KETTLE'S YARD: ANTI-MUSEUM

H.S. Ede, modernism and the experience of art

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October 2018

This dissertation is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

DECLARATION

This dissertation is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. It is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. It is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for a degree or diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. I further state that no substantial part of my dissertation has already been submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University of similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. It does not exceed the prescribed word limit of 80,000 words.

ABSTRACT

This thesis attempts to tackle the question of what is, or more precisely, what was Kettle's Yard, by exploring the intellectual origins of the institution initially conceived and developed by H.S. Ede. Ede bought Kettle's Yard in 1956, and began to welcome visitors into his home in 1957. As a private initiative, Kettle's Yard promoted an unusually intimate encounter with art. Following its transferral to the University of Cambridge in 1968, Kettle's Yard still offered a qualitatively different experience to that of a conventional museum. Over the last fifty years, the ineffable quality of the visitor's experience has inevitably changed. One of the motivating questions for me, through this research, has been how or even whether Kettle's Yard now differs from other collection museums, and what that means in terms of understanding the institution Ede originally founded. It was also my aim to situate Kettle's Yard in relation to a rich history of experimental museum practice and private philanthropy. My approach has been to map a genealogy of key ideas and influences that shaped Kettle's Yard. My research focuses primarily on the interwar period, which roughly coincides with Ede's time in London between 1919 (when Ede returned to London after active duty in the First World War) to 1937 (when he resigned from the Tate Gallery and moved to Tangier). This was a formative chapter in Ede's life. I also seek to draw pertinent comparisons with other collection museums and 'modernist' institutions from that era. I begin with an introduction to Kettle's Yard and to Ede himself. Chapter 2 looks at Ede's activities and intellectual interests in the interwar period, taking into account the wider cultural context with which he is engaged. In Chapters 3 and 4, I examine the prevailing themes of spirituality and the home in relation to Ede's engagement with modernism, and his relationships with artists and other key figures. I trace the eventual expression of Ede's beliefs in the collection and interiors at Kettle's Yard with reference to relevant archival materials, including Ede's book on Kettle's Yard, *A Way of Life* (1984). Finally, I come back to my original question to assess what Kettle's Yard means today.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my supervisor, Jean Michel Massing, for his generosity, his wonderful enthusiasm and patience, but most of all for his belief in my work, which made this possible.

So many people have been extraordinarily generous with their time and knowledge over the last four years. I am forever indebted to Frieda Midgley, my redoubtable guide through the archives at Kettle's Yard. I am also particularly grateful for the assistance of Barbara Beaucar at the Barnes Foundation, Karen Schneider at the Phillips Collection Library and Archives, Megan Schwenke at Harvard Art Museum Archives, James Carder at Dumbarton Oaks, Shana McKenna at the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Ceri Brough at the National Gallery Archives, Dr Paul Pearson at the Thomas Merton Center**,** and Sonny Raharison at the Musée Picasso, all of whom went out of their way to help me and draw my attention to material I wouldn't otherwise have found. I would also like to thank staff at the Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institute; Bancroft Library, Berkeley University; Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University; British Library; Cambridge University Library, Cumbria Archive Centre; Devon Heritage Centre; Forbes-Mellon Library, Clare College; Getty Research Institute; Harry Ransome Centre, University of Austin; Harvard University Library; Kandinsky Library, Paris; Museum of Modern Art Archives; New York Historical Society; New York Public Library and Tate Gallery Archives. I am extremely grateful to Roger A. Cole for sharing his research and allowing me unrestricted access to his archive, and to Aziz Begdouri, my intrepid guide on the trail of Ede in Tangier.

My research has been incalculably enriched by conversations along the way, and I gained a wealth of insight from those who knew or could tell me something about Jim. I am very grateful to Mary Adams and the Ede family for their support and would also like to acknowledge Belinda Rathbone, Marion Leeper, David

Owers, Diana Boston, Clive Wilmer, Lydia Hamlett, Robert Upstone, Jen Scott, Betty Thompson, Sarah Turner, not to mention all the invigilators who have loved Kettle's Yard with quiet dedication and shared their priceless stories with me. I owe Lucy Kent a particular debt of thanks for opening a door I wasn't planning to.

I am grateful to all my old colleagues at Kettle's Yard, to Andrew Nairne and Dr Jennifer Powell for their support and generous financial assistance with my research in America, and to Claire Daunton, with whom I began my exploration of the Kettle's Yard archives. I would also like to thank the staff and fellows of Clare College and the History of Art Department, University of Cambridge.

I received crucial financial assistance from Clare College, the Allan and Nesta Ferguson Charitable Trust, the Sir Richard Stapeley Educational Trust, the Yorkshire Ladies Council for Education and Futures for Women. My research in France, Tangier and America was made possible with the support of the Friends of Norwich Museums, Kettle's Yard, the Brâncuși Travel Fund, Santander Mobility Grants, Clare College Graduate Research Fund, the Architecture and History of Art Faculty Fieldwork Fund and the Cambridge Society of Paris Trevor Brown Bursary.

They say it takes a village to raise a child and it seems that way with a PhD. I have been supported in so many ways by our Cambridge friends, most of all Josy, whose many kindnesses are unrepayable. All my family and friends have been patient, tolerant and understanding beyond anything I deserve. My best friend Rou has played cheerleader, counsellor, and writing companion. My parents and in-laws have helped out in countless ways, not least with their love and encouragement. I couldn't have done any of this without the unconditional support of my husband and son, who inspire me to be the best I can be.

For Michael Harrison.

IMAGE LIST

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1: WHAT IS KETTLE'S YARD?

Fifty-two years ago, in 1966, H.S. Ede (known to most as Jim) signed a deed of covenant giving the buildings known as Kettle's Yard and all contents therein, including a modest but important collection of early twentieth century art, along with an initial endowment of £15,000, to the University of Cambridge.[1] At the age of 71, he had given away his home and almost all of his possessions. He continued to live at Kettle's Yard for a further seven years, and to purchase and donate works of art, furniture, objects and books to Kettle's Yard until his death.

In order to understand where Kettle's Yard came from and what it means to us today, my research has concentrated on Ede's activities during the interwar period, 1919-1939. These were Ede's formative years in which he was building a career and a collection (although he didn't call it that), meeting new people and discovering new places and ideas, all of which would provide the inspiration and sustenance he would draw on for the rest of his life. The same period also happens to have witnessed the apotheosis of modernism across Europe and America; Ede was close to the heart of avant-garde activity in both Paris and London in the 1920s and 1930s, and witnessed American responses to European modernism at first hand in the 1930s. These experiences had a lasting impact on Ede's opinions about art and life, the scale and depth of which was not matched by encounters in later decades.[2]

[1] Memorandum and Deed of Covenant, 28 November 1966. Papers of Harold Stanley (H.S.) Ede, Kettle's Yard Archives, KY/Ede/2/3. Ede had already made a substantial gift to the University of Essex in 1964, consisting of twenty-five works by Henri Gaudier-Brzeska, Christopher Wood, Winifred and Ben Nicholson, Alfred Wallis and David Jones along with the letters of Gaudier-Brzeska and T.E. Lawrence. See W.E. Wade, letter to H.S. Ede, Papers of Harold Stanley (hereafter H.S.) Ede, KY/Ede/3/2/5.

[2] Ede would later write to David Jones, 'now for twenty years I've been rather living on the stored up beauty of my first forty years and all that revealed' H.S. Ede, letter to David

Rowena Smith's 2001 biography of H.S. Ede provided a useful starting point.[3] My former colleague, Sebastiano Barassi, also made significant in-roads in situating Kettle's Yard in relation to contemporary museological discourses around the collection museum.[4] As a private collection and collector's home that has been open to the public for sixty years, Kettle's Yard has much in common with other, equally distinctive, collection museums and historic houses both in the UK and around the world. The ground-breaking scholarship of art historians Anne Higgonet and Penny Sparke in this field, drawing in turn on the work of philosophers Jean Baudrillard and Walter Benjamin, has underlined the significance of the psychological attachment of a collector to their collection and their home.[5] This is as true of Kettle's Yard and its founder as it is of any other collection museum. Ede was careful to construct a public identity for himself that merged with Kettle's Yard. In his writing, he frequently neglected to acknowledge his sources; asked for a photograph of himself for a newspaper article, he told the photographer to take a picture of 'any object he liked and call it 'A Portrait of Jim Ede.'[6]

As Charlotte Klonk, Katherine Kuenzli, Kristina Wilson and others have shown, the particular relationship between art and the home also had a significant part to play in the development of discourses around the display of art and the relationship between art and the viewer in relation to modernism in the early

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Jones, 21 June 1955. David Jones Papers, Collection of National Library of Wales, copies held at Kettle's Yard, NLW/CD1/16.

[3] Rowena Smith, 'H.S. Ede: A Life in Art,' unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2001.

[4] See Sebastiano Barassi, 'The Collection as a Work of Art: Jim Ede and Kettle's Yard,' paper presented to University Museums in Scotland Conference, University of Edinburgh, 12 November 2004. http://www.umis.ac.uk/conferences/conference2004/pdfbarassi.pdf [accessed 20 April 2016] and 'Kettle's Yard: Museum or Way of Life?' in Penny Sparke, Brenda Martin & Trevor Keeble, eds. *The Modern Period Room 1870-1950,* London: Routledge, 2006, pp.129-141.

[5] See Anne Higonnet *A Museum of One's Own: Private Collecting, Public Gift* Pittsburgh, PA: New York, NY: Periscope Publishing 2009; Penny Sparke, *The Modern Interior* London: Reaktion, 2008; Jean Baudrillard, *The System of Objects* London: Verso, 1996; Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project* Cambridge, Mass. Belknapp Press of Harvard University Press, 1999 (1940).

[6] From an article entitled 'Jim Ede, Kettle's Yard Cambridge' in *Mid Anglia*, September 1967, pp.13-14. KY/Ede/2/23.

twentieth century.[7] It is here that the particularity of Kettle's Yard begins to surface. In harking back ideologically and aesthetically to the interwar period, Kettle's Yard represents an intact manifestation of this overlooked aspect of modernist discourse. In the 1930s, pioneering proponents of modern art in Europe and America favoured the atmosphere of intimate, domestic spaces in which to stage the new, interiorised experience of modern art. We know many of these alternative spaces only through photographs, but Ede was there; he visited Alfred Stieglitz' gallery in New York, Le Corbusier's Maison La Roche in Paris and the Phillips Collection in Washington, D.C., and he hung out with many of those who were engaged in theorising and disseminating ideas about modern art and display, including Alfred Barr, Albert Gallatin, Paul Guillaume, Paul Sachs and Duncan Phillips. Chapter 4 examines the home as the conceptual lynchpin of Ede's project. I explore the relationship between modernism and the domestic, and consider Kettle's Yard's relationship to this discourse by drawing it into dialogue with other institutions that, like Ede, have their roots in the interwar period.

Spirituality is a prevailing theme at Kettle's Yard, as it was for most of the artists represented there. Critical attention gathered momentum in the late twentieth century, with art historians Robert Rosenblum, Sixten Ringbom, Robert Morse Crunden and Roger Lipsey leading the way.[8] Landmark exhibitions such as Maurice Tuchman's *The Spiritual in Art: Abstract Painting 1890-1985* at LACMA (1993), *Negotiating Rapture* at MCA Chicago (1996) or *Traces du Sacré* at the

[7] See Charlotte Klonk, *Spaces of Experience: Art Gallery Interiors from 1800-2000*, New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 2009; Katherine Kuenzli, 'The Birth of the Modernist Art Museum: The Folkwang as Gesamtkunstwerk' in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 72, no. 4, 2013, pp. 503–529; Kristina Wilson, 'One Big Painting' in Jennifer R. Gross, ed. *The Société Anonyme: Modernism for America*, Yale University Press, New Haven & London.

[8] See Robert Rosenblum, *Modern Painting And The Northern Romantic Tradition: Friedrich To Rothko*, London: Routledge, 1977; Sixten Ringbom, *The Sounding Cosmos: A study in the spiritualism of Kandinsky and the genesis of abstract painting,* Åbo [Finland]: Åbo Akademi, 1970; Roger Lipsey, *An Art of Our Own: The Spiritual in Twentieth Century Art* (1st ed.) Boston: Shambhala, 1988; Maurice Tuchmann, *The Spiritual in Art: Abstract Painting 1890-1985*, New York: Abbeville Press, 1986; Diane Apostolos-Cappadona, ed., *Art, Creativity, and the Sacred: An Anthology in Religion and Art*, New York: Continuum, 1995, R.M. Crunden, *Body and Soul: The Making of American Modernism*: *Art, Music and Letters in the Jazz Age 1919 – 1926,* New York: Basic Books, 2000.

Centre Pompidou (2008) revealed the significance and complexity of spiritual themes in the development of early modernism and pointed to a continuing relationship between aesthetic and spiritual experience throughout the twentieth century.[9] In Britain as elsewhere, the introduction of modernism coincided with this 'spiritual renaissance'; historians including Alex Owen and John Bramble have provided an expansive view of the ways in which modernism interacted with heterodox belief systems,[10] while the work of Sarah Victoria Turner & Lucy Kent has revealed hitherto unexplored relationships between aesthetic formulae and religious belief within English modernism.[11]

A handful of articles have touched on the subject in relation to Kettle's Yard – from Christopher Andreae's 1972 review in *The Christian Science Monitor*, which played heavily on Christian Science themes through evocative impressions of harmony, light, wholeness and 'rightness,' to Dorothy Armstrong's scathing assessment of *A Way of Life* in 1986, in which she suggested Ede's spiritual preoccupations detracted from the actual experience of the place.[12] But as Alan Bowness, who was closely involved with Kettle's Yard for a number of years, commented in 1970, "if we accept this quasi-religious role of art in modern society, it follows that our conception of the museum should accord with it. We should aim to create an atmosphere in which works of art can be contemplated,

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[9] The subject of spirituality in modern art began to receive serious consideration thanks to the work of critics such as Rosenblum, whose article 'The Abstract Sublime' appeared in *Art News* 59 (1961), pp. 38–41. Roger Lipsey's seminal *An Art of Our Own: The Spiritual in Twentieth Century Art,* 1988, and Diane Apostolos-Cappadona, ed., *Art, Creativity, and the Sacred: An Anthology in Religion and Art*, 1995, sought to expand discourse around the spiritual content of twentieth century art. The subject recently surfaced in relation to contemporary art practice; see James Elkins & David Morgan, eds. *Re-enchantment,* New York: Routledge, 2008, and Dan Fox, "Believe It or Not: Religion versus Spirituality in Contemporary Art," in *Frieze. Religion & Spirituality* no. 135, November–December 2010.

