committee until December 1890 when William Hole took over as secretary to both Art Classes and Decorative Committees. The chairs of both were occupied by Baldwin Brown throughout these years of development. The two committees functioned considerably more closely by late 1890 with common members. If the changing membership of the art committees was symptomatic of and dictated a more professional attitude and practice, it followed involvement in other Union activities by an Edinburgh circle representing wide interests. It may suffice here to note that the speakers at the fourth Annual General Meeting in November 1888 included the educationalist and philanthropist Flora Clift Stevenson (1840-1905), from the university Professor Samuel Henry Butcher (1850-1910: Chair of Greek 1882-1903), and Dr Cazenove, Sub-dean at the St Mary's Episcopal Cathedral.

But if the Social Union became increasingly aware of professional standards and commercialism towards 1890, affiliated itself to the

Industrial Art Association for Scotland in 1889, and exhibited at international industrial art displays in Scotland, in theory it did not lose its philanthropic resolutions. The pattern of speakers invited to address the November annual general meetings continued to include representatives from church, town and gown. In 1889 these were J R Findlay, Sir William McEwan and Professor Marcus Dods. Contacts between the Union and London increased considerably as a result of the involvement of specific individuals in Union activities. Scott Morton, for example, operated a London office and showroom while maintaining his 'Tynecastle' workshops at Murieston Road in Edinburgh. A leading member of the decorative committee, he is particularly important in this aspect as he kept his finger on the pulse of English arts and crafts developments. Despite operating a substantial commercial concern which, like the designs of William Black, was stylistically in keeping with the products of London manufacturers, he belonged to that branch of the British arts and crafts movement which realistically saw that a happy compromise between mechanical reliance and craftsmanship could be reached, stabilised by an overriding principle of design quality. Reading the minutes of the Social Union committees, it seems likely that it was Scott Morton who brought Mackmurdo to Edinburgh in 1889 to address the society on decoration on St Valentine's Day.

It was certainly Scott Morton who first proposed the formation of an art workers' guild in the Union in December 1890. That it should follow the lines of Ashbee's Guild of Handicraft, formed in 1888, was proposed in February 1891 by Professor James Cossar Ewart, who held the Chair of Natural History at the university from 1882 until 1927. The concept of such

a guild, centred on a productive workshop to be held at the Dean Studio, was generally supported by Union members. The debate over a name for the guild lasted several months, 'School of Artistic Handicraft', 'School of Industrial Art' and 'The Lynedoch School of Artistic Handicraft' being suggested, and the last, proposed by Baldwin Brown, accepted in June.

The desire to emulate Ashbee's guild meant the necessary employment of a master of the Edinburgh 'productive workshop'. There was no obvious Edinburgh equivalent of Ashbee himself to lead the workers, well versed in the rudiments of metalworking and its design which over the previous four years had been the principal product of Union classes, woodworking now falling far behind. The minutes of the Union committees do, however, underline Ashbee's personal interest in, and support for, an Edinburgh guild. He had already visited Union representatives including Baldwin Brown by 23 January 1891 and through the latter had 'promised to guarantee and teach one man for three months if the Social Union would do the other' to supply the Union with two skilled instructors for a workshop. This came to nothing.

It was left to Baldwin Brown to approach a jeweller and silver worker, J M Talbot, who had premises at 13 St James Square. Baldwin Brown reported in February 1891 that Talbot was prepared to consider favourably the proposal that he 'devote his time to working on the lines suggested by the Social Union'. In March agreement was reached that Talbot work for the Union for one half year from 1 April at thirty-five shillings per week of fifty-two hours (a six long day week). It was agreed that Talbot 'should occupy some of his time in teaching should this be found to the advantage of the Social Union' and that he 'execute any orders that may be entrusted to

the Social Union whether in silver, copper or brass'. Members of a newly-elected workshop committee, to report every three months to the Union executive committee, included Professor Gerard and Mrs Baldwin Brown, Phoebe Traquair, Frank Deas, and, as secretary, Professor Cossar Ewart.

By October Talbot's workshop, managed on a professional basis, had produced brass trays, copper and brass finger plates, silver sugar bowls and cream jugs, silver cloak clasps, shoe buckles, and silver and wooden quaichs.. Sales had been brisk, a total income of £38 2s. being obtained, with held stock items (excluding unfinished work and silver in hand) valued at £19 2s. 6d. Talbot's contract was therefore extended for a further six months. But in February 1892, by which time the architects Stewart Henbest Capper (1859-1924), Geddes's appointed architect at Ramsay Lodge in that year and a Union teacher of architecture, and Robert Lorimer had joined the workshop committee, there was talk about

the desirability of letting Mr Talbot's work at the Studio be more widely seen and known about ... an 'at home' in the Studio might be held, to which those of the members interested in the Art Department as well as some of the outside public might be invited ...⁷⁰

The workshop committee also approved an extension of Talbot's contract for a year from 1 April, during which time he wished to train a successor. There seems little doubt that Talbot, in wishing to appoint a successor, and certainly because of unhappy relations with some members of a largely high-powered and determined committee of intellectuals, was unwilling to work for the Union for more than a total of two years. In the event his resignation was received one year earlier than anticipated, on 1 April 1892.

In the Lyncedoch School of Artistic Handicraft lay the most obvious direct influence, however brief, of London arts and crafts methods of art training on Edinburgh. That the organisation failed was considerably due to control by a committee, and one largely composed of dedicated non-craftsmen, and not a lack of commitment on the part of the participating craftsmen. The stimulus for the adoption of arts and crafts concepts with their awareness of the value of honesty in production and design and functional form, was found not only in the example of a limited number of Edinburgh craftsmen who developed and maintained English links, but in the instructional visits north by leading English craftsmen. One meeting in Edinburgh above all united a rich assembly of Scottish and English artists, craftsmen, sculptors and architects. In *The Scottish Art Review* in August 1888 a preliminary notice of the first meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Art and its Application to Industry to be held in November in Liverpool was published. The writer, James Mavor, recognised 'the immense power of such an influential association to promote and further the interests of Art in this country' and suggested that steps be taken 'to secure its holding a Congress in Scotland at as early a date as is found suitable'. It was largely due to dedicated application by Geddes and particularly Baldwin Brown that the second Congress came to Edinburgh in October 1889. It also displayed a London awareness of developments in the Scottish capital -- of new teaching and support for the crafts, of new architecture such as the Portrait Gallery, in which building papers were delivered by Scots and Englishmen. It was a meeting which not only again brought together Morris, Crane, Emery Walker and Cobden-Sanderson among

many leaders of the arts and crafts movement, but brought them to Edinburgh where they lectured on and demonstrated the techniques, principles and benefits of weaving and dyeing, the decoration and illustration of books, and printing and bookbinding in 'free evening lectures and meetings for working folk'. This almost exactly followed the pattern of practical demonstrations given at the 1888 Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society meeting in London.

The Edinburgh Social Union was thus not only, and particularly in its infancy, socially conscious but determined that the city should take its lead from and play a part in British arts and crafts developments, with which it was in sympathy. Led by energetic men and women in their thirties, the membership was balanced by older men distinguished in town, gown or the visual arts. The dilemma which dogged so much of English arts and crafts thinking -- good design and craftsmanship versus market availability -- did not concern them,,for they intentionally operated on a relatively small scale and did not seek to expand beyond the city. Had Talbot remained in post and developed his commercial workshop this aspect would have entered more urgently into the arena. Moreover the roles played by individual craftsmen and women in the Union were of importance equal to those representing other interests on committees. That of Phoebe Traquair, as of fellow artworkers, can be easily underrated. As a craftswoman her services to the Union, although largely undocumented in detail, did include mural decoration, teaching and committee work. In a society largely dominated artistically by the direction of Baldwin Brown, her contributions and those of equally dedicated members were important to the development and maintenance of a balanced range of activities. For her, above all, it was her first experience

of not only a major commission but of membership of an art guild. In a socially limited city Traquair's increased association with various sectors during the 1880s and 1890s was to provide ~~increased~~ opportunities for new horizons.

Chapter Three. 'External Nature or Imaginary Spirits'

Despite its carefully constructed title, the National Association for the Advancement of Art and its Application to Industry -- founded in the wake of dissatisfaction with the function of Cole's governmental schemes for the improvement of design and related training -- in reality provided not a society linking manufacturers with art schools, but a forum for the exchange of ideas between architects, craftsmen and painters. Determined that the British public should be allowed to participate, meetings, to be held 'yearly in one of the principal manufacturing towns in Great Britain to discuss the welfare of the Arts, Fine and Applied',¹ were open to all, and, as has been noted, talks and demonstrations on the practicalities of various craft disciplines were available to 'working folk'. As the *British Architect* commented, it was intended that this 'great preaching mission by the apostle of art' should be 'for the benefit of the public at large'.² In its decision to come to Edinburgh for the second congress in October 1889 rather than, say, Glasgow which would have ranked as a more dominant 'manufacturing town' in the 1880s, the Association was governed by personal links and an awareness of increased although unofficial activity in the decorative arts in the capital. The success of the Edinburgh Congress may be read in the transactions published in 1890, and, specifically, in the resolution recorded there as passed at the General Meeting at the close of congress, that the local committees (for the organisation of each congress was both a national and local matter) should become permanent and that 'standing committees [should]

carry on in Edinburgh the objects of the National Association ... and report to future Congresses wherever held ...'.³

The prevailing climate at this congress was again one of total dissatisfaction with the South Kensington system of training. It was recommended that this be remodelled on a basis of decentralisation, and not conducted 'merely in conformity' with London. In art schools it was agreed that 'teaching can only be effectual ... when the master is able himself to do the work he professes to teach'.⁴ As president of the Section of Museums and National and Municipal Encouragement of Art, Gerard Baldwin Brown was one of the few speakers to address the subject of paramount importance to the congress, and laid stress upon the general encouragement of handicraft at local levels, 'side by side with machine production'. An attempt should be made to make handicraft pay 'although it may be found impossible under modern conditions'. He further defined himself as a true arts and crafts disciple and member of the Association by his statement that by acceptance

of the principle to which, by our very presence here at an Art Congress, we are pledged -- the principle that to make a thing of beauty, however simple, to enjoy a thing of beauty, however homely, are acts which spring from the best part of our common human nature, and that in their fulfilment we accomplish one of the ends and aims of our being.⁵

Like fellow speakers he recognised the unique character of a district where art was 'the natural spontaneous outcome and expression of the life of the community'.⁶ Unofficial craft training, instigated by the Home Arts and Industries Association and now the Scottish Home Industries Association could be assisted by the issue of good handbooks prepared by 'competent specialists' for the use of country classes. But in company he too turned his attention to official schools of decorative art training. In Scotland he deplored the present

lack of adequate teaching in the subject. A positive aspect of current conditions was also given by Baldwin Brown in his statement that in Scotland 'so many are now demanding for the arts of decoration a larger share of attention and patronage'.⁷

Baldwin Brown's viewpoint was shared by many, particularly regarding the poor standing of the architect in the society of the eighties. For years no practising architect had been a member of the Royal Scottish Academy.⁸ The transactions of the congress reveal that a substantial number of papers delivered were supportive of a rich interplay of the applied arts and architecture. The equality of the decorative arts, each of honest and fine quality with its role to play in an integrated scheme, was of course a governing principle of English arts and crafts. Moreover, recent activities in this direction in London had been led in the main by architects rather than theorists or pure craftsmen. Lethaby's move with other Shaw pupils to found the Art Workers' Guild in 1884 out of the St George's Art Society followed his belief stated in 1883 that any real 'Art-revival can only be on the lines of the Unity of all the aesthetic Arts'. At the Edinburgh congress Morris, as president of the Section of Applied Art, declared that 'the synonym for applied art is architecture, and I should say that painting is of little use, and sculpture of less, except where their works form a part of architecture'.⁹ Papers from the architect George Aitken on the *Architectural Education of the Public*, Philip Rathbone on *The Encouragement of Monumental Forms of Art, A Political Necessity of Civilisation*, Geddes on *National and Municipal Encouragement of Art upon the Continent*, the stained-glass artist Christopher Whall on *Some Practical Suggestions for Artistic Cooperation*, and Roscoe Mullins on *Public Buildings:*

their Use and Decoration. The duties of Nation and Municipalities with respect to them all supported, albeit from differing viewpoints, the proper application of sculpture or mural painting to public buildings -- and, in the case of Aitken, a wide range of dwellings including Edinburgh tenements. In Whall's terminology, 'a great building decorated in a great manner' was 'the supreme achievement of art'.¹⁰ In Scotland there seemed to be a particular relevance for a fresh approach to architecture, tutored by an 'Academy of Architecture and the Arts of Decoration to correspond to the already existent Royal Scottish Academy which would then confine its functions to the care of Painting and Sculpture'.¹¹ Traditionally Scottish architecture had been both functional and visually effective and picturesque, although as David Macgibbon, historian and practising architect, pointed out, the latter had been frequently the result of nationalist nostalgia.

For Robert Rowand Anderson architecture and the applied arts displayed 'the power of man in subduing all nature to his service ... without them life could not be ameliorated, or society organised'.¹² Architecture now stood at the threshold of a new age in which 'a new and truer expression ... since the decline of medieval art' could be achieved, for now architects had at their disposal both the widest range of experience and access to an age of ever expanding scientific results and engineering skills. The most relevant building style could be used without fear of being out of fashion. At the same time Anderson laid much of the responsibility for contemporary architecture at the feet of the public. Like Baldwin Brown he supported the harnessing of machine and scientific development to progress in the applied arts, and declared that we must put ourselves in line with the science of the day ... then we may look forward to erecting buildings fitly representing the ideas and wants of an age

with a constant succession of ever-varying expression and beauty -- with natural dignity, and not artificial picturesqueness ..."³

A golden age of architecture, then, seemed ready to dawn, more usefully fit for its purposes than many yet seen, and drawing on the finest -- including Scottish -- of past styles. Anderson's plans for the training of architects equipped with the necessary expertise and sympathy for both past and present who could lead in this was not finally achieved until 1892 when the School of Applied Art opened its doors in the Royal Institution under his honorary direction. It was the outcome of several years of tireless dedication and negotiation on the parts of specifically Anderson and Baldwin Brown with the Board of Manufactures.¹⁴

If much of the discussion of the applied arts, including architecture, at the congress was progressive and laid a concrete foundation for the furthering of arts and crafts policies in the city, in the field of fine art the official debate was less positive and concentrated on the relevance of Pre-Raphaelite and Impressionist painting to contemporary life, especially in questions of technique and the moral content of narrative art. Here it is of interest to note that William Hole, who during the following decade with Traquair and John Duncan (1866-1945) was to become a narrative arts and crafts decorator and to lead in technical experimentation in the field of mural painting in Edinburgh, at this stage considered that the Pre-Raphaelite painters

had interrupted the tradition of English art ... as to Mr Ruskin, he thought he had acted as a drag upon English art, and had set back it and its traditions for fully a quarter of a century ...¹⁵

In reply William Morris declared that one of his

chief objections to the Impressionist School was that their pictures were painted for artists only ... he could not sit down without protesting against what Mr Hole had been saying about Mr Ruskin. Mr Ruskin would not have been a great man if he had not made errors. As for his having put art back, it

appeared to him that he was the man who had made art possible. He was the man who had had a fair and square shot at big-wiggism ...¹⁶

Generally there appeared to be as much a battle of styles in painting as recently in architecture, in what the painter Alexander Roche called 'the noble mission of art'.¹⁷ Only two papers on art revealed a similar breadth of vision to that of Anderson on architecture. Hole in his paper *Art and the People*, decreed that the function of art was to beautify, not to stimulate or preach. The president of the Painting Section, Briton Riviere, developed Hole's idea, considering that where artists, although confined by space, time and medium, could nonetheless stretch the limits of nature and transcend it. There were created expressions of Idealism

... fixed boundaries, based upon the visible aspects of nature and natural laws, must always leave our art behind that of the musician, in some of the highest flights of the imagination ... there have always been, and as long as strong imaginations express themselves in paint, there always will be artists striving to stretch these limits to their utmost. Some of these lofty spirits have done much for us in extending and keeping open the boundaries of our art. Their aim has been to transcend nature, and wherever they have met nature at her weakest, and their own strongest side, they have, strange as it may seem, very often succeeded in their aim ...¹⁸

Riviere's definition of a creative artist stretching beyond purely stylistic fashions and worldly confines lay close to the arts and crafts belief in creative wholeheartedness, and specifically to an article by Selwyn Image in the journal of the Century Guild, *The Hobby Horse*. In an article published in 1886, Image declared that

the region of Art is in the Imagination ... for the Imagination and for Art then there is neither fixed place nor fixed time. With the Sons of God shouting for joy at the Creation; with Adam in Paradise, or the shirt-maker in a Soho garret; with Christ desolate on the cross, or Wellington returning in triumph; with dreams of the virtues and the habitations of Heaven, or with the record of some storm-swept Eastern Counties heath; with all these, and with all the varieties and contradictions of human experience or of human thought, Art interests itself. Yesterday, and To-day, and Forever -- they are alike hers.

The Universe, not London Society or the charms of Bucolic Existence; Eternity, not the Year of Grace 1885, are her limits for us ... ¹⁹

The second Edinburgh mural commission [A.2] awarded to Phoebe Traquair may be seen as one illustration of Image's idealistic statement of the deep and broad vision of the modern artist, concerned only with personal iconography (although using stylistic details in common with his fellow artists) and reaching beyond the stricter limitations of recent art. Exact details of the contract, from the Cathedral Church of St Mary in Palmerston Place, are not known for surviving Traquair correspondence dates only from 1890 and the Cathedral archives are currently inaccessible to researchers. However, the fact that the decoration of the Cathedral's Song School -- a practice room still used for the training of choristers -- was underway by late 1888 can be stated, for an illustration of the incomplete decoration of the central section of the east wall, the first to be painted, appeared in a *Scottish Art Review* article by Baldwin Brown in January 1889. Two surviving studies for figures represented on the north wall of the room are dated *August 1888*. Again, on completion the artist dated a north window jamb section 92/88. From her correspondence it is known that the walls were completed by early July 1892.²⁰

The commissioning of the decoration of the room, designed by John Oldrid Scott (1841-1913) as a quite separate building from, yet within the complex of his father's²¹ cathedral (largely completed by 1879), was a direct consequence of the success of the Traquair mural decoration of the Royal Hospital for Sick Children mortuary chapel. The Sub-dean of the Cathedral, Dr Cazenove, as has been seen, was involved in Social Union activities by late 1888 and was particularly active in the work of the art department. As noted above he was a

principal speaker at the fourth Annual General Meeting of the Union in November. This commission provides further evidence of the tight character of social and ecclesiastical society in Edinburgh.

The earliest section of the mural scheme, and that illustrated in *The Scottish Art Review*, lay below the east window [pls. 21, 22]. A central panel depicting the Resurrection (the three Marys at the tomb) was flanked by scenes of the healing of the dumb man by Christ [Matt. 9:32] and the gift of the Holy Spirit to the Apostles at Pentecost. All were painted in a simplified style close to contemporary published book illustration, the forms darkly outlined, yet set with natural details of flowers, a Borders landscape and the stratified clouds which had appeared in the mortuary scheme. Although heavily didactic -- the haloes of the central panel figures were inscribed with scriptural texts in Latin -- and filled with pensive introspection, the general impression of what was in effect a triptych altarpiece was one of controlled form and richness, largely contributed by the use of gold to offset a mixture of light and dark tones. Between the panels Traquair placed columns of medallions [pl. 22], here illustrating scenes from the life and death of Christ and complementing a more substantial upper range bordering the window itself and leading to a stylised head of Christ blessing above. In the two spandrels immediately below the window two angelic bands blowing the golden trumpets of the Resurrection made their first appearance in her work.

The approach in this small section of the mural decoration presented a development of the mortuary scheme, but bearing a more stylised semblance to illustration rather than illumination. The contrast, however, between this early section and the rest of the scheme was absolute. The remainder illustrated the

canticle chosen by the artist, *Benedicite, Omnia Opera* (O all ye works of the Lord) with a wealth of figural and natural detail which would have won the approval of Ruskin. Robert Lorimer described the decoration at a later date

the idea of 'Praise' forms the theme for the decoration, and this has been worked out with a wealth of imagination, and instinctive feeling for colour, and an amount of affectionate industry that has probably not been witnessed in the decoration of any other building of today. The work naturally divides itself into panels, and the treatment of each has been founded on a verse from the 'Song of the three Holy Children' in the Apocrypha -- a part of which is given in the prayer book as the 'Benedicite omnia opera' ... it would be vain to attempt a detailed description of the fashion in which every part has been wrought out. It is enough to say that the work satisfies almost all the requirements of good decoration, the first of which is to have what Sir F Leighton once well called the 'aesthetic appeal', the appeal to the eye of glowing and harmonious colour, of artful arrangement of lines and masses. Then too the pictures are full of story, and though this is so, it cannot be argued against them that they have been conceived from 'the literary point of view', that *bête noire* of the '*fin de siècle*' impressionist.²¹

Illustrative and figural in approach the Song School murals might be, but as an entity they were not dominated by lacklustre symbolic texts. Instead the walls were covered with contemporary portraits. Beyond the figures of Christ and, below, his Church, stood two groups of Cathedral clergy, including the Bishop of Edinburgh, Dr John Dowden (1840-1910), Dean J F Montgomery, Dr Cazenove and the first Cathedral organist, Dr T H Collinson -- in the midst of a singing choir and below bands of angel voices [pl. 23]. All were individual portraits, sensitively drawn from life and arranged in clearly banked rows of age rather than seniority. The contrast between these portraits, 'a sevenfold chorus of hallelujahs and harping symphonies',²² which occupied almost half of the east wall, and the central scriptural triptych could not have been more deliberately extreme. By their introduction life was breathed into an otherwise static piece of decoration. Analogies between the arts of poetry, painting and music became real in this context. As Traquair wrote in August 1891, the poet's creative art

was one of joy, 'a joy in objects quite apart from the artist, as in some of Shelley's songs, the joy in external nature, or imaginary spirits'.²³

As in the mortuary chapel the walls were decorated above a wooden panelled dado. The remaining wall space available in the room measuring forty-seven by twenty-five feet was at least ten feet in height, and more on the east and west walls above their windows. All windows, including three in the north wall, had been placed at such a height to eliminate any outside distraction to the rehearsing choirboys. The north, west and south walls sought not only to inspire them, but to display a richly detailed and imaginative panoply of 'all the works of the Lord', from the inhabitants of Heaven, the spirits of the Righteous, holy and humble men, to all manner of natural creation. The words of the canticle enabled Traquair to define aspects of natural selection. Below, nine stages of the Creation [pls. 24-26] were represented in a series of eleven medallions set in an ornamental frieze of lush foliage: the two remaining medallions on the south wall were devoted to depictions of the *Birth of the Spirit* and *Inspiration comes in Sorrow*.

The Song School decoration was the first work to earn Phoebe Traquair national recognition in Britain. Favourable reviews in *The Magazine of Art*,²⁴ *The Journal of Decorative Art*,²⁵ and *The Builder*,²⁶ all London and decorative rather than fine art publications appeared on its near completion in the early summer of 1892. While faults in her draughtsmanship were noted by all, it was acknowledged that the new scheme showed an improvement on the mortuary decoration. *The Builder* in its short review provided a particularly strong account of the scheme, calling it

an essay full of promise with much suggestive treatment, considerable imagination and, on the whole, exceedingly good colour ... the work is ... of

considerable magnitude and importance, on a wholly different scale of effort from the diminutive chapel. Yet of the two it is the more successful: both intention and execution show marked advance: the indefinable sense of its being amateur work is greatly lessened; the colour is stronger and richer, faults of drawing are less obtrusive: and the decorative imagination is both fuller and more certain. In these qualities of decorative sense and appropriate imagination, Mrs Traquair excels, the rendering of her theme is fresh and modern, quite free from the stock-in-trade symbolism of well-worn types at so much the square yard ...²⁷

The strength of the scheme lay in the wealth of imaginative detail which Traquair introduced into a decoration which occupied a unique place in current developments both in Edinburgh and in Britain as a whole. The carefully chosen text allowed an unusual freedom of subject, in which the past, present and eternity could be depicted in a glorious celebration which contrasted with the grim, however personal, and static icon decoration of the mortuary. The key epithets in *The Builder* review were *fresh* and *modern*. That it was recognised to be at least in keeping with the current British vogue for mural decoration was important: no other Scottish scheme of this date combined symbolic characters with actual portraiture. The luminosity of the paint surface, relying on a white zinc ground, not only reflected the freshness of the illuminated page but followed the broad principles of the Pre-Raphaelites, as did the abundance of natural detail. Indeed, stylistically the north and south walls -- and particularly the latter -- in their shallow relief, decorative borders and figural types were close in effect to a Burne-Jones tapestry. In the north wall, however, could be found a link with another aspect of contemporary British art.

In the field of architectural sculpture the debate over the dress permitted in figural work had reached Edinburgh during the 1889 congress. At a special meeting held on 30 October a resolution had been passed that Liverpool Corporation reconsider its decision to discontinue the decoration of St George's

Hall by Stirling Lee, whose designs for architectural sculptural reliefs included realistically described figures amongst those in classical dress. Two years earlier a terracotta frieze by a former Sheffield knife-grinder and Ruskin disciple Benjamin Creswick, depicting scenes from the cutlers' trade had been installed on the facade of Cutlers' Hall, London. This depiction of men dressed in contemporary garb and engaged in occupational work was aimed to provide a sense of realism which Ruskin must have supported. It celebrated both the honesty and the details of labour, and followed Ford Madox Brown's allegorical painting depicting *Work* (Manchester City Art Gallery: 1852-65). Creswick considered that such subjects

could not fail to arouse elevating and honourable thoughts in the minds of our people, and would give a dignity to the life we live and invest even the humblest toil with an honourableness that is not sufficiently recognised²⁸

There lay a distinction between a scene showing work in action and one which showed the static nobility of the worker himself. William Hamo Thornycroft in his designs for the sculptured frieze of the Institute of Chartered Accountants in London (1890-91) broke with the classical tradition in his groupings of relaxed figures representing the 'varied interests which look to the Chartered Accountants for financial guidance and order'²⁹: only three out of his eleven panels showed figures in classical dress, the others were all in modern dress. Many of these latter figures stood in sharply-cut relief as heroes of modern life. In these sculptured friezes the figures were not subservient to the principal figure, as had been 'modern' groups represented in the memorials to Prince Albert in London (Thornycroft, Lawlor, Weekes, and Calder Marshall, 1865-67) and Edinburgh (Clark Stanton, Brodie and D W Stevenson, completed 1876).

In the centre of the north wall of the Song School decoration the selection of full-size portraits of painters (including James Clark of George Street who coated the walls with zinc-white prior to their decoration³⁰), carpenters (who prepared and moved Traquair's scaffolding) and cathedrals masons to represent 'the children of men' in the canticle entered entirely into the spirit of this current mode. Painted in 1889, although studies for individual figures belong to the previous summer, all were dressed for work and bore their tools of trade [pl. 27a]. As in the adjoining panel where an angel and cowherds shared wallspace with the 'beasts and cattle' [pl. 27b], the figures were heavily compressed into the available space with only a shallow townscape and clouds visible beyond, and street cobbles under their feet. The lunette in the border below depicted the creation of the beasts. The sequence concluded to the east with the 'fowls of the air', the 'whales and all that move in the waters' and the 'seas and floods'. The first of these was dominated by a splendid eagle [pl. 28a], also symbol of the Evangelist, a host of flying birds and, resting on the arm of a lay member of the choir and musicians who also filled this panel, a peacock, the supreme symbol of the aesthetic movement. Above the legend *Benedicite omnes volucres caeli Domino laudate et superexultate eum in saecula* (Birds of heaven! all bless the Lord, give glory and eternal praise to him) [Dan. 3:80, Septuagint] described their song of praise. Beside the eagle the ground yielded an abundance of natural detail [pl. 28b] later equalled in Edinburgh only in the early designs of the Dovecot Studio tapestries by William Skeoch Cumming (1864-1929) and Alfred Priest (1874-1929). The easternmost bay of the north wall, although interrupted by a window and door, prepared the reader -- for such a mural decoration was, in the manner of medieval and Pre-Raphaelite schemes, meant to be read as much as

enjoyed visually -- for the song of praise on the east wall itself. Angelic beings accompanied rolling waves and creatures of sea and water: one held a fin, others played trumpets or sang above swirling waves [pl. 29].

In the scheme all such beings were created equal in strength and stature. Image's statement of the aim of the artist to represent all aspects of life in detail and spirit, found a direct expression not only in this scheme but in a letter written by Phoebe Traquair to her nephew Willie Moss in early 1896

... to hold life, as a whole, yet give consideration to every detail, that is the great Art, to consciously build up the broad masses of life into a noble temple ... details can't be too delicate or beautiful ... an artist's work in this world is to sing, music is his world, at time strong discords, passions which have not yet found their harmonies rush in, but it is all music, down deep at the foundation of all things the great Eternal harmonies for every sound ... ³¹

The letter, like many written in the nineties, indicated the passionate approach which she held towards her work, and the personal satisfaction which she invariably sought. Although Traquair turned to current stylistic attitudes with which she was in sympathy to achieve full expression, her work was also supremely personal. She did not always seek to produce work of total originality, and reused images and ideas in differing forms without compunction. Thus the idea of introducing lifesize portraits of those who inspired her into the Song School scheme, a development of the tiny medallion decoration in the mortuary decoration, was not inappropriate. The west sections of the north wall showed a portrait of Cardinal Newman, whose candle was lit by an angel power, representing the 'priests of the Lord' [pl. 30a]. Above the medallion of the creation of the spirit, the 'spirits and souls of the righteous' and the 'holy and humble men' were illustrated by a half-hidden General Gordon (died 1885), a line of penitent men all beyond a decorated arched facade on which rested the

elements, and in front full size figures of Dante and Blake, jointly led by an angel towards the east wall [pl. 30bl. The last bay was occupied by Henry Stanley and two others representing the Ananaias, saved from the fires of damnation by divine grace.

The south wall demanded a different approach. In place of eight distinct bays there were only four. For the first time Phoebe Traquair was able to become fully involved in large scale composition and produced a densely packed procession which approached the east wall. All the panels were filled with angels and singing choirboys [pl.31l. The elemental nature of the opening verses of the canticle also gave her scope to pack the scenes with movement and strong colour. The first lines of the canticle, addressed to the 'angels of the Lord' and the 'heavens' allowed a band of winged and haloed powers to rejoice, some with trumpets [pl. 32al. Above the entrance door in the centre of this first bay, a kneeling angel sounded the trumpet of the Last Judgement over dead souls. Below, two seated angels held souls: others of comet form rose at the sound of the trumpet. The second bay, given to the 'powers of the Lord' and the 'sun, moon and stars', punctuated only by an air vent near ceiling level, also included portraits of those currently or recently prominent in the arts [pl. 32bl. Tennyson and Browning, both dressed in their red honorary Oxford University degree robes, were immediately followed by Rossetti -- displaying in his left hand a copy of his painting of *The Annunciation*, chosen for its symbolic reference to the dawning of a new age and promise of eternal life. Holman Hunt, Carlyle and Noel Paton in the centre were followed by Watts in his painter's grey

smock, the pocket of which was filled with brushes, and clasping in his left hand a sketch for *Life and Love* [pl. 33]. Above the sun and moon illuminated the heavens, and behind musician angels played, and carried a rain cloud emitting an arched rainbow -- the 'showers and dew'. Although relatively congested the panel displayed serenity and a balance of form. The patterning of clouds, stars, sun and moon was echoed by a richly endowed carpeting of flowers.

In the third bay the calm was banished, and half the space occupied by a band of four Burne-Jonesian trumpet-sounding angels (the four 'winds of God'), their hair and robes billowing forth [pl. 34a]. 'Fire and heat' were represented by figures feeding a fierce flame with faggots. Beyond portraits of the master of the choristers and an organ-playing member of the Cathedral choir followed a symbolic figure of 'summer' [pl. 33b] (obviously inspired by the spirit of Botticelli's *Primavera*) garlanded with and bearing flowers which she scattered in the path of 'winter': the latter was dressed and hooded in black. The last bay depicted 'days and nights' [pl. 34b]. In the first section, a family walked to work, the father with tools of trade and the mother with two children the younger of whom chased a butterfly. All were guided by angels. 'Night' and 'darkness' were combined in a portrayal of a blind youth with broken staff, who in turn contrasted with the sighted leader of a quartet of four youths, symbols of the future, who studied the flowered earth and a fountain (the 'green things' and 'wells'). Two choirboys carrying boughs in leaf represented renewal and the Resurrection [pl. 35a].

In these panels incident and decoration were one: allegory became reality through the abundance of portraiture. The south wall, completed in 1891-92, displayed the increased confidence and skill of this mural painter. Stylistic sources, above all from Burne-Jones, and from Botticelli whose *Spring* became *Summer* and whose flowers were scattered in *poudré* fashion over the surface, were absorbed into a personal panorama of life which swept across the wall.

Above all the decoration was one of myriad colours, of rainbow tones in dress, pattern and nature. The white surplices of the choristers and angels offset and reflected these: as *The Journal of Decorative Art* noted in its review in May 1892

... the prevailing tones are red and blue and gold, with greys and other neutral tints to give harmony to the scheme ... in the first panel.. there is the representation of the angelic choir, gracious in form, in flowing white vestments, on which prismatic hues play ...

The last wall to be decorated, however, outshone these in clarity of vision and colour pattern. The west wall was decorated on either side of a large high window, and above a Henry Willis organ installed in 1887 on completion of the building, with Image's conception of the *Sons of God shouting for joy at the Creation*: symbols of the *Four Living Ones* who sang *Holy, Holy, Holy* by night and day before the Throne of Heaven [pl. 35b]. Above stood the souls that had come out of great tribulation. In the centre, above the window, was symbolised the return of the human to the divine. Below, a painted frieze of a pattern similar to that of the other walls defined the decoration. The four scarlet-winged seraphs with at their feet the evangelical symbols (the Four Living Creatures) stood with arms upraised in

song, the iconographic children of Blake's *Sons of God* from his *Illustration of the Book of Job* for Thomas Butts, engraved in 1825 and published by John Linnell. Traquair had first used this image in her manuscript *The Dream* in 1886 [pl. 11bl.³² In Blake's *When the Morning Stars sang together, & all the Sons of God shouted for joy* they stood, arms interleaved on ribbons of cloud. Here, as in W B Richmond's current design for the mosaic decoration of the chancel ceiling of St Paul's Cathedral in London, they were distinct celebratory and intercessionary symbols of divine strength, their song assisted by the organ below. Traquair's decoration remained essentially closer to Blake than did that of Richmond. Blake's cloud ribbons now became vibrant and rippling patterns to bathe the feet of the souls above.

The success of this important mural scheme, which was closely in tune with Rowand Anderson's advocacy of the architect and decorative artist drawing on the most relevant art of the past for inspiration -- to create an entirely modern work of art -- was both national and local. Towards completion of the Song School decoration, in April 1892, the executive committee of the Edinburgh Social Union discussed the question of sponsoring a second Traquair decoration, perhaps with practical assistance. Baldwin Brown, seeing an opportunity for sowing the seed of a local school of mural decoration, 'expressed a hope that Mrs Traquair might undertake a practical class for the decoration of some hall next session'³³ which many students (including members of his own university class which now included women) would like to join. The Union secretary, Ella Kerr, regretted that the 'Song School just completed had not been done in association with the Social Union',³⁴ suggesting that Traquair be asked to decorate some building for

them: they were prepared to defray the costs of her materials. The new Catholic Apostolic church was proposed by Kerr 'as having been specifically built for mural decoration', but a more pressing suggestion from Baldwin Brown, in the chair, was for the entrance hall of the new Portrait Gallery. Both were Rowand Anderson buildings. The Portrait Gallery was considered more appropriate as it was a 'national building': more accessible to a local audience and on a national and international level able possibly to be compared with recent developments in France and draw attention to the flourishing state of the decorative arts in the city. It was also a building which in its deliberate integration of sculpture, even if such were of statue format, and architecture was immensely topical in British terms. The Union secretary was instructed to ask Mrs Traquair if she would undertake this if the Board of Manufactures were to consent. According to the Union minutes, Traquair replied that she had

considered the question of her decorating the Hall of the Portrait Gallery for a week, but had finally decided that, desirable as the work was, it was not for her to do it. She would be willing however to decorate any other suitable building for the Social Union ... ³⁵

Doubtless the restrictions of governmental committee control which would have been exercised, as compared to the free expression which she had previously enjoyed, dictated her response to the conditional invitation. The dictation by architect and Board of the subject would have been intolerable. In her letter she did however state her willingness to cooperate with the Union and suggested 'some portion of St Giles'.³⁶ This suggestion, had it been carried out, would certainly have broadcast knowledge of her work, but again it displayed her reluctance to execute non-religious

decorations. A letter of support from the minister of St Giles' Cathedral, Dr Cameron Lees, whose term (1877 to 1906) saw major internal restoration in the church including the removal of partitions, suggested the decoration of the chancel. Miss Kerr reported that

Dr Lees wishes the seven panels at the East end of St Giles decorated by Mrs Traquair ... he believed she was willing and that the work would only take about six weeks ...³⁷

The proposal that she should also decorate the interior of the Catholic Apostolic church in Mansfield Place (East London Street) was carried from meeting to meeting throughout the summer of 1892. In late April an offer was made to the church that Traquair should begin by decorating five large panels on the north wall at their expense. It was agreed by the Union that James Clark should prepare the walls of St Giles as he had done those at the Song School but that those of the Catholic Apostolic be coated with zinc white by Andrew Hutton, a decorator of 35 Dundas Street who was also a deacon of the church.

By July the matters of these two Union commissions were still unsettled. The Union minutes recorded that Traquair's decoration of the Catholic Apostolic church was 'likely to go on ... but the matter was not quite settled yet'. The offer which had been made to Cameron Lees had had to be placed before the Cathedral board. Dr Lees reported with regret that it had decided that 'such decoration was not suited to St Giles'.³⁸ For Phoebe Traquair the disappointment of the loss of such a commission was tempered with not only the almost certain realisation of a major and highly ambitious alternative but also anxiety over the fate of her first scheme, for the Hospital mortuary chapel.

An outbreak of typhoid fever in the Royal Hospital for Sick Children in 1890 had necessitated temporary but total evacuation of Meadowside House to Morningside Academy (renamed Plewlands House). The architect (Sir) George Washington Browne (1855-1939), associated with Union matters and also the hospital since his employment to provide alterations to the dispensary in 1888, was appointed to advise the directors on the question of whether to renovate the Meadowside property or remove to a new site. One factor in their decision on 20 March 1891 that 'an entirely new building should be erected with foundations so constructed as to obviate any possible risk of insanitary conditions'³⁹ was undoubtedly the pressing need for expansion of the adjacent Royal Infirmary. Washington Browne was duly appointed architect of the new hospital three days later.⁴⁰ In August he was instructed 'to take estimates for the demolition of the present building';⁴¹ in October Andrew Waddell was contracted to carry out demolition, prior to the final agreement to use a new site at Rillbank, reached on 26 February 1892. Included in the plan for demolition was the mortuary chapel.

On 16 August 1891, only days after tenders for demolition had been invited through the pages of *The Scotsman*, Phoebe Traquair wrote to her nephew

... ought I not to have been pleased that so many have recognised what good there is in the Mortuary. I myself believe that in some ways I shall never do better or maybe as well, and yet, do you know, *they*, the horrid Edinburgh little handful of bigots, who form the directors of the Hospital, not one of them with any caring for these things, they want to pull it down because the old Hospital is to be pulled down. Now it (the Mortuary) is not connected with the Hospital and could in my and also others' opinion be left and by a clever architect embodied in the new place or else raised bodily from its foundations (just four strong small walls) and moved to a new position, but, unless we can get enough influence ... the thing in the meantime would be to write a protest to Scott & Henry, Secretary, Royal Hospital for Sick Children, 20 St Andrew's [sic] Square Edinburgh ... the

Song School won't run the same risk as the cathedral powers have spent a good deal of money, in helping me, and I always find that if people have to spend money on a thing they value it. The Hospital spent *not a farthing* ...⁴²

Although support to save the mortuary chapel paintings was forthcoming and the building temporarily allowed to remain while their fate was discussed, it was only three years later when the new hospital was largely built that the hospital directors reached agreement, through Washington Browne, with the Social Union for their safe removal to a new structure at Rillbank.

On 2 July 1894 the minute of the hospital's Building Committee recorded that the Architect reported communications which he had had with the Edinburgh Social Union as to the removal of the Mortuary pictures, the society having arranged to remove the pictures at their own risk and their own expense. The committee left it to the architect to arrange how the proposal could be carried out so long as the Hospital is kept free from responsibility and expense in the matter⁴³

The problems of removing the painted plaster walls for reinstallation were immense. The north and south walls were covered with ordinary lath and plaster: here the laths were sawn through. The east and west walls were found to have no laths but plaster applied directly on to brick: five panels from these walls could only be removed by sawing through the bricks and transporting them as wall sections to the new building, where it was found that most were simply too thick to be incorporated. At last, on 8 October 1895, Washington Browne reported to the hospital committee that

the pictures removed from the old Mortuary had been sent over, but being cut out with portions of the wall were of great thickness and that they could not be built in for sometime, and he asked the consent of the Committee to stretch jute meantime over the places where the pictures are to be placed ...⁴⁴

That several of the panels actually survived the transition at all was remarkable: most were so cracked and damaged by the necessary handling that

their restoration by the artist on re-erection became a matter of total repainting. The panels from the north and south walls, representing the redemption and three divine powers, were not sufficiently large to fill the longer walls of the new building, and thus new supportive decoration was required. In the repainting, however, which was completed in May 1898, the underlying design of surviving sections was followed in almost every detail, although a more fluent technique was applied.

It is of interest to compare the old and new schemes which now exist side by side at Rillbank [A.4]. The principal text of the new mortuary was Psalm 148, which in its close companion relationship to *Benedicite Omnia Opera* again celebrated all spheres of creation. In addition the words of Psalm 23, verse 4, were inscribed as a cornice frieze to balance the surviving *Redemption* text, now repainted. The figures of child souls and angels tenderly executed on the remaining north wall [pls. 36, 37] displayed a sensitive continuation of the now reversed principal section and also a more natural characterisation already displayed at the Song School. The loosening of style of the late 1880s and of iconographic derivation was more starkly prominent in the east and west walls of this scheme. The original panels for these walls were those which with their brick backing could not be incorporated. The four white robed angels singing *Holy, Holy, Holy* were thus lost. In their place stood six red-winged angels signifying 'all his angels, all his hosts', brothers to those on the west wall of the Song School decoration. Here there were six to represent the Days of Creation, their haloes bearing words from the *Te Deum* [pls. 38-40]. In place of the four Living Creatures of the prophets and St John, they had at their feet

semispheres containing symbols of the six stages of Creation: heavenly bodies ('sun and moon', 'stars of light'), the dry land ('mountains and all hills'), waters with fish ('ye dragons and all deeps'), and birds, beasts and man, the last represented by an annunciation, symbol of the commencement of new life.

The scheme, singularly appropriate to a chapel used by those mourning the physical extinction of young life, was approached with a deliberately childlike simplicity by Phoebe Traquair. The 'new' walls bore a simple message: the creation of an individual was part of a divine plan. This was developed by the message retained in the surviving 'old' walls: mortal death was not the end of existence, but, through divine grace and Christ crucified, the door to everlasting life. The new sections were painted in areas of flat colour edged in black. Behind the six angels lay six horizontal tiers of colour, peopled with creation symbols [pl. 41a]. A symbolic arrangement of background colour from dark blue to near white led to the uppermost stratum where the representatives of mankind ('young men and maidens, old men and children') included the artist's husband Ramsay and her daughter Hilda [pls. 38a, 39a]. These walls, which in visual terms do not sit easily with the transferred sections of the first dense and complicated scheme [pls. 42, 41b], displayed not only a simple and symbolic use of colour but also a diagrammatic approach both decorative and didactic which was a natural extension to her recent study and illustration of Dante which is discussed in chapter five. Above all, the walls were an ode to natural creation, as the Song School had also been. Here it was presented without the richness of a tapestry but with the clarity and spirit of a child's picture book.

In its doctrinal structure of Christian creation iconography the mortuary chapel also related to Richmond's mosaic scheme at St Paul's Cathedral. Both used colour and pattern as vital components and Blake's Sons of God imagery: in the latter, however, the regular and Byzantine severity of a stiff and formal presentation contrasted with the humane detailing now essential to Traquair's decorations.

Only one other decorated building in Britain, built for a similar purpose, conveyed such a rich symbolism of Christian terminology, and, although neither constructed nor decorated in Scotland, the work was conceived and directed by a Scotswoman. Mary Watts (née Fraser-Tytler, 1850-1938), the second wife of G F Watts but only two years older than Traquair, had been deeply involved in the local work of the Home Arts and Industries Association in their village of Compton in Surrey. The purchase by the local council of a plot of land for a new burial ground in 1895 was timed to coincide with the discovery of a bed of clay in the grounds of the Watts's house, Limnerslease, and recent widespread publicity concerning the future of the Edinburgh mortuary chapel. All three factors played their part in Mary Watts's decision to build a mortuary chapel. Moreover the concept of a building designed and decorated both inside and outside by an artist was deemed a true product of the arts and crafts movement. Modest in scale -- the building was little larger than the Edinburgh mortuary -- and perfectly sited on a hill, it was to serve the simple occasional needs of a closely-knit village community of all ages.

The decorative symbolism of the terracotta plaques which coated the exterior of the Compton mortuary (completed in the same year as the new

Edinburgh mortuary, 1898) balanced the plan of the structure itself. Built in a Romano-Byzantine style the ground plan combined the Circle of Eternity with the Cross of Faith in a filled cruciform shape. The effect was, and is, of a cross breaking through the confines of the circular symbol of eternity in both roof and wall. As *The Studio* remarked on completion of the building, but prior to internal decoration, the structure was symbolic in broad Christian but not theological terms, deliberately so in order to 'cause no offence to any of the many sects that shelter people who call themselves Christian'.⁴⁵ Here lay an approach parallel to that of Traquair in her Edinburgh chapel, the meaning of both schemes being to 'bind up the broken heart, to loose the captive, to comfort them that mourn'.⁴⁶ Even closer to Traquair was the theme for the exterior decoration at Compton: 'the Garment of Praise' [Isa. 61:3] which filled the spandrels above the entrance doorway. Again, the keystone of the archway bore the triple initial *S*, signifying *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus*, surmounting arch mouldings of angelic heads and a cord of Celtic symbolic interlace and knots. The buttresses bore trees of life covered with natural form. The entrance door itself depicted man's destiny, 'rising from the dragons of evil below the cross, surrounded by charubs' wings above',⁴⁷ and was copied from a stone carving in the new National Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh.

Although Watts used an equally personal symbolism in her uniformly coloured ceramic building, the details were inspired by both Biblical phrase and earlier iconography. The dominant spirit running through the strong red clay plaques, executed to her instructions by the villagers, was Celtic:

a knotted thread of life, at times Welsh or Irish in derivation, and elsewhere Scottish in inspiration, which acted as a foil to the austere forms of the building. The uniformity of colour of the exterior, completed prior to dedication of the building by the Bishop of Winchester on 1 July 1898, like that of the Edinburgh red sandstone chapel, was in total contrast to the sumptuous richness of the interior. Gesso panels were prepared, attached to a framework of galvinised metal lathing, and painted *in situ* by Watts and her assistants. Inside, the gilded Celtic intertwining strapwork grew a decoration of flowers and blossoms, and the four curved arches of the cruciform bore angelic heads with coloured wings. This the artist called 'glorified wallpaper',⁴⁸ recalling the embossed and coloured *papier mache* frieze decorations currently produced by such firms as Scott Morton's Tynecastle company. But below, in a circle, stood winged angel messengers, alternately facing the visitor or turned from him. In each of their four groups a Tree of Life, which might be compared with Traquair's image [pl. 41a], reached up, bringing forth vines and flowers. Above, four seraphs 'clothed in the crimson colour of love and life' raised their hands in blessing. Like Traquair, Watts wrote a key to explain this complex iconography,⁴⁹ so that all might benefit. Again, like Traquair, she combined a richly decorative literary and emotive symbolism, complete with inscribed texts for guidance, with the power of purely sensory colour. Although no record survives of a meeting between the two artists prior to December 1905⁵⁰, there can be little doubt that Watts, so passionately interested in arts and crafts developments, would be versed in the recent Traquair mural decorative schemes which were published by the mid-nineties. The broad

principles governing both mortuary schemes overlap to an undeniable extent, providing more than a restricted area of common ground.

The intimacy of the simple rounded archway which led into the Watts chapel was a suitable foil for the terracotta plaques forming the the door jambs. In Edinburgh a church designed by Robert Rowand Anderson in 1872 challenged Phoebe Traquair to execute her most ambitious mural cycle [A.31]. *The Builder* commenting on Rowand Anderson's winning design in the competition for a new Catholic Apostolic church, specified to be Norman in style, referred to the purity of it, which bordered on austerity

The design, according to the instructions, is Norman in style, and consists of a spacious nave in the form of a double cube, with an unusually deep chancel, terminated by an apse. The chancel is flanked by aisles in one of which is to be placed the choir organ; and the other, which terminates in an apse, is to be used as a chapel. The grand organ is to be placed in a gallery in the tower which occupies the centre of the west elevation ... the window lights of the nave are placed well up from the floor, and slender attached shafts run up between them to support the beams of an open-timber roof of very simple character. Severity and dignity of effect have been aimed at, and, if carried out in its entirety, the building will form a marked feature in the city.⁵¹

The building was the first major independent Edinburgh commission received by Rowand Anderson since his return to the city to supervise the erection of St James's Church in Constitution Street, Leith (1862-65) for George Gilbert Scott, in whose London office he served. This latter church had already displayed Anderson's interest in the adoption of stylistic detailing from earlier periods. There the declared model was Dunblane Cathedral. The roof of St James's Church had been described by *The Builder* as 'more like the work of an engineer than that of an architect': even at this early stage in his career carefully researched details went hand-in-hand with structural honesty and the dictum of form following function.

The Catholic Apostolic Church, built 1873-76 and 1884-85, while not entirely built as originally planned (the west tower was not executed but in its place a large narthex) demonstrated splendidly the architect's use of simpler forms alongside sensitively applied and researched details. The commission from the Irvingites, who by 1870 had outgrown their church in Broughton Street, came at precisely the right moment for Anderson to display his architectural virtuosity.

Although it was intended from the outset to supply the interior with mural decoration, as, to a lesser extent, St James's had been furnished with arcade figures of saints in 1869 (replaced in 1893), the high windows casting good light on the chancel arch and nave walls in particular, the delay on financial grounds in applying a mural commission was in retrospect a good thing. The Irvingite church when totally completed in 1901 fulfilled definitions of a well decorated structure as voiced at the 1889 Edinburgh congress. With an elaborate baldacchino designed by Anderson incorporating figures of angels, prophets and apostles by the sculptor William Birnie Rhind (1853-1933) in 1893-94 and total decoration of walls -- the tunnel roof was also originally to have been decorated by Traquair -- the church succeeded in becoming a major example of Scottish ecclesiastical arts and crafts [pl.43a].

The largely apocryphal tale given by A F Morris in *The Studio* in 1905 of the commissioning of the mural decoration was entertaining yet vividly captured something of Traquair's determined character

... Imagination is the 'touch of nature' that gives the kinship to poetry, music and painting, and each in its turn inspires the other. Music has had a great influence on Mrs Traquair's career. Especially has it played its part in her mural designs; it was indeed the prime factor in the decoration

of the Catholic and Apostolic Cathedral in Edinburgh, for, straying into the building one day while service was in progress, the swelling notes of the organ resounding through the church so worked upon her, that when the prayers were over she walked up to one of the Deacons and, without pause or ceremony, assailed him with the remark 'I want to paint these walls'. Being well known, her demand met with courteous if amused attention, and a slight discussion as to monetary and other difficulties ensued, which she concluded by saying, 'Well! if I *am* to paint these walls, no one in Edinburgh can prevent me; and if I am not going to paint them, no one in Edinburgh can make me!'.⁵²

As has been noted, the mural commission had been considered by the Social Union between April and July 1892, when it was 'likely' to actually materialise. It was not until early October that Traquair received a positive invitation to decorate this substantial building.⁵³ In a letter to her nephew Willie Moss she emphasised the professional attitude of the church and its financial commitment

... I saw the plan of the scaffolding for the Catholic Apostolic Church last week. It is delightful, so comfortable, just like what the artists have in Paris, not at all what I had in the S-S [Song School], also *it is to pay* ...⁵⁴

If, as with the Song School decoration, the church records are unavailable, the progression of the commission may still be followed through Traquair's letters to her nephew and through published accounts of it in such London journals as *The Studio* and *The Magazine of Art*: no Scottish periodical devoted to the visual arts had been published since the demise of the shortlived *Scottish Art Review* in 1889. For the first time Phoebe Traquair was not allowed a total freedom in her choice of both illustrative text and method of rendition. Restrictions on this commission were exercised by the beliefs and liturgy of the Church rather than a committee which would have controlled the decoration of the Portrait Gallery.

In Mansfield Place the 'unusually deep chancel terminating in an apse' containing the baldacchino played a vital role in the Church's belief in the near approach of the second Coming of Christ and the necessary preparation for this through the re-establishment of the primitive offices: apostles, evangelists, pastors, teachers, 'angels' (bishops), and deacons. The entrance to the chancel was not barred by a screen but celebrated by an immense arch sixty-six feet high and at each base nine feet wide, pierced by the entrances to the chancel itself and to two side aisles. In the decoration of the entire west facade of the arch, which took Traquair approximately fifteen months to execute, the artist felt most acutely but accepted the confines of an ecclesiastical programme.

The chancel arch decoration represented the worship of Heaven, as given in the books of Ezekiel and Revelation [pl. 44].⁵⁵ The altar was taken as the central point of Traquair's design, with a transparent rainbow transversing the lower figures on either side centring on the tabernacle in which the Sacrament was reserved. The Four Living Creatures occupied the lowest range: two on each side of the arch below two pairs of great Cherubim. These Cherubim symbolised the four divisions or modes of action into which the ministry of the Church was divided in the New Testament and which formed the four principal structures of the Apostolic Church where each had a unique role to play but 'sharing equally the one Catholic Episcopate': apostles (also the elders of the universal Church), prophets, evangelists and pastors. Here the Cherubim stood, turned towards the altar, each clad in a garment of different hue and bearing the emblem of his ministry. From the north the Cherubim were dressed respectively in scarlet

(Evangelistic Cherubim holding a bible open at the text *I am the Resurrection and the Life* [Jn. 11:25], to which he pointed as if to preach), gold (Apostolic Cherubim, holding a crown of gilded gesso [pl. 45], as were the haloes of all four Cherubim and those of the Living Creatures below, to signify absolute divine Truth), and, south of the great arch, blue (Prophetical Cherubim, holding a golden harp and setting forth the imaginative and poetic singing of songs in the spirit) and silver or white (Pastoral Cherubim, in his right hand the pastoral staff and on his left arm a lamb).

The four Creatures below were set against a diapered background. Above them Traquair again used the triple *Sanctus*. The dictates of the Church precluded the personal natural details which entered into Traquair's other work, but here she was able to create a jewelled symbolic vision in which Cherubim and Creatures were washed in raiments of rainbow colours, gold glistened and clouds floated across a blue firmament. The effect was one which dazzled yet inspired the worshipper, and moreover complemented the rich liturgy of the Church, based upon that of the Anglican, Roman and Greek Churches, which involved the use of lights, incense, ointments, holy water and chrism. The daily services would have included matins with proposition (exposition of the Sacraments) at 6 a.m., prayers at 9 a.m. and 3 p.m., and vespers with proposition at 5 p.m. On Sundays and holy days there was a celebration of the Eucharist at the high altar.

These four double panels only occupied approximately two-fifths of the chancel arch decoration. Above a substantial area was given to worship by

Holy Angels and by the Perfected Church. The upper reaches allowed Traquair increased personal expression in subjects more keenly attuned to her own sensibilities. A choir of fifty-nine angels knelt in adoration below a band of some thirty-five angels blowing gilded trumpets on a flowered earth 'sounding the high praises of God' [pl. 46]. In the upper stratum the four and twenty elders [Rev. 4] sat, clothed in albs, golden stoles and purple copes (setting forth their position as the Apostles and Rulers of the Universal Church) [pl. 47]. On their heads were crowns of gold. The canopies of their thrones, of gilded gesso as had been the trumpets of the angels below, glistened in light reflected from the clerestory windows. The Elders of the Universal Church were also the Apostles: twelve Apostles to the Jews and twelve to the Gentiles [Rom.11:13]. The ultimate panel was occupied by a great Multitude of the Redeemed 'which no man could number' [Rev. 7:9] in white robes, with palms of victory, four harps and four golden trumpets. Around them a sea of glass mingled with fire, again brilliantly coloured. Variety of form, not immediately apparent in the stylised format adopted of necessity, was introduced at these upper levels, and allowed Traquair's temporary assistant, John Fraser Matthew (1875-1955), briefly assigned to her from 1893 by Lorimer -- whom she had met through the Social Union -- more freedom of expression in these panels, his only contribution to the scheme. Angels' heads were based, as they had been in previous schemes, on portrait studies. Among the sitters was Anna, younger daughter of Thomas Ross (1839-1930), architect and co-author, with David

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Macgibbon, of *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland* (1887-92).⁵⁶

In the Catholic Apostolic Church it was customary for a side chapel to be used for weekday worship. In Edinburgh these low celebrations took place in the apsed south chancel aisle, planned throughout to fulfil this function. In a Church where there was great emphasis on symbolism, the 'phenomena' of Christian experience and which deemed miracle and mystery to be the essence of a spirit-filled church, it was acceptable and desirable that the decoration of a chapel should display a parable. As a tale of miraculous symbolism, it would form a subsidiary accompaniment to the chancel arch design. The selected text, the Parable of the Ten Virgins [Matt. 25:1-31], portrayed the drama of spiritual life with which the worshipper could identify. In these seven scenes, of which three were relegated to the decoration of the north chancel aisle, Traquair made successful use of the entire wall space, seen within the aisles and through the arches which linked them with the chancel itself. The rich effect (the ceilings and dado panels were also painted, with a prevalence of gold) presented nonetheless a softening of the compositional structure found in the Song School.

On the west wall of the south chapel, the first panel was executed above the arch leading from the nave; this was purely introductory, illustrating the text *Come unto Me, all ye who labour* [Matt. 11:28] by figures of Christ and two weary travellers [pl. 48a]. This was intended to prepare the worshipper by inducing a state of spiritual awareness. To the south, the first of four parable scenes, executed in late 1895, was inscribed below with the text *Ten virgins which took their lamps and went forth to meet the*

bridegroom [Matt. 25:1] [pl. 48b]. Delicately painted, the figures, dressed in pale green, red, gold and blue, carried golden lamps as they walked 'to obey the divine call' across a flowered landscape with hills beyond and a spring sunfilled sky.

