



Hugh Lane and mural painting: designs for the Gallery of Modern Art, Dublin

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THE CONTROVERSY SURROUNDING THE HOPES OF SIR HUGH LANE (1875-1915) to establish a gallery of modern art in Dublin in the first decade of the twentieth century is well known in outline, as are the problems surrounding the bequest of his collection of paintings.¹ These two areas have somewhat overshadowed Lane's activities as a patron, rather than collector, of art. Lane's relations with the contemporary art world in Britain and Ireland have not yet been discussed in full.² This article details one aspect of Lane's involvement with contemporary art, his promotion of mural painting and his abortive project for the mural decoration of the unbuilt gallery of modern art in Dublin designed by Edwin Lutyens. These activities must be seen in the context of the period from about 1880 to 1914 when a limited but important revival of interest in mural painting was taking place in the British Isles, Europe and the United States.³

After a short apprenticeship, Lane had set up as an independent art dealer in London by 1898.⁴ Lane's early interests and dealing activities are becoming better known, but they seem to have been confined to Old Masters until Lane changed direction after 1901. That is not to say that he abandoned his interest in Old Masters, but rather that a new interest took on increasing, but parallel, importance. He began rapidly, and with the zeal of the convert, to inform himself about contemporary painting and art from the recent past. Although this activity was soon to focus on

1 – William Walcott, *DESIGN FOR A GALLERY OF MODERN ART IN ST STEPHEN'S GREEN WEST*, BY SIR EDWIN LUTYENS (1912), watercolour, 25 x 58 cm (courtesy Dublin City Gallery, the Hugh Lane)

2 – William Walcott, *DESIGN FOR THE GALLERY OF MODERN ART SPANNING THE LIFFEY*, BY SIR EDWIN LUTYENS (c.1913), watercolour, 51 x 79 cm (courtesy Dublin City Gallery, the Hugh Lane)

France, Lane quickly became a key figure in the promotion of recent and contemporary art on both sides of the Irish Sea.

Lane's Irish connections were not close, and it was only in adulthood that he developed an interest in Ireland which was encouraged by his aunt, Lady Gregory, an important figure in the Irish cultural scene. In 1902 Lane conceived the idea of setting up a permanent gallery of modern art in Dublin, feeling that such an institution was essential for the emergence of a distinctive Irish school of painting. This gallery may initially have been envisaged as a collection of Irish and British art, but by 1904 Lane had expanded his ideas to include European art too. Modern continental painting was barely known in Ireland then, so Lane organised a loan exhibition in Dublin in order to introduce it to an Irish audience in anticipation of the establishment of a permanent collection. For the exhibition of November 1904 loans were obtained from the Parisian dealer Paul Durand-Ruel and from the executors of James Staats Forbes, a voracious Scottish collector. Lane visited Durand-Ruel in Paris in September 1904, accompanied by the artist William Orpen, who advised Lane on his selections.⁵

Lane started to collect modern French works, acquiring between 1904 and 1912 a total of fifteen paintings from Durand-Ruel, and more from other sources. These included *Musique aux Tuileries* and *Eva Gonzalès* by Manet, *Les Parapluies* by Renoir, and others by such artists as Monet, Morisot and Pissarro. His intentions in this were to donate the paintings to the modern art gallery to supplement the 200 or so paintings, drawings, watercolours, prints and sculptures he had already given. By 1912 he had acquired the 39 modern works which were later caught up in the dispute over his bequest.⁶ As Lane assembled the nucleus of the permanent collection, other exhibitions were held in Dublin in 1905 and Belfast in 1906. The Dublin gallery of modern art opened in temporary premises in 1908. Lane then offered to donate his collection of modern works, mostly French, if a permanent, purpose-built gallery on a prominent site were built 'within the next few years'. Ever ambitious, Lane engaged Lutyens in 1910 to design a gallery for Dublin. It is not known when Lane first met Lutyens, but in 1909-10 Lutyens redesigned the garden at Lane's London home, Lindsey House in Cheyne Walk, Chelsea. Lutyens produced designs for two sites – one on St Stephen's Green in 1912, for which permission was refused, and another for a gallery bridging the River Liffey in 1913 (Plates 1, 2).⁷ Lutyens agreed with Lane that he would be remunerated for his design work on the Dublin gallery and its grounds with an Old Master painting. The presence of a work attributed to Poussin in the collection of Lutyens's son, with a provenance from Lane, suggests that this agreement was carried through.⁸

There were political objections to Lane's plans, which thrived in an atmosphere of suspicion of foreign influence, whether of the Anglo-Irish like Lane, or of

continental works of art. In addition, Dublin Corporation could not make up its mind to spend the £22,000 required to top up the £23,000 to be raised from public subscription, of which £11,174 had been collected. Having set a final deadline which passed in September 1913 without the commitment he sought being given, Lane withdrew the offer and the paintings, and the project collapsed.⁹

Lane saw the purpose-built gallery not just as a shell to house the collection, but as part of a decorative ensemble. He was determined that the exterior should be a civic adornment, and, it seems, that the design and decoration of the interior should be complementary to the paintings displayed there. Lane claimed that ‘a fine building ... is more necessary for Dublin than pictures. It is more than a hundred years since a good piece of architecture has been raised in Ireland’.¹⁰ As regards the interior, Lane decided that the building should have mural paintings – probably in the entrance hall or on a staircase if, as is likely, continental models were being followed – to set the mood and context for the viewer’s visit. On the basis of the known chronology of events, Lane must have come up with the idea to install mural paintings when the St Stephen’s Green site was under consideration, and carried the idea over when the bridge site was proposed.

Mural painting was undergoing a revival not just in Britain, but across Europe and in American cities in the period between about 1880 and 1914. Lane would have known, or known of, such late nineteenth-century decorative schemes as those in the South Kensington Museum by Frederic Leighton, Edward Poynter and others, or that in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery by William Hole. A number of decorative schemes had been carried out in provincial French museums in the same period, including those by Puvis de Chavannes at Amiens and Rouen. The cities of Boston, Budapest, Oslo, Paris, Stockholm and Vienna all saw the completion of elaborate mural schemes in civic, gallery or museum buildings. These may not all have been known to Lane, who most likely was stimulated by examples from nearer home, such as the schemes in London at the Royal Exchange (begun 1892), Skinners’ Hall (1902-9), and the renewed campaign at the Palace of Westminster (1906-27).