[10] See Alex Owen, The *Place of Enchantment: British Occultism and the Culture of the Modern*, University of Chicago, 2004, and John Bramble, *Modernism and the Occult,* London: Palgrave 2015.

[11] Sarah Victoria Turner, '"Spiritual Rhythm" and "Material Things": Art, Cultural Networks and Modernity in Britain, c.1900-1914', PhD, Courtauld Institute of Art, 2009; Lucy Kent, 'Modern Gods: Art and Religion in Britain 1900-1950,' PhD, University of Cambridge, 2016.

[12] See Christopher Andreae, 'Kettle's Yard – a collection to live with' *The Christian Science Monitor*, 18 July 1972, p.8. and Dorothy Armstrong, 'They Think I am the Minister' *The Cambridge Quarterly* vol.15, no.3, 1986, pp.268-276. http://camqtly.oxfordjournals.org/ [accessed 5 April 2016]

can be meditated upon."[13] In Chapter 3, I explore Ede's engagement with different strains of religious thought, and the ways in which Kettle's Yard is informed by Ede's mysticism and the spiritual preoccupations of artists represented in the collection.

It is impossible to separate the man from the institution he founded; as Anne Higonnet says, he has left his signature everywhere for us to find. But there are other people and ideas in this place, which the myth of the collector has obscured. Institutions change; Kettle's Yard has changed. It is over fifty years old and the university may now do with it what they will. I hope to give, in the chapters that follow, a sense of what it was, where it started, and why it is here.

1.2: WHO WAS EDE?

Ede was a self-styled 'friend of artists,' an aesthete who found himself at the heart of the art worlds in London and Paris in the Twenties and Thirties. (Fig.1) He built a collection of twentieth-century British and European art through friendships with some of the most important artists of the era, and founded a unique institution in order to share it with others. He had been an officer in the trenches in World War I and spent much of World War II travelling around America in a second-hand Buick, lecturing to raise money for the Emergency Relief Fund. He had worked as a photographer's boy and '2nd Assistant' at the National (later Tate) Gallery – not curator, as his colleagues made a point of clarifying[14] – and nurtured the Contemporary Art Society in its infancy as its Assistant Secretary. In later life, he volunteered as a hospital visitor, but the role he saw as his vocation was as 'Resident' at Kettle's Yard. He lived for a time in London, North Africa and in rural France, before settling in Cambridge in 1956,

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[13] Alan Bowness, 'Museums and Their Uses' *Cambridge Review* vol. 91, May 1970, pp.174-176.

[14] In a letter to Albert C. Barnes, n.d. (c. November 1931), Ede recounts 'another sweet little example of my official world came to me yesterday – a newspaper cutting over here "The Director of the National Gallery, Millbank, London, his assistant, Mr David Fincham, says, desires, 'to point out that Mr H.S. Ede (author of *Savage Messiah*), to whom you refer in your issue of September 28 as 'Curator of the Tate Gallery' has the official position of 'Assistant' & not 'Curator' & 'would be obliged if you could insert a correction".' Albert C. Barnes Correspondence, Barnes Foundation Archives. Reproduced by permission.

where he created Kettle's Yard.

Ede was born in 1895 in Penarth, Glamorgan. His father was a solicitor and his mother a schoolteacher. He attended the Leys School in Cambridge between 1909-12, where he began a lifelong friendship with Donald Winnicott, who would later become a leading paediatrician and psychoanalyst.[15] In 1908, aged thirteen, Ede was sent to school in France. During that year, he made a trip to Paris, where he stayed with his father's glamorous American stepsister, Maud Ede, a painter; and her husband Frederick Mortimer Clapp, a poet who later became the founding director of the Frick Collection in New York.[16] Maud and 'Tim' lived in an elegant apartment overlooking the Luxembourg Gardens; they guided him around the museums of Paris and introduced him to art.[17] Ede's relationship with his aunt and uncle was genuinely affectionate, and their influence at this point was formative.[18] As Ede recalled in 1960, his Aunt Maud was 'the first person who understood the world I lived in…& the only one in my family who knew this language.'[19]

Ede left the Leys School to train as an artist at Newlyn and then Edinburgh School of Art before World War I interrupted his studies. In 1914, he joined the 6th Battalion (Pioneers) of the South Wales Borderers and served as a lieutenant

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[15] Jeremy Lewison, 'Ede, Harold Stanley [Jim] (1895–1990)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* online ed. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/40667

[16] Clapp was appointed as 'organising director' of the Frick Collection in 1931; he became its founding director in 1935, and retired in 1950.

[17] Ede recalled their apartment had 'an individual beauty he had never before experienced.' H.S. Ede, 'Between Two Memories: an autobiography by Jim Ede' c.1946-1947, postscript 1975. Papers of H.S. Ede, KY/Ede/4/1/1, p.45. Page numbers refer to digital transcript.

[18] On 12 February 1911, Ede wrote, 'I hope aunty that your toothache is quite better by now, and that your head uncle has not been troubling you very much. I shall never forgive myself for dragging you round the Louvre when your head was so very bad. Perhaps next time that I come I will be able to go there alown (sic) & not trouble you at all, but that won't be nearly so interesting, for you explain things so nicely…Lots of love to you both my dear dear relations & forgive me writing this nonsense, Your very devoted Stanley.' H.S. Ede, letter to Maud Clapp, 12 Feb 1911, Frederick Mortimer Clapp Papers, Yale Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, YCAL MSS 435/20.

[19] H.S. Ede, letter to Frederick Mortimer Clapp (Tim), 12 Feb 1960. Ibid.

in France before he was invalided out of the trenches in early 1916.[20] He was posted to Cambridge, where he trained officer cadets, and in 1919 he was sent to northern India, where he remained for the rest of the war. This experience was to have a lingering influence on his spiritual outlook.[21]

On his return to London, Ede enrolled at the Slade School of Art. He married Helen Schlapp in January 1921, left the Slade in March of the same year to became photographer's assistant at the National Gallery, and in 1922 took up the position of '2nd Assistant' at the National Gallery of British Art (renamed Tate Gallery in 1932), where he remained for fourteen years until 1937. The Edes' daughters Elizabeth and Mary were born in 1921 and 1924 respectively. For eleven years between 1925-36, Ede also served as Assistant Secretary to the Contemporary Art Society. During this period, Ede began to travel with greater frequency to Europe and especially to Paris, on official business for the Tate. He got to know many of the most interesting and important artists in London and Paris, including Picasso, Braque and Brâncuși, Henry Moore, Ben Nicholson and Barbara Hepworth - as well as the dealers, collectors and patrons, writers, musicians, actors, dancers and poets associated with the international avant-garde. In 1927, he acquired the estate of the artist Henri Gaudier-Brzeska, a move that was to have a profound impact on the course of his life. His biography of Gaudier-Brzeska was published in 1930.

In the Autumn of 1931, Ede made a month-long trip to America. With the help of Maud and Tim Clapp, who by then were living in New York and extremely well-connected within the East Coast art world, Ede put together an itinerary that took in thirty-eight private collections in eight cities, from Chicago to

[20]Letters from Ede to the Clapps show he spent much of 1916 travelling around hospitals in France and England. On 4 March 1916, Ede is at the Michaelham Convalescent Home for British Officers, Cimiez, Nice, but writes that he 'has to go back to hospital' and will be sent to the Red Cross Hospital in Rouen; on 25 March he writes from Penarth, Wales, 'since January I have been travelling round the hospitals of France, and have at last been shipped across to England.' On Dec 12 he writes from Trinity College, Cambridge, that he is 'still on 'light duty'. See Ede, letters to Maud Clapp, 3, 4 & 25 March, 21 April & 16 December 1916. Frederick Mortimer Clapp Papers.
[21] Ede, 'Between Two Memories,' pp.67-69. Papers of H.S. Ede, KY/Ede/4/1/1.

Washington, D.C.[22] He met with writers, musicians, art historians and museum directors, and visited pioneering new institutions from the Museum of Modern Art in New York to the Phillips Collection in Washington, D.C. and the Barnes Foundation, near Philadelphia.

Thanks to his position at the Tate and his involvement with the Contemporary Art Society, Ede became an influential advocate of contemporary art.[23] He reviewed exhibitions and lectured on art for the BBC, brokered the sale of works by his artist friends, and entertained extensively at his home in Hampstead.[24] He even hosted his own 'salon.'[25] Ede also began to buy the art he championed.[26] In September 1936, he resigned from the Tate, unable to continue working under the then director, J.B. Manson, with whom he had a stormy relationship.[27] Aged 41, he had effectively retired.

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[22] The Clapps left Paris for New York in April 1916. See H.S. Ede, letter to Maud Clapp, 3 March 1916 & H.S. Ede, letter to F.M. Clapp, 21 April 1916. Frederick Mortimer Clapp Papers.

[23] See Charles Harrison, *English Art and Modernism 1900-1939*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994, p.233: 'Those younger writers and collectors who were attracted by the group shows of the Seven and Five Society, and by the one-man shows of its members, now began to moderate the Bloomsbury hegemony by providing a measure of real if modest, support. R.H. Wilenski, Herbert Read, Adrian Stokes, Geoffrey Grigson, H.S. Ede and Margaret Gardiner were among those who expressed their sense of community with the younger English artists in the early 1930's, either by writing about their work or buying it or both.'

[24] See Bibliography (A) Published and Unpublished Writings of H.S. Ede.

[25] Jeremy Lewison refers to Ede's regular Sunday evening gatherings as 'salons' in 'Ede, Harold Stanley (1895–1990)' http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/40667

[26] Financial notes in Ede's 1927 diary include payments of £3 + £15.10.0 to Ben Nicholson, £13 to Winifred Nicholson, £4 to David Jones; 4739fr to Brâncuși, 589fr & 616fr to the Paris dealers Leonce Rosenberg & Paul Rosenberg, and a payment of £60 for the Gaudier-Brzeska collection. Diaries. Papers of H.S. Ede, KY/EDE/6.

[27] Ede's difficulties at the Tate had started some years before. He was frustrated with his work, and his colleagues' deeply conservative views on art (see pp.31-33). On 7 January 1928, when the lower galleries and stores were inundated by the Thames, Ede spent days working alone, rescuing damaged artworks from the floodwaters. Aitken was ill and unable to help, and Manson, the Chief Clerk, kept himself largely out of the way. It was an exhausting and harrowing experience, which triggered a breakdown, eventually resulting in several months' absence in 1929. Ede accused Manson of malicious attempts to 'squeeze him out' of the Tate. See H.S. Ede, letter to Edward Marsh, 6 November 1929, Sir Edward Howard Marsh Papers, 1872-1953, The Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection of English and American Literature, New York Public Library, Astor, Lennox and Tilden Foundations. When Manson succeeded Aitken in 1930, what was already a difficult and antagonistic relationship became openly hostile. Ede provides an account of

The Edes moved to Tangier in 1937, where, with the help of a local architect, Ede designed and built a house, White Stone, on a hill outside the city, overlooking the distant Rif mountains.[28] When war broke out, the Edes handed their home over to British troops and spent the next four years travelling. They spent the last years of the war in Britain, and Ede worked for the Army Education Corps, travelling from camp to camp, lecturing to American troops. They returned to Tangier in 1945.

They set about extending White Stone to accommodate five additional bedrooms and began to host short respite visits from groups of British soldiers stationed at Gibraltar.[29] They were part of a small social circle of British expatriates, relatively isolated from the art world, their family and old friends. In 1952, they bought an old manor house in need of renovation in Chailles, France, and left Tangier for good. By 1954 the Edes, then in their sixties, were looking to move again, and focused their search for a new home in Cambridge. Ede found Kettle's Yard in December 1956 with the help of Leslie Martin, Head of Architecture at the University, and worked with Rowland Aldridge, an authority on Georgian architecture, to convert the four 'slum dwellings' as Ede called them, slated for demolition, into a comfortable home.[30] They moved into Kettle's Yard in August 1957.

Ede and his wife Helen lived at Kettle's Yard for fifteen years, during which time he held 'open house' for anyone who cared to visit, every afternoon during term time. His daily routine also involved shopping for neighbours and supporting others nearby, including a homeless man who called for a cup of tea every day; he assumed responsibility for the repairs and upkeep of St Peter's Church next door, where he rang the Angelus twice a day. In 1959, he joined the Anglican

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the 1928 flood in H.S. Ede and Corinne Bellow, 'Jim Ede talking to Corinne Bellow about the Tate in the 1920s & 30s,' 1989. Audio recording. Tate Gallery Archives, TAV 620A.
[28] H.S. Ede, 14 November 1936, note in diary: 'Purchased Tangier plot and arranged house with architect 14 Nov 1935'. Papers of H.S. Ede, KY/EDE/6. Elsewhere, Ede refers to M. Rolin (possibly Gaston Raulin, architect of the French Consulate in Tangier).
[29] See H.S. Ede, 'Variations on a Weekend Theme [Tangier log]' c. 1952. Papers of H.S. Ede KY/EDE/4/1/2A. Ede discovered that the soldiers at Gibraltar were unable to go home on leave, so his offer was meant to provide a 'home away from home' experience.
[30] Martin was a leading proponent of Brutalism, and had been part of Ede's Hampstead circle in the early 1930s.

Church, and in 1966, he gave Kettle's Yard to the University of Cambridge, although he continued to live there with Helen, looking after the place and welcoming visitors, until 1971. At that point they moved to a small flat close to their daughter in Edinburgh, and Ede began to make weekly visits to terminally ill patients in hospital. Initially, he went on organising the Kettle's Yard concert programme from Edinburgh, and maintained regular correspondence with his successors. Helen died in 1977. Ede continued with his hospital visits and gave away any money left over from his pension at the end of each week.[31] He began work on *A Way of Life,* which was in many ways his definitive statement on Kettle's Yard, in 1981. The book was published in 1984.[32] Ede died, aged 94, in 1990.

1.3: EDE'S GIFT

Ede gave the University of Cambridge what was essentially a modest but charming house, decorated sensitively with antique furniture, objéts and early twentieth-century art. The house had once been a group of four early Georgian workers' cottages, converted in 1957 into a single residence, nestled below St Peter's Church at the bottom of Castle Hill in Cambridge. Its contents included Ede's library of around 2000 books, and a collection of some 1,400 items, approximately two-thirds of which were works of art. Highlights included key works by some of the most important British and European artists of the early twentieth century, such as Constantin Brâncuşi, Joan Mirò, Henry Moore and Barbara Hepworth; substantial holdings of works by David Jones and Ben Nicholson and the largest public collections of works by Henri Gaudier-Brzeska,

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[31] Conversation with the artist Lorna MacIntyre, whose family lived next door to Ede in Edinburgh. According to his daughter, 'when he lived alone [he] lived very economically - he had his Tate & state pension - he gave half of it away, always writing cheques to charities…Oxfam, Christian Aid, any children's charities.' Elisabeth Swan, interviewed by Robert Wilkinson, 10 January 2008, ReCollection, Kettle's Yard Oral History Archive: MYKY06.