In the panel above, four angels tended lilies, the symbol of youth, in Paradise [pl. 49a]. The symbolism continued below in the dado panel which showed, in the midst of a floreated decoration verging on a gilded wallpaper design, a medallion of the Annunciation, the symbolic beginning of new life [pl. 49b]. Here the archangel Gabriel and the Virgin were placed on either side of a stream (bridged by the Leaderfoot viaduct) about to be crossed, symbolising the temporal and temporary separation of human and Divine beings. The second panel given to the parable, painted in early 1896, was inscribed below *Walk while ye have the light lest darkness come upon you* [Jn. 12:35]. The virgins were depicted wearying and finding the sun hot. Some began to faint: all lacked the energy of the earlier scene.

The chapel was decorated throughout 1896. The third scene from the parable was worked on during March. On 15 March she wrote to Willie Moss, 'I am back to my dear work, just now all my ten maidens are asleep ...' [pl. 50a].⁵⁷ Observed by panels of angelic heads to either side, the Virgins slumbered on the slightly overgrown flowered earth in front of the artist's native Wicklow Hills (a long journey) while an angel, his upper torso bathed in an aureole of light, sounded a trumpet to awaken them from their deathlike sleep. Symbolising the awakening of the spirit, the image was iconographically an updated version of a page from her illumination *The*

Dream of nearly ten years earlier [pl. 10a].⁵⁸ The relevant text *Behold the bridegroom cometh! Go ye forth to meet him* was not inscribed.

The representation of spiritual collapse and awakening was, with the first panel, one of the most successful of all. Simplicity of form combined with delicacy of colour. The last major scene on this wall, beside the altar, showed the awoken virgins trimming their lamps and preparing to reset forth on their journey to find that five of their number had no oil in their lamps [Matt. 25:7-8] [pl. 50b]. To the Church the symbolism was clear: divine life could not be imparted but must be attained by each individual soul.

The medallions in the frieze below these scenes, following the pattern of the Song School decoration, provided suitable accompaniments. Below the last scene was placed a lunette showing Doubting Thomas, with a stream of time flowing between him and Christ. The principal scene of the awakening was echoed in three medallions below showing the Entombment, the three Marys at the empty Tomb, and Christ with the sleeping Disciples [pl. 51a], all serving to emphasise spiritual awakening in life and death. Between the main upper panels two further medallions pursued the theme: one represented the tower of vision of Habakkuk, the other a virgin arising from her couch at midnight, kneeling rapt in prayer at an open window [pl. 50b], a subject later reused in enamelwork.

The western section of the barrel vaulted ceiling of the south aisle chapel was divided into four compartments by a heavily foliated arabesque border. Here angels tended flowers, including lilies, and fruit spilling from the border in the fields of paradise, and passed up and down on their

errands as ministering spirits [pl. 51b]. Some observed the parable scenes below, while others received mortals and directed them towards the altar [pl. 52]. Painted in tonally light colours to give light to a chapel whose windows bore painted glass, the gentle approach in these subjects showed a loose allegiance to the current mural paintings of Puvis de Chavannes for the Public Library in Boston, notably the upper landing section, so recently executed in 1895-96.

Above the chapel altar the roof bore a familiar decoration: the six Days of Creation represented by scarlet-winged seraphs with upraised arms [pl. 53a]. Here they were grouped in two lines of three angels. As in the second mortuary chapel scheme they stood against horizontal zones signifying the stages of creation, here three on either side of the vault [pl. 53b]. At their feet lay inscribed references to the stages of creation: the *sun and moon, mountains and all hills, dragons and all deeps, fruitful trees and all cedars, beasts and all cattle and kings and all people*. Pattern, relieved gold and colour had become more pronounced. The *waters of the deep* swirled in an abstract pattern of vigorous flowing form.

The parable was concluded in the north aisle. In the first east principal panel the foolish and wise virgins parted, the former clad in more sombre coloured vestments to reflect their spiritual despondency [pl. 54]. The wise, half hidden by a window jamb, moved on with lit lamps to the wedding feast [Matt. 25:9]. Their wisdom had apparently strengthened the colours of the pastel robes of the earlier scenes. The medallions above and below emphasised this idea of separation or deliberate choice. In her account of the mural decoration, published by the church as had been

descriptions of both the Song School and the second chapel by their respective authorities,⁵⁹ Traquair stated that here she drew on Browning's definition of life, 'Life's business being just the terrible choice'.⁶⁰

The lunette above the main panel showed an angel teaching a child, 'This is the way, walk ye in it' [Isa. 30:21] [pl. 55a], the medallion below a direct illustration of the text 'He that will come after Me, let him take up his cross and follow Me' [Luke 14:27] [pl. 55b].

The second panel represented, in more detail, the union of human with divine spirits. The five wise virgins, 'each absorbed in her own quiet joy', were received by the pierced hands of Christ to the accompaniment of musician and adoring angels [pl. 56a]. Again Phoebe Traquair drew on the Browning text, 'A Hand made like this Hand shall throw open the gates of new life to thee! See the Christ stand'. Roses and carnations, symbols of the passion of the soul and everlasting life, showered down on the virgins. The medallion below echoed the consummation of human with divine souls with a depiction of the Eucharist, before which a spirit knelt [pl. 56b].

In the abundantly foliated decorative panel above -- the ceiling was not vaulted in this aisle thus releasing a greater amount of wall space -- was placed a panel which bore a closer relationship to her illuminated manuscripts of this date than any other section, and in particular to her *Sonnets from the Portuguese* of 1892, copied in 1896 [G.13, G.19]. It illustrated the text 'Mercy and truth are met together, righteousness and peace have kissed each other' [pl. 57]. Two mortals kissed, observed by two angelic beings. Below, as part of this leafy border, was a further illustration of the mystic union: angels and mortals approached, kneeling,

the Divine Child held by his seated mother, an image previously used in both mural painting and embroidery by Traquair. Surrounding these two companion and complementary scenes a narrow border of created beings -- naively painted lions, peacocks, fish and dragons -- converged below the Christ child.

The third panel in the north aisle devoted to the parable was given to the foolish virgins who, having gone to seek oil, had arrived at the door of the house of the wedding feast to find it closed [Matt. 25:10]: 'Too late, too late, ye cannot enter now' [pl. 58a].⁶¹ As darkness grew they knelt in despair. According to the Traquair family, the artist felt keen sympathy for the foolish virgins. Thus, in a medallion above, an angel wept for them and on the west wall another comforted one of their number [pl. 59a]. Above two angels looked at a small vessel in an allusion to the text 'put Thou my tears into Thy bottle' [Ps. 56:8]. The final panel on the west wall related only in spirit to the parable. A very personal version of *The Light of the World* by Holman Hunt, with whom she had stayed during her return from a second visit to Italy in April and May 1895,⁶² graced a scene showing sleeping foolish virgins who were unaware that outside 'a new dawn is flooding the earth' [pl. 58a]. Elsewhere on this wall Celtic beasts nervously bit foliage and provided a decorative stop to the cycle.

In the flat but sloping beamed roof to the north aisle Traquair used the divisions to introduce a revival of the early seventeenth century Scottish painted ceiling. Above a row of twenty-two angel heads rose bands of stylised foliage, some peopled with Celtic beasts, others with peacocks, birds or further heads [pl. 59b]. The contrast between these airy, designed

details and the densely formulated patterning on the wall below served to emphasise that between heaven and earth, between light and darkness, and the wise and the foolish virgins [pl. 60].

The aisle decorations were completed in late 1897. By that date the scheme had already been announced in *The Magazine of Art* which in the autumn of 1895 had illustrated the completed chancel arch. The review concentrated on the scale of the undertaking and in broad terms, the technique employed which depended on the partial exposure of the white ground to provide highlights. James Caw, writing in *The Art Journal* in 1900, referred to the nigh complete scheme as her *magnum opus*.⁵³ He also commented on the artist's need to conform in the decoration of the arch to certain formalities as laid down by scripture and followed by the Church. The chancel aisles received particular attention in his review as containing 'some of her loveliest work'.⁵⁴ Here the panels given to the parable were 'framed in elaborately-wrought borders, rich in colours and gold, wonderfully inventive in design, and full of massy yet exquisite tracery founded upon natural forms'.⁵⁵ Admiring the roof decoration in the south aisle chapel he declared that

even these yield in interest to the wonderful polychromatic decoration of the sloping roof of the north aisle, with the line of angel faces which forms a frieze on the wall below. This, with other passages in the same part of the church, possesses certain Celtic elements of peculiar interest; for, unlike almost all modern designers touched with Celtic influence, she uses them in no imitative way, and enriches the result by her own deep sense of beauty and originality of observation.⁵⁶

Written at a date when designers and architects in Edinburgh had been searching out the finest samples of past Scottish decorative art for modern

application during the previous decade, it was not surprising that Caw should have particularly concentrated on this section of the scheme.

Regarding Traquair's technique, however, Caw was in part incorrect in stating that she

made no preliminary sketches or designs, but has wrought direct upon the walls, following the promptings of her instinct and mood. She waits until an idea shapes itself in colour and line in her mind's eye, and then transfers it to the walls at once, thus retaining the vividness and freshness of the conception. To one of her temperament, this is indeed the only way. She has discovered that her ardour cools if checked, and has wisely determined to be content with her first clear impression.⁶⁷

Indeed, examples of both sketch designs and full size working cartoons for this decoration [D.11, D.12] and, in the case of the first, for the Song School cycle as well [D.1-8], have been traced which refute this. Detailing, as Caw suggested, may have been the product of direct application ('*premier coup*' execution) but there is no doubt that to obtain vitality of expression, to achieve a coordinated programme and not least to satisfy the church authorities, the decoration had to be carefully planned in outline. Traquair recorded the exasperation of waiting for colour inspiration when she was completing the subsequent decoration of the nave

... I go to the church, mount my scaffolding and sit and groan for light, light of the present or of other days, but all in vain, no light cometh. Colour put on one day is all wrong the next ...⁶⁸

As Caw had suggested, colour, used here to full power, was applied intuitively where possible in order to create a harmonious entity. Combined with a developing simplicity of composition and the use of gilded gesso relief, amounting to six inches deep in places and bevelled on the underside to catch the light, the effect was 'serene yet luxuriant'.⁶⁹

As late as 1900 it was still anticipated that the roof of the nave might be decorated to give the 'nave the homogeneity of effect which it scarcely has at present' and to complete the scheme.⁷⁰ The chancel roof had been covered to her effective delicate and stylised design of tree forms and the heavens [pl.61].⁷¹ Caw summarised the need for a roof decoration

... At present the nave fails of its full effect; the roof decorations, which Mrs Traquair has planned, are required to connect the colour on side walls and gables, and bind the separate parts into one decorative whole, and besides, they are needed to complete the intellectual conception and spiritual purport which have underlain the entire design⁷²

In the following year still no decision had been taken on the question of a nave roof decoration. *The Journal of Decorative Art* referred to it in terms of the total plan conceived by the artist in the 1890s but not yet approved by the church, probably on financial grounds

... the wall spaces to be covered were great in extent, but the work is now all but finished. The roof, to be sure, is still to decorate, and the artist is in hopes that the church authorities will sanction that being done also, in order that a scheme which she had mapped out when she commenced her labours may be fully completed ...⁷³

It is difficult to anticipate how such a painted ceiling would have united the disparate scheme which occupied the north, south and west walls of the nave. The five bays at the triforium level of the north wall were painted with fifteen scenes from the life of Christ [pls. 62-3], and, due to the intrusion of the principal church organ, only twelve panels on the south wall were painted with corresponding scenes of Christ's Old Testament precursors, notably David to whom no fewer than six scenes were given [pls. 64-65a]. The decoration took Traquair almost four years in total to execute, between January 1898 and December 1901. In their pure economy of form and pale colour these have the quality of her book illustrations and

other watercolour designs of the 1900s: in no sense do they visually prepare the worshipper for the vigour of the earlier east decorations.

By mid 1900 the west gable sported a rich triforium frieze in style similar to that occupying the north chancel aisle and set with three medallions of which the main one showed Pentecost [pl. 65b]. Above was painted a Last Judgement [pl. 66] where a light and weakly painted Christ in Glory [pl. 67a] received 'the worship of all creation and dispensing the grace and blessing of Almighty God' amidst embracing angels and souls and a heavenly choir with harps and trumpets [pl. 67b]. The scale of this section lacked the colour and concentration of form seen elsewhere. Embracing figures and angels, drawn on a relatively small scale, were scattered over the earth in a manner derived loosely from Botticelli. For this reason alone a tunnel roof decoration similarly treated would have been a costly mistake in every sense and a detraction from the positive strength of the chancel arch.

Caw in his article drew attention to the Italianate qualities of the mural scheme, already seen in details on the south wall of the Song School cycle. An article in *The Studio* in 1898 developed this progressive characteristic of her work throughout the nineties to draw parallels with actual Italian work. In a short article on Edinburgh work Margaret L Macdonald wrote

... It is not to the North that we look for art opulent with the colour and warmth of the South. For gold, silver and precious stones, garments whose hems run along with dainty embroideries, and paint bright with the freshness of art's springtide, we turn to Florence, to the Riccardi Chapel, or we sit down in front of the Gentile da Fabriano in the Academia, to delight ourselves in the contemplation of perfect setting of jewels, delicacy of traceries, richness of inlaying and of colouring. In the grey cold North it is sombre art that we are led to look for. Therefore, when

in Scotland's capital we turn a corner and find ourselves in the small chapel behind the choir-stalls of the Catholic Apostolic Church in Broughton Street, it is little wonder if we catch our breath at surroundings so rich and so little anticipated. For the whole Chapel scintillates and glows like a jewelled crown. Bright blossoms and foliage inlay upon the gold background their curving spirals of rubied flower and rich, broad leaf. They wreath themselves round the panels, which are a progressive series of pictures, and form a deep-set golden frame to each ...⁷⁴

The *Studio* description concentrated on the chancel aisle mural paintings, recently completed. This sensual description, worded in emotive terminology, was chosen to convey the essence of the 'richness, purity of colour and imaginative picture-subjects, full of delicate imagery'.⁷⁵ The direct relationship of the decoration to the early Renaissance Italian art in both detail and broad concept, the rediscovery of an age of sensitive humanism, was noted in an account which stressed the primary qualities of the mural cycle as integrity and the expression of the emotional life of an individual. If the decoration was derivative it was applied in a way relevant to contemporary thought and usage. Like Rowand Anderson in his 1884 address to Edinburgh University, which had claimed early Renaissance architecture as both the climax of the developments of the Middle Ages and appropriate for modern application, Macdonald also saw this cycle in broadly evolutionary terms

... the fruit of one age is the food of another, and it is with the fruit of the medieval age that this artist has sustained her art. Her work glows with the feeling and colour of the medieval school, yet she has rendered her thoughts in a way that is completely modern ...⁷⁶

In Traquair's Edinburgh mural schemes may be observed not only her increased confidence and technical virtuosity but a growing sensitivity to current thought in the arts. Of this she wrote in 1893, when the Catholic Apostolic church scheme was underway

It is curious to note the change in mental attitude which has, and still is taking place in artistic workers of all kinds, poets, musicians, writers, painters, etc. A few generations ago, all worked as tho' in the presence of courtly things as the human life interest all lay in the flash of jewels, glitter of swords, or stately minuet, rustic life was represented by Dresden shepherdesses and such like ... Art is being given a much higher place. The power of direct insight into the heart of the simplest thing, that is where charm really lies, and it comes strongly near to that wonderful saying 'To thine own self be true' -- you know it, that tireless seeking after the absolutely correct word in order to faithfully express a feeling or impressions ...⁷⁷

Her contribution to the arts in Edinburgh during the nineties, and particularly during the period of the Catholic Apostolic church commission, may thus be seen as the considered product of a desire in the city, first formally voiced at the 1889 congress, to establish closer integration between the decorative arts for a new age of humanism combined with the introduction of a historically-based stylistic purity: a true arts and crafts concept. She herself saw all art as essentially decorative, and espoused the idea of a style suited to current purposes. In early 1892 she described her interest in the work of most periods, not only the largely favoured sources of the Middle Ages of the eighties or the Renaissance of the nineties (and the new century)

I was up at the University today looking at examples of Designings, Greek, Keltic(sic), Gothic, Eastern, Egyptian and so on. The more one studies the History of Art the more one wonders at people talking about 'Decorative Art' as if all art from prehistoric times down to the 16th century was not all *Decorative*, as a rule decoration is subordinate to narrative ...⁷⁸

These were the centuries which occupied her in both spirit and detail, and, as both *The Builder*, in the case of the Song School, and *The Studio* analysed, her work was intentionally modern in concept. In Edinburgh generally the desire to establish a cultural renaissance, particularly in the visual arts, was only to a certain extent the product of Celtic-flavoured romantic

attitude but a positive force which remained largely loyal to the creeds of both Rowand Anderson, and Baldwin Brown and his fellow members of the Edinburgh Social Union.

Chapter Four. Spirits of the Renaissance

The account of the decoration of the Catholic Apostolic church given in *The Journal of Decorative Art* in 1901 paid equal attention to the Italianate elements of the scheme which, in simplicity of style, religious feeling and 'working out in soft and pleasing colours', had 'much in common in their drawing and grouping with the Pre-Raphaelite Italian painters', and to the medium employed by Traquair'. As far as the latter was concerned, it was noted that already the Song School mural scheme had required cleaning under the direction of the artist as 'by smoke from open fires and the fumes of gas the pictures have become very dirty'.² The successful replacement of varnish had found the colours 'as fast and crisp as the day on which they were put on'.³

Traquair's unique painting medium, adopted from the decoration of the Song School onwards and thus including the second mortuary chapel scheme and the Catholic Apostolic church, activated considerable interest in England, more in fact than in Scotland. Caw's account of her work, although published in *The Art Journal* of 1900, devoted only six short lines to it, and offered a rather raw synopsis

Here [the Song Schooll], as her practice was and is, she worked in an oil medium, to which some wax is added, on a thickly laid coat of painter's white, which she usually uses in her lights as a water-colourist does his paper⁴

The Magazine of Art had allocated more space to her medium in its short account of the Song School cycle which began in the vein of Gerard Baldwin

Brown's article on the first mortuary scheme in *The Scottish Art Review* of three years earlier

... There are two kinds of modern mural decoration. In the one kind, the painting is executed on canvas or similar material away from the building to be adorned, and this is afterwards applied to the walls in chosen spots; in the other, the work is actually carried out *a secco* on the walls in oil or in some tempera process. Mrs Traquair has worked throughout upon the walls themselves and has known how to obtain the full advantage from this orthodox procedure ... the technical process employed is one that lends itself to a brightness and delicacy of effect which is the great charm of the work. The walls first receive several coats of creamy-white oil paint over the plaster, and on the well-finished surface thus secured the artist works with oil pigment rendered highly fluid by turps. A rubbing of this, allowed to reach the proper degree of desiccation, is then manipulated with the hand and the rag till texture is obtained, the lights being in every case obtained by luminousness of the white ground and not by body colour. The process is the artist's own, and when locked with a flat varnish the work seems likely to be durable ...⁵

One of the fullest published notes on her technique was printed in *The Builder* as late as 24 January 1913. This was an account of a London lecture by W B Dalton, Principal of the Camberwell School of Arts and Crafts, on *Mural Decoration and its Application*. Following discussion of work by Alfred Stevens, Leighton, Puvis, Madox Brown, Watts and, in Italy, Michelangelo and Raphael, Dalton had concluded his report by advocating the widespread adoption of

a form of mural painting which appeared in quite a remarkable way to overcome the difficulties which had been attendant on other methods, viz. the scheme adopted by Mrs Traquair ... Mrs Traquair's work had existed for a quarter of a century without any sign of change, and he was convinced there was a great future in store for the method ...⁶

Dalton's lecture followed and stemmed from an earlier paper, important in local terms, given by the first director of the Edinburgh College of Art, Frank Morley Fletcher (1866-1949) to the Edinburgh Architectural Association on 8 December 1909, and published in *Royal Institute of British Architects*

Journal in 1910.⁷ Morley Fletcher had been Inspector of Schools of Art in the South and South East Districts of England from 1906 to 1908. Although he was a relative newcomer to the city, his paper both reflected southern attitudes and provided a synopsis of recent and current Edinburgh thinking on the decoration of buildings as a specific response to the art of the Italian Renaissance. He also emphasised the necessity of painting a mural *in situ*, but regarding permanence cautiously concluded by remarking that 'whether the problem is entirely solved will only be decided by time and further experiment, but there seems to be a strong probability that in respect of material and method of work these decorations will prove a most valuable example'.

Permanence, ease of handling, and colour sensitivity were the qualities sought by Phoebe Traquair in a method of mural painting. Her devised medium is worth detailing at this point. A plaster ground was prepared, covered by some four or five successive coats of zinc-white, diluted heavily at first with oil and turpentine. The painting was executed on this dry ground using oil colours in tubes, thinned by a medium of beeswax dissolved in turpentine. Highlights were introduced by wiping with a rag. The varnish used was of a good copal carriage variety: finally a wash of wax and turpentine was applied and polished by hand to a dull eggshell finish. Traquair herself acknowledged also in notes (from which Morley Fletcher drew for his paper), her intention to retain the 'luminosity of the wall surface' in the application of paint and that 'the lights are obtained from the wall itself -- never by loaded paint suggesting an allusion of light unrelated to the wall's surface'. The four or five undercoats of zinc-white, oil and

turpentine were also intended to prevent damp entering the paint from within the wall, which had been the principal problem with the *spirit fresco* method used in Britain by Leighton. There the fluidity of the spirit medium was countered by an unsealed porous wall, with dire results. Unfortunately even Traquair's innovatory method has not provided a prepared surface impervious to wall dampness: two later schemes at Clayworth in Nottinghamshire (1904-5) and Thorney Hill, Hampshire (1920-22) have suffered the same fate as the nave triforium decoration at the Catholic Apostolic church in Edinburgh and, especially in the case of the first, whole sections of original paint surface on the inside of exterior walls have been totally lost.

Morley Fletcher in many ways stated the obvious to an Edinburgh audience: he found in Traquair's work a harmony with the fabric of the architecture thus decorated which was the primary consideration in any mural scheme. For him the common practice of using canvas, painted in the studio, which at times, as in the case of the murals by Puvis de Chavannes for Boston, even denied the artist a sight of their intended location at best must be admitted to be only a convenient makeshift and not a method satisfying in the simplest way the primary conditions of artistic treatment. The canvas is not a durable material under such conditions, and is in its nature foreign to the substance of the walls.

Leighton's decorations of *The Arts of Peace* and *The Arts of War* in the Victoria and Albert Museum had at least used the exposed wall surface, although the permanence of his *spirit fresco* method, protected by a slight wax finish, was in doubt. Morley Fletcher also pointed out that Puvis had employed wax as a protective coating but over oil paint on canvas.

Nonetheless he conceded that at least in tones 'carefully limited in range as well as in power of colour' his decorations on the theme of the life of St Genevieve in the Pantheon in Paris did harmonise successfully with the stone interior, their positive features emphasised by the companion panels by Laurens and Bonnat which respectively 'blot and obscure the stone which one feels to be covered up and hidden under the oil-painted canvas' and in 'terrible realism ... turns the recess in which it is placed into a chamber of horrors'. Yet the use of the canvas support denied Puvis the 'sense of the luminous wall' which could be observed in the Renaissance frescoes in the Vatican from the brush of Raphael.

The 'exquisitely beautiful' and 'cool' frescoes of Italy contrasted with the life and colour of street and town: but in Scotland, with different and inconstant light and city colours, the deepening and more intense tones available in a method using a painted and waxed surface such as Traquair's were deemed more appropriate

so that although our conditions of life and climate may compel us to use a method lacking the lightness and delicacy of Italian fresco, may it not be that when we find our proper technique it shall prove to be one nevertheless of richer power for expression of form and colour, and capable of a strength and beauty that shall correspond to our own northern qualities of ever changing light and its severe contrasts of deep and tender tones?

Thus Scottish and English writers in periodicals ranging from *The Studio* to the *RIBA Journal* over a period of ten years consistently viewed Traquair's work at the Catholic Apostolic church as a modern counterpart to Italian fresco painting. Morley Fletcher, no doubt seeking to make an early and positive mark as first principal of a school of art training launched in a time of supreme optimism, saw her work, as did

Dalton, as a major contribution to the 'development of a school of decoration in Edinburgh' and like speakers to the 1889 congress he called on his architect audience to further its cause

when the signs of life appear in examples of sound experimental work we trust that both welcome and opportunity will be given by the architect members of the body.

Twenty years, however, lay between the papers given by Rowand Anderson, Morris, Geddes and Roscoe Mullins and that of Morley Fletcher. From the above extracts it might not be apparent that during these years a significant series of achievements had occurred in Edinburgh, of both national and international interest and importance which both reflected renaissance ideals and displayed the city's tighter allegiance to current developments elsewhere in Britain.

The suggestion made to the Edinburgh Social Union by Baldwin Brown in 1892 that Phoebe Traquair might decorate the entrance hall of the new Portrait Gallery was one of the earliest proposals relating to the interior of a building scheduled from conception to be decorated externally. Rowand Anderson's sketch designs submitted to the Board of Manufactures in October 1884, predating the Edinburgh congress by five years, specifically included niches for life-size statues of Scottish historical figures to adorn the exterior, of which the last was only installed twenty years later. Nine sculptors were represented. The discussions over details of the sculptured entrance to the building were only completed in late 1891 when William Birnie Rhind submitted his successful designs, of which one group, the Fine Arts, introduced two non-Scots, significantly Dante and Fra Angelico, to represent Poetry and Painting. Helen Smailes has noted that a discarded

proposal from the Trustees would have introduced glass mosaic to the exterior, delicately rejected by Rowand Anderson since

Glass Mosaic is foreign to the nature of Northern Gothic Art. In countries where it was used, it was always surrounded by, or let into, Marble or Alabaster ... Mosaic would never blend or harmonise with the gritty surface of freestone. I am very doubtful if it will resist the humidity of our climate ... the effect of one bit of strong colour on the centre of this long facade would not in my opinion be satisfactory ...²

The use of glass mosaic, already adopted by Gilbert Scott, Anderson's London master, in the Albert Memorial, was considered more sympathetically in relation to the interior entrance hall of the Portrait Gallery where the albeit reduced light of Scotland might provide a version of the spirit of northern Italy in a technique of guaranteed permanence. Mosaic as both a rich interior and exterior decorative finish was particularly fashionable in England in the early- and mid-nineties and was used by neo-Byzantine architects such as J F Bentley (Westminster Cathedral, built 1896-1903), occasionally advocated by arts and crafts architects, for example C Harrison Townsend (the Horniman Museum, 1896-1901). Again, the Creation decoration of the chancel roof of St Paul's Cathedral in the nineties completed an internal decoration of which G F Watts and Alfred Stevens had designed earlier mosaic sections.

The Board of Manufactures decided against the use of mosaic, advocated for the interior by the Marquess of Lothian and for the exterior by the Marquess of Bute, in favour of 'fresco' for the interior. The choice of Edinburgh or Scottish artists prepared to work in the medium and for a government appointed committee was severely limited. Phoebe Traquair, the most experienced mural practitioner, did not seek the commission. Robert

Burns (1869-1941), an artist to play a leading part in art training in the city at both the School of Applied Art and the Edinburgh College of Art, and in 1898 noted by Caw in *The Art Journal* as a mural decorator,⁹ and William Gordon Burn Murdoch (1862-1939) were invited to submit samples of their work for the Board's consideration as late as early 1897. Several years previously, and possibly as early as 1892, the year of the Traquair proposal, Burn Murdoch had conceived a design which in essence lay close to that actually produced for the gallery by William Hole in 1897-98. This frieze of Scottish kings 'on white horses, jogging along in a row, with great men walking beside them on foot',¹⁰ designed but not used to decorate the Castlehill Water reservoir in coloured *sgraffito* as part of a Patrick Geddes improvement scheme for the Old Town, was finally published, in two sizes, plain or coloured, as an educational frieze of characters from Scottish history in 1902. In early 1893 Geddes described Burn Murdoch's design as already partly enlarged by his pupil and will be 130 feet long. As the design has been prepared with historic care and accuracy it is hoped later to publish this in a form suitable for school decoration and in a smaller form as a historic picture book which it may fairly be hoped will be useful in spreading a knowledge in Scottish history ...¹¹

This design was also intended for reuse as the basis for a historical pageant for the proposed Scottish Coronation celebrations in March 1902, which was scheduled to march from King's Stables Road, by way of Princes Street and the North Bridge, to the Lawnmarket and a parade on the Castle Esplanade. Burn Murdoch proposed that Edinburgh artists

should take part and each with his friends carry it out in accordance with one general plan for the whole arrangement of positions and numbers of groups in procession ...¹²

Hole's Portrait Gallery design followed this popular idea, without the use of equestrian figures. Altogether one hundred and fifty-five figures, from the Stone Age to the nineteenth century, processed towards the seated figure of Caledonia. The use of a plain gold background emulated the use of mosaic, and thus satisfied members of the Board of Manufactures.

Burn Murdoch and particularly Hole in their friezes of figures ranked purely by epoch looked not only to the example of the Albert Memorial and more recent English architectural sculpture but to the iconographical examples of Leighton, whose style had also recently inspired William Palin's Italianate and classical painted interior decoration of the McEwan Hall (1892-97), Blake and Crane. As Leonée and Richard Ormond have pointed out, Leighton's *Daphnephoria* (1874-76) in particular had used quotations from classical sculpture.¹³ The most available relevant work by Blake was the engraved tempera painting of *The Canterbury Pilgrims* which was in the Glasgow collection of Sir John Stirling Maxwell. Walter Crane's contributory panel of 'The Procession of the Unknown Monster' to Burne-Jones's decoration on the Cupid and Psyche theme (now with Birmingham Art Gallery) of 1 Palace Green, London for the Hon George Howard, c. 1872-3 had used full length figures in procession. Again, in terms of English decorative art, Heywood Sumner's first essay in the *sgraffito* method of mural decoration, involving incising (white) lines on an area of coloured plaster, had presented a procession of medieval figures, some equestrian, as part of a wall decoration on the theme of *Judith and Holofernes* in the Winchester home of his parents in 1885.

In more local and general terms, Hole's design also related to the processional element in Traquair's Song School decoration. There were of course vital differences. Less didactic, more personal and above all religious in conception, the real and imaginary figures in Traquair's cycle proceeded towards a spiritual goal symbolised in the east wall decoration. Similarly, the three series of scenes representing the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins and events from the lives of Christ and his Old Testament forerunners in the Catholic Apostolic church presented a serialised form of human existence. In Hole's mural the figures proceeded in one direction as a continuous thread through time. The matriarchal figure of Caledonia was clad for battle, but sat, peacefully, with sword now resting and the great book of the past Scottish history closed in her lap: with one hand she held the pen with which to write the future and with the other drew aside revealed a starry sky to represent unknown acts. Above all, Hole's design, as befitted a building erected to provide both a national gallery of portraiture and a national museum, was purely nationalist and rather conservative: no other approach would have been acceptable. It is impossible to imagine a satisfactory Traquair scheme under these imposed conditions.

Hole's dedication to his commission was such that prior to its execution he undertook a tour of France and northern Italy to study historic and contemporary fresco painting in detail. These experiences during the summer of 1897 led him to adopt *spirit fresco* for the processional frieze, first using an application of a layer of wax under a medium distinct from but related to Traquair's method. Hole used colours supported in a mixture of

wax and oil of lavender to achieve durability and rapid drying. However, in a series of seventeen large figural scenes from Scottish history which he also painted on the walls of the first-floor ambulatory in the Gallery -- inspired by Puvis de Chavannes's historic frescoes on the life of St Geneviève -- he used two distinct methods. The first was that adopted for the processional frieze in the hall below. The second, used on all but three ambulatory panels, involved a canvas laid on the wall with white lead, and in this he again took up Puvis's ideas. All were completed by November 1901. The colours adopted by Hole in these were considerably closer to those of Puvis than any previously used in Edinburgh mural painting: the Frenchman's pale but balanced tonality attracted him in his search for a style of painting complementary to architecture but Traquair, while admiring his stylistic manner, found Puvis 'afraid of colour'.¹⁴

At the time of his Portrait Gallery commission Hole was completing the decoration of another Rowand Anderson building, the episcopal Church of St James the Less (built 1885-87) in Inverleith Row. Broadly speaking, the example of both Traquair's Catholic Apostolic church and the Song School which inspired this mural scheme, although aspects from various Traquair decorations proved influential. In 1894, 'asked to advise the managers of the church of which he (Hole) is a member, concerning the adornment of the chancel' *The Magazine of Art* reported in 1897, he 'offered to undertake the work himself'.¹⁵ By the date of this article the 'north wall of the chancel arch and east window' had been completed. The subject selected was the *Te Deum Laudamus* and 'a more beautiful and joyous example of modern ecclesiastical decoration it would be difficult to find in any church in the

land'.¹⁶ *The Art Journal* commented that the church was in course of decoration by Hole,

best known to our readers as one of the most powerful of living etchers. Mr Hole has painted the large walls on either side of the organ with life-size figures in the manner of the Old Italian masters'.¹⁷

The Magazine of Art laid emphasis on the medium employed, 'spirit fresco', and devoted considerably more space to the scheme where

... winged figures of dignified aspect at the junctions of the arches represent the four great archangels -- Gabriel of the Annunciation, the Angel of the Agony bearing a chalice, the Resurrection Angel with a trumpet, and the Angel of Death, whose sickle has gathered not only the 'bearded grain' but the flowerets of youth. On each side of the points of the arches are praising Seraphim, those above the organ chamber having musical instruments ... the colour scheme is harmonious and beautiful, and a telling effect has been secured by the lavish but skilful use of gold, so that when the full light is on the picture it presents the appearance of a lovely piece of mosaic ...¹⁸

A clue to the selection of Hole for the Portrait Gallery commission lies in the latter section of this description. Hole, known for his sensitive portraits in the field of etching and in particular those published in the volume *Quasi Cursores. Portraits of the High Officers and Professors of the University of Edinburgh at its Tercentenary Festival* (1884), would not allow a richness of medium to prevent a straight-forward depiction of a procession of semi-portrait figures. His first excursion into mural painting had revealed him as a dependable illustrator who nonetheless drew on current issues. Above all, he was utilising the approved medium of the 'Italian masters' which had the spirit of mosaic.

The principal guiding influence in both chosen text and compositional detailing at St James's was that of Traquair, and in detail it was her Song School cycle which found an echo at Goldenacre. Predating Traquair's use of

the *Te Deum Laudamus* text in the second mortuary scheme, Hole's decoration nonetheless came close in spirit to her iconography, and like the Song School canticle allowed representations of all manner of beings, earthly and ethereal. As might be expected of a portraitist, he included representations of the present clergy of St James, and also like Traquair persuaded his figures to process to the east. Figures were grouped by individual types -- apostles, martyrs and the Holy Church. Above, angelic beings sang and moved among a heavy lettered text, which, despite the use of richer colour than that later adopted at the Portrait Gallery and of gold, granted the chancel a claustrophobic effect. In a wider field, although in choice of medium there were contrasts between Hole's decoration here and those of the English arts and crafts decorator Heywood Sumner which also belonged to the mid-nineties, the two artists had certain common aims. Both experimented, like Traquair, with mural techniques drawn in essence from historic Italian prototypes; Hole and Sumner were both interested in the effect of mosaic while neither actually adopted it as a medium. The London critic Gleeson White, writing in *The Studio* in 1898, accredited Sumner's *sgraffito* technique to a study of *Morto da Feltri* who had discovered this ancient Roman method during archaeological excavations for the Medici family. The resultant colour-washed walls of a Sumner decorated building illuminated them and were intended to be 'delicate and brilliant at the same time'.¹⁹ Hole, Sumner and Traquair, like Lady Waterford during the previous decades, used figural work to illustrate an inscribed lettered text, and chose related if not common themes for their church decorations. Sumner used the canticle *Benedicite Omnia Opera* for his first complete church decoration at St Mary's Church, Llanvair,

Kilgeddin near Abergavenny, in 1888, the year in which Traquair also selected it for use at the Song School. Both were painted in episcopal church buildings outside England. The style of rendition however differed considerably. The *sgraffito* technique which was first proposed in Scotland by Burn Murdoch for his Castlehill water reservoir decoration, in its simple, flat areas of pure exposed colours, edged in white, lay closer in effect to the field of contemporary printed textile or graphic design. Gleeson White actually labelled Sumner a 'designer' in his article. Yet the canticle served both artists well, with the freedom to select from natural form. Sumner rejected portraiture in favour of simplified representation. A unity of conception and treatment was regarded above all else by these artists as the essential factor in successful decoration. As Gleeson White perceptively noted in this, possibly his last, article, by the late 1890s artists were following Puvis, or Michelangelo and Raphael while 'others felt that the mosaics at Ravenna are infinitely finer, considered solely as decoration, than any of the rest'.²⁰ The choice of treatment was considered immaterial, but success was dependent on a desire to follow through the chosen 'pictorial or decorative invention'. The Edinburgh schemes of Traquair, Hole and Burn Murdoch could be seen to thus comply with current English practice in matters of general approach to mural decoration and, more closely, to specific media.

There was, of course, nothing new in looking to Italy for technical inspiration. Dissatisfaction with oil as a medium had been stated by Blake,

a leading technical innovator, in his 1809 *Descriptive Catalogue*. He wrote that

... oil will not drink or absorb Colour enough to stand the test of very little time and of the Air. It deadens every colour it is mixed with at its first mixture, and in a very little time becomes a yellow mask over all that it touches ... All the genuine old little pictures ... are in fresco and not in oil ...²¹

Referring to easel pictures he noted that 'the art of fresco painting being lost, oil became a fetter to genius and a dungeon to the art ... real gold and silver cannot be used with oil, as they are in all the old pictures...'.

By fresco Blake meant tempera: he experimented with various media primarily for aesthetic effect. Ruskin, on the other hand, viewed tempera as a means of capturing the spirit of a lost age of cultural significance. In *St Mark's Rest*, published between 1877 and 1884, Ruskin wrote that he was 'disposed to think that ultimately tempera will be found the proper material for the greater number of the most delightful subjects'.

In easel paintings there was less concern with the properties of physical permanence in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Allegiance to an authentic medium employed in an age of humanism combined with potential colour brilliance as the main attractions of the use of tempera. Walter Crane's defence of egg-based tempera, quoted in *The Studio* in 1901, lent further support to it

tempera presents no particular difficulties except the quick drying which to some is rather an advantage than otherwise, especially as it favours direct painting; and in tempera-painting one can take up the work at any time, and paint over and add or alter freely, knowing that it will be all of a piece and stays where it dries, without absorption and unequal drying and sinking in of oil. The luminous and brilliant clear and strong effect obtainable is very valuable, especially to painters who value decorative effect and allegorical methods of expression ...²²

The revival of tempera, which centred on the Birmingham Group of Painters and craftsmen, led to the foundation of a national Tempera Society in 1901, supported by the membership of Holman Hunt, Watts and Crane. Inspired and led by the work of Joseph Southall (1861-1945), who had been encouraged in his experiments in the subject in the 1880 by Ruskin and Burne-Jones, in Birmingham a group of some ten artists sought to capture, as Marian Stokes (1855-1927) put it 'spirituality, sincerity and purity of colour'.²³ The aim of the painters was close to that of Hole and Traquair in their later Edinburgh mural schemes. Brilliance and richness -- the tempera painters frequently used gold on gesso as well -- were the principal effects of the medium, which was not destined for use by an impatient artist but a skilled craftsman. Stylistically, however, the products of the Tempera Society artists, who did not include Traquair or Hole, were totally different from Edinburgh work: in Birmingham and London elegant literary figures clad in renaissance dress acted out pretty romances in stylised Morrisian Utopias.

In Edinburgh media experimentation was, generally speaking, a more individual matter. Pictures in tempera only occasionally appeared on exhibition and rarely did Phoebe Traquair use this medium. Only as one of several historical techniques was it taught at the Edinburgh School of Applied Art and, from 1900 at the Heriot-Watt College when Arthur Pillans Laurie (1861-1949), a former student friend at Cambridge of C R Ashbee, son of a former Edinburgh University Professor of Education, and leading chemist, was appointed principal in 1900. His celebrated book on *Processes, Pigments and Vehicles - A Manual for Art Students* had been published in

1895, only four years before the influential translation of *The Book of the Art of Cennino Cennini* by Christiana Jane Herringham (d. 1929) appeared.

One Edinburgh artist followed the lead of the English painters in the use of tempera. Late in life John Duncan recalled his first experience of it in the early years of the new century, and especially his frustrations in its use, in an account which captured the current intense admiration for Renaissance pictures

I was enchanted by the quality of tempera at my first acquaintance with it. The Tempera Society had just been started in London and an occasional tempera appeared at our exhibitions. I can remember a large subject picture by Joseph Southall that was a pure delight to me. The refinement of its drawing, the unity of surface and texture, the clarity of it all, seemed to me to be beyond anything that could be done in oil.

In the National Gallery, the Louvre and the Uffizi I spent anguished and rapturous days searching out always the fifteenth century Italians, Angelico, Piero della Francesca, Baldovinetti.

I attempted to imitate their quality, using yolk of egg as my medium and Cennino Cennini as my guide. I followed out all his instructions, labourous as many of them were. My results always looked thin and chalky and matt, whilst theirs were translucent and fat, 'like cheese' as Reynolds says paint should be. This was my despair. I added varnish, sometimes copal, sometimes mastic, using more and more up to the ultimate I could emulsify with yolk of egg, which was about half and half in bulk. The effect was still meagre and matt and lacking in fusion. I introduced castor oil and wax, one at a time or both together. I tried amber varnish and at another time Canada balsam. When yolk was used alone, and I always returned to it, I regained heart; it has a beautiful quality ... even the pure yolk painting could hardly be done *au premier coup*. If one uses it as a thickish paste, it is liable to crack, and one must build it up carefully ... most of the early Italian pictures were hatched with the point of the brush in lines or dots and I had been brought up to think this a somewhat disgraceful way to paint, only used in our time by amateurs and beginners, the masterly stroke being the only legitimate way to work.

So I stippled and hatched surreptitiously and tried to remove all evidence of it. But the result was a softness and weakness. Only Botticelli could carry it off with the sweeping lines of his enclosing silhouette ...

So I was landed with this problem. The pure egg tempera gave solidity but without fusion. The emulsified medium gave fusion but was lacking in opacity ...²⁴

Duncan's experimentation eventually produced a complex, and like Traquair's, unique, blend of binding vehicle. His emulsion was composed of equal bulks of egg yolk, white or both, and

Venetian Turpentine or Canada Balsam. To harden the Balsam, I have added 10% of sun thickened linseed oil. The emulsion becomes very hard. After one day's drying it is extremely difficult to remove it from a glass palette -- it must be scraped off with a knife. Brushes left unwashed overnight are ruined ...²⁵

The permanence of the medium was emphasised in his paper, together with the 'almost total exclusion of linseed oil which invariably darkens', permitting the painter to 'venture on a fuller range of tone' without fear of further darkening.

Pictorially the work of Duncan, however delicate in detail, was in sharp contrast to that of Traquair or Hole, although all three were literary painters. However, the mural decorations which he executed, with others, for Patrick Geddes during the 1890s were both notable and equally successful.

In place of an antiquarian approach to the renaissance, and despite their individual high concern with using an appropriate technique, in each case it was what these artists saw as the essential spirit of that epoch which inspired them. Gleeson White's view in 1898 that the success of a mural scheme was not dependant on method, but on the total vision of an artist, was a true one, which echoed Bernhard Berenson's study of the *Italian Painters of the Renaissance*, published during the same decade.

The importance of the first editions of Berenson's seminal work, in particular *The Venetian Painters* (1894) and *The Florentine Painters* (1896) to not only collecting and appreciation, but also to to fine and decorative art in Britain and America was inestimable. The positive spirit of

Berenson's preface to the first edition of *The Venetian Painters* stood for contemporary opinion in the arts generally, and recalled the spirit of the writings of both Rowand Anderson and Baldwin Brown

... the Renaissance is even more important typically than historically. Historically it may be looked upon as an age of glory or of shame according to the different views entertained of European events during the past five centuries. But typically it stands for youth, and youth alone -- for intellectual curiosity and energy grasping at the whole of life as material which it hopes to mould to any shape.

Every generation has an innate sympathy with some epoch of the past wherein it seems to find itself foreshadowed. Science has of late revealed and given much, but its revelation and gifts are as nothing to the promise it holds out of constant acquisition and perpetual growth of youth. We ourselves, because of our faith in science and the power of work, are instinctively in sympathy with the Renaissance. Our problems do not seem so easy to solve, our tasks are more difficult because our vision is wider, but the spirit which animates us was anticipated by the spirit of the Renaissance, and more than anticipated. That spirit seems like the small rough model after which ours is being fashioned ...

This spirit appeared elsewhere in Edinburgh. The evolution of Patrick Geddes's relatively low key practical dealings with the Edinburgh Social Union of the eighties into still limited, and often impractical, but higher pitched activities including international summer schools in the nineties, was symptomatic of such an age of optimism. Geddes's extensive and largely unpublished writings, which are now mainly housed in the collections of the National Library of Scotland and Strathclyde University, emphasised his self-promoted vision of the approaching dawn of a cultural renaissance. Yet, like Morris and Ruskin, but unlike Rowand Anderson, he continued to see scientific development as generally a hindrance to progress. In a lecture given in the new Glasgow Corporation Art Galleries on 8 February 1896, which took its title from his publications of 1887 and 1888, *Every Man his own Art*

Critic, he restated his arts and crafts socialist viewpoint, with appropriate local modifications. *The Glasgow Herald* reported that

... the workman knew a good job, knew the properties of metal and stone, colour or clay, and had thus an advantage over the scholar who had only been taught the look of paper and paint. Hence the reason why artists sprang more readily from the working class, artist painter and house painter being members of the same decorative guild... Here the artist was his true leader and emancipator, since his work was nothing if not individual, true technical education thus respecting the worker, not merely the work. And in the reconquest of human individuality it was the painter, not the man of science, still less the politician, who really led ... Hence the rising importance of Glasgow in the world of art as hitherto of industry; beyond technical progress it expressed a moral and spiritual development, a racial revival also, a Celtic Renaissance ...²⁶

In the nineties Geddes saw his principles as applicable to city renewal throughout the world. In practice, however, in this decade again he concentrated on specific areas in which to improve life, the object of which was 'an artistic construction which ends in a synthesis ... the end of life is noble action. Art is my name for noble action ...'²⁷ By his acquisition of a group of buildings in the Lawnmarket, in the heart of Edinburgh's Old Town, between early 1891 and 1895 he believed he was not only preserving the essence of a golden age of Edinburgh's history but leading a

development of the existing elements of a living school of Scottish domestic architecture ... the principle adopted has been to avoid either competition amongst many architects or monopoly by one or two, the plan being to employ as many architects as possible, consistent with the endeavour to preserve artistic unity by giving each an adequate opportunity of designing a really satisfactory work.²⁸

University Hall in Ramsay Garden, modelled in concept on Ashbee's Toynbee Hall in London's East End, and providing essential student accommodation for the university, was but one of twenty buildings or 'masses of buildings' which were designed or remodelled in 1892 alone. Eight architects were involved, among them Henbest Capper and, from 1893, Sydney Mitchell, one of

the foremost and most sensitive arts and crafts practitioners in the city who had designed a supremely romantic Well Court in the Dean Village for John Ritchie Findlay ten years earlier. Mural painting formed an integral feature of Geddes's plan for many of these buildings -- no longer specifically to improve the homes of the poor, but to nourish and educate a largely student population and partly also to train painters:

Preparation for the higher work of the painter has not been forgotten. For several of the old buildings being restored and also for one or more of the new houses being built, designs for decorative panels are being designed. The artist is in each case entrusted with the working out of a unified series of designs, appropriate to the position and usually bearing upon the history of domestic tradition of the house or its neighbourhood. The work of teaching has also begun, each artist being invited to utilise the services of one or more students in the preparation of these. In this way again the living nucleus of an art school is being formed in a method which has been successful at all past periods of importance in the history of art and which is providing an efficient substitute for examination or rewards ...²⁹

This *bottega* system, close in spirit to Ashbee's Guild of Handicraft and undoubtedly the combined influence of that guild and of recent methods of art training witnessed by John Duncan, the Edinburgh school's director, in Germany, was used initially in the decoration of the Geddes buildings. It is of interest to note that another Italophile, the London critic and writer Roger Fry, also supported such a method of art training at a later date: his Omega Workshops (1913-19) reflected his friend Ashbee's concept of a guild workshop but took it in a different direction, with less emphasis than in Edinburgh on proven technical experience and skills. Geddes's art school, named University Hall School of Art for the first two years of its existence from 1892, continued as the Old Edinburgh School of Art, with a studio at

7 Ramsay Lane, for a further five years until Duncan's brief departure for Chicago.

The first report of the School, dated 24 February 1893, stated its objectives

This school is not in competition with any existing school in Edinburgh or elsewhere but has distinct objects of public and educational usefulness. The class to whom it hopes to appeal are students who have already acquired some preliminary training, workmen who have already mastered the essentials of their handicraft, painters and architects who have studied their professions, and it endeavours to organise their efforts upon the city, much as in every city during the Middle Ages, the cathedral and the civic and corporate buildings were the recognised centre of artistic life

Less inspired by the need to provide training in the art professions than the School of Applied Art, founded in the same year, the Old Edinburgh School of Art was an idealistic body, modelled on Renaissance practice and aimed above all to fully develop an artist's ideas as voiced by Riviere at the 1889 congress. In an undated paper on his art school, Geddes stated his personal objection to Rowand Anderson's school in political terms

A much more serious movement is now taking place under a far more natural and effective leader, not a literary man of artistic leanings but one of the most remarkable architects of the age -- Dr Rowand Anderson. Glasgow Central Station, Mount Stuart House, Edinburgh Medical School and Graduation Hall may be named as among the most important recent private and public buildings of Europe since the Renaissance. His new Edinburgh School of Applied Art therefore demands more detailed consideration and more respective summary.

The gain to the Art workmen from organisation under a great architect as compared with the management of the aesthete, much less of the bureaucrat, is obvious enough -- more important is it for our own purpose to note its limitations, which must be those of Dr Anderson's own work since no man can put into others what is not in himself.

See the ornament of the School of Medicine or the decoration of the McEwan Hall -- the first exquisite but still mechanical, the next mechanical if not exquisite. All this still is capitalistic Art. For we must remember that Dr Anderson is not yet master of the capitalist but the capitalist of him (see the list of his employers for these buildings, the Caledonian Railway Co., the Marquis of Bute, Sir William Turner, Mr McEwan and Mr Findlay). The limitation of his art is thus the limitation of theirs, and we see there is still room for another school, in which capital is not

the artist's master but, as far as it goes, lives for and in his service. It is this opening which our Old Edinburgh School of Art attempts to fill ...³⁰

John Duncan, who had met Geddes on his return to his native Dundee following a period of study in Düsseldorf, was a committed European. His account of the school in the Lawnmarket gave a more realistic viewpoint which indicated that perhaps after all there was less difference in some practical aspects between the schools than Geddes would admit:

The essential idea of the School was to do practical work, the students learning their business on the apprenticeship system, while lending a hand wherever they could help. At first this might take on a more mechanical side, enlarging drawings and helping to find material in the libraries, but, by and by, doing a little of the first painting and designing details, borders and ornamental setting and so by degrees the over pronounced individuality and isolation of the modern artist gave way to more social and co-operative ideas and methods. The School worked towards the association of self active and creative artists, believing that it is only so that any great art is possible.³¹

The products of such endeavours, which included mural paintings by Duncan, Mary Hill Burton and Charles Mackie in Geddes's own flat at 14 Ramsay Garden and a series of University Hall decorations at 2 Mound Place (Duncan and Burn Murdoch), St Giles House, 22 St Giles Street (Duncan and Hill Burton, 1895-96), Riddles Court (Burn Murdoch) and Ramsay Lodge (Duncan, Helen Hay, Helen Baxter, Marion Mason, Mackie and Burn Murdoch, 1893-96), were deliberately and self-consciously *avant-garde* in style, and Scots if not Celtic in subject: these ranged from the *Evolution of Pipe Music* to depictions of the ballads of *Sir Patrick Spens* and *The Four Marys*. Colour and pattern emphasis presented with synthesist intensity, were not accidental elements but the result of European influence on Duncan and Mackie in particular. Capper and Mitchell's red roofed and harled reworked

Ramsay Garden, surmounted by a golden spire, created a colour sensation equal to Mary Watts's terracotta mortuary chapel at Compton. *The Studio* remarked in 1897 on this 'bright-hued pile' which had arisen 'on the east slope of the Castle Hill ... shocking ... the devotees of drab'.³² Margaret Armour, writing on *Mural Decoration in Scotland* referred to the unity of the mural decorations in the Geddes flat with the architecture. The 'audacious forms and colour schemes' came close stylistically to work executed in South Germany by such artists as the group *Die Scholle* in intensity of both line and colour. Mackie's broad and sensuous painting also displayed his documented contact with Serusier at Pont-Aven in the early nineties.

Despite the necessary concentration of visible evidence in one small area of the city as part of Geddes's vision of an improved society, and his dislike of the limitations of official art training offered in the city, many of the decorators he employed did not work exclusively for him. Mary Hill Burton, daughter of the Historiographer Royal Dr John Hill Burton, published widely in the field of art design and education, and c. 1897 visited Japan to study developments in colour photography, an account of which appeared in *The Studio* in 1898.³³ Robert Burns, a leading illustrator in Geddes's periodical *The Evergreen*, was not selected to provide Lawnmarket decorations, or did not choose to do so, possibly because of his teaching involvement on Colour for the School of Applied Art. Duncan, and perhaps James Cadenhead, alone appear to have devoted much of their careers in the nineties to the furthering of the Old Edinburgh School of Art and its related decorative activities.

In personal terms Geddes maintained support and friendship with members of Edinburgh town and gown. The town council partly financed his educational experiments in the Lawnmarket and in particular his School of Art until at least 1896. On a personal level, among the first to congratulate him on his purchase of Short's Observatory, to become a living museum of mankind as the Outlook Tower, in February 1891 was John Kirkpatrick (1835-1926), Professor of History in the university from 1881 to 1909.³⁴ Perhaps one of the strongest pieces of evidence of the maintenance of local links in the eighties and the nineties lay in the records of the Franco-Scottish Society, a child of the optimism of the latter decade, of self-conscious Celtic idealism and especially of international educational developments in Scotland and France.

In late 1889 as the result of a number of *fêtes* during the Paris International Exhibition attended by university staff and students, a *comité franco-écossaise* composed of French and Scottish professors, including Geddes (who was part-time Professor of Botany at University College, Dundee, between 1888 and 1919) and Professor Lavissee, was established to discuss closer relations between their universities so that 'students and teachers might more easily participate in the advantages of study at universities other than their own'. Louis Pasteur agreed to chair the meetings of the committee as *président*. A matter of weeks later in January 1890, a more general committee, again chaired by Pasteur, a *comité de Patronage des Etudiants Etrangers* was formed. Paul Melon, to become a leading contributor to Geddes's Edinburgh summer schools, acted as secretary. At this stage, however, the Scottish contribution concentrated on St Andrews University;

in the spring their *senatus academicus* formed a Scots College and Foreign Residence Committee on which Geddes and Edinburgh professors Pettigrew and Seth sat. The committee was established to advise both 'students intending to travel' and 'foreign students coming to Scotland'.³⁵

From such educational links, which helped to forge the idea of summer schools in Geddes's mind, grew the Franco-Scottish Society which held its inaugural meeting in the Sorbonne from 16 to 18 April 1896, although a Scottish gathering had assembled in the early summer of 1895. Founder members included not only professorial staff from universities in both countries but also artists and architects, writers and dilettanti. The broad Scottish membership, with a growing Edinburgh bias, included J J Burnet, Sir George Reid, Gerard Baldwin Brown, Andrew Lang, Geddes, J Martin White and Archibald Stodart Walker. By 1898 new members were Henry Beveridge, Robert Rowand Anderson and Sir Thomas Gibson Carmichael, Bart. (1859-1926). The covers of the reports of the society were illustrated after a drawing by Duncan of *Jeanne d'Arc et sa Garde Ecossaise*, a subject singularly appropriate to the society and one first suggested to Geddes by Lang in November 1895.³⁶ The illustration was moreover a particularly topical one with the declaration of Joan as venerable in 1894.

Crosscurrents in the arts thus existed in a historic city where desire for a cultural rebirth was felt in various quarters. To some extent it was surprising that only one journal specifically devoted to the arts appeared in Edinburgh in the 1890s. A version of Duncan's *Jeanne D'Arc, The Way to Rheims* was published in the *Book of Summer* issue (1896) of *The Evergreen*, whose title, drawn from Allan Ramsay père whose former house, restored,

altered and expanded, formed the nucleus of Geddes's town development, emphasised the inherent concept of evolutionary continuity and growth. Published by Patrick Geddes and Colleagues in four volumes between 1895 and 1897, each entitled after a season, the artwork was dominated by the Old Edinburgh School of Art staff. The text for the first issue was drafted by December 1894, although illustration material was not collated until the following spring. Mackie designed the covers, for machine embossed leather: the first used a plant, *aloe plicatilis*, in a flowing design which Geddes regarded as ideal 'for evolutionary purposes' and which he took 'as an omen that Science and Art are going to be better friends than ever'³⁷ and which anticipated the Viennese artist Alfred Roller's cover for the journal *Ver Sacrum* of three years later.

The contributions to the four issues, of which more were originally planned, were in the fields of scientific evolution, literature, poetry and aesthetics. Illustrations were submitted and accepted by 'outside' artists Hornel, Womrath, Pittendrigh Macgillivray and Burns as well as Duncan, Mackie and his sister Annie, Baxter, Effie Ramsay, and Cadenhead who was second in command at the School studio in Ramsay Lane. In London critics sought to equate the illustration and cover designs of the Geddes published products, which included almost ten books on Scottish lore and poetry, and several volumes from the pen of 'Fiona Macleod', with the modern stylisation of the Beardsley school, an attribute strongly denied by Geddes's colleague Victor Branford. In a letter of c. 1896 he referred to Beardley's

manipulation of *mass* instead of *line* ... as a fact the two artists -- John Duncan and Robert Burns -- who have been most accused of Beardsleyism are

that of the opposite pole of artistic idealism from that of Mr Beardsley, and the accusations have caused these two artists much personal pain.^{3a}

That such an acute observation should have been made, however, only served to emphasise the essentially contemporary spirit of much of *The Evergreen* material.