It was to the British and European context that Lane looked because there was no living or recent tradition of mural painting in Ireland in the early 1900s, very few projects having been completed after about 1820 owing to the almost total absence of patronage.¹¹ This may explain why Lane decided not to call on any Irish artists to tackle the projects he had in mind, even though there were one or two he might have contemplated using who had some experience in the field. George (AE) Russell, in addition to being a writer and art critic, was also an artist who had painted mural decorations such as those in the Dublin Theosophical Society Lodge in 1892-93, or those in the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society’s headquarters, also in Dublin, in 1906 (now in the National Gallery of Ireland). Lane might also have

considered James Ward, the headmaster of the Dublin Metropolitan School of Art since 1907. His main interest was in mural painting, which he introduced into the DMSA curriculum. Ward had assisted both Leighton and Poynter in their decorative works at South Kensington, and later designed a series of historical scenes which, between 1915 and 1919, were painted in spirit fresco in the rotunda of Dublin City Hall in collaboration with his pupils.¹² Lane may have found these artists inadequate in some way for the task in hand, but the process which Lane followed to find suitable artists for his Dublin scheme had the additional benefit of allowing him to increase the prominence of his role in the London art world, where, by 1909, he was already a patron of mural painting.

After his 'conversion', Lane began to develop his profile as a patron and supporter of modern and contemporary art on both sides of the Irish Sea. In London he came into contact with such painters as Augustus John and P.W. Steer, whose work he was soon supplying to the newly established gallery in Johannesburg, along with works by Monet, Sisley, Pissarro, Watts, Millais and Orpen. In 1912 Lane was active in a different area, being one of the first to contribute to the initial financial backing which permitted the Omega Workshops to get off the ground.¹³ The first evidence of Lane's personal encouragement of mural painting comes from 1909. In that year he commissioned Augustus John to produce decorative works – on canvas rather than painted directly onto the wall – for the hall of Lindsey House, his London home which was also his showroom. John began work on these *in situ*, but after many delays and arguments with Lane he took the canvases away to his studio at the Chenil Galleries. John continued to work on them intermittently, and although two of the three large canvases were finished, none was ever installed.¹⁴ Of the three, one was eventually obliterated and a replacement designed but not painted; one was partly repainted as *The Mumpers* (1911-13, Detroit Institute of Arts); and the third is *The Lyric Fantasy* (Plate 3). It has been suggested, albeit somewhat casually, that Lane even thought of John as a suitable artist to decorate public buildings in Dublin.¹⁵ This is not credible in the light of Lane's declining enthusiasm for John and his unsuccessful project at Lindsey House.

Lane endeavoured further to enhance his status as an active figure in the contemporary art world when, in 1912, he became associated with a committee chaired by D.S. MacColl, the art critic and, since 1906, Keeper of the Tate Gallery, London, and a prominent supporter of Lane's plans for a gallery of modern art in Dublin.¹⁶ MacColl's committee was formed at the end of 1911 with the complementary aims of promoting mural painting as an art, and of broadening the range of locations in which murals were painted to include schools, factories, hospitals and other public buildings. The committee decided to mount a three-part mural painting exhibition-cum-competition, which was held in the Crosby Hall in Chelsea in the summer of



3 – Augustus John, *THE LYRIC FANTASY* (begun 1913), oil on canvas, 234 x 470 cm
(courtesy Tate Enterprises © Tate London, 2003)

1912. A similarly orientated exhibition held in the autumn of 1911 at Patrick Geddes' Outlook Tower in Edinburgh may have been influential on MacColl and his colleagues.¹⁷ The aims of these exhibitions can be traced back to the mid-nineteenth century, to the hopes of G.F. Watts, who, through practical example, sought to encourage mural painting among young artists, and to the original phase of mural painting in the Palace of Westminster from the 1840s to 1860s. The most noticeable consequence of this had been the expansion of interest in domestic decorative painting.¹⁸

On the committee chaired by MacColl, powerful gallery curators and administrators of art education in London joined forces with influential artists. The members included Henry Tonks, Principal of the Slade School of Art; Patrick Geddes (who in 1908 had been one of a small group responsible for saving Crosby Hall and its re-erection in Chelsea); Gerald Moira, Professor of Mural Painting at the Royal College of Art; and A.H. Christie, Art Inspector of the London County Council. The smaller executive committee included Charles Aitken, Director of the Tate Gallery; Gilbert Ramsey, Director of the Whitechapel Art Gallery; the painter John Singer Sargent; the architect and designer W.R. Lethaby, Professor of Design and Ornament at the Royal College of Art and former Principal of the Central School of Arts and Crafts in London; the architect Halsey Ricardo; and the patrons and collectors Sir Edmund and Lady Davis.¹⁹ Interconnections between members of these groups were plentiful and need not be detailed here.