[32] H.S. Ede, *A Way of Life*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984. John Trevitt, the designer who worked with Ede on *A Way of Life,* recalled seeing a first draft, already laid out, in 1981. See John Trevitt, 'A Way of Life: The Book Designer as Butler,' in *Matrix* no.5 (Winter), Andoversford: The Whittington Press, 1985, pp.116-122.

Alfred Wallis, Winifred Nicholson and Christopher Wood.[33] Alongside the works of art were some four hundred other items including pieces of furniture, antique glass, stone- and tableware, found and natural objects, children's drawings and textiles.

Ede's gift came with certain conditions. Kettle's Yard was a home and he intended it to continue to function as it had when it was his home. He gave Kettle's Yard 'with the intention that the ambiance of a domestic setting should be maintained and into which the Undergraduates could continue to come as to a home and there find that works of art were alive and something that could enter into their daily lives.'[34] (Fig.2) He lived there for a further five years until 1973, assuming the title of 'Resident' rather than the University's suggestion of 'Curator' and insisted that his successor would also live on site; this arrangement continued until 1983. In doing so, he instilled an ethos and a sensibility that would shape the nascent institution over the next fifty years.

Ede greeted his visitors personally, and showed them around, finding ways through conversation to encourage people to linger; to sit down, to perhaps read one of his books, or to handle some small bibelot or sculpture such as Gaudier's *Torpedo Fish/Toy* (1914). He was also generous with his things, often lending or giving artworks away to those who showed genuine interest; there is a remarkable story of a student carrying Brâncuși's *Prometheus* (1912) away in her bike basket.[35]

There were routines too; tea was a ritual involving lapsang souchong served in broken china cups, burnt toast and ice-cold marmalade, served every afternoon to a select group of helpers and visitors who stayed on after the house closed at

[33] Only the Tate holds more works by Ben Nicholson. The collection at Kettle's Yard is distinguished by the number of early works.
[34] 'Private and Confidential: General Aims and Specific Activities,' 1970, annotated typescript, undated. Papers of H.S. Ede KY/Ede/2/36.
[35] 'In the 60s or 70s, don't know dates exactly – Jim offered me the Brâncuși to borrow; I was wearing a scarf so we wrapped *Prometheus* in my scarf, then in lots of newspaper, and popped it in my bike basket and I cycled home with it to Coton, 2.5 miles away. I seemed to have it for months, but it was probably a week or two – it was arranged and written in the book when I had to take it back. I held it, lifted it, put it on my own piano.' Christine Fox, ReCollection, Kettle's Yard Oral History Archive (no MYKY ID)

four o'clock. Whenever Ede went away, his helpers were expected to keep his routines, to go shopping for local residents on Wednesdays, make tea for the homeless man who visited daily and ring the Angelus in St Peters Church at six in the morning and six in the evening. They would be asked to polish the silverware or wax the attic floors as well as open the house to visitors each day. Fresh flowers had to be brought in, and houseplants tended to. Each request was intended to foster an intimacy with, and a close attention to, the place. Many of the routines continued following Ede's departure in 1971. For conservation reasons, visitors can no longer handle the artworks; access to the books is restricted, and the chairs can be sat on but not the beds – students may still borrow pictures to hang in their rooms, but only from a designated 'loan collection,' and no-one stays on for tea after the house closes. Nevertheless, small domestic routines underpin the relationship between Kettle's Yard and those who care for the place. Fresh flowers and plants lend a familiar 'lived-in' feeling to the house; the garden is tended and the curtains are still drawn morning and night.

In terms of the range of historical or monetary value of the holdings, Ede's collection was as unconventional as the proto-institution he was shaping. It wasn't even created by a collector as such; his accumulated possessions assumed the status of a collection in Ede's mind only after the gift to the University was formalised.[36] In several cases, Ede was astonishingly ambivalent about having original works of art. He didn't mind whether his version of Brâncuşi's *Prometheus* was considered to be an authentic finished artwork or a studio prototype; he sold Brâncuşi,'s *Poisson d'Or,* the first major artwork he ever bought, in order to fund roof repairs on St Peter's Church and to set up the

[36] H.S. Ede, 'An Unsuspecting Collector,' a radio talk for the BBC broadcast 19 February 1969. In the late 1960s, Ede began to think about the artworks he owned as a collection, and tried to address weaknesses. He approached artists such as Ben Nicholson to give works that would 'fill in gaps' in order to better represent the artist's entire oeuvre. He also tried to acquire works by artists such as Picasso and Mark Rothko, whose work he thought *ought* to be in the collection. See H.S. Ede, letter to Mark Rothko, 12 July 1969. Papers of H.S. Ede, KY/EDE/2; Ede scribbled 'tried to get nos 1 & 2' on an exhibition catalogue from a Clare College Picture Guild May Week Exhibition, 'Etchings by Modern Masters from the Gordon Fraser Collection' (n.d.), Papers of H.S. Ede, KY/EDE/2/23. (1 & 2 were drypoint etchings by Picasso: *Les Saltimbenques*, drypoint & *Salome,* both 1905).

Brâncuşi Travel Award for students. He replaced it with a copy.[37] Ede also commissioned a number of casts of Gaudier-Brzeska's sculptures before selling or donating the original works to other museum collections.[38] Reproductions sit alongside original works of art, natural objects such as shells, stones and found objects from glass fishing floats to old broom heads. The unifying principle is an aesthetic theory; Ede selected each object or artwork in the house on the basis of its formal qualities, and the way it contributes to the aesthetic cohesion of the house as an artwork in itself.

The collection does not reflect any special historical period or genre, nor does it claim the authority of connoisseurship or art historical knowledge; its primary distinction lies in its having been shaped by and for its surroundings, according to aesthetic principles. Individual items are subsumed within the complex organism of Kettle's Yard in order to create a 'whole' composition, greater than the sum of its parts. Ede also avoided the use of labels and other textual information, asserting the inherent value of intuitive and emotional responses.

Ede made great efforts to ensure that his collection would be kept and cared for in its original location at Kettle's Yard. To this end, he enshrined the relationship between the house and its contents in the deed of covenant itself. According to the terms of Ede's gift, the University agreed to purchase the leasehold interest in Kettle's Yard in order to secure the property as a permanent home for the collection. The University also agreed to make a one-off contribution towards the 'housing and development of the collection' – a project which would become the 1971 extension, designed by Leslie Martin. The extension allowed Ede to create a

[37] Ede sold Brâncuşi's *Poisson d'Or* (1924) and Gaudier-Brzeska's *Wrestlers* (1913) to Boston Museum of Fine Art in 1957 & 1965 respectively, when Ede's friend Perry Rathbone was director. Both pieces were replaced by replicas commissioned by Ede.
[38]Ede commissioned casts of several sculptures by Gaudier-Brzeska, and in many cases sold the originals as well as some of the casts in order to pay for the 1971 extension. Ede also made casts of pieces before donating originals to public collections, as was the case with *Caritas* (1914), which he gave to the Musée des Beaux-Arts d'Orléans in 1956, and his gift of several casts to the Musée d'Art Moderne, Paris, in 1965, which was only accepted on the condition that the gift included the original marble, *Femme Assise.* He also sold a group of works to Stadt Bielefeld, Germany, which included the original carved limestone head – which he had replicated for Kettle's Yard. I am indebted to Duncan Robinson for sharing his knowledge of these transactions.

permanent, site-specific display of over ninety percent of the collection.[39]

The site-specific displays were, it transpired, non-negotiable. Of course, they had been finely tuned to the spaces they inhabit; lovingly calibrated over years to draw attention to visual harmonies, contrasts and conversations between colours, forms and spaces, animated by the ephemeral effects of natural light. As far as Ede was concerned, they couldn't be translated elsewhere or interfered with. In 1977, after some highly fraught exchanges between Ede, his successor Paul Clough and the Kettle's Yard Committee, Clough departed and Ede returned to Kettle's Yard to 'straighten out' the place. Clough, whom Ede had hand-picked and groomed for the role, had believed that he could, at his discretion, introduce new artworks, rearrange displays and remove items from the house. Ede spent three days 'restoring order' to the disarray at Kettle's Yard and, before leaving, presented the incoming curator, Jeremy Lewison, with extensive reference notes, lists, annotated photographs and diagrammatic sketches detailing the precise locations and formal relationships between objects.[40] This time he left no room for doubt or error; the displays at Kettle's Yard were to remain exactly as he had arranged them. (Figs.3, 4)

1.4: FROM HOME TO INSTITUTION

The fact that it took Ede almost ten years to persuade the University to accept Kettle's Yard, and then to reach an agreement over the terms of his gift, clearly signalled their appreciation of the unconventional nature of the gift, and the responsibilities it would entail. Ede had established an institutional model that, from the outset, he sought to define in terms of what it was *not*. He wrote in his introduction to the 1970 Handlist,

'Kettle's Yard is in no way meant to be an art gallery or museum, nor is it a

[39] The University, nevertheless, included a provision that would allow them, after a period of fifty years, the option of dispersing the collection or moving it to the Fitzwilliam Museum. Papers of H.S. Ede, KY/Ede/2/6.
[40] H.S. Ede, 'Notes made from photographs taken August/September by Peter Mills, seen by Jim Ede November 5 1976,' Papers of H.S. Ede KY/Ede/2/54 & 2/29.

collection of works of art reflecting my taste or the taste of a given period.'[41]

And yet, in 1970, the International Council of Museums defined a museum as

'any permanent institution which conserves and displays, for purposes of a study, education and enjoyment, collections of objects of cultural or scientific significance.'[42]

While ICOM's current working definition of a museum is:

'a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment.'[43]

Ede would have been well aware that his legacy might seem to fall squarely within the terms of such a definition. Fundamentally, Kettle's Yard *is* a collection of works of art that reflects Ede's taste and the tastes of a very specific period between 1919-1939, housed within a building that also reflects his tastes and cultural influences, which he gave to the University of Cambridge in order that they could remain available for the enjoyment and education of others. It was founded on the same beliefs in the civilising and transformational influence of the arts that drove the creation of the first museums and persists in current definitions. However, it was not the definition of a museum that Ede took issue with, but the model itself.

Today, Kettle's Yard welcomes over 100,000 visitors a year to its exhibitions, permanent collection, concerts and other events. When Ede began to open the house to visitors in late 1957, he expected to receive half a dozen callers on a good day.[44] By the time he left Kettle's Yard in 1973, visitor figures had grown to

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[41] Ede, 'Introduction,' Kettle's Yard Handlist, 1970. n.p. Papers of H.S. Ede KY/EDE/2.
[42] ICOM Statutes, November 1961, Section II: Definition of a Museum, Articles 3 & 4, doc., pp. 67-73.
[43] ICOM Statutes, adopted by the 22nd General Assembly (Vienna, Austria, 24 August 2007)
[44] 'It seemed a crowd when seven people called in an afternoon, but after a few years this seemed quiet and seventy a crowd.' Ede, 'Between Two Memories', p.184.

10,750 a year - a statistic which Ede understandably saw as a measure of his success, and used widely to promote and fundraise for Kettle's Yard.[45] Under the leadership of Ede's successors, Kettle's Yard grew as an organisation. An Exhibitions Committee was established, and an extension doubled the gallery space available.[46] Lewison also recruited a small team of staff, including two assistants, a secretary and invigilators.[47] When Lewison departed in 1983, Kettle's Yard was attracting more than 23,000 visitors a year and the Curator, who up until that point had lived on site, finally moved out.[48] Kettle's Yard was no longer a home.

Relations between Ede and Lewison had become increasingly strained during Lewison's tenure.[49] Ede insisted that the entire operation could be managed from his writing desk downstairs in the cottages, and could no longer recognise the institution that Kettle's Yard was becoming. Ede's carefully choreographed arrangements entailed an informal and yet very specific relationship with the viewer, which flouted the rules of museum display and limited the scope for conventional security and conservation measures. His insistence on the informality of a domestic setting created a locus of recurring conflict with what the university now saw as its responsibility to protect and preserve the collection.[50]

In 1984, *A Way of Life* was published. The book was a pointed reminder of

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[45] H.S. Ede, manuscript, n.d. Papers of H.S. Ede KY/EDE/2/24.
[46] Paul Clough established the exhibitions committee with Duncan Robinson, who also chaired the group. Clough also initiated and managed a loan exhibitions programme. Jeremy Lewison oversaw the construction of the first extension to the gallery.
[47] See 'job description for an assistant to the Curator,' typescript, dated 24 June 1983, in which Ede continues to refer to the 'Resident' at Kettle's Yard. Papers of H.S. Ede KY/EDE/2.
[48] Jeremy Lewison was curator at Kettle's Yard between 1977-83, and played an instrumental role in developing Kettle's Yard from a one-person operation into a small arts organization.
[49] See correspondence between H.S. Ede and Jeremy Lewison, 1977-1983. Papers of H.S. Ede KY/Ede/2/40-45.
[50] Ede had already complained about telephone wires and burglar alarms; the issue of light levels in the attic was raised by the Committee soon after Ede's departure in 1971. Subsequent thefts during public opening hours in the years following Ede's departure also indicated security weaknesses arising from a combination of factors, including the absence of Ede himself, and increasing visitor numbers. See H.S. Ede, letters to Denis Murphy 1975-1977, Papers of H.S. Ede KY/EDE/2/30 and H.S. Ede, letter to Paul Clough, 10 Jan 1975, ibid. (KY/EDE/2/39).