The illustrations were selected and arranged by an artists' committee. Phoebe Traquair was suggested by James Cadenhead as a possible, and early, contributor to *The Book of Autumn* in June 1895.³⁹ It was not surprising that her work did not appear. Not only stylistically but conceptually was her painting and illustrative work totally distinct from that of the *Evergreen* artists. Her monochromatic published illustrations of the early nineties had retained much of the density of the earlier *Children's Guide* illustrations; during this decade, as will be seen in the next chapter, it was in the field of illumination that she introduced a new breadth of both pattern and colour, to page design. A journal whose closest cousins in terms of style were not *The Yellow Book* but the *Berlin Pan* (1895-99) and the Viennese *Ver Sacrum* (published 1898-1903) held no appeal for her. Furthermore, the idea of being a member of a team of artists led by an equally strong character in Duncan, however many shared interests they had during these years, would not attract her. As might be expected, it was *The Evergreen*, essentially more *avant-grade* in the linear economy of its illustrations than Traquair's work, which was selected by Crane to represent Edinburgh graphic work in his 1896 survey of book illustration. Burns and Duncan were singled out there as 'black and white designers of force and

character' who distinguished themselves 'for decorative treatment, in which one may see the influences of much fresh inspiration from nature'.⁴⁰

A scion of the Edinburgh Social Union activities of the previous decade, this remarkable synthesis of the arts in the Lawnmarket, which briefly with outside assistance established links at home and abroad, had almost burnt itself out by the early 1900s. Such romantic gestures as the Pan-Celtic congress of 1907 or the ambitious theatrical presentation, *The Masque of Learning*, in 1912 could not rekindle the initial burning spirit of this single Edinburgh movement. Activities had grown more introverted latterly, with little practical application beyond boundaries both stylistic and physical. But seen in the wider context of the whole city, Geddes may be viewed as having developed, in one international direction, a widespread concern with the approaching dawn of a new century and an age of optimism and experimentation. The structure of the future was founded in various sectors on specific new forms of art training and a desire for closer integration in the arts. Both sociological distinctions and method theoretically held these city factions apart. Rowand Anderson and Geddes were equally concerned with building on the foundations of past Scottish art: one on a more practical basis was responsible for the establishment of an industry-linked arts and crafts School, the other for an equally keen, but more short-lived, romantic vision. These, however strong, were only two aspects of Edinburgh arts and crafts in the nineties. As in other cities there were a number of individuals who had their feet in both camps, and also outsiders who were also supportive of the visual arts and indeed to

arts and crafts principles, but whose primary vocations and allegiances lay in other practical directions.

Chapter Five. 'Books beautiful or sublime'

During the last two decades of the nineteenth century, partly as the result of the continuing popular influence of Ruskin, the poetry of Browning and Rossetti, and increased scholarship, Italy attracted ever-increasing numbers of British visitors including artists and collectors. In Britain as a whole the visible results of such visits were seen in an interest in Renaissance painting techniques and styles, which particularly in the area of sculpture introduced an Italian figure type, epitomised in the sensuous style and materials of the work of Alfred Gilbert and George Frampton. These sculptors of the new age saw in the Italian Renaissance a freedom of individual thought and action to be emulated in the 1890s. Gilbert's debt to Donatello stemmed from a visit to Florence and acquaintance of his work at first hand, with what Gilbert called 'absolute independence and freedom of thought', truth to nature and the 'expression of an artist's individuality'.¹ Another English sculptor, Frederick Pomeroy, advocated the study of Florentine sculpture where, by the fifteenth century, the sculptor had grasped 'something more than the religion of beauty' and strove to produce not only ideas beautiful to behold but 'beautiful thoughts, true types of character, earnest definition of mental qualities ... he learned to give that true appearance of form, its charms and dignity, and likewise to preserve the thousand accidental graces of real human beings'.² The names of the masters of the Renaissance called up 'sweet visions of grace and beauty'.³ In book illustration also the influence of Italy was felt. Walter Crane

noted in 1896 that Italian Renaissance work printed in Venice and Florence was receiving reappraisal in both Britain and Italy itself, where renewed interest in it had given birth to a movement which drew stylistically on both national and international productions. In British sculpture, painting, illustration and decorative arts stylistic purity combined with technical virtuosity and honesty as mutual attractions of that apogee of human culture.

The appeal of Italy to Edinburgh artists, architects, scholars and dilettanti had a long history. Scots scholars had traditionally visited France, the Low Countries, Germany and Italy. Particularly since the eighteenth century was the pilgrimage to Italy a popular one, but in the age of the Grand Tour it was primarily Rome rather than Florence or Venice which beckoned. With more widespread appreciation of the arts, and easier travelling facilities, the northern cities received a greater number of Scots visitors in the last decades of the nineteenth century. In the spring of 1887, for example, John Miller Gray visited Rome, Florence and Venice in the company of W D Mackay. Like that of Gray to Italy, the visits abroad of Robert Lorimer not to Italy but to Paris, Amiens and Laon with his brother John Henry in 1896, and to Holland (1898) and Belgium and Germany (1900) and Paris (1902) with William Burrell were both study tours and opportunities for the purchase of decorative art. But frequently the visits of scholars and practising artists were simply opportunities to experience and digest visual aspects of a past age. Lorimer noted with disapproval that his architect friend Frank Deas, previously noted for his founding work and commitment to the Edinburgh Social Union, never made a sketch on his annual visits to Italy during the nineties:

... I'm as keen on 'impressions' and on the 'emotional' side as anyone -- but you can't have this kind of thing for breakfast, dinner and supper ... a man who goes to Italy three years running for 6 weeks at a stretch and never makes a sketch for fear it would spoil the impression etc., etc. Well, don't tell me this man can ever be a productive artist ...⁴

Another collector, Sir Thomas Gibson Carmichael, Bart., later to play a leading role in Edinburgh arts and crafts activities, was perhaps the leading Italophile in Edinburgh, visiting the country regularly from 1881-82. The inestimable importance of Carmichael's extensive art collection and library, partly inherited but largely purchased through dealers in London and Italy, to the arts and crafts movement in the city, and to Phoebe Traquair, will be assessed in this and the following chapters.

Phoebe Traquair's experience of Italian art was, at first, a romantic one, viewed through the eyes of Ruskin, Browning and Rossetti. By direct reading, and through the translations by (and paintings of) Rossetti, she became acquainted with the poetry of Dante. Rossetti's publications on Dante, following those of his father between 1820 and 1842, had included sensitive translations of *La Vita Nuova* (1848) and a considerable number of sonnets, published, with other poems by Dante and others, in 1861 with financial support from Ruskin as *The Early Italian Poets*. In Dante's poems Traquair saw not only the romance of the Middle Ages, but an allegory of the spirit, and a commentary on life itself. It was this approach to the poet which she shared with a leading Edinburgh clergyman, Alexander Whyte (1837-1921). Since his appointment in 1870 as a colleague of, and successor four years later to, Dr Robert Candlish to St George's Free Church, Shandwick Place, Whyte had become increasingly involved in philanthropic work in the city. His church was actively dedicated to the Home Mission in the nearby

Fountainbridge district from the early 1870s, a decade before the involvement of the Social Union in the area. At 'Free St George's' his courses of lectures to the Young Men's Class (where his students included J M Barrie⁵) and Young Women's Class, alongside bible classes and the Young Men's Fellowship Meetings were largely given to readings and lectures on Dante and other subjects regarded as having a wider appeal than scripture itself. Whyte had begun to lecture on the poet while an assistant at St John's Free Church in Glasgow between 1866 and 1870. In the 1870s he particularly sought to widen the outlook of the Free Church by such an intellectual approach.

By 1874 a series of Whyte lectures gave a general survey, an appreciation and separate expositions of the *Inferno*, the *Purgatorio* and the *Paradiso*. One of the most considered series of lectures on Dante was given by Whyte during the winter of 1876-77 to the Philosophical Institution of Edinburgh. During the eighties and especially the early nineties the pursuit of Dante in Edinburgh intensified. One member of a course delivered to the Young Women's Class recalled Whyte's teaching, which was accompanied by rigorous examination:

... most memorable of all, perhaps, the great Dante studies brought a wonderful insight into the mysteries of the *Commedia*, and our teacher led us where we learned that Hell is not only the future state of punishment for sin, but is sin itself, and its evil consequences here and now; and that Purgatory stands for the undoing of the effects of sin in this life, and formation of habits of virtue and the practice of holiness which shall be consummated in the Beatific Vision of the Paradise.⁶

Whyte's classes, dwelling on Biblical symbolism, were not an isolated treatment of a subject 'with wider appeal' than many texts. In 1898, six years after Whyte's series on the *Commedia* open to all, it was proposed to

hold an Old Edinburgh School of Art course on Dante on Thursday afternoons, presumably in response to the demands of the leisured middle-class ladies of the city. As a poet Dante combined the romance of the middle ages in which he lived with what could be seen, with hindsight, as humanist truth, anticipating the spirit of the Renaissance. The attraction of his work thus appealed to a wide audience and notably those with a broad interest in European culture of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. It has already been noted that in 1891 figures representing Dante and Fra Angelico were selected to represent Poetry and Painting on the sculptured group of the Fine Arts on the entrance facade of the new Portrait Gallery. Sir Thomas Gibson Carmichael was remembered as a Dante devotee in the eighties and nineties by his widow:

... scarcely a day passed ... that he did not read something by Dante, and Dante editions figured prominently among the books which he was now collecting in ever-increasing numbers ...⁷

These included Landino's *Divina Commedia*, first edition (1461) with Botticelli illustrations, and the 1472 *editio princeps* of the *Commedia* and the Mantua edition.⁸

Undoubtedly Dante held particular meaning for those who, like the Carmichaels, knew Italy and Florence intimately. Alexander Whyte visited Italy in the company of his wife in 1885. Four years later they returned, with Phoebe Traquair, to Florence. This, the first of two known visits to Italy by Traquair, was, in the words of Whyte's nephew and biographer, George Barbour, a revelation to the artist:

To one of her sensitive insight, the work of the early Tuscan painters and sculptors, which she now saw for the first time, came as a true revelation; and her companions found their appreciation heightened by her enthusiasm.⁹

From this date, early 1889, stemmed her most obvious interest in the techniques of mural practice and in the work of Botticelli, Fra Angelico and, for colour, the nineteenth century painter, Monticelli. The Song School decorations, newly underway, first revealed the interest in Botticelli, as noted, on the south wall. Italianate *putti* were also placed beside the windows of the north wall. The spirit of his *Primavera* again entered the decoration of the Catholic Apostolic church on the west wall but above all the south chancel aisle (1895) following her second visit to Florence that April. Delicacy and clarity, simplicity and richness -- all drew on her experience of Italian masters, in particular Fra Angelico, who she believed, as had both the Nazarene painters and the Pre-Raphaelites, stood alone among the early Renaissance painters in terms of colour. Following Ruskin's appreciation of the Italian whose

entirely spiritual mind, wholly versed in the heavenly world and incapable of conceiving any wickedness or vileness whatsoever^a

she wrote that

his colour really belongs to the lyric but it is so purely spiritual I can't compare him, unless it be to spring flowers, or boys' voices, or birds. The human note is not so strong except in one small easel picture of his called 'The Golden Stair' when he rejoices in colour almost as passionately as Monticelli ...'

In painting one other example of the influence of the spirit of Botticelli's *Primavera* is worth citing here. In August 1897 Traquair executed an oil panel above the fireplace in John Henry Lorimer's drawingroom at Kellie Castle, near Pittenweem, the home of his parents [B.5: pl. 681]. The Castle was undergoing restoration under the direction of Robert Lorimer, for Professor Emeritus James Lorimer. The proposal to

recruit Traquair to paint the panel had been proposed by John Henry in January. He was prepared to pay her one hundred pounds for it.¹² The subject was still undecided in May.¹³ In July Phoebe Traquair spent a night with the Lorimers and declared that she intended 'on her panel a procession of girls following a wee Cupid, a high horizon line and tree stems going up high against the sky and flowers *poudré* all over'.¹⁴ The direct relationship to the figure of *Summer* (1892) in the Song School, the first panel of her recent *Parable of the Ten Virgins* in the Catholic Apostolic church and to *Primavera* itself was obvious but the sweetness of approach here was particularly appropriate to a room where ceiling, cornice and walls were all washed in the white of arts and crafts.¹⁵

The sole precedents in Traquair's work for such a domestic decoration were two panels for Aberlour House, Banffshire (1892-93) for John Ritchie Findlay [B.2, B.3], and one panel for Burnthwaite (1893-94), near Bolton, the home of her brother William [B.4]. Panels were painted during the following decade for Robert Lorimer and the Tennant family [B.6, B.8]. Like the Kellie Castle decoration, the Aberlour and Burnthwaite panels are now covered over, but as at Kellie the Aberlour ceiling painting was photographed shortly after completion. All were painted for drawingrooms. The first Aberlour panel, executed between August and December 1892 for the ceiling of the drawingroom was more akin to a *trompe l'oeil* Venetian piece than a Florentine work [pl. 69a]. It showed the branches of a tree from which Findlay's three daughters and *putti* looked down. The companion wall 'long panel' depicted 'slightly older figures lying fast asleep in a sleepy world, on the ground showing only the lower part of the trunks of trees with dark

rich colour'.¹⁶ The ceiling panel was subsequently covered by a heavily coffered ceiling, installed by Findlay, according to a rumour still circulating at Aberlour, when none of his daughters succeeded in landing a suitable husband.¹⁷ The Burnthwaite panel is unrecorded in detail.

The sultry richness of these decorations contrasted with her recent and current graphic work. Discussions on Dante in Florence in 1889 had led to a proposal by Dr Whyte that she illustrate a volume of poems by the Italian,¹⁸ with a frontispiece devoted to the meeting of Dante and Beatrice (*Purgatorio*, Canto XXX), to which would be added notes on the chronology of the *Commedia* and on Dante's library by Dr John Sutherland Black, a fellow theologian known to Whyte since student days at New College.¹⁹ The volume, originally planned for publication in the autumn of 1889, appeared in late 1890 [H.4]. Initially proposed for use in Whyte's classes on Dante (attended by Traquair in the spring of 1890²⁰), the privately printed volume enjoyed a wide circulation throughout the nineties.

Traquair's approach to the Dante volume, intended for classwork, was deliberately simple. In February 1891 she gave her reason for this in a letter to her nephew

... So you liked the 'Dante'. You see I adopted the diagrammatic manner on purpose, it being necessary in a set of consecutive drawings meant to guide the reader, and not to confuse him by pictures suggested by Dante which is quite a different matter, but I think to simply follow Dante and let the poet suggest his own pictures is best ...²¹

Her attempts to follow 'Dante's clear, keen sight'²² came closer in scale of composition at least to the serial illustrations drawn by Botticelli, the original drawings now divided between the Vatican and Berlin (purchased in the case of the latter from the Hamilton Palace collection in 1882), than the

full-blooded pictorial romantic vision of Flaxman. In her pages tiny figures acted out the *Commedia* in a manner still closer to medieval manuscripts. In the frontispiece and cover illustrations, however, she gave a more personal interpretation to the text. In the frontispiece Dante bowed before Beatrice, surrounded by angels [pl. 70b]. Between them carnations tumbled down, *poudré* style, over patterned waters. The simple intensity of pattern and composition related to the second panel of her embroidery *The Salvation of Mankind*, worked between 1889 and 1891, and anticipated her manuscript illuminations of the late nineties. The cover illustration was more inventive and dramatic but less successful [pl. 70a]. Beatrice appeared against a flaming sun to Dante and Virgil who looked to her across the fire of Purgatory. Below the title flowers *semé* filled the remaining available space, and were taken up by the printers, T & A Constable, in their stylised design for the endpapers.

Traquair became involved in illustration and designs for other publications initiated by Whyte in the nineties. The success of the *Dante Illustrations and Notes*, combined with her previous illustrated work for Balsillie, led to commissions for frontispieces for Bunyan's *Holy War* [H.7] and *The Pilgrim's Progress* [H.6]. The first of these, depicting *The Marvellous City of Mansoul* [pl. 71a], was drawn in October 1893 and published during the following year. The other, *Now, upon the bank of the river on the other side, they saw the two shining men again, who waited for them* [pl. 71b], was executed in the spring of 1894 and published in that year. Both, as published in Edinburgh by Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier,²³ displayed a strength of vision and design, the first in particular presenting

a powerful dreamlike image. There was in both a new concentrated vigour and a resolution of the awkward tentative style of illustrations prepared for *The Children's Guide* of four years earlier. The same publisher adapted commissioned drawings by her for the covers of Whyte's studies of *Santa Teresa* (1898) [H.9], *Father John of the Greek Church* (1898) [H.10] and *Newman, An Appreciation in Two Lectures* (1901) [H.12]; these concentrated strong linear designs which were respectively symbolic, illustrative and descriptive in character.

Her friendship with the Whyte family lasted thirty years. In July 1894 the Whytes, Phoebe Traquair and Dr Sutherland Black were among a party which travelled to the Bayreuth Festival specifically to hear *Parsifal*. *En route* they visited the home of Thomas à Kempis at Gorlitz, but the home of Jacob Boehm -- a philosopher read and admired by both John Miller Gray and Whyte -- was found too distant to reach. Wagner, for Traquair, was 'the greatest we have yet seen .. he belongs to the *Dante* class, not the Shakespeare ...'²⁴ The theme of the opera *Parsifal*, seen by the party on 20 July and again on 23 July (accompanied suitably by *Lohengrin* on 21 July), a religious allegory of redemption and of the process of purification of the soul by suffering, was one of deep attraction for both Whyte and Traquair. She wrote to Willie Moss in September:

... I don't think I have ever told you how I had been to Bayreuth to hear Wagner's *Parsifal*. I had always heard it was very grand but never dreamed, in the remotest degree of what it really is. A true drama of a soul's development, impossible to divide the music from the idea, it is a thing for all time, for each individual soul passes through much the same experiences, modified it may be by circumstances, so everyone that hears *Parsifal* feels it to be a personal thing. The unconscious living, the awakening, knowledge of good and evil, the struggle, defence against evil, despair, escape from self perception of beauty, forgiveness of evil, birth of the new life, there one traces each step through much pain, and wanderings; till all is lost for

ever, in a glorious harmony, which wraps you round, and round, and you grope your way out, dizzy and blind, but feeling your dreams have been realised, and it for you to go and in however small a way do likewise ...²⁵

In this letter she espoused the concept of the totality and singular purpose of life, of which the arts, in their various forms, could express and develop emotional aspects. In this Dante and Wagner were seen as the supreme exponents, but during the nineties she also turned to the work of the English poets. In the mid- and late-eighties her principal stylistic mentor had been Blake. In September 1889 she gave a copy of his *Songs of Experience* to her sister Amelia.²⁶ The introduction of a portrait of Blake into the mortuary chapel decoration, and especially the Song School cycle had been followed in the latter by those of Tennyson, Browning and Rossetti on the south wall. It was the writings of these poets -- together with Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Morris, Dante and Spenser -- which she selected to illustrate in the nineties. Their words demanded the strength and density of the colours of manuscript illumination which allowed text and illustration to unite in one spirit.

Her illumination of these poets began in earnest in 1892. Prior to this date she completed her illumination of the *Psalms*, probably begun in 1884 [G.3]. The later *Psalms* on stylistic grounds may be dated to the years 1888 and 1889. A total assimilation of text and imagery was realised, some instances of which such as Psalm XVI (fols. 21, 22) prefigured mural decoration or the tender scenes in the artist's enamelwork [pl. 72]. Confidence in technique and expression resulted in a number of extraordinarily rich pages such as Psalm XXXII (fol. 47) [pl. 73] with its massed Celtic patterning. Elsewhere, as in *Improvisations* and subsequent

manuscripts, tiny head portraits were introduced: Psalm XXIII (fol. 34) showed Carlyle, and Psalm XII (fol. 17) Dante [pl. 74a].

In early 1890 she received a commission to illuminate the dedicatory page of an album to be presented to Louis Pasteur by 'friends and admirers in the British Empire and America' as 'a token of respect and gratitude for his great services to Science and in the alleviations of Human and Animal Suffering' [G.9]. Despite Pasteur's personal association with Scotland, noted above, and in particular Edinburgh whose university had granted him an honorary doctorate in person on 17 April 1884, the commission did not come to her, as far as is known, through Geddes or Baldwin Brown, but possibly arose through her husband's professional connections with the university. Eighty-four pages were filled with the signatures of English-speaking scientists. Her dedicatory page, written and illuminated in April 1890 [pl. 74b], used the established British formula for addresses: a series, here of three, of historiated initials (or miniature paintings) across the top of the page -- but, unusually, without a portrait of Pasteur -- and, below, a lettered dedication, with, at the foot of the page, another and more elaborate miniature painting. As a formula it was to be repeated again in elaborated form eleven years later in an address [G.29: pl. 75] to mark the retirement of Professor Peter Guthrie Tait from the chair of Natural Philosophy at Edinburgh University, and presumably also in the dedicatory page of an address worked in 1897-98 [G.26] and presented to Alexander Whyte in 1900 by members of his Young Men's Class,²⁷ and another presented to the Member of Parliament William O'Brien in 1898 [G.25], both of which are now lost.

In 1890 Traquair sought to illustrate not only Dante but Spenser. The miniature which decorated the foot of the Pasteur page not only redisplayed the tormented tension of her earliest known illumination, *The Choice* (1883) [pl. 7] but showed an armoured figure of Science overcoming the dragonsque beast of Suffering, who heavily resembled the Red Cross Knight and his Dragon, an appropriate visual metaphor considering the nationalities of the ascribing scientists. One month later, in May 1890, she was decorating a wooden cabinet [B.11], now lost, with seven panels 'in which I am trying to get in Spenser story of the Red Cross Knight'.²⁸ This cabinet may have followed the type designed by Philip Webb as part of the green diningroom for Cole's South Kensington Museum in 1866-67. Spenser provided for her the closest British poetic analogy to Wagner in terms of a colourful, symbolic and epic voyage towards truth where good finally triumphed over evil. The adventures of the Red Cross Knight of Holiness, a subject popular with the arts and crafts movement and in particular adopted by Crane from as early as the late 1860s until the new century, appeared in her later work in a variety of media from embroidery to enamelwork.

Of the poems of Rossetti the two she selected to illuminate in the nineties were *The Blessed Damozel* and the long sonnet sequence *The House of Life*. Both were works brimming over with passionate and spiritual phrases and ideas. *The House of Life* was seen, perhaps, as a modern counterpart to *La Vita Nuova*, an epic poem dedicated to Rossetti's Beatrice, Elizabeth Siddal. In 1890 she wrote and illuminated the text of the sonnet *Willowwood* [G.10: pls. 76, 77], repeated in 1900 as part of the complete *House of Life* (1898-1902) [G.27]. Already in 1890 her manuscript displayed a considerable

advance both technically and compositionally over *Improvisations from the Spirit* of three years earlier.

The sonnet introduced many elements reused in the large scale illuminations of the later 1890s. Illustration and text, of equal importance, sat happily together, linked by a vigorous semi-foliated border, similar to that of the Pasteur manuscript, which ran from historiated initial to illustration. In the third and fourth stanzas [pl. 77] a lighter approach produced, respectively, a delicate flutter of tiny gold leaves, closer in spirit to French manuscripts of the late fourteenth century, and Blakean souls within flames which leapt round the lower right edge of text. In the third stanza the tiny scenes which lay between lines of text also looked back to her *Alma Matres* of 1887. Generally speaking, however, the illumination was a work of the nineties. The exquisite patterning of water and trees, the introduction of *parallelism* in the two figures in stanza three and the dawn sky all looked forward to later work. The hooded figures of the 'dumb throng that stood aloof, one form by every tree', deriving iconographically from Flaxman's *Illustrations to Dante's Inferno* of a century earlier, were to be seen in later work, and most notably in the *Willowwood* panel decorating the keyboard panel of the Lympne Castle piano of 1909-10 [B.10, D.41].

The *Willowwood* pages also had elements in common with the earliest large scale manuscript known to have been commissioned from her. Sir Henry Hardinge Cunyngghame KCB (1848-1935), civil servant, inventor and craftsman, one of whose subsequent books on enamelling was dedicated to William Holman

Hunt 'as a tribute to his Genius and a Memento of a friendship extending over many years',²⁹ had commissioned an illuminated copy of Tennyson's *In Memoriam* by late 1890 [G.11, J.3]. The first reference in surviving Traquair letters to the manuscript is however dated February 1891.³⁰ Possibly initially recommended by Ruskin, Traquair was to receive artistic support from Cunynghame in both the 1890s, when he wrote in support of the retention of the first mortuary decoration, and the early 1900s when she was described in his second book on enamelling as 'Mrs Traquair, the renowned illuminator and designer'.³¹

The Cunynghame manuscript, now lost, is known only through the preservation of three collotype copies of forty-three selected pages bound in the early ~~and later~~ nineties [J.4-6]. One of these was bound in 1893 for her brother William [J.4]. The original manuscript numbered ninety pages,³² and was illuminated between 1890 and 1892. Like *Willowwood* the text was frequently contained within semi-foliated borders of lush decoration. The page was dominated by an elaborate historiated initial or a decorative scene which accentuated the emotion conveyed by the written text, rather than providing a direct illustration. On some pages small figures entered between or were placed beside lines of text: some were close in spirit, again to Blake. These included the title page, stanzas XXII, XXIII and 131 (the numbering of the stanzas curiously changed from Roman to Arabic numerals in 1891), which looked to Blake's own title page for *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (c.1790-93) and his illustration to Dante's *Commedia* (*The Inscription over the Gate of Hell*) respectively. As in *The Dream*, fol. 8, stanza LIV (1892) reused Blake's four angels from *The Morning Stars sang Together*

(*The Book of Job*, c. 1821, plate 14), again with the four beasts at their feet, who sang 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts'. The decoration of this page was executed almost simultaneously with the decoration of the west wall of the Song School. An angel with lute, again derived directly from her own manuscript, fol. 5, of 1887, appeared in stanza XXXVII (1891). Yet, despite the adaptation and reuse of imagery to promote specific emotions, the manuscript presented a totality of conception alongside a pronounced development from religious to equally personal but broadly spiritual interpretations of the text which brought together aspects of her illuminations of the eighties and nineties. Delicacy and strength alternated or combined in an illumination style which delighted increasingly in lines of flowing forms introduced in late 1890 and early 1891, perhaps above all in the Arthur stanzas (IX) which anticipated enamels of seventeen years later.

Nonetheless the manuscript displayed through its leaves an increasing confidence in illustration design, from the serial imagery of the early page medallions to the concentration on single images where despair or joy were personified as in Blake as crouching or extended figures. The binding of 1893 on her brother's collotype copy of the manuscript copied decorative figural elements from the manuscript, as probably also did the manuscript cover. They represented Traquair's first attempts at uncoloured embossed covers which related directly to the manuscript contents and provided an intermediate step between the early coloured and tooled leathers of the late eighties and the vigorous designs of five years later. In these two bindings of 1893 pigskin was embossed by Traquair with a design which used

personal details of coats of arms on the reverse and with her own initials and the date of binding. In her brother's binding the obverse reused the figural design of stanza XXIII of the manuscript, and above and below two friezes of figures and beasts in combat and procession. Two silver clasps to hold shut the book, also dated 1893, depicting monstrous heads were worked by J M Talbot to her designs. These were the first instances of their collaboration.

As in the pages of the earlier *Psalms of David* it is possible to chart the emergence of a resolved iconography and style of decoration, which frequently made use of a single illustration. In this the sequel to *In Memoriam* was a manuscript given to the *Sonnets from the Portuguese* by Elizabeth Barrett Browning. written and illuminated between 1892 and 1897 for her brother [G.131]. This was the manuscript which, newly completed, in part illustrated the article in *The Studio, Special Winter Number* in 1897 and which more than any other secured a place for Phoebe Traquair as a leading British arts and crafts worker, rather than simply a mural decorator. In *Beautiful Modern Manuscripts* Margaret Armour placed contemporary exponents of the craft of illumination in a historical perspective, and described illumination as an art of ancient lineage combining purity of expression with concentration of form and colour. The two illuminators singled out for treatment as 'pre-eminent among contemporary workers' were Traquair and Edmond Reuter of Geneva.³³ Armour perspectively noted that this manuscript was largely illustrative rather than purely decorative, 'resembling in this the Italian School' although in emotional intensity Traquair was considered an adherent of the French school of illumination.

Coming in the wake of Morris's purely historical article, *Some Notes on the Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages*,³⁴ the appeal of a craftsman or craftswoman wholly dedicated to the art for its own sake (and not as a revivalist form of art) to the writer was obvious. Furthermore she secured for *The Studio* a rare interview with Traquair in which her views on both the purpose and pleasures of the art of illuminating were recorded. These are worthy of quotation at some length, as not only did they give an account of Traquair's own approach to her design and craft -- including specific details noted above -- but they also provided, latterly, a definition, however personal, of decorative art in the nineties:

Purple and gold are delightful things to play with. Add to this a love of books, and a great desire to project feelings or emotions, and a consciousness that direct transcript from nature did not relieve me of the burden of feeling which for the moment was master ... the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries have always appealed to me most in illuminated work, as truest and more vital in feeling, more restrained in execution, the essential unerringly seized, the non-essential rejected, line and colour used with greater delight in the inherent beauty of each (line as line, colour as colour), and a deeper insight into the capacity of line and colour to convey emotion, quite apart from the subject represented ... thus the little beasts and dragons and grotesques are always beautiful and expressive in line colour. Indeed, the law of beauty in its wide sense, and absolute harmony of parts, forming a complete whole, governs this mode of expression. In this there seems to me to be a resemblance in the good work of the period to the Greek work of the Elgin marbles. As a child these had a never failing charm -- more than charm for me, which I think I now recognise to be in this (for want of a better word) *musical* quality: the repeated line as seen in the processions of youths and maidens in the *Theseus*, when the drapery under the left arm repeats with exquisite insistence the curve of the figure. The same echoing of line is strongly felt in the group of *The Fates* -- again the choice of line to express emotion; the accentuated angle in the fighting amazons, the flattened nerve or tightened curve all taking their place in the orchestra. Of these points, with colour added and treated in the same way, the illuminations of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are striking examples, the smallness of the work making it all the more necessary for the worker to limit himself to the vital points with a stern negation of non-essentials; all decorative art, of which illumination is but a department, being in its very nature an accompaniment, as an instrument is to the voice; and, in this, absolutely different from a picture, which stands alone on its own merits;

the desired end being a whole, in which the sympathy between the parts is perfect ... if I meet with a book which stirs me, I am seized with the desire to help out the emotion with gold, blue and crimson; or, is it a wall, to make it sing ...³⁵

In her work, whether manuscript or mural design, then, the essence of success then lay in the perfect marriage of decoration with the object of inspiration, whether text or building. For Traquair, all decorative art sought to express that spirit, not simply to imitate the art of a past age, although the finest examples of previous art forms could provide the necessary inspiration. In her illumination of *Sonnets from the Portuguese* a developing clarity of design paralleled the approach in the decoration of the chancel in the Catholic Apostolic church. Both presented an Italianate purity and union of all component decorative parts. This harmony was equally of its time, reflecting the arts and crafts principle of the interdependence of the decorative arts. In the spirit of the nineties Traquair applied it equally to all the arts, including literature and music, which each played a complementary role in the world of human activity.

In the Browning manuscript could be seen the gradual emergence of a more acute colour sensitivity which went hand-in-hand with a controlled delicacy and sweetness of design. The earliest pages, from 1892 [pl. 78], though deliberately weak in colour, showed experimental colour relationships, partially resolved in both concept and handling in late 1892 and 1893. The angel who sounded a trumpet (sonnet III, fol. 4) [pl. 79a] stood in a complete circle of rainbow colours as the four Cherubim of the chancel arch in the Catholic Apostolic church had been each washed by vivid arcs of colour. Again, the angel of Sonnet XXI (fol.22: 1895) bore a multi-coloured

rainbow halo. In contrast to the mural decoration the colour was hatched or dabbed in tiny spots on to the paper with a precious delicacy [pl. 79b].

The actual technique Traquair employed was described in a letter of 17 August 1892 to her nephew, advising him to

... avoid as much as possible colours which have a *body*, they crack and chip off in time, use *pure* transparent colour. If you want green, transparent blue and *hatch* it with transparent yellow and so on, *purple* blue pure, carmine or madder pure, *orange*, yellow pure, red pure, or use each colour side by side in small particles. Chinese white may be used in touching up ...³⁶

As noted, sensitive expression, essential for such a text, had meant at first pale tones and thin colour, such as the illustration to the second sonnet, where a Crucifixion scene recalled the iconography of her mortuary chapel decoration work of the mid-eighties, but by experimentation she mastered the full potential of skilful hatching. Brilliant colours complemented each other in designs of total assuredness particularly in the pages dating from 1895 onwards. This richness combined subtly with the gold leaves used in *Willowwood* and *In Memoriam* which fluttered round the text in the manner of fourteenth century manuscripts once more [pl.80].

Through these pages and earlier manuscripts the interpretations of the text by Traquair was no longer narrative but symbolic. The *Sonnets* as an expression of the growth of human love became in the hands of this illuminator an illustration of the spiritual union of mortal with God through love and grace. The colour treatment described above symbolised the gradations of emotional intensity. *In Memoriam* had already expressed this to a limited extent: there the final stanza (illuminated in 1892) in

particular provided an appropriate text for a symbolic image of the Redemption, where an angel embraced a human soul watched by four angel spirits: the two strong central figures of this image were later reused substantially in both bookbindings and enamelwork. In the related image in the *Sonnets* (sonnet 38, fol.39), also illuminated in 1892, the lovers were human, but still observed and blessed by heavenly beings. As an image it was not only repeated with text as a commissioned single page of illumination in 1896 [pl. 81b], and also in her illumination of *The House of Life* (fol. 5, 1898) and two enamel pieces of 1903 [F.41: pl. 110] and 1907 [F.85] but in 1897 used in the Redemption decoration of the north chancel aisle in the Catholic Apostolic church. As the mural decorations of both the Song School and the church used and reused a sophisticated adaptation of illuminated manuscripts in their elaborate borders set with gilded and coloured medallions, so certain iconographic features were increasingly common to the media during the early- and mid-1890s. The angel who awakened the sleeping virgins in the south chancel aisle in the church (1896) [pl. 50a] was a cousin of the angel of the *Sonnets* (fols. 4, 22: 1895) [pl. 79a]. This did not lessen the impact or relevance of the images. Instead, it displayed the full resolution of a scheme of emotive iconography which continued in the fields of embroidery and enamelwork during the following decade.

The pages of the *Sonnets* were not the only illumination which engaged Phoebe Traquair during this period. From her correspondence it is known that Robert Browning's *Saul* was written and illuminated for the actuary

William Rae Macdonald (1843-1923), to whom she had probably been introduced by John Miller Gray, between August 1893 and June 1894 [G.14]. Equally attractive in their rich and resonant texts to her were Morris's *Defence of Guenevere* [G.171], the published text of which, admired by Gray and Andrew Lang, she acquired in November 1894,³⁷ and *The Song of Solomon* [G.20, J.181]. Both were illuminated by Traquair by early 1897. The simple clarity of the latter's design is now known only through a photograph of the embossed cover. Duplicate pages of illumination were also commissioned from her. The earliest were pages from *The Psalms of David* worked for the wife of the arts and crafts architect Sir Charles Nicholson (1867-1949) [G.121]. A duplicate copy of the *Sonnets from the Portuguese* was commissioned by Lady de Vesci and completed by early 1897 [G.18, J.121].

In 1897 a manuscript which related more directly than any other to her mural decorations was illuminated for Mrs Charlotte Barbour (1856-1930) [G.221]. Robert and Charlotte Barbour had joined the travelling party to Florence and Assisi in 1889 led by Alexander Whyte, her brother-in-law. Commissioned by her husband Robert's brother Hugh Barbour and his wife Margaret it was illuminated by Traquair in early 1897, completed by March, bound by Cobden-Sanderson and given 'at the Christmas tree at Bonskeid [the Barbour country residence near Pitlochry] 1897'.³⁸ The manuscript was a version of the 'creation' frieze medallions which decorated the lower walls of the Song School. A letter from Traquair of February 1898 acknowledged the gap between conceptual activity and visible results:

It is a great pleasure to me to think my work is with one who feels so much for it and so full understands it ... in as far as I can I let the day produce its own expressions though I try to have the execution as good as I

can do. Our thoughts are scarcely our ruin -- bad workmanship is altogether ...³⁹

One of the most delicate of all her illuminations, chosen to represent her page work by *The Studio* in their monographic article in 1905,⁴⁰ it was not surprising that duplicate pages from this manuscript also were executed [pl. 82]. Exquisite in colour and concept the pages ideally represented what in the words of *The Studio* she called the 'little perfect thing':⁴¹ the small, in scale not idea, illumination.

The clarity which filled this illumination continued in the manuscript of Rossetti's *The Blessed Damsel*, worked between January 1897 and May 1898 [G.21: pls. 83-86]. Here, a minimum of text accompanied single images of rich controlled passion. Simplicity of illustration succeeded more complex iconography to allow closer union of image and text. Later pages presented a continuous narrative, punctuated by contained illustrations which again anticipated her book illustration of post-1900. Tender, almost childlike in its sweetness, the illumination introduced a new pictorial style into her work which was developed in later manuscripts, illustrations, and in mural painting, including the decoration of the south wall of the nave of the Catholic Apostolic church as well as such paintings as the Kellie panel of 1897.

The natural successor to this manuscript, Rossetti's *The House of Life*, was illuminated between 1898 and 1902 for her brother William [G.27: pls. 87-91]. From 1899 until 1902 Traquair was also working on a manuscript of *La Vita Nuova* of Dante for Sir Thomas Gibson Carmichael

[G.28: pls. 92-96]. Both are jewels of British illumination of this period. The 'spiritual' colours of early Renaissance painters served directly to inspire an Italianate freshness of vision. The *Vita* suitably bore a more medieval approach on certain pages using large historiated initials and a lightness of humour and vision. The texts were ones of high romance, which were no longer translated into strictly religious terminology in the illustrations (which the accompanying pictures now undoubtedly were rather than pure illuminations). The treatment in both was one of warm tenderness where angels comforted and protected the principal characters of the narrative. The accent in *The House of Life* on figural scenes, which were gently acted out by half length figures, some iconographically linked to Rossetti's own work [pl. 88a], were joined in the *Vita* by more appropriate medieval iconography. In both manuscripts Traquair introduced portraits of her patrons. Two pages from 1901 (fols. 36, 42) in *The House of Life* showed portraits of William Moss and another a portrait of Rossetti himself [pl. 87b]: in the second he appeared outside a postage stamp size depiction of his house, Burnthwaite [pl. 90b]. In *La Vita Nuova* a portrait of Sir Thomas Gibson Carmichael from 1900 (fol. 29) showed him holding his coat of arms in front of his house, Castlecraig, between two angels who reappeared in the design by his wife for their bookplate of several years later [pl. 96a]. Lady Carmichael (née Mary Helen Elizabeth Nugent: d. 1947) herself appeared on the subsequent page (fol. 30: early 1901) on a larger scale as Beatrice herself to whom Dante gave his *Vita* [pl. 96b]. Both portraits are considered by their nephew, the present owner of the manuscript as 'marvels both in likeness and personality'.⁴²

Traquair's delight in Italian art, shared with the Carmichaels, had been fuelled by her second visit to the country in 1895. The atmosphere of Tuscany was almost recaptured at Castlecraig where she was first a house guest in January 1900. In a letter to her nephew she described the pleasures of living temporarily among art treasures in a house whence she was able to walk into the hills at sunrise

... I hope you will make haste and grow as rich as you possibly can, and gather round you a beautiful house and place, and fill it with delightful things as this one is filled, and then ask me to pay you long visits, and wander amongst your things at my own sweet will ... you must have a fine view of hills, and stand high so that the air may have the *peculiar* quality of hill air ... and sound of the wind through trees, woods to wander in, library with books from Caxton to Andrew Lang, the very best of Italian art in pictures, missals, marbles, iron and church things, beds hung with Florentine embroideries (for one to sleep in) and a room overlooking the hills for me to work in. It is just delightful to be rich, only for me I prefer kind rich friends, as if I was really rich and had nice things it would damp my working energy ...⁴³

Her visits to Castlecraig coincided with the peak of the formation of the Carmichael collection of decorative art and library. Prior to the financial collapse of the Hailes quarry in 1901, which resulted in not only the sale of Castlecraig in 1905 but auction sales in 1902 and 1903 of the bulk of Sir Thomas's own acquisitions in these fields, the Carmichael home was filled with art treasures collected over the previous decade, largely with funds inherited from his father, Sir William Henry Gibson Carmichael, Bart. (d. 1891). Sir Thomas's visits to Italy in 1881-82 and 1885 were later recalled by his friend, the art historian Dr Tancred Borenius as 'an experience of the greatest importance in developing his interest in art'.⁴⁴ From 1892 the visits to Italy became more frequent. In 1899 he met Berenson, with whose critical writings on aesthetics he was intimate, and

Charles Loeser. By that date he had already acquired a considerable collection of works of art, not only Italian but containing some of the finest medieval and renaissance treasures then available. The range of work, from Byzantine ivories to French metalwork, from bronzes of the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries to early Italian, Rhenish and French enamels, from antique glass to Chinese and European porcelain, terracottas, furniture and tapestries, was outstanding. Belonging to a man with a natural personal inclination towards objects in three dimensions, an architect *manqué*, it was not surprising that of two hundred and seventy-two items sold at Christie's on 12 and 13 May 1902 only fourteen were paintings and drawings. The quality of the collections was reflected not only in the identities of the purchasers, who included scholars and museums in Britain and America, but in the total sum realised, £49,273.⁴⁵

Nonetheless, Phoebe Traquair found she had much in common with the Carmichaels. Sir Thomas shared, from the eighties, a deep interest in the work of Blake, and, according to Borenus, no fewer than seventy-five Dante items were included in the sale of his library at Sotheby's, on 23 to 27 May 1903. The sale catalogue, reprinted later that year in *Book Auction Records* recorded new prices for twenty-nine Dante copies, concordances and commentaries.⁴⁶ His library was equally wide in its range -- not unusual perhaps for a man of letters who served as the first Chairman of the Trustees of the National Gallery of Scotland, a committee member of the Board of Manufactures, Chairman of the Scottish Modern Arts Association (a Scottish equivalent of the Contemporary Art Society, founded in 1906),

a Trustee of the National Gallery in London, as well as Chairman of the Scottish Liberal Association. Traquair, with her own varied interests, found pleasure in much of his library, but particularly, perhaps, in the Kelmscott Press editions of *The Golden Legend* (1892). *The Book of Wisdom* and, especially, the *Chaucer* which fetched the high sum of £76 in 1903, as well as several editions of Spenser. A first edition of *The Faerie Queen*, sold in 1903 for £221 10s., and an edition illustrated by Crane in 1896 would also have interested her.

The interest of Lady Carmichael in embroidery was shared by Traquair. Both executed richly coloured and large scale work during the nineties and early years of the new century. Traquair's relatively simpler compositions of the early nineties were succeeded once more by a series of elaborate panels, each six feet in height and supposedly based on Pater's story of Denys of Auxerrois from *Imaginary Portraits* (1887).⁴⁷ In fact the embroideries [E.11: pls. 97, 98] charted the progress of a soul from *Entrance* through *Stress* and *Despair* to *The Victory* in which the soul was finally redeemed through the grace of God, a theme already used in her work -- and especially in her personal account of Wagner's *Parsifal* in 1889 -- which was treated here with overwhelming vigour and richness of image, medium and technique. The splendid resultant embroideries shared little with the theme as treated in Italian Renaissance painting, for example, Bellini's calm Virgilian landscape of his *Allegory of the Progress of a Soul* in the Uffizi, but perhaps sought in part to capture the natural spirit of northern European tapestries of the same period. The central character of these panels, both influencing and relating visually to John Duncan's leopard-skin clad central

figure in his Orpheus designs (coll. Robin Anderson) for Geddes's linen manufacturing friend (and, like Sir Thomas Gibson Carmichael, a fellow Franco-Scottish Society member) Henry Beveridge of Pitreavie Castle near Dunfermline, dominated each of the four panels, completed between 1895 and 1902. Instead of Duncan's broad, tense lines and masses, she provided designs full of natural detail, brilliant colour and deep passion. Worked in a variety of stitches including couching and long stem, they succeeded in combining skilful techniques with colour and iconography to create masterly needlework pieces which rank among the most notable of arts and crafts products in these years. *The Art Workers' Quarterly* described them on their first exhibition in London, with the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society at the New Gallery in 1903, as 'the most ambitious embroideries shown'.⁴⁸ There they were priced by the artist at one thousand pounds, indicating her reluctance to sell her work which hung later in the staircase well of her home at Colinton. The work of Lady Carmichael, by contrast, was more derivative: her own historic collection included examples from the middle ages to the nineteenth century. A large panel from the later nineties of *The Annunciation*, later hung in her own stairwell at Skirling, was dismissed when exhibited in the above New Gallery exhibition as a 'copy in needlework of Fra Filippo Lippi's *Annunciation*' which was 'to be deplored ... we do not consider this a suitable design for the material'.⁴⁹ According to the artist the embroidery was in fact a delicate and detailed copy of an expensive *gonfalone*, or church banner, seen on a visit to Perugia in 1895.⁵⁰

The commissioning of a manuscript by Sir Thomas Gibson Carmichael from Traquair was thus a measure of her established standing as an illuminator by

1899, not only in the eyes of London journalists but to a leading British collector and aesthete. Although relatively few in number, her illuminations were also increasingly known through exhibitions in Edinburgh, Dublin and Glasgow,⁵¹ and also at the Columbian Exposition (World's Fair) in Chicago in 1893.⁵² During the early 1900s selected manuscripts were also available in limited editions of published collotype copies, notably *Sonnets from the Portuguese*, *La Vita Nuova* and *The House of Life*, published by Geddes's Edinburgh publisher, William J Hay, in 1897, 1902 and 1904 respectively [H.8, H.14, H.16], following the individual collotype versions of *In Memoriam* of the 1890s. In addition a copy of the Song School medallion manuscript of 1897 was privately published by Mrs Barbour (and not by her sister-in-law Mrs Whyte as given in *The Studio* account in 1905⁵³). These copies, printed by T & A Constable, prettily bound in white card covers in imitation of vellum, did however lack that vital ingredient of the original manuscript: colour.

Although Phoebe Traquair appears to have been the lone front runner in the field of non-ecclesiastical illumination in Edinburgh, and indeed Scotland, a field dominated in London by W B Macdougall, Clegg and Morton,⁵⁴ it was in a related area, that of bookbinding, in which in the nineties she became a member of a team who received commissions outside Scotland from British arts and crafts patrons. The work produced particularly between 1897 and 1902 by a group of Edinburgh craftswomen, and primarily exhibited in London, placed the city once more on the arts and crafts map. In a short account of the genesis of the 'Edinburgh binding' first published in 1897,

Annie S Macdonald (d. 1924), wife of William Rae Macdonald, gave the origins of the school

... It had never occurred to mention myself, or the beginning of the work in Edinburgh. It began about six years ago, with myself and the late John M Gray, Curator of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery. We took great pleasure in searching out and enjoying old bindings in libraries, both at home and abroad, and felt that it was a beautiful art, but now fallen to be only a trade. Then we wished to try it ourselves, if we could find a teacher. Mr Blaikie (of A & T [sic] Constable) allowed us to go to his workshop in the evening, and begin with his foreman'.⁵⁵

Artistic binding as a trade had recently attracted surprisingly few notable craftsmen in a city famed for producing remarkable work since the early eighteenth century. One of the few classes to fail in Rowand Anderson's School of Applied Art in the early nineties has been noted by Esme Gordon as that in bookbinding.⁵⁶ Surviving prospectuses for classes elsewhere in the city detail a certain level of activity in the medium. Classes offered in ornament and design at the Old Edinburgh School of Art were intended to attract the 'Printer and Bookbinder'. In January 1895 a class in bookbinding and leatherwork was initiated by the Edinburgh Social Union in the Dean Studio. However only the class in binding and leather tooling held in the same studio under the auspices of the Scottish Industrial Art Association at least from 1895-96 initiated by Macdonald was conducted on a totally professional basis by 'Practical Workmen' from the Constable firm.

The actual products of the trade courses were, however, totally distinct from the singularly elaborate covers produced in their homes by Traquair, Macdonald and their circle, which were to a considerable extent simply an arts and crafts leather discipline which ignored local traditions in bookbinding. In their work they did evolve a historical style, but it was

one largely inspired by German and Italian models of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, of which early surviving examples by Traquair had covered the manuscript and first collotype copy of *In Memoriam* in 1892 and 1893. To a considerable extent the product of bibliophilic interest, it can also be viewed as highly topical in inspirational source. The crafts of Germany and Italy influenced a wide range of British, on the whole English, activities during the last fifteen years of the century. But Edinburgh also displayed such an interest. William Scott Morton for example subscribed to a German design periodical to obtain many of his furniture details, and both Lorimer and the architectural metalworker Thomas Hadden (1874-1941) similarly looked to Nuremberg and south Germany for stylistic sources for some of their work.

In England the embossing of leather as an artistic handicraft, but not as a binding method, already existed in the work of individual designers and in the syllabi of craft associations. Crane had been among exhibitors of embossed leather work at the London exhibition of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society in 1889, and Ashbee's Guild of Handicraft had shown a chair using the medium for the President of the Craftsman Club at the following show in 1890.⁵⁷ Ashbee's experiments with leather embossing as an architectural decoration from 1890 were magnificently used as a wall covering at the house he built for his mother, the Magpie and Stump in Cheyne Walk in 1893-94. In Edinburgh embossed leather work, for domestic use, was taught at Geddes's Old Edinburgh School of Art, where the pupils included Emma Sinclair, who, like many workers, also practised in the related disciplines of metalwork and woodcarving.⁵⁸

Leather embossing was formally treated in a London article published in *The Studio* in 1894. Like previous and current articles on illumination, the craft was described in both historic and practical terms. In England, according to this article, the art of embossing leather on any scale was being led by a German, H Jacobsen, in whose native country the craft had recently been revived. F Kruekl wrote in *The Studio* that 'for bookbindings of embossed leather we do not nowadays need to plead, their supremacy is established'.⁵⁹ There was however little contemporary work being executed in London, and 'that little mostly the work of amateurs, not of those who have made it a profession'.⁶⁰ Three years later the position had changed, due to the establishment of private presses and the entrepreneurial activities of Frank Karslake, bookseller, publisher, print-seller and fruit grower, who later started *Book Auction Records*. Fred Miller was able to comment in *The Art Journal* in 1897 that bookbinding using traditional methods had attracted a number of women to the craft which 'certainly is a calling well within the compass of many women who, having taste and some skill in designing, will go through the apprenticeship necessary to acquire the technique'.⁶¹ By that year the number of practising women-binders attached to presses, such as the Doves Bindery run by T J Cobden-Sanderson (who with his wife had been temporarily involved in funding Geddes's Town and Gown and the Eastern and Colonial Associations from c. 1898 to 1902),⁶² was so considerable that Karslake invited submissions of work to a first successful exhibition of Artistic Bookbinding by Women. The second exhibition led to the formation of a Guild of Women-Binders in London in 1898.

The first prospectus of the Guild noted a 'growing demand for really artistic bindings: not mere conglomerations of gold-tooling and meaningless inlays, but original and beautiful designs suited to the book they decorate'.

Most of their members had

invariably enjoyed the advantages of a training in one or other of the Schools of Art which exist in every intellectual centre, and binding is a calling from which women are not debarred by physical reasons. The consequence is that we are on the eve of a renaissance of the art in England, from which the happiest results may be predicted. The Guild of Women-Binders includes among its members all the more prominent and successful workers in England, Scotland and Ireland ...

Samples of the various products of the Guild were to be made available to London callers in Karslake's showrooms at 61 Charing Cross Road.

The considerable status of the Edinburgh membership of the Guild, who included from its inception Annie Macdonald, Phoebe Traquair, Jessie Macgibbon and the Misses Balfour Melville, Stewart, MacLagan, H W Sym and F E Balfour, was reflected in their primary placing in the first catalogue of available styles of binding published in the prospectus. Alongside the 'African Binding', 'Embossed Calf Bindings by the Kirkby Lonsdale Handicrafts Classes, the Leighton Buzzard Leather Class and other Schools', 'Illuminated Vellum Bindings', 'Gold-tooled and inlaid Levant Morocco Bindings, either plain or covered with the most elaborate decoration desired' and 'Embroidered Bindings, in coloured silk, satin and velvet' stood 'the new Edinburgh Binding: a revival of the monastic bindings of the Middle Ages; embossed by hand on undressed morocco (specially suited for early printed books and Church Services)'.⁵³

The Edinburgh group of binders had already exhibited in London prior to the formation of the Guild under the aegis of the Edinburgh Social Union

Studio.⁵³ A second Edinburgh guild, with largely the same membership in this medium, made its first public appearance in London in 1898.

The Guild's prospectus for that year stated that available bindings were the work of the Chiswick Art Workers' Guild, the Edinburgh Arts and Crafts Club, the Gentlewomen's Guild of Handicraft, Kirkby Lonsdale Handicrafts Classes and the Royal School of Art Needlework Working Ladies' Guild. The Arts and Crafts Club, formed by that year and from 1902 holding triennial exhibitions in the Dean Studio, was patronised and encouraged by the Carmichaels.

Symptomatic of the clear break with philanthropic work and the acceptance of art for art's sake which became dominant in the provinces in the late nineties, the foundation of the Club was contemporary with the development of other Scottish exhibiting societies devoted to the decorative arts, in the wake of the very limited success of the Society of Scottish Artists, founded in 1891, which offered decorative workers a chance to show selected items in the company of fine art, including in the latter area invited work by international artists. The Society, formed largely as a reaction to the Royal Scottish Academy, and only briefly in emulation of the successful Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, displayed in its finer details a reflection of London art society methods. The Art Union organised in connection with the second and subsequent annual nineties exhibitions of the Society of Scottish Artists as a lottery for 'numerous and valuable prizes ... to be selected from the Works of Art on exhibition'⁵⁴ directly copied its English counterpart, founded as early as 1837 and which had commissioned Alfred Gilbert to design its Jubilee medal in 1887.⁵⁵

Another society, the Scottish Guild of Handicraft, on the other hand, was more positively linked to the English arts and crafts movement. Founded in Glasgow in 1898 it succeeded in attracting members from across Scotland, including, from Edinburgh, Traquair, Lorimer, W S Black and Robert Burns. Its objects were listed in *The Studio* as 'the interchange of ideas among its members and above all to bring about periodical exhibitions of Arts and Crafts'.⁶⁶ This attempt to give birth to what was at first a more realistic Scottish equivalent of the London Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, founded in 1888, to which few Scots sent work -- Lorimer was the most regular exhibitor to the latter, from 1893, with Traquair showing from 1899 and her fellow Edinburgh enamellers Otilie McLaren and Elizabeth H Kirkwood from 1903 and 1910 respectively -- continued until just before World War I. It was seen as a 'labour co-partnership association' where the middleman could be avoided, thus encouraging the interests of both craftsmen and the public. Members of the Guild were share-holders in the 'co-partnership'. But, deliberately copying the move of Ashbee's Guild of Handicraft (to whom it was only indebted for its name) to the Cotswolds four years earlier, and equally shortlived, it was considered wise to move into the heart of central Scotland in 1906. The removal to Stirling was reported in *The Studio*:

the move of 'its workshops to that romantic and inspiring district of Scotland, Stirling, has followed an example set by its English Prototype. All workers connected with the establishment, not all loath, perhaps, to migrate to move to more congenial surroundings, have entered heartily into the movement, and it is to be hoped that the results will prove as satisfying as in the case at Campden'.⁶⁷

The development from a shopwindow for craftwork to a working company whose exhibitions could include work by outside members considerably altered the

raison d'être of the Guild and signalled its gradual demise. The Edinburgh Arts and Crafts Club had fewer pretensions and less drive, and simply existed to provide a forum for informal meeting, discussion and exhibition.

The Guild of Women-Binders was, like the Scottish Guild of Handicraft a more commercial venture. In some respects it was an updated equivalent of the Home Arts and Industries Association of the 1880s, with a London shop where potential purchasers could select a particular design. A federation of women's organisations, handicraft classes and binders working from home, it attracted commissions for only six years, and was dissolved in late 1904 following a third sale of bindings at Sotheby's. The demise of the London Guild accompanied new directions taken by many of its members. By 1904 some members, including Traquair, were fully established in their own right and could accept direct commissions for craftwork.

The Guild of Women-Binders could not have existed or succeeded without the establishment of the English private presses in the last decade of the nineteenth century, and the published writings of certain of their masters, which created a positive demand for books which, in the words of Elliot Anstruther were things 'of utility': a book was 'an inviting, companionable, useful piece of property, to be handled and surveyed with pleasure, and searched again and again for the good things within it'.⁶⁸ Anstruther's definition of the four essential ingredients in a binding as harmony of colour and form, fulness of material treatment, regard for exclusiveness in the design, and correspondence of the design to the subject-matter, echoed Cobden-Sanderson's definition of *The Book Beautiful* where the 'wholeness, symmetry, harmony, beauty without stress or strain ... would then be one in

principle with the wholeness ... of that WHOLE OF LIFE WHICH IS CONSTITUTED OF OURSELVES AND THE WORLD'.⁶⁹

Cobden-Sanderson's approach to the art of bookbinding, the creation of 'all books beautiful or sublime' was intensely theistic. As Colin Franklin has put it, the products of his Doves Press were books

not designed for decoration, elegance or collectors. The design was an engineering job, the books a bridge across to mystic realms of cloud and God.⁷⁰

Phoebe Traquair was aware of the care and skill devoted to the Doves bindings when she consigned two of her finest illuminated manuscripts, *Reproductions by Me, of Medallions painted by Me, in a Border on the Walls of the Song School* and *The House of Life* to him in early 1897. It might be considered surprising that she did not bind these herself, as she had *In Memoriam*, and, more recently, a printed book of 1893 on the subject of illumination by A Labitte, *Les Manuscrits, et l'Art de les Orner* (1896) [J.71]. The reason must lie in the exquisiteness of these commissioned manuscripts which deserved the finest coloured leathers and a more pronounced delicacy of binding. Similarly, the Carmichael manuscript of *La Vita Nuova* was bound in London by Sangorski and Sutcliffe in 1902.

The binding style of the Edinburgh members of the Guild of Women-Binders was monochromatic but rich in embossed and tooled decoration. Annie Macdonald claimed invention of the technique. In 1897 she wrote

.... the embossed leather in which most of the work is done is an idea of my own. It is not cut, or raised by padding, but is quite solid leather, and is worked on the book after it is covered, with one small tool. It allows of great freedom of design, no two people work it alike ...⁷¹

Undressed leather, usually morocco or pigskin and occasionally calf, was used. At first the colour had a bleached appearance which, with exposure to light and handling, gradually mellowed and achieved an almost tanned appearance. Elliot Anstruther commented in 1902 on the particular advantage of the Macdonald method, that of the facility of drawing and working freehand in a pictorial fashion on the leathers. This made the style 'especially suitable for presentation volumes, on the cover of which pictorial designs can be represented, applicable to the circumstances of each case'.⁷² It allowed both flexibility in artistic style and a possible closer iconographic reflection of the content. The resultant solidity of form contrasted greatly with the delicacy and colour of other Guild products which were dominated by the work of Florence and Edith de Rheims, Elizabeth M MacColl, sister of the critic, curator, collector and artist D S MacColl, and the designs of Constance Karslake.