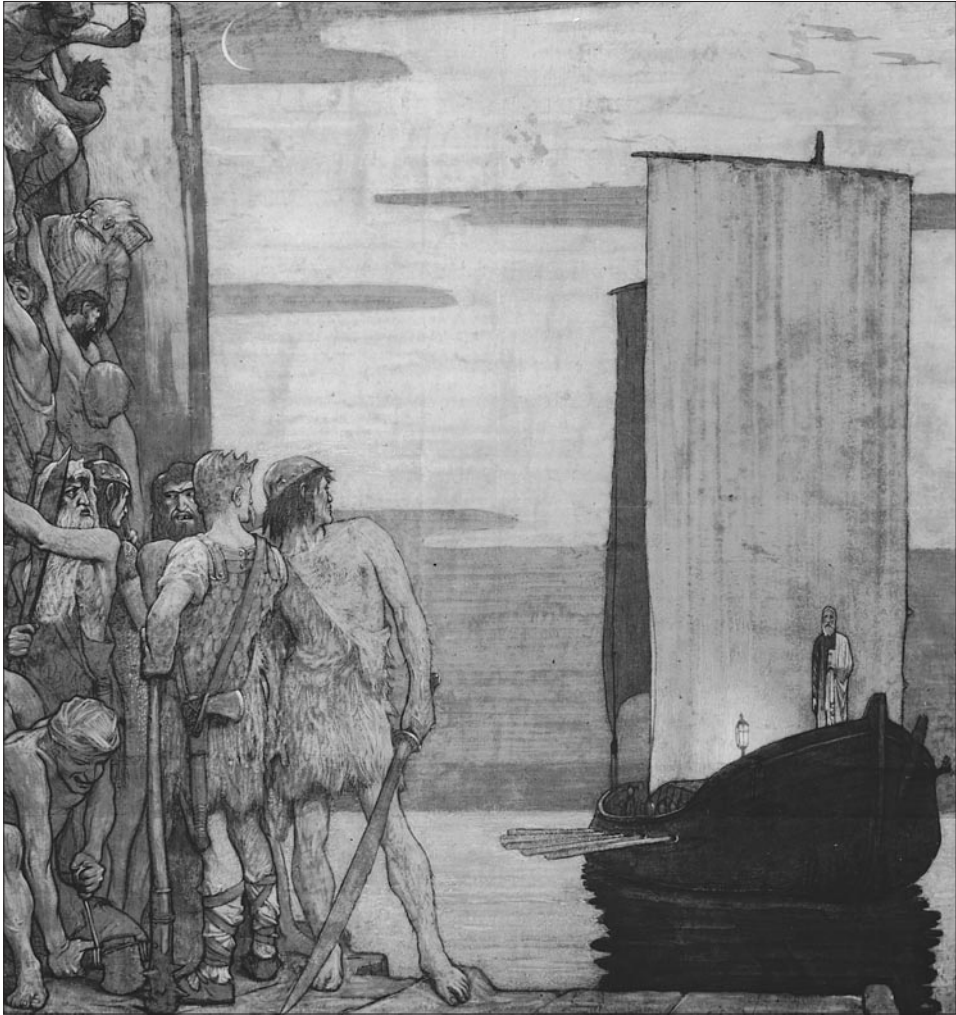
The location may have been coincidental, but Crosby Hall was near to Lane's home and to Chelsea Town Hall, which was then being decorated with murals by

Charles Sims, Mary Sargent Florence, both well known as muralists, George R. Woolway and Frank O. Salisbury. Salisbury had won a competition organised in 1911 by the Chelsea Arts Club for the purpose of finding an artist for that project, Steer, Sargent and the architect E.A. Rickards being the judges.²⁰

The first section of the Crosby Hall exhibition was retrospective, being related to earlier projects; the second section gave an overview of recent projects and samples of work; the third was a competition with cash premiums and the possibility of commissions as prizes. Prizes and wall space were offered in a total of nine locations, including the Middlesex Hospital, sponsored by Sir Edmund Davis, two London County Council schools (hence the several LCC representatives on the two committees), and even in the canteen at the Crosse & Blackwell jam and pickle factory. Lane offered three £100 commissions for paintings to decorate his putative Dublin gallery.²¹ Lane may have thought that there would be no point in offering such rewards in Dublin, but although entries were pseudonymous, at least one Irish artist participated (see below). Being seen as a sponsor and participant in the enterprise would also have been attractive to Lane, who certainly knew the value of publicity.

A total of 21 entries, all under different pseudonyms, were received for the Dublin element of the exhibition. It is not clear which subjects, if any, were stipulated, but most of the subjects submitted were taken from Irish myths and legends or history (see Appendix).²² Lane's three prizes were won by Walter Bayes (1869-1956), Principal of the Royal College of Art, a member of the Camden Town and Fitzroy Street groups, and a member of the exhibition committee; Frederick Cayley Robinson (1862-1927), who was soon to become Professor of Figure Composition at Glasgow School of Art;²³ and a much less well-known artist, James Mark Willcox (1888-1932), the only artist with Irish connections who is known to have participated. With one possible exception (see below), none of their designs, nor any of those by other participants, is known to survive. Bayes' design was probably *Deirdre and Naoise*, submitted pseudonymously with a (presumably more finished) detail as by 'Every Cloud Has A Silver Lining'.²⁴ Robinson was the author of the design *The Coming of St Patrick to Ireland 430 AD* (Plate 4), also submitted with an enlarged detail as by 'Qualis ab Incepto'.²⁵ Willcox, as 'Corrib', sent a design and detail of *Deirdre Presenting Cuchullin, Born of the God Suel, to her husband Sualtana*.²⁶

To the retrospective side of the exhibition Robinson sent under his own name a classical subject, *Aeneas and his Chieftains at the Shrine of Ceres, after the Fall of Troy*. This may have made his pseudonymous competition entry identifiable through stylistic comparison. Other competition entrants though had their eyes focused only on the competitive Irish section, Alfred Cooper sending *Cuchulan at Rosnaill*, and Colin Rae sending *The Meeting of Cuchulan and Emer* (Plates 5, 6).²⁷ So far as participants in the Dublin competition can be identified, they seem to have represented



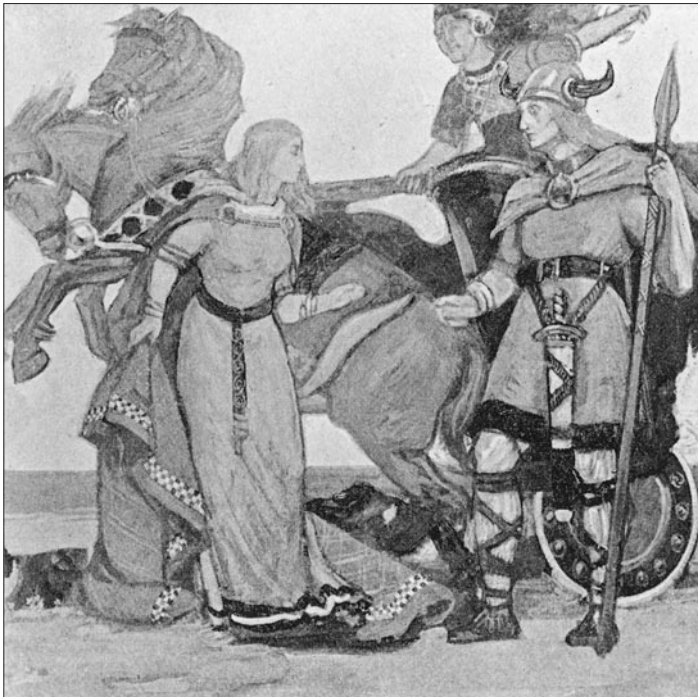
4 – Preparatory study for Plate 7, c.1912, charcoal, watercolour, chalks and gouache on paperboard, 61 x 61 cm (courtesy William Morris Gallery, Walthamstow)

a wide variety of artists at vastly different stages in their careers. The presence of Bayes amongst the prize-winners indicates that someone of his stature was prepared, when an objective he agreed with was at stake, to participate in an ambitious and therefore potentially embarrassing event.