Kettle's Yard's roots, not as a professional venture but a personal enterprise that brought art and life together. Kettle's Yard had first and foremost been Ede's home between 1956-73, and it remained a home for Ede's successors until 1983. The notion of 'home' remained critical to Ede's understanding of Kettle's Yard, as he explained in his speech at the opening of the 1970 extension:

'It is a place which I started to make some thirteen years ago in the thought that being our home it could prove also a home to undergraduates, a place where they found that art was no removed event, but a vital part of our daily life…'[51]

Ede's primary concern was that visitors might find 'a home and a welcome, a refuge…',[52] and this is where another critical distinction lies, between the visitor's experience of Kettle's Yard and that of a conventional museum. It was nevertheless clear that such tensions between 'home' and museum' were inherent from the outset, and to some extent, exploited. In 1970, the *Cambridge Review* ran an issue with the headline: 'Kettle's Yard: anti-museum.'[53] (Fig.5) It coincided with the opening of Leslie Martin's 1970 extension and the launch of an appeal for £100,000 for exhibitions, concerts and acquisitions at Kettle's Yard, 'to sustain the living quality of the place.'[54] The editorial gave the following analysis:

'..peace and order is certainly there, in the place, in the paintings; but also the energy which creates them. It comes…partly from the sense of a studio where art and life and work become one state, one activity; and mainly from one's sense that the place represents a way of life which is itself a work of art, an achievement of relationship which, as Prince Charles remarked, is beyond the impersonality of a committee of experts. It is also beyond the *Times* Sotheby's index. To the extent that it was not founded on wealth, is not a treasure hoard, confers no status, has always loaned freely to undergraduates and has no cash

[51] Ede, speech at the opening of the extension, quoted by Ian Wright, 'Editorial' *Cambridge Review*, vol.91, no. 2197 May 1970, p.169.
[52] Ede, Handlist.
[53] *Cambridge Review*, ibid.
[54] Wright, *Cambridge Review*, p.169.

valuation, Kettle's Yard has important implications for the future of art in society.'[55]

As the editorial suggested, the 'lived-in quality' of Kettle's Yard was the source of its radical potential as an alternative model for a public art institution. Without that, it was just another collection museum.

[55]Ibid.

2. THE INTERWAR YEARS

2.1: A DOOR OPENED

Ede was twenty-four when he came home from the war in 1919, settled in London and enrolled at the Slade School of Art.[56] The next eighteen years were a critical period in Ede's intellectual and philosophical development. This was also the busiest period of his life; he got married and started a family, bought a house and was building his career. Many of the critical encounters and events that were to shape the rest of his life took place during this period.

Arriving in London from India, Ede found a city in flux and a country facing widespread social unrest in the wake of World War I and demobilization. The enormous cost of the war had taken a huge toll on Britain's economy, plunging the country into a recession that lasted until the late 1930s.[57] A housing shortage and high unemployment exacerbated tensions.[58] Striking workers – from the miners to the police – and race riots between white and minority workers in major seaports across Britain – brought tanks onto the streets of Britain, and led to the imposition of martial law in towns such as Luton.[59] Meanwhile, Britain was still engaged in war along the north-west border between the British Indian Empire and Afghanistan, and in the Russian Civil War following the aftermath of the October Revolution.[60]

[56] There, he met artists Clara Klinghofer and Ian Fairweather, whose own spiritual and artistic journeys were financed for many years by Ede.
[57] See http://www.bbc.co.uk/guides/zqhxvcw
[58] See http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/firstworldwar/aftermath/brit_after_war.htm and https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/towncountry/towns/overview/councilhousing/
[59] See http://www.open.ac.uk/researchprojects/makingbritain/content/1919-race-riots
[60] British troops were involved in the Third Anglo-Afghan War 6 May – 8 August 1919, and the Allied Intervention in the Russian Civil War, 1918-1920; the British Campaign in the Baltic took place 28 November 1918 – 4 November 1919.

Movements for social change and emancipation gained momentum during this period: from women' suffrage and the establishment of an independent Irish parliament in Dublin to the General Strike of 1926. Despite enduring economic depression, the inter-war period saw widespread health and welfare improvements, rising incomes, increasing leisure time and consumer spending. It was also an era of cultural contrasts; World War I had given women new freedoms and independence, but they were sent back into the home when the men came back from the war; the Royal Family was at the peak of its popularity but the aristocracy was on the wane; Freud's psychoanalysis took its place in cultural discourses alongside Arthur Conan Doyle's spiritualism. It was a dynamic and exhilarating decade, fuelled by post-war optimism in Europe and America.

Ede took a job as 'photographer's boy' at the National Gallery in 1921, moving across to the National Gallery of British Art at Millbank in 1922, where he became 2nd Assistant to the then director, Charles Aitken.[61] His job involved a great deal of administration, collection management, bookkeeping and managing the gallery shop. Ede was responsible for managing security guards and other staff, stock-taking and paying staff wages.[62] The work at the Tate was unfulfilling, and Ede grew increasingly frustrated in his position.[63] Outside of work, he continued to paint, and was beginning to carve out a career as an art historian.[64]

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[61] When Ede joined the National Gallery, Charles Holmes was the director of the National Gallery (until 1928) and Charles Henry Collins-Baker its Keeper (until 1934). Other immediate colleagues included Harold Isherwood-Kay, Ellis Waterhouse and Kenneth Clark, who became the National Gallery's youngest director in 1934. Aitken retired in 1930 and was succeeded by J.B. Manson.

[62] Administrative papers, committee minutes and correspondence relating to Ede's time at the National Gallery reveal that Ede's core responsibilities involved accounting, managing the security guards and bookshop staff, and loans and cataloguing. Registry files: Tate Gallery (1923-1934), NG16/215/3-7, National Gallery Archive.

[63] 'There were 3 of us in charge – I felt I was a sort of telephone boy for the Tate.' 'A Way of Life,' H.S. Ede interviewed by Waldemar Januszczak, BBC/Radio 3 broadcast, 13 January 1984. British Library Sound Archive. Ede told Corinne Bellow in 1989, 'Oh this will give you an idea of what they were like…"What shall we give Ede to do? Oh he can open all those postcards and put them back again." There were 30-40,000 postcards, done up in brown paper parcels, 500 in a bundle. And that's the work they gave me to do.' Bellow & Ede, 'Jim Ede talking to Corinne Bellow.'

[64] See H.S. Ede, letter to Edward ('Eddie') Marsh, 21 December 1926 & 12 November 1932, Sir Edward Howard Marsh Papers.

He published various articles on Renaissance art; his first book, *Florentine Drawings of the Quattrocento*, was published in 1926.[65]

Ede kept in touch with a few artists from his years at the Slade, including fellow students including Ian Fairweather and Clara Klinghofer, but it was thanks largely to meeting the artists Ben and Winifred Nicholson that he became increasingly involved in the contemporary art scene in London. Ben was a year older than Ede, Winifred two years older. Like Ede, they were at the beginning of their careers. They were beginning to show their work, and had links with the London Group.[66] Having spent a large part of the previous four years dividing their time between London, Paris and their house near Lake Lugano in Switzerland, they were also deeply absorbed in the European avant-garde and evangelical about the new ideas from Paris. In 1924, the year they met Ede, Ben had his first one-man show at the Twenty-one Gallery, painted his first abstract work, and joined the Seven & Five Society. Winifred was invited to join in 1925, by which time her paintings of flowers were selling steadily. She had also become actively involved in the growing Christian Science movement, and Ben was soon to follow.[67] The Nicholsons introduced Ede to Christopher Wood, William Staite-Murray, and the work of Alfred Wallis. It was they, according to Ede, who 'opened the door' to the work of the French pioneers of modernism – Picasso, Matisse and Braque – and no doubt encouraged Ede to knock on the doors of Picasso, Brâncuși, Braque, Chagall, Gabo, Larionov and Goncharova,

[65] H.S. Ede, *Florentine Drawings of the Quattrocento,* London: Benn, 1926.
See Bibliography (A), Published and Unpublished Writings of H.S. Ede.
[66] Both artists exhibited with the London Group at the Mansard Gallery (Heals) in 1922; in 1923 they shared a joint exhibition at the William B. Paterson Gallery, also in London.
[67] Both Lucy Kent and Sarah Turner have established that Christian Science was one of a number of religions that were popular amongst the avant-garde in the early twentieth century, alongside Theosophy, Buddhism, and spiritualism. Kent also demonstrates the extent to which Christian Science informed the lives and art of both Winifred and Ben Nicholson. See Kent, 'Modern Gods,' Ch. 3, pp.111-143.

Mondrian and many others during his trips to Paris.[68] Their influence, according to Ede, revolutionised his ideas about art.[69]

Ede's burgeoning interest in contemporary art coincided with his involvement with the Contemporary Art Society (CAS), an organisation established to purchase and place contemporary art in public collections. Initially required to attend meetings to record the minutes as Aitken's assistant, Ede assumed a formal role as Assistant Secretary to the CAS in 1925.[70] The Society's president at the time was Lord Howard De Walden and its Honorary Secretary was Frederick Leverton Harris, with whom Ede quickly developed a close working relationship.[71] The CAS Committee itself was made up of influential figures from the arts, politics, industry and aristocracy.[72] Ede was effectively the CAS's only employee, and consequently enjoyed greater responsibilities and a freer rein. He worked closely with various Committee members such as Edward Marsh to increase subscriptions, distribute gifts and loans to member institutions, and

[68] As Ede described events, 'the Nicholsons opened a door into the world of contemporary art and I rushed headlong into the arms of Picasso, Brâncuşi and Braque.' Ede, Handlist.

[69] 'Between you, you revolutionized my life,' H.S. Ede, letter to Ben Nicholson, 21 March 1981. Papers of Ben Nicholson, Tate Gallery Archive TGA 8717.1.2.1028.

[70] Charles Aitken, was a member of the CAS Committee, and hosted CAS meetings at the Millbank gallery.

[71] Leverton Harris was a politician and art collector who took up painting after retiring from public life in 1920. Ede wrote Harris' obituary, published in the *Manchester Guardian,* 17 November, 1926, p.10. It was likely he did this on behalf of the CAS; see 'Eddie's corrected copy,' annotated typescript. Papers of H.S. Ede KY/Ede/4/2/1/1. Ede also wrote Harris' biography for the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biographies*; see H. S. Ede, 'Harris, (Frederick) Leverton (1864–1926), politician and art collector', rev. Marc Brodie 2011, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online ed. Oxford University Press, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/33723 accessed 29 Sept 2017.

[72] The CAS Committee was chaired by Lord Henry Bentinck, and comprised fifteen members: Aitken, the war artist Muirhead Bone; Campbell Dodgson, Keeper of Prints & Drawings at the British Museum 1912-32, and Mrs Campbell Dodgson, artist; the industrialist and collector Samuel Courtauld; St. John Hutchinson, a Liberal party politician; A.M. Daniel, who succeeded Holmes as director of the National Gallery in 1928; the critic Roger Fry; collector Ernest Marsh and his son, Edward Marsh; Roderick Meiklejohn, the First Civil Service Commissioner; Hon. Jasper Ridley, also trustee of the British Museum, National Gallery; the Earl of Sandwich; politician and collector Philip Sassoon; and Sir Michael Sadler, the progressive educationalist, past president of the Leeds Art Club, and vanguard collector of German expressionism. The conservative politician Anthony Eden and economist Maynard Keynes joined in 1932. Information drawn from CAS Annual Reports, 1919-1937, http://www.contemporaryartsociety.org/resources/annual-reports/ accessed 8 April 2015.

support whichever member was tasked with the responsibility of buying art each year. As a result, Ede became extremely well connected within the contemporary art world, and garnered considerable influence amongst collectors, artists and galleries.[73]

He also emerged as one of a small number of modernism's early advocates in Britain.[74] He filled his home and office at the Tate with works by Ben Nicholson, Alfred Wallis, David Jones and Winifred Nicholson and he championed the work of major avant-garde figures such as Brâncuşi, Picasso, Chagall and Rousseau back in London.[75] He took a lead in establishing the posthumous reputation of Christopher Wood, who died in 1930.[76] He engineered the Tate's purchase of their first three works by Vincent Van Gogh, and the first display of a work by

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[73] A letter from the dealer Lucy Wertheim to Frances Hodgkin is revealing: 'I had a long talk with Ede on Friday – who liked some of your work. I have known him since he was in his teens & he is very kindly inclined towards my gallery. You know what powerful collectors he is friendly with.' Lucinda Wertheim, letter to Frances Hodgkin, October 1930, Cedric Morris Papers, Tate Gallery Archives, TGA 8317.1.2.343.

[74] See note 21, p.16. Jasia Reichardt also noted in 1965, 'During those very hard times, when it was almost impossible to sell works of art from exhibitions, there were a few people whose continued support made up for the complete disinterest of the public and the art establishment alike. Amongst them were certainly Helen Sutherland, Peter Gregory, C.S. Reddihough, J.R.M. Brumwell, Sir Leslie and Lady Martin, Michael Sadler, Robert Sainsbury, the Leonard Elmhirsts, Mrs Ventris, Sir Solly Zuckerman, Margaret Gardiner, J.D. Bernal, Nicolete Gray and H.S. Ede.' Reichardt, J. (1965) *Art in Britain, 1930-1940 centred around Axis, Circle, Unit One.* Exh. Cat., London: Marlborough Fine Arts Ltd, n.p.

[75] For example, he writes to Brâncuşi, 'Je porte les reproductions partout et j'espère qu'on faisant ceçi je prépare le chemin pour vous comme Jean Baptiste pour Jésus…j'ai si grand desir de faire cet chose pour vous et pour tous les gens qui malgré eux seront sont captive par vos sculteurs [sic.].' (I carry the reproductions everywhere and I hope in doing this to prepare the way for you like John the Baptist for Jesus…I really want to do this for you and for all the people who despite themselves are captivated by your sculptures) H.S. Ede, letter to Constantin Brâncuşi, 25 January 1928, (B6) Constantin Brâncuşi, Section Reserve: Lettres entre Constantin Brâncuşi et Jim Ede, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Paris.

[76] With Ben Nicholson, Ede managed the distribution of Wood's estate on behalf of his family, and organised a highly successful memorial exhibition of his work at the Lefevre Gallery in London in 1932. He placed a number of works in key public collections through his role at the Contemporary Art Society while acquiring several works to add to his own collection. See Contemporary Art Society Papers, Tate Gallery Archive TGA 9215.2.5.1. The artist's mother, Clare Wood, became a frequent guest at Elm Row while Ede took the family to visit the Woods at Broad Chalke several times between 1933-1938. Diaries. Papers of H.S. Ede, KY/EDE/6.