The choice of books to cover varied from poetry -- Elizabeth Barrett Browning's *Sonnets from the Portuguese* attracted both Traquair and Miss Sym, Tennyson was chosen by Traquair and Miss Balfour Melville and Keats by Macdonald and later Macgibbon -- to Psalters and Books of Common Prayer. Jessie Macgibbon worked a cover for a copy of Wagner's *Tannhauser*, while Arthur H Clough's *Poems* were covered by Miss Sym. More personal were Macdonald's covers on a copy of *John Miller Gray: Memoir and Remains*, which bore a portrait of her friend on the obverse, an ecclesiastic in canonicals with her inscription 'Blessed are the Pure in Heart', and on Napier's *The Construction of Logarithms*, translated by her husband and published in 1889. Several covers were the joint products of two binders or a designer and a

binder. A copy of Michael Field's *The Tragic Mary* was worked by both Miss Sym and Annie Macdonald, while Keats's *Lamia* was partially designed by the sister of the artist E A Hornel, then completed and worked by Macdonald. All these were exhibited in the second largest display of the 'Edinburgh binding' at the Guild's second Exhibition of Artistic Bookbinding by Women in 1898; the most extensive showing of their work was the sale at Sotheby's in December 1900 which raised finance, publicised their products and reached a wider audience.

Among these works the bindings of Macdonald and Traquair stood out as the most important. The covers executed by the Misses Sym and Macgibbon, for example, retained a softness of design. Macgibbon's *Tannhäuser* (c. 1897-98: illustrated in the catalogue of the second exhibition) and *The Poems of John Keats* (1900: National Library of Scotland) shared a common delicacy of approach. In Macdonald's work, such as *The Parables of Our Lord* (c. 1900: illustrated in the Guild publication *The Bindings of Tomorrow*), Napier's *The Construction of Logarithms* (c. 1897-98) the Kelmscott *Chaucer* (c. 1897-98) and the *Poems of Michael Field* (c. 1898: illustrated in *The Studio Special Winter Number 1899-1900*),⁷³ the covers were busy with natural figural detail sometimes combining equally with lettering. Lettering dominated many of her later bindings, for example the two volume *The Lyon Office Armorial* (1910: National Library of Scotland) on a facsimile of the document prepared by her husband, who was by that date Albany Herald, and Auguste Coulon, *Inventaire des Sceaux de la Bourgogne recueillis dans les Dépôts d'Archives, Musées et Collections Particulières* (1914: National Library of Scotland) which, especially in the latter, gave

prominence to a medieval style titled text. On the Coulon, this became a sharp, almost brittle, Gothic border to the obverse of a book which had been presented in July 1913 to William Rae Macdonald by the aesthete and priest, Father John Gray. In London Annie Macdonald's work, epitomised in her binding of c. 1898 on Irving Browne's *In the Track of the Bookworm*, was labelled 'art as opposed to trade' by D M Sutherland in 1899.⁷⁴ The same binding, in embossed morocco with a medieval dark green edging, was singled out by Curzon Eyre in his introduction to the Guild's 1898-99 exhibition catalogue as an example of 'how a clever designer may gain by her originality as well as by her good workmanship'.

But what was called 'the most remarkable product of the Social Union Studio' in the 1898 exhibition Guild catalogue was quite different. Keats' *Lamia*, with *Illustrative Designs* by William H Low, was a rare excursion by Macdonald into the field of coloured and elaborately textured cloth binding, and which declared an Edinburgh interest in the last category of English binding styles described in the Guild's prospectus. Bound in yellow satin, the obverse drew, as mentioned above, on a design by Miss Hornel, embroidered in coloured silks and gold thread 'illustrating the most dramatic scene in the poem, where the beautiful maiden at the wedding feast is proved to be a serpent in disguise, and disappears in his true form, spitting forth suns, moons, stars, butterflies, and coal smoke':⁷⁵ the richness of natural imagery alone displayed some common ground between Traquair and Hornel and Macdonald. Complete with flowered silk linings and gilt edges, it was described by Karslake as follows:

It is treated in a purely decorative way. Those who love colour, for its own sake cannot fail to be charmed. The silver serpent is like an opal, and is a dozen different colours while you look at it.⁷⁶

However, such highly coloured and exotic bindings were not for Traquair, who, although using related imagery in various media, saw a need to bring out the beauty of the innate quality of an individual material. This denied the translation of embroidery on to a book cover. (One single exception to this in her work was the gilded and coloured binding she executed in the nineties on a copy of *The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam* [J.33]) Working almost entirely in morocco using the Macdonald method she was able to produce a wide range of textures. Some, like Oliver Wendell Holmes's *The Poet at the Breakfast Table* (1898) [J.20: pl. 100a], were pretty examples of natural detail, worked in shallow relief. This was also true of a binding worked in 1897 which enabled her to use the medium as a plastic relief on which to mould a pictorial design of simple purity. F G Stephens's critical study of *Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, combined in one volume with *Italian Book Illustrations Chiefly of the Fifteenth Century* by Alfred W Pollard was covered for herself with an embossed Rossettian girl's head on the obverse [J.9: pl. 101a] which related to her current repainting of the third Power in the second mortuary chapel scheme [pl. 101b]. The reverse claimed a delicate iris [pl. 100b]. The binding was exhibited with the Guild in 1898.

The purity found in these designs was not rare in 1898 work. However in 1896 and 1897 two particular bindings anticipated later work. The first, on Labitte's *Les Manuscrits et l'Art de les Orner* [J.7: pl. 99a], has been noted above. The obverse showed a medieval scribe illuminating a text, surrounded at the four corners by four birds who carried the written word to

the world. The treatment was very much, and appropriately so, that of an illumination design worked in three dimensions on the pigskin. The reverse was decorated with the tree of knowledge from the branches of which a serpent offered an apple to a robed figure. The design of this section related more closely than that of any other binding to embroidery design in the sweeping curls and coils of sky clouds and serpents. In its strong figural energy it approached Traquair's work of 1899. Another Traquair binding, of 1897, on Lady de Vesce's copy of *Sonnets from the Portuguese* [J.12: pl. 99b], showed a more advanced use of lettering as an image component. The obverse depicted a kneeling angel playing a harp surrounded by a relatively wide textual border. The angel was neatly contained. The reverse showed natural detailing, flowers and pairs of hearts (which related also to her designs for a worked Psalter cover and for the cover of Whyte's published appreciation of *Santa Teresa*, both of 1898) in a border round a rather clumsy monogram signature and date.

This use of wide borders and uncial lettering was but one element common to the work of both Traquair and Macdonald. Esther Wood pointed out in her survey of *British Tooled Bookbindings and their Designers* in 1899 that Traquair's bindings of 1898 and 1899 showed a 'powerful and fantastic imagination in her treatment of *The World at Auction* and *Religio Medici*, in which the decoration forms a curious and obscure medley of symbolism verging on the grotesque'.⁷⁷ These covers, both belonging to 1899, followed Macdonald not only in the relation of text to illustration on the obverse but in a tautness of figural attitude and an almost surreal relation of figure to symbolic details [J.32, J.31: pls. 102a, 102b]. This was particularly true in

the case of the poems of Michael Field, also covered by Macdonald in 1899 and again illustrated by Wood in her article.⁷⁷ In work of the previous year there had been again areas of common ground, ranging from the detail of a cupid figure found on the obverse of certain 1897 and 1898 versions by Traquair of *Sonnets from the Portuguese* [J.24, J.23: pls. 103, 104a] which appeared also in Macdonald's work, to the use of a compartment of undulating sides on the obverse of yet another copy of the *Sonnets* [J.30: pl. 104b] by Traquair and the Kelmscott *Chaucer* by Macdonald, which were each filled with figures and foliage in a rich pattern of delicate linearity in the style of the seventeenth century.

Despite such elements in common with Macdonald, who was undoubtedly the self-acknowledged leader of the little group of binders, the bindings of Traquair maintained their own identity. Many of the finest, often belonging to 1898, shared a childlike intimacy and a tenderness in the images represented, which were especially absent from those of Macdonald. This may be particularly observed in her seven known copies of the Barrett Browning *Sonnets* and three versions of the *Psalms of David* [pl. 105a], one of which, used on her early illumination, was a natural successor to two *Sonnets* covers of 1897, and which unusually employed gilding on David's harp and inscription -- a detail subsequently taken up by another Edinburgh binder and fellow member of the Edinburgh Arts and Crafts Club, Miss Gibb.⁷⁸ Similarly treated were her three known copies of Apuleius's *The Excellent Narration of the Marriage of Cupide and Psyche* worked in 1897 and 1898. A binding which most directly transcribed manuscript imagery on to morocco was that on her illumination of *The Song of Solomon*, a delicious work

superbly embossed with the lettered text *My Beloved is Mine and I am His* [J.18: pl. 105b]. One of Traquair's finest bindings, this design with its combination of still details and flicking, rhythmic movement, epitomised Traquair's ever-present theological (and ideological) concept of spiritual union, and created one of the finest bindings of the Edinburgh school. Sadly, like so many commissioned privately, through Karslake's London shop, or simply exhibited and sold without documentation, it too has vanished without trace.

Despite the contemporary claim that the Edinburgh binding was a 'revival of the Monastic bindings of the Middle Ages' and 'specially suited for early printed books and Church Services',⁸⁰ there were few recorded examples of covers worked on copies of early books. The vast majority of those known to have been executed were on books published during the nineteenth century. Although Macdonald frequently covered scholarly collections of medieval studies, often relating to the interests of her husband, most were collections of poems, essays or works of literary criticism. Examples of poetry favoured by Traquair included the above *Sonnets*, *The World at Auction* [J.22, J.32] by Michael Field, whom she had met in 1892 through John Miller Gray, and whom she called a 'real little poetess',⁸¹ and the *Religio Medici* [J.29, J.31] of Sir Thomas Browne, on whom Pater and Alexander Whyte published studies in 1889 and 1898 respectively. Mallory's *Morte d'Arthur* was also treated by her, in the version illustrated by Beardsley for Dent in 1893 -- a commercial production which consciously followed the style at least of the Kelmscott Press. The dominant style of the group owed little in fact to medieval prototypes but were personal interpretations of

sixteenth and seventeenth century renaissance types involving a great deal of independent imagery deliberately related to the contents of the book. The style also differed from the methods used in the classes held at the Dean Studio in the early 1900s under the auspices of the Edinburgh Arts and Crafts Club which, led by Miss Pagan -- a pupil of Douglas Cockerell²² -- were more attuned to the coloured delicacy of the principal English practitioners.

The excursion into monochromatic bookbinding was a natural companion for Traquair to her work on manuscript illumination. Over a span of approximately seven years the medium forced her to concentrate her efforts on design on a limited scale without the relief of the colour elements which she was simultaneously pursuing in the directions of mural painting and illumination. During these years also she gained wider recognition as an individual artist and as a member of a group of British craft workers. By the early 1900s Phoebe Traquair and fellow Edinburgh craftsmen were able to present a more positive and visible contribution to the field of British arts and crafts centred on London.

Chapter Six. 'Little Lyrics'

During the nineties the principal influence exerted by Phoebe Traquair was a personal one: the informal education in the arts, largely through correspondence, of her nephew Willie Moss. In Edinburgh at the Dean Studio she had continued the formal teaching of design to art workers through the classes organised by the Edinburgh Social Union until at least 1895. But in the related areas of literature and art, which concerned her most of all, she fostered in Willie a love of literature and art which was not so immediately apparent in her own family. As a schoolboy at Rugby he edited *The Rugby Miscellany*, wrote and privately published *Saga and Song*, a literary anthology, printed in red and black on Japanese vellum in a run of fifty copies. His substantial library forty years later included one of the most comprehensive collections of work by William Blake (original work, letters, book illustration, autograph letters and miscellanea including Blake's spectacles) alongside letters of Walt Whitman on both his own writings and those of Blake, French, English and Persian manuscripts, Settle bindings, and the principal book productions of the English arts and crafts movement. His visitors' book was of bound Kelmscott Press handmade paper, with carved wood sides and a morocco back.¹

The letters addressed to Percy Erskine Nobbs (1875-1964) in London and Montreal during the first decade of the new century were equally personal. The correspondence, however, turned at first to advice on matters of design to assist Percy in his early decorative projects. In Edinburgh he had

served briefly with Traquair's son Ramsay in Lorimer's office. His natural inclination towards craftwork was partly chronicled in Lorimer's letters to his Australian friend Robin Dods in the late 1890s. In November 1898

Lorimer noted that

... the pupil and I have been doing a huge panel of embroidery for the gallery. Orpheus charming the birds and beasts, 12' x 6'. Nobbs was here a week drawing it on to the linen ...²

It was a subject which of all Lorimer embroidery designs of the decade came closest to Traquair's own work and had previously been used in England by the decorator Heywood Sumner in his wax and wood inlaid decoration of a W A S Benson cabinet c. 1889.³ Natural designs of animals and flower forms found in the Sumner cabinet, common in the work of craftsmen Lorimer chose to execute the furniture for his houses of the nineties, and especially William Wheeler's fruitwood inlaid panels for Whytock and Reid pieces for Earlshall (1892), reappeared in his designs for embroidered bedcovers and bedhangings, much of it based in spirit on northern European tapestries, again of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Orpheus, whose story had appeared in the designs of both Traquair and Duncan in 1895, was a character whose tale could incorporate rabbits, deer, birds and plants. As in the contemporary work of Voysey, and at a slightly later date the 'banana birds' and foliage of Thomas Hadden, the charm of these designs lay not only in stylistic decoration but in the childish simplicity with which they were executed.

Like most students articulated to an arts and crafts architect, Nobbs's work in Lorimer's office was wide ranging, and preceded the establishment of his own large Canadian practice which stylistically was to be equally

concerned with neo-baronial and arts and crafts details, dependent on the client. As McDonald Professor of Architecture at McGill University Nobbs was succeeded in 1914 by his friend Ramsay Traquair. Winner of the RIBA Tite and Owen Jones prizes (the latter for the 'restoration' of a Byzantine church),⁴ the work of Nobbs was more than competent. although, as Peter Savage has pointed out, neither he nor Ramsay Traquair became personal friends of Lorimer who was wary of their design skills. As Lorimer wrote to Dods about 1902, 'Nobby back for a few weeks previous to taking London by storm. Don't know where he'll end, that boy, for all his go and ability I don't value his services very highly ...'⁵ By that date Percy Nobbs was turning to Ramsay's mother for advice, sending her coloured drawings for comment, particularly on the question of the decorations of his buildings. Her replies were highly valued, and retained in typescript. They reveal that she was undoubtedly his mentor in all things decorative as opposed to purely architectural, encouraging his appreciation of arts and crafts which he and Ramsay developed on Canada's east coast.

One of the earliest Traquair letters, dated 6 July 1901, was among the most important, for it not only outlined his scheme for an (unknown) decoration which came close to her own ideals, but also displayed her concern with colour on both large, and, importantly at this date, minute scales:

I have studied your scheme of colour decoration and shall plunge into criticism as you wished me to ... The arrangement of your subject matter I think very good except in the case of the living creatures -- eagle, lion, man, etc. which I think you would find a bit out of scale when enlarged, especially for your height. The colour for the lower part is I think all good and would work out well, but the blues are too strong above. It would work out heavy. I would say, if blue was used at all as the background of the dome, it should be not more than one half the weight, or might be paled

away into gold and have your figures white against it, or gold with white so as to have gold only inside the rainbow, the figures pure white with rose (pale) 'glories'. The whole design I think very good and a thing I could not do ... I always find it impossible to translate the colour I feel should be in a big living space on to a small flat space, and this is where the difficulty of all design lies. It is easier far to work under its permanent conditions than to do it in translated conditions. So far from thinking you have no eye for colour I think you have a very good one but you have not quite grasped the difference between (if you will allow me to an illustration from literature) epic and lyric colour. You enjoy immensely producing bits of lovely colour quite beautiful in themselves -- little lyrics I would call them. Ramsay does the same thing, but large decorative work must have the broad effect of oneness which I would call epic ...⁶

For her, the practitioners of epic colour included Puvis de Chavannes: lyric was used by Monticelli, Diaz and Fra Angelico. Both were equally important -- epic colour gave 'dignity, elevation of spirit, rhythm, that wonderful Greek feeling' while lyric was 'more personal, intimate and passionate':⁷ an introduction of the second into a mural scheme could

stir up feelings at a chosen point; then it comes in like some of the lovely airs Wagner brings in the middle of some great epic music.⁸

Colour for her, however, could not act alone. It was a powerful ingredient in good design, but still required organisation. To express the corresponding 'inner feelings' of the artist in paint, line and colour could be used singly or together according to fixed rules. In August 1901 her remarks on this to Percy during a holiday in Kinghorn with her younger son showed a knowledge of such principles which came closest, coincidentally, to the aesthetic writings of the neo-impressionists

Yesterday Harry and I were walking along the sands, talking of a book we had been reading, 'The Life of J B Jowett' and how the life became the expression of a character and from that point, we diverged into various forms of self-expression and correspondences. I wish I could put into words exactly what I feel about this, make my outer mode of expression absolutely and simply correspond to my inner feelings, unite the two into one. Is not this the secret of all art? In whatever form it may crop up, in language, music or sound, in line, colour, manner, mode of speech or even dress. Now in line, I feel any mood or wish to produce any mood, ought to

be perfectly possible by using certain lines, certain colours or combinations of lines and colours. Not that designing can be successfully done merely by rule in this way, but the desire to express certain feelings in our design can be helped by a knowledge of this sort. Thus, repose, simplicity and strength seem to me to be expressed by use of straight lines, upright or horizontal, in colour, by the perfect circle in the same flat tints, if you want to combine the power of line and colour, your flat tinted colour must be used so as to force out lines. If you want to express strong action, tumult, restlessness, the angle seems to do it, in colour, broken tints, lights and darks in smallish masses. If softness and pleasantness without great vigour, then wave line, in colour, graduate tints. Endless combinations can be found. The arch, composed of straight lines and a section of a perfect circle. A stronger and more reposeful effect than the arch formed of the straight line and curve, which again has more life in it ...⁹

On the singular effects of colour Traquair had particularly strong views which emphasised this aspect of her decorative work:

... Now as to colour, white is life or action at its intensest, black negative, so the first three [colours] of the rainbow are more action than the last three. They come nearest white. White and gold for the central figure comes naturally. Dante would say it was blinding light, then I would bring red next, making your angel cloud not being absorbed into, but *proceeding from* the centre, thus bringing your gold haloes, *raised gold*, next the blue, and your reds next the yellows and whites. Now don't for a moment think I recommend an artist to design by pure reason or intellectual intent. I don't believe in that one bit, but I do believe there is absolute correspondence between different forms of expression, or forms of existences such as sound, line, colour, language or matter to matter or mind to mind, centring in the oneness of the human and Divine. Also, that all life and nature is an open book to teach us this, so that the artist becomes the medium to make manifest the various feelings around him. To a great extent, the artist does all this without reasons but I think a little understanding of things ought to help to make the medium more perfect ...¹⁰

The underlying current of religious belief which was voiced here, in earlier and subsequent correspondence, was, as has been noted, the foundation on which so much of her work in mural painting, illumination, binding and embroidery had been executed. In the year from which the above letters date a new medium was taken up which allowed not only an amplification of this and the small scale designs of the illuminated page, but, more importantly, a

new range and intensity of colour. If leatherwork was at first a German revival, broadly speaking, enamelwork was an area which the French initially renewed but in which British craft workers could excel. In 1899 a Traquair patron, Sir Henry Cunynghame, himself a distinguished practitioner in the field, and particularly of the Limoges method, noted the two principal teachers of enamelling in France and England as M. Meyer, ex-teacher of the Paris Municipal School of Enamelling, and Alexander Fisher (1864-1936), who had studied in the eighties at the South Kensington School and in Paris under Dalpeyrat.¹¹ Both wrote instruction books (like Cunynghame), articles, and also led classes in the subject. From 1896 until 1898 Fisher taught briefly at the Central School of Arts and Crafts, under the short-lived co-principalship of Lethaby and Frampton, and also privately, setting up an official school in Kensington in 1904. Ashbee's Guild of Handicraft, although leading in the field of metalworking, used enamelling to a very limited extent in the production of silver and gold jewellery. Stones, precious or otherwise, were the primary colour components in the work of this guild, often dictating the format of a piece; the small painted plaques by Guild members Fleetwood C Varley, William Mark and Arthur Cameron, as noted recently by Alan Crawford, were considerably less inventive than work produced by either Fisher or Phoebe Traquair.¹²

Ashbee shared with Traquair a romantic fascination with the products of the Italian late Middle Ages and Renaissance. Two specifically didactic Guild of Handicraft publications of the nineties were *A Map of Italy in the Time of Dante*, with decorative woodcuts by John Williams and *A Table of the Arts and Crafts of the Renaissance in the 15th and 16th Centuries* (1892) in

which Italian work was declared to have dominated almost every field from architecture, sculpture and carving to pottery, modelling and majolica, cabinet making, furniture and inlay, engraving in wood and metal, glass painting, painting and jewellery and enamel. While Ashbee's jewellery designs in the early 1900s were in part the inspiration of Renaissance jewels and his translation of *The Treatises of Benvenuto Cellini on Goldsmithing and Sculpture* was the first production of his Essex House Press in 1898, Fisher's work reflected the prevalent neo-renaissance spirit in English crafts in more modern terms. Although his magnificent Wagner Girdle (1895-96: Victoria and Albert Museum), made for Mrs Emslie J Horniman, a steel piece set with enamel plaques, could, like Hubert von Herkomer's seven foot wide pictorial silver and enamel shield *The Triumph of the Hour* of c. 1896,¹³ emulate the riches of sixteenth century Florence, the aims of Fisher, given in published articles and in his surprisingly late handbook *The Art of Enamelling on Metal, with a short appendix concerning miniature painting on enamel* (1906), were considerably broader. He set out to establish a modern art in which a combination of imagination and sensation could determine unrivalled products. The 'radiant preciousness' of painted enamels, as opposed to the popular *cloisonné* or the daring unbacked *plique-à-jour* techniques, presented 'unrivalled colour and the unlimited variety of its qualities'.¹⁴ The high emotional key in Fisher's art, shared with Traquair, was fully reflected in his handbook, where Renaissance Limoges enamels were dismissed as not being a true expression of the medium and having no *raison d'être*. Painted enamels, on the other hand, could display all the bewildering surfaces, all the depths and lovelinesses that lie darkly in the waters of sea-caves, all the glistening lustre of gleaming

gold or silverback and fin of fish, the velvet of the purple sea anemone, the jewelled brilliance of sunshine on snow, the hardness greater than that of marble, the flame of sunset, indeed, the very embodiments in colour of the intensity of beauty -- these are at hand waiting for expression in enamel.¹⁵

Used for 'the representation and embodiment of thoughts, ideas, imaginings and for those parts of a world which exist only in our minds', the painted enamel created a miniature work of art of deep colour and hence spiritual intensity.

In an article published by *The Studio* in 1896, Fred Miller quoted Fisher's remarks to him on the use of enamelwork in ecclesiastical metalwork and particularly the triptych form:

This is the most sacred of all subjects, and I have endeavoured to do it in the fervent, sincere spirit of Fra Angelico. It seems to me that the precious material of enamel is most suitable to sacred subjects, and I would urge all who wish to bestow some ornament or emblem, such as a cross, crozier, tabernacle, chalice, or whatever it might be, upon their church, to consider the extreme beauty and suitability of enamelled metal for that service.¹⁶

Cunynghame, a follower of Fisher, echoed this in his 1899 treatise in which he wrote that

... inasmuch as the splendour and glory of colour has always been closely connected with religious ideas, enamel is peculiarly adapted for use in religious art.¹⁷

Thus it was to be anticipated that some of the earliest examples, from 1901, of enamelling by Traquair, whose interests coincided particularly with this vein of current opinion, were of such subjects and similar formats; one in particular, a *Virgin and Child*, was of triptych form in which the wings each displayed an angel in a flowered landscape -- a formula to be used in successive enamels [F.16, F.18]. At this date Fisher's theories would have been known to Traquair through Lady Carmichael who had studied briefly

under him in London during the nineties,¹⁸ one of several upper class pupils who included the Hon. Mrs Percy Wyndham.¹⁹ By the early 1900s the medium had also acquired a broader and popular following among the aristocratic and upper classes in the British colonies as much as in Britain, colonies. Princess Marie Louise later recorded her visits to the Gibraltar studio of Sir Stephen Gatty where

I used to go up very often in the afternoon, and play about ... I became fascinated by this art, for, as you know, I have no talent for either painting or drawing, but colour appeals to me greatly, and in the art of enamelling you can let your fancy have full play with the wonderful colours that can be produced on copper, silver or gold ...²⁰

Between July and October 1901 Traquair was also involved in the design of an ecclesiastical cross, to be made and set with five enamels by Mary Gibson Carmichael by J M Talbot [F.4]. An altar cloth was designed by Traquair to be worked up and stitched by her friend and fellow embroidress to accompany the cross. Only a finished pencil and watercolour presentation drawing of these by Lady Carmichael is known to have survived, revealing designs of pretty simplicity. The cloth presented two facing adoring angels in the Italian style, kneeling on a ground of *poudré* flowers on either side of a cross which echoed the design of the altar cross [pls. 106a, 106b]. The cross itself was a partially enamelled pattern of flowing lines to suggest 'softness and pleasantness' in Traquair's terms. A letter to Percy recorded her thoughts:

... All day today I was designing an altar cloth for Lady Carmichael. The centre to be a cross ... at first I was in despair as she wants the [cross] design to include some enamels of her own but I believe I am going to succeed splendidly by bedding the enamels in raised gold work which will form part of the design ...²¹

The cross was designed by October. She wrote to Percy Nobbs on an awkward aspect of the joint venture, which was not repeated:

... Did I ever tell you about the enamels for a brass cross I designed which Lady Carmichael enamelled for me? All are now done, 5 in number. Yesterday I took them to Talbot to set into the cross. I think it is going to look fine. I am certain you would say 'ripping' but I am more polite ... I should not be surprised if I sent it to the Academy here. Who it belongs to, is a delicate point. I did all the designs, I pay Talbot for all the metalwork and beating up of the design ...²²

The cross was exhibited in 1902 at the Royal Scottish Academy simply as 'designed by Mrs Traquair, enamels by Lady Gibson Carmichael'.

In designing a cross fitted with enamel plaques Traquair followed in the steps of recent English metalwork, although her design itself was totally personal. Henry Wilson (1864-1934), architect, sculptor and jeweller, had designed a brass and gilt cross set with *cloisonné* plaques for the Duke of Portland which may have provided an inspirational source: the elaborately chased and decorated cross was made as part of a decorative scheme for Welbeck Abbey in 1893 prior to Wilson's short workshop association with Fisher. Contrasting with this highly finished piece, a silver cross, again of the nineties, showing the glorification of Christ, by Fisher was said to reveal his continuing devotion to 'mystical and religious subjects'.²³ More topically, a third English major piece was made in silver, and set with four small enamel plaques and on the reverse with emerald matrix pieces, by Arthur and Georgie Gaskin, the leading enamellers of the Birmingham school, as part of the elaborate decoration of the chapel of Madresfield Court remodelled from 1902 for the Countess of Beauchamp.

The degree of experimentation in the medium necessary to realise its full potential was high. At Castlecraig Lady Carmichael had established her

own studio with kiln where Traquair was encouraged to try out the various methods of enamelling. Her delight in working with the ingredients echoed that of Princess Marie Louise:

Here I am deep in enamelling. This morning I spent about three hours at it and since then I have been writing down notes and names to profit by when I return to Edinburgh. Not that I shall ever do decent work but I may be able to do something good enough to use as secondary matter, to say nothing of the pleasure I get pottering amongst ground glass, mortars, acids, etc., again.²⁴

Castlecraig allowed Traquair more than simply the opportunity of direction and technical experimentation. If she had delighted specifically in the Italian collections during her visit in January 1900, by late 1901 the Carmichael collections of medieval and modern metalwork must have claimed her attention. While Lorimer, 'a Gothic man',²⁵ was not only advising William Burrell on a home in which to display his expanding collections of decorative art, but both were collecting late medieval tapestries on visits abroad, Sir Thomas Gibson Carmichael was purchasing a remarkable collection of metalwork and enamels. A few, like a fourteenth century ciborium, found their way quickly into the permanent collection of the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art on their sale at Christie's in 1902.²⁶ A particularly fine piece, an early thirteenth century Rhenish *champlevé* enamel cross which represented the crucified Christ 'on a blue field *semé* with small quatrefoils in white, yellow and red, the figure of Christ being reserved in metal gilt with the details worked *en plein* on a dark ground' had been purchased from the Stein collection in Paris, but again was sent to the 1902 sale.²⁷

Limoges enamels undoubtedly dominated this aspect of the Carmichael collection. One particular piece, a rectangular plaque again showing the

Crucifixion and sold in 1902 is worth citing here, as it related directly to both colour and in part iconographical elements of at least two triptych enamels of the subject by Traquair of the early 1900s [F.6, F.54]. In the Carmichael plaque, the cross stood on an imbricated hill, with on either side the Virgin and St John; above appeared two half-length figures of angels with outstretched wings. Above the cross was seen the hand of God, and below Christ crucified the figure of Adam, adoring, rose from the grave. The ground was of a strong ultramarine blue, *semé* with rosettes in different colours, the cross itself was green, while above were two bars of turquoise enamel. According to the account of the enamel given by Borenus the plaque had been excavated in Yorkshire.²⁸

The relevance of these and other historical items known to have been in the Carmichael collection by 1901 is as important to a study of Phoebe Traquair's work in the medium as the contemporary work of Wilson and Fisher. Indeed, the Carmichaels's own interest in Fisher's work, witnessed in the acquisition of a medieval styled galleon *nef*, in silver and enamel, and an electric light stand (perhaps related to the Whittinghame overmantel for Arthur Balfour exhibited at the New Gallery in 1900)²⁹ by Fisher underlined the the view at the turn of the century of contemporary arts and crafts work as the direct inheritance of a cultural tradition. Carmichael lent the *nef* and light to the 1901 Glasgow International Exhibition,³⁰ and the former also to an equally important exhibition of modern British arts and crafts in Budapest in September-November 1902.³¹ A proper balance between historical and modern decorative art, considered desirable both in written surveys and international exhibitions at this date, was rarely found united in single

scholarly private collections, but a contemporary element however small did exist in the collections of both Burrell and Carmichael. The 1901 Glasgow exhibition demonstrated this particularly well. The exhibition showed both 'art objects' (tapestries, oriental rugs, needlework, pictures and brass plaques) lent by Carmichael, Burrell, Lorimer and Fra Newbery, Burmese silver from the collection of William Strang Steel, and modern work by Fisher and Frampton lent by Strang Steel, Carmichael and James Mann. Conversely, to the second triennial exhibition of the Edinburgh Arts and Crafts Club (1905) whose main purpose was the display of some contemporary 'excellent work',³² a loan section of historical items was contributed: this was a regular feature according to Caw's commentary in *The Studio*. This centred on 'the collection of Italian Renaissance ironwork lent by Sir Thomas David Gibson Carmichael; but the Italian embroideries sent by Lady Carmichael and the Persian lacquer book-covers and metal-work shown by Mr and Mrs W K Dickson were important items also'.³³

Between 1901 and 1906 at least eighty enamels were executed by Traquair. This accounts for more than half of the produce of her enamelling career which continued until the end of the First World War. During these early years may be witnessed the evolution of an individual colour programme, a resolution of iconography and an increased assuredness of technique. From the earliest known examples twin formats coexisted happily side by side in her work. These were firstly, the display ornamental single plaque or triptych, favoured by Alexander Fisher, commonly using a religious subject, and secondly, the enamel as jewel: the single plaque set as a dress pendant in gold or less uncommonly at this date in silver. Many of the latter form

in particular were exhibited in the two London exhibitions of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society mounted in 1903 and 1906.

The influence of both Italian renaissance painting and the Carmichael medieval collections was apparent in the earliest enamels in the triptych form. The *Virgin and Child* of 1901 [F.16] and a *Crucifixion* of c. 1902 [F.6: pl. 107a] displayed her knowledge of the north Italian school.

Yet, iconography apart, in these a colour formula was established which survived, with modifications, for a decade: the contrast of a green ground, delicately scattered with carnations, against an amber sky, a sunrise which deepened through pink into a strong blue which intensified the ultramarine of Limoges work. Figural details however had yet to achieve that lightness of form and outline which was to be a dominant element of later work. The crude outlining in gold of figural detailing, used also by Fisher and Lady Carmichael at this date, and a lack of compositional cohesion, appeared in other unmounted Traquair enamels of 1901 and 1902. Images used in other media resurfaced: the wings of this *Crucifixion* reflected the wings of the embroidery of *The Salvation of Mankind* [E.5: pl. 3] in their depiction of angels and souls on earth, now made more delicate. A popular image from the first mortuary chapel scheme, repainted in the later scheme, *Can Ye Drink of the Cup that I have Drunk of?* [pl. 6a] became the enamel *The Love Cup* [F.15: pl. 108a] in early 1902, and was used at least four times: the cup itself was designed in the style of Traquair's favoured Holy Grail, with a red cross 'to show you lose yourself to gain yourself'.³⁴

If the *Crucifixion* also related to Fisher's triptych of c. 1895,³⁵ there was already at this stage a stylistic contrast in Traquair's work which

marked a unique identity. Traquair unlike Fisher and in contrast to much of her large scale work to date concentrated foremost on mastery of technique rather than narrative form. Simplicity and symbol were the key elements in her work. The desired lyrical quality was not dependent on careful groupings of a host of natural detail, as in embroidery, but a selection of compositional form learned from her work in illumination. The design of mounts and frames reflected this economy. Nowhere in Traquair's early work can be seen the elaborate fittings designed by Fisher and illustrated in copies of *The Studio*.³⁶ Simplicity allowed expression of her 'inner feelings' in the code of design described in her letters to Percy Nobbs, and which were reflected as much in the style used in the last scenes painted in the nave of the Catholic Apostolic church as in illumination or enamel.

By early 1902 she had achieved sufficient technical expertise to consider a broadening of subject. The story of Cupid and Psyche, as told by Apuleius, had been already illustrated on bindings in 1897 and 1898. Traquair saw the story as 'the life of creation in our sense of the individual'.³⁷ The choice of this subject, like the *Red Cross Knight*, used in embroidery and enamel between 1904 and 1914, displayed Traquair's more formal allegiance to English arts and crafts. *The Story of Cupid and Psyche* had been illustrated in 1865 by Burne-Jones for Morris's *The Earthly Paradise* and subsequently used by him in easel paintings and as a frieze by Crane, as mentioned above, for the London house of George Howard, Lord Carlisle, from 1872 to 1881. More historically, the subject had been used in the decoration of a range of glass and ceramics in Italy and France, particularly during the sixteenth century. As triptych (with thirteen

separate enamel plaques) [F.24] of which an unmounted duplicate plaque has survived [pl. 107b], pendant and casket [F.25], a form of enamel setting used by Fisher for the same subject in 1900, *Cupid* broke with the strictly Christian iconography of Traquair's enamelwork. In pendant form Cupid appeared both as 'a strong youth, drawing a big bow'³⁸ and as *Eros the Earth Upholder* [F.19-23, F.36, F.37] from 1902 and was crowned with *My Lady* [F.11, F.12: pl. 108b]. Forms achieved a modelled surface, became more delicately structured and coloured, producing a gentle softness which made such enamels as *Our Lady of Sorrow* [F.10: pl. 109a] and the *Crucifixion* seem brittle and static. Putti, Cupid and Psyche were all worked in subtle flesh tones, present also in her pendants of *The Love Cup* [e.g. F.15, F.29, F.30], *Endymion* [F.27: pl. 109b], *Aphrodite* [F.31, F.32] and exquisitely modelled in a triptych of 1903, *The Kiss* [F.41: pl.110].

The Kiss was important on several accounts. Technically, the central plaque was a virtuoso piece of enamelling in terms of colour and of modelling, and was repeated on three later occasions. It also represented a translation into the medium of an image previously seen in not only mural decoration but manuscript illumination, in all three of which it worked well. In conception it united the religious and the purely spiritual with a romantic yet direct power that was relatively rare. Lastly, it represented in its form an elegant stemmed version of the copper frame used for the *Crucifixion* and the *Virgin and Child* which predated the four known versions of the triptych *Seek ye my Face* [F.59, F.63, F.77, F.78:pl. 111].

A second triptych of 1903, *The House of Life* [F.43: pl. 112a], was equally remarkable. Again it reused images seen elsewhere in Traquair's work, in illumination, and, at a later date, embroidery design. The sweetness and simplicity of the design, worked unusually on silver in place of copper, was suited to the medium. Here it almost achieved the effect of a *cloisonné* piece. Above all, it introduced a triptych frame form, executed by Talbot, which was strikingly close to those of Fisher, whose own triptych *The Bridge of Life* may also belong to 1903.³⁹ Both had rectangular silver or silver plated stands on broad bases which flared inward to the doors above. Traquair also followed other triptych examples by Fisher in the embossed title of the piece which formed part of the lower frame to the central plaque. Fisher had used such detailing in published triptyches such as *In Praise of Womanhood* and *Truth Travestied* (c. 1901) as well as elaborate overmantel panels. From their titles also they might be seen as complementary, but Fisher's treatment of his subject came closer to Burne-Jones: Traquair on the other hand adopted an oriental exoticism in a purer stylisation.

The continuing influence of Fisher was apparent in her adoption of the casket form, first used for *Cupid and Psyche* and again in 1903 for two caskets whose scenes were devoted to the life of the Virgin. One, in silver and ivory, is now lost [F.44]. The other, of rosewood, has survived only as an unassembled but complete set of eight enamel plaques [F.45: pl. 113]. Both series of plaques were enamelled on silver, as a few dress pendants of these years, such as the 1902 *Sanctuary* [F.8: pl. 114a], were in addition to *The House of Life* triptych. An enamelled silver casket by Fisher had been

illustrated in *The Studio* as early as 1896 in an article by Fred Miller which also illustrated his *Crucifixion* triptych. The tabernacle or casket had been one particular form of religious significance advocated by Fisher personally and through Miller's article. A photograph of Traquair's ivory *Madonna* casket, taken in 1910 by her brother William [pl. 112b], showed a reliquary medieval in style, simple and taut in form with a significantly high amount of space devoted to the eight enamels. Using an ivory framework and grounds of silver, the casket emulated not only the form of the French enamelled reliquary but the cool character of Byzantine ivories, which was partially echoed in the individual plaques. The other version was possibly enamelled as a trial piece, and not necessarily made for sale. In its material opulence the ivory casket looked ahead to the richly set enamels of the caskets of c. 1907-8, although these were undoubtedly influenced by historical examples. Here it is worth remarking that the Carmichael collection apart from Byzantine ivories had also contained medieval caskets and inkstands among early Italian, Rhenish and French enamels. One particular piece, a thirteenth century casket shaped reliquary of metal-gilt and *champlevé* enamel had been sold at Christie's in 1902.⁴⁰

The ivory version of the *Madonna Casket* and *The Kiss* were important pieces for another reason. Both were accepted for exhibition at the third arts and crafts exhibition held in Traquair's native Dublin in 1904. They were priced for sale at £35 and £30 respectively, relatively high prices but close to that which she had charged for her *Crucifixion* triptych in London in 1903. These were not the first items sent to Dublin. She had sent her three panel embroidery *The Salvation of Mankind* to the first

exhibition of the Arts and Crafts Society of Ireland in 1895, together with two further single panels, *Charity* [E.8] and *Womanhood* [E.6]. All had been included in a mysterious category of 'miscellaneous exhibits' in the Irish section. She had contributed illuminated pages of *The Psalms of David* which were lent by Lady de Vesci to the second society exhibition. For her entry to this exhibition, a special section was invented, for 'artists not resident in Ireland'. The character of these works was quite different from Dublin work which in metalwork of this date was dominated by Edmond Johnson, and later by Oswald Reeves, whose Celtic motifs she did not adopt.

In Scottish exhibitions, however, Traquair's work did not stand alone. Although the finer details of the Edinburgh contribution to the 1901 Glasgow International Exhibition are unknown, according to the exhibition catalogue the exhibits in case three, Pavillion IV, included 'works in silver and enamel, enamel pottery, silver *repoussé* etc., by Nelson and Edith Dawson, Alexander Fisher, Reynolds Stephens, Florence Steele, HSH the Countess Feodora Gleichen, the Edinburgh Arts and Crafts Society [sic] etc.'. The first triennial exhibition of the Edinburgh Arts and Crafts Club held at the Dean Studio in 1902 introduced the new local art of enamelling to an Edinburgh public. James Caw noted in *The Studio* that, although most members of the Club were amateur practitioners, progress had been made in areas of refinement and precision of handling since the previous exhibition in 1900. Moreover, enamels were 'a new feature, Mrs Traquair and Lady Carmichael showing some interesting work'.⁴¹

The enamelling of Lady Carmichael was less intense in approach than that of Traquair, using a lighter palette in both tone and touch.

One particularly important piece, although less personal than some of her enamels, belonged to 1903. This was a silver inkwell commissioned by her husband's friend and fellow collector William Strang Steel (d. 1911).

Its architectural form, possibly designed by Sir Thomas, was made by Hamilton and Inches, and set with painted enamels on silver which did not attempt an artistic iconography but instead identified her patron's personal details -- a coat of arms, elephants to represent Strang Steel's foreign interests, and so on.⁴² The form of the inkwell loosely followed the sturdy classical form of Italian mid-seventeenth century metalwork, for example the Medici steel casket of c. 1660 which now rests with the Victoria and Albert Museum.⁴³

The Strang Steel inkwell was exhibited in 1904 at the Royal Scottish Academy annual exhibition. In the exhibition held two years earlier English arts and crafts and their influence had been unusually visible in Scotland. For this, the year prior to the 1903 London Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society show which was dominated by jewellery,⁴⁴ Henry Wilson and Nelson Dawson, an early Fisher pupil, had 'lent assistance' in not only selection but the contribution of a number of their own pieces of work. Wilson lent fifteen items, including pendants in the forms of a Renaissance gold ship, a fish, a shrine and several varieties of angelic forms. Silver peacock and mermaid buckles recalled Fisher's work. A case of work by Dawson included seventeen pieces -- a peacock pendant and chain, silver and enamel clasps, brooches, buttons, hairpins and a *chatelaine*. The Carmichael-Traquair brass and enamel cross was balanced by a Wilson cross and chalice. Two other recent Scottish pupils of Fisher, James Cromer Watt and Otilie McLaren

(d. 1940) showed cases of small enamels. To Phoebe Traquair the work of the Dawsons were 'bad in colour and poor in design'.⁴⁵ Of her own contribution to the exhibition she wrote to Percy Nobbs

... Just think, I have three enamels in the Scottish Academy, very bad it may be, but as to colour, better than any of the others there. I know I can do better work now and hope to have something decent for next year. I never really thought of it till the day before sending in, tho' some of the artists had asked me ...⁴⁶

The work of Cromer Watt and McLaren was considerably less adventurous than that of Traquair, although the formats used largely conformed, as one might expect of Fisher pupils, to London styles of working. Cromer Watt, an architect, used fewer brilliant colours in his delicate portrait and jewellery pieces, often of stylised animal form while McLaren favoured a *cloisonné* technique for landscape and figural decorative work in which the gold cells enclosed worked enamels to create shadow and detailing.

This 1902 display of English enamelling served to underline the strong but small Edinburgh contribution to the field. McLaren, previously a pupil of Rodin as well as Fisher, exhibited on a modest scale with Traquair at the seventh Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society show in 1903. Her principal contribution was a cigarette box with *cloisonné* enamels showing *St George and the Dragon*, a popular subject previously treated in painted enamel by Guild of Handicraft enameller and Dawson pupil, William Mark,⁴⁷ and by Fisher,⁴⁸ both worked in 1900 or 1901. Like Traquair, McLaren used Talbot to set her enamel plaques; only rarely did either use a more commercial Edinburgh silversmith such as the firms of Brook & Son of George Street or Hamilton & Inches of Princes Street. Traquair's own use of Talbot ranged from silver book clasps in the early 1890s to gold chains and pendant

settings and triptych stands of the new century, all to the basic designs of her own or her son Ramsay. Talbot's natural leanings towards arts and crafts, first noted in his management of the Lynedoch School of Artistic Handicraft in 1891-92, and twin sympathy for historic Scottish styles and materials -- notably the use of silver -- was reflected both in individual work for a number of Edinburgh designers and his own work c. 1900.

Examples of these were the four silver hat pins worked to the designs of Arabella Rankin and illustrated in Aymer Vallance's important survey of *Modern British Jewellery and Fans*,⁴⁹ in 1901 and the silver and amethyst waist clasps illustrated in *The Art Journal* in 1907.⁵⁰

The promotion of English enamelling in Edinburgh by the inclusion of work at the 1902 Academy exhibition was accompanied by a major commission from the aesthetic artist and designer Henry Holiday (1839-1927) for Holy Trinity Church at the north end of the Dean Bridge, which lay close to both the Dean Studio and the Traquair home in Dean Park Crescent. The Holiday reredos, now with St David's Church, Granton, was a *tour de force* of brilliant enamelling, in a series of tiles involving 'a new form of enamel upon metal in relief, especially devised by the artist for large-scale work' as it was described on exhibition at the Church Crafts League in London in May 1902; this exhibition interestingly followed a recent League lecture on fifteenth century church patronage in Italy given by Roger Fry.⁵¹ In the opposite direction, the size of Traquair's contribution to the display of jewellery at the 1903 arts and crafts exhibition cited above -- twenty-two pieces were shown -- positively cemented the link between Edinburgh and London. Although her introduction to the Arts and Crafts Exhibition society

had occurred in 1899 when she showed unbound illuminated pages, the first four as opposed to three year gap between exhibitions allowed a volume of work to be prepared by exhibitors to provide large and important shows in both 1903 and its successor in 1906. Shown in 1903 were Traquair's recently completed embroideries *The Progress of a Soul* [E.11] and her illumination *The House of Life* [G.27]. Her new membership of the Society was thus amply qualified. Lorimer had become the first Edinburgh member in 1897, having shown at the fourth and fifth exhibitions in 1893 and 1896. If Lorimer had reservations about his own election to membership, '... appears I ought to be proud to be associated with C R Ashbee, Voysey, etc. -- anyway I accepted as it only cost 10/- a year',⁵² Traquair grasped it without forethought, eager to contribute and to be part of new developments in London. The pendants *The Love Cup* and *Cupid* were worked in March 1902 specifically in her desire 'to have something nice for the London Arts and Crafts'.⁵³ Her membership of the Society continued, like that of many, until the outbreak of war.

From the date of this major London exhibition Traquair's work in enamel received appreciably more attention in English journals. Her enamelled jewellery was considered 'notable for their inventive qualities and personal expression' by *The Art Workers' Quarterly*, who, as has been noted, also noticed her embroideries.⁵⁴ The formats which she used in enamelwork, in particular, if not the colour range or subject selected, was more English than Scottish or Irish in character. Necklaces and pendants, the first using various lengths of gold chain with enamel decorated joins linking (usually) oval plaques, and the second being often quatrefoil or octafoil form with or without enamelled tear drops, were some of the most common types of English

arts and crafts jewellery, although Traquair's work, like the images she was using, was bolder and simpler than for example the delicate and intricate pieces devised by the Gaskins, the Guild of Handicraft, or even at times, Fisher. Her total acceptance as a British arts and crafts worker was, however, most acutely reflected in the invitation from Walter Crane to send not enamelwork but *The Progress of a Soul* to the St Louis Purchase Exposition in 1904.⁵⁵

In early January 1904 the four embroidered panels left for America.

She wrote to Percy Nobbs that

My poor Denys is on his way. I'm sorry to be without him, tho' I hope to have a new panel, St George and the Dragon, up by spring it is really the Red Cross Knight, and I think I must make an earlier design, where they set out -- Spenser has it so beautifully -- then I could have a last design, I always run to series, it is the most musical form, you get a cadence in it ...⁵⁶

The first panel of this stitched triptych [E.12: pl. 115b] was completed in November:

I am full of work, have just finished a new panel of needlework, bigger, a little, than any I have done. The Red Cross Knight on a white horse, killing the dragon, his lady kneeling in prayer behind. I have a companion bit on my work frame, the Red Cross Knight and his lady setting out on their quest. There should be a third panel of the end if I live long enough.⁵⁷

she wrote to Percy. Her own enthusiasm for the embroidery was not however, with some justification, totally shared by the London critics when the central panel was exhibited at the 8th Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society show held at the Grafton Gallery in early 1906. *The Art Workers' Quarterly*, which was not only, as it claimed, a 'Portfolio of Practical Designs' but, as has been seen, a review journal, again called the embroidery 'the most

ambitious exhibit' and declared that 'the method of execution was somewhat disguised'.^{5a}

The series of panels, of which the third and last [E.14: pl. 115a] was completed to her design by her daughter-in-law Beatrix, again represented a sequential allegory of the battle and triumph of good over evil which paralleled *The Progress of a Soul*. Certain details such as the golden halo, the cumulus clouds and linear bands of pure sky colours, looked back to book illustration and *The Salvation of Mankind* triptych in their patterning and use of swirls of silks to catch the light. The hill with its winding path on which Una knelt however sprang more readily from imagery in an Italian *Agony in the Garden* (for example Bellini, Mantegna) than her own iconography. But however awkwardly the Uccellesque rearing white horse squeezed into the frame, the central figure of the Red Cross Knight and his dragon formed an exotic pattern of dark and light, with a predominant and appropriate use of white and red. The sequence captured Traquair's passion for Italian art alongside decorative and personal, spiritual elements. The two wings of the triptych [E.13, E.14], each with a wealth of natural detail, symbolised once more the journey through life and final union with God: as the Knight of Holiness and his Lady (who could be read as symbolising the truth of true religion) tenderly embraced, angels sounded their trumpets [pl. 115a].

The detailed iconography used in this embroidery accompanied a new phase in Traquair's enamelwork. In a series of triptyches and caskets, serial imagery emerged once more in her work. The first of these was a commission received from students in the department of Greek at the

University of Edinburgh who wished to present an ivory and copper gilt casket to Professor Samuel Henry Butcher (1850-1910) (a fellow Dubliner) [F.49] in March 1904 to mark his retirement during the previous year after twenty-one years in the Chair. This followed the commission in 1901 from former students of Professor Guthrie Tait for a card tray [F.3] and an illuminated address [G.29: pl. 75]. In the case of the Butcher casket only the sketch designs for the six enamel plaques have survived [D.13: pl. 116]. Traquair used the 'story of Theseus, being very Greek, tho' not to my mind the most beautiful'.⁵⁹ Executed concurrently with the Spenser embroidery in January and February 1904, the choice of subject was used to present a parallel sequence of relationship and combat, where Theseus, Ariadne and the Minotaur replaced the Knight, his Lady and the dragon, but with a foredrawn and less joyous conclusion. A triptych of *The Red Cross Knight* [F.64], already noted as a favoured British and Traquair subject, closely followed the compositional form of her embroidered panels. Precisely calculated and detailed in watercolour studies, as had been a number of individual plaques, the triptych represented a challenge to Traquair in the adaption of 'epic' to 'lyric' colour designs. The successful result was also exhibited at the Grafton Gallery in January 1906. As *The Studio* noted

Miss [sic] Phoebe Traquair sent an enamel triptych, *The Red Cross Knight* which too was notable as a design in colour. The qualities which are attained in enamel by a worker with a sensitivity to colour make it peculiarly a medium which satisfies an artistic nature ... that enamelling is Mrs Traquair's medium we do not doubt, and for the reason that its particular qualities are prized by her above every other quality....⁶⁰

The triptych was pronounced 'a pleasant and effective, even noble decoration'.⁶¹

These highly detailed narrative triptych enamels, possible only with a total mastery of technique, were immediately followed by an almost identical copy [F.72: pl. 118] and its pendant triptych which related three scenes from the life of St Patrick [F.73: see pl. 117b], a subject recently treated by Fisher which had formed the frontispiece to his treatise on enamelling, as well as a subject close to Traquair. The enamel plaques were now set in electroplated stands, the stems studded with *cabuchons*, and each with a wide fluted octagonal base, which were worked to her son Ramsay's design by Talbot [pl. 119]. Both these later triptyches were embossed with the title as had been *The House of Life*. The frames of all were plain on the outside and stamped with a regularly spaced stylised flower design on the inside.

The narrative aspect of these enamels was also a development in subject of the emotional relationship between human and divine, personified as mortal and angel, which formed the major subject of so many single pendant enamels from 1903 onwards, and which appears as a sequence in the four known versions of the *Seek Ye My Face* triptych of 1905-6 [pl. 111]. Night and day, allowing varied ranges of colours, appeared in these sweetened enamels. Angels, like their charges always youthful in appearance, helped to carry crosses [e.g. pl.120b], watched over sleeping or supported mortals [pls. 119b, 121b, 122a], grasped drowning figures [pl.120b, 121a], and played musical instruments [pl. 123] as they had watched with concern and tended the Heavenly Garden on the roof of the south aisle of the Catholic Apostolic church. The colour range was already an established code: angels were flesh coloured with flaming red wings, mortals often dressed in red or green, on a green earth against a variant sky which grew from a golden peach to deepest

blue. Gold outlining of figures provided details and a semi-*cloisonné* effect.

The lightness of spirit and facility of execution which characterised many of these individual enamels entered three outstanding works of c. 1907-8. The *Denys Casket* [F.90] executed for her brother William, combined six curved lid enamels, most showing an angel playing with a child satyr on a green earth under a blue sky, with six rectangular plaques below [pl. 124]. Set in an exotic gilt copper casket frame of *chasse* form with a bar handle terminating in two moonstones, and with four gilt cast supports depicting crouching satyrs, the colour range was exceptionally rich: greens, pinks and golds dominated the panels. The principal six panel sequence followed her *Progress of a Soul* embroideries in its loose derivation from Pater:

The idea is taken from Walter Pater's story -- but not strictly kept to. However I believe I have the spirit of it in both the Denis story and also in Apollo in Pichardy [sic]...⁶²

The busyness of the scenes, which each depicted a host of simultaneous actions, contrasted with the embroideries, and followed the manner of the St Patrick triptych. Only the first panel was close to the embroidery. Her own description conveyed this dense and active quality:

Begin right hand end panel. Denis (the Promethian fire) enters the world, a rainbow at the back behind the earth, clad in a leopard skin, pan pipes, the vine for wine behind him, a Satyr child on his shoulder, a stream springs at his feet.

Right hand front panel, Denis selling his rich wares to mankind, one stretches out a hand for his wine, others push him back, his Satyr child holds up a rabbit, beside him is a tamed lion, he sits under his vine, peacock, fruits in panel above an angel dances with a satyr. Left hand front panel, Denis finds new notes on the organ, two lovers kiss behind, two figures examine his wine, religion (the monk) and the Satyr dance together, above on the lid an angel and satyr make music.

Left hand end panel. The triumph of Denis, humanity has recovered and delights in him, on the lid God sends down an angel with divine fire. Right hand back panel after getting all they can, humanity turns against Denis, who escapes for the mean time into a monastery, the child satyr hiding under the petticoats of a monk, on the lid the angel and satyr still play. Left hand back panel, Denis is torn to bits, even the Church turned against him, but he lies full of peace, the human fury may kill but can't injure, his Satyr child lies with him, the Priests even jeer at his death and point to his true and burning heart -- above on the lid his soul is carried to heaven.⁶³

Full of incident, confidently and lightly drawn, the casket plaques had moved away considerably from the epic passion expressed in the embroideries to a modest pictorial tale of high romance, and one which attempted to recapture the rich form and the spirit of French medieval poetry rather than actual metalwork decoration in its dramatic and vivid detailing. The plaques shared a density of composition, which also contrasted with the *Madonna* caskets, specifically reflecting fifteenth century French ivory plaques including for example a set of six plaques once in the Debruge-Dumeuil collection, of which four were subsequently in the Carmichael collection and were purchased by the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art at the 1902 sale.⁶⁴ The casket form offset this in its elegant structure of simplicity. The casket, with its untypical colour range and total omission of blue enamel, most probably dates from the summer of 1908. In September Traquair wrote to Percy that he had done her

a lot of good that day when you came into my studio and told me to give up blue. I gave it up and I believe I have been doing very much better work.⁶⁵

In the same letter she referred to the recent completion of the *Arthur* triptych, which also abandoned temporarily the use of ultramarine, a colour difficult to master successfully.

Romance was the key to the most sensual of Traquair's triptyches, formally called *The Passing of Arthur* [F.99: pl. 125a], which was executed in the summer of 1908. In the three scenes, of which an unmounted version has also survived [F.96-98: pls. 125b, 126], the control over enamel modelling and colour was masterly. Beneath not blue but amber and rose skies, painted as concentric arches above the horizon in the central plaque, the sea was a series of turquoise individual rippling waves which curled and flowed, the surface of each catching and reflecting light. The effect on the senses was that of a miniature concentrated and glossy version of her embroideries. The action portrayed in the three scenes was equally vivid. Sir Bedivere reached for Excalibur from a ship which tossed with full sail on rippling waves [pl. 126a], Arthur's Queens were alternately quietly sad or wildly grief-stricken while their boat moved on flicking wave curls [pl. 125b], in turn contrasting with the still figure of the grieving Sir Bedivere, and finally the sea from which the Lady of the Lake received Excalibur from Sir Bedivere was a still pool of water [pl. 126b], a serene motif in a jewelled enamel. The triptych stand was equally elegant and rich. Three simple rectangles, the central panel edged with delicate ropework, were placed above a formal columnar stem applied centrally with three turquoise blue tear enamel *cabuchons*. The foot bore the title embossed as a continuous run of capital letters. The legend of Arthur had again attracted a number of late Victorian artists. Tennyson's *Idylls of the King* had promoted the subject: it was published in instalments between 1859 and 1889. Burne-Jones in particular had treated the subject several times on an elaborate scale, from the Oxford Union murals of King Arthur in 1857-58 to costume designs of

1894 for Comyns Carr's production of *King Arthur* in the following year, as well as a number of major easel paintings.⁵⁵

The *Arthur* triptych was a rare excursion into Celtic legend by Traquair, seen through the eyes of Mallory and in particular Tennyson. If the central plaque followed roughly the composition of John Duncan's mural decoration of the subject for University Hall, Ramsay Garden for Geddes of over a decade earlier, the approach to the subject differed entirely. Duncan had used the subject simply as a romantic Celtic element in a series of panels devoted to subjects from myth and history. Tender and delicate, Traquair's piece was essentially the work of a craftworker concerned with representing a medieval tale using a medieval medium but not iconography to achieve supreme concentration of visual effect. The triptych was one of a number of instances of the use of the Arthurian legend by arts and crafts workers, regarded like the Red Cross Knight as a *fin-de-siècle* evocation of a British, rather than Celtic medieval age.