As it turned out, only one of Lane's prize-winners is known to have received a commission from him, Robinson working up his competition subject *The Coming of St Patrick to Ireland 430 AD* (Plate 4) into a large-scale painting in oil on canvas (Plate 7). The precise chronology of Robinson's works has not been established, but



5 – Alfred Cooper,
CUCHULAN AT ROSNALL,
design submitted to
Crosby Hall competition,
1912



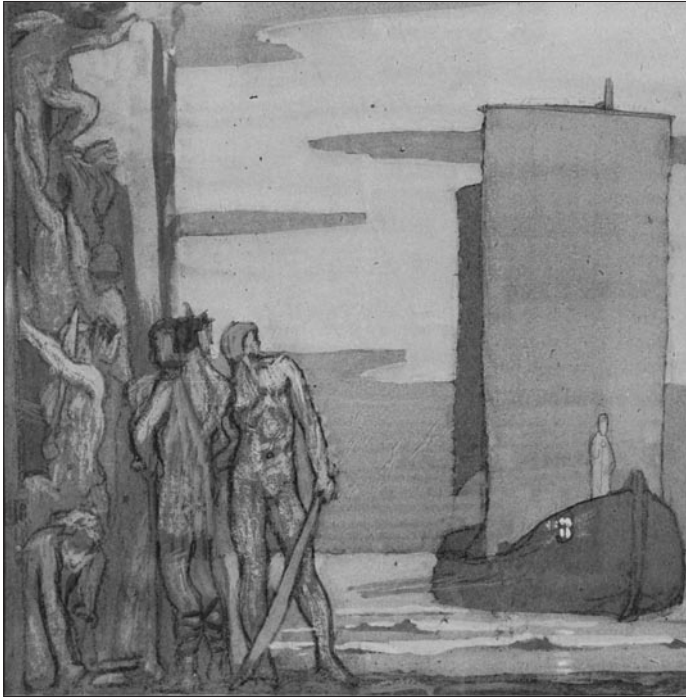
6 – Colin Rae, *THE
MEETING OF CUCHULAN
AND EMER*, design
submitted to Crosby Hall
competition, 1912

(both illustrations reproduced
from
THE STUDIO, 56 (August 1912)
225; copy photo by Brendan
J. Dempsey)



7 – Frederick Cayley Robinson, *THE COMING OF ST PATRICK TO IRELAND 430 AD* (c.1912-13), oil on canvas, 201 x 191 cm (courtesy Dublin City Gallery, the Hugh Lane)

this large work produced for Lane (which is signed but not dated) must have been completed by September 1913 when Lane effectively cancelled the project to build the gallery in Dublin.²⁸ This version has not been published before; its origins deserve to be understood and its visual qualities to be discussed.²⁹ It corresponds closely to the type of work Robinson was producing in the 1910s under the combined influences of Walter Crane (a member of the Crosby Hall exhibition committee), Puvis de Chavannes, and the continental symbolism Robinson had absorbed during two sojourns in Paris from 1892 to 1894, and 1902 to 1906. A period in



8 – *Preparatory study for Plate 7, c.1912, tempera on card, 23 x 22 cm (courtesy Tullie House Museum and Arts Services, Carlisle)*

Florence from 1898 to 1902 allowed Robinson to study early Italian artists and their techniques, including that of tempera painting. Like Mary Sargent Florence, who was also on the Crosby Hall committee and sent some examples of her work, but did not, so far as is known, enter any of the competitions there,³⁰ Robinson was later active in the Society of Mural Decorators and Painters in Tempera.

Robinson's style in about 1912 is characterised by his use of a frieze-like composition with strong verticals, the simplification of forms with clear, almost hard outlines, and Puvis-like, low, chalky tones.³¹ Although his style was therefore well adapted to decorative purposes, not being visually strident but encouraging calm reverie, Robinson had not previously carried out any decorative projects.³² There are two surviving preparatory works. A fairly sketchy work (Plate 8) must represent an early stage in the development of the subject, although the basic compositional schema was already established. A larger and much more highly finished work (Plate 4) is possibly the work shown at Crosby Hall in 1912.³³ Robinson's finished painting (which is in need of restoration) (Plate 7) is close to the latter version, although some changes have been made, notably in the number, position and gestures of the warrior figures. This is especially the case with the figure nearest the centre whose raised open hand registers as a peaceful gesture, in contrast to the prominent sword in the two preparatory works. This interesting late change turned

an aggressive and defensive pose into a more welcoming one, perhaps being meant to indicate the future success of St Patrick's mission. The painting shows Irish warriors descending a cliff to investigate the imminent arrival of St Patrick, who stands silhouetted against the sail of a longboat. The use of receding planes, balancing foreground figures on one side and middleground or background figures on the other, replicates the composition of the design of the classical subject mentioned above which Robinson exhibited in 1912. The format and overall composition are comparable to those of a number of his other works, and the motif of interlocking figures arranged vertically was a favourite device.³⁴

Although the Crosby Hall exhibition and competition were not seen as completely successful, they did afford an opportunity to focus attention on the prospects for mural painting. The main criticisms levelled at the exhibits were to do with the way in which some contributors had not realised the difference between a permanent mural and a large decorative exhibition picture. Similar criticisms had been made of the Chelsea Town Hall competition at the end of the previous year. Each design, it was stated, needed to be subordinate to its intended location. Divorced from that location, accurate appraisal of the effect of a work was difficult. Some entries were also thought to have failed for lack of human interest and excessive attention to decorative effect.³⁵