Picasso at the Tate, but his efforts to realise an exhibition of Brâncuşi's work at the Tate foundered.[77]

As Ede grew more engaged and passionate about recent developments in modern art, he became increasingly frustrated with the lack of interest amongst his Trustees and colleagues at the Tate.[78] He struggled on a personal level with Aitken's successor, J.B. Manson. Manson had his own frustrations that were feeding an alcohol problem, which made him difficult, vindictive and unpredictable to work with, but Ede also found Manson's bullish opinions on art intolerable. He also came to resent the financial and administrative tasks that took up much of his time, and saw a wasted opportunity. He complained to Edward Marsh,

'I'm getting more & more killed by my work at the Tate – endless footling accounts & Treasury returns & searchings for halfpennies & sticking of stamps or at least looking for 3½ which seem to be missing. I've had 6 years of this now & it grows worse & worse & I get more & more nervy & tired over it & less & less use

[77] As Ede recalled in 1970: 'I got the first picture [Picasso] to be hung in a public gallery that way. Mr Stoop, a delightful man, I managed to get him to lend one of his got for his summer holiday, as he went away for 3 months we put up that woman, (white figure on a dark ground)…at my own expense I got 3 days leave to go to Holland to see what I could see, and there was Mrs Van Gogh, she was the sister-in-law of the painter. His sister-in-law was having a tea party and there were about 15 people perhaps and she had previously said to me if you're interested in Vincent's things you should go up and look at them, she told me what room they were in so I naturally went up and suddenly fell down, there happened to be a rather big Cezanne…I could have come back here with the Postman, Sunflowers and 6 top Van Goghs for £5000…Henri Rousseau's 'Wedding' well we could have had that, it went all over the world. I think they were asking £1000. If they were listening to me I could have gone and picked things up' (sic.) Bellow & Ede, 'Jim Ede talking to Corinne Bellow,' audio recording (transcribed). See also H.S. Ede, letter to Johanna Van Gogh Bonger, 18 October 1923, and H.S. Ede, letter to Ronald Alley, 13 July 1952. Registry files: Tate Gallery, NG16/215/3, National Gallery Archives.

[78] 'The Tate was full of the Chantry bequest and the Pre-Raphaelites and that was ENOUGH…I had inside and outside my room things that were thought to be quite horrible: Ben Nicholson, Brâncuşi, David Jones, Kit Wood. I know my director thought they were pretty awful but he didn't ask me to put them away.' Januszczak & Ede, 'A Way of Life'.

as a gallery official who should have his finger & mind on all the art side of modern happenings.'[79]

Ede's attitude to work did not go unnoticed by colleagues, as one letter to Aitken reveals: 'I expect your estimate of Ede is pretty just. If only he will realise that even the dullest office job is not beneath his dignity, he will find it all very much easier.'[80] Instead, Ede threw himself into what he felt should be his priorities, hosting lunches at the Tate for collectors, influential politicians and dignitaries, and giving them a personal tour of the galleries. He considered his efforts to cultivate new members for the CAS to be of equal benefit to the National Gallery, as the ultimate repository of a significant number of the CAS's purchases. The National Gallery, however, saw that these activities were interfering with his official work. Charles Collins-Baker warned, 'Unless you make an absolute decision that your official work shall come first, in every detail, and outside work second we shall have recurring difficulties. The constant little mistakes made in your returns are due to scamping because you have your mind on other things. I am quite ready to believe that you think those other things, (the CAS) are of great importance to the gallery, and I daresay you are right. But unless you get into the way of never touching that outside work until every detail of your official work has been cleared off thoroughly you are sure to find that you confuse and fluster yourself. I do not see why you should not successfully combine the CAS work and your official work; but you can't expect me to be satisfied that this combination is successful until I find that your Departmental job is receiving your first attention.'[81]

Eventually, Ede submitted a request to Collins-Baker for the additional help of an accountant, and made his case based on what he believed ought to be his responsibilities. He proposed that a typical working day should include two hours for seeing exhibitions, an hour and a half to visit artists in their studios,

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[79]Ede to Marsh, n.d. '8.30am tube train to work – Friday,' Sir Edward Howard Marsh Papers.
[80]Unknown, letter to Charles Aitken, 26 February 1927. Registry files: Tate Gallery, NG16/215/4.
[81] Charles Collins Baker, letter to H.S. Ede, 11 April 1927. Ibid., NG16/215/4.

and an hour and a half for cultivating relationships with collectors but, unsurprisingly, left little time for his assigned duties.[82] Ede's suggestions received a cool reception.[83]

Despite his frustrations, Ede himself acknowledged that his role at the Tate had its advantages, such as being able to travel regularly to Paris on official business.[84] He made his first trip in Spring 1924, and returned at least once every year until 1937.[85] In both Paris and London, Ede's social and professional circles began to expand exponentially. The writer Henri Pierre Roche provided Ede with critical introductions to the elite social and artistic circles of the Parisian avant-garde. He soon had regular dealings, both personal and professional, with Leonce Rosenberg, founder of the Galerie l'Effort Moderne, Pierre and Edouard Loeb, who represented Picasso and Miró, as well as Siegfried Bing, the leading authority on Japanese and Oriental art, and Dikran Kelekian, an expert on Islamic art. He knew the art historians Gerstle Mack, Paul Guillaume and Karl Einstein, and patrons including Alphonse Kahn, Tony Gandarillas and Eugenia Errazuriz, the Baron and Baroness Gourgand and Raoul La Roche among many others.[86] He attended the salons of Leo and Gertrude Stein, and visited the philosopher Jacques Maritain, presumably at the behest of David Jones, an ardent follower. He socialised with the Ballets Russes and the designer Jean Frank, with

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[82] H.S. Ede, 'Proposal that the following items should be done by an accountant…' and 'Work still left for the Assistant…' manuscript, n.d. 6pp. Registry files: Tate Gallery, NG16/215/4.
[83] See Charles Collins-Baker, letter to H.S. Ede, 21 January 1928. Registry files: Tate Gallery, NG16/215/5.
[84] Ede wrote wistfully to Albert C. Barnes about the responsibilities 'which [hold] me prisoner at the Tate but even out of that I get a good deal by way of people & world interests.' H.S. Ede, letter to Barnes, n.d. (c. November 1931), Albert C. Barnes Correspondence, Barnes Foundation Archives. Reproduced with permission.
[85] 'It had been with eager anticipation that I had gone to Paris to meet Picasso. I was not yet 30, and as I climbed the stairs to Picasso's studio I was trying to calm the excitement which I felt…' Ede, 'Between Two Memories,' p.123. Ede's birthday was 7 April.
[86] Many became lifelong friends. The Baroness sent Ede an inscribed copy of Rilke's essays in the mid 1950s and Edouard Loeb donated the Ernst and Arp works to Kettle's Yard in November 1966 in memory of his brother. Provenance information as recorded in Kettle's Yard Collection database (2015).

the Viscomte & Marie-Laure de Noailles at their spectacular modernist house in Hyères, and with Comte Étienne de Beaumont, famous for his extravagant balls.[87]

Outside of work, he maintained a hectic schedule of studio visits, attending exhibitions, theatre and ballet performances, concerts and public lectures. He made regular appearances at Ottoline Morrell's Thursday salons.[88] He also began to keep 'open house' at home in Hampstead, where his personal and professional relationships often merged.[89] Despite his colleagues disapproval, Ede also entertained extensively both at home and at the Tate.[90] He mingled with politicians, aristocrats and influential collectors who would later cross paths with artists, musicians and writers, other curators and publishers at the Edes' home on weekday or Sunday evenings, when a more formal supper party, with entertainment such as a performance or a recital, was often held. Writers would come to read their work aloud, and musicians to rehearse their concert performances. Guests from all spheres coincided there, from the Bauhaus architect Walter Gropius to actor John Gielgud. International artists such as

[87] See diaries 1930, 1936. Papers of H.S. Ede KY/EDE/6. Ede recounts his visit to the Noailles in a letter to T.E. Lawrence, 23 April 1928, T.E. Lawrence Letters, GB 301 Lawrence University of Essex Special Collections, copies held at Kettle's Yard. Papers of H.S. Ede KY/EDE/1/9.

[88] His literary and Bloomsbury connections included the artists Teddy Wolfe, Duncan Grant and Vanessa Bell, and writers such as Arnold Bennett, Georges Cattaui, Walter D'Arcy Cresswell, Francis Hackett and Signe Toksvig, Arthur Waley, Edward Marsh and publishers Francis Meynell and David Garnett of the Nonesuch Press.

[89] Ede's colleagues in the museum world frequently appeared in the visitors book at Elm Row, Ede's home in Hampstead. They included Campbell Dodgson (Keeper of Prints and Drawings, British Museum), the art critic D.S. MacColl, Ellis Waterhouse (then Assistant Keeper at the National Gallery), John Pope-Hennessey (Director, British Museum), Sir Robert Witt and Samuel Courtauld (co-founders of the Courtauld Institute), the poet and scholar Laurence Binyon (Keeper of Oriental Prints and Drawings, British Museum), Basil Gray (Head of the Oriental Department at the British Museum), the sinologist Arthur Waley who also worked as Assistant Keeper of Oriental Prints and Drawings at the British Museum, 1913-1929, Philip Hendy (then at the Wallace Collection) and Kenneth Clark (Ashmolean Museum, National Gallery).

[90] As Ede told Waldemar Januszczak, 'I started the restaurant – took my own china and silver down. Got someone nice to look after it. Laid the table nicely, Lady Jowett, Lady Asquith, came to the Tate for the first time.' Januszczak & Ede, 'A Way of Life.' Ede mentions collecting the wives of politicians in a taxi to bring them down to the Tate for lunch. Bellow & Ede, 'Jim Ede talking to Corinne Bellow.'

Braque and Bonnard dropped by when they were in town; Uday Shankar's Indian dance troupe gave impromptu performances.[91]

Rarely was a meal without additional guests. On 26 June 1927, for example, the Edes fed twenty-one guests including the writer Arnold Bennett and the actress Dorothy Cheston, prima ballerina Alexandra Danilova and the Ballets Russes principal dancer, Lydia Sokolova; choreographer George Balanchine, art critic R.H. Wilenski, artists Teddy Wolfe and Pedro Pruna, the concert pianist Vera Moore, Lady Molly Berkeley, the orientalist Arthur Waley and his partner, dancer and critic Beryl de Zoete. The guest list for supper on 9 July 1933 included artists Henry Moore and David Jones, along with the American writer and impresario Lincoln Kirstein, British Museum curator Basil Gray and his wife Nicolete, a scholar of art and calligraphy.[92] As Ede put it, 'It was at a very fortunate moment for me – the rich people, the so-called aristocracy were beginning to feel that it would be interesting to have artists in their circle. I was an easy victim – I was just somebody from the Tate. I was a go-between.'[93] Nevertheless, he was voraciously collecting people, experiences and ideas, and it suited him to be at the nexus between these worlds.[94]

2.2: A MAGIC CIRCLE

During this period, Ede also developed a number of close friendships that were to have a significant impact on his life. These included the celebrated society

[91]Uday Shankar (1900-1977) was a celebrated choreographer and pioneer of modern dance who fused Indian classical, folk and tribal dance with European theatrical techniques. Elisabeth Swan, interviewed by Robert Wilkinson, 10 January 2008. ReCollection: Kettle's Yard Oral History Archive MYKY06.
[92]Ben and Winifred Nicholson, David Jones, Christopher Wood, Paul Nash, John Piper, Dora Gordine, Edward Wolfe, Cedric Morris, William Staite-Murray, Stanley Spencer, Vanessa Bell and Duncan Grant, Frank Dobson, Mark Gertler, John Skeaping, Barbara Hepworth, Henry Moore, Ivon Hitchens, Eric Gill, Frances Hodgkin, Edward McKnight-Kauffer and Marion Dorn, Constance Lane and Len Lye were among the artists who frequented Elm Row between 1925-1929. Ede's diaries reveal a similar roll-call of cultural figures, intellectuals, musicians, writers, actors and performers.
[93]Januszczak & Ede, 'A Way of Life.'
[94]Ede explained, 'people were my hobby…I was searching for companionship of mind.' Ibid. Jeremy Lewison also described Ede as 'a collector of people as much as of art.' Lewison, 'Ede, Harold Stanley (1895–1990).'

hostess Lady Ottoline Morrell and Gertrude Harris, widow of Frederick Leverton Harris, the patron Edward Marsh and the writer T.E. Lawrence. A close-knit group also emerged around the Edes which included the artists David Jones, Ben Nicholson and Winifred Nicholson, collector Helen Sutherland, and the pianist Vera Moore.[95]

The Nicholsons introduced Ede to Helen Sutherland in 1926, and Ede introduced Sutherland to David Jones in 1927. Together with Vera Moore, whom Ede introduced to Brâncuşi in 1931,[96] they formed what Sutherland described as a [redacted].[97] For the next ten years, the group spent a great deal of time together; Ede's correspondence and diaries reveal regular gatherings at Elm Row, and numerous convergences at Sutherland's Northumberland home/retreat, Rock Hall. Jones would read his poetry and Moore played the piano while Winifred Nicholson painted her. The bonds between them extended beyond their magic circle; Ben Nicholson nominated Jones to join the Seven & Five Society in 1928, and Ede did much to promote his friends' work through his widening professional circles. As collectors and patrons, Ede and Sutherland were key early supporters of both Winifred and Ben Nicholson, and would support Jones financially for the rest of his life; when Moore gave birth to

[95]Vera Moore (1896-1997) was an acclaimed concert pianist from New Zealand, who moved to London in 1920. She performed in England and France throughout the 1920s and 1930s.

[96]The Edes had been close friends of Moore since the early 1920s. They introduced her to the artist Constantin Brâncuşi, with whom she had a son in 1934. Brâncuşi never acknowledged his child but Ede became godfather to the boy, John Constantin Moore, and his letters to Brâncuşi throughout the 1940s and 50s include news of the child's health and development. For example, on 2 September 1935, Ede wrote to Brâncuşi, 'de temps en temps Helen et moi sont allées voir Vera et J.C. [John Constantin]. Ils sont si joli ensemble et je suis content pour Vera qu'elle a cet enfant (sic), et pour moi aussi, ça (sic) je suis son 'Godfather'– parrain je crois en français. Il est si vivant.' (from time to time Helen and I have been to see Vera and J.C. they are so nice together and I am happy that Vera has this child, and for me too, that I am his godfather – 'parrain' I think in French. He is so lively.' B6 (Section Reserve), Fonds Constantin Brâncuşi.

[97] [redacted] Helen Sutherland, letter to Jim and Helen Ede, 11 February 1926. Papers of H.S. Ede KY/EDE/1/15/1/4. REDACTED. According to Ariane Bankes and Paul Hills, Ede introduced Jones to Sutherland, Ben and Winifred Nicholson in 1928. See Ariane Bankes and Paul Hills, *The Art of David Jones: Vision and Memory* Farnham, Surrey; Burlington, VT: Lund Humphries, 2015, pp.63, 70.