In another casket, *The Ten Virgins* [F.89: pls. 127-9], Traquair provided both the most direct and successful reworking of a series of consecutive images. The six principal enamel plaques lay close to the scenes painted on the walls of the chancel aisles in the Catholic Apostolic church more than ten years earlier. Carefully prepared, redrawn and painted, the enamel *paillons* lent to this richly coloured silver gilt casket the full-blooded character of a precious reliquary. The selection of a religious form for a parabolic text, previously used as a church decoration, was not incidental but carefully calculated. In colour it represented an intensification of the paler Italianate mural tones. Although the Virgins remained dressed in

greens, pinks, and yellows, the ground they trod was a strong green and the sky an ultramarine blue. A gold and red sun shone only over the Wise Virgins. In the lid plaques, which formed an equivalent to the barrel vaulted roof of the church aisle, angels tended their plants against a rich blue diapered with gold in a French style of decoration. The concise embossed text ran, curiously, from right to left with certain letters actually reversed, to specifically allow the flow of images to follow the sequence of the mural decoration. This anti-clockwise reading of the plaques, commencing with an end panel, was also used in the *Denys* casket, which, from this evidence, the superior draughtsmanship, and the absence of the use of the prevalent blue of the *Ten Virgins*, most probably postdates this casket. In their theatrical subject the two were, however, related, revealing again allegiances to Traquair's ever popular theme of the drama of a soul's journey which had already dominated her work, echoing themes drawn from Wagner's *Parsifal* and Strauss's *Guntram* as well as Spenser and Tennyson.

Caskets and triptyches were not the only 'architectural' forms to be used for setting enamels. A silver altar cross, now lost, made by Talbot to a design by Lorimer and set with five enamels by Traquair was illustrated in *The Art Journal* in 1907 [F.79].⁶⁷ Other enamels were applied by Talbot to the stems of stands holding nautilus or haliotis shells. These, used as table decorations, were usually designed by Traquair's son Ramsay who was also responsible for the designs of the triptych stands for *The Red Cross Knight* and *St Patrick*. With their decorated bases or stems, at times richly ornamental, these were totally renaissance in concept: one appeared suitably

in a 1909 study for the Lympne Castle piano [pl. 141b]. They were creations of high Edwardian splendour, equalled by similar cups by for example John Paul Cooper (1869-1933) and Edward Spencer in Birmingham and London.

A nautilus shell chalice of 1904 by Spencer was only one item in the collection of D Y Cameron, demonstrating a Scottish artist's appreciation of high English arts and crafts. Cameron later acquired two 1899 casts in Gilbert painted bronze of figures from the tomb of the Duke of Clarence.

The earliest Traquair shell chalice [pl. 130a] dated from 1905, and was a relatively simple design; the plain base was set with six drops of enamel and the elegant fluted stem surmounted by a knop below three triangular plaques of individual angels playing lutes or holding a bible. The silver neck holding the shell itself was an exceptionally delicate pattern of filigree leaves which revealed Talbot's craftsmanship at its finest. Most of the shell settings, however, dated from 1906 onwards. One particular shell, of which two versions at least were made [F.81, 82: pl. 131], was supported on a vigorous Germanic twist stem with, at its waist, a baroque setting of four cruciform enamels. In this example, enamel butterflies replaced tear drops as a finishing touch which served to lighten the setting. Another example illustrated in *The Art Journal* in 1907 but now lost [F.80], was more akin to Spencer work, a display of sweeping lines and form allowing a nautilus shell to be supported elegantly and decorously in a silver wire basket above a less twisted stem and fluted base. At a slightly earlier date and also simultaneously and in contrast to these, settings of up to three enamels arranged back to back on a stand, in electroplate or copper,

were executed [F.51, F.74]. One of these related the life of the Virgin, partly reusing iconography from the Catholic Apostolic nave decoration. In these the tender delicacy which was found on the later casket enamels made its appearance. The simple purity of the design of enamel and stand deliberately conveyed the essence of the subject portrayed.

The settings of many of these enamels served to display the most obvious influence of the metalwork collection owned by the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art, since its jubilee in 1904 labelled the Royal Scottish Museum, on the Traquairs. Both the Shandon and Dick Lauder collections contained chalices, of which *repoussé*, chased and worked Italian fourteenth and fifteenth century examples, with elaborate knop waists and lobed quatrefoil or circular bases were openly displayed. The collections, particularly that of Sir Thomas Dick Lauder may be seen also to have had a bearing on the designs of earlier Traquair pieces of an ecclesiastical nature. His collection included for example Italian and Spanish crosses, silver gilt and silver, from the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries, which, with work experienced in South Kensington, private collections and recent examples especially those of Fisher and Wilson may have partially infused the desire to create the Traquair-Carmichael-Talbot enamelled brass cross of 1901 and the Lorimer-Traquair-Talbot silver cross of 1906. The eclectic nature of the Traquair work revealed, as did so much of the arts and crafts movement, an absorption and simplification of a range of historic and current influences in the desire to create a individual art form.

Throughout Phoebe Traquair's career in enamelling she personally contributed theoretically and practically to the actual setting designs.

In the case of necklaces sometimes involving three or five plaques, she worked particularly closely with the jeweller, usually J M Talbot, in the decoration of a worked gold chain, supplying it with tiny enamel drops. Similarly, as noted, drops were set into the stems or bases of triptyches or chalices. That Ramsay Traquair should contribute to the design of many of these stands for and in collaboration with his mother was not surprising, for his training in Lorimer's office, together with his earlier involvement in recording not only architecture but historic decorative art for Rowand Anderson's National Art Survey from 1896,⁶⁸ which had attracted him to Lorimer's office in the first place, had produced an arts and crafts man. His introduction to the Carmichaels primarily through his mother and Lorimer, had gained him the commission to design a home for them at Skirling following the sale of Castlecraig. Lorimer's own baronial design was found to be too expensive. At Skirling in the autumn of 1907 Ramsay Traquair with Sir Thomas created a house and garden of pure delight, partly reusing two cottages on Skirling Green. An outer shell structure of wood, with wide low eaves and a pronounced horizontal emphasis, was more radically arts and crafts, and English rather than Scots, than Traquair's first design, as a Lorimer office product, which was illustrated in Walter Shaw Sparrow's *The Modern Home* (1906).⁶⁹ Inside, the qualities of natural materials were allowed to reveal themselves -- unpainted wood fitted by Watty Chisholm, the Castlecraig carpenter,⁷⁰ white lath and plaster walls, and iron window and door furniture by Thomas Hadden. A patterning of modest sized rooms, corridors and short flights of steps provided a domestic interior of human comfort. Sir Thomas's treasured sixteenth century Florentine ceiling,

removed carefully from Castlecraig, was the dominant element in the drawingroom, round which Traquair proportioned the room, door and windows. Outside, wrought iron animals, often endearing little dragons whose forms could have graced a medieval illumination, and plant forms, fashioned by both Carmichael and Hadden at the latter's forge at Roseburn, some to designs by Ramsay Traquair, enlivened window boxes, railings, sundials, footscrapers and garden bell cotes, and were accompanied by footbrushes from the same forge placed at the doors of the estate workers' cottages round the village green.

Skirling was pervaded with that careful balance of honest materials, romantic and historic detailing and human-sized proportion which was the mark of good arts and crafts work. The care with which Ramsay Traquair designed the 'renaissance' chalices for his mother were present there, to give a foil to the Scottish portion of the collections which were not largely dispersed until the 1926 sale at Sotheby's on the death of Sir Thomas. The metalwork designs of Ramsay Traquair anticipated a scholarly interest in the subject: almost thirty years after his emigration to Canada, he published an important monograph on Canadian silver which remains a work of reference today.⁷¹

Although by 1909 the pace had slackened in Phoebe Traquair's enamelling, and the majority of later pieces were pendant plaques often repeating variants on earlier designs, such as the angel with red wings and outstretched arms of *Earth Spirit* [F.128: pl. 120b] in enamelling used from 1905 in her angel chalices,⁷² several important commissions in the medium

were to reach her after this date. One of these, a late work of 1918, was probably commissioned to mark the death of Reginald Somers Cocks [F.131; Pl. 132a]. This was a fine example of her late work, employing a sensitive colour range and fine painting. The central plaque of this triptych was adapted from the painting of *St Victor and a Donor* by the Maitre de Moulin which from 1856 had formed part of the McLellan Bequest to Glasgow Corporation. Traquair may have seen the painting not only in Glasgow but in London at the New Gallery's 1899 exhibition of *Masters of the Flemish and British Schools* which preceded the 6th Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society to which she was contributing for the first time. Yet, despite a considerable iconographic dependence on an earlier and specifically French renaissance source the enamel brilliantly succeeded in presenting the image as a component of the artist's personal language. The subject symbolically represented victory over death, where St Victor and the deceased were accompanied by angels above triumphantly and gently bearing the soul of Reginald Somers Cocks. The elegant angels of intercession who hovered in a rainbow over the flowered earth in the wing panels [pl. 132] were perfect accompaniments of delicacy and repose to the central scene and elegant adult versions of the youthful and animated angels of earlier enamels.

The standing of Phoebe Traquair as an enameller during her lifetime was high. In contemporary reviews, instruction books and commentaries published on the medium from Cunynghame, Edith Dawson and Fisher, her work received attention, often unqualified; for the authors of some handbooks, indeed, she appeared, as the leading London exhibitor, to be the sole Scottish runner in

the field, to the detriment of Glasgow enamellers such as Margaret de Courcy Lewthwaite Dewar.⁷³ If knowledge of Traquair's work during the 1890s had been limited to journal illustration of recent mural schemes, related manuscript illuminations, and bindings, the new century built on an established reputation and introduced to London a new practitioner of a medium in which she was at least equally skilled. The emphasis on public exhibition -- and thence a small number of private commissions -- of her enamelling was now London-based, and her contributions to the Scottish Guild of Handicraft, the Royal Scottish Academy, the Society of Scottish Artists and the Edinburgh Arts and Crafts Club were progressively more limited during the period 1903 to 1908. But if, from 1901, on her release from the execution of the major Catholic Apostolic church commission, it might be considered that her career was devoted only to enamelling and embroidery, it was not so. The presence of examples of her work in London and wide knowledge of her work in Edinburgh bound with personal friendships were to gain her a number of commissions in various media in both Scotland and England. In these whether decorative or illustrative, epic or lyric, the primary concern as in other work from the mid-nineties onwards was defined as beauty,

not so much a thing in itself as a result of a relationship of parts, just as colour, beautiful colour I mean, is not the result of using colours in themselves beautiful, but in the relationship of colours.⁷⁴

Chapter Seven. Commissions

The success which accompanied Phoebe Traquair's contribution to the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society in early 1903 was not confined to the purchase of individual commissions of dress enamels. In early November she noted that the photographic record of her work, which she had paid an Edinburgh photographer, a Mr Wood of 36 St Bernards Row to carry out since 1891' -- murals, embroideries and bindings -- had been sent to 'some one who talks of doing a chancel in some church. All very vague, may come to nothing.'²

By February 1904 negotiations with her patron, Lady Annie D'Arcy Godolphin Osborne (d. 1935) of Wiseton, Clayworth in Nottinghamshire, had been completed. The decoration of the chancel of the Clayworth village church of St Peter [A.5], was to be carried out during that summer as a thankoffering for

the safe return from the Boer War, 1899-1902, of her beloved son, Captain Joseph Frederick Laycock DSO who being at that time a Major in the Sherwood Rangers Imperial Yeomanry, served on the staff of General Sir John French KCB.³

It also served to commemorate her son Christopher who had recently died during an operation for appendicitis. This mural commission, the first to be received from outside Edinburgh, was executed on a modest scale, the total area to be decorated being not greater than the Edinburgh Sick Children's Hospital mortuary chapel. Although much of the scheme has perished due to paint application on the interior of outside chancel walls, and sections had already been lost by the 1930s and replastered in 1945,⁴ a sufficient

proportion of paint has survived to allow a reasonable reconstruction of the original decoration.

The scheme represented an angel choir -- an authentic medieval theme with its English roots in architectural sculpture of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries -- ornamented with smaller scenes from the life of Christ and arabesque borders of medallions. In addition on the north wall of the little chancel offertory processional figures advanced towards the east wall, where only the Virgin of an Annunciation has survived [pl. 133a], as an Italianate Madonna of the meadows, kneeling in prayer amid primroses and roses. The decoration concentrated on youth, not death. On the north wall behind a figure who offered incense, children led a lamb, brought flowers and one gave her heart. An old man brought his life, symbolised by an time glass almost run out, and a workman his tools of labour in a satchel on his back [pl. 133b]. All walked through a spring landscape to a Virgin and Child with adoring angel at the east end of this wall: all these figures on the north wall have largely perished, but are known through a description prepared by Traquair and published by the church in July 1905 on completion of the decoration. Below, in two small medallions, were scenes of the Entombment and, above, the Resurrection and Ascension. Similar medallions on the south wall depicted Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane and the Institution of the Last Supper.

Although the scheme dwelt on the subjects of life and death, the decoration of the chancel of this intimate little thirteenthcentury church was laid firmly on the future. The children of Lady D'Arcy Godolphin Osborne posed for these children at the east end of the north wall.

A second group of angels further west on the same wall included portraits of two of the children of Robert and Marianne Otter of Royston Manor

[pl. 134a]. One of these, the late Right Rev Anthony Otter (1896-1936), described how

three of us still feature in the paintings. I am in the foreground, my head held firmly by my cousin Jack Marsh, aged 10, who at the time shared a governess with me during term time. I remember, vividly, posing -- by the hour, it seemed -- in the room allotted to Mrs Traquair as studio in the red brick farm house by the canal bridge. The third member of the family was my elder sister Mary, then about 22:^s she appears above us two and to the right, as an angel blowing a trumpet!^s

The decoration, a light and relaxed mixture of portraiture and religious iconography agreed with Traquair's patron, was considerably less intense than her earlier schemes, of which component images were nonetheless reused.

Apart from angel choirs and medallion scenes, three red winged angels again singing *Holy, holy, holy* occupied the final eastern section of the south wall, hovering above the local landscape which included Mattersey Abbey

[pl. 134b]. The angels on the western section of the south wall included a portrait of Anne Barbara Laycock (d. 1952) who had married Edward Alfred Mitchell Innes of Edinburgh in 1893, and through whose recommendation the commission may have been received [pl. 135a]. On the west wall, an angel offered a heart while, on the corresponding left side, a kneeling figure received a lantern to represent the Holy Word: all figures were placed within a vigorous and lush foliated frieze [pl. 135b]. The total softness of the scheme, which ran from golden lightness at the east to the strong frieze in the western sections, and with its combination of earthly and spiritual figures, often overlapping, it came closest in approach to the contemporary

decoration of the chapel at Madresfield Court which Henry Payne (1868-1939) and his assistants executed from 1902 for Countess Beauchamp.

The commission, which lasted two summers from late April 1904, and paid Traquair a fee of three hundred pounds plus expenses⁷ and the services 'of a carpenter for scaffolding and a painter for gilding',⁸ was largely but not altogether a happy one. The death of Christopher Laycock had been also formally commemorated by Lady D'Arcy Godolphin Osborne in the gift of an organ to the church. At first this was sited in the chancel, but was moved to the north aisle in late June or early July 1904 on the insistence of Phoebe Traquair. A letter from Clayworth to Percy Nobbs has survived which relates its removal; this also provides an entertaining insight into the artist's determined strength of character

My time here for the present is drawing to a close. I expect to start for Edinburgh on the 28th [July] and can't say I look forward one bit pleasantly to the burden of household and servants. Why can't one live in a tent? Why can't it always be summer and nice work going well? You can guess by this I have been enjoying myself, and so I have all May and June, tho' work was really heavy, just as hard as I could stand, up to about the 10th of July, since then, as I have resolved not to finish all this summer, I could not do justice to it, I have been taking it a little easier, but I don't know I like it as well.

I have been kicking up no end of rows, first, I decided in my own mind that it was the position of the organ which blocked out the light from one part of a wall. The following Sunday, I collared the Rector and chief Church Warden and announced I wanted the organ moved.⁹ Had I asked for new foundations, they could not have looked more dumbfounded. However, they had to acknowledge the position I wanted was best, but thought to finish the matter by declaring there was no money. My blood being up, I said I would give £5, and guarantee another £5. This got a letter written to the makers, who replied that all could be done for £30. The Rector, never a friend of mine, was triumphant! It could not be done. Up I jump and on my bicycle, pinafore and all, off to the wicked squire,¹⁰ and put the whole thing before him. "Go back to the church" says he, "and I shall be with you in twenty minutes". Which he was and it was all settled.

Presently I had organ builders, stone masons, carpenters, all trotting around. It is finished now and all confess a great improvement in every way ...¹¹

This first commission outside Edinburgh raised problems of a domestic nature which had not occurred during her previous brief visits to London exhibitions or to see friends. In late 1903 and 1904 she anticipated these in another letter:

I have been very brave this winter and had about nine little dinners, just made our own maids do it. I am lucky in domestics at present, and leave them to do everything. I need this as when spring comes round I must leave them in charge for weeks at a time ...¹²

At Clayworth as at Castlecraig she was unusually able to devote her days totally to painting. The freedom of spirit encountered in residing in the country probably partly accounted for the removal of the Traquairs from 8 Dean Park Crescent to The Bush in Colinton in early 1906. The house, newly built, faced south and stood high above the valley but lay conveniently close to the railway station for easy access to Edinburgh. Semi-detached and sited near the junction of Spylaw Bank Road and Pentland Avenue it was considerably more modest in size than the majority of houses in the nearby colony of major arts and crafts houses designed by Lorimer but sat happily beside them; they included Almora (1899) and Glenlyon (1901) in Spylaw Bank Road, to be accompanied to the west by Stonehouse (1914). The southern reaches of Pentland Avenue were already occupied by four houses commissioned from Lorimer by Miss Guthrie Wright, a collector of decorative including Egyptian art,¹³ between 1893 and 1901, Colinton Cottage, Binley Cottage, Westfield and The Rowans. In Gillespie Road almost opposite Pentland Cottage (1897) stood The Hermitage, originally commissioned in 1899 as L'Hermitage, one of the finest houses of this group, built for Charles Sarolea (1870-1953), the young Professor of French at the University of

Edinburgh who was from at least November 1904 a friend of Traquair: she referred to him as 'a very good sort'.¹⁴ Although the size of such houses were beyonds the means of the Traquairs, not least in terms of the necessary staffing and upkeep, The Bush provided a comfortable home with a magnificent outlook by day and night across the valley from the bay window of the sittingroom, and a garden where she could replan garden colour each autumn.

As she wrote to Percy in 1909 after four summers at the Bush:

You can't think what a pretty little garden we are making. It is very small, but it is wonderful what one can get in and we have a lovely view of the Pentlands, being on a slope facing south. Ami¹⁵ says I play at general post office with the plants every autumn but I find it produces the best results ...¹⁶

Colinton provided for Traquair a modern picturesque environment which, if not minutely arts and crafts in the sense that Skirling was to become, or Ashbee's Chipping Campden already was, nonetheless allowed her the essential atmosphere in which to possibly realise more fully artistic ideals.

The Bush became her own modest Castlecraig, filled with her own work. That combination of urban and semi-rural life which satisfied her was maintained through her continued use of the Dean Studio prior to and after the installation of her own enamelling kiln in her own home in 1917.¹⁷

Her intense pleasure in both bustling activity and repose had been recorded in a letter of late 1904:

It has been a splendid autumn. Coming back and forward over the Dean Bridge has been a treat every day, such sunsets, such a sense of mystery down along the Water of Leith valley; and often, when dark and I left my studio, I have gone for a walk through Princes Street to get into the rush and roar of the streets, watch the faces and lights, then look up into the bottomless heavens full of quiet stars. The little roaring world of whirling hours and the hourless eternity, so close around ...¹⁸

By the date of the move to Colinton the practice of arts and crafts in Edinburgh was in the process of totally becoming a practical partnership between architect, designer and craftsman. Rowand Anderson's School of Applied Art and related National Art Survey, carried out by School bursars, had created a new group of architects equally skilled in their detailed appreciation of historic furniture and buildings as in draughtsmanship and the creation of an architecture fit for a new century. The emphasis placed on the department of crafts and industrial design in the syllabus of the new Edinburgh College of Art as the direct successor to the School and the Royal Scottish Academy classes from 1907 was further underlined by its aim to attract trade apprentices already employed by local firms. For the art and architecture student, association with 'skilled practical workmen' was considered 'an excellent influence ... since it ensures and maintains a practical standard of workmanship ...'¹⁹ The Art College, while providing such courses to supplement apprenticeship and workshop training, issued certificates by examination which were considerably valued by industrial and design companies, as well as architectural firms. Their creation of professional craft courses in response to demand also eliminated to a large extent the craft classes held elsewhere in the city, including those mounted at the Dean Studio under the aegis of the Scottish Industrial Art Association and the Edinburgh Social Union.²⁰

From the mid-1900s the Dean Studio was to become simply a collection of individual workshops, used particularly by Traquair, D W Stevenson, Joseph Hayes and the Indian sculptor Finrandra Nath Bose, and an exhibition gallery. The third and fourth exhibitions of the Edinburgh Arts and Crafts

Club, mounted there in 1908 and 1911 respectively, still provided the only open, non-academic and purely decorative art-orientated display opportunities in the city for a number of art workers. Between these two shows the exhibition hall in the nave of the church was taken over by Robert Lorimer for the erection of a full-size model for what was to become one of the supreme examples of Edinburgh craftsmanship: the Chapel for the Order of the Knights of the Thistle, attached to the south-east corner of St Giles Cathedral. The model was in the course of erection by mid-October 1909, watched with interest by Phoebe Traquair:

RSL's Thistle Chapel is going up in the big hall of the studio here. I am watching it with interest, I *think* it will be nice, but nothing new. Sometimes I wish I could get at a lot of the details for a bit and wipe out whole patches to give peace to it and bring out the real beauty of the delicate parts ...²¹

One month later she again felt some disillusionment with both the modelling and the approach of the model tradesmen themselves:

... about RSL's chapel. I watch the model going up in the Dean Studio every day. It is full size and only 8 feet short of real height. As section, of course. One thing watching it has convinced me is that really good decorative stone carving is not possible till this is done by men of education and brains. There are some 8 men working, making full size models of the bosses at intersections of roof. They chatter all day, all have something to copy, the spirit of which they lose in their easy mechanical working, every bit with the same ordinary care but not a spark of fire or play in it. How can there be men who just put in their 8 or 9 hours a day for their pay?

Often I have wished I could get it all to myself for one day to dash at the clay and pat life into it all, smooth it here and dig into it there, so little would do it ...²²

In the same letter she stressed the importance of the craftsman to the architect:

... remember Lorimer is doing very good work and is by far the best we have and so nice in himself as well but the best of architects is helpless in the decorative parts without artists and these should work direct in the

material and with the tools in the finished work on the spot where it is to remain ...²³

The building of the chapel itself, from August 1909 until April 1911, realised the highest quality of Edinburgh craftsmanship, although little of the exquisite richness of woodcarving (principally the work of W and A Clow), stonecarving (Joseph Hayes) and stained glass (Louis Davis and Douglas Strachan) or ironwork (Hadden, and Low and Methven) for example could be executed *in situ* as Traquair would have wished. The Lorimer office certificates recorded the individual sums paid to the craftsmen for these and other jobs. Davis was noted as receiving a total sum of £1,835 for his stained glass, and Strachan, less established at this date, £160. Hayes was accorded £2,960 and Nathaniel Grieve, the joiner contractor, a total of £1,950. For supplying nineteen enamelled stall plates [B.11] -- one for each of the sixteen Knights and three royal plates -- Phoebe Traquair was paid £242 11s.²⁴

The choice of Traquair to execute the stall plates was not an altogether straightforward one. Lorimer's first choice to do the enamels was an Englishman, Harold Soper who ran the London family firm of J Soper, and who was a friend of a Knight, the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres. Peter Savage has recorded that a member of the Thistle Chapel committee, Sir Herbert Maxwell, is said to have advised Lorimer instead to use a Scottish enameller: 'Keep your ain fish guts for your ain sea maws'.²⁵ By mid-February 1910 Traquair had received the commission. On 15 February she and Elizabeth Kirkwood, a fellow enameller who worked for her own family firm of Alexander Kirkwood and Son in George Street, met in Lorimer's office. It was agreed

that Kirkwood should 'do a pattern bit for her'.²⁶ the Kirkwood firm subsequently prepared the engraved and 'sunk' copper plates to receive the enamel, which was *champlevé* rather than using Traquair's previous painted method. This was absolutely essential at first since as Traquair wrote to her nephew on 26 June, having completed two coats of arms

in *champlevé* enamel at last ... it is by no means easy to do, absolutely different from my usual ways of enamelling ... after my first success ... I could not sleep with excitement ...²⁷

By this date her opinion of the chapel, now well underway, had improved. she wrote again to Willie Moss, without modesty that

... it will be a wonderful place, pretty and containing the best carving, stone carving, glass, marble flooring and enamel work to be got in Britain so will be somewhat an epochmaking building.²⁸

Her opinion was not, however, totally shared by English reviewers on the dedication of the building by the King on 19 July 1911. *The Connoisseur* noted that the first impression on entering the Chapel was one of disappointment, displaying endless 'coats of arms to the point of obtrusiveness',²⁹ while the hanging lights in brass were both 'shaped contrivances of glass' and 'unique artistic achievements in their own line of action'.³⁰ Scottish reviewers, led by John Warrack, a friend to Guthrie and Lorimer and fellow member with artists Strachan and D Y Cameron of the Lamplighters' Club, were kinder to a building which combined the twin equal traits of Scottish arts and crafts, historicism, Scottish and European, and quality detailed craftsmanship. Warrack's handsome *Descriptive Sketch of the Chapel of the Knights of the Order of the Thistle* accompanied Balfour Paul's account of the history of *The Most Noble and most Ancient Order of the Thistle* as the official publication to launch the chapel in 1911.³¹

The colours of both stained glass and enamels in the chapel were deliberately muted -- the glass in order to allow as much pure light as possible to illuminate the delicate but vigorous working of carved wood and metalwork, the enamelling not to drown the stall detailing but to serve as an accompanying feature. After several years of moving Traquair's plates so that seniority always had precedence in the chapel and in order to preserve the fine stall woodwork by Nathaniel Grieve's firm it was decided that new stall plates for created Knights should simply be added above that of the previous occupant of the stall. The chapel quickly became a showpiece for the craftsmen and Lorimer who took prospective clients and visitors to see the work. These included Prince Henry of Teck who, according to James Grieve, Lorimer's master of works at the chapel, was 'struck by Mrs Traquair's enamelled stall plates, having tried similar work he knew the difficulty of getting good results from the furnace'.³² Phoebe Traquair received, on average, £12 10s. for each stall plate. The Lorimer office records show that payment was made both directly to her and indirectly through Kirkwoods. Elizabeth Kirkwood herself had provided at least one plate by 1915, and received the majority of the commissions during the twenties. A letter from Traquair to Lorimer dated 6 November 1928 when she was in her mid-seventies recorded that the recent plate for Lord Linlithgow was interesting to do and rather amused me to find I could do the work as easily as if I had never given it up. It is as good as any I did, and they tell me at the Thistle Chapel makes the twentieth I have done.³³

Although Traquair, as the leading enameller in Edinburgh, and Scotland, was an obvious choice for the Thistle Chapel stallplates, and indeed found the commission a challenge but also 'a pleasure and a pride',³⁴ the dictation

of method, colour and format to designs by John R Sutherland gave the commission a character unusual in her career, and conditions which she would have rejected at an earlier date. Her friendship with and regard for Lorimer combined with a conviction of the present and future importance of the chapel undoubtedly persuaded her to participate. The commission had followed more modest works for Lorimer of a pleasant domestic nature. On Lorimer's marriage on 2 October 1903 to Violet Wyld, who had already been given a pendant, *Sanctuary* [F.8: pl. 114], during their engagement, enamel pendants were commissioned for her two bridesmaids. Two oval panels were painted for their new drawingroom at 54 Melville Street [B.6]: these showed *putti* and tree boughs, and were new versions of the wall and ceiling panels of the early nineties for Findlay and Traquair's brother William.

In November 1904 Lorimer asked Traquair to paint a decorative panel for the drawingroom of Hyndford House in North Berwick [B.8: pl. 136b], for Francis J Tennant.³⁵ This was to be of 'babies and vines and grapes and birds'.³⁶ Again the painting followed the pattern set in 1892 in the Aberlour House commissions, since seen at Burnthwaite and most recently at Melville Street, but it scarcely prepared the Tennants for the product of Traquair's most remarkable Lorimer commission of the 1900s: the decoration of a Steinway grand piano for the English home of Frank Tennant, Lympne Castle in Kent [B.10: pls. 137-140a]. The restoration of Lympne, together with the addition of a new wing, cottages, a walled garden and tennis court in 1907-9 immediately followed considerable restitution by the Lorimer office of the Glen, a Bryce baronial construction near Innerleithen, for Tennant's father, Sir Charles Tennant, Bart. Lympne Castle, acquired by

Frank Tennant in 1906, presented an opportunity for Lorimer to introduce furnishings and furniture to form north European late medieval or renaissance accompaniments to his restoration, as he was also to do for Burrell at Hutton Castle in 1916. The Great Hall already contained fine mid-seventeenth century furniture and two fifteenth century Burgundian tapestries.³⁷ The piano, destined for the same room, echoed the solidity of the seventeenth century in its Germanic form, conceived in the broadest terms by Lorimer but detailed by the Scott Morton company.

Frank Tennant had precisely the right temperament to commission a major collection of Scottish arts and crafts products, including some of the finest Edinburgh work, for Lympne. As his sister Margot Asquith later recalled in her autobiography, he was 'the artist among the boys ... he was born with a perfect ear for music and eye for colour and could distinguish what was beautiful in everything he saw'.³⁸ Lympne became Lorimer's most important commission of the decade outside Scotland, bringing together craftsmen all of whom were known to have a sympathetic attitude towards the arts of the right period for Lympne. The cooperation between the various craftsmen involved could be seen in miniature in the grand piano itself, whose plain, legless case was shipped from Steinway's London depot to Edinburgh for decoration by Phoebe Traquair, to be fitted with legs carved by Scott Morton & Co., and for the keyboard woodwork, lid edges and case panel frames to be gilded by the decorators Moxon & Carfrae, all to be done prior to the fitting of the piano works in London.

Surviving photographs of the piano, itself now lost, taken by Traquair's brother and nephew in the Murieston Road workshops of Scott Morton & Co. in

1910, without pedals and works [pls. 138-140a], and by the Lorimer office in 1911 [pl. 137], show it to have been a curious and spirited fusion of sturdy and vigorous woodwork and delicate painted scenes. Watercolour studies for all Traquair's panels save those for the lid have survived which indicate the colour tones. The history of the Edinburgh work on the piece is known through Traquair's letters to Percy Nobbs and the Lorimer office diaries. The first discussions on the decoration between Phoebe Traquair and Moxon & Carfrae were held in late December 1908,³⁹ although the piano case only arrived in the city in early October 1909.⁴⁰ At this date Traquair was still preparing a number of figure studies for the twelve scenes which covered the inside lid and the entire outside of the case including a long panel above the keyboard. Finished designs were only completed once the piano case had been seen [D.41, D.42]. Work on the actual decoration soon got underway. Traquair wrote to Percy in November 1909:

... my piano gets on. I do honestly think it is the best *painting* I have ever done, wood is so delightful to work on.⁴¹

Her pleasure in the medium, using oil colours on the outer lid alone against a 'ground of gilt toned to a greenish tint, the natural wood not showing anywhere',⁴² in part accounted for the success of the decoration. The design presented a number of component styles and scenes ranging from the nine cool-toned and delicate Italianate scenes [pls.140b-143] depicting *The Song of Solomon*, called 'the most important myth in the Old Testament' by Ruskin in his May 1883 Oxford lecture on Burne-Jones,⁴³ which ran round three sides of the case, and the natural details of the lid decoration, to the panel of three spiritual scenes from *Willowwood* set in a continuous barren landscape

which lay above the keyboard. These sequential narrative scenes, largely composed of self-contained single figures or groups were well suited to the scale of design and came close in sweetness and sadness to her eight recent watercolour illustrations to Mary Macgregor's *Stories of Three Saints* (1907) [H.17] which were executed during three weeks of June and July 1907:⁴⁴ both were again successors to the large paintings decorating the south nave of the Catholic Apostolic church. In addition the *Willowwood* panel reused imagery from her illuminations of the sonnet belonging to 1890 and 1900. All placed emphasis on light effects of dawn, morning, afternoon, dusk and night, as had many of her enamels of the mid-1900s. Here time, music and nature were inextricably linked with one another.

The tripartite decoration of the *Willowwood* panel followed, in broad terms, Poynter's panel of *The Wandering Minstrels* (a Pompeian garden scene) painted on the inside of the keyboard cover of Alma-Tadema's splendid Steinway grand piano commissioned by the New York millionaire collector Henry G Marquand c. 1884 and displayed in the New Bond Street galleries of Messrs Johnstone, Norman & Co. in 1887.⁴⁵ The subject, however, was totally different. In the Traquair panel the hooded figures of the spirits of Willowwood came closer in spirit to the scythe-bearing figure of Death painted by Burne-Jones in 1860 below the keyboard of his decorated Priestly upright piano.⁴⁶ The idea of wrapping serial imagery of *The Song of Solomon*, that most musical of all biblical texts, around the entire case save the keyboard section probably stemmed from Madox Brown's unexecuted design of 1873 for a *Lohengrin* piano which had been illustrated in *The Artist* in 1898.⁴⁷

Within the wider context of British aesthetic and arts and crafts furniture design and decoration this piano occupied an important niche. It seems highly probable, in view of her early recorded meetings with Lorimer and Moxon & Carfrae, that Traquair -- and her son Ramsay -- contributed to the choice of the actual case form. Although made by Steinway, at a total cost of £244,⁴⁸ rather than Broadwood & Sons who made individual cases for Burne-Jones as well as mass-produced versions illustrated in their 1895 *Album of Artistic Pianofortes*, the format adopted was closely related to the harpsichord-inspired painted box and trestle stand introduced spectacularly by Burne-Jones in his 'Orpheus' piano of 1879-80, following his decoration of his own miniature upright in 1860. This grand piano represented acute angles at the end of the case, instead of the standard Victorian swerving curve, a rectangular in place of a rounded keyboard lid and a single, inverted clean curved side to the case instead of the usual flowing curves. These were all features which reoccurred in the Lympne case. The linear geometric qualities of both were, however, considerably less severe than the rectangular box designed by Ashbee as a wedding present to his wife Janet in 1898 and painted by Walter Taylor,⁴⁹ or Baillie Scott's upright versions of the mid-1890s, all again made by Broadwood. In the piano for Lympne Castle the joint character supplied to it by Scott Morton's heavy, loose-twist 'Nuremberg' legs and stretchers, so much part of the Edinburgh architectural style of art furniture, and the elaborate fully painted case, also looked back beyond late Victorian aesthetic proposals to the weighty solidity of mid-nineteenth century piano design.

Despite affinities of detail with earlier pieces the Lympe instrument was also the successor to Burne-Jones's *Orpheus* piano for William Graham. In grand pianos it was acknowledged that the inside piano lid, like that of harpsichords, was the prime area in which the decorator could both delight and surprise his audience. The Graham piano inside lid was painted with a richly patterned scene of Nature, 'Terra Omniparens', seated amid her children, personified as twenty-one lively good and wicked *putti* who played amid a thickly-stemmed and foliated vine. The presumed inspiration of Traquair's domestic room panels of both the 1890s and 1900s -- the Graham piano had been exhibited at the New Gallery, London, in 1892-93 -- the *putti* and vines were abandoned in her own piano decoration. The nude figure of Nature, however, survived, raised and metamorphosed as Psyche, who listened to the playing of Pan, the symbol of the music of nature. Watched by the flying figure of Eros (here a Traquair figure of love rather than a *putto*) Psyche stood, transfixed, her right hand leaning on and helpfully supporting the lid stretcher, as the relaxing angels of the north wall of the Clayworth decoration had leant on their stone arches five years earlier. The turmoil of coiled vines in the Graham piano lid became, in Traquair's hands, a pattern of waves and water in which fish and birds swam. Pan's music of the gods, attracting natural creation, was intended to echo the music emanating from the instrument itself.

The contrast between the outer and inner sides of the lid was more pronounced in the Traquair piano than that of Burne-Jones. On the latter, a poet, presumably representing Dante, received inspiration from Music, a semi-angelic figure within a roundel displaying an inscribed text from

Dante's *La Vita Nuova*. The vine of the inner lid was replaced by a large Tree of Life [pl. 138a]. In Traquair's design the outer lid did not prepare the audience for the large scale figural work on the inside. It was true that her design also showed a Tree of Life, but here it totally filled the lid, a more delicate evocation of nature among whose branches and flowers sat dragons, birds, fauns and tiny *putti* whose scale ranked them as inhabitants of a mythical world. The tree rose from a sea of rhythmically patterned waves inhabited by fish and ducks. Below, a 'world full of flowers'⁵⁰ with Cupid sleeping at the centre was presented as a tracery framework of which each section delicately held a plant. The precedents for such a fragile design lay in both her own designs for embroidery of the years c. 1905-8 [D.20-31, D.33-36: pls. 144] with their at times foliated roundels, each curve containing human or animal figures, and in *The House of Life* embroidery design which was worked by both her daughter Hilda and daughter-in-law Beatrix, where pure rippling lines of colour symbolised water [pl. 145a].

The terms of a description of the Graham piano given not long before could be made to apply equally to the Tennant piece. In 1901 Ayner Vallance wrote of the former that it

marks an epoch in the history of the decoration of the instrument for this reason, that, unlike other pianofortes which are reproductions or adaptations of past styles, it carries the impress of the artist's own individuality ... an interest which is strong and frank as it is modern ...⁵¹

Such accounts of the earlier piano paved the way for critical acceptance of the Lympne work. Accounts of it concentrated on both narrative aspects of

its decoration and the structural form. Lawrence Weaver in *Country Life* in November 1910 gave a considerable amount of space to the new furniture provided by Lorimer, including the piano. In April 1911 Kathleen Purcell published her article specifically devoted to the instrument which she labelled *A Notable Piano*. Between these two articles *Country Life* also published a paper on the design of grand pianos which again spotlighted the Graham piano, and allowed Purcell in her article a first opportunity to publically call the Lympne Castle piece its 'lineal descendant'. The emphasis on the vital relationship of architecture and furniture, which occupied a number of writers for *Country Life* as well as many British architects, surfaced in her article. The importance of the piano was considered to be that it afforded 'of architectural treatment in a sphere where it is commonly disregarded'. In the concept of the piano, she wrote, Lorimer had followed in the footsteps of Kent and the Adams, even Wren whose 'choir-stalls of St Paul's Cathedral ... are, after all, only furniture on a magnificent scale'.⁵² Lorimer must have applauded her concluding remark that it was 'unlikely that modern furniture will secure the consistent admiration of connoisseurs until it becomes the rule rather than the exception to approach its design in an architectural spirit'.⁵³ In the Edinburgh workshops of Whytock & Reid, Scott Morton, and Grieve this had become normal practice a decade earlier, fully developed through art school training.

Phoebe Traquair's decorations of the piano for Lympne Castle and the Thistle Chapel were followed by a commission from another architect.

In 1912 the Glasgow architect J Taylor Thomson (c. 1887-1953), who had been articulated to Lorimer from 1905, and was currently employed in the New York City office of the Boston architect Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, was asked by the Cathedral of St James in Chicago to recommend a Scottish artist to provide paintings for a triptych altarpiece for the new chapel of St Andrew, built in the following year [B.14: pl. 145b]. The chapel, endowed by the Houghteling family, was to serve both as a place of meditation and a meeting place for their Brotherhood of St Andrew, an evangelical society involving young communicants of the Episcopal Church, founded in 1883 by James L Houghteling.⁵⁴ Taylor Thomson was quick to suggest an artist to Bertram Goodhue. He recalled thirty years later that

having seen the work of Mrs Traquair, particularly the frieze in the Edinburgh Catholic Apostolic Church, I suggested that the work be done by Mrs Traquair ...⁵⁵

The exquisitely carved and gilded reredos, probably executed by Nathaniel Grieve's craftsmen but undocumented in both the Chicago diocesan papers and Edinburgh office certificates, offset the simplicity of Phoebe Traquair's panels. The central panel showed *The Calling of Andrew* and the wings *Christ's Appearance to Peter and Andrew* and *The Crucifixion of Andrew*. The first theme was singularly appropriate in a chapel dedicated to both evangelical service and daily prayer. It might, perhaps, be considered surprising in retrospect that it was Traquair and not John Duncan who received the commission. Duncan had already taught at the University of Chicago's School of Education as Associate Professor of the Teaching of Art from 1900 until 1902, although his appointment ran for a further two years. Apart from Taylor Thomson's personal taste, schooled in the pure Edinburgh

arts and crafts manner rather than the *symbolist* style of Duncan, the latter's experience as a church decorator might have been viewed as more limited at this stage. His altarpieces for the churches of the Holy Trinity at Darlington, and St Mary, Broughty Ferry, both commissions received through the Lorimer office as part of new building work, were not executed until the first World War.⁵⁶ His Stations of the Cross, now lost, painted for a recent Lorimer church in Edinburgh, St Peter's (1906), followed early unrealised Traquair schemes for fourteen Stations of the Cross proposed in 1897 for Lorimer's remodelled chapel at Wemyss Castle, to accompany a Louis Davis altarpiece,⁵⁷ and for an even earlier altarpiece for St Anne's Church in Dunbar, in 1892,⁵⁸ as well as six panels for a reredos for a Cambridge church which were executed in 1903-4 for Henbest Capper [B.71] but which have remained untraced.⁵⁹ Finally, in discussing church commissions, it is suggested that the largely undocumented wall decoration, painted out in the 1950s, of the chancel of Traquair's own Episcopal parish church of St Cuthbert at Colinton, was not executed by her but was the work of a commercial firm of decorators, possibly Powell of Lincoln who were responsible for the roof decoration in the nineties. Angelic figures carrying a scroll of the Ten Commandments and figures of the Annunciation painted in the chancel were already in position by November 1898 according to *The Scotsman* account of the rededication service, more than seven years prior to the removal of the Traquairs to Colinton in 1906. An article on the church published in *The Magazine of Art* in 1900 did not detail these paintings, which had they been Traquair's work would have received attention at this date. Furthermore it is unlikely that Phoebe Traquair, from the

latter date a member of St Cuthbert's, would worship in a church dominated by her own images.

None of the Edinburgh craftsmen used by Lorimer worked exclusively for him. William and Alexander Clow perhaps spent the greatest proportion of their time on commissions from his particular office. Firms such as Scott Morton & Co. and Whytock & Reid trained up men who were highly skilled and simultaneously obtained a thorough historical and practical knowledge in the School of Applied Art or the new Edinburgh College of Art and the Heriot-Watt College, combined with regular museum visits in Edinburgh, London and northern Europe. Architect and craftsman emerged naturally as companion designers under this system, with its full grounding in both general and local arts and crafts principles.

Like the work of these craftsmen, Phoebe Traquair's association with Lorimer was a sporadic one. Her work, as that of Duncan, was invited where it was felt that she might contribute precisely the right element to a scheme. From the mid-1900s the majority of her decorative schemes were contributory rather than having a selfsufficient identity. This was a symptom of the changing character of Edinburgh arts and crafts which was by this date, as has been noted, firmly established as a wider commercial operation, involving old and new firms, masters and apprentices all dedicated to the production of work of the highest quality. Apart from Traquair's contribution to the Lympne piano, the Thistle Chapel and an enamel plaque for a Guthrie memorial (B.13) in 1911,⁶⁰ all her known Lorimer office work took the form of reredos paintings. Three of these, all commissioned from Glasgow churches, served as memorials to the victims of the Great War.

Only two of these memorials have survived and both belong to 1920. The earlier, a triptych executed for All Saints' Church, Jordanhill [B.16: pl. 146a], was first recorded in a church minute dated 22 June 1919, following discussions between Lorimer and the church authorities. From these it appears that Traquair submitted an alternative design for the altarpiece with a modification of her original design. The latter was accepted, a triptych depicting Christ in Majesty [Rev. 4, 5] surrounded by adoring angels, the four Living Creatures and blessed souls, with an adoring kneeling angel in each of the wing panels. The paintings reused common imagery from previous work, again notably the Song School and Catholic Apostolic church decorations, in the use of banked ranks of portrait heads, angels sounding trumpets and the use of gesso and gilded haloes and trumpets. The heads of the blessed, which at eye level dominated the lower section of the main panel, represented both the fourteen members of the church killed,⁶¹ and those who had returned from the War in April 1919. To honour the memory of the first, and as a thankoffering for the safety of the second, the congregation subscribed £565 for an altarpiece:⁶² Phoebe Traquair received £150 in 1920 and a further £50 on the dedication of the memorial in 1921.⁶³

The contrast between this sensitive although familiar work and the other surviving reredos was essentially one of approach rather than style. The church of All Saints offered a positive and lively glorification of Christ in Majesty in which men and angels again rejoiced, as one body. For St Mary's Cathedral in Great Western Road, at a cost of £450,⁶⁴ Traquair painted a cool, Italianate icon of the three Marys at the Empty Tomb, with

four accompanying predella panels, devoted to scenes from the life of the Virgin [B.17: pl. 146b]. Located as the high altarpiece of a major high Episcopal church, the reredos was a quiet, restrained and contemplative work which was necessarily decorative and simply symbolic. The purity of the iconography was rendered in an equally austere and pale toned manner, which contrasted properly with the brilliance of the Grieve carved, coloured and gilded screen itself.

The third Glasgow commission for Phoebe Traquair through the Lorimer office was for the episcopal church of St Peter, which was demolished during the 1960s. The memorial is presumed to have been destroyed at that time, and all church records have also gone. Only the commemorative plate formerly affixed to the reredos and a photograph have survived

[B.18: pl. 147].^{ss} Again of triptych form, the paintings were set into a plain ten section frame, and showed a *Crucifixion* with below the figures of Mary and St John, and above the Four Creatures. The figure of Christ shed rays of brilliant light which reached the flower-studded earth and extended to the wing panels, where the fallen were represented by two single figures of youths bearing unfurled banners to represent the armed and naval forces. Both boys averted their eyes from the brilliant light of Christ's presence.

The relatively static, even dull, quality of this final and ambitious reredos contrasted with the two other Glasgow commissions, and again with Traquair's last mural commission, for the chapel of All Saints at Thorney Hill in Hampshire [A.6: pl. 148]. The chapel, called by David Lloyd in *The Buildings of England* a baroque 'remarkable Edwardian performance',^{ss} had been built in 1908 to a design by Detmar Blow (1867-1939), a leading London

arts and crafts architect whom Lorimer called 'a man of the world, [who] means to get work and do it as well as he knows how'⁶⁷ for the third Lord Manners to commemorate his daughter, Mary Christine, who had died in Banglahore in February 1904 at the age of seventeen. The death of the Manners heir, John Neville Manners (1892-1914) at the beginning of the Great war resulted in the commissions of a splendid Bertram McKennal bronze effigy in 1917, commemorative plaques to the children carved by Eric Gill and the decoration of the chapel apse by Phoebe Traquair which in addition served to commemorate the first wife of Baron Manners, Constance Hamlyn-Fane, who died in early 1920.

Lord Manners was already a committed supporter of the contemporary arts and an arts and crafts man. In 1903 a portrait bust of his son John, cast in bronze in 1922, had been commissioned from Alfred Gilbert, who also carried out tomb sculpture for him at a later date.⁶⁸ In 1891, through Norman Shaw's office, he had given W R Lethaby his first large house to design, Avon Tyrrell. A disappointing structure, long, bleak and rather barren inside and out, it was nonetheless relieved by good plasterwork and ceilings by Gimson. Had the house been commissioned some ten or twenty years later, the job might well have gone to Lutyens or Lorimer. The second Lady Manners, Zoë Virginie Guinness (née Nugent) was a younger sister of Mary Gibson Carmichael, and most probably a long standing friend of the Manners family. Lord Manners and Lord Carmichael shared both strong Italophilic and arts and crafts interests. The Carmichaels' London home from 1918 at 13 Portman Street sported a Gill carved plaque in the hall with the

words *Ne sis foris Argus et domitalpa*, as well as a painted iron silhouette by Hadden to Traquair's design of St Michael attached to the exterior.⁶⁹

It seems likely, but remains unproven, that Phoebe Traquair received the Manners chapel commission through the Carmichaels. From Traquair's letters to her nephew and her sister Amelia it is known that most of the decoration was executed during the late summer and autumn of 1920, the spring and early winter of 1921 and completed in 1922. She stayed at Avon Tyrrell while working on the decoration. One letter of 1920 to Amelia gave a detailed although incomplete account of the scheme. Her chosen text, the *Te Deum Laudamus*, like the canticle *Benedicite Omnia Opera* illustrated a paean of praise and allowed the inclusion again of a wealth of portraits and natural detail:

... all my figures are now in, some 45, some are not whole figures but come in behind others. It is not an allegory but the 'Te Deum' you see to me (means) every beautiful and every fine thing, whether it be simple beauty as of a flower or a great deed as Pasteur, or a mother with her baby or a poet, all sing the Te Deum, tho' they often don't know it. So my composition includes John the Baptist, Tennyson, Blake, the Apostles, the Madonna, Lord Lister, Pasteur, workmen, soldiers and angels.

It looks well. The run of colour is goldy browns, rose, cream whites and spots of olive green, and blue. A lot have their mouths wide open. A lady who trains a small choir, said she could nearly hear some of them.

I hope to have all I had designed finished and get home by the middle of October at latest, indeed, I am getting very tired. I shall work out my design for the Dome above the present work. The ground the figures are on is not done as I want spring flowers for it. I shall if all goes well do it in May.⁷⁰

The letters to Amelia and Willie Moss detailed the iconography of the scheme which recaptured elements of the Song School decoration, particularly in the abundant mixture of natural details, full length portraits of living or admired figures and religious and heraldic symbolism. The inclusion of portraits of deceased members of the Manners family and St George, with

dragon, served to update long established ideas and make the design appropriate to modern application. In effect it encapsulated, with the dome decorated in 1922, the distilled essence of her mural style. The busy composition of figures packed into the apse, three rows deep, was relieved by the use of golden and light toned colours of dress, the pale landscape of the New Forest, with the house of Avon Tyrrell showing its chimneys in the centre right, and the sky in which the Holy Spirit hovered a little uncomfortably as a white dove in a gold aureole. Below, behind the altar, a high band of lush foliated decoration set against a gold ground 'which shines and shimmers' recalled similar work in the north aisle decoration in the Catholic Apostolic church and St Peter's church at Clayworth. Delicate flowers in pinks, reds and creams below the feet of the figures, seemed to sprout from this 'wallpaper' frieze.

The figures themselves were finely delineated. In Traquair's account they included, in the left section, John Baptist 'with outstretched hands and foot in stream', 'a smiling boy, grandson of the late Lord Salisbury, brother of young Lady Manners, killed with three of his brothers', St Peter with keys and fish in a net (a portrait of Bishop Charles Gore), the late Lady Constance Manners, the late John Manners dressed as a boy pilgrim, St Paul bearing his cross, Tennyson, St John with book and pen, Blake, St Matthew with a white book, the Bishop of Exeter (Lord Cecil 'father of the young Lady Manners and the four boys killed') and the Madonna (a portrait of Lady Laura Lovat) and Child (young Francis Manners, to become the fourth Baron Manners). The right section was less congested. Here were shown a young army officer (Raymond Asquith), St George piercing his dragon, Sir Frederick

Lister, Louis Pasteur, and a band of workmen, soldiers, and choristers.

Below the Madonna two kneeling and singing *putti* held the text *Te Deum Laudamus* displayed on a banner, while an angel to the left of the principal figures emphasised the twin dedication to Lady Constance and John Manners in its banner *Avon Constanciae non Immemor*. A companion at the right held a banner inscribed *AD IV non Mart. MDCCCCXX*.

The design worked particularly well on the curved wall of the apse which introduced movement and changing light effects. Above, the gilded dome reflected more light downward. This too was peopled by a figure of Christ in Majesty accompanied by two pairs of seraphim with arms upraised and overlapping in the Traquair tradition. These had between them unfurled banners inscribed with the opening lines of the *Te Deum*, HOLY HOLY HOLY, LORD GOD OF SABBAOTH and HEAVEN AND EARTH ARE FULL OF THE MAJESTY OF THY GLORY. Below and behind these angels but in front of the feet of Christ, a multitude of mortal souls looked both up and down, astonished, in the manner of a *trompe l'oeil* Venetian decoration.

The Italo-Byzantine character of the total decoration related to the apsed architecture. The use of a gold background in the upper section and the representation of Christ as an unbearded omnipotent ruler, seated on the orb of heaven with attendant angels to either side emphasised, however loosely, Traquair's strongest allegiance to early Byzantine prototypes. In the main scene below, the central figure of St Matthew appeared as a Father of the Church. Painted during the waning of the revivalist Byzantine style in English architecture, but simultaneously during years immediately preceding a wealth of major European historical studies of Byzantine Empire

art and architecture, including in Britain for example Peirce and Tyler's *Byzantine Art* (1926) and Byron and Talbot Rice's *The Birth of Western Painting* (1930) in the wake of seminal work by Lethaby and Dalton in particular,⁷¹ this decorative scheme was once more intended to be essentially modern while relying on the artist's personal choice of iconography. This, Traquair's final scheme, like her first used early Christian motifs but now with an established strength and clarity absent from the first mortuary chapel decoration. At Thorney Hill facets from her earlier career were bonded together with an extraordinary subtlety of colour pattern.

This mural scheme provided a mixed pageant of costume and colour which reflected the continuing theatrical nature of so much British arts and crafts work and attitudes from the late 1890s onwards. The ongoing acceptance of English arts and crafts in Scotland was apparent, in ephemeral form, in the influence of the Art Workers' Guild's *The Awakening: A Masque of Winter and of Spring* (June 1899) which was published in *The Studio*. Although Patrick Geddes had already initiated Scottish masques -- his first was held in 1894 while his most elaborate, a *Masque of Learning* (Edinburgh and London, 1912), noted earlier, involved almost a thousand participants from town and gown -- it was not until the new century that the idea, under continued English influence, was more widely adopted. Burn Murdoch's conception of a 1902 Coronation Scottish historical procession through the streets of central Edinburgh was not only a development of his water trust reservoir proposals but set the pattern for a number of subsequent 'masques'. Like the Art Workers' Guild masque this too was to have been performed through the

historic heart of a capital city. Edinburgh was not alone in Scotland in this respect. In Glasgow Fra Newbery organised a 'Masque of the City Arms' in 1905, but this also was a processional affair with considerably less acting involved than in its London counterpart.

Two notable instances of Scottish masques were held in 1908.

On 13 June two performances of the *Scottish National Pageant of Allegory, Myth and History* were given in the grounds of the Scottish National Exhibition at Saughton Park on the western outskirts of Edinburgh. Some six hundred players, including a rollcall of local architects, craftsmen, artists and their families, participated in a remarkable theatrical experience of processions and *tableaux* from history and legend, all intensely and romantically Scottish in subject. The ages of Malcolm III to the Jacobites, Arthurian and Celtic legends were all represented, artists with a particular personal interest in an area being permitted to select their own character parts. On 10 October Glasgow University presented a local version of the Pageant, to 'raise funds to extend and develop the work of the Queen Margaret Settlement where various branches of charitable and social work have been carried on for the last ten years', in which the players included J Craig Annan as King Arthur and Charles Rennie Mackintosh, remarkably, as Queen Morgan le Fay. As in the London masque artists and craftsmen not only participated in these but were commissioned to design costumes and, where appropriate, sets. John Duncan's designs for the Celtic Group and those of Phoebe Traquair for the Early Church were used in both Edinburgh and Glasgow, where they were joined by Jessie M King's Arthurian Group and Margaret de Courcy Lewthwaite Dewar's Symbolic Group among others.

Both these pageants were organised in aid of charitable causes. Income from admission fees and programme sales were given in Edinburgh to the Scottish Children's League of Pity, and in Glasgow to the above Queen Margaret Settlement housing trust near Glasgow docks. By mounting such spectacles the attention of a general public was drawn not only to the named charity but to arts and crafts itself. Unlike the Art Workers' Guild's masque, however, these were decidedly twin purpose efforts which built on the experience of charitable middle class arts and crafts exhibitions held in both cities since the nineties. Phoebe Traquair had contributed to several of these including the 1895 Arts and Crafts Exhibition at the Queen's Rooms, Glasgow, 'for the purpose of clearing off the debt on the Soldiers' Home, Maryhill' held from 6 to 11 April.⁷² In the summer of 1902 Traquair served with Guthrie, Lawton Wingate, Baldwin Brown, Pittendrigh Macgillivray and James Caw on a committee of management for a major Art Exhibition mounted in Alexander Whyte's Fountainbridge church hall, held in aid of charity, which included work by Raeburn, Watts and Rodin alongside a wide range of historic and modern items.⁷³ Later, in 1917, she had 'set up an embroidery exhibition to aid the Edinburgh Roberts workshops for disabled men'.⁷⁴

The exceptionally strong links between arts and crafts and charitable funding in Scotland had its roots partly in the philanthropic movement of the 1880s from which, as has been shown, blossomed one strain of Edinburgh arts and crafts. The movement extended to a number of published anthologies of tales, poems, and illustrations to which Edinburgh authors and artists contributed. One example was *A Beggar's Wallet* (1905), sold in aid of the

Royal Victoria Hospital for Consumption, Edinburgh, at the Great International Fair in the Waverley Market in November. Edited by the future chairman of the Scottish Modern Arts Association, Archibald Stodart Walker, the contributors included Duncan, Cadenhead and Burns. Alexander Whyte's involvement in this promotion of beauty to aid both spirit and body continued to prevail until the Great War. His reputation and his active personal involvement jointly acted as an agent in a volume of activities in central Edinburgh for several decades. Throughout this period in the city there were a number of overlapping social and artistic circles all devoted to the promotion of the arts in specific ways. From the 1890s links between the Whyte and Lorimer circles in particular included both Phoebe Traquair and members of the Warrack family. John Warrack has already been noted as the co-author of an official publication to mark the opening of the Thistle Chapel in 1911 and a personal friend of Lorimer. Barbour has commented that it was Warrack who introduced Guthrie to Whyte, whose portrait he painted, in 1899.⁷⁵

Members of both the Warrack and Whyte families were engaged in philanthropic work outside Edinburgh before and after the War. Alexander Whyte's niece, Maida Barbour, worked for the Queen Margaret Settlement, and from 1913 as warden of Grey Lodge Settlement in Dundee. Her brother, George Freeland Barbour, Whyte's biographer, devoted his energies to the Temperance Movement and later to the Scottish Housing Commission. John Warrack's sister Mary worked in their native Aberdeen. Their brother Charles and cousin Harriet Morren Harper were involved in orphanage work in Florence after the War. Of two remaining sisters, Robina Charlotte and Grace Harriet

Warrack, the latter, an author and translator, was with John Warrack the most active Edinburgh member of the family and the closest to Phoebe Traquair.