The exhibition underlined what might be termed the democratisation of mural painting, taking it away from elite spaces such as parliament, guildhalls and town halls, and relocating it in publicly accessible places such as museums, hospitals and schools. This sort of action had been envisaged by Watts in the 1850s when he briefly considered the possibility of decorating the Great Hall at Euston Station with murals in accordance with the hopes of the architect Philip Hardwick, and similar ideas were later promoted by John Ruskin and then by Patrick Geddes.³⁶ The murals painted by Charles Mahoney at Morley College, London (1928, destroyed) and Brockley School, Kent (1934-36) are later examples which fit into this popularising pattern of murals in institutions associated with education and welfare.³⁷

Only one commission, other than those for the Middlesex Hospital and for Dublin, is known to have resulted from the competition and to have been seen through to completion. The prize of a commission offered by Sutton Valence School in Kent was won by George Haghe Day, whose mural *The Mission of St Augustine* (Plate 9), based on his winning design, was painted later in 1912 in the school hall at a cost of £50. The mural was destroyed during modernisation work in 1956-57.³⁸ The £50 premium for a mural on the theme of the Nativity in the Lady Chapel in St Jude's-on-the-Hill, the newly built church designed by Lutyens in Hampstead Garden Suburb, was won by Mabel Esplin. What work she may have done there is not known. Lutyens is reported to have disapproved of the painted decoration with



9 – George Haghe Day, *THE MISSION OF ST AUGUSTINE*,
 design submitted to Crosby Hall competition. c.1912
 (reproduced from *THE STUDIO*, 56 (August 1912) 225; copy photo by Brendan J. Dempsey)

which the church was smothered by Walter Starmer, beginning in 1912.³⁹ Other pseudonymous competitors in the St Jude's section included Wooliscroft Rhead (no. 18) and Harry Mileham (no. 35).⁴⁰ The £25 prizes offered by the East End LCC schools in Cable Street and Commercial Street were won by Stanley H. North and Louise Jacobs respectively.⁴¹ It has not been ascertained whether any mural paintings were carried out in either school or for the Cass Institute and the Cass Foundation School, which were amongst the organisations and institutions prepared to consider suitable designs.⁴²

The Crosby Hall exhibition was but one manifestation of the growing interest which surrounded mural painting in the early twentieth century. It took place in the same year that the Society of Mural Decorators and Painters in Tempera was founded, and concurrently with reforms and innovations within teaching institutions, such as the Slade School's Rome Scholarship in Decorative Painting, first won by Colin Gill in 1913. The RA had inaugurated a competition 'for designs for the decoration of a portion of a public building' in 1881, but this encouragement of mural painting was not mirrored in other art schools until after 1900. During the period of the exhibition, both Walter Crane and Selwyn Image (who was also on the committee) made public speeches encouraging mural painting. Even Randall Davidson, the then Archbishop of Canterbury, joined the debate when he spoke in favour of decorative painting in public buildings at the Royal Academy banquet in 1912.⁴³

The outbreak of the First World War did not result in mural painting being completely sidelined, as the murals included in the Arts and Crafts Society's exhibition held at the Royal Academy in 1916 prove.⁴⁴ The inter-war period saw a new

flourishing of mural painting in private, institutional and commercial locations, which was celebrated in a photographic exhibition held at the Tate Gallery in 1939.⁴⁵

The completion of some mural painting projects became the occasion for the expression of national feeling in the then constituent parts of Britain. Lane may not have been immune to such influences when the selection of the subjects for Dublin was made. Ward's murals in Dublin City Hall have Irish historical subjects; the programmes in the City Chambers of Glasgow and Edinburgh also have nationalistic themes, as does the contemporaneous scheme in the Glyndwr Institute, Machynlleth. Elsewhere, programmes were centred on regional activities, such as the scheme for the Tyne Improvement Commission.⁴⁶ It may be that for Lane the choice of St Patrick was not likely to be controversial, the saint being a pre-Reformation figure and the patron saint of Ireland, although it should be remembered that the competition took place when Irish Home Rule was again at the top of the political agenda. Lane's circle of friends associated with the Celtic Revival may well have encouraged him to consider Irish mythological subjects, but the identity of any other subjects, suggested or agreed, is not known.

If we accept the subject matter submitted to the Dublin section of the competition as indicative of what would have been included in the gallery mural scheme proper, it might be thought that Lane was trying to reconcile opposing views of what the modern school of Irish art should be. In 1903, at the time of Lane's first proposal to establish a modern art gallery, opinions were divided between those who saw the occasion as an opportunity for Ireland to integrate itself into a European stream of activity and those who thought that modern Irish art ought to refer to national art traditions. One proponent of the latter view, the Dublin entrepreneur and newspaper owner William Murphy, was explicit in promoting introspection:

The stones of our Celtic legend and Celtic song, the dark but sometimes lightsome pages of the history of our country afford many subjects for the brushes of skilful painters ... We believe that what Ireland needs for the creation of a genuine school of native art is not the wholesale importation of works of alien painters, but the development of Irish artistic taste and skill on distinctly Celtic lines.⁴⁷

Murphy's fear was that Lane would introduce paintings by the modern British school rather than by continental avant-garde artists (of whom in any case Lane in 1903 had only limited awareness). Lane's commission to Robinson seems to have sought a middle way by allying a traditional subject with an appropriate, understated, but fairly modern style. The opposition received from Murphy and others did not stop the establishment of the Municipal Gallery of Modern Art, but it did block Lane's plans for a purpose-built gallery designed by Lutyens and decorated by a

group of able artists. Their opposition helped to keep the gallery in unsuitable accommodation until it moved to Charlemont House in 1933. However, it is possible that Murphy and his partisans inadvertently did the Municipal Gallery a very good turn: the bridge site would have made an attractive and vulnerable target at the time of the Easter Rising or in the Civil War.

Lane was ultimately unsuccessful in that his plans were never realised, although that failure was for reasons completely beyond his control. However, it cannot be denied that his plans indicate the prestige associated with mural decoration, the cachet of which Lane wanted to bring to Ireland.

APPENDIX

List of entries to the Dublin section of the Crosby Hall exhibition, 1912. (The identifications are based on information cited in notes 24 and 27 below.)