Brâncuşi's son, she asked Ede to be his godfather, and both Ede and Sutherland regularly sent her money throughout the boy's childhood.[98] Moore settled in the Loire Valley after World War II, and she engineered the Ede's purchase of Les Charlotières, an old manor house and estate she would drive past en route to a student's house, in 1952. They would all remain close for the rest of their lives.

The Nicholsons and the Edes quickly established a very close friendship. They both had young families and shared a sense of fun; the correspondence between Ben and Jim sparkle with jokes and wit. They went on holiday together, helped one another move house, exchanged Christmas and birthday presents, saw one another several times a week, and were familiar with the minutiae of each others' lives. Ede visited them in their studios frequently, becoming heavily involved in supporting and promoting their work, and writing about it, from the earliest stage of their careers.[99] He often 'borrowed' and acquired works by both Nicholsons as gifts or in return for much needed financial support, swapping them for others when the artists needed works back for exhibitions.[100]

Helen Sutherland was slightly older than the others, had already been through a failed marriage and become a Quaker. She was also independently wealthy.[101] Following her father's death in 1922, Sutherland developed an interest in art, and began to collect under the guidance of Freddy Mayor of the Mayor Gallery, a key proponent of the avant-garde associated with many of the artists who later founded *Unit One*. She met the Nicholsons through her friend, the artist

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[98] Sutherland and Ede collaborated to help Moore with the financial burden of raising the child alone. See Helen Sutherland, letter to H.S. Ede, 18 August 1951. Papers of H.S. Ede KY/EDE/1/15/22/3.

[99] Ede's diaries show that Ede was buying work from Ben Nicholson on a regular basis, and from Winifred Nicholson. In 1927, Ede wrote the preface to the Seven & Five exhibition and in 1928, penned a review of their work and that of William Staite-Murray following their joint exhibition at the Beaux Arts Gallery. He began working on his lecture, 'Five Contemporary British Painters' on Ben and Winifred Nicholson, Jones, Wallis and Wood around 1933.

[100] See, for example, H.S. Ede, letter to Ben Nicholson, c.1928: 'I'd "buy" the big picture Jug, Lemons & Knife & walking away pot for £4 so long as you promised to buy it back so soon as you needed it & could get a proper price for it – otherwise I'll just go on borrowing it. It's excellent in our dark room.' Papers of Ben Nicholson, Tate Gallery Archive TGA 8717.1.2.847.

[101] Sutherland inherited her fortune from her mother, Mary Alice Morris, in 1920.

Constance Lane, in 1925. In 1929, she took a ten-year lease on Rock Hall in Northumberland, which was to become her main residence and a welcome retreat for the many artists, writers and musicians she supported in different ways. Her collecting habits became increasingly shaped by her friendships with artists such as the Nicholsons and David Jones, but she was also guided by Ede, who helped her both buy and sell works of art.[102]

The surviving correspondence between Sutherland and Ede spans almost four decades between 1926-1965, the year Sutherland died. They were both passionate patrons of their artist friends, and often combined their efforts and resources to support them. They also shared an aesthetic sensibility, borne out of spiritual belief, which became the subject of an on-going conversation that ran through their frequent meetings and continued unabated in their letters.

The end of Sutherland's lease on Rock Hall coincided with the start of WWII, and the dispersal of her '[redacted].' Sutherland moved to Cockley Moor, a remote farmhouse above Ullswater in Cumbria. Winifred Nicholson and the poet Kathleen Raine lived relatively near, and Sutherland did her best to maintain her contact with the London art world.[103] She commissioned Leslie Martin to design the extension to Cockley Moor, and continued to host artist and writers during the summer months. Ben Nicholson visited, as did the Edes, T.S. Eliot, the Cumbrian poet Norman Nicholson and of course, David Jones.[104]

David Jones was particularly affected by the Edes' departure from London in 1936. Since the spring of 1924, he had been a close friend of Ede and regular visitor to their home at Elm Row. He was a frequent presence at the Edes' regular Sunday 'salons,' and at supper on Wednesday evenings, and considered their

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[102] See Helen Sutherland, letter to H.S. Ede, regarding his help with the sale of a work by Derain & other pieces, and the purchase of works via the Lefevre Gallery c. August 1936. Papers of H.S. Ede KY/EDE/1/15/11/23.
[103] Winifred Nicholson lived at Banks Head, near Brampton; Kathleen Raine was in Martindale, on the opposite side of Ullswater.
[104] See Corbett, *A Rhythm, a Rite and a Ceremony: Helen Sutherland at Cockley Moor* Penrith: Midnight Oil, 1996, pp.27, 44.

home in Hampstead a refuge in a city he felt increasingly uncomfortable in.[105] According to Thomas Dilworth, Ede recalled that Jones would 'just wander in unannounced' and stay overnight, sometimes for days, and spent a week with Helen and the children when Ede was away. Their spare room was considered his.[106]

Ede wholeheartedly embraced Jones' aesthetic sensibility, his engagement with modernism and his theological views. Their relationship was one of intimate understanding and acceptance; Jones confided in Ede and vice versa; Ede had absolute faith in Jones' artistic abilities and continued to draw inspiration from Jones' singular artistic and spiritual convictions for the rest of his life. He helped to establish a critical network of support for Jones; He introduced Jones to the dealer Arthur Howell, who gave Jones his first exhibition with Eric Gill at the St George Gallery in 1927; according to Thomas Dilworth, Ede also wrote an anonymous review of the show in *The Times*.[107] He also introduced Jones to Edward Marsh, who bought a painting from the exhibition but then placed it in the collection of the Contemporary Art Society, thereby helping Jones financially and raising his profile nationally.[108] Ede promoted Jones' work to influential figures such as Kenneth Clark, and to Richard de la Mare at Faber & Faber, who would eventually publish *In Parenthesis* in 1937. He took Jones around collectors' homes in Paris during one visit in June 1927, organised exhibitions of Jones' work at the Redfern Gallery in 1936 and in 1944, and set up a fund to support Jones financially through anonymous donations from friends including Helen Sutherland, Kenneth Clark and Ede himself. The fund continued to provide financial security for Jones until the end of his life.[109]

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[105] 'I loathe London now so much for one reason & another. But always think of coming to you at Hampstead with joy and feel my happiest moments during the last years before I came away were spent at Elm Row, so that I can't envisage you not being there as an harbour for battered men…London without you would indeed be a desert, & no mistake.' David Jones, letter to H.S. Ede, 8 February 1936. Papers of H.S. Ede KY/EDE/1/8/1/23.

[106] Ede, interviewed by Thomas Dilworth, June 1985, in Thomas Dilworth, *David Jones: Engraver, Soldier, Painter, Poet,* London: Penguin, 2015, p.108. See also pp. 89-90, 189.

[107] The exhibition took place between April-May 1927. See ibid.

[108] 'Purchases and Gifts to the Society,' CAS Annual Report 1927, Appendix A.

[109] According to Dilworth, Jones stayed with Ede in Paris in early June 1927, and accompanied Ede to a house 'to see a large number of big Picassos, which had a great

On the night before they left, Jones travelled up to London to share a last supper of sausages amongst the packing cases at Elm Row. He wrote that he thought of them 'fairly constantly' and looked forward to seeing them 'more than I can say,' although they would never see one another with such frequency again.[110]

2.3: EDWARD MARSH & T.E. LAWRENCE

Ede met Edward (Eddie) Marsh in the Spring of 1923. Marsh was twenty-three years older than Ede, and already a prominent figure in literary and artistic circles. He had been private secretary to a succession of powerful government ministers, including Winston Churchill; he was a scholar of Classical literature and expert on Georgian poetry, a longstanding member of the executive committee of the Contemporary Art Society, and respected collector of contemporary art.[111] He was a generous and consistent supporter of artists and writers, and his protégés included Duncan Grant, Henri Gaudier-Brzeska, Mark Gertler, David Bomberg, Paul Nash, Katherine Mansfield and John Middleton Murry, Siegfried Sassoon, D.H. Lawrence, Stanley Spencer and Gaudier-Brzeska He was close friends with E.M. Forster and Rupert Brooke.[112] Marsh also became

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impact on him.' Dilworth, ibid., pp.112-113. Dilworth also notes that Ede 'undertook to organise the exhibition, gathering paintings from storage at the Tate, from Howell, the Brockley house, and various galleries.' Ibid., p.185. Other contributors to Jones' maintenance fund included Loulie Graham and her sister Anne Benthall, Harman Grisewood and Tom Burns. See Bankes & Hills, *David Jones* p.143, and Ede's annotations to the letter from David Jones to H.S. Ede, 3 December 1945. Papers of H.S. Ede KY/EDE/1/8/1/65.

[110] David Jones, letter to H.S. Ede, 19 October 1937. Papers of H.S. Ede KY/EDE/1/8/1/37.

[111]Marsh (1872-1953) edited a series of anthologies that established Georgian poetry as a distinct school of pre-war British poetry. He became chairman of the CAS and Trustee of the Tate Gallery in 1937. 'Eddie Marsh was dapper, clever, amusing and kind, and knew just about 'everybody.' An apostle at Cambridge with G.E. Moore, Bertrand Russell and Oswald Sickert; a friend of Max Beerbohm and Raymond Asquith at Oxford; moving with equal ease in the literary salon of Edmund Gosse or the balls of the season; inveterate theatre-goer; he was also a scholar who produced a fine translation of Horace, and a civil servant efficient and astute enough to be chosen by Churchill as his right-hand man.' Mark Kinkead-Weekes, *D.H. Lawrence: Triumph to Exile 1912-1922,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996, p.85.

[112]On the occasion of Marsh's eightieth birthday, James Pope-Hennessy wrote in the Spectator, 14 November 1952, 'How many—or more correctly how few?—among present-day English writers and painters do not owe some original encouragement, some welcome support, to the affectionate, attentive kindness, and the never-failing,

something of a mentor figure for Ede.[113] It was Marsh to whom Ede turned for advice regarding his difficulties with the Tate in 1929.[114] As a result, Marsh interceded on Ede's behalf, helping to quash concerns raised by a medical report on Ede's mental as well as physical health in November 1929. Marsh's intervention likely saved Ede his job.[115]

Marsh was no doubt responsible for Ede's introduction to a great number of cultural figures, including perhaps Ottoline Morrell, Teddy Wolfe and others of the Bloomsbury set, but Ede was also able to introduce Marsh to figures such as David Jones, and could help promote his friend's literary work; in May 1928, he presented a selection of Marsh's translation of La Fontaine's 'Fables' in a programme for the BBC. Marsh, along with T.E. Lawrence, also read and commented on early drafts of *Savage Messiah*, Ede's biography of the artist Gaudier-Brzeska, which was published in 1930.[116]

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always courteous interest in their work, of Eddie Marsh?' http://archive.spectator.co.uk/article/14th-november-1952/8/eddie-marsh.

[113] Ede's letters to Marsh (March 1923 – September 1936) chart a developing intimacy and affection. They exchange gifts; Marsh gave Ede his translations of Fables of La Fontaine to proofread, Ede gave Marsh a painting – one of the few he made after art school – as well as several of his own drawings. Ede wrote with birthday greetings from Tangier: 'It used to be fun giving you sketches – but I feel that you are overwhelmed by these & now I never paint, & books you have long before ever I do & what else is there. If I was home I would bring you a bunch of flowers in token of my affection.' H.S. Ede, letter to Edward Marsh, n.d., Sir Edward Howard Marsh Papers.

[114] On 6 November 1929, Ede writes, 'Dear Eddie – I'm back – suddenly – owing to certain troubles about which I should so much value your advice as a friend – I don't know anyone else of capacity & judgement to whom I can turn, who is at the same time fond of me (I think you are because I am of you)…'

[115] A medical report was produced by Dr A.E. Russell, 8 November 1929. In the correspondence that follows, C.G. Mennell writes to Charles Aitken on 11 November 1929, suggesting that on the basis of the report, there are two options on the table; one of which is that Ede be invalided out of the Civil Service. Registry files: Tate Gallery 1928-1929, NG16/215/5. However, on 21st November, Ede writes, 'Dear Eddie It is nice of you to have taken action re – my medical report.' H.S. Ede, letter to Edward Marsh, 21 November 1929. Sir Edward Howard Marsh Papers.

[116] Marsh provided critical guidance in the translation of Gaudier's letters from French to English. 'Dear Eddie – what a marvel you are & what a mercy you suggested seeing this "book" […] it really is tremendously kind of you & I'm more deeply grateful than I can say – but don't be angry with me for being such a "muffler" – I am an extremely ignorant person & I know it better than anyone else & now you know it better than you did but still not so well as I. It was TES who had altered anything that was altered […] Nearly all your other corrections I agree to profoundly & shall spend tonight incorporating them. I hope you will get moved by the thing as a life, if you don't it won't have been worth doing. Love to you & so much gratitude from Jim. By the way "mufflers"

Ede's friendship with the writer T.E. Lawrence began in 1927. In May of that year, he visited an exhibition of images from Lawrence's *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* at the Leicester Galleries. 'I looked at the catalogue and began to read the introduction which he [Lawrence] had written. Something in the English, some manner of arrangement, gripped me, and I went on reading with growing excitement, I was taken into my own intimate world, a world of singleness, isolation, and yet of oneness with all life…suddenly, with the reading of his words, all was different. Here was a human being with sensate human feelings, and yet not human since he was so much alone. An Olympian purposefulness and command, and at the same time so fine a fragility, so piercing a need for protection. These were my thoughts as I stood in the Leicester Galleries, thinking of this unknown man, so quickly known by me from always.'[117]

Ede felt compelled to write to Lawrence, kindling a friendship that would develop, largely through correspondence, over the next eight years until Lawrence's death in 1935.[118] Lawrence read early drafts of *Savage Messiah,* gave Ede advice on how to negotiate a publishing deal and did much to promote the book to papers and critics. Lawrence sent Ede manuscript copies of *The Mint* and *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*; Ede sent him *A Journey Out* (an unpublished manuscript based on his 1931 trip to America). Ede confided his difficulties with the Tate, and Lawrence offered moral support; when Ede told Lawrence about the Tate flood in 1928, Lawrence joked it would be good if Ede could 'lose' all fifteen thousand of Turner's watercolours and most of the Chantry Bequest.[119] The two men first met in February 1929, when Lawrence walked unannounced into Ede's office at the Tate.[120] Thereafter, they saw one another several times a year. Ede

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is Henri's word – I had forgotten – that letter was written by him in English!!' H.S. Ede, letter to Edward Marsh, 18 June 1929; Sir Edward Howard Marsh Papers. See also Edward Marsh, letter to H.S. Ede, 29 July (c.1930) Roger A. Cole Archive.