Three years younger than Traquair, Grace Warrack (1855-1932) was both a scholar and a philanthropist. The dedication by Whyte of a memorial window by the designer Una Adamson in Fountainbridge Church, given by her c. 1920, was marked by an address by the painter, etcher and arts and crafts supporter (Sir) D Y Cameron (1864-1945) in which he spoke of art in the language of the Edinburgh *fin-de-siècle* as 'that ceaseless music which linked up all the centuries -- a great spiritual language which could move where no other influence moved'.⁷⁶ A church for Cameron 'should be the great home of Art, as it was in other days'.⁷⁷ Several of Warrack's anthologies of poems, texts and music published between 1914 and 1923 were sold to aid charitable institutions. In these her considerable linguistic and literary expertise united with satisfactory benefaction.

Traquair's friendship with Grace Warrack was established by 1901 when the first edition of *Revelations of Divine Love, recorded by Julian Anchoress at Norwich AD 1373* was published. A pretty, foliated frontispiece by Traquair decorated the book [H.13: pl. 149a]. A second edition ten years later preceded the first of a series of three books edited by Warrack, and one by her sister Mary, to which Traquair and others contributed illustrations. *Floregio di Canti Toscani. Folk Songs of the Tuscan Hills* was published in London in 1914, and was dedicated to Francesca Alexander 'of New England and Florence, Poet of Roadside Saints, Beloved by the Poor', Mary S Talbot of Clifton, Bristol, and 'Phoebe Anna Traquair of Ireland and

Edinburgh, Painter of the Cathedral Song-School and the Mortuary Chapel of the Children' who were called 'Three Lovers of Italy' [H.19]. A collection of poems noted for their melodious rhythm, many translated by Warrack herself, the volume bore three illustrations from watercolours by Traquair. The first repeated one of her designs for Warrack's *Little Flowers of a Childhood* (n.d., c. 1913) [H.18: pl. 149b] where the designs united a sweetened reworking of elements from Blake's *Songs of Experience* with her natural embroidery designs of the previous decade. A second illustration of note, *La Via e l'Amore* was a reproduced watercolour: it showed a pilgrim dressed in purple strengthened by the Angel of Love along the Path of Life, which wound through a Tuscan landscape [pl. 150a]. Other illustrations depicted either the landscape of the region (by John Duncan) or presented a symbolic piece (Robert Traill Rose) of which intrinsic qualities were combined by Traquair. Other illustrators were Harriet Warrack of St Andrews, May Watson and an established but recently deceased child illustrator Hannah Clarke Preston Macgoun (1867-1913). In the text a linguistic comparison between Tuscany and Scotland (the *Ripresa* and the Gaelic *Repeat*) anticipated similar studies of romance languages published in Warrack's *Une Guirlande de Poesies Diverses* in 1923.

The second of this series of Warrack anthologies was edited from Aberdeen by Mary Warrack in 1915. *Song in the Night. A Little Anthology of Love and Death* [H.20] was published for the benefit of 'Everyman's Belgian Relief and the Reconstruction Fund to which the proceeds of its sale will be given'.⁷⁸ Published near the beginning of the War, *Song in the Night* was also intended to provide Christian spiritual sustenance for abandoned or

grieving families at home. Still heavily Italianate in spirit, the texts were drawn from Donne, Dante, the Rossettis, Blake, Tennyson, Herbert, the Brownings, Thomas a Kempis, Stevenson and Warrack herself. It seems possible that Traquair assisted with the literary selection. All three illustrations were taken from Traquair paintings. *Can Ye Drink of the Cup that I Drink of?* was a reworking of the panel in the mortuary chapel decoration; *Love and the Pilgrim* reused the watercolour illustrated in *Floregio di Canti Toscani*; and finally *Love the Comforter at Night* was adapted from an enamel design of nearly a decade earlier.

The third anthology, edited by Grace Warrack, appeared after the War in 1921. It was sold 'in aid of children of Palestine, Armenia, Italy and France in districts suffering from the War', and in particular to fund the care of two chosen orphans, 'Virginia' found in Florence by Charles Warrack, and 'Louis' who lived near Verdun and was selected by the French government. *From Isles of the West to Bethlehem* was a collection of 'Pictures Poetry Tales Runes of Pilgrimage and Reception' [H.21]. This was the first volume in the series published by Basil Blackwell, with less emphasis on a craft binding and format than the previous books published by the De La More Press. A broader field of illustrators was introduced. The work of Douglas Strachan and Lady Waterford joined Duncan, Preston Macgoun, Rose and Traquair. This was a positive, post-war production with its outlook firmly and comfortingly placed on the afterlife. Traquair's tender illustrations included *Meeting in Paradise*, *Reception* [pl. 150b] and *Love and the Chalice*.

The last Warrack anthology to which Traquair contributed was *Une Guirlande de Poesies Diverses. From the Song of France: Poetry Early and*

Recent, published by Blackwell in 1923 [H.22]. *Love and the Pilgrim* made a third appearance, as *Succour* (*L'Amour Divin soutient le Pélerin*) with *Gift of the Spirit of Power* (*L'Ame dans sa Faiblesse reçoit le Baptême du Feu Divin*), a fresco version of a medallion in the Song School decoration, together with a further medallion, photographed from the Barbour manuscript version of 1897, *Reception of the Spirit* (*L'Ame par l'Effusion de l'Esprit Divin est faite Habitation de Dieu*). Apart from May Watson's contributions, the majority of the remaining illustrations were non-symbolic but direct landscape or subject work by Scottish artists including Strachan (a reduced version of a cartoon for a window in the library of New College), Amy Dalryell, Duncan, James Smetham and, to represent France, a *Mother and Child* (*Un Glaive transpercera ton Coeur*) by Gustave Courtois. French poetry from the Middle Ages onwards appeared in both languages. A final section of text was devoted to two Celtic texts, *The Rune of Hospitality* translated from Gaelic by Rev Kenneth Macleod and Fiona Macleod's *The Fisher of Men* from *Spiritual Tales*.

None of the illustrators to these volumes submitted new work. Material was chosen by the Warracks to complement the selection of written texts, and partly from their own collections. Grace Warrack is known to have owned two Traquair illustrations used in *From Isles of the West to Bethlehem*, whence they passed, with at least another two Traquair paintings to the poet, author and playwright Gordon Bottomley (1874-1948), better known as an aesthete for his collection of the work of Charles Ricketts,⁷⁹ and his correspondence with the artist Paul Nash.⁸⁰

It was significant that these volumes, together with a last one selected by Grace Warrack but without Traquair illustrations, *Dal Cor Gentil d'Italia. Canti dal Veneto alla Sardegna* (1925), were published in England, rather than by, say, T & A Constable. This was indicative of the interest in such work across Britain. Furthermore, with the exception of the Thistle Chapel, Traquair's principal commissions in the period covered here were not executed for a Scottish audience. From the mid-1900s Phoebe Traquair's work was largely created for friends and members of specific social artistic circles. In the last decades of her life she continued to seek new horizons but was less frenetically active in the arts. When her husband Ramsay died on 22 November 1912 she was sixty years of age, with a quarter of a century of work ahead. From this time onwards she allowed herself the pleasures of extended travel worldwide. As well as travels on the continent noted in previous chapters, and a visit to northern France made in May 1892 with Amelia, in the previous two decades she had visited her niece in South Africa at least twice, in 1895-96 and 1907,⁸¹ and made irregular visits to her native Dublin where she felt little sympathy with art developments declaring that 'art of any kind is almost unknown as in the new countries, except amongst a very small circle ...'⁸² Her companion on visits to countries as far flung as India and Egypt was the archaeologist Archibald Henry Sayce (1845-1933), Professor of Assyriology at Oxford from 1891 to 1919, who had delivered the Gifford and Rhind lectures in Edinburgh in 1900-2 and 1906 respectively. Retiring from Oxford to Edinburgh, Sayce, apparently described by Phoebe Traquair as a man who could 'pick up a stone in the desert and read it!'⁸³ spent most winters on foreign travels and

excavations. In December 1913 and January 1914 Sayce travelled with Traquair in India, visiting Calcutta, Dacca, Bombay and Barrackpore,³⁴ returning to Britain through Syria and Egypt. In 1921 they again visited Egypt, and in particular, Luxor. Four years later their travels took them to Marrakesh, Avignon and Gibraltar, whose names Traquair stitched on to a bedspread [E.15]. These travels lasted until at least 1928: a letter to Lorimer written in November mentioned plans to winter in Sicily and the Mediterranean.³⁵

The character of Traquair's commissioned work post-1910 reflected a cooling of the concentrated passion which had previously dominated her career. In these years, however, the Renaissance legacy of the previous decade still largely continued to dominate her painting. Ruskin's advocacy of a *purist art* where the spiritual thoughts of the artist were expressed above all else, was manifested in her work, which still reflected that of the Italian artist whose life 'was almost entirely spent in the endeavour to imagine the beings belonging to another world'.³⁶ Angelico's 'natural sweetness'³⁷ became adapted to Traquair's modern usage, expressing the continuing domination of her art, in detail sacred or profanely symbolic, above all by total dedication.

Conclusion

The letters written by Phoebe Traquair to her nephew William Moss and Percy Nobbs consistently pronounced artistic creation to be the expression of a religious faith. Her reply to a complaint from Percy defined the depth of her feelings and her breadth of understanding, despite the domination of much of her work by explicitly Christian iconography. Like so much of her writing, it displayed her continuing allegiance to Ruskin:

... you say you want me to keep off religion. Well, my last triptych is King Arthur taking the sword from the Lake,² The throwing back of the sword,³ the passing of Arthur in the boat with Queens. But in spite of that, there is only one real thing in this world and that is religion. Not creed, not church ... not fear but a something far deeper, the real self which only comes to the surface when the plough has gone over the land, and which the scientific world does not account for. There is joy in its agony, beauty in its racked form ... ¹

To her friends her art work, which from the mid-nineties witnessed a loosening of the earlier thickly symbolic Christian and literary iconography, bore out her faith and simplicity of outlook. Robert Lorimer wrote of her in 1897:

... I don't think I know *anyone* who is as sympathetic to me artistically. She's so *sane*, such a lover of simplicity, and the things that give real lasting pleasure are the simplest things of nature, the singing of birds, the bleating of sheep in the distance, morning and evening, everything and everyone she finds interesting and all this without a trace of self consciousness! ...²

What Oscar Wilde had called an 'instinct with beautiful life', the properties of the British arts and crafts preoccupation with the Italian Renaissance, applied as much to Phoebe Traquair as to English craftworkers.³ In Edinburgh Phoebe Traquair was not alone in seeing in Italian work a

golden age of humanism to be made applicable to modern use. The view of the Renaissance in terms of a supreme civilisation was voiced not only by art historians and architects in the city from the mid-eighties and made public at the Edinburgh congress of 1889, but over a decade earlier in the pages of *Blackwood's Magazine* where a review of J A Symonds's *The Renaissance in Italy* criticised it as treating the subject in purely aesthetic terms and ignoring 'the ordinary influences of humanity'.⁴ This last phrase in many respects was to sum up the character of Edinburgh arts and crafts, which, although romantic in detail, was to a large extent an intensely practical and educative movement, born out of the marriage of social philanthropy and manufacture design reform, and broadened by many of its theorists among whom could be counted its principal workers. The earliest ties voluntarily forged by Edinburgh with London were those which displayed a desire to improve living standards and to express a related spiritual awareness, and looked to London for example. In Edinburgh the presence in both town and gown of men who had the necessary vision, the essential total dedication and precisely the right connections or training in the South provided the city with the means to achieve its own rich renaissance - and support from outside its walls.

The career of Phoebe Traquair was wider ranging and more consistent in competence and iconography than that of many of her fellow artworkers. She fully participated in the Renaissance *zeitgeist* in both her choice timing and selection of media in which to work and in specific stylisations. The challenge of a medium linked with the Renaissance or the Middle Ages, and currently being revived in Britain, together with pleasure in its

mastery, consistently provided an impetus for creative art working. In the tradition of the best art and crafts workers she read widely, selecting for interpretation the precise aspects and details of high romance into which colour, composition, and exquisite material could fuse uniquely, in her own words 'the feeling or the tone of colour which gives just the throb desired ... so the whole passes into music'.⁵

Many of the literary sources used by Traquair, however personally adopted, displayed in themselves an allegiance to current English prototypes. The most common were drawn from Rossetti, Dante, Spenser, Tennyson and the Brownings, whose subjects dictated a sustained commitment to high ideals and aesthetic intensity. Her dedication to these writers was but one symptom of loyalty to Ruskin: his writings with those of Pater introduced the art of the Italian Renaissance to be experienced twice at first hand. Her first visit to Florence in 1889 provided the opportunity to examine the paintings of Botticelli and Fra Angelico, whose *Annunciation* in San Marco with, in Ruskin's terms, its 'meadow of rich herbage, covered with daisies' provided but one detail taken up repeatedly in her work from that date, in mural painting, illumination and enamelwork.⁶ Her second visit to the country in 1895 resulted in an emphasis on strength and purity of form and colour which demonstrated her debt above all to the painters of *quattrocento* Florence. The fertile *naturalismus* of German, and, to a lesser extent, French, decorative art of the nineties owed a similar debt to the observation of an indigenous renaissance whose influences was also felt in Edinburgh carving and furniture design, by the Geddes circle, and by the local members of the Guild of Women-Binders, including Traquair.

In the new century the intensity of colour in Phoebe Traquair's enamelwork reflected not a shift of interest from Florentine to Venetian art, as may be observed for example in the paintings of Burne-Jones under Ruskin's tutorage three decades earlier, but a further broadening of influence, visual terminology and an active involvement in Scottish and London guilds and exhibitions. The success which she deservedly achieved and built on during the decade from 1895 encouraged new media, techniques and styles which were accomplished and fashionable in British terms.

On a local level, Phoebe Traquair's role in the development of arts and crafts within Edinburgh - like that of many architects and workers across Britain - depended on the establishment and maintenance of personal friendships. In this the dinners and dances which she gave and attended were as important as the relaxed or formal discussions in houses, offices and studios. In Edinburgh and Britain the development of arts and crafts was the product of close personal associations and shared enthusiasms which gradually established committed styles of treatment. The dedication with which Traquair pursued her crafts was continually reflected in her correspondence. One particular letter declared her total devotion to art as the expression of the human spirit and may serve here to encapsulate her own personality and, in wider terms, the strong and serious character of Edinburgh arts and crafts:

... I agree with you, to succeed in any of the Arts, means loneliness. Christina Rossetti has a beautiful poem about that in which she describes (no doubt herself, poor thing) the artist, tired and lonely, hearing the applause aroused by his having spilt his heart's blood. But then it's *life*, life, life. Not the applause, drat it, nor the money, both very good as symptoms that the work's good, but the spilling one's blood, as you described when you shot the deer, the setting sun, deepening shadows, the flash of the great green eye and the flow of the crimson stream through the

grass ... it does not much matter how one does it, but to live at one's
highest, feel one's keenest, all along to the end, then go out without self
pity ... 7

FOOTNOTES

Introduction

1. *The Scotsman*, 6 August 1936
2. *The Times*, 6 August 1936
3. *ibid.*
4. James L Caw, 'The Art Work of Mrs Traquair', in *The Art Journal*, 1900, p. 148
5. Alan Crawford, *C R Ashbee, Architect, Designer and Romantic Socialist*, London and New Haven, 1985, p. 328: 'large pictures in enamel are something of a *tour de force* such as an Alexander Fisher or a Phoebe Traquair could carry off'.
6. *The Sunday Times*, 23 December 1984
7. Peter Savage, *Lorimer and the Edinburgh Craft Designers*, Edinburgh, 1980
8. 'A Scottish Lady Decorator: Mrs Traquair', in *The Scots Pictorial*, 7 May 1898, p. 10. The earlier interview was published in *The Studio*, Special Winter Number, 1897.
9. NLS MS 8122 fols. 1-139
10. These letters appear in footnotes and the summary catalogue, using Percy Nobbs's own reference numbers together with the date of each letter.
11. Barbara Morris, 'Some Early Embroideries of Mrs Phoebe Traquair', in *Embroidery*, Diamond Jubilee Edition, 1966, pp. 49-53
12. The English stained glass artist Louis Davis to the architect Robert Lorimer following an introduction to Phoebe Traquair at the Catholic

Apostolic Church, Edinburgh in 1902. Quoted in a letter from Lorimer to his Australian friend Robin Dods (private collection).

Chapter One

1. University of Strathclyde, Geddes Archive: uncatalogued at time of writing. Quoted in Peter Green, *Patrick Geddes*, unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Strathclyde, 1970, pp. 37-8
2. Fiona MacCarthy, *All Things Bright and Beautiful. Design in Britain 1830 to Today*, London, 1972, p. 21
3. *ibid.*
4. John Turpin, 'The Royal Dublin Society and its School of Art, 1849-1877', a paper read to the Old Dublin Society, 4 February 1981 and published in *The Dublin Historical Record*, 1982, p. 11
5. Turpin, *The Royal Dublin Society*, p. 4
6. *ibid.*
7. *Proceedings of the Royal Dublin Society 1875-1876*, Report of the Headmaster, 29 June 1876
8. One Hundred and Ninth Annual Report of the Council of the Royal Scottish Academy of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture, Edinburgh, 1936, p. 10
9. For an account of the involvement of the Irish Institution in the founding of the National Gallery of Ireland, first mooted in 1853 and opened on 30 January 1864, see Catherine de Courcy, *The Foundation of the National Gallery of Ireland*, Dublin, 1985
10. *Proceedings*, 4 June 1868

11. Esme Gordon, *The Royal Scottish Academy of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture 1826-1976*, Edinburgh, 1976, p. 69
12. Gordon, *The Royal Scottish Academy*, p. 117
13. de Courcy, *The Foundation of the National Gallery of Ireland*, pp. 47, 63
14. Undated cutting from the *Edinburgh Courant*, c. 1877, with the library archives of the Royal Museum of Scotland
15. Annual Report of the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art, Edinburgh, 1877
16. Annual Report of the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art, Edinburgh, 1902
17. Address delivered by Lady Alford on the occasion of the opening of the new building on 22 June 1875, and reported in *The Times*.
18. Barbara Morris, 'Some Early Embroideries of Mrs Phoebe Traquair', in *Embroidery*, Diamond Jubilee Edition, 1966, p. 50-1
19. *The Art Journal*, 1886, p. 139
20. A pencil study for the embroidery was with Peter Nahum, London, in the spring of 1986 (ill. *The Burlington Magazine*, April 1986, p. xli): a gouache study is with the Victoria and Albert Museum (E.838.1973). Burne-Jones also designed a series of embroideries for her sister Agnes Jekyll. See Jane Abdy and Charlotte Gere, *The Souls. An Elite in English Society 1885-1930*, London, 1984, pp. 84, 132.
21. *La Donna Della Finestra* (lot 91)
22. See G F Barbour, *The Life of Alexander Whyte DD*, London, 1923, p. 227 and D B Horn, *A Short History of the University of Edinburgh 1556-1889*, Edinburgh, 1967, pp. 191-2

23. John Miller Gray. *Memoir and Remains*, Edinburgh, 1895, vol. 1, p. 8
24. John Miller Gray, pp. 48-9
25. John Miller Gray, p. 46
26. Helen Smailes, *A Portrait Gallery for Scotland. The Foundation, Architecture and Mural Decoration of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery 1882-1906*, Edinburgh, 1985, p. 32
27. John Miller Gray, pp. 79-94. On Gray's death in 1894 the Misses Bradley and Cooper were each bequeathed their selection of books from his extensive library.
28. Letter of 15 April 1882. NLS MS 4432 fols. 15v, 16
29. John Miller Gray, p. 80
30. John Miller Gray, p. 104
31. David Balsillie, *Studies of Great Cities: Paris*, Edinburgh, 1889, p. 82
32. Balsillie, p. 80
33. Balsillie, p. 87
34. Patrick Geddes, *Every Man His Own Critic. An Introduction to the Study of Pictures*, Manchester and London, 1887, and *Every Man His Own Critic. An Introduction to the Study of Pictures*, Edinburgh and Glasgow, 1888
35. *Every Man His Own Critic*, 1887, introduction
36. *ibid.*, 1887, chapter two, *The Seeing of Art*
37. *Every Man His Own Critic*, 1888, p. 14
38. *ibid.*, p. 27
39. *ibid.*, p. 37
40. *ibid.*, pp. 50-1
41. *The National Observer*, May 1891, pp. 628-9

42. *ibid.*, pp. 603-9
43. *The Scots Observer, A Record and Review*, vol. II, p. 602
44. *ibid.*, p. 652

Chapter Two

1. David Balsillie, *The Ethic of Nature and its Practical Bearings*, Edinburgh, 1889, p. 113
2. Balsillie, pp. 40-1
3. Walter Crane, 'On the Position and Aims of Decorative Art', in *The Art Journal*, 1881, pp. 227-8
4. Crane, p. 228
5. W R Lethaby, introduction to *Medieval Art from the Peace of the Church to the Eve of the Renaissance 312-1350*, London, 1904
6. *Records of the Tercentenary Festival of the University of Edinburgh celebrated in April 1884, 1885*, Edinburgh, pp. 73-4
7. Frank Deas, an Edinburgh architect and future friend of Lorimer
8. Quoted in Paddy Kitchen, *A Most Unsettling Person. An Introduction to the Ideas and Life of Patrick Geddes*, London, 1975, p. 83
9. G F Barbour, *The Life of Alexander Whyte DD*, London, 1923, p. 168
10. Minutes of the Edinburgh Social Union, 16 January 1885
11. Minutes, 27 January 1885
12. Minutes, 17 February 1885
13. Minutes, 21 April 1886
14. Gerard Baldwin Brown, 'Some Recent Efforts in Mural Decoration', in *The Scottish Art Review*, January 1889, p. 225

15. Minutes, 14 February 1889
16. *The Scotsman*, 1 February 1887: report of the second annual general meeting of the Edinburgh Social Union held on 31 January.
17. *ibid.*
18. Minutes, 30 January 1888
19. Baldwin Brown, pp. 226-7
20. Minutes, 15 November 1888
21. Minutes, 4 October 1889
22. Minutes, 14 February 1889
23. Barbour, pp. 255-6
24. *The Scotsman*, 1 February 1887
25. Baldwin Brown, p. 225
26. Minutes, 4 October 1889
27. Minutes, 1 March 1888
28. *The Scotsman*, 1 February 1887
29. Royal Hospital for Sick Children Minute Books 1859-1896: meeting of the Committee of Management, 6 November 1884
30. *ibid.*
31. Minutes of the Edinburgh Social Union, 17 February 1885
32. Minutes, 17 March 1885
33. Baldwin Brown, p. 226
34. EUL MS Df.1.54
35. NLS MS 8123 fol. 45
36. *History and Description of the Decorations by Mrs Traquair in the Mortuary of the Royal Hospital for Sick Children, Edinburgh*, n.d., p. 6

37. *History and Description*, p. 7
38. NLS MS 8122 fol. 44: 3 May 1894
39. Now in the collection of the National Gallery of Victoria (3266/4)
40. Now in the collection of the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University (1943.200)
41. Religion as the foundation of art was the principal message of Ruskin's lecture, for example, on 'The Mystery of Life and its Arts' given at the Royal College of Science, Dublin, in 1868: this lecture displayed Dublin's support for Ruskin at this date. See *The Collected Works of John Ruskin*, ed. E T Cook and A Wedderburn, London, 1905, vol. 18, p. 145
42. John Ruskin, *Addresses on Colour and Illumination*, 1854: quoted in *The Collected Works of John Ruskin*, 1904, vol. 12, p. 481
43. *ibid.*
44. *The Collected Works of John Ruskin*, vol. 36, 1907, p. 335
45. James Dearden, 'John Ruskin the Collector', in *The Library: A Quarterly Journal of Bibliography*, 5th Series, vol. 21, pp. 125-6
46. NLS MS 8122 fol. 80
47. Surviving examples are with NLS MS 8122 fols. 216-223
48. Letter of 23 June 1887 from Ruskin to Traquair
49. Letter of 31 June 1887
50. Among other illuminated manuscripts copied by Traquair c. 1887 was a page from the 'Ruskin Bible' (NLS Adv. MS 1.1.1) then in the Advocates Library which Ruskin had admired on his visit to Edinburgh in 1853, and for which he commissioned a special display case.

51. William Morris, 'Some Notes on the Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages', in *The Magazine of Art*, 1894, p. 85
52. Ruskin Galleries, Bembridge School, MS Bem.L85
53. Morris, p. 88
54. I am indebted to Dr Gail-Nina Anderson for this suggestion
55. Roger Lancelyn Green, 'Andrew Lang - "the Greatest Bookman of His Age"', in *The Indiana University Bookman*, April 1965, p. 17
56. Published posthumously in *The Bookman's Journal and Print Collector*, May 1923, vol. VIII, no. 20, p. 38
57. NLS MS 8122: letter of 4 January 1899
58. *The Children's Guide*, July 1890, p. 191
59. *The Children's Guide*, June 1890, p. 145
60. The second annual general meeting of the Edinburgh Social Union held on 31 January 1887, reported in *The Scotsman*, 1 February 1887
61. *Transactions of the National Association for the Advancement of Art and its Application to Industry, Edinburgh Meeting, 1889*, London, 1890, p. 332:
 '... As for an iron architecture, there never was and never could be such. Every improvement in the art of engineering made the use of iron more ugly, until at last they had that supreme specimen of ugliness, the Forth Bridge'.
62. *The Scotsman*, 1 February 1887
63. Balsillie, *The Ethic of Nature*, p. 118
64. *Transactions*, p. 431
65. Francis Thompson, *Harris Tweed: the Story of a Hebridean Industry*, London, 1969, p. 62
66. Thompson, *Harris Tweed*, p. 63

67. *The Scottish Art Review*, October 1888, p. 132
68. Illustrated as a headpiece to an article on the World's Fair (Columbian Exposition), 'Some British Industries at Chicago', supplement to *The Art Journal*, 1893, p. v
69. The chain was made by Brook & Son of George Street in May and June 1899 and cost £668. See *Edinburgh 1329-1929*, 1929, pp. 72-3: working drawings by Black for the chain are with Edinburgh City Museums and Art Galleries
70. Minutes, 12 February 1892

Chapter Three

1. Introduction to *Transactions of the National Association for the Advancement of Art and its Application to Industry*, Liverpool Meeting, London, 1888, 1889
2. *The British Architect*, 1888, vol. 30, p. 399
3. *Transactions of the National Association for the Advancement of Art and its Application to Industry*, Edinburgh Meeting, 1889, London, 1890, p. xiv
4. *ibid.*
5. *Transactions*, p. 267
6. *ibid.*
7. *Transactions*, p. 269
8. *ibid.*
9. *Transactions*, p. 192
10. *Transactions*, p. 404
11. *Transactions*, p. 271

12. *Transactions*, p. 142
13. *Transactions*, p. 154
14. See Ian Gow, 'Sir Rowand Anderson's National Art Survey of Scotland', in *Design and Practice in British Architecture: Studies in Architectural History presented to Howard Colvin*, *Architectural History*, vol. 27, 1984, p. 544
15. *Transactions*, p. 109
16. *ibid.*
17. *Transactions*, p. 332
18. *Transactions*, p. 40
19. Selwyn Image, 'On the Theory that Art should Represent the Surrounding Life', in *The Hobby Horse*, vol. 1, 1886, p. 15
20. NLS MS 8122 fol. 18
21. Robert Lorimer, *The decoration of the Song School of Saint Mary's Cathedral*, Edinburgh: undated manuscript (collection S R Matthew)
22. *ibid.*
23. NLS MS 8122 fol. 12v
24. *The Magazine of Art*, 1892, pp. 358-9
25. *The Journal of Decorative Art*, supplement, May 1892, p. 33*
26. *The Builder*, 2 April 1892, p. 259
27. *ibid.*
28. *Transactions of the National Association for the Advancement of Art and its Application to Industry*, Birmingham Meeting, London, 1890, 1891, p. C17
29. See Susan Beattie, *The New Sculpture*, London and New Haven, 1983, p. 68

30. The decorator James Clark executed a number of public commissions in Edinburgh between the 1880s and 1910 including painted shields in Rainy Hall, New College: see *The Journal of Decorative Art*, September 1901, p. 344
31. NLS MS 8122 fols. 66, 67: 15 March 1896
32. fol. 8
33. Minutes of the Edinburgh Social Union, 1 April 1892
34. *ibid.*
35. Minutes, 12 April 1892: the gallery commission was eventually given to William Hole in April 1897
36. *ibid.*
37. Minutes, 29 April 1892
38. Minutes, 1 July 1892
39. Royal Hospital for Sick Children minute books, HH 69/1/2
40. *ibid.*
41. Royal Hospital for Sick Children minute books, 6 August 1891
42. NLS MS 8122 fols, 10, 11
43. Royal Hospital for Sick Children minutes books, HH 69/1/2
44. *ibid.*
45. 'A Mortuary Chapel designed by Mrs G F Watts', in *The Studio*, vol. 14, 1898, pp. 235-240
46. 'A Mortuary Chapel', p. 237
47. *ibid.*
48. Wilfrid Blunt, *England's Michelangelo. A Biography of George Frederick Watts OM RA*, London, 1975, p. 225

49. Mrs G F Watts, *The Word in the Pattern: A Key to the Symbolism on the Walls of the Chapel at Compton*, n.d.
50. Nobbs 72, 16 December 1905: 'Yesterday, I had a busy day. Mrs G F Watts came to Edinburgh and I met her at 11 o'clock and presently in came Sir James Guthrie and Mrs Fraser Tytler, then others and the morning was spent amongst the Watts pictures now on exhibition in Edinburgh [the memorial exhibition held at the Royal Scottish Academy]. The afternoon amongst my places, church, hospital, song school, and I got home very tired'.
51. *The Builder*, 5 October 1872, pp. 778-9
52. A F Morris, 'A Versatile Art Worker: Mrs Traquair', in *The Studio*, vol. 34, 1905, pp. 339-340
53. NLS MS 8122 fol. 24v
54. NLS MS 8122 fol. 26v. According to the account of the decoration published by the church, the wood used in the scaffolding weighed over six tons.
55. The visions of Ezekiel (Ezek. i) and St John (Rev. iv, vii)
56. I am indebted to Professor Giles Robertson, who knew both Ross daughters, for this information.
57. NLS MS 8122 fol. 67
58. fol. 4
59. *Description of the Mural Paintings in the Catholic Apostolic Church, East London Street, Edinburgh (Designed and Executed by Mrs Traquair)*, Edinburgh, n.d.: partly written by Phoebe Traquair, and probably published in late 1897 or early 1898, and certainly prior to completion of the decoration of the nave and west wall of the church in late 1901

60. *The Ring and the Book*, x, 1.1235
61. This and other unattributed descriptive quotations in the last section of this chapter are drawn from the above *Description of the Mural Paintings*.
62. NLS MS 8122 fol. 61
63. James L Caw, 'The Art Work of Mrs Traquair', in *The Art Journal*, 1900, pp. 143-8
64. Caw, p. 146
65. Caw, p. 147
66. *ibid.*
67. *ibid.*
68. Nobbs 32, 27 October 1901
69. Caw, p. 148
70. *ibid.*
71. The decorator was probably Andrew Hutton who had prepared the walls for the Traquair decoration
72. Caw, p. 146
73. *The Journal of Decorative Art*, September 1901, p. 241
74. *The Studio*, vol. 12, 1898, pp. 189-190
75. *The Studio*, p. 190
76. *ibid.*
77. NLS MS 8122 fol. 40, 11 December 1893
78. NLS MS 8122 fol. 15, 13 January 1892

Chapter Four

1. *The Journal of Decorative Art*, September 1901, p. 241
2. *ibid.*
3. *ibid.*
4. James L Caw, 'The Art Work of Mrs Traquair', in *The Art Journal*, 1900, p. 145
5. *The Magazine of Art*, 1892, pp. 358-9
6. *The Builder*, 24 January 1913, p. 112
7. *RIBAJ*, vol. 17, 1910, p. 745
8. Helen Smailes, *A Portrait Gallery for Scotland. The Foundation, Architecture and Mural Decoration of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery 1882-1906*, Edinburgh, 1985, pp. 45, 47
9. James L Caw, 'The Present Condition of Art In Scotland', in *The Art Journal*, 1898, p. 72
10. *The Scotsman*, 20 July 1939: obituary notice for W G Burn Murdoch
11. Report of the University Hall School of Art, 24 February 1893: with the University of Strathclyde Geddes Archive
12. University of Strathclyde Geddes Archive: letter from Burn Murdoch to Geddes, 13 March 1902
13. Leonée and Richard Ormond, *Lord Leighton*, London, 1975, p. 92
14. NLS MS 8122 fol. 205
15. W M Gilbert, 'The Decoration of St James's Episcopal Church, Edinburgh', in *The Magazine of Art*, 1896-7, pp. 216-7
16. *ibid.*
17. *The Art Journal*, 1897, p. 24

18. Gilbert, p. 217
19. Gleeson White, 'The Work of Heywood Sumner. Sgraffito Decorations', in *The Studio*, vol. 13, 1898, pp. 153-163
20. Gleeson White, p. 160
21. William Blake, *A Descriptive Catalogue: the Invention of a Portable Fresco*, London, 1809: quoted in Aymer Vallance, 'The Tempera Exhibition at the Carfax Gallery', in *The Studio*, vol. 35, 1905, p. 292
22. *The Studio*, vol. 23, 1901, p. 164
23. *ibid.*
24. John Duncan, 'A Note on Tempera Painting', n.d.: typescript in the possession of Paul Stirton
25. Duncan, pp. 5-6
26. *The Glasgow Herald*, 10 February 1896
27. Note by Geddes in *The Interpreter: Daily Announcements and Reports of the Proceedings at the 10th Edinburgh Summer Meeting*, No. V, 7 August 1896
28. Report of the University Hall School of Art, 24 February 1893
29. *ibid.*
30. University of Strathclyde, Geddes Archive (T-Ged.5/1/17(1))
31. Lecture delivered by John Duncan in Chicago in 1901: typescript with University of Strathclyde, Geddes Archive
32. Margaret Armour, 'Mural Decoration in Scotland', in *The Studio*, vol. 10, 1897, p. 103
33. Mary Hill Burton, 'Photography and Colour-Printing in Japan', in *The Studio*, vol. 14, 1898, pp. 245-254
34. NLS MS 10525 fols. 91-2

35. Introduction to *The Franco-Scottish Society (Société Franco-Ecossaise)*.
*An Account of the Society and the Inaugural Meeting, Paris, 16th, 17th and
18th April 1896*
36. NLS MS 10508A fol. 135: letter from Geddes to Duncan, 18 November 1895
37. NLS MS 10508A fol. 94
38. NLS MS 10588 fol. 35
39. NLS MS 10527 fol. 115: letter from Cadenhead to Geddes, 17 June 1895
40. Walter Crane, *Of the Decorative Illustration of Books Old and New*,
London, 1896, pp. 182-3

Chapter Five

1. Quoted in Isabel McAllister, *Alfred Gilbert*, London, 1929, p. 55
2. *The British Architect*, vol. 33, 1890, p. 468, n. 62
3. *ibid.*
4. Letter of 29 July 1897 from Lorimer to Robin Dods (private collection):
quoted in Peter Savage, *An Examination of the Work of Sir Robert Lorimer*,
doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1973, pp. 57-8
5. G F Barbour, *The Life of Alexander Whyte DD*, London, 1923, p. 237
6. Barbour, *Alexander Whyte*, p. 332
7. *Lord Carmichael of Skirling. A Memoir prepared by his Wife*, London,
1929, p. 251
8. *ibid.*
9. Barbour, *Alexander Whyte*, p. 341
10. John Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, vol. V, London, 1860, pt. IX, chap. VIII,
p. 289

11. Nobbs 15, 6 July 1901
12. Letter of 25 January 1897 from Mrs Hannah Lorimer to her daughter
Hannah: EUL MSS Acc.E81/81
13. Letter of 2 May 1897 from Mrs Lorimer to Hannah: EUL MSS Acc.E81/81
14. Letter of 19 July 1897 from Mrs Lorimer to Hannah: EUL MSS Acc.E81/81
15. Letter of 2 May 1897 from Mrs Lorimer to Hannah: EUL MSS Acc.E81/81
16. NLS MS 8122 fols. 26, 26v
17. Communication of 10 June 1977 from Toby Coghill, Headmaster of Aberlour
School
18. Barbour, *Alexander Whyte*, p. 341
19. Barbour, *Alexander Whyte*, p. 113
20. NLS MS 8122 fol. 1v
21. NLS MS 8122 fol. 5v, 1 February 1891
22. NLS MS 8122 fol. 6
23. J Scott Ferrier, proprietor of the publishing firm, was an elder in
Whyte's church for over thirty years.
24. NLS MS 8122 fol. 54, 9 September 1894
25. NLS MS 8122 fols. 53v, 54
26. NLS MS 8122 fol. 225
27. Barbour, *Alexander Whyte*, p. 347
28. NLS MS 8122 fol. 3v, 16 May 1890
29. Henry Cunynghame, *On the Theory and Practice of Art-Enamelling upon
Metals*, 1899
30. NLS MS 8122 fol. 6, 1 February 1891
31. Henry H Cunynghame, CB, *European Enamels*, 1906, p. 173

32. Margaret Armour, 'Beautiful Modern Manuscripts', in *The Studio Special* Winter Number, 1897, p. 51
33. *ibid.*
34. *The Magazine of Art*, 1894, pp. 83, 85-88
35. *The Magazine of Art*, pp. 51-2
36. NLS MS 8122 fols. 21v, 22
37. NLS MS 8122 fol. 58, 16 November 1894
38. Inscribed on the manuscript
39. Letter from Phoebe Traquair to Mrs Barbour kept with the manuscript since December 1897
40. A F Morris, 'A Versatile Art Worker: Mrs Traquair', in *The Studio*, vol. 34, 1905, pp. 339-345
41. Morris, *A Versatile Art Worker*, p. 341
42. Communication of 1 July 1977 from Sir Michael Culme-Seymour, Bart.
43. NLS MS 8122 fols. 109, 109v, 110, 14 January 1900
44. *Lord Carmichael of Skirling*, p. 249
45. *Lord Carmichael of Skirling*, p. 259
46. *Book Auction Records*, vol. 1, 1903, pp. 513-534
47. Traquair is known to have been reading Pater in 1894 and 1895:
see NLS MS 8122 fol. 58, 16 November 1894
48. *The Art Workers' Quarterly*, vol. II, 1903, pp. 58-9
49. *ibid.*
50. *Lord Carmichael of Skirling*, pp. 265-6
51. Exhibitions of the Edinburgh Social Union held at various dates throughout the 1890s, and those of the Edinburgh Arts and Crafts Club from

1898, all held in the Dean Studio; the second Exhibition of the Arts and Crafts Society of Ireland, Dublin, 1899; Arts and Crafts Exhibition held in the Queen's Rooms in 1895, and the exhibitions of the Scottish Guild of Handicraft from 1898, all held in Glasgow

52. NLS MS 8122 fol. 26, undated letter of late 1892

53. *The Studio*, vol. 34; 1905, p. 342

54. Armour, *Beautiful Modern Manuscripts*, pp. 52-3

55. Quoted in the catalogue of the *First Exhibition of Bookbinding by Women*, London, 1897: partially reprinted in D M Sutherland, 'The Guild of Women-Binders', in *The Magazine of Art*, 1899, p. 420, and *The Bindings of Tomorrow. A Record of the Work of the Guild of Women-Binders and of the Hampstead Bindery*, London, 1902

56. Esme Gordon, *The Royal Scottish Academy of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture 1826-1976*, Edinburgh, 1976, p. 162

57. See Alan Crawford, *C R Ashbee: Architect, Designer and Romantic Socialist*, London and New Haven, 1985, pp. 298, 451 n. 58

58. Mrs Emma Sinclair had a top floor studio at 8 North Bank Street.

Her daughter, Lily, married Duncan Macdonald of the London art dealing firm Reid & Lefevre, and later shared the St Ives home of Barbara Hepworth where examples of her mother's Celtic design carved furniture still survive.

Communication of 31 July 1985 from Mrs Margaret Rae

59. F Kruekl, 'Leather Embossing as an Artistic Handicraft', in *The Studio*, vol. 3, 1894, p. 53

60. Kruekl, p. 54

61. Fred Miller, 'Art Workers at Home: Bookbinders', in *The Art Journal*, 1897, pp. 14-17
62. For an account of the unhappy business relationship between Geddes and the Cobden-Sandersons, see Paddy Kitchen, *A Most Unsettling Person. An Introduction to the Ideas and Life of Patrick Geddes*, London, 1975, pp. 201-3
63. Prospectus of the Guild of Women-Binders, London, 1898
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65. Richard Dormant, in *Alfred Gilbert, Sculptor and Goldsmith*, exhibition catalogue, London, 1986, pp. 132-3
66. *The Studio*, vol. 13, 1898, pp. 114-5
67. *The Studio*, vol. 39, 1907, p. 72
68. G Elliot Anstruther, introduction to *The Bindings of Tomorrow*. Ainslie Waller has noted in her article, 'The Guild of Women-Binders', in *The Private Library*, Third Series, vol. 6, 3, Autumn 1983, p. 105, that the Hampstead Bindery was a male equivalent of the London section of the Guild of Women-Binders.
69. T J Cobden-Sanderson, *The Ideal Book, or The Book Beautiful*, London, 1901
70. Colin Franklin, *The Private Presses*, London, 1969, p. 109
71. Catalogue of the *First Exhibition of Bookbinding by Women*, London, 1897: quoted in *The Bindings of Tomorrow*
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73. Illustrated in *British Bookbindings*, *The Studio*, Special Winter Number, 1899-1900, p. 27
74. D M Sutherland, *The Guild of Women-Binders*, p. 422
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76. *ibid.*
77. Wood, p. 46
78. Wood, p. 27
79. James L Caw, 'Studio Talk: Edinburgh', in *The Studio*, vol. 34, 1905, p. 170
80. Catalogue of the *Exhibition of Artistic Bookbinding by Women*, Guild of Women-Binders, London, 1898
81. NLS MS 8122 fol. 24
82. See 'Scottish Arts and Crafts', in *The Art Journal*, 1907, p. 240

Chapter Six

1. Sotheby & Co., *Catalogue of the very Well-known and Valuable Library, the Property of Lt-Col W E Moss of the Manor House, Sonning-on-Thames, Berks., who is Changing his Residence*, London, 2-9 March 1937
2. Letter of 12 November 1898 to Robin Dods (private collection): quoted in Peter Savage, *An Examination of the Work of Sir Robert Lorimer*, doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1973, p. 53
3. Purchased by Cheltenham Museum and Art Gallery in 1985
4. A comment written by Nobbs on his transcript of a letter of 18 August 1901 (Nobbs 19) from Phoebe Traquair. Ramsay Traquair also researched

Byzantine architecture. visiting Constantinople in 1906 (Nobbs 77, 1 August 1906). In 1912 Traquair's researches were published in A van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*.

5. Peter Savage *Lorimer and the Edinburgh Craft Designers*, Edinburgh, 1980, p. 26

6. Nobbs 15, 6 July 1901

7. *ibid.*

8. *ibid.*

9. Nobbs 19, 18 August 1901

10. *ibid.*

11. Preface to Henry Cunynghame, *On the Theory and Practice of Art-Enamelling upon Metals*, London, 1899

12. Alan Crawford, *C R Ashbee: Architect, Designer and Romantic Socialist*, London and New Haven, 1985, p. 328

13. Described in 'Professor Hubert Herkomer as a Painter in Enamels: I - The Shield', in *The Magazine of Art*, 1899, pp. 105-112

14. Alexander Fisher, *The Art of Enamelling on Metal*, London, 1906, chapter IV, p. 31

15. *ibid.*

16. Fred Miller, 'An Enameller and his Work', in *The Studio*, vol. 3, 1896, p. 156

17. Henry Cunynghame, *On the Theory and Practice*, p. 34

18. Henry Cunynghame, *European Enamels*, London, 1906, p. 173

19. For an account of the involvement of the Wyndham family in arts and crafts, see Jane Abdy and Charlotte Gere, *The Souls, An Elite in English Society 1885-1930*, London, 1984, pp. 84-5
20. Princess Marie Louise, *My Memories of Six Reigns*, London, 1956, pp. 93-94
21. Nobbs 15, 6 July 1901
22. Nobbs 32, 27 October 1901
23. *The Studio*, vol. 18, 1899, p. 107
24. Nobbs 25, 30 October 1901
25. Frank Deas describing Lorimer in a memorial lecture c. 1930 given at the Royal Institute of British Architects, London: quoted in the foreword to *Tapestries, Needlework and other Objets D'Art from the Lorimer Collection*, catalogue of an exhibition held at the Saltire Society, Edinburgh, 1951
26. See D J Vallance, 'Recent Acquisitions at our Public Museums and Art Galleries: the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art', in *The Magazine of Art*, 1903, p. 152, and Christie, Manson & Woods, *Catalogue of the Well-known Collection of Works of Art of the Classic, Medieval and Renaissance Times, formed by Sir Thomas Gibson Carmichael, Bart., of Castle Craig, NB*, London, 12-13 May 1902
27. *Lord Carmichael of Skirling. A Memoir by his Wife*, London, 1929, p. 297
28. *Lord Carmichael of Skirling*, p. 299
29. The overmantel is at present on loan to the Victoria and Albert Museum from the Pre-Raphaelite Trust
30. *Catalogue of the Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901, Pavilion IV, Arts and Crafts*

31. No. 176. Three pieces by Lady Carmichael were also exhibited, including a silver necklace, with enamel clasp and pendant pearls, and a silver necklet, enamelled, and set with pearls and turquoises. I am grateful to Juliet Kinchin for allowing access to her research on arts and crafts in Budapest and for her translation of the 1902 Budapest catalogue.
32. James L. Caw, 'Studio Talk: Edinburgh', in *The Studio*, vol. 34, 1905, p. 169
33. *ibid.*
34. Nobbs 35, 10 March 1902
35. Illustrated in *The Studio*, vol. 8, 1896, p. 154
36. For example, *The Studio*, vol. 18, 1899, p. 107, also *The Garden of the Soul* illustrated in Fisher's contribution on *Enamels* to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th to 13th editions, or that illustrated in *The Studio*, vol. 25, 1902, p. 111
37. Nobbs 35, 10 March 1902
38. *ibid.*
39. Illustrated in *The Studio*, vol. 31, 1904, p. 68
40. Christie, Manson & Woods, *Collection of Sir Thomas Gibson Carmichael*, 1902, lot 61
41. *The Studio*, vol. 25, 1902, p. 288
42. The inkwell is now with the Royal Museum of Scotland, Queen Street
43. Victoria and Albert Museum (M.95.1960)
44. For details of the London exhibition see the catalogue of the 7th Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society exhibition and contemporary reviews, such as Alexander Fisher, 'Jewellery at the Arts and Crafts Exhibition', in

The Art Workers' Quarterly, vol. II, 1903, pp. 54-56

45. Nobbs 44, 26 February 1902

46. *ibid.*

47. Crawford, C R Ashbee, pl. IX

48. Illustrated in *The Studio*, vol. 24, 1902, p. 256

49. Aymer Vallance, *Modern British Jewellery and Fans*, *The Studio* Special Number 1901-2, pl. 51

50. *The Art Journal*, 1907, p. 236

51. *The Art Workers' Quarterly*, vol. I, 1902, p. 103

52. Letter to Robin Dods, 1897 (private collection): quoted in Peter Savage, *An Examination of the Work of Sir Robert Lorimer*, p. 72, and *Lorimer and the Edinburgh Craft Designers*, Edinburgh, 1980, p. 67

53. Nobbs 35, 10 March 1902

54. *The Art Workers' Quarterly*, vol. II, 1903, p. 54

55. Nobbs 62, 9 December 1903

56. Nobbs 56, 9 January 1904

57. Nobbs 61, 20 November 1904

58. *The Art Workers' Quarterly*, vol. V, 1906, p. 50

59. Nobbs 62, 9 December 1903

60. *The Studio*, vol. 37, 1906, p. 214

61. *ibid.*

62. Traquair's handwritten note sent with the casket to William Moss. Sold with the casket at Sotheby's on 7 December 1979 (lot 143)

63. *ibid.*

64. Another two pierced work ivory plaques from the same casket had been acquired by the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1870. See the 1902 Annual Report of the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art, Edinburgh, and *Lord Carmichael of Skirling*, pp. 303-4
65. Hobbs 90, 17 September 1908
66. For the most recent discussion of Burne-Jones's Arthurian subjects, and a more detailed account of his costume designs for J Comyns Carr, see Christine Poulson, 'Costume Designs by Burne-Jones for Irving's Production of *King Arthur*', in *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. CXXVIII, no. 994, January 1986, pp. 18-24
67. 'Scottish Arts and Crafts' in *The Art Journal*, 1907, p. 236
68. Ian Gow, 'Sir Rowand Anderson's National Art Survey of Scotland', in *Design and Practice in British Architecture: Studies in Architectural History presented to Howard Colvin*, *Architectural History*, vol. 27, 1984, p. 546
69. Walter Shaw Sparrow, *The Modern Home. A Book of British Domestic Architecture for Modest Incomes*, London, 1906, opposite p. 80
70. *Lord Carmichael of Skirling*, p. 75
71. Ramsay Traquair, *The Old Silver of Quebec*, Toronto, 1940
72. The actual title of this piece was again topical in British terms. Although conceptually distinct from Phoebe Traquair's own usage (but closer to Geddesian philosophy), Ashbee's masque of 1903, *A May Day Interlude*, included a representation of 'the Spirit of Earth, the symbol of the sap of things that rises each year in man and beast and plant': see Crawford, *C R Ashbee*, p. 124
73. Mrs Nelson Dawson, *Enamels*, London and Chicago, 1908, p. 197

74. Nobbs, 98, 13 October 1909

Chapter Seven

1. NLS MS 8122 fol. 11
2. Nobbs 55, 6 November 1903
3. Inscribed on a silver tablet attached to the north wall of the chancel at St Peter's Church
4. Communication of 17 January 1976 from the former rector of Mattarsey, Rev Noel Bevan
5. Eva Mary Otter (b. 1882) married Sir Lovelace Stamer, Bart. (d. 1941) in 1909
6. Communication of 16 July 1985
7. Nobbs 77, 1 August 1906
8. *ibid.*
9. The rector from 1901 until 1925 was Arthur Marshall. In the summer of 1904 he was apparently the principal suspect in an interesting case of overnight damage to Traquair's scene of the Resurrection when a chisel bearing paint was found in his garden shed (communication of 16 July 1985 from Bishop Otter).
10. Major Lord D'Arcy Godolphin Osborne had married Annie Laycock (née Allhusen) in 1887.
11. Nobbs 63, 19 July 1904
12. Nobbs 56, 9 January 1904
13. Annual Report of the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art, Edinburgh, 1875

14. Nobbs 61, 20 November 1904
15. Her son Ramsay: a nickname possibly derived from the character in Pater's *Two Early French Stories*, London, 1872
16. Nobbs 98, 13 October 1909
17. NLS MS 8122 fol. 122
18. Nobbs 61, 20 November 1904
19. Frank Morley Fletcher, 'Edinburgh College of Art', in *A Review of the Work executed by Students in the leading Art Schools in Britain and Ireland*, London, 1916, pp. 122-4
20. Some surviving Association and Union published course syllabi and exhibition catalogues are with the University of Strathclyde Geddes Archive
21. Nobbs 98, 13 October 1909
22. Nobbs 99, 15 November 1909
23. *ibid.*
24. Lorimer office certificate, 1911, no. 57. Payment was acknowledged by Traquair in a letter to Lorimer of 1 August 1911 (coll. S R Matthew)
25. Peter Savage, *Lorimer and the Edinburgh Craft Designers*, Edinburgh, 1980, p. 88
26. Lorimer office diary, entry for 15 February 1910
27. NLS MS 8122 fol. 116v
28. NLS MS 8122 fol. 117
29. *The Connoisseur*, vol. 32, 1912, p. 122
30. *ibid.*
31. *The Knights of the Most Noble and Most Ancient Order of the Thistle.*

A Historical Sketch of the Order by the Lord Lyon King of Arms, and a Descriptive Sketch of their Chapel by John Warrack, Edinburgh, 1911

32. Lorimer office papers (coll. S R Matthew)

33. Letter with Lorimer office papers

34. Letter from Phoebe Traquair to Lorimer: Lorimer office papers

35. Nobbs 61, 20 November 1904

36. *ibid.*

37. Lawrence Weaver, 'Lympne Castle, Kent, the Seat of Mr F J Tennant', in *Country Life*, vol. 28, 12 November 1910, p. 682

38. *The Autobiography of Margot Asquith*, London, 1962, p. 5

39. Lorimer office diaries: entry for 22 December 1908

40. Nobbs 98, 13 October 1909

41. Nobbs 99, 27 November 1909

42. Kathleen Purcell, 'A Notable Piano', in *Country Life*, Architectural Supplement, 29 April 1911, p. xi

43. 'Professor Ruskin on Burne-Jones and the Mythic School', in *The Art Journal*, 1883, p. 224

44. Nobbs 84 and 85, 18 June and 11 July 1907

45. The piano was sold at Sotheby's, New York (PB84) on 26 March 1980

46. See Michael I Wilson, 'The Case of the Victorian Piano', in *The V&A Yearbook*, 1972, p. 140, and his article 'Burne-Jones and Piano Reform' in *Apollo*, CII, November 1975, pp. 342-347

47. Illustrated in Wilson, *The Case of the Victorian Piano*, p. 137

48. Lorimer office certificate for 23 October 1912

49. Alan Crawford, *C R Ashbee: Architect, Designer and Romantic Socialist*, London and New Haven, 1985, pp. 287-292
50. Purcell, *A Notable Piano*, p. xi
51. Aymer Vallance, 'The Decoration of the Grand Piano', in *The Magazine of Art*, 1901, pp. 204-210
52. *ibid.*
53. *ibid.*
54. Communication of 24 October 1985 from Rima Schultz, Cathedral Historian, Diocese of Chicago
55. Letter of 24 February 1942 to William E Moss, in response to an advertisement placed by Moss in *The Glasgow Herald*, 23 February 1942: NLS MS 8122 fol. 204
56. Lorimer office certificates. Duncan received £60 for his Darlington panel in 1916 and £250 for the Broughty Ferry altarpiece in 1918
57. Savage, *Lorimer*, p. 20
58. NLS MS 8122 fol. 18, 4 July 1892
59. Nobbs 55, 6 November 1903; Nobbs 62, 9 December 1903; Nobbs 56, 9 January 1904; Nobbs 57, 31 January 1904
60. Lorimer office certificates for 1911: Traquair was paid 11 guineas for an enamelled plaque. Kirkwood and Whytock & Reid were also involved in this Lorimer commission.
61. Minute books of All Saints Episcopal Church, Jordanhill, Glasgow; *All Saints Episcopal Church, Glasgow*, brochure published to mark the jubilee of the present church, Glasgow, 1954
62. Minute books of All Saints

63. Lorimer office certificates for 1920, 1921. The memorial was dedicated on 30 January 1921.
64. *ibid.*
65. The plaque only is now with St Mary's Cathedral, Glasgow
66. *The Buildings of England: Hampshire*, 1967, p. 620
67. Letter of 23 July 1906 to Robin Dods (private collection): quoted in Savage, *An Examination of the Work of Sir Robert Lorimer*, 1972, p. 73
68. Gilbert received the commission as a result of meeting Manners in Italy in March 1923. See Richard Dormant, *Alfred Gilbert*, London, 1985, p. 299. For a detailed account of the portrait commission see also *Alfred Gilbert, Sculptor and Goldsmith*, London, 1986, pp. 174-5
69. *Lord Carmichael of Skirling. A Memoir prepared by his Wife*, London, 1929, p. 277. The silhouette is now affixed to the south wall of the Church of St Michael at Warfield, Berks.
70. NLS MS 8122 fol. 140: the letter was preserved by Amelia Moss's nephew
71. W R Lethaby and H Swainson, *The Church of Santa Sophia, Constantinople: a Study of Byzantine Building*, London, 1894. Lethaby's *Medieval Art*, London, 1904, followed, in part, Baldwin Brown's historical account of medieval including Byzantine architecture, *From Schola to Cathedral* London, 1886. O M Dalton's *Catalogue of the Early Christian Antiquities in the British Museum* London, 1901, and *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* London, 1911, preceded his *Early Christian Art* London, 1925.
72. GUL BF.76-d.15
73. G F Barbour, *The Life of Alexander Whyte DD*, London, 1923, p. 478
74. NLS MS 8122 fol. 122

75. Barbour, *Alexander Whyte*, p. 343
76. Barbour, *Alexander Whyte*, p. 479
77. *ibid.*
78. The literary periodical *Everyman* (1912-17) was founded and edited by Charles Sarolea.
79. A substantial proportion of his Ricketts collection is now divided between Birmingham Art Gallery and Carlisle Art Gallery. See *Catalogue of the Works of Charles Ricketts, RA, from the collection of Gordon Bottomley*, Carlisle, 1985
80. See *Poet and Painter, being the Correspondence between Gordon Bottomley and Paul Nash 1910-1946*, ed. C C Abbott and A Bertram, London, 1955
81. Nobbs 84, 18 June 1907
82. Nobbs 86, 20 August 1907
83. Communication of 20 October 1985 from Mrs Phyllis Stein
84. NLS MS 8122 fol. 118, 31 January 1914; also letter of 6 October 1913 from Phoebe Traquair to Lorimer, with Lorimer office papers
85. Letter of 6 November 1928 to Lorimer
86. John Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, vol. III, London, 1856, p. 75
87. *ibid.*

Conclusion

1. Nobbs 90, 17 September 1908
2. Peter Savage *Lorimer and the Edinburgh Craft Designers*, Edinburgh, 1980, p. 20

3. Oscar Wilde, *On the English Renaissance*, lecture published posthumously, London, 1905, p. 8
4. *Blackwood's Magazine*, CXVIII, Edinburgh, 1875, p. 83
5. Nobbs 55, 6 November 1903.
6. *The Collected Works of John Ruskin*, ed. E T Cook and A Wedderburn, vol. 4, London, 1903, p. 264
7. Nobbs 85, 11 July 1907

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Surviving letters written by Phoebe Traquair to her nephew William E Moss between 1890 and her death in 1936, together with correspondence also received from her sons Ramsay and Harry, press cuttings and photographs (mostly taken c.1898 and in 1910 by William Richardson Moss), her illuminations of *Sonnets from the Portuguese*, *The House of Life* and a collotype copy of *In Memoriam* bound by her, were given to the National Library of Scotland by his widow, Mrs E P Moss, in 1955 (NLS MSS 8122-8129). The letters written to Percy Nobbs between 1900 and 1920 are with the Nobbs family in Quebec. Other letters from Traquair may be found with the office papers of Sir Robert Lorimer of which the majority are now with Edinburgh University Library. Other personal letters remain with the various items of decorative art to which they relate: this is particularly the case with illuminated manuscripts.