Competition II: Dublin (nos 23-25, 27-33, 139-48)

23	The Coming of St Patrick	Qualis ab Incepto	[F.C. Robinson]
24	Three Shouts of the sons of Tuirean	Paint Bender	[John M.B. Benson]
25	detail of above	Paintbender	
27	The Wooing of Emer, and enlarged detail	Emot	[William Wildman]
28	Irish Linen, and detail	Vieux Jeu	
29	Meeting of Cuchullin and Emer three designs and one full-size detail	Celt 1, 2, 3	[Alfred Cooper, H.B. Wright, Colin Rae]
30	Deirdre and Naoise, and detail	Every Cloud has a Silver Lining	[Walter Bayes]
31	One of the Four Seasons, and detail	Know Thyself	
32	Finn at the Well of Wisdom, and detail	King Arthur	
33	Deirdre presenting Cuchullin Born of the god Suel, to her Husband Sualtana, and detail	Corrib	[J.M. Willcox]
139	Meeting of Naoise and Deirdre, and detail	Ich Dien	
140	Finding of Oisín, and detail	Shamus	
141	Deirdre and Naoise Fate of the Sons of Usnach, and detail	Live and Learn	
142	Cuchullin, and detail	Belvedere	
143	The Coming of Tuatha de Danann, and detail	Celt	
144	Finn Macoul Making Lough Reagh, and two details	Base	
145	The Three Ages of Man, and detail	Childhood	
146	The Three Ages of Man, and detail	Old Age	
147	Meeting of Cathbad and Nessa, and detail	Franklin	
148	Design	Ern [sic]	

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ENDNOTES

- ¹ Recently summarised by Barbara Dawson, 'Hugh Lane and the origins of the collection', in Elizabeth Mayes and Paula Murphy (eds), *Images and Insights* (Dublin 1993) 13-31, with details of the 1993 loan agreement between the National Gallery, London, and Dublin City Gallery, the Hugh Lane. For Lane's biography see Lady Gregory, *Hugh Lane's Life and Achievement, with Some Account of the Dublin Galleries* (London 1921), reprinted with a foreword by James White as *Sir Hugh Lane, His Life and Legacy*; The Coole Edition of the Works of Lady Gregory, 10 (Gerrard's Cross 1973), and Robert O'Byrne, *Hugh Lane 1875-1915* (Dublin 2000). See also Jeanne Sheehy, *The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past, the Celtic Revival 1830-1930* (London 1980) 107-19, and Bruce Arnold, *Orpen, Mirror to an Age* (London 1981) 134-46 and *passim*.
- ² James White, 'Sir Hugh Lane as a Collector', *Apollo*, xcix, February 1974, 112-25, deals with Lane's donations of Old Masters to the National Gallery of Ireland. Lane's relations with contemporary artists are touched on by Gregory, *Sir Hugh Lane*; Arnold, *Orpen*; John O'Grady, *The Life and Work of Sarah Purser* (Dublin 1996) 108-15 and *passim*, and most recently by O'Byrne, *Hugh Lane*.
- ³ Clare A.P. Willsdon, *Mural Painting in Britain 1840-1940* (Oxford, 2000) is the definitive overview the topic has until now lacked.
- ⁴ See Gregory, *Sir Hugh Lane*, and O'Byrne, *Hugh Lane*, for Lane's career.
- ⁵ Arnold, *Orpen*, 143.
- ⁶ Dawson, 'Hugh Lane', 27-9, 32. Lane's interest in Impressionism is contextualised by John House, 'Modern French Art for the Nation: Samuel Courtauld's Collection and Patronage in Context', *Impressionism for England, Samuel Courtauld as Patron and Collector*, exhibition catalogue, Courtauld Galleries (New Haven and London 1994) 9-33; Caroline Durand-Ruel Godfroy, 'Durand-Ruel's Influence on the Impressionist Collections of European Museums', and Christopher Lloyd, 'Britain and the Impressionists', both in Anne Dumas and Michael E. Shapiro (eds), *Impressionism, Paintings Collected by European Museums*, exhibition catalogue, High Museum of Art, Atlanta (New York 1999) 29-38, 65-76.
- ⁷ Jane Brown, *Lutyens and the Edwardians: an English Architect and his Clients* (London 1996) 145-58. Both were also involved in the founding of the Johannesburg Art Gallery, Lane as the chief supplier of paintings, and Lutyens as architect: Marybeth McTeague, 'The Johannesburg Art Gallery: Lutyens, Lane and Lady Phillips', *International Journal of Museum Management and Curatorship*, 3, 2, June 1984, 139-52. See also Michael Stevenson, 'History of the