[117] H.S. Ede, 'Shaw-Ede, 1927-1935,' in T.E. Lawrence & H. S. Ede, *Shaw-Ede: T. E. Lawrence's letters to H. S. Ede, 1927-1935,* London: Golden Cockerel Press, 1942, p.7-8.

[118] Lawrence died in a motorcycle accident in May 1935. His last letter to Ede is dated 5 April 1935. T.E. Lawrence Letters.

[119] T.E. Lawrence, letter to H.S. Ede, 20 January 1928 & 6 April 1928. T.E. Lawrence Letters.

[120] Ede provides an account of this meeting in H.S. Ede, *Shaw-Ede*, p.28.

was in Tangier when Lawrence died, and did not hear about the accident until returning to England. Bereft, he wrote to Lawrence's youngest brother, 'What can I do…he was the man I most loved in all the world & I think I partly lived because he was my friend.'[121] Ede, although slightly in awe of Lawrence, 'never wrote to the Lawrence of Arabia hero' but 'to a fellow human being, a writer, an artist, a person whose quickened thoughts were mine and who was more and more closely connected with my outlook.'[122] In his memoir, Ede attributed much of his own personal development to Lawrence's influence:

'It is certain that for all the future [Ede] was profoundly influenced by him to do things seemingly far beyond his scope, and to choose always the whole-hearted however arduous the process. Through the leaven of T.E.L. working in him, he grew increasingly aware in himself of short-sightedness, over-caution and selfishness, and increasingly disturbed by them in others…'[123]

He also noted that 'Lawrence played a major part in the Cambridge adventure which began around 1953 and was accomplished by 1973. It was an endeavour to collect together all he had and make of it a living PLACE: put it in good hands and leave it. Without the whole-hearted example of T.E. Lawrence in determination Jim doubts if the possibility of such an act would have occurred to him, let alone the achieving of it. In assaulting the University of Cambridge, to which he gave it, and in subjecting himself to this act, he was constantly spurred on by the memory of Lawrence and his clear decision.'[124]

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[121] H.S. Ede, letter to A.W. Lawrence, 24 May 1935. Papers of H.S. Ede KY/EDE/1/9.
[122] H.S. Ede, 'Shaw-Ede 1927-1935,' manuscript, p.vi. Papers of H.S. Ede KY/EDE/1/9.
[123] H.S. Ede, 'Between Two Memories,' p.119. Ede wrote his memoir in the third person. He refers to Lawrence as T.E.L.
[124] Ede, 'Between Two Memories,' pp. 119-120. Ede wrote elsewhere of Lawrence, 'in his own acts of generosity and vision, Ede drew inspiration from Lawrence's selflessness, his power of making an unhesitating decision, and of acting on it.' Ede, 'T.E.L' unpublished lecture, typescript, c.1936, p.28. Papers of H.S. Ede KY/EDE/1/9.

2.4: THE MAKING OF A COLLECTOR

During this period, Ede also started to buy, borrow and write about the art of his new artist friends. In 1927, he made his first major purchase, of Brâncuşi's *Poisson d'Or*,[125] although financial notes in his diary of that year show he was already actively acquiring art from other sources.[126] Many of the cornerstones of his collection – works by Miró, Ben Nicholson and Winifred Nicholson, Christopher Wood, David Jones and Alfred Wallis – were either given or purchased directly from the artists during this period.[127] Ede was also involved in the settling of two estates of artists, both of whom had been rising stars who died tragically young: Henri Gaudier-Brzeska and Christopher Wood.

2.4.1: HENRI GAUDIER-BRZESKA

Gaudier was a precocious young French artist who died in WWI. Born in 1891, he had been Ede's contemporary, and one of the brightest lights in modern sculpture. He arrived in London in 1910, and in the four years before the outbreak of war in 1914, Gaudier managed to become one of the leading

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[125] Ede recorded a payment to Brâncuşi for 4,739frs in his diary for 1927. This purchase is the subject of Ede's letters to Brâncuşi between 19-28 December 1927; a letter of 21 Dec mentions that Lydia Sokolova, who was principal dancer with the Ballets Russes at the time, will collect and courier the work back to the UK on his behalf. Fonds Constantin Brâncuşi.

[126] In addition to the payment to Brâncuşi in 1927, Ede recorded multiple payments to Ben Nicholson for 2 pictures (£3) and £15.10.0 for pictures and frames; £13 to Winifred Nicholson, £4 to David Jones, and payments of 616frs & 589frs to the dealers Paul Rosenberg and Leonce Rosenberg respectively. He also recorded a payment of £60 for the Gaudier estate. Surviving diaries for the period up to 1936 show similar annual expenditure on art and regular payments to artists, including Ben Nicholson, David Jones, and from 1934, Ede's old friend and fellow Slade student, Ian Fairweather. No records exist for the period before 1927.

[127] See for example Ben Nicholson, letter to H.S. Ede, n.d. (1926?), 'did you get those 4 paintings alright?' and 'You have indeed added a little to the £2…As for helping me you have done that ever since you first liked the idea in those 2 small goblets…You must have a ptg.' Papers of H.S. Ede KY/EDE/1/11. Ede also bought a large number of paintings from Alfred Wallis by post; see Alfred Wallis, letter to H.S. Ede, 30 July 1938: 'Mr Ede I have about 30 or 40 paintins [sic] They must go by train someone fetch them if their was any coming from your place they could call and take them away I want them cleard [sic] out…I think they are so good if not Better I have done they are two [sic] many for to send by post.' Papers of H.S. Ede KY/EDE/1/17. Christopher Wood gave Ede the *Landscape at Vence* (1927) with the inscription: 'For my friend / Jim Eade [sic] / Christopher Wood / 1928.' Kettle's Yard Collection Database.

proponents of direct carving, a driving force behind Vorticism, and a founding member the London Group. His work blended European traditions and non-European influences to forge a new language commensurate with a modern sensibility. Following the death of Gaudier's partner, Sophie Brzeska, in 1925, the artist's work found its way onto Ede's desk at Millbank.[128]

The Treasury, uncertain as to how to deal with the estate, had sent it over to the National Gallery for their opinion. Ede was assigned the task of obtaining a value for the work with a view to selling it, and thereby relieving the Treasury of its responsibility. In January 1925, the art critic R.H. Wilenski produced a lukewarm report, estimating the commercial value of the estate at £250.[129] Almost two years later, with no buyer found amongst the private galleries in London, a formal offer from the Treasury of sculpture and drawings by the late Gaudier-Brzeska as part of the intestate estate was tabled at a meeting of the Trustees on 27 October 1926. Given a general lack of enthusiasm for Gaudier's work, which encompassed a disconcerting breadth of styles, from naturalistic observation to Cubism, Ede noted in the minutes that this offer was 'accepted subject to selection' and a selection of three 'statues' and seventeen drawings was duly made.[130] Ede's task was then to find a purchaser who could buy the work for the Tate, so he went to the Contemporary Art Society. The collector Frank Stoop, a member of the CAS and ally of Ede's, stepped in, and the three statues and seventeen drawings selected by the Trustees were eventually presented to the National Gallery, Millbank through the Contemporary Art Society in 1930.[131]

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[128] Sophie Brzeska died intestate in January 1925, at which point Gaudier's work became the property of the British government.

[129] In his recommendations, Wilenski wrote 'It would be unduly optimistic to expect to realise £545 for this collection. It is unlikely that any one dealer would give even half that sum or that any three dealers could be found to share the collection at £100 each. If offered at public auction the lots would probably fall at purely nominal sums and realise a relatively insignificant total. But if judiciously handled it would nevertheless be possible to realise immediately something approaching £250 from sales effected from this collection…' 'Report on Pictures, Sculpture and Drawings, presumably by the late Henri Gaudier-Brzeska examined on January 2nd, 3rd, 5th, 6th 1925 in the official Solicitor's office by R.H. Wilenski,' (n.p) Roger A. Cole archive.

[130] Ede, undated note. Roger A. Cole archive.

[131] CAS annual report, 1930. Ede wrote to Aitken on 31 May 1930, 'Dear CA. I've today fixed up the negotiations about the Gaudiers. Mr Stoop has bought them all & will give them to the N.G. & to the CAS. It's awfully nice of him. I had rather a difficulty with

Meanwhile, in August 1927, Ede made an offer of £60 for the remainder of the estate, which comprised twenty-five sculptures, thirteen paintings and pastels, and almost two thousand (1885) drawings in addition to sketchbooks and tools, the poetry manuscripts of Sophie Brzeska, and correspondence between Henri and Sophie.[132]

Aware of the delicate line he was treading with regard to a conflict of interest in this situation, Ede withdrew his offer to the Treasury two months later (not before having made arrangements with his friend, the graphic designer Edward McKnight-Kauffer, to step in with an offer on the same terms).[133] Kauffer's offer

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Treasury Solicitor & thought that all my negotiations would fail, had to be very slippery & tactful & had it not been that Dr Brown was himself friendly to it all I would not have managed it. However all that is private & on paper they have done all that they can be expected to do in the finding of a purchaser and have got a reasonable price. Mr Stoop has given £160.' In an undated note, Ede refers to the minutes of the Trustee's meeting of 27 October 1926 and writes that these were 'paid for and presented by Mr Frank Stoop and presented to the Tate in June 1930 at my suggestion'. All Roger A. Cole archive.

[132] The original research into Ede's acquisition of the estate was undertaken by Roger Cole and is presented in his books, *Burning to Speak: the Life and Art of Henri Gaudier-Brzeska* Oxford: Phaidon, 1978; *Gaudier-Brzeska: Artist and Myth* Bristol: Sansom, 1995; and *No Stone Unturned,* Uppingham: Goldmark Gallery (forthcoming 2018). Ede's revealing letter is worth quoting in full:

'Dear Sir

I have thought very considerably about the question of Gaudier's drawings. He was a friend of mine & of several of my friends & I should like if possible to keep his things together until I can place them where they will be appreciated. I should like to buy what remains and would offer £60 (or less if you think satisfactory). Financially it seems to be a very risky proposition. The Leicester Galleries who are the financial authorities on G.B.'s work won't look at this lot as they say that everything that had any monetary value has been taken by the Tate or the Contemporary Art Society & my colleague here says that list is conclusive! I arrived at my figure from Mr Wilenski's. He said that if 'judiciously handled it should be possible to realize £250.' On his calculation the saleable value of the things taken by the Tate is about £120 + by the CAS £100. This leaves a great number of hasty drawings which I fear will only be of interest to GB's artist friends who can't afford to pay for them & if you put them up for auction they will be sold in bundles at a nominal figure & then perhaps lost. There can be no-one much to take them as neither the Leicester Galleries nor the Goupil will consider them. If you decide to accept my offer I would be grateful if you would allow me to pay this month and next as I can't manage it all at once without borrowing. Yours sincerely H.S. Ede (assistant at the Tate Gallery)' H.S. Ede, letter to Dr Brown, Assistant Secretary to the Treasury, 2 August 1927. Roger A. Cole archive.

[133] H.S. Ede, letter to Dr Brown, Treasury Secretary, 13 October 1927. (Ref. E.1283) typescript (copy). Roger A. Cole archive.

was accepted by the Treasury in October 1927.[134] Finally, in May 1929, Kauffer paid a further five guineas to obtain full copyright to the Gaudier letters and manuscripts. He then sold the works to Ede and assigned the copyright to him, smoothing the way for the publication of *Savage Messiah*.

In his letter to the Treasury, Ede claimed Gaudier 'was a friend of mine'[135] although it is highly unlikely that Ede ever met Gaudier. Gaudier had moved to London in 1910, becoming involved with the Vorticists, the Omega Workshops and the London Group. At the start of WWI, he enlisted with the French army and was killed in a battle at Neuville-Saint-Vaast in June 1915. Ede, on the other hand, attended art schools in Newlyn and Edinburgh between 1910-1914. In 1914 he enlisted with the South Wales Borderers and spent the best part of a year at a training camp in Bournemouth, before being shipped to the trenches in France in the Autumn of 1915. The fact that Ede based his offer on a lie suggests that his motives might have been a little less than pure. Ede would have been aware of the artist's reputation amongst the London cogniscenti; he knew, for instance, that Gaudier was already associated with the influential Leicester Galleries, which had played a critical role in exhibiting modern British and French art in London in the early twentieth century.[136]

However, Ede and Gaudier did have several mutual acquaintances – including Roger Fry, Enid Bagnold and Edward Marsh. Marsh met Gaudier in 1912, through T.E. Hulme. Gaudier attended Marsh's 'painters' evenings, and Marsh visited Gaudier's studio on several occasions. Marsh owned four drawings, given

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[134] H.S. Ede, handwritten note, 13 Oct 1927. Roger A. Cole archive. According to Cole, the estate was sold to McKnight-Kauffer on 27 October 1927. In May 1929, McKnight-Kauffer paid a further five guineas to obtain full copyright to the Gaudier letters and manuscripts.

[135] H.S. Ede, letter to Dr Brown, 2 August 1927. Roger A. Cole archive.

[136] Ibid. In this letter, Ede acknowledges that the Leicester Galleries 'are the 'financial authorities on GB's work.' The Leicester Galleries organized a memorial exhibition of Gaudier's work in 1918, a highly unusual gesture given the artist's youth and short career but a reflection of the high regard for Gaudier within the London avant-garde. It was a prestigious gallery that gave Camille Pissarro, Picasso and Henri Matisse their first British solo exhibitions. See https://www.artbiogs.co.uk/2/galleries/leicester-galleries

to him by the artist, and received postcards from Gaudier from the trenches. [137] Marsh's personal connection with, and enthusiasm for, Gaudier's work could easily have been a significant factor in Ede's interest in the estate, and although Marsh was not involved in the transactions, he provided invaluable assistance with the translations and copy-editing of Ede's second book, a biography of Gaudier-Brzeska which drew heavily on the correspondence that had been part of the estate purchased by Ede.[138] It was published in 1930.[139] Gaudier epitomised the revolutionary spirit of modernism and with him, Ede had firmly pinned his colours to the mast. His transformation into a champion of modern art was complete.

2.4.2: CHRISTOPHER WOOD

Christopher Wood was an enigmatic figure, a self-taught painter who lived a hedonistic, drug-fuelled lifestyle in London and Paris thanks largely to the patronage of the colourful Chilean diplomat Tony Gandarillas, with whom Wood, who was bisexual, had a longstanding affair. Wood was welcomed into the fashionable social and artistic circles of Paris and the inner circles of Jean Cocteau, Max Jacob and Sergei Diaghilev. He was the only English artist to have been commissioned by Diaghilev to produces stage designs, and to be offered an exhibition in Paris, which he invited Ben Nicholson to share.[140] He was precocious but tormented, characteristics that his opium habit only enhanced. He fell under a train in Salisbury in August 1930, allegedly suffering from acute paranoia induced by opium withdrawal.