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Note: periodicals given general listings below include some which were first published during the period covered by this study. Many of these in their sympathy to arts and crafts provide valuable comparative and source material. Only these journals have been credited with the date of their first publication.

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SUMMARY CATALOGUE OF WORK BY PHOEBE TRAQUAIR

Notes

The catalogue lists all work known by the compiler to have been executed or, in rare cases, designed by Phoebe Traquair. It is arranged in eight sections, each given to a particular area of Traquair's work. These include mural decorations, fixed decorations for private houses and churches, paintings, drawings and sculpture, designs and cartoons, embroideries, enamelwork and metalwork, illuminations, book illustrations and designs, and, lastly, bookbindings. As far as possible items are arranged chronologically within each section: dimensions given place height before width. References to the Traquair letters to Percy Nobbs use his own reference notation applied to his typed transcripts.

SECTION A: MURAL DECORATIONS

A.1 *Mortuary chapel of the Royal Hospital for Sick Children, Lauriston Lane, Edinburgh* plates 4, 5

Mural decoration executed between May 1885 and September 1886 for the Edinburgh Social Union

ref. Gerard Baldwin Brown, 'Some recent efforts in mural decoration', in *The Scottish Art Review*, January 1889, pp. 225-228 (ill.); *The Scotsman*, 6 August 1936; *The Times*, 6 August 1936

A.2 *The Song School of St Mary's Episcopal Cathedral, Palmerston Place, Edinburgh* plates 21-35

Mural decoration executed between late autumn 1888 and July 1892 for the Episcopal Diocese of Edinburgh

ref. Gerard Baldwin Brown, 'Some recent efforts in mural decoration', in *The Scottish Art Review*, January 1889, pp. 225-228 (ill.); NLS MS 8122 fols. 5v, 11, 15, 26v, 29v; *The Queen: the Lady's Newspaper*, 9 January 1892; *The Magazine of Art*, 1892, pp. 358-359 (ill.); 'The Mural Decoration of the Song School, Edinburgh Cathedral', in *The Journal of Decorative Art*, May 1892, supplement, p. 33^v; *The Times*, 10 May 1892; 'A Scottish Lady Decorator: Mrs Traquair' in *The Scots Pictorial*, 7 May 1898; *The Scotsman*, 6 August 1936; *The Times*, 6 August 1936
ill. NLS MS 8123 fols. 2-4

A.3 *The Catholic Apostolic Church, Mansfield Place (East London Street), Edinburgh* plates 45-67

Mural decoration of the chancel arch, chancel aisles and nave executed between spring 1893 and December 1901 for the deacons of the church

ref. NLS MS 8122 fols. 26v, 35, 67, 73; *The Magazine of Art*, 1895, p. 198 (ill. p. 196); MLM (Margaret L Macdonald), 'Edinburgh Studio-Talk' in *The Studio*, vol XII, 1898, pp. 189-191 (ill.); 'A Scottish Lady Decorator: Mrs Traquair', in *The Scots Pictorial*, 7 May 1898, p. 10; James L Caw, 'The Art Work of Mrs Traquair', in *The*

Art Journal, 1900, pp. 143-148 (ill.); A F Morris, 'A Versatile Art Worker: Mrs Traquair', in *The Studio*, vol. 34, 1905, pp. 339-345; *The Scotsman*, 6 August 1936; *The Times*, 6 August 1936
 ill. NLS MS 8123 fols. 15-29

A.4 *Mortuary Chapel of the second Royal Hospital for Sick Children, Rillbank, Edinburgh* plates 36-42

Mural decoration executed between early 1896 and May 1898 for the Edinburgh Social Union

ref. NLS MS 8122 fols. 10, 61

ill. NLS MS 8123 fols. 38-45

A.5 *Church of St Peter, Clayworth, Nottinghamshire* plates 133-136a

Mural decoration of the chancel executed between April 1904 and July 1905 for Lady Annie d'Arcy Godolphin Osborne

ref. Nobbs 55, 6 November 1903; Nobbs 62, 9 December 1903; Nobbs 63, 19 July 1904

A.6 *Chapel of All Saints, Thorney Hill, Hampshire* plate 148

Mural decoration of apse executed between late summer 1920 and summer 1922 for the third Lord Manners

ref. NLS MS 8122 fols. 123v, 140

ill. NLS MS 8123 fols. 49-52; NLS MS 8125 fol. 105

SECTION B: PAINTED FURNITURE; HOUSE, GARDEN AND CHURCH DECORATIONS

B.1 *Wooden cabinet* May 1890

Painted with narrative scenes, including one of the Red Cross Knight from Spenser's *Faerie Queen*

oil on panel: dimensions unknown

ref. NLS MS 8122 fol. 13v.

B.2 *Circular ceiling decoration for the drawingroom at Aberlour House, Banffshire* August-December 1892 plate 69

oil on canvas: dimensions unknown

Commissioned by John Ritchie Findlay

In situ, covered under by a coffered ceiling

ref. NLS MS 8122 fols. 21, 23, 26, 28, 81

ill. NLS MS 8123 fol. 58
exhib. 1893 RSA (78: as by R A Traquair)

B.3 *A long decorative wall panel for Aberlour House 1893*

oil on canvas: dimensions unknown
ref. NLS MS 8122 fol. 26
 Possibly *in situ*, painted out

B.4 *Ceiling decoration for Burnthwaite, near Bolton, Lancashire 1893-94*

oil on canvas: dimensions unknown
 Commissioned by the artist's brother, William Richardson Moss
 Possibly *in situ*, painted out
ref. NLS MS 8122 fol. 35
exhib. 1894 RSA (84)

B.5 *Wall decoration for a drawingroom at Kellie Castle, by Pittenweem, Fife August 1897 plate 68*

oil on canvas: dimensions unknown
 Commissioned by John Henry Lorimer
In situ, papered over
ref. NLS MS 8122 fol. 81; EUL MS Acc.E81/81

B.6 *Two pendant oval wall decorations, for the drawingroom at 54 Melville Street, Edinburgh 1903*

oil on canvas: dimensions unknown
 Commissioned by Robert Lorimer
 Untraced
ill. *The Studio*, vol. 34, 1905, p. 340

B.7 *Six panels for a reredos screen, including figures of the Virgin and Child, St Chad and the Crucifixion 1903-4*

oil on canvas: dimensions unknown
 Commissioned for a Cambridge church by the architect Henbest Capper
 Untraced, presumed destroyed
ref. Nobbs 55, 6 November 1903; Nobbs 62, 9 December 1903; Nobbs 56, 9 January 1904; Nobbs 57, 31 January 1904
ill. NLS MS 8123 fols. 52v, 54v

B.8 *Wall decoration for the drawingroom of Hyndford House, North Berwick* 1905
plate 136b

oil on canvas: 79 x 244 cm.

Commissioned by Frank Tennant

Untraced

coll. Mrs Frank Tennant; Mrs Helen Holding; with Holloway's, Banbury, 5 June 1984
(lot 477)

ref. Nobbs 61, 20 November 1904

ill. NLS MS 8123 fol. 59

B.9 *Two decorative wall panels depicting angel choirs* c.1907

oil on canvas(?), each of triangular format: dimensions unknown

Untraced

ill. NLS MS 8123 fol. 60

B.10 *Grand piano, designed by Lorimer and decorated by Traquair* 1909-10
plates 137-140a

oak, painted in transparent oil colours on a gilt ground; the case and works made by Steinway of London, with carving and trestle legs by Scott Morton & Co., Edinburgh, and gilding by Moxon & Carfrae, Edinburgh: 100.3 x 123.2 x 200.2 cm. Commissioned by Frank Tennant for the Great Hall at Lympne Castle, Kent, and subsequently moved to the Glen, Selkirk, and Hyndford House, North Berwick

Untraced

coll. Mrs Frank Tennant; by descent; sold at auction by Fraser of Inverness c.1970

ref. Nobbs 98, 13 October 1909; Nobbs 99, 27 November 1909; Kathleen Purcell, 'The Design of Grand Pianos' in *The House and Its Equipment*, 1911, pp 63, 65; Kathleen Purcell, 'A Notable Piano' in *Country Life*, Architectural Supplement, 29 April 1911 (ill.); Michael I Wilson, 'The Case of the Victorian Piano', in *The V & A Yearbook*, 1972, pp 149-150; Peter D Savage, *Lorimer and the Edinburgh Craft Designers*, 1980, pp 32-83 (ill.)

ill. NLS MS 8124 fols. 21-26

exhib. 1952 *Victorian and Edwardian Decorative Arts*, Victoria and Albert Museum, London (U5)

B.11 *Nineteen stall plates for the Chapel of the Knights of the Order of the Thistle, St Giles Cathedral, Edinburgh* June 1910-April 1911

champlevé enamel: various sizes

In situ

ref. NLS MS 8122 fols. 116v, 117

One other stall plate is known to have been enamelled by Traquair, in the autumn of 1928

ill. NLS MS 8124 fols. 9, 10

B.12 *Wrought iron gate and railings, for 25 Bridge Road, Colinton, designed by Traquair and made by Thomas Hadden c. 1910*

Commissioned by W. Blaikie, of T & A Constable of Edinburgh
Inscribed with the names of Traquair and Hadden and the initials of Blaikie and his wife
In situ

B.13 *Enamelled plaque for the Guthrie Memorial 1911*

Untraced
ref. Lorimer office certificates (1911)

B.14 *Triptych: St Andrew 1912 plate 145b*

oil on canvas: dimensions unknown
Commissioned by the Episcopal Diocese of Chicago for St Andrew's Chapel, the Cathedral of St James, Chicago
In situ
ref. NLS MS 8122 fols. 204, 206
ill. NLS MS 8123 fols. 51v, 52

B.15 *St Michael c. 1918-19*

incised and painted wrought iron silhouette figure, designed by Phoebe Traquair and fashioned by Thomas Hadden: 101.6 x 68.6 cm.
Church of St Michael the Archangel, Warfield, near Bracknell
coll. Lord (Sir Thomas) and Lady Carmichael; Mrs Dennis Wheeler-Carmichael
The figure was originally attached to an outside wall of 13 Portman Street, London

B.16 *Triptych: the Last Judgement 1920 plate 146a*

oil on canvas: central panel 188 x 137.2 cm., wing panels each 114.3 x 35.6 cm.
signed in monogram and dated
Commissioned as an altarpiece and war memorial by All Saints' Church, Jordanhill, Glasgow, through Robert Lorimer in 1919
In situ
ill. NLS MS 8123 fol. 52

B.17 *The Mary Reredos 1920 plate 146b*

Central panel with four side predella panels
oil on canvas: central panel 244.2 x 170.2 cm., predella panels each 61 x 30.5 cm.
signed in monogram and dated

Commissioned as an altarpiece and war memorial for St Mary's Cathedral by the Episcopal Diocese of Glasgow through Robert Lorimer in 1919

In situ

ill. NLS MS 8123 fol. 67

B.18 *Triptych: the Crucifixion* c.1920 plate 147

oil on canvas: dimensions unknown

Commissioned as a war memorial by St Peter's Church, Glasgow, c.1920

Destroyed

ill. NLS MS 8123 fol. 67

SECTION C: PAINTINGS, DRAWINGS AND SCULPTURE

C.1 *Decorated fan* c.1870

watercolour and bodycolour on silk(?): dimensions unknown

Untraced

ref. One hundred and ninth Annual Report of the Royal Scottish Academy of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture, 1936, p.10

C.2 *Jane Hone Richardson, grandmother of the artist* c.1879

watercolour on ivory: 7.8 x 7.2 cm.

Ramsay Traquair

coll. H M Traquair

C.3 *Study of women hoeing fields, Dreggie* 1882

watercolour on paper: 25 x 35.2 cm.

dated

Mrs M N Anderson

coll. H M Traquair

C.4 *Aberdour* 1883

watercolour on paper: 17.3 x 24.8 cm.

signed, titled and dated

Mrs M N Anderson

coll. H M Traquair

C.5 *Harbour Scene, Aberdour* c.1883

watercolour on paper: 17.3 x 24.7 cm.
Mrs M N Anderson
coll. H M Traquair

C.6 *Aberdour* c.1883

watercolour on paper: 17.5 x 25.5 cm.
Ramsay Traquair
coll. H M Traquair

C.7 *Beati Munda Corde* 1885

oil on panel: 27.7 x 13.1 cm.
initialled and dated
Ramsay Traquair
coll. H M Traquair

C.8 *For so He giveth His beloved Sleep* 1886

oil on plaster: 41.2 x 34 cm.
inscribed *MORTUARY* and signed in monogram
National Gallery of Scotland (1868; bequest of the artist)
A section of the first mortuary scheme for the Royal Hospital for Sick Children, Edinburgh, removed in 1895 on demolition of the chapel: the subject was repainted as part of the second scheme

C.9 *Mother and Child* 1887

oil on canvas: 28 x 13.5 cm.
signed in monogram and dated
Mrs Cecilia Greenwood
coll. Teresa Richardson Moss (Mrs Crompton)

C.10 *The Redemption of Mankind* 1887

oil on panel: 30 x 16 cm.
signed in monogram and dated
Ramsay Traquair
coll. H M Traquair
ill. NLS MS 8123 fol. 61
The painting was used as the basis for the design of the embroidered panel of the same subject completed in 1890

C.11 *She* 1887

oil on canvas: 31 x 25.5 cm.

signed in monogram and dated: titled verso

Claude Givaudan

coll. (?)William Moss; unknown; with Sotheby's, Belgravia, 13 December 1977

The subject was taken from the book by H Rider Haggard with whom the artist is known to have briefly corresponded in 1887

C.12 *Discord* 1887

Five scenes, set in an elaborate wooden frame inscribed with the title

oil on canvas (?): dimensions unknown

Untraced

ill. NLS MS 8123 fol. 55

C.13 *The Guide* c.1887

oil on canvas (?): dimensions unknown

Untraced

ill. NLS MS 8123 fol. 45

C.14 *Studies of Harry and Ramsay Traquair* 1887 plate 13a

pencil on paper: 15.5 x 22.9 cm.

inscribed *Harry Traquair 1887 the long headed silent boy who takes in all and gives out like a sledge hammer/ Ramsay Traquair 1887 the round headed dreamer who takes only what he likes, wakens now and then and tells it*

Ruskin Galleries, Bembridge School

coll. John Ruskin

C.15 *Choice* 1888

oil on canvas: 12.5 x 18 cm.

signed in monogram and dated

Christa Noack

coll. (?)William Moss; by descent; with Sotheby's, Gleneagles, 29 August 1979 (lot 644, unsold); with Sotheby's, Belgravia, 2 June 1981 (lot 94: as *The Meeting*)

C.16 *Dreggie* 1888

watercolour on paper: 12 x 20 cm.

inscribed with title and dated

Art Gallery of Greater Victoria (65-79)

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

C.17 *Dreggie* 1888

watercolour on paper: 12 x 20 cm.
 inscribed with title and dated
 Art Gallery of Greater Victoria (65-80)
 coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

C.18 *The Resurrection* c.1888

oil on canvas (?): dimensions unknown
 Untraced
 ill. NLS MS 8123 fol. 45

C.19 *Twixt Heaven and Earth* c.1888

oil on canvas: 26 x 20 cm.
 Untraced
 coll. (?) William Moss; by descent; with Sotheby's, Gleneagles, 29 August 1979 (lot 645)

C.20 *Painted fan* c.1890

watercolour on silk: 33 x 41 cm. (open)
 signed in monogram and dated
 Victoria and Albert Museum (T.422.1976)
 coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew
 exhib. 1895 *Arts and Crafts Exhibition*, Queen's Rooms, Glasgow (692)

C.21 *The Shepherd Boy* 1891

oil on canvas: 19.7 x 24.5 cm.
 signed in monogram and dated
 National Gallery of Scotland (1869: bequest of the artist)

C.22 *Hilda Traquair* c.1894

oil on panel: 28.3 x 23 cm.
 signed in monogram and titled
 Mrs M N Anderson
 coll. H M Traquair

C.23 *Pieta* c.1894

oil on canvas (?): dimensions unknown

Untraced
 ill. NLS MS 8123 fol. 56

C.24 *The Dean Village* c.1895

watercolour on paper: 23 x 24.3 cm.
 Ramsay Traquair
 coll. H M Traquair

C.25 *South African sketchbook* 1895-96

pencil, inks and watercolour on bound paper: page size 9 x 23 cm.
 56 pages, variously titled: a few later inscriptions date from c.1905-10
 Mrs M N Anderson
 coll. H M Traquair

C.26 *Can Ye Drink of the Cup that I Drink of?* 1898

oil on canvas(?): dimensions unknown
 signed in monogram and dated
 Untraced
 coll. (?)Grace Warrack
 ill. Mary Warrack, *Song in the Night. A Little Anthology of Love and Death*,
 1915, frontispiece
 A copy of the principal panel on the south wall of the Royal Hospital for Sick
 Children mortuary decoration (first scheme) the restoration of which was
 completed in May 1898

C.27 *Annunciation* 1900

tempera on card: 29.2 x 23.2 cm.
 signed in monogram and dated
 Carlisle Museums and Gallery (125-1949-42)
 coll. (?)Grace Warrack; Dr Gordon Bottomley

C.28 *Head of the Madonna* c.1900

oil on canvas (?): dimensions unknown
 signed in monogram
 Untraced
 ill. NLS MS 8123 fol. 57

C.29 *Triptych: Motherhood* 1901

oil on panel, set in a copper *repoussé* frame: central panel 22.2 x 18.1 cm., wing panels each 22.2 x 9.2 cm.

signed in monogram and dated

National Gallery of Scotland (1871: bequest of the artist)

ill. *Atalanta's Garland. Being the Book of the Edinburgh University Women's Union*, 1926, frontispiece

C.30 *Angels with Trumpets* c.1903

oil with gilded gesso on panel: 84.9 x 83.5 cm.

Private collection

coll. Sir Thomas and Lady Gibson Carmichael; Mrs Dennis Wheeler-Carmichael; Mr and Mrs Thomas Wheeler-Carmichael

C.31 *Study of a baby's head* c.1904

pastel and graphite on paper: 29.7 x 23 cm.

inscribed *Baby head*

Art Gallery of Greater Victoria (65-71)

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

C.32 *The Awakening* 1904

oil on panel: 61 x 149 cm.

signed in monogram, dated and inscribed *Painted for D Dickson*

Untraced

coll. D Dickson; Mrs Barbour; unknown; with Sotheby's, Belgravia, 27 July 1976 (lot 87, as *The Rainbow*, unsold); Sotheby's Belgravia, 14 June 1977 (lot 47, unsold); Sotheby's, Gleneagles, 27 August 1978; with Christie's, Tokyo, 15 February 1980 (lot 116, unsold); Christie's, 12 February 1982 (lot 143)
The subject is taken from Rossetti's sonnet sequence *The House of Life*
ill. NLS MS 8123 fol. 53

C.33 *The Asiatic Mystery* 1905

clay: height approximately 170 cm.

Untraced

ref. Nobbs 72, 16 December 1905

C.34 *Reception* c.1906 plate 150b

oil on panel, with verso a study of the same subject: 25.1 x 16.7 cm.

Carlisle Museums and Art Gallery (125-1949-43)

coll. Grace H Warrack; Dr Gordon Bottomley
 ill. Grace Warrack, *From the Isles of the West to Bethlehem*, 1921, p. 62

C.35 *Meeting in Paradise* c.1906

gouache on paper: 9.8 x 14.1 cm.
 Carlisle Museums and Art Gallery (125-1949-457A)
 coll. Grace H Warrack; Dr Gordon Bottomley
 ill. Grace Warrack, *From Isles of the West to Bethlehem*, 1921, p. 61

C.36 *Portrait Head* c. 1906

charcoal and graphite on paper: 29.5 x 33.5 cm.
 Art Gallery of Greater Victoria (65-75)
 coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

C.37 *A Visitation* c. 1906

watercolour on paper: 12 x 20 cm.
 Art Gallery of Greater Victoria (65-82)
 coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

C.38 *The Saints' Hour* c. 1906

pencil and watercolour on grey paper: 12 x 20 cm.
 inscribed with title and *beech nature*
 Art Gallery of Greater Victoria (65-81)
 coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

C.39 *Eight illustrations to Mary Macgregor's 'Stories of Three Saints'* 1907

pencil and watercolour on paper: dimensions unknown
 Untraced
 ref. Nobbs 84, 18 June 1907; Nobbs 85, 11 July 1907

C.40 *Paradise* c.1907

pencil and gouache on paper: 8.4 x 10 cm.
 inscribed with title
 Art Gallery of Greater Victoria (65-74)
 coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

C.41 *Study of a girl's head* c. 1907

oil on panel: 34.5 x 26.5 cm.

signed in monogram

Royal Scottish Academy (bequest of the artist)

exhib. 1908 RSA (287)

C.42 *Self Portrait* c. 1908

oil on panel: 29.9 x 34.1 cm.

signed

Scottish National Portrait Gallery (PG 1594)

coll. Ramsay Traquair

ill. NLS MS 8125 fol. 106

exhib. 1910 RSA (133)

C.43 *Dreamland* c. 1908

oil on canvas: dimensions unknown

Untraced

exhib. 1909 RSA (120, as by Mrs H Ramsay Traquair)

C.44 *Love and the Chalice* 1909

oil on panel: 20.7 x 17 cm.

signed in monogram and dated

Ramsay Traquair

coll. H M Traquair

ill. Grace Warrack, *From the Isles of the West to Bethlehem*, 1921, p. 114C.45 *Psyche and Pan* c.1909-10

oil on panel: 91 x 150 cm. (approximate size)

Untraced

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew; Robert Punderson

exhib. 1913 RSA (139)

A copy after the painted inside lid of the piano for Lympne Castle

C.46 *Study of a child's head* c.1910

oil on canvas (?): dimensions unknown

Untraced

coll. Mrs Alexander Whyte

exhib. 1911 RSA (17)

C.47 *Peggie* c. 1911

oil on canvas: dimensions unknown
 Untraced
 exhib. 1912 RSA (221)

C.48 *Still Life* c.1911

oil on canvas: dimensions unknown
 Untraced
 exhib. 1912 RSA (158)

C.49 *Study of a boy playing a pipe* c.1912

oil on panel: 39.2 x 35 cm.
 Mrs M N Anderson
 coll. H M Traquair

C.50 *Fan* 1912

oil on panel: 175.2 x 82.5 cm.
 signed in monogram and dated
 National Gallery of Scotland (1866: bequest of the artist)
 ill. *Revue du Vrai et du Beau*, 10 April 1926, p. 21

C.51 *Fan* c. 1912

oil on panel: 152.6 x 201 cm.
 Melrose Town Hall (Borders Regional Council)

C.52 *Girl playing a violin* 1912

oil on panel: 37.3 x 21.6 cm.
 signed in monogram and dated
 Carlisle Museums and Art Gallery (125-1949-489A)
 coll. Dr Gordon Bottomley

C.53 *Una Colomba Bianca* 1913

watercolour on paper: 21.5 x 24 cm.
 signed in monogram, titled and dated
 Untraced
 coll. unknown; with Sotheby's, 29 January 1980 (lot 9)

C.54 *Love the Comforter of Night* c.1913

watercolour on paper: dimensions unknown

Untraced

coll. Grace Warrack

ill. Mary Warrack, *Song in the Night. A little Anthology of Love and Death*, 1915), p. 84

C.55 *Love and the Pilgrim* c.1914

watercolour on paper: dimensions unknown

Untraced

coll. Grace Warrack

ill. Grace Warrack, *Floregio di Canti Toscani*, 1914; Mary Warrack, *Song in the Night. A little Anthology of Love and Death*, 1915, p. 70; Grace Warrack, *Une Guirlande de Poésies Diverses*, 1923

C.56 *The Ganges from Barrackpore* 1914

watercolour on paper: 12.7 x 17.8 cm.

signed in monogram, titled and dated

McGill University Archives (Percy Nobbs papers), Montreal

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Percy E Nobbs

C.57 *Egyptian temple and statues* 1914

watercolour on paper: 17.8 x 25.4 cm.

McGill University Archives (Percy Nobbs papers), Montreal

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Percy E Nobbs

C.58 *An Egyptian temple* 1914

watercolour on paper: 25.3 x 17.8 cm.

signed in monogram

McGill University Archives (Percy Nobbs papers), Montreal

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Percy E Nobbs

C.59 *The Scarlet Lily* c.1918

oil on canvas: dimensions unknown

Untraced

exhib. 1919 RSA (594)

C.60 *Luxor* 1921

watercolour on paper: 12.6 x 17.7 cm.

inscribed with title and dated

McGill University University Archives (Percy Nobbs papers), Montreal
coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Percy E Nobbs

C.61 *Mosque at Luxor Temple* 1921

watercolour on paper 17.8 x 25.1 cm.

inscribed with title and dated

McGill University Archives (Percy Nobbs papers), Montreal
coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Percy E Nobbs

C.62 *Ramsay 3* 1921

charcoal and pencil on paper: 17.4 x 12.7 cm.

inscribed with title and dated

Art Gallery of Greater Victoria (65-73)

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

A study of a grandson of the artist: the drawing has *verso* a study of the
sitter's sister, inscribed *Feg T.*

**SECTION D: DESIGNS FOR MURAL AND FURNITURE DECORATIONS, EMBROIDERIES,
ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS AND ENAMELWORK**

D.1 *Study for the decoration of the first Mortuary Chapel, the Royal
Hospital for Sick Children, Edinburgh* 1886

The panels depict, respectively, (a) an angel escorting an angel towards
heaven, (b) the Virgin and Child with angels, and (c) the Holy Spirit
awakening the spirit of the deceased

Three panels, oil on canvas: 24.8 x 20 cm.; 25.1 x 21.9 cm.; 24.8 x 20 cm.
inscribed with the text *For he that will save his life shall lose it and he
that will lose his life for My sake shall find it*

National Gallery of Scotland (1867: bequest of the artist)

D.2 *Studies of a seated man* 1888

bistre and white washes on paper: 12 x 20 cm.

inscribed with title and dated

Art Gallery of Greater Victoria (65-85)

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

A study for the decoration of the Song School of St Mary's Cathedral,
Edinburgh

D.3 *Study of mascons* 1888

bistre and pencil on paper: 12 x 20 cm.

inscribed *Aug. 17 1888*

Art Gallery of Greater Victoria (65-87)

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

A study for the north wall of the Song School decoration

D.4 *Study of masons* 1888

bistre and pencil on grey paper: 12 x 20 cm.

inscribed *Aug. 17 1888*

Art Gallery of Greater Victoria (65-86)

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

A study for the north wall of the Song School decoration

D.5 *Barnyard fowl* 1888

gouache on paper: 20 x 12 cm.

inscribed *barnyard fowl sketches*

Art Gallery of Greater Victoria (65-84)

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

A study for the north wall of the Song School decoration

D.6 *Cock and hen* c.1888

pencil on paper: 19 x 15 cm.

Mrs M N Anderson

coll. H M Traquair

Possibly a preliminary study for the Song School decoration

D.7 *Four studies of a child's head* 1889

pencil and wash on paper: 20 x 12 cm.

dated

Art Gallery of Greater Victoria (65-90)

Studies for the Song School decoration, with *verso* four more studies of the same subject

D.3 *Four studies of a boy's head* 1839

pencil and wash on paper: 20 x 12 cm.

dated

Art Gallery of Greater Victoria (65-91)

coll. Hilda Traquair; Mrs M Bartholomew

Studies for the Song School decoration, with verso three further studies of the same subject

D.9 *Willowwood* 1890

ink and pencil on paper: 17.4 x 12.6 cm.

signed in monogram, dated and inscribed verso *Finished painting on vellum in possession of Frank Dickson 1890 PAT*

The Misses Faith and Mary Baiss

coll. Edna Elvery (Mrs Baiss)

A preliminary drawing for one page of the illumination of the same date

D.10 *Sketch of the decoration of the first Mortuary Chapel of the Royal Hospital for Sick Children, Edinburgh* c.1891-92 plate 4a

ink on paper: 9.9 x 15.7 cm.

inscribed with a detailed description of the decoration

National Library of Scotland (MS 8123 fol. 45)

coll. W E Moss; Mrs E P Moss

D.11 *The Wise and Foolish Virgins* 1896

pencil and gouache on paper: 25.6 x 13.2 cm.

inscribed *design side chapel Catholic Apostolic Church foolish virgins*

Art Gallery of Greater Victoria (65-76 and 65-77)

coll. Hilda Traquair; Mrs M Bartholomew

Studies for the decoration of the south chancel aisle of the Catholic Apostolic church, Edinburgh

D.12 *Cartoon for foliated decoration* 1896

pencil with sanguine and chalks on buff paper: 132 x 610 cm.

inscribed (in another hand, probably that of Percy Nobbs) *Catholic Apostolic Church, Edinburgh, about 1890, cartoon for a frieze, Phoebe A Traquair*

McGill University Archives, Montreal

coll. Percy Nobbs

The only working cartoon by Traquair to have survived, this shows the design for the Catholic Apostolic church south chancel aisle dado decoration

D.13 *Six designs for enamelled plaques for a casket depicting the legend of Theseus and Ariadne* 1904 plate 116

- (a) Theseus offers himself as a sacrifice to the minotaur
- (b) Ariadne provides Theseus with a sword to slay the minotaur and a ball of thread to escape the labyrinth
- (c) Theseus slays the minotaur
- (d) Ariadne accompanies Theseus on his way to Athens
- (e) Ariadne abandoned while sleeping on the island of Naxos
- (f) Theseus forgets to change the sails and Aegeus takes his own life

pencil, watercolour and bodycolour on paper: (a) 3.7 x 5.6 cm.; (b) 7.9 x 6.1 cm.;

(c) 7.9 x 6.4 cm.; (d) 7.9 x 6.1 cm.; (e) 4 x 6.4 cm.; (f) 7.9 x 6.4 cm.

Victoria and Albert Museum (E.4891-4896.1968)

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

The designs were for the copper and gilt casket presented to Professor Samuel Butcher to mark his retirement from the Chair of Greek at the University of Edinburgh in 1903 (F.49)

D.14 *Lady Catherine Downshire* 1904

chalks on brown paper: 24.5 x 19.5 cm.

inscribed *Lady Cathrine Downshire - sketch for Childhood on wall of St Peters Clayworth*

Art Gallery of Greater Victoria (65-72)

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

Study for the chancel decoration of St Peter's Church, Clayworth, Nottinghamshire

D.15 *Bird and holly leaves: full size design for embroidery on a curtain, with, verso, a sketch of the curtain* c.1904

pencil and watercolour on paper: 30 x 20 cm.

inscribed *all easy for a beginner* and with notes, *verso* with an embroidery note

Victoria and Albert Museum (E.1018.1976)

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

D.16 *The House of Life: full size design for an embroidered panel* c. 1904 plate 145a

pencil and watercolour on paper: 173.5 x 85.5 cm.

inscribed with title and notes for embroidery

Victoria and Albert Museum (E.1008.1976)

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

The design, together with two companion panels of *The Awakening* and *The Return*, was stitched in silks on linen by the artist's daughter, Hilda Traquair and her granddaughter Margaret, and also by the artist's daughter-

in-law, Beatrix Nairn (Mrs H M Traquair). The latter was with Christie's, Glasgow, on 3 May 1984 (lot 151)

D.17 *Four and twenty blackbirds: full size design for embroidery* c.1904

bodycolour on canvas: 87 x 98.5 cm.

Victoria and Albert Museum (E.1028.1976)

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

ref. Barbara Morris, 'Some Early Embroideries by Mrs Phoebe Traquair', in *Embroidery*, Diamond Jubilee edition, 1966, pp. 49-53

D.18 *Four designs for the front and back views of two double enamelled pendants* c.1905 plate 120a

pencil, watercolour and bodycolour on paper: 17.8 x 25.4 cm.

inscribed with the titles of one of the double pendants, *Morning and Night* and notes

Victoria and Albert Museum (E.4889.1968)

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

See F.65

D.19 *The Red Cross Knight: design for the central plaque of an enamelled triptych* 1905 plate 117a

pencil, watercolour and bodycolour: 14 x 8.9 cm.

inscribed with title and owned by W Moss and verso with notes and, in another hand by Mrs P A Traquair

Victoria and Albert Museum (E.4890.1968)

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

See F.64, F.72

D.20 *Birds, flowers and vine tendrils: full size design for a vertical border for an embroidered textile* c.1905

pencil, charcoal and ink on paper: 145.5 x 38 cm.

Victoria and Albert Museum (E.1026.1976)

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

The design has verso a design of interlace

D.21 *Full size design for a pattern on a quilt* c.1905

pencil and watercolour on paper: 46 x 46 cm.

verso signed and inscribed *Geometric block pattern. Appliqué design for a quilt*

Victoria and Albert Museum (E.1027.1976)

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

D.22 *Horse chestnut leaves: full size design for an embroidered border*
c.1905

pencil on paper: 44 x 14 cm.

Victoria and Albert Museum (E.1019.1976)

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

D.23 *Geraniums: full size design for an embroidered table centre* c.1905

pencil on paper: 38 x 36.5 cm.

inscribed *Design for a table-centre* and with notes

Victoria and Albert Museum (E.1020.1976)

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

D.24 *Cowslips: full size design for an embroidered border for a work-bag*
c.1905

pencil on paper: 8 x 26 cm.

inscribed with notes

Victoria and Albert Museum (E. 1021.1976)

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

D.25 *Full size designs for embroidered borders, details and a teacosy*
c.1905

pencil and ink on paper: 57 x 89 cm.

Victoria and Albert Museum (E.1011.1976)

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

The design shows nine designs with a further two designs for a panel and a teacosy *verso*

D.26 *Honeysuckle: full size design for an embroidered border* c.1905

pencil on paper: 28.2 x 57 cm.

inscribed *This was done for a bag upon grey silk done in shades of yellow.*

It would do also for a border for a table-cover or bedspread or curtain

Victoria and Albert Museum (E.1013.1976)

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

D.27 *Full size designs for embroidery* c.1905

pencil, ink and watercolour on paper: 43.5 x 41 cm.

inscribed with notes and *To be worked on unbleached heavy roller cloth, pure linen possible, and bearing an attached sample of black wool*
 Victoria and Albert Museum (E.1022.1976)
coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

D.28 *Honeysuckle: full size design for an embroidered sachet or hanging bag*
 c.1905

pencil on paper: circular, diameter 10.6 cm.
inscribed For a sachet or hanging bag
 Victoria and Albert Museum (E.1016.1976)
coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

D.29 *Full size design for embroidery on a teacosy* c.1905

pencil on paper: 26 x 21 cm.
inscribed Teacosy (silk and wool)
 Victoria and Albert Museum (E.1017.1976)
coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

D.30 *Convolvulus: full size design for embroidery on a blotter* c.1905

pencil on paper: 28 x 21.5 cm.
inscribed For a blotter
 Victoria and Albert Museum (E.1015.1976)
coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

D.31 *Full size designs for embroidery* c.1905

pencil and watercolour on paper: three sheets
 Victoria and Albert Museum (E.1023-5.1976)
coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

D.32 *St Patrick: design for the central plaque of an enamelled triptych*
 1906

plate 117b

pencil, watercolour and bodycolour on paper: 11.7 x 7 cm.
inscribed with title and owned W Moss design for enamel
 Victoria and Albert Museum (E.4886.1968)
coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew
 See F.73

D.33 *Sleeping bird and horse chestnut leaves: full size design for embroidery* c.1906

pencil on paper: 36 x 56 cm.

Victoria and Albert Museum (E.1012.1976)

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

The design also relates to Traquair's design for the gate and railings at 25 Bridge Road, Colinton.

D.34 *Sweet peas: full size design for embroidery on a blotter* c.1906

pencil on paper: 28 x 22 cm.

inscribed *For a blotter. Initials can be put in the centre*

Victoria and Albert Museum (E.1014.1976)

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

D.35 *The calendar months of the year: two working drawings showing a half-repeat for an embroidered coverlet* c.1906 plate 144a

ink, wash, bodycolour and watercolour on tracing linen: (a) 111.3 x 93.7 cm.; (b) 111.8 x 76.5 cm.

inscribed with the names of the months and embroidery notes

Victoria and Albert Museum (E.1002-3.1970)

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

D.36 *Full size designs for a three panel embroidered screen* c.1907 plate 144b

(a) pencil and watercolour on tracing linen; (b) pencil and ink on tracing linen; (c) ink on tracing linen: (a) 153 x 61 cm.; (b) 148 x 61 cm.; (c) 148 x 61 cm.

inscribed *verso* 3 panel screen designed by PAT for Beatrix Nairn Traquair

Victoria and Albert Museum (E.1004-6.1976)

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

D.37 *The Awakening and The Return: full size designs for embroidered panels* c.1907

pencil and ink on tracing linen: (a) 173 x 44 cm.; (b) 175.5 x 42 cm.

Victoria and Albert Museum (E.1009-10.1976)

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

D.38 *The Long Path: design for an enamelled plaque* c.1907

watercolour and bodycolour on paper: 17.8 x 12.7 cm.

verso signed in monogram and titled

Victoria and Albert Museum (E.4887.1968)

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

D.39 *The Wise and Foolish Virgins: two designs for enamelled plaques for a casket* c.1907 plate 128a

pencil on paper: 9.2 x 24.5 cm.

inscribed with a note and verso with a sketch of the casket

Victoria and Albert Museum (E.4888.1968)

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

D.40 *King Arthur and the Queens: design for the central plaque of an enamelled triptych* 1908

watercolour and pencil on paper: 8.4 x 13.6 cm.

signed in monogram and dated, and titled verso

Victoria and Albert Museum (E.3310.1980)

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

D.41 *Willowwood: a finished study for the decoration of the keyboard panel of the piano for Lympne Castle, Kent* 1909

watercolour on paper: 14.5 x 100.1 cm.

Ramsay Traquair

coll. H M Traquair

D.42 *The Song of Solomon: nine finished studies for the decoration of the piano for Lympne Castle, Kent* 1909 plates 140b-143

(a) We will be glad and rejoice in thee

(b) Behold thou are fair, my love; behold thou are fair

(c) While the King sitteth at his table, my spikeward sendeth forth the smell thereof

(d) The voice of my beloved. Behold he cometh

(e) By night on my bed I sought whom my soul loveth

(f) Who is this that cometh out of the wilderness like pillars of smoke

(g) Return, return O Shulamite; return, return, that we may look upon thee

(h) I am my beloved's, and his desire is towards me; let us go forth into the field

(i) Many waters cannot quench love, neither can the floods drown it

watercolour and ink on paper: (a) 25.5 x 54.5 cm.; (b) 25.5 x 40.5 cm.; (c) 25.4 x 44.5 cm.; (d) 22.5 x 44.3 cm.; (e) 26 x 44.5 cm.; (f) 25.5 x 37 cm.; (g) 25.5 x 53 cm.; (h) 25.5 x 56 cm.; (i) 26 x 54 cm.

(a) and (e) signed in monogram and dated

Ramsay Traquair

coll. H M Traquair

See B.10

SECTION E: EMBROIDERIES

E.1 *Table cloth* 1879 plate 2a

embroidered in coloured worsteds on linen: 81 x 81 cm.

signed in monogram and dated

Victoria and Albert Museum (Circ.318.1965)

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

ref. Barbara Morris, 'Some Early Embroideries by Mrs Phoebe Traquair', in *Embroidery*, Diamond Jubilee edition, 1966, p. 49 (ill.)

The design is of apple blossom, fruit, birds and butterflies

E.2 *Table cover* c.1880 plate 2b

embroidered in crewel wools, silks and gold thread on textured crash: 83.8 x 89 cm.

Victoria and Albert Museum (Circ.319.1965)

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

ref. Barbara Morris, 'Some Early Embroideries of Mrs Phoebe Traquair', in *Embroidery*, Diamond Jubilee edition, 1966, p. 50 (ill.)

The design shows flowering cacti, birds, butterflies, insects and monkeys

E.3 *Tea cosy* 1880

embroidered in coloured wools, padded and lined with black silk and trimmed with cord of plaited gold thread: 23 x 38 cm.

signed in monogram and dated

Victoria and Albert Museum (Circ.321.1965)

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

ref. Barbara Morris, 'Some Early Embroideries of Mrs Phoebe Traquair', in *Embroidery*, Diamond Jubilee edition, 1966, p. 51 (ill.)

E.4 *Table cloth* 1880

embroidered in wools and gold thread on linen: 76.2 x 54.5 cm.

signed in monogram and dated

Victoria and Albert Museum (Circ.320.1965)

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

ref. Barbara Morris, 'Some Early Embroideries of Mrs Phoebe Traquair', in *Embroidery*, Diamond Jubilee edition, 1966, p. 51

E.5 *Three panels illustrating the Salvation of Mankind: (a) the Souls of the Blest (left panel); (b) the Angel of Death and Purification (central panel); (c) and Souls waiting on Earth (right panel) completed in 1891, 1887 and 1893*

plate 3

embroidered in coloured silks and gold thread on linen: each 185.4 x 67.3 cm.
each panel signed in monogram and inscribed with date of completion
City of Edinburgh Museums and Art Galleries

coll. H M Traquair

ill. NLS MS 8123 fols. 64, 65

exhib. 1895 Arts and Crafts Exhibition, Queen's Rooms, Glasgow (688); Arts
and Crafts Society of Ireland, Dublin (220); 1985 Edinburgh and Dublin 1885-
1985, Arts and Crafts in Edinburgh, Edinburgh College of Art (105)

The central panel was designed and executed as a single panel with the
pendant wing panels to accompany it designed c.1890

E.6 *Womanhood* c.1888

embroidered in coloured silks and gold thread on linen, in a carved frame
designed by Traquair: dimensions unknown

Untraced

ill. NLS MS 8123 fol. 63

exhib. 1895 Arts and Crafts Exhibition, Queen's Rooms, Glasgow (686); Arts
and Crafts Society of Ireland, Dublin (227)

E.7 *The Redemption* completed 1890 plate 13b

embroidered in coloured silks and gold thread on linen: 185.4 x 73.6 cm.
signed with monogram and inscribed with date of completion

Adrian J Tilbrook

ill. NLS MS 8123 fol. 62

exhib. 1986 Truth, Beauty and Design: Victorian, Edwardian and later
Decorative Art, Fischer Fine Art Ltd., London (194)

E.8 *Charity* c.1893

embroidered in silks on linen: dimensions unknown

Untraced

exhib. 1895 Arts and Crafts Society of Ireland, Dublin (213)

E.9 *Japanese storm dragon* c.1894

embroidered in coloured silks on linen: dimensions unknown

Untraced

exhib. 1895 Arts and Crafts Exhibition, Queen's Rooms, Glasgow (689)

E.10 *Embroidered panel* c.1894

embroidered in silks on linen: dimensions unknown

Untraced

exhib. 1895 Arts and Crafts Exhibition, Queen's Rooms, Glasgow (687)

E.11 *A suite of four embroidered panels illustrating the Progress of a Soul: (a) The Entrance; (b) The Stress; (c) Despair; (d) The Victory* completed in 1895, 1897, 1899 and 1902 plates 97, 98

embroidered in coloured silks and gold thread on linen: (a) 180.7 x 71.2 cm.; (b) 180.7 x 71.2 cm.; (c) 184.7 x 74.9 cm.; (d) 188.2 x 74.2 cm.
each panel signed in monogram and inscribed with date of completion
National Gallery of Scotland (1865: bequest of the artist)
ref. *The Art Workers' Quarterly*, vol. II, 1903, p. 58; Nobbs 62, 9 December 1903; Nobbs 56, 9 January 1904; Barbara Morris, 'Some Early Embroideries of Mrs Phoebe Traquair', in *Embroidery*, Diamond Jubilee edition, 1966, pp.51-52 (ill.); Anthea Callen, *Angel in the Studio*, 1979, p. 123 (ill.)
ill. *The Art Journal*, 1900, p. 144; NLS MS 8123 fol.66 ((a) and (b) only)
exhib. 1903 Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, London (40-43); 1904 St Louis Purchase Exposition (Dept. B, Art: 369-372); 1914 Paris International Exhibition (623-626); 1939 Exhibition of Scottish Art, Royal Academy, London (729); 1952 Victorian and Edwardian Decorative Arts, Victoria and Albert Museum (U1); 1985 Edinburgh and Dublin 1885-1985, Arts and Crafts in Edinburgh, Edinburgh College of Art (106)

E.12 *The Red Cross Knight* January-November 1904 plate 115b

embroidered in silks on linen: 191.7 x 83.8 cm.
signed in monogram and inscribed with date of completion
Royal Museum of Scotland (1937.363)
coll. H M Traquair
ref. Nobbs 56, 9 January 1904; Nobbs 61, 20 November 1904; *The Art Workers' Quarterly*, vol. V, 1906, p. 50
exhib. 1906 Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, London (290);
1908 3rd Triennial Exhibition of the Edinburgh Arts and Crafts Club

E.13 *The Red Cross Knight and his Lady Riding* 1904-7 plate 115c

embroidered in silks on linen: 189.2 x 85.2 cm.
signed in monogram and inscribed with date of completion
Royal Museum of Scotland (1937.362)
coll. H M Traquair
ref. *The Studio*, vol. 42, 1908, p. 317
exhib. 1908 3rd Triennial Exhibition of the Edinburgh Arts and Crafts Club

E.14 *The Red Cross Knight and His Lady* completed 1914 plate 115a

embroidered in silks on linen: 187.9 x 82.3 cm.
signed in monogram and inscribed with date of completion
Royal Museum of Scotland (1947.158)
coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier), who completed a lower section of the panel; John Napier

E.15 *Bedspread* 1925-26

silks on tussore silk: 250 x 104 cm.

signed in monogram, and inscribed with date of completion and with names of towns where sections were stitched: *Marrakish* [sic], *Gibraltar*, *Avignon*, *Colinton* and *Edinburgh*

Mrs M N Anderson

coll. Mrs H M Traquair

SECTION F: ENAMELS AND METALWORK

F.1 *Tray, executed by J M Talbot to a design by Phoebe Traquair* c.1893

beaten brass: dimensions unknown

Untraced

exhib. 1895 Arts and Crafts Exhibition, Queen's Rooms, Glasgow (693); c.1895 Edinburgh Social Union Exhibition, Dean Studio

F.2 *Decorative plate* c.1895

repoussé brass: circular, diameter 9.2 cm.

Mrs M Reynolds

coll. Dorothy Elvery (Mrs Kay)

F.3 *Card tray, executed by an Edinburgh silversmith MNB to a design by Phoebe Traquair based on mathematical formulae* 1900-1

beaten and pierced silver: circular, diameter 30.2 cm.

marked with Edinburgh hallmark, maker's mark *MNB* and year letter for 1900-1 Miss M Tait

coll. Professor Peter Guthrie Tait, to mark whose retirement from the Chair of Natural Philosophy the piece was made (at the request of former students of Natural Philosophy); by descent

exhib. 1985 Edinburgh and Dublin 1885-1985, Arts and Crafts in Edinburgh, Edinburgh College of Art (75)

See G.29

F.4 *Altar Cross, executed by J M Talbot to a design by Phoebe Traquair and set with five enamels by Lady Mary Gibson Carmichael* July-October 1901

See plate 106

brass and enamel, with gold: dimensions unknown

Untraced

ref. Nobbs 15, 6 July 1901; Nobbs 32, 27 October 1901; Nobbs 44, 26 February 1902

exhib. 1902 RSA (516)

A presentation drawing by Lady Carmichael of the cross and accompanying altar cloth, designed by Traquair, is with the Royal Museum of Scotland

F.5 *Paperweight by Hamilton & Inches of Edinburgh, to a design by Phcebe Traquair and set with an enamelled cooper plaque by her* 1901

silver and enamel: 4.2 x 6.6 x 7.2 cm.

marked with Edinburgh hallmark, maker's mark *H&I* and year letter for 1901-2

Mr and Mrs Thomas Wheeler-Carmichael

coll. Lady Mary Gibson Carmichael; Mrs Dennis Wheeler-Carmichael

F.6 *Triptych: the Crucifixion* 1902 plate 107a

three enamelled copper plaques, set in a *repoussé* copper frame:

15.2 x 18.3 cm. (open)

Mrs M N Anderson

coll. H M Traquair

exhib. 1903 Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, London (322)

F.7 *Our Lady of Sorrow* 1902

unmounted enamelled copper plaque: 4 x 4 cm.

signed in monogram and dated

Ramsay Traquair

coll. H M Traquair

ref. Nobbs 44, 26 February 1902

exhib. 1902 RSA (641)

F.8 *Sanctuary* 1902 plate 114

enamelled copper plaque, of quatrefoil form, set as a pendant in silver, with three enamel tear drops and a silver chain set with seed pearls:

5.2 x 5.3 cm.

dated verso

Mrs M Hayman

coll. Violet Wyld (Mrs Robert Lorimer); Mrs H Lorimer

exhib. 1903 Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, London (330k)

F.9 *My Lady Crowns Love* 1902 plate 108b

enamelled silver plaque, of quatrefoil form, set as a pendant in gold, with three enamel tear drops: 5.5 x 5.5 cm.

signed in monogram, titled and dated verso
 Ramsay Traquair
 coll. Mrs H M Traquair
 exhib. 1903 Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, London (330n)

F.10 *Our Lady of Sorrow* 1902 plate 109a

enamelled copper plaque, set in a *repoussé* copper frame which is set with two enamel drops: 5.5 x 6.1 cm.
 signed in monogram, titled and dated verso
 Mrs M N Anderson
 coll. Mrs H M Traquair
 exhib. 1903 Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, London (330s)

F.11 *My Lady Crowns Love* 1902

enamelled silver plaque, set in a silver mount: 4.3 x 4.2 cm.
 signed in monogram, titled and dated verso
 The Misses Faith and Mary Baiss
 coll. Edna Elvery (Mrs Baiss)
 exhib. 1903 Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, London (330n)

F.12 *My Lady Crowns Love* 1902

necklet in gold, set with two companion enamelled copper plaques, each showing a kneeling angel: dimensions unknown
 Untraced
 ref. Nobbs 39, 1 September 1902
 exhib. 1903 Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, London (330q)

F.13 *The Finished Task* c.1902

enamelled copper plaque, set as a pendant in gold, with a gold chain set with seed pearls: dimensions unknown
 Untraced
 exhib. 1903 Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, London (330p)

F.14 *Violet Wings* c.1902

enamelled plaque, set as a pendant: dimensions unknown
 Untraced
 coll. (?) Violet Wyld (Mrs Robert Lorimer)
 exhib. 1903 Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, London (330r)

F.15 *The Love Cup* 1902 plate 108a

enamelled copper plaque, of quatrefoil form, set as a pendant in gold with an enamel tear drop: 5.2 x 5.2 cm.

signed in monogram and titled *verso*

Victoria and Albert Museum (M.194.1976)

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

ref. Nobbs 35, 10 March 1902

F.16 *Virgin and Child* 1902

unmounted enamelled copper plaque: 4.9 x 13.4 cm.

signed in monogram and dated *verso*

Victoria and Albert Museum (M.204.1976)

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

F.17 *Our Lady* c.1902

enamelled copper plaque, set as a pendant: dimensions unknown

Untraced

exhib. 1903 Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, London (330b)

F.18 *Triptych: the Virgin and Child* 1902

enamelled copper plaques, set in a *repoussé* copper frame: dimensions unknown

Untraced

exhib. 1919 RSA (1010)

F.19 *Cupid the Earth Upholder* 1902

enamelled copper plaque, set as a pendant in gold, and a gold chain set with semi-precious stones: 7.5 x 4.2 cm.

signed in monogram, titled and dated *verso*

Victoria and Albert Museum (Circ.210.1953)

coll. Mrs W R Moss; Mrs E P Moss; Mrs T R Crompton

ill. NLS MS 8124 fols. 1, 7

F.20 *Cupid* 1902

enamelled copper plaque, set as a pendant: dimensions unknown

Untraced

ref. Nobbs 35, 10 March 1902

exhib. 1903 Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, London (330d)

F.21 *Cupid the Earth Upholder* 1902

enamelled copper plaque, set as a pendant: dimensions unknown

Untraced

exhib. 1903 Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, London (330c)

F.22 *Cupid the Earth Upholder* . 1902

enamelled copper plaque, set as a pendant: dimensions unknown

Untraced

exhib. 1903 Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, London (330e)

F.23 *Atlas Cupid* 1902

enamelled copper plaque, set as a pendant: dimensions unknown

Untraced

exhib. 1903 Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, London (330a)

F.24 *The Psyche Triptych* c.1902

thirteen enamelled copper plaques, set in a triptych frame: dimensions unknown

Untraced

ref. *The Studio*, vol. 35, 1905, p.343

F.25 *Cupid and Psyche Casket* 1902

seven enamelled copper plaques, set in a *repoussé* silver casket:

8.3 x 15.2 x 8 cm.

Mrs M N Anderson

coll. H M Traquair

ref. Nobbs 35, 10 March 1902

The casket was assembled by Brook & Son of George Street, Edinburgh

F.26 *Cupid and Psyche* 1902 plate 107b

unmounted enamelled copper plaque: 7.2 x 8.1 cm.

signed in monogram, dated and inscribed *Psyche deserted by all is found by Cupid verso*

Victoria and Albert Museum (M.206.1976)

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

F.27 *Endymion* 1902 plate 109b

enamelled copper plaque, set as a pendant in gold: 2.8 x 4.4 cm.
 signed in monogram, titled and dated *verso*
 Delaware Art Museum (on loan from a private collection)
ill. Revue du Vrai et du Beau, 10 April 1926, p. 24
exhib. 1903 Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, London (330t)

F.28 *The Annunciation* 1902

unmounted enamelled copper plaque: 4.9 x 13.8 cm.
 signed in monogram and dated *recto* and *verso*
 Victoria and Albert Museum (M.205.1976)
coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

F.29 *The Love Cup* c.1902

enamelled copper plaque set in a *repoussé* copper frame: 7 x 6.4 cm.
 signed in monogram and titled *verso*
 Victoria and Albert Museum (M.600.1936: bequest of the artist)

F.30 *The Love Cup* 1902

enamelled copper plaque, of quatrefoil form, set as a pendant in gold, with
 an enamel tear drop: 4 x 4.3 cm.
 signed in monogram, titled and dated *verso*
 Victoria and Albert Museum (M.192.1976)
coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew
exhib. 1903 Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, London (330o)

F.31 *Aphrodite* c.1902

enamelled copper plaque set as a pendant: dimensions unknown
 Untraced
exhib. 1903 Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, London (330f)

F.32 *Aphrodite* c.1902

enamelled copper plaque set as a pendant: dimensions unknown
 Untraced
exhib. 1903 Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, London (330g)

F.33 *The Lovers* c. 1902

enamelled copper plaque set as a pendant: dimensions unknown
 Untraced
 exhib. 1903 Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, London (330m)

F.34 *The Comforter* 1902

enamelled copper plaque, set as a pendant in gold with an enamel tear drop:
 8.8 x 5.1 cm.
 signed in monogram, titled and dated *verso*
 Untraced
 coll. W E Moss; Mrs E P Moss
 ref. *The Studio*, vol. 37, 1906, p. 139
 ill. NLS MS 8124, fols. 1, 7
 exhib. 1903 Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, London (330l)

F.35 *The Comforter* 1902

enamelled copper plaque: dimensions unknown
 Untraced
 exhib. 1903 Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, London (330i)

F.36 *Cupid the Earth Upholder* 1903

enamelled copper plaque, set as a pendant in gold, originally with a tear
 drop (now missing): 4.2 x 3.1 cm.
 signed in monogram, titled and dated *verso*
 Miss K Lorimer
 coll. Evelyn Wyld; Mrs Christopher Lorimer
 exhib. 1903 Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, London (330h)

F.37 *Cupid the Earth Upholder* 1903

enamelled copper plaque, set as a pendant in gold: dimensions unknown
 Lost
 coll. Beatrice Wyld (Mrs Bargrave Deane); Mrs Henry Kay

F.38 *The Helper* 1903

unmounted enamelled copper plaque: 4.5 x 5 cm.
 signed in monogram, titled and dated *verso*
 Ramsay Traquair
 coll. Mrs H M Traquair

F.39 *The Helper* 1903 plate 120b(2)

enamelled copper plaque, of quatrefoil form, set as a pendant in gold with three enamel tear drops and two smaller drops set into the mount:
4.5 x 4.5 cm.

signed in monogram, titled and dated *verso*

Untraced

coll. unknown; with the Fine Art Society, 1978

F.40 *The Finished Task* 1903-4

enamelled copper plaque, of quatrefoil form, set as a pendant in gold with an enamel drop and a gold chain set with enamels and semi-precious stones:
7 x 5.3 cm.

signed in monogram, titled and dated 1904 *verso*

Untraced

coll. E Scott Cooper

exhib. 1903 Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, London (330j); 1952 Victorian and Edwardian Decorative Arts, Victoria and Albert Museum (W52)

The enamel was placed in its current setting in 1904

F.41 *Triptych: The Kiss* 1903 plate 110

three enamelled copper plaques, set in a *repoussé* copper frame and stand:
27.2 x 17.9 cm. (open)

Mrs M N Anderson

coll. H M Traquair

ill. *Revue du Vrai et du Beau*, 10 April, 1926, p. 24

exhib. 1904 Arts and Crafts Society of Ireland, Dublin (371: section by 'artists not resident in Ireland'); 1985 Edinburgh and Dublin 1865-1985, Arts and Crafts in Edinburgh, Edinburgh College of Art (76)

F.42 *The Birth of Venus* c.1903

enamelled plaque, set as a pendant

Untraced

coll. W E Moss; Mrs E P Moss

ill. NLS MS 8124, fols. 1, 7

F.43 *Triptych: The House of Life* 1903 plate 112a

(a) The Awakening

(b) The House of Life

(c) The Return

three enamelled silver plaques, set in a silver *repoussé* frame and stand made by J M Talbot to a design by Ramsay Traquair: 13.8 x 19.2 cm.

signed in monogram and dated
 Royal Scottish Academy (bequest of the artist)
 ref. *The Studio*, vol. 34, 1905, p. 343
 ill. *Revue du Vrai et du Beau*, Paris, 10 April 1926, p. 24
 exhib. 1906 Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, London (380c); 1982 On the
 Side of Life, Edinburgh College of Art

F.44 *Madonna Casket* 1903 plate 112b

- (a) the Annunciation
- (b) the Redemption of Mankind
- (c) the Massacre of the Innocents
- (d) the Flight into Egypt
- (e) the Crucifixion and Pieta
- (f) the Ascension of the Madonna
- (g) the Crowning of the Madonna

eight enamelled silver plaques, set in a casket of ivory and silver:
 dimensions unknown

Untraced

coll. W R Moss; W E Moss; Mrs E P Moss

ill. *The Studio*, vol. 34, 1905, p. 342; NLS MS 8124, fols. 1, 2, 4

exhib. 1904 Arts and Crafts Society of Ireland, Dublin (370: section by
 'artists not resident in Ireland')

F.45 *Madonna Casket* 1903 plate 113

- (a) the Annunciation
- (b) the Redemption of Mankind
- (c) the Massacre of the Innocents
- (d) the Flight into Egypt
- (e) the Crucifixion and Pieta
- (f) the Ascension of the Madonna
- (g) and the Crowning of the Madonna

eight enamelled plaques, originally set in a casket of rosewood:

(a) 7.6 x 7.8 cm.; (b), (c) and (d) 7.8 x 12.7 cm.; (e) 3.7 x 6.8 cm.; (f), (g)
 and (h) 7.8 x 12.2 cm.

signed in monogram and dated

Ramsay Traquair

coll. H M Traquair

F.46 *The Chosen* 1903 plate 119b

enamelled copper plaque, set as a pendant in gold: 4.7 x 4 cm.

signed in monogram, titled and dated verso

Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries (E.1976.1.831)

coll. unknown; Mrs Anne Hull Grundy

F.47 *Cupid* 1904

unmounted enamelled copper plaque: dimensions unknown

Lost

ref. Nobbs 57, 31 January 1904

The plaque was sent to Percy Nobbs in Canada with the above letter but did not arrive

F.48 *Cupid* 1904

unmounted enamelled copper plaque: dimensions unknown

Untraced

coll. Percy E Nobbs; unknown

ref. Nobbs 58, 26 February 1904

F.49 *The Theseus Casket* December 1903-February 1904 See plate 116

(a) Theseus offers himself as a sacrifice to the minotaur

(b) Ariadne provides Theseus with a sword to slay the minotaur and a ball of thread to escape the labyrinth

(c) Theseus slays the minotaur

(d) Ariadne accompanies Theseus on his way to Athens

(e) Ariadne abandoned while sleeping on the island of Naxos

(f) Theseus forgets to change the sails and Aegeus takes his own life

six enamelled copper plaques, set in a casket of ivory and copper gilt:
dimensions unknown

Untraced

coll. Professor Samuel Henry Butcher, for whom made to mark his retirement from the Chair of Greek at the University of Edinburgh in 1903; unknown

ref. Nobbs 62, 9 December 1903; Nobbs 57, 31 January 1904; *The Studio*, vol. 34, 1905, p. 343

F.50 *The Vow* 1904

unmounted enamelled copper plaque: 4.5 x 3.8 cm.

signed in monogram, titled and dated *verso*

Victoria and Albert Museum (M.191.1976)

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Eartholomew

F.51 *St John* 1904

enamelled copper plaque, set in a *repoussé* copper frame and stand decorated with enamel drops: 15.6 x 4.9 cm.

Mrs M N Anderson

coll. H M Traquair

The enamel was executed to mark the birth of John Napier (1904-47), grandson of the artist

F.52 *The Song* 1904 plate 123a

enamelled copper plaque, set as a pendant in gold, with an enamelled tear drop: 4.6 x 7.2 cm.

signed in monogram, titled and dated *verso*

Delaware Art Museum

coll. unknown; Mrs Dora Jane Janson

ref. Dora J Janson, *From Slave to Siren*, no. 224

exhib. c.1977 Pre-Raphaelite Era 1848-1914, Delaware Art Museum (6.50: ill.)

F.53 *The Song* 1904

enamelled silver(?) plaque, set as a pendant in silver, decorated with twisted wire and three enamel tear drops: 6.7 x 5.4 cm.

signed in monogram, titled and dated *verso*

Untraced

coll. W R Moss; W E Moss; Mrs E P Moss

exhib. 1952 Victorian and Edwardian Decorative Arts, Victoria and Albert Museum (W51)

F.54 *Triptych: The Crucifixion* c.1904

three enamelled copper plaques, set in a *repoussé* copper frame:

12.7 x 20.3 cm. (open)

signed in monogram

Adrian J Tilbrook

coll. unknown

exhib. 1986 Truth, Beauty and Design, Victorian Edwardian and Later Decorative Art, Fischer Fine Art Ltd., London (195)

F.55 *The Love Cup* c.1904

enamelled copper plaque, of quatrefoil form, set as a gold necklace with enamel heart drop: dimensions unknown

Untraced

coll. W R Moss; W E Moss; Mrs E P Moss

ill. NLS MS 8124, fol. 6v

F.56 *Angel Chalice* 1905 plate 130a

haliotis shell, mounted in silver by J M Talbot to a design by Ramsay Traquair, the stand base decorated with enamel drops and the upper stand with three inverse triangular enamelled copper plaques depicting angels playing musical instruments or bearing a bible, all by Phoebe Traquair: height 23.4 cm.

marked with Edinburgh hallmark, maker's mark JMT and year letter for 1904-5

Victoria and Albert Museum (M.187.1976)
coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

F.57 *The Mermaid* 1905

double enamelled copper plaque (the reverse painted with flowers), set as a necklace pendant in gold, with three enamelled drops, and linked by enamel to two accompanying enamelled side plaques of sailing ships: 4.9 x 3.3 cm. signed in monogram, titled and dated *verso*

Victoria and Albert Museum (Circ.211.1953)

coll. Mrs E P Moss; Mrs T R Crompton

exhib. 1906 Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, London (380b); 1952

Victorian and Edwardian Decorative Arts, Victoria and Albert Museum (W53)

The necklace has a companion bracelet of enamel plaques set in gold with enamel and gold links

F.58 *The Mermaid* c.1905

enamelled copper plaque, set as a pendant in gold: dimensions unknown

Lost

coll. Mrs Percy Nobbs; Mrs P Hyde

F.59 *Triptych: Seek Ye My Face* 1905

three enamelled copper plaques, set in a *repoussé* copper frame and stand: 15.8 x 12.9 cm. (open)

signed in monogram, dated and inscribed with full title

Royal Museum of Scotland (1980.32)

coll. unknown; Lady Younger

F.60 *Cupid the Earth Upholder* 1905

enamelled copper plaque, set as a necklace pendant in gold, with an enamel drop, and linked to two accompanying enamelled side plaques each depicting an angel: 4.5 x 2.8 cm.

signed in monogram, dated and inscribed *Cupid. Atlas the Earth Upholder* *verso*

Ramsay Traquair

coll. Mrs H M Traquair

F.61 *Cupid* 1905

enamelled silver plaque, of heart form, set as a pendant in gold with a tear drop: 2.3 x 2.8 cm.

signed in monogram and dated *verso*

Royal Museum of Scotland
coll. unknown; J Davies; Tadmor Gallery

F.62 *Cupid* c.1905

enamelled silver plaque, of heart form, set as a pendant in gold with an enamel tear drop and with a gold and enamel chain: 1.8 x 2.4 cm.
John Jesse and Irina Laski

F.63 *Triptych: Seek Ye My Face* 1905

three enamelled copper plaques, set in a *repoussé* copper frame and stand: height 15.8 cm.
signed in monogram, dated and inscribed with full title
Ramsay Traquair
coll. H M Traquair

F.64 *Triptych: The Red Cross Knight* 1905

- (a) The Red Cross Knight and his Lady
- (b) The Red Cross Knight
- (c) The Red Cross Knight and his Lady Riding

three enamelled copper plaques, set in an electroplated frame and stand made by J M Talbot to a design by Ramsay Traquair, the waist of the stem set with eight enamel *cabuchons*: 27.6 x 20.3 cm.
Lt.Col. W A Shaw
coll. W R Moss; W E Moss
ref. *The Studio*, vol. 37, 1906, pp. 132, 213-4 (ill.)
ill. NLS MS 8124 fols. 1, 3, 6
exhib. 1906 Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, London (380h)
See D.19

F.65 *Morning and Evening* c.1905 See plate 120a

double enamelled copper plaque, set as a pendant: dimensions unknown
Untraced
ill. *The Studio*, vol. 37, 1906, p. 139
exhib. 1906 Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, London (380d)

F.66 *Sunshine and Storm* c.1905

double enamelled copper plaque, set as a pendant: dimensions unknown
Untraced
exhib. 1906 Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, London (380e)

F.67 *The Love Cup* c.1905

enamelled copper plaque, of quatrefoil form, set as a pendant in gold with an enamel tear drop: dimensions unknown

Untraced

ill. *The Studio*, vol. 37, 1906, p. 139

exhib. 1906 Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, London (ex-catalogue)

F.68 *The Kiss* c.1906

enamelled copper plaque, set as a pendant in gold: dimensions unknown

Untraced

coll. W R Moss; W E Moss; Mrs E P Moss

ill. NLS MS 8124, fols. 1, 7

F.69 *The Kiss* c.1906

unmounted enamelled copper plaque: 4.5 x 4.4 cm.

Ramsay Traquair

coll. H M Traquair

F.70 *Necklace* c.1906

six enamelled silver heart plaques, set in silver mounts with silver wirework and chains by (?) J M Talbot: various sizes, all approximately 1.4 x 1.3cm.

Mrs M Hayman

coll. Mrs Robert Lorimer; Mrs H Lorimer

F.71 *The Crucifixion and Crowning of Christ* c.1906

two double and linked enamelled silver plaques, set as a pendant in silver with an enamel tear drop: (a) 2.1 x 3.2 cm; (b) 2.8 x 3.2 cm.

Mrs M N Anderson

coll. Mrs H M Traquair

F.72 *Triptych: The Red Cross Knight* 1906 plates 118, 119a

(a) The Red Cross Knight and his Lady

(b) The Red Cross Knight

(c) The Red Cross Knight and his Lady Riding

three enamelled copper plaques, set in an electroplated frame and stand made by J M Talbot to a design by Ramsay Traquair, the waist of the stem set with eight enamel cabuchons: height 26.5 cm.

signed in monogram and dated

City of Edinburgh Museums and Art Galleries (HH 3845.1977)
 coll. W E Moss; unknown; with Sotheby's Belgravia, November 1976 (lot 70)

F.73 *Triptych: St Patrick* 1906 See plate 117b

- (a) The Vision of Patrick
- (b) St Patrick Blessing
- (c) The Abduction of Patrick and his Arrival in Ireland

three enamelled copper plaques, set in an electroplated frame and stand made by J M Talbot to a design by Ramsay Traquair, the waist of the stem set with eight enamel cabuchons: 27 x 20.5 cm. (open)

Lt.Col. W A Shaw

coll. W R Moss; W E Moss

ill. NLS MS 8124, fols. 1, 3, 6

See D.32

F.74 *The Life of the Virgin* 1906

three enamelled copper plaques framed and set in a stand of *repoussé* electroplated stand: height 21.8 cm.

signed in monogram and dated *verso*

Ramsay Traquair

coll. H M Traquair

F.75 *Mary teaching Christ to Walk* 1906

enamelled copper plaque, set in a silver mount and framed in wood: 7.2 x 7.3 cm.

signed in monogram, dated and inscribed *H M Traquair verso*

Mrs M N Anderson

coll. H M Traquair

F.76 *The Virgin and Child* 1906

enamelled copper plaque, set as a pendant in gold, with wirework and an enamelled Celtic drop: 6.1 x 3.3 cm.

signed in monogram and dated *verso*

Victoria and Albert Museum (M.193.1976)

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

F.77 *Triptych: Seek Ye My Face* 1906

three enamelled copper plaques, set in a *repousse* bronze frame and stand: 16.6 x 12.2 cm.

signed in monogram, dated and inscribed with full title

Mr and Mrs Thomas Wheeler-Carmichael
 coll. Lady Mary Gibson Carmichael; Mrs Dennis Wheeler-Carmichael

F.78 *Triptych: Seek Ye My Face* 1906 plate 111

three enamelled copper plaques, set in a *repoussé* copper frame and stand:
 16.8 x 11.2 cm. (open)
 signed in monogram, dated and inscribed with full title
 Victoria and Albert Museum (M.189.1976)
 coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

F.79 *Altar Cross* 1906

five enamelled silver(?) plaques, set in a silver cross made by J M Talbot
 to a design by Robert Lorimer: dimensions unknown
 Untraced
 ref. *The Art Journal*, 1907, p. 236 (ill.)

F.80 *Angel Chalice* 1906

nautilus shell, mounted in silver by J M Talbot to a design by Ramsay
 Traquair, the upper stand decorated with enamelled copper plaques of angel
 musicians by Phoebe Traquair: dimensions unknown
 Untraced
 coll. W R Moss; W E Moss
 ill. *The Art Journal*, 1907, p. 237; NLS MS 8124, fols. 1, 6

F.81 *Psyche Chalice* 1906 plate 131

haliotis shell, mounted in silver by J M Talbot to a design by Ramsay
 Traquair, the stem waist decorated with four enamelled copper plaques
 depicting the story of Psyche by Phoebe Traquair, and the upper stand with
 two oval enamelled plaques showing Pan with a mermaid and an angel with
 Psyche, which each support a suspended enamelled drop of butterfly form:
 height 34.1 cm.
 signed in monogram and dated; marked with Edinburgh hallmark, maker's mark
 JMT and year letter for 1906-7
 Ramsay Traquair
 coll. H M Traquair
 ill. *The Art Journal*, 1907, p. 236

F.82 *Psyche Chalice* 1906

haliotis shell, mounted in silver by J M Talbot to a design by Ramsay
 Traquair, the stem waist decorated with four enamelled copper plaques

depicting the story of Psyche by Phoebe Traquair, and the upper stand with two oval enamelled plaques by her showing a mermaid with Pan and Psyche with an angel, which each support a suspended enamelled drop of butterfly form: height 34.2 cm.

signed in monogram and dated; marked with Edinburgh hallmark, maker's mark JMT and year letter for 1906-7

Ramsay Traquair

coll. H M Traquair

(?) exhib. 1910 Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, London (284m)

F.83 *Necklace* c.1906

three enamelled copper plaques, of oval form and in sequence representing the journey of a soul, set in gold and linked by a gold wire and enamelled chain of Celtic and floral enamel motifs: each plaque 1.8 x 2.9 cm.

Mrs M N Anderson

coll. Mrs H M Traquair

F.84 *Triptych: Cupid the Earth Upholder* c.1907

three enamelled copper plaques, set in a *repoussé* copper frame and stand: 14.3 x 10.3 cm. (open)

Royal Museum of Scotland (1980.33)

coll. unknown; Lady Younger

exhib. 1910 Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, London (291q: as From the Rising of the Sun to the Going Down Thereof)

F.85 *The Rainbow* 1907

enamelled copper plaque set in a copper frame: 8.2 x 7.2 cm.

signed in monogram, titled and dated *verso*

Victoria and Albert Museum (M.197.1976)

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

F.86 *St Francis* c.1907

enamelled copper plaque mounted in a copper frame: 6 x 7 cm.

Ramsay Traquair

coll. H M Traquair

F.87 *Angel Musician* 1907

double enamelled copper plaque, set as a pendant in gold with wirework and an enamel and gold drop of a Celtic motif: 3.8 x 3.3 cm.

signed in monogram, dated and inscribed *MNT* (the artist's granddaughter, Margaret Nairn Traquair, whose birth it celebrated) *verso*
Mrs M N Anderson

F.88 *Cupid* c.1907

enamelled copper plaque, set as a pendant in gold with an enamel tear drop:
dimensions unknown

Destroyed

coll. Ida Moss (later Mrs Shaw), niece of the artist, on her engagement

F.89 *The Ten Virgins Casket* c.1907 plates 127-129

six enamelled copper plaques, mounted in a silver gilt casket set with semi-precious stones: 23.2 x 17.1 x 31.7 cm.

Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow

coll. W E Moss; by descent; with Sotheby's 6 November 1975 (lot 53); the Fine Art Society Ltd.

ref. *Revue du Vrai et du Beau*, 10 April 1926 (cover ill.); NLS MS 8124, fols.1, 8

exhib. 1952 Victorian and Edwardian Decorative Arts, Victoria and Albert Museum (W15)

F.90 *The Denys Casket* c.1907-8 plate 124

six enamelled copper plaques, mounted in a copper gilt casket of *chasse* form with a handle set at either end with a moonstone: 19.4 x 16.6 x 8.3 cm.

Untraced

coll. W R Moss; W E Moss; by descent; with Sotheby's Belgravia, 7 December 1979 (lot 143)

ill. NLS MS 8124, fols. 1, 2, 5

A full description of the casket enamels in the artist's hand, quoted in its entirety in the commentary text, was sold with the casket in 1979

F.91 *The Crucifixion* c.1908

double enamelled copper plaque, of cruciform, set as a pendant in gold: 2.2 x 2 cm.

signed in monogram

Ramsay Traquair

coll. Mrs H M Traquair

exhib. 1910 Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, London (285u)

F.92 *Cupid the Earth Upholder* 1908

enamelled copper plaque, set as a pendant in gold with an enamel tear drop showing a flower: 7.1 x 2.9 cm.

signed in monogram, titled and dated *verso*

Dr M M Pearson

coll. Dr Charles Mowbray Pearson; Mrs Mowbray Pearson

F.93 *The Awakening* 1908

enamelled copper plaque, set as a pendant in gold: 3.8 x 3.8 cm.

signed in monogram, dated and inscribed *verso* *Como/MCS/PEN/5 Sept 08*

Phoebe Erskine Nobbs (Mrs Reid Hyde)

coll. Mrs M Nobbs

Presented to Margaret Shepherd by her fiancé Percy Nobbs on her engagement on 5 September 1908

F.94 *Eros the Earth Upholder* 1908

unmounted enamelled copper plaque: 4.2 x 2.8 cm.

signed in monogram, titled and dated *verso*

Victoria and Albert Museum (M.203.1976)

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

F.95 *Out of the Deep* 1908 plate 120b(3)

enamelled copper plaque, of quatrefoil form, set as a pendant in gold with three enamel drops: 4 x 4 cm.

signed in monogram, titled and dated *verso*

Untraced

coll. unknown; with the Fine Art Society Ltd., 1973

F.96 *Sir Bedivere* 1908 plate 126a

unmounted enamelled copper plaque: 7.9 x 6 cm.

signed in monogram and dated *verso*

Victoria and Albert Museum (M.190.1976)

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

F.97 *The Passing of Arthur* 1908 plate 125b

unmounted enamelled copper plaque: 7.5 x 12.5 cm.

signed in monogram, titled and dated *verso*

Victoria and Albert Museum (M.199.1976)

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

F.98 *Excalibur Returned* 1908 plate 126b

unmounted enamelled copper plaque: 7.3 x 5.7 cm.
signed in monogram and dated *verso*
Victoria and Albert Museum (M.201.1976)
coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

F.99 *Triptych: The Passing of Arthur* 1908 plate 125a

three enamelled copper plaques set in an electroplated frame and stand, the centre of which bears three enamel *cabuchons*: 22.2 x 30.5 cm. (open)
John Jesse
coll. W R Moss; W E Moss; by descent; with Sotheby's Belgravia, 7 December 1979 (lot 142)
ref. Nobbs 90, 17 September 1908
ill. NLS MS 8124, fol. 3
exhib. 1910 Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, London (291k)

F.100 *Necklet* c.1909

enamelled copper plaques set in gold: dimensions unknown
Untraced
exhib. 1910 Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, London (285w)

F.101 *The Days of Creation* c.1909

Six(?) enamelled copper plaques mounted in a box of gilded metal set on an iron stand: 4.4 x 5.1 x 7.9 cm.
Untraced
coll. G L Moss
exhib. 1952 Victorian and Edwardian Decorative Arts, Victoria and Albert Museum (W16)

F.102 *Angel Brooch* c.1909

enamelled silver plaque, of oval form, depicting a praying angel and set as a brooch in gold with two enamel drops: 1.6 x 1.1 cm. (setting width 4.7 cm.)
Private collection
coll. Unknown; Tadmor Gallery

F.103 *St Cecilia* 1909

unmounted enamelled copper plaque: 3.7 x 4.5 cm.
signed, titled and dated *verso*
Mrs M N Anderson

coll. H M Traquair

F.104 *The Dream* c.1909

enamelled copper plaque, set as a brooch in electroplate: 3.1 x 4 cm.
Mrs C Cornish
coll. Mrs Ida Shaw

F.105 *Angel Brooch* 1909

enamelled copper plaque, depicting an angel: dimensions unknown
Lost
coll. Miss Dorothy Shepherd
Dorothy Shepherd was matron of honour at the wedding of Percy and Margaret Nobbs on 12 June 1909

F.106 *Musician Angel* c.1909 plate 123b

enamelled copper plaque, mounted in a copper locket and set on a silver chain: 3 x 2.4 cm.
Victoria and Albert Museum (M.202.1976)
coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew
exhib. 1910 Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, London (285v)

F.107 *The Dream* 1909 plate 121b

unmounted enamelled copper plaque: 3.4 x 4.3 cm.
signed in monogram, titled and dated *verso*
Victoria and Albert Museum (M.198.1976)
coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

F.108 *The Song* 1909

enamelled silver plaque, set as a pendant in silver: 4.2 x 5.2 cm.
signed in monogram, titled and dated *verso*
Mrs M N Anderson
coll. Mrs H M Traquair

F.109 *The Guide* 1909

enamelled copper plaque, of hexagonal form, mounted in the lid of a square metal box set with enamel cabuchons on all corners and with a key also set with enamel drops: height 7.5 cm.
signed in monogram, titled and dated *verso*

Untraced

coll. (?) W E Moss; with Sotheby's Belgravia, 15 December 1977 (lot 134)

F.110 *The Guide* c.1909

unmounted enamelled plaque: 3.6 x 4 cm.

Ramsay Traquair

coll. H M Traquair

F.111 *The Way to Calvary* c.1909

enamelled copper plaque, mounted in the lid of an oak box:

5.8 x 9.7 x 8.7 cm.

Mrs M N Anderson

coll. H M Traquair

F.112 *The Last Voyage* 1911 plate 121a

unmounted enamelled copper plaque: 4.3 x 4.9 cm.

signed in monogram, titled and dated *verso*

Victoria and Albert Museum (M.195.1976)

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

F.113 *The Last Voyage* 1911

enamelled copper plaque, set in silver as a pendant with three enamel tear drops: 3.6 x 3.8 cm.

signed in monogram and dated *verso*

John Jesse and Irina Laski

F.114 *Eros the Earth Upholder* 1912

enamelled copper plaque, mounted as a necklace in gold with two other plaques and a chain set with enamel drops: 2.2 x 1.4 cm.

signed in monogram, dated and inscribed with the title *Eros ATLAS*

Victoria and Albert Museum (M.207.1976)

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

F.115 *Earth Spirit* 1912

unmounted enamelled copper plaque, of inverse triangular form: 3.5 x 4 cm.
signed in monogram, titled and dated *verso*

Ramsay Traquair

coll. H M Traquair

F.116 *Earth Spirit* c.1912

unmounted enamelled copper plaque, of inverse triangular form: 2.4 x 3.1 cm.
 Ramsay Traquair
 coll. H M Traquair

F.117 *Salvation* 1913

unmounted enamelled copper plaque: 2.7 x 3.5 cm.
 signed in monogram and dated *verso*
 Ramsay Traquair
 coll. H M Traquair

F.118 *Spirit of Earth* 1913

unmounted enamelled copper plaque, with a companion enamel tear drop:
 3.3 x 3.2 cm.
 signed in monogram, titled and dated *verso*
 Mrs M N Anderson
 coll. H M Traquair

F.119 *Earth Spirit* 1913

enamelled copper plaque, set as a pendant in gold: 4.7 x 4.3 cm.
 Mrs M N Anderson
 coll. Mrs H M Traquair

F.120 *Morning* 1913

enamelled copper plaque, of quatrefoil form, set as a pendant in gold: 4.3 x 4.3 cm.
 signed in monogram, titled and dated *verso*
 Mr and Mrs Thomas Wheeler-Carmichael
 coll. Lady Mary Gibson Carmichael; Mrs Dennis Wheeler-Carmichael

F.121 *The Love Cup* 1914

double enamelled copper plaque with a Crucifixion *verso*, set as a pendant in gold with an enamel tear drop and a gold and enamel linked chain of Celtic motifs: 5.8 x 3.8 cm.
 signed in monogram and dated *verso*
 Miss S Cameron
 coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

F.122 *Nightwrap* 1914 plate 122

unmounted enamelled copper plaque: 4.5 x 4.7 cm.
 signed in monogram, titled and dated *verso*
 Victoria and Albert Museum (M.196.1976)
 coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

F.123 *The Harp of Life* 1914

unmounted double enamelled copper plaque: 3.2 x 3.2 cm.
 signed in monogram, titled and dated *verso*
 Mrs M N Anderson
 coll. H M Traquair

F.124 *Persephone Chalice* 1914

emu egg, the top cut to form a lid, mounted in a decorative silver setting by J M Talbot (for Henry Tatton) the collar of which is set with four enamelled copper plaques by Phoebe Traquair relating the story of the rape of Persephone and her return in the spring, while the collar supporting the egg is applied with enamel flower and insect motifs: height 30.4 cm.
 marked with Edinburgh hallmark, maker's mark HT and year letter for 1914-15
 Victoria and Albert Museum (M.188.1976)
 coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew
 J M Talbot was in partnership with Tatton from at least 1910.

F.125 *The Finished Task* 1914

enamelled copper plaque, set as a pendant in gold: 4.9 x 5.1 cm.
 signed in monogram, titled and dated *verso*
 The Ulster Museum, Belfast
 coll. unknown; John Jesse; Mrs Anne Hull Grundy
 ill. Vivienne Becker, *Antique and Twentieth Century Jewellery*, 1980, pl. 44

F.126 *St Cecilia* 1914

unmounted enamelled copper plaque, of octagonal form: 3.4 x 3.4 cm.
 signed in monogram, titled and dated *verso*
 Mrs J Smith
 coll. H M Traquair; Ramsay Traquair

F.127 *The Edinburgh Ladies' College Tennis Club Class Championship Plaque*
1914

three enamelled copper plaques depicting the founder of the Edinburgh Ladies' College, Mary Erskine, holding a model of the school, two 'merchant maidens' and the coat of arms of the Merchant Company of Edinburgh, mounted in a rectangular copper plaque: 49.4 x 31.2 cm.

signed in monogram and dated *verso*

The Merchant Company of Edinburgh

ref. *The Merchant Maiden Magazine*, vol. VII, no. 2, April 1915, p. 30

ill. *ibid.*, vol. VII, no. 3

F.128 *Earth Spirit* 1915 plate 120b(4)

enamelled copper plaque, of inverse triangular form, set as a pendant in gold with an enamel tear drop: 4.1 x 4.1 cm.

signed in monogram, titled and dated *verso*

Private collection

coll. Mrs W E Moss; with Sotheby's Belgravia, 5 December 1974 (lot 16); John Jesse; the Fine Art Society p.l.c.

exhib. 1975 *Jewellery and Jewellery Design 1850-1930*, the Fine Art Society (125)

F.129 *The Coronation of the Virgin* 1917-8

double enamelled copper plaque flanked by four other plaques depicting Mary teaching Christ to walk and a Pieta, with Cupid the Earth Upholder and Cupid firing an arrow, all set as a necklace in gold with gold and enamel links of Celtic design: 1.9 x 2.9 cm.

the side enamel plaques dated 17 and 18 respectively

Ramsay Traquair

coll. Mrs H M Traquair

F.130 *Angel Chalice* 1918 plate 130b

haliotis shell, mounted in silver by J M Talbot to a design by Ramsay Traquair, the upper stem decorated with three enamelled copper plaques depicting an angel playing a viol, another knelt in prayer and a third holding a ball of fire, all by Phoebe Traquair, and, above, two further plaques by her showing a ship sailed by an angel with two youths and a mermaid with a fish from each of which is suspended an enamelled shield plaque: height 36.5 cm.

marked with Edinburgh hallmark and year letter for 1918-19

Ramsay Traquair

coll. H M Traquair

F.131 *Triptych* 1918 plate 132a

three enamelled copper plaques by Phoebe Traquair, depicting a donor possibly Reginald Somers Cocks (d.1918), with a saint, in a landscape, and flanked above by two angels receiving the soul of the deceased donor and in the wings by two intercessory angels, and set in a silver frame made by J M Talbot (for the firm Henry Tatton), the outer wings bearing the motto and coat of arms of the Somers Cocks family: height 29.2 cm.

signed in monogram and dated; marked with Edinburgh hallmark, maker's mark HT and year letter for 1918-19

Untraced

coll. unknown; with Sotheby's Belgravia, 7 November 1974 (lot 32)

F.132 *The Rainbow* 1918 plate 132b

unmounted enamelled copper plaque: 13.3 x 4.5 cm.

signed in monogram and dated *verso*

Victoria and Albert Museum (M.200.1976)

coll. Hilda Traquair (Mrs Napier); Mrs M Bartholomew

F.133 *The Guide* 1919 plate 120b(1)

enamelled copper plaque, of hexagonal form, set as a pendant in gold: 3.2 x 4.3 cm.

signed in monogram, titled and dated *verso*

Untraced

coll. unknown: with the Fine Art Society Ltd., 1978

F.134 *Casket* 1927

six enamelled copper plaques, all of quatrefoil form and earlier dates (*The Awakening, The Last Voyage, Storm, Calm, Morning* and *The Finished Task*), mounted by Brook & Son of Edinburgh in a silver casket: 8.9 x 15.6 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum (M.599.1936: bequest of the artist)

SECTION G: MANUSCRIPT ILLUMINATIONS

G.1 *The Choice (Death, Life and Love)* 1883 plate 7

inks, and watercolour on vellum: 11 x 18 cm.

signed in monogram and dated

Mrs J Wright

coll. Dorothy Elvery (Mrs Kay)

G.2 *A little Message for my Wife* 1884 plate 8

illumination in inks and watercolours on vellum of the poem by Garth Wilkinson, 10 pages, bound but not covered: 19.1 x 14.4 cm.
dated 26 April 1884

Ramsay Traquair

coll. H M Traquair

ref. NLS MS 8122 fols. 44, 80; *The Studio*, Special Winter Number, 1897, p. 51
The illumination bears *verso* a pen and ink copy of the bookplate of John Miller Gray, and on fol. 6 the quotation from Dante *Into new natures like into himself Eternal love unfolding*

G.3 *The Psalms of David* c.1884-89 plates 9, 72-74a

illumination in inks and watercolours on vellum, 53 pages, bound with an embossed morocco cover set with two silver clasps to her design by J M Talbot, 1898: 18.8 x 14.1 cm.

National Gallery of Scotland (D.1872: bequest of the artist)

ref. NLS MS 8122, fol. 80; *The Studio*, Special Winter Number, 1897, p. 51; *The Studio*, vol. 34, 1905, 342

See J.28

G.4 *The Dream, or Melrose* 1886-7 plates 10, 11

illumination in inks and watercolours on vellum of a poem composed by the artist, 9 pages, bound with an embossed morocco cover c.1894: 12.1 x 11.5 cm.
National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum (K.R.P.C.37: bequest of the artist)

ref. NLS MS 8122 fol. 81; *The Studio*, Special Winter Number, 1897, p. 51

ill. NLS MS 8125 fols. 48-55

exhib. c.1895 Edinburgh Social Union, Dean Studio

See J.8

G.5 *Improvisations from the Spirit* 1887 plates 16-17a

illumination in inks and watercolours on vellum of the poem by Garth Wilkinson, 68 pages, bound in vellum: 19 x 15.2 cm.

Ramsay Traquair

coll. H M Traquair

ref. NLS MS 8122, fol. 80; *The Scots Pictorial*, 7 May 1898, p. 10

G.6 *Almae Matres* 1887 plates 14, 15

ink and watercolour on paper: 31.5 x 47.4 cm.

signed and dated

Private collection

coll. Andrew Lang, by whom commissioned; unknown; Stuart R Matthew
Published with a front cover design by T & A Constable, Edinburgh, 1887
ref. *The Bookman's Journal*, May 1923, vol. VIII, no. 20.

G.7 *Horae Beatae Virginis* 1887 plate 12

illumination in inks, watercolours and gold leaf on vellum, 33 pages, bound
in vellum: 12.4 x 9.6 cm.
inscribed, fol. 4, *This is a copy of a book of Hours in the possession of Mr
Ruskin, and lent to me in 1887. Phoebe A Traquair*
Mrs M N Anderson
coll. H M Traquair
exhib. 1985 Edinburgh and Dublin 1885-1985, Arts and Crafts in Edinburgh,
Edinburgh College of Art (13)

G.8 *Copy of a page from the 'Ruskin Bible'* c.1887

illumination in inks, watercolours and gold leaf on vellum: 32.8 x 10 cm.
Ramsay Traquair
coll. H M Traquair
A copy of two details of fol. 4v of the Ruskin Bible (French, second half of
the thirteenth century) in 1887 in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, and now
in the collection of the National Library of Scotland (MS Adv. Ms 1.1.1)
which Ruskin may have recommended to Traquair for study.

G.9 *Illuminated address* April 1890 plate 74b

dedicatory page illuminated in inks, watercolours and gold leaf on vellum,
bound with 107 pages (84 of which bear signatures) in morocco set with two
brass clasps: 30 x 22 cm.
Institut Pasteur, Paris
coll. Louis Pasteur, to whom presented by 'friends and admirers in the
British Empire and America as a token of respect and gratitude for his great
services to Science and in the Alleviation of Human and Animal Suffering'
ref. NLS MS 8122, fol. 1v

G.10 *Willowwood* 1890 plates 76, 77

illumination in inks, watercolours and gold leaf of the sonnet by Dante
Gabriel Rossetti, 4 pages, unbound: 19.3 x 15 cm.
each page signed in monogram and dated
The Fine Art Society p.l.c.
coll. Frank Dickson; David Dickson; unknown
exhib. 1985 Edinburgh and Dublin 1885-1985, Arts and Crafts in Edinburgh,
Edinburgh College of Art (14)

G.11 *In Memoriam* 1890-92

illumination in inks, watercolours and gold leaf on vellum of the poem by Tennyson, 97 pages, bound in pigskin set with two silver clasps to the artist's design by J M Talbot in 1892: dimensions unknown

Untraced

coll. Sir Henry Hardinge Cunyngame, by whom commissioned; unknown

ref. NLS MS 8122, fols. 25v, 30; *The Scots Pictorial*, 7 May 1898, p. 10; *The Studio*, Special Winter Number, 1897, p. 51; *The Art Journal*, 1900, p. 144

exhib. c.1895 Edinburgh Social Union, Dean Studio

See J.3

G.12 *The Psalms of David* c.1891-92

selected illuminated pages copied from cat. G3 in inks, watercolours and gold leaf on vellum: dimensions unknown

Untraced

coll. Lady Nicholson; unknown

ref. NLS MS 8122 fol. 30

G.13 *Sonnets from the Portuguese* 1892-January 1897 plates 78-81a

illumination in inks, watercolours and gold leaf on vellum of the poems by Elizabeth Barrett Browning, 46 pages, bound by the Doves Press in green calf, tooled and gilded: 18.6 x 14.8 cm.

fols. signed in monogram and variously dated

National Library of Scotland (MS.8127)

coll. W R Moss; W E Moss; Mrs E P Moss

ref. NLS MS 8122, fol. 80v; *The Studio*, Special Winter Number, 1897, p. 51; *The Scots Pictorial*, 7 May 1898; *The Art Journal*, 1900, p. 144; *The Studio*, vol. 34, 1905, p. 341

exhib. 1895 Arts and Crafts Exhibition, Queen's Rooms, Glasgow (691: selected unbound pages only)

G.14 *Saul* August 1893-June 1894

illumination in inks, watercolours and gold leaf on vellum of the poem by Robert Browning: dimensions unknown

Untraced

coll. William Rae Macdonald, by whom commissioned; Mrs Annie S Macdonald; unknown

ref. NLS MS 8122 fols. 34, 46, 80v; *The Scots Pictorial*, 7 May 1898, p. 10; *The Art Journal*, 1900, p. 144; *The Studio*, vol. 34, 1905, p. 342

G.15 *Sonnet 2 from Sonnets from the Portuguese* 1894

illuminated page in inks, watercolours and gold leaf on vellum of the poem by Elizabeth Barrett Browning: 18.7 x 15.4 cm.
signed in monogram, inscribed *Ad te Domine Levati/August 1886* and dated
National Gallery of Scotland (D.1870)

G.16 *The Red Cross Knight* c.1894

illuminated page in inks, watercolours and gold paint on vellum:
10.2 x 8.3 cm.
Dr M M Pearson
coll. Dr Charles Mowbray Pearson; Mrs Mowbray Pearson

G.17 *The Defence of Guinevere* c.1895-96

illumination in inks, watercolours and gold leaf on vellum of the poem by William Morris, possibly bound in a morocco binding: dimensions unknown
Untraced
ref. *The Studio*, Special Winter Number, 1897, p. 51

G.18 *Sonnets from the Portuguese* c.1895-97

illumination in inks, watercolours and gold leaf on vellum of the poems by Elizabeth Barrett Browning, bound in tooled and embossed morocco: dimensions unknown
Untraced
coll. Lady de Vesci, by whom commissioned; unknown
ref. NLS MS 8122, fol. 80v.; *The Scots Pictorial*, 7 May 1898, p. 10

G.19 *Sonnet 38 from Sonnets from the Portuguese* 1896 plate 81b

illuminated page in inks, watercolours and gold leaf on vellum of the poem by Elizabeth Barrett Browning: 18.8 x 15.8 cm.
signed in monogram and dated
National Gallery of Scotland (D.1870)
exhib. 1899 Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, London (534)

G.20 *The Song of Solomon* c.1896-97

illumination in inks, watercolours and gold leaf on vellum of the Book from the Old Testament, bound in embossed morocco: dimensions unknown
Untraced
ref. *The Studio*, vol. 34, 1905, p. 342
See J.18

G.21 *The Blessed Damozel* January 1897-June 1898 plates 83-86

illumination in inks, watercolours and gold on vellum of the poem by Dante Gabriel Rossetti, 17 pages, bound in embossed morocco: dimensions unknown
Untraced

ref. NLS MS 8122 fols. 80v, 81, 86, 86v; *The Scots Pictorial*, 7 May 1898, p. 10; *The Art Journal*, 1900, p. 144; *The Studio*, vol. 34, 1905, p. 342

ill. NLS MS 8125 fols. 56-72

exhib. 1898 Dean Studio, Edinburgh

See J.21

G.22 *Reproductions by me, of medallions painted by me, in a border on the walls of the Song School, St Mary's Cathedral, Edinburgh* January-March 1897

illumination in inks, watercolours and gold leaf on vellum, 13 pages, bound by the Doves Press in green calf, tooled and gilded: 18.3 x 15.1 cm.

signed in monogram and variously dated

Edinburgh University Library (Gen.852)

coll. Mrs Hugh Barbour; C R Barbour; by descent; Dr G B Macgregor

ref. NLS MS 8122 fol. 81; *The Studio*, vol. 34, 1905, p. 342 (ill. p. 339)

ill. NLS MS 8123 fols. 5-11

exhib. 1985 Edinburgh and Dublin 1885-1985, Arts and Crafts in Edinburgh, Edinburgh College of Art (15)

G.23 *And Flowers covered the Earth* 1897 plate 82

illuminated page in inks, watercolours and gold leaf on vellum of a page from the preceding manuscript: 17.7 x 13.8 cm.

signed in monogram and dated

Dr H Taylor

coll. unknown; Dr T Lauder Thomson

G.24 *Religio Medici* c.1897-98

illumination in inks, watercolours and gold leaf on vellum of the text by Sir Thomas Browne, bound in an embossed morocco cover: dimensions unknown
Untraced

exhib. 1900 Exposition Universelle, Paris (section of work by the Guild of Women-Binders); 1900 Guild of Women-Binders sale, Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, London (lot 3)

See J.29

G.25 *Address* c.1897-98

illuminated page in inks, watercolours and gold leaf on vellum: dimensions unknown

Untraced

coll. William O'Brien MP, for whom commissioned; unknown
ref. NLS MS 8122, fol. 81

G.26 *Address* 1897-January 1898

illuminated dedicatory page in inks, watercolours and gold leaf on vellum,
bound with 34 pages: dimensions unknown

Untraced

coll. Alexander Whyte DD, for whom commissioned; unknown
ref. NLS MS 8122 fols. 81v, 82; G F Barbour, *The Life of Alexander Whyte DD*,
(London, 1923), p. 347

G.27 *The House of Life* 1898-1902 plates 87-91

illumination in inks, watercolours and gold leaf on vellum of the sonnets by
Dante Gabriel Rossetti, 68 pages, bound by the Doves Press in blue calf,
tooled and gilded: 19.1 x 15.7 cm.

signed in monogram and dated on most pages

National Library of Scotland (MS.8126)

coll. W R Moss; W E Moss; Mrs E P Moss

ref. NLS MS 8122 fol. 20; *The Art Journal*, 1900, p. 144;

The Studio, vol. 34, 1905, p. 342

exhib. 1903 Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, London (319)

G.28 *La Vita Nuova* 1899-1902 plates 92-96

illumination in inks, watercolours and gold leaf on vellum of the poem by
Dante, 44 pages, bound by Sangorski and Sutcliffe in blue calf, tooled and
gilded: 19.2 x 15.2 cm.

signed in monogram and variously dated

Sir Michael Culme-Seymour, Bart.

coll. Sir Thomas Gibson Carmichael, Bart.; Lady Mary Gibson Carmichael

ref. NLS MS 8122, fols. 20, 109; *The Art Journal*, 1900, p. 144; *The Studio*,
vol. 34, 1905, p. 342

G.29 *Address* 1901 plate 75

illuminated page in inks, watercolours and gold leaf on vellum, incorporating
63 facsimile signatures: 56.3 x 35.5 cm.

Miss M Tait

coll. Professor Peter Guthrie Tait (1831-1901), for whom commissioned by
former students to mark his retirement from the chair of Natural Philosophy
at the University of Edinburgh on 30 March 1901; by descent

See F.3

SECTION H: PUBLISHED DESIGNS FOR BOOK COVERS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

H.1 *Women's Voices. An Anthology of the Most Characteristic Poems by English, Scotch and Irish Women. Selected, Arranged and Edited by Mrs William Sharp.* Walter Scott, London, 1887 plate 17b

ill. NLS MS 8125 fol. 38

Cover design by Phoebe Traquair

H.2 Andrew Lang, *Almae Matres*. T & A Constable, Edinburgh, 1887. Published edition of the verse written out and illustrated by Phoebe Traquair. Also published in *Almae Matres Mirror*, 1887

H.3 *The Children's Guide*, edited and published as a monthly periodical by David Balsillie, Edinburgh, January-July 1890 plates 18-20

Cover design and illustrations to vol. 1, nos. 2-6 by Phoebe Traquair

ill. NLS MS 8125 fols. 3-19

H.4 *Dante Illustrations and Notes*. With illustrations by Phoebe Anna Traquair and notes by John Sutherland Black. Foreword by Alexander Whyte DD. T & A Constable, Edinburgh, 1890. 179 pages. plate 70

ref. NLS MS 8122, fols. 1v, 5v; G F Barbour, *The Life of Alexander Whyte DD*, 1923, pp.341-2

H.5 *The Ladder. A Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, edited and published as a monthly periodical by David Balsillie, Edinburgh, 1891. Illustration to vol. 1, no. 3 by Phoebe Traquair.

The journal continued as *The Twentieth Century* in May 1891 and as *The Coming Century* from June 1891.

H.6 John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*. Preface by Alexander Whyte DD, and a frontispiece by Phoebe Traquair. Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, Edinburgh and London, 1894. plate 71b

H.7 John Bunyan, *The Holy War. Made by Shaddai upon Diabolus for the regaining of the Metropolis of the World; Or, the Losing and Taking Again of the Town of Mansoul*. Preface by Alexander Whyte DD. Frontispiece by Phoebe Traquair. Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, Edinburgh and London, 1894.

plate 71a

ref. NLS MS 8122, fol. 35.

H.8 *Sonnets from the Portuguese*. Published collotype copy of the illuminated manuscript by Phoebe Traquair of the sonnets by Elizabeth Barrett Browning. William Hay, Edinburgh, 1897.

H.9 *Santa Teresa. An Appreciation. With Some of the Best Passages of the Saint's Writings Selected Adapted and Arranged by Alexander Whyte DD.* Cover design by Phoebe Traquair. Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, Edinburgh and London, 1898. 81 pages.

H.10 *Father John of the Greek Church. An Appreciation with some characteristic passages of his Mystical and Spiritual Autobiography collected and arranged by Alexander Whyte DD.* Cover design by Phoebe Traquair. Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, Edinburgh and London, 1898. 84 pages.

H.11 *Reproductions by me, of medallions painted by me, in a border on the walls of the Song School of St Mary's Cathedral, Edinburgh. Phoebe Anna Traquair born Moss. March 1897.* Published collotype copy of the illuminated manuscript. William Hay, Edinburgh, 1898.
ref. *The Studio*, vol. 34, 1905, p. 342

H.12 *Newman. An Appreciation in two Lectures with the Choicest Passages of his Writings selected and arranged by Alexander Whyte DD.* Cover design by Phoebe Traquair. Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, Edinburgh and London, 1901. 254 pages.

H.13 *Grace Harriet Warrack (ed.), Revelations of Divine Love, recorded by Julian, anchoress at Norwich, AD 1373. A version from the MS in the British Museum.* Titlepage designed by Phoebe Traquair. London, 1901. plate 149a

H.14 *La Vita Nuova of Dante Alighieri. Illustrated by Phoebe Anna Traquair.* Published collotype copy of the illuminated manuscript. William Hay, Edinburgh, 1902. Edition of 150. plates 92-96

H.15 *Robert Browning, Saul.* Published collotype copy of the illuminated manuscript by Phoebe Traquair. William Hay, Edinburgh, c.1903.
ref. *The Studio*, vol. 34, 1905, p.342

H.16 *Dante Gabriel Rossetti, The House of Life.* Published collotype copy of the illuminated manuscript by Phoebe Traquair. William Hay, Edinburgh, 1904. Edition of 150.
ref. *The Studio*, vol. 34, 1905, p. 342

H.17 *Mary Macgregor, Stories of the Saints.* Eight illustrations in colour by Phoebe Traquair. London, 1907.
ref. *Nobbs* 84, 18 June 1907; *Nobbs* 85, 11 July 1907

H.18 Grace Harriet Warrack, *Little Flowers of a Childhood*, London, n.d., c.1913. Illustrations by Phoebe Traquair. plate 149b

H.19 Grace Harriet Warrack, *Floregio di Canti Toscani. Folk Songs of the Tuscan Hills, with English Renderings*. Two illustrations by Phoebe Traquair. Alexander Moring Ltd at the De La More Press, London, 1914. 306 pages. plate 150a

H.20 Mary Warrack, *Song in the Night. A Little Anthology of Love and Death*. Three illustrations by Phoebe Traquair. Alexander Moring Ltd. at the De La More Press, London, 1915. 90 pages.

H.21 Grace Harriet Warrack, *From Isles of the West to Bethlehem. Pictures, Poetry, Tales, Runes of Pilgrimage and Reception*. Three illustrations by Phoebe Traquair. Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1921.

H.22 Grace Harriet Warrack, *Une Guirlande de Poésies Diverses. From the Song of France: Poetry Early and Recent*. Three illustrations by Phoebe Traquair. Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1923. 182 pages.

SECTION J: BOOKBINDINGS

J.1 Dr John Brown, *Rab and his Friends*, Edinburgh, 1881
Bound in coloured and tooled calf, c.1884: 17.4 x 11.9 cm.
Ramsay Traquair
coll. H M Traquair
A version of a binding made for John Miller Gray

J.2 *The Poems of Tennyson*
Coloured and tooled morocco binding, c. 1890: 20.3 x 35.1 cm. (unbound)
signed in monogram *verso* and inscribed with title *recto*
National Library of Scotland (MS 8125 fol. 47)
coll. W E Moss; Mrs E P Moss

J.3 Alfred Lord Tennyson, *In Memoriam*, illuminated by Phoebe Traquair, 1890-92 for Sir Henry Hardinge Cunyngame
Embossed and tooled pigskin cover, set with two silver clasps to her design by J M Talbot, 1892: unknown dimensions
Untraced
See G.11

J.4 Alfred Lord Tennyson, *In Memoriam*, collotype copy of the illuminated manuscript
 Embossed and tooled pigskin cover, set with two silver clasps to her design by J M Talbot, 1893: 19.5 x 16.6 cm.
 signed in monogram and dated *verso* and with inscribed text *recto*
 National Library of Scotland (MS 3128)
 coll. W R Moss; W E Moss; Mrs E P Moss
 ill. NLS MS 8125 fol. 36
 exhib. 1895 Arts and Crafts Exhibition, Queen's Rooms, Glasgow (690); 1985 Edinburgh and Dublin 1385-1985, Arts and Crafts in Edinburgh, Edinburgh College of Art (16)

J.5 Alfred Lord Tennyson, *In Memoriam*, collotype copy of the illuminated manuscript by Traquair
 Embossed and tooled pigskin cover, set with two silver clasps to her design by J M Talbot, 1893: 19.7 x 15.9 cm.
 signed in monogram and dated *verso* and with inscribed text *recto*
 Ramsay Traquair
 coll. H M Traquair

J.6 Alfred Lord Tennyson, *In Memoriam*, collotype copy of the illuminated manuscript by Traquair
 Embossed and tooled pigskin cover, set with two silver clasps to her design by J M Talbot, 1893: dimensions unknown
 Untraced
 ref. NLS MS 8122 fol. 26
 This copy was exhibited at the World's Fair (Columbian Exposition) in Chicago in 1893

J.7 A Labitte, *Les Manuscrits, et L'Art de les Orner*, Paris, 1893: 8vo
 Embossed and tooled pigskin cover, 1896: exact dimensions unknown
 signed in monogram and dated *verso* and with inscribed text *recto* and on spine
 plate 99a
 Untraced
 ill. NLS MS 8125 fol. 46
 exhib. 1898 Exhibition of Artistic Bookbinding by Women, London (103)

J.8 Melrose, illuminated manuscript also called *The Dream*, 1386-7
 Embossed morocco cover, set with two silver clasps to her design, probably by
 J M Talbot, c.1894: 12.5 x 11.6 cm.
 signed in monogram and inscribed with title and date of illumination (1386) on spine
 National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum (K.R.P.C.37: bequest of the artist): see G.4

J.9 F G Stephens, *Rossetti*, published in the series *Portfolio Monographs on Artistic Subjects*, London, 1894

Bound with Alfred W Pollard, *Italian Book Illustrations chiefly of the Fifteenth Century*, also in the same series, in embossed morocco, 1897; 27.5 x 19 cm. plates 100b, 101a

signed in monogram and dated *verso* and with inscribed text *recto* and on spine

Mrs M N Anderson

coll. H M Traquair

exhib. 1898 Exhibition of Artistic Bookbinding for Women, London (102)

J.10 Apuleius, *The Excellent Narration of the Marriage of Cupide and Psyche*, translated by W Adlington, with woodcut illustrations by Charles Ricketts and published by the Vale Press, London, in an edition of 200.

Embossed and tooled morocco cover, 1897: dimensions unknown

signed in monogram and dated *verso*

Untraced

exhib. 1900 Exposition Universelle, Paris (Section of work by Guild of Women Binders); 1900 Exhibition of work by Guild of Women Binders, Sotheby,

Wilkinson and Hodge, London (lot 64)

J.11 Apuleius, *The Excellent Narration of the Marriage of Cupide and Psyche*, translated by W Adlington, with woodcut illustrations by Charles Ricketts and published by the Vale Press, London.

Embossed and tooled morocco cover, 1897: dimensions unknown

signed in monogram and dated *verso*

Untraced

exhib. 1900 Exposition Universelle, Paris (Section of work by the Guild of Women-Binders); 1900 Exhibition of work by Guild of Women-Binders, Sotheby,

Wilkinson and Hodge, London (lot 70)

J.12 Elizabeth Barrett Browning, *Sonnets from the Portuguese*, illuminated by Phoebe Traquair, c. 1895-7

Embossed and tooled morocco cover, 1897: dimensions unknown plate 99b

signed in monogram *recto* and *verso* and with inscribed text *recto*

Untraced

coll. Lady de Vesce

ill. *The Studio*, vol. 34, 1905, p. 341; NLS MS 8125 fol. 43

The design of the cover was adapted from the artist's illumination of sonnet 34

J.13 Elizabeth Barrett Browning, *Sonnets from the Portuguese*, published collotype copy of the illuminated manuscript by Phoebe Traquair, Edinburgh, 1897

Embossed and tooled morocco cover, 1897: 17.1 x 12.5 cm.

signed in monogram and dated *verso* and with inscribed text *recto*

Mrs M N Anderson
 coll. H M Traquair
 See H.8

J.14 Elizabeth Barrett Browning, *Sonnets from the Portuguese*, published collotype copy of the illuminated manuscript by Phoebe Traquair, Edinburgh, 1897

Embossed and tooled morocco cover, 1897: 17.1 x 12.3 cm.
 signed in monogram and dated *verso* and with inscribed text *recto*
 Mrs M N Anderson
 coll. H M Traquair

J.15 Elizabeth Barrett Browning, *Sonnets from the Portuguese*, published collotype copy of the illuminated manuscript by Phoebe Traquair, Edinburgh, 1897

Embossed and tooled morocco cover, 1897: dimensions unknown
 signed in monogram and dated *verso* and with inscribed text *recto*
 Untraced
ill. The Studio, vol. 34, 1905, p. 341

J.16 Sir Thomas Malory, *Morte d'Arthur*, with illustrations by Aubrey Beardsley, two volumes, London, 1893

Embossed and tooled morocco covers, c.1898: dimensions unknown
 Untraced
exhib. 1898 Exhibition of Artistic Bookbinding by Women, London (100, 101)

J.17 Apuleius, *The Excellent Narration of the Marriage of Cupide and Fsyche*, edited by W Adlington, with illustrations by Charles Ricketts; probably published by the Vale Press, London

Embossed and tooled pigskin cover, c.1898: dimensions unknown
 Private collection
exhib. 1899 Guild of Women-Binders, London

J.18 *The Song of Solomon*, illuminated by Phoebe Traquair, c.1895-7
 Embossed and tooled cover, c. 1896-8: dimensions unknown plate 105b
 Untraced

ref. The Studio, vol. 34, 1905, p. 342 (ill.)
ill. The Studio, vol. 16, 1899, p. 49; NLS MS 8125 fol. 40
 See G.20

J.19 *Biblia Innocentium*

Embossed and tooled cover, c.1898: dimensions unknown
 Untraced
 coll. H M Traquair

ref. NLS MS 8122, fol. 154

J.20 Oliver Wendell Holmes, *The Poet at the Breakfast Table*, two volumes, Edinburgh, 1884
 Embossed and tooled cover, 1898: 13.2 x 9.9 cm. plate 100a
 Mrs M N Anderson
 coll. H M Traquair

J.21 Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *The Blessed Damozel*, illuminated by Phoebe Traquair, 1897-98
 Embossed and tooled cover, c.1898: dimensions unknown
 Untraced
 See G.21

J.22 Michael Field, *The World at Auction*, with woodcut illustrations by Charles Ricketts, the Vale Press, London, 1898
 Embossed and tooled morocco cover, 1898: dimensions unknown
 signed in monogram and dated *verso*
 Untraced
 exhib. 1900 Exposition Universelle, Paris (Section of work by Guild of Women-Binders); 1900 Exhibition of work by Guild of Women-Binders, Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, London (lot 68)

J.23 Elizabeth Barrett Browning, *Sonnets from the Portuguese*, published collotype copy of the illumination by Phoebe Traquair, Edinburgh, 1897
 Embossed and tooled morocco cover, 1898: dimensions unknown plate 104a
 signed in monogram and dated *verso* and with inscribed text *recto* and on spine
 Untraced
 ill. NLS MS 8125 fol. 42

J.24 Elizabeth Barrett Browning, *Sonnets from the Portuguese*, published collotype copy of the illumination by Phoebe Traquair, Edinburgh, 1897
 Embossed and tooled morocco cover, 1898: 17 x 12 cm. plate 103
 signed in monogram and dated *verso* and with inscribed text *verso* and on spine
 Mrs M N Anderson

J.25 *The Psalms of David*
 Embossed and tooled morocco cover, 1898: dimensions unknown
 signed in monogram and dated *verso* and with inscribed text *recto* and on spine
 Untraced
 ill. NLS MS 8125 fol. 44

J.26 *The Psalms of David*

Embossed and tooled morocco cover, 1898: dimensions unknown
signed in monogram, dated and inscribed with text *recto* and on spine
Untraced

ill. *The Studio*, vol. 34, 1905, p. 341; NLS MS 8125 fol. 45

J.27 *The Psalms of David*

Embossed and tooled morocco cover, 1898: dimensions unknown plate 105a
signed in monogram and dated *verso*
Untraced

exhib. 1900 Exposition Universelle, Paris (Section of work by Guild of Women-Binders); 1900 Guild of Women-Binders Exhibition, Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, London (lot 46)

J.28 *The Psalms of David*, illuminated by Phoebe Traquair c.1884-89

Embossed, tooled and gilded morocco cover, set with two silver clasps to her design by J M Talbot, 1898: 19.6 x 14.9 cm.
signed in monogram and dated *verso* and with inscribed text *recto* and on spine

National Gallery of Scotland (D.1872: bequest of the artist)

See G.3

J.29 Sir Thomas Browne, *Religio Medici*, illuminated by Phoebe Traquair c.1897-98

Embossed and tooled morocco cover, 1898: dimensions unknown
signed in monogram and dated *verso*
Untraced

exhib. 1900 Exposition Universelle, Paris (Section of work by Guild of Women-Binders); 1900 Guild of Women-Binders Exhibition, Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, London (lot 3)

See G.24

J.30 Elizabeth Barrett Browning, *Sonnets from the Portuguese*, published collotype copy of the illumination by Phoebe Traquair, Edinburgh, 1897

Embossed and tooled morocco cover, 1898: dimensions unknown plate 104b
signed in monogram and dated *verso*
Untraced

ill. NLS MS 8125 fol. 41

J.31 Sir Thomas Browne, *Religio Medici*

Embossed and tooled morocco cover, 1899: dimensions unknown plate 102b
signed in monogram and dated *verso* and with inscribed text *recto* and on spine
Untraced

ref. *The Studio*, Special Winter Number, 1899-1900, p. 46 (ill. p.29)

ill. NLS MS 8125 fol. 39

J.32 Michael Field, *The World at Auction*

Embossed and tooled morocco cover, 1899: dimensions unknown plate 102a
signed in monogram and dated *verso* and inscribed with text *recto* and on
spine

Untraced

ref. *The Studio*, Special Winter Number, 1899-1900, p. 46 (ill. p. 29)

ill. NLS MS 8125 fol. 37

J.33 *The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam*, translated by Edward Fitzgerald, London,
n.d.

Embossed, tooled, coloured and gilded morocco cover, 1899: 16 x 11 cm.

Ramsay Traquair

coll. H M Traquair