- Collection', in Hans Fransen (ed.), *Michaelis Collection: The Old Town House, Cape Town* (Zwolle 1997) 29-43.
- ⁸ Gregory, *Sir Hugh Lane*, 87; Mary Lutyens, *Edwin Lutyens by his Daughter* (London 1980; revised ed. 1991) 159, mentions 'some pictures' given to Lutyens by Lane in payment; Anthony Blunt, *The Paintings of Nicolas Poussin, a Critical Catalogue* (London 1966) 144, no. 210c, *Landscape with a Roman road*. See also O'Byrne, *Hugh Lane*, 120.
- ⁹ For a recent account of these events set in the context of Corporation politics, see Sheila Carden, 'Alderman Tom Kelly and the Municipal Gallery', *Dublin Historical Record*, liv. no. 2, 2001, 116-38.
- ¹⁰ Gregory, *Sir Hugh Lane*, 88.
- ¹¹ Seán P. Popplewell, 'Domestic Decorative Painting in Ireland: 1720-1820', *Studies*, 68, spring-summer 1979, 46-65.
- ¹² Nicola Gordon Bowe and Elizabeth Cumming, *The Arts and Crafts Movements in Dublin and Edinburgh 1885-1925* (Dublin 1998) 14-15, pl. 1; 185-8, nos 178-80; Philip McEvansoneya, 'History, Politics and Decorative Painting: James Ward's Murals in Dublin City Hall', *Irish Arts Review Yearbook 1999*, 15 (Dublin 1998) 142-7.
- ¹³ Judith Collins, *The Omega Workshops* (London 1983; reprinted 1984) 34.
- ¹⁴ Adrian Jenkins, *Augustus John: Studies for Compositions*, exhibition catalogue, National Museum of Wales (Cardiff 1978), nos 104-13; Lisa Tickner, *Modern Life and Modern Subjects, British Art in the Early Twentieth Century* (New Haven and London 2000) 70, 248-9, notes 72, 74.
- ¹⁵ William Rothenstein, *Men and Memories. Recollections of William Rothenstein 1900-1922* (London 1932) 144-5.
- ¹⁶ D.S. MacColl, 'A Modern Gallery in Dublin', *Saturday Review*, 98, 1 October 1904, 696-7, and 'Lessons from Dublin', *Saturday Review*, 105, 3 December 1908, 168-9.
- ¹⁷ Geddes' exhibition of 1911 is referred to in a circular for the Crosby Hall exhibition, as are Watts' earlier ambitions: *Exhibition of Designs for Mural Painting for the Decoration of Schools & other Institutions* (place and date of publication not given), the first of at least two editions, copy amongst the Geddes Papers, University of Strathclyde Archives, T-GED 5/3/22. The 1911 exhibition is also referred to in an unidentified newspaper clipping dated 30 November 1911: Geddes Papers, T-GED 5/4/24. 'Designs for Mural Painting – a Competitive Exhibition', *The Times*, 5 February 1912, 11.
- ¹⁸ See Helen Smith, *Decorative Painting in the Domestic Interior in England and Wales, c.1850-1890* (New York 1984).
- ¹⁹ *Exhibition of Designs for Mural Painting and for the Decoration of Schools and other Buildings* (place and date of publication not given [London 1912]) 3-4. Plans by the London County Council around 1912, and again in the early 1920s, for mural schemes in County Hall which was then being built eventually came to nothing: Hermione Hobhouse (ed.), *County Hall*, Survey of London Monograph, 17 (London 1991) 57, 65-7.
- ²⁰ 'Decoration of Chelsea Town Hall: Competition for Panel Designs', *The Times*, 5 May 1911, 11 (which erroneously referred to a 'Miss G. Woolway'); Tom Cross, *Artists and Bohemians. 100 years with the Chelsea Arts Club* (London 1992) 42. According to Salisbury's *Sarum Chase, New and Enlarged Edition of Portrait and Pageant* (London 1953) 29, the Chelsea Town Hall project was paid for by Lane. Whilst it was paid for by donations from prominent Chelsea individuals (Willson, *Mural Painting*, 187), no corroboration of Lane's involvement

- has been found. Since Salisbury mistakenly says Lane died aboard the Titanic rather than the Lusitania, his claim may be unreliable. The Chelsea Town Hall project was briefly controversial owing to the inclusion in one panel of a likeness of Oscar Wilde.
- ²¹ It is not absolutely clear whether the three sums of £100 offered by Lane were in fact prizes for the works themselves or the fees for commissions to be given to the three selected artists. The entry in *Exhibition of Designs*, 14, is ambiguous: Lane offers '£100 each for the execution of three panels from designs to be approved by him...' and the journalistic reports do not clarify this detail.
- ²² *Exhibition of Designs*, Competition II, 6-7, nos 23-25, 27-33; 19, nos 139-48. It has not been possible to locate a full set of the circulars and supplements issued in promotion of the exhibition. A *Supplement to Final Circular for Competitors* exists specifying the details for 'Competition No I', the proposed murals at the Middlesex Hospital, which gives guidance on subject matter: Geddes Papers, University of Strathclyde Archives, T-GED 5/3/22. Perhaps the location in Dublin was sufficient guidance to participating artists.
- ²³ Robinson eventually carried out all the Middlesex Hospital murals too (on which see Alan Powers, 'Public Places and Private Faces – Narrative and Romanticism in English Mural Painting 1900-1935', in John Christian (ed.), *The Last Romantics, The Romantic Tradition in British Art, Burne-Jones to Stanley Spencer*, exhibition catalogue, Barbican Art Gallery (London 1989) 65, 68-9), although a £50 premium was awarded to Donald McClaren for his designs in this section of the competition: 'Designs for School Decoration', *The Times*, 19 June 1912, 15.
- ²⁴ Bayes' name is written next to this entry in a copy of *Exhibition of Designs*, 7, no. 30, in the Tate Gallery Archive, TG92/42/5, in which a partial list of prize-winners is also given. I can find no corroboration for O'Byrne, *Hugh Lane*, 171, who says, without giving a source, that Bayes' entry was *Irish linen* (no. 28, as by 'Vieux Jeu').
- ²⁵ Robinson is identified in *Exhibition of Designs*, 26, no. 23, copy in the Tate Gallery Archive, TG92/42/5.
- ²⁶ According to annotations on copies of *Exhibition of Designs*, 7, no. 33, in the Tate Gallery Archive, TG92/42/3 and /5. Willcox had Irish connections and may have been Irish. On the cover of the first cited copy of the catalogue appears the annotation: 'J.M. Willcox Lisnabruicka [?] Recess Co. Galway. Good. "Corrib". Sir H. Lane's Prize'. James Wilcox [sic] was a signatory in 1917 to a petition for the return of the Lane pictures (Gregory, *Sir Hugh Lane*, 309). James M. Willcox of Recess, county Galway sent a work to the Royal Hibernian Academy annual exhibition in 1918, no. 37, *A Connemara girl*, priced at £50. He was a member of the Society of Dublin Painters in 1920 (S.B. Kennedy, *Irish Art and Modernism 1880-1950* (Belfast 1991) 20, 368). As well as historical and genre subjects, he painted portraits, such as that of Nathaniel Hone the younger, c.1915-6, sold by James Adam of Dublin, 25 March 1998, lot 82, catalogued as by James M. Wilcox [sic].
- ²⁷ Robinson's *Aeneas* design (unlocated) is reproduced in *The Studio*, 56, August 1912, 226. A mural of this subject by Robinson was painted for Heanor Grammar School (now South East Derbyshire College), c.1919 (Willsdon, *Mural Painting*, 399). The works by Rae and Cooper were submitted with a third by H.B. Wright; see Appendix. This identification is made in 'Crosby Hall Exhibition of Mural Paintings and Decorations', *Building News*, cii, 7 June 1912, 797.
- ²⁸ Gregory, *Sir Hugh Lane*, 263, Appendix II: Gifts and Bequests to the Dublin Municipal