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[137] See Richard Shone & John Nash, *An Honest Patron,* Liverpool: Bluecoat Gallery, 1976, p.25.

[138] See Edward Marsh, letter to H.S. Ede, 29 July (c.1930). Roger A. Cole archive.

[139] First published by Heinemann, London, in a limited edition of 350 copies in 1930 as *A Life of Henri Gaudier-Brzeska.* According to Sebastiano Barassi, the book was republished with the title *Savage Messiah* by Alfred A. Knopf, New York, in February 1931 and then in the UK, using this second title, by Heinemann in April 1931. Sebastiano Barassi, *Savage Messiah,* pp.246–247.

[140] 'Christopher Wood, Ben Nicholson: Deux Peintres Anglais' at the Georges Bernheim Gallery, Paris, 15-30 May 1930.

Ede wrote that Christopher Wood influenced him 'more in his death than in his life.'[141] Although he had known Wood personally, and owned works by the artist, it was his closest friends, the Nicholsons, who had been Wood's closest and steadfast supporters. It was Ben Nicholson who asked Ede to go with him to Wood's studio just days after the artist's death in order to take stock of the artist's work and possessions. Nicholson also suggested to Ede that he organise a memorial exhibition and should write a book on Wood. Early in September, Ede and Nicholson met Clare Wood, the artist's mother, at Wood's London studio. Following this meeting, Clare Wood entrusted Ede with managing the dispersal of her son's estate.[142]

Meanwhile the process was not entirely straightforward and Ede appears to have handled negotiations with the dealer Lucy Wertheim rather badly. Wertheim had paid Wood a substantial advance in the Summer of 1930, on the understanding that she would exhibit the paintings she had effectively funded at her gallery in the Autumn of 1930. Wood died before the exhibition could take place and Wertheim claimed several of his last works as settlement of her investment, but in a letter to Ben Nicholson in November 1930 Ede revealed that he had 'come home to a terrific row' caused by his handling of Wood's estate. He had 'found a note from my Director accusing me of God knows what dishonorable treatment of Mrs Wertheim…Mrs W. evidently thinks she ought to have those marked pictures and that I have done her out of them.'[143]

Ede eventually reached an agreement with Wertheim, who held her own exhibition of Wood's works in 1931, and in 1932, Ede organised a memorial exhibition at the Lefevre Gallery and set about carefully and quietly distributing the rest of Wood's works to public and private collections.[144] A number of works

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[141] Ede, 'Between Two Memories' p.108.
[142] See note 73. A close friendship developed between the Edes and Wood's family.
[143] Ede to Ben Nicholson, TGA 8717.1.2.841-1029. Ede had been in Paris meeting with, among others, Wood's close friends Frosca Munster, Alphonse Kahn and Tony Gandarillas. See Ede diary entries, Nov 8-23, 1930. KY/EDE/2.
[144] The exhibitions were listed as 'Exhibition of paintings by the late Christopher Wood' at the Wertheim Gallery, London, 1931 and 'Memorial Exhibition of the Most Recent Paintings by Christopher Wood' at the Lefevre Gallery, London, 1932.

went to the family, to the Nicholsons and to Ede himself. Wertheim received several paintings in settlement of her claim. Some went through the Contemporary Art Society to the Tate and other regional museum collections. Through his efforts, the reputation of Christopher Wood was established – with no small benefit to Ede himself. By the late 1930s, Ede owned at least thirty-two works, and eventually left twenty-five to Kettle's Yard, which is now the largest body of Wood's work in a public collection.[145]

2.5: AMERICAN INFLUENCES

Shortly after the publication of the American edition of Ede's biography of Gaudier-Brzeska under the title *Savage Messiah* in Autumn 1931, Ede made a self-funded, month-long trip to America. Thanks in no small part to his uncle's connections in the New York art world, he visited well over thirty of the most important private art collections in the country and met influential philanthropists, collectors and cultural figures including Andrew Mellon, Abby Aldrich Rockefeller, Paul Sachs and Alfred Barr, Albert C. Barnes and Duncan Phillips.[146]

2.5.1: ALBERT C. BARNES

As Ede explained in a letter to Barnes in June 1931, it was Barnes and his Foundation that he was hoping to see above all:

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[145] See Elizabeth Fisher, *Christopher Wood*, Kettle's Yard, University of Cambridge, 2013, p.8.

[146]See 'Pictures particularly noted in the PRIVATE COLLECTIONS which I visited' manuscript, c.1931, Papers of H.S. Ede KY/EDE/4/3/5/2. Ede visited more collectors than are mentioned on that list, however. For example, in his narrative account of the trip, 'A Visit to America (The Journey Out),' Ede mentions visiting 'one man, a charming person, sensitive to his fingertips,' who showed him several works by Picasso, Braque and Brâncuşi including *Mlle Pogany* (1912). The unnamed collector would have been Rodolfe Meyer de Schauensee, a curator at the Academy of Natural Sciences, Drexel University, Philadelphia, and discerning collector of modern art, seventeenth century French silver and Indian art. H.S. Ede, 'A Visit to America (The Journey Out),' unpublished typescript, c.1931, p.31. Papers of H.S. Ede KY/Ede/4/3/1/1.

'Ever since I obtained your book "The Art in Painting" in 1927 my one desire has been to come to America. It suddenly became a thing of the utmost importance & since then I've been saving the necessary money & waiting for the period of freedom. At last I seem to have combined both these things & hope to come over on Oct 10th & hasten to write & ask you if I shall be able to visit the Barnes Foundation. From this distance & from your book it seems to me to be quite the most important art centre in the world & I sometimes fear that its existence has made me view other art movements in America through rose coloured glasses. However only experience will teach me their relative position. I have always been a great believer in the oneness of all things & feel that you also hold to this underlying force manifesting itself in so many outwardly diverse ways. I shall be so grateful if you will allow me to visit you.'[147]

When Ede met him in 1931, Albert C. Barnes was already a controversial figure in the art world. He had amassed an unrivalled collection of modern European art but shunned the art establishment and refused to open his gallery to the public for more than one day a week. He routinely excluded powerful cultural figures (among them T.S. Eliot, Meyer Shapiro, Le Corbusier and Lillie Bliss), and quarrelled with the academic world.

Barnes was born in 1872 to a working class family in south Philadelphia. He put himself through college, and after training as both a doctor and a chemist, he developed a drug to treat ophthalmic infections and formed a company to produce and distribute the drug. The company prospered and in 1913, Barnes began to collect modern art. His focus was Paris. He purchased his first two Matisses from Gertrude and Leo Stein, and African art from Paul Guillaume. He studied every text written on modernism, and favoured the formalist approach to art, propounded by contemporary critics such as Roger Fry, Clive Bell and Julius Meier-Graefe. He focused on what he called the 'plastic' qualities of art – elements such as colour, light, line and space – which could be

[147] H.S. Ede, letter to Dr. Barnes, 20 June 1931, Albert C. Barnes Correspondence. Reprinted with permission.

appreciated without recourse to the accumulated knowledge of traditional art historical education, which meant that art was no longer the preserve of the privileged upper classes. Modernist aesthetics could also be used to evaluate a wide variety of art forms, from different cultures and periods, on equal terms. Barnes was particularly interested in the political implications of such an outlook. In his view, the art historical establishment granted access to knowledge according to social status, thereby excluding the disenfranchised poor and uneducated. A formalist art education debunked the assumptions of privilege and chimed with Barnes' egalitarian political views.[148]

Barnes was a progressive employer, committed to improving the lives of his employees. He started his business in 1902 with an unorthodox team of 'five white women, three coloured men, and one white man.' Of these, one was illiterate, and the rest (with the exception of Barnes himself) had limited education.[149] Barnes provided a safe working environment, and a six-hour working day to allow time for his employees to study psychology, philosophy and art. He established a circulating library for his workers, and hung paintings from his collection around the factory building. He also believed in 'workplace democracy,' insisting that the company 'never had a boss and…never needed one.'[150]

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[148]Barnes was not the first to ally modernist aesthetics with egalitarian class politics. As Christopher Reed notes, Fry had argued in 1917 that 'sensibility to abstract form was innate, and, therefore, created its own meritocracy: "though it can be cultivated [it] is a grace – a grace that one's sculley [slang for scullery maid] may have in greater degree than oneself."' Roger Fry, 'Applied Art and the New Movement,' quoted in Reed, C. *Bloomsbury Rooms: Modernism, Subculture, and Domesticity*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004, p.11.

[149]Albert C. Barnes, 'The Barnes Foundation' in *The New Republic*, 14 March 1923, pp.65-67. This was the intellectual, liberalist journal founded by Dorothy Elmhirst and her first husband, Willard Straight. See https://newrepublic.com/article/120193/how-new-republic-was-founded. Barnes' innovative approach to business may have been influenced by his early exposure to Germany's progressive welfare and social engineering policies – including sickness and disability benefits, and old-age pensions – at the turn of the century.

[150]Barbara Anne Beaucar, Albert C. Barnes Correspondence Finding Aid. https://s3.amazonaws.com/barnes-images-p-e1c3c83bd163b8df/assets/ABC_Pkwy.pdf accessed 3 April 2018

Barnes was galvanised by the idea that art could transcend social divisions, but he saw art appreciation as a learned skill; 'something accomplished, not something which is spontaneous, but which is ordinarily inhibited by the necessities of life.'[151] He believed that anyone could be taught to perceive art objectively, but that 'art appreciation can no more be absorbed by aimless wandering in galleries than can surgery be learned by casual visits to a hospital.'[152] He wrote, 'we perceive only what we have learned to look for, both in life and in art…the experience of the artist arises out of a particular background, a set of interests and habits of perception, which, like the scientist's habits of thought, are potentially sharable by other individuals. They are only sharable, however, if one is willing to make the effort involved in acquiring a comparable set of habits and background. To see as the artist sees is an accomplishment to which there is no short cut.'[153]

In 1922, with the support of his friend and mentor, the philosopher John Dewey, Barnes decided to expand his educational programme for workers. The Barnes Foundation was chartered as an educational institution dedicated to 'the promotion of the advancement of education and the appreciation of the fine arts.' As the by-laws of the Foundation made clear, 'the establishment of the art gallery is an experiment to determine how much practical good to the public of all classes and stations of life, may be accomplished by means of the plans and principles learned by the Donor from a life-long study of the science of psychology as applied to education and aesthetics.' The by-laws also stated that 'The purpose of this gift is democratic and educational in the true meaning of those words, and special privileges are forbidden.' Barnes further stipulated that it was the responsibility of the Trustees 'to ensure that the plain people, that is, men and women who gain their livelihood by daily toil in shops, factories,

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[151]Laurence Buermeyer (Associate Director of Education, Barnes Foundation), 'Some Popular Fallacies in Aesthetics,' *The Dial* 76, February 1924, p.110.
[152]Barnes quoted in Eugene Garfield, 'The Legacy of Albert C. Barnes Part I. The Tempestuous Life of a Scientist/Art Collector' *Essays of an Information Scientist,* Vol.5, 1 February 1982, pp.387-394.
[153] Barnes quoted in Roger Kimball, 'Betraying a Legacy: the case of the Barnes Foundation' *New Criterion* vol.11 no.10, June 1993, p.9. https://www.newcriterion.com/issues/1993/6/betraying-a-legacy-the-case-of-the-barnes-foundation accessed 15 June 2018.

schools, stores and similar places, shall have free access to the art gallery and the arboretum upon those days when the gallery and the arboretum are to be open to the public.'[154]

Barnes' vision, the manifestation of what he saw as the radical social premise of modernism, was given shape and substance by his remarkable, thirty-year long relationship with Dewey.[155] In 1923, he appointed Dewey as the Foundation's Director of Education. With Dewey's help, Barnes developed teaching methods designed to train perception, using his collection primarily as a teaching resource. He believed that students would develop analytical and critical thinking skills through the direct experience of art, which in turn would empower and equip them to participate directly in democratic society. Their relationship connected ideas of modernism and citizenship, and catalysed significant developments in both men's thinking. Through Barnes, Dewey expanded his theories on education and democracy to include an engagement with art and specifically modernist theories of viewership.[156] 'In turn, according to Barnes, his Foundation was to be "the first attempt made in America to put into practical effect the ideas to which Dewey has devoted his life to working out."[157] In 1925, Barnes dedicated *The Art in Painting* to Dewey, 'whose conceptions of experience, of method, of education inspired the work of which this book is a part.' In 1929, he wrote *Art and Education* with Dewey, and in 1934, Dewey dedicated his book, *Art as Experience* to Barnes 'in gratitude.'[158]

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[154] By-laws of the Barnes Foundation, transcribed from a copy found in Gilbert M. Cantor (1963) *The Barnes Foundation, Reality vs. Myth,* Philadelphia, Consolidated Drake Press, and verified against a typed version supplied in the Second Amended Petition filed by the Trustees of the Barnes April 1, 1992.
http://www.barneswatch.org/main_bylaws.html accessed 23 August 2018.
[155] According to George E. Hein, Barnes met Dewey in 1917, when he audited one of Dewey's classes in philosophy at Columbia University at the suggestion of Laurence Buermeyer. George E. Hein, 'John Dewey and Albert C. Barnes: A Deep and Mutually Rewarding Friendship,' *Dewey Studies,* vol.1 no.1 Spring 2017, pp.58-59. http://www.johndeweysociety.org/dewey-studies/ accessed 24 September 2017.
[156] See David Granger, 'A Scientific Aesthetic Method': John Dewey, Albert Barnes and the Question of Aesthetic Formalism in Craig A. Cunningham, David Granger, et al. (2007) *Dewey, Women, and Weirdoes: or, the Potential Rewards for Scholars who Dialogue across Difference* in *Education and Culture*, Vol. 23, No. 2, pp. 27-62.
[157]Albert C. Barnes, letter to Edith Dimock, February 19, 1923, Albert C. Barnes Correspondence. Reproduced with permission.
[158]Dewey's actual dedication runs to some length and is, as George Hein points out, 'the

The Barnes/Dewey method was highly empirical, even scientific. Barnes explained at beginning of *The Art in Painting*, it comprised 'the observation of facts, reflection upon them, and the testing of the conclusions by their success in application.'[159] Individual experience was central to Dewey's