- Gallery. The painting was accessioned at an unrecorded date in 1913 (gallery files). Robinson's participation in the Crosby Hall exhibition is misdated by Mary-Anne Stevens, 'Frederick Cayley Robinson', *Connoisseur*, 196, September 1977, 28, and in *Frederick Cayley Robinson ARA 1862-1927*, exhibition catalogue, Fine Art Society (London 1977) chronology (n.p.).
- ²⁹ Kenneth McConkey, *A Free Spirit, Irish Art 1860-1960* (Woodbridge and London 1990) 46, reproduced the second preparatory work (Plate 4) rather than the finished work in Dublin (Plate 7).
- ³⁰ *Exhibition of Designs*, 5, no. 1; 6, no. 14.
- ³¹ These qualities are also to be found in the four panels of modern subjects he painted in the entrance hall of the Middlesex Hospital in 1915-20: see *The Studio*, 65, August 1915, 181, 185; Powers, 'Public Places', 68-9, and Willsdon, *Mural Painting*, 290-92.
- ³² An annotation to a copy of *Exhibition of Designs*, 7, Tate Gallery Archive, TG92/42/5, notes 'Cayley Robinson colour scheme unfit'.
- ³³ This version was reproduced in colour in *The Studio*, 62, August 1914, opposite 176. The signature it now bears is not apparent in that reproduction, and so must have been added after 1914.
- ³⁴ This device can be seen in *Taking in Ballast, The Inland Sea* and *Souvenir of Claude Lorrain* (all untraced), reproduced in *The Studio*, 31, 1904, 241; *The Studio*, 83, 1922, 295, and Stevens, 'Frederick Cayley Robinson', 27.
- ³⁵ 'Chelsea Town Hall, Novel Scheme of Decoration', *The Times*, 9 December 1911, 6; 'Mural Decoration: Exhibition at Crosby Hall', *The Times*, 4 June 1912, 12; 'Studio-Talk', *The Studio*, 56, July 1912, 146, 149.
- ³⁶ Willsdon, *Mural Painting*, 4, 311, 359, 364 (Euston); 50-1, 380-1 (Ruskin); 255-7, 282 and *passim* (Geddes).
- ³⁷ Elizabeth Bulkeley *et al.*, *Charles Mahoney 1903-1968*, exhibition catalogue, Harris Museum and Art Gallery, Preston; Royal Museum and Art Gallery, Canterbury; and Fine Art Society, London (London 2000). Edward Bawden and Eric Ravilious also painted murals at Morley College.
- ³⁸ 'The Mural Painting Exhibition', *The Times*, 29 June 1912, 4, and information from Colin Shaw, the school archivist, to whom I am most grateful. Day's design was reproduced in *The Studio*, 56, August 1912, 225. Day was then the holder of the Royal College of Art travelling studentship in decorative painting: see *The Builder*, cii, 16 February 1912, 172. The mural may be seen *in situ* in a photograph in the school prospectus for 1917, 10.
- ³⁹ 'The Mural Painting Exhibition', *The Times*, 29 June 1912, 4. Christopher Hussey, *The Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens* (London 1950; reprint Woodbridge 1989) 192. It is not known whether Starmer had been a participant at Crosby Hall. A design by E.L.A. Appleby, Jessie Bayes and W.B. Savage for the St Jude's section of the Crosby Hall exhibition is reproduced in *The Studio*, 56, August 1912, 227.
- ⁴⁰ These identifications are made in 'Crosby Hall Exhibition of Mural Paintings and Decorations', *Building News*, cii, 7 June 1912, 797.
- ⁴¹ 'Designs for School Decoration', *The Times*, 19 June 1912, 15. North's prize-winning St George (no. 34 as 'Boreas') was reproduced in *The Builder*, cii, 16 August 1912, 211. Louise Jacobs as 'Lyon' sent 'Prince John Granting the Commune, 1191' and a detail (no. 84).
- ⁴² There are no records of any mural projects in the Cass Foundation's archives. Information from Stephen Freeth, Keeper of Manuscripts at Guildhall Library.
- ⁴³ John Batten, preface and 'Resolution of the Society of Painters in Tempera', in John Batten

- (ed.), *Papers of the Society of Mural Decorators & Painters in Tempera Second Volume 1907-1924* (London 1925) 62; 'Mr Walter Crane on the Revival of Mural Decoration', *Building News*, cii, 14 June 1912, 842; 'Professor Selwyn Image on the Future of Mural Decoration', *Building News*, cii, 21 June 1912, 876; 'Royal Academy Banquet, The Archbishop's Suggestion', *The Times*, 6 May 1912, 10.
- ⁴⁴ Alan Powers, 'Murals of the Arts and Crafts Movement at the 1916 Exhibition', *Craft History*, i, 1988, 23-30; P. Rose, "'It must be done now": the Arts and Crafts Exhibition at Burlington House, 1916', *Journal of the Decorative Arts Society*, 17, 1993, 3-12.
- ⁴⁵ *Mural Painting in Great Britain 1919-1939*, exhibition catalogue, Tate Gallery (London 1939).
- ⁴⁶ *Notes Historical and Descriptive on the Mural Decorations Painted by William Hole RSA in the ... Scottish National Portrait Gallery* (Edinburgh 1902); Gordon Bowe and Cumming, *Arts and Crafts Movements*, 15, 62, pl. xiii; Willsdon, *Mural Painting*, 184-5; 'Studio-Talk', *The Studio*, 61, March 1914, 144-5, John Oxberry, *Mural Decoration in the Frieze in the Boardroom of the Tyne Improvement Commission* (n.p. 1927), copy in Tate Gallery Archive, TG92/42/3.
- ⁴⁷ *Irish Daily Independent*, 16 January 1903. I owe this reference to Marta Herrero. Murphy was an early and enduring critic of Lane's plans: see O'Byrne, *Hugh Lane*, 176-7, 182-5, and Carden, 'Alderman Tom Kelly'.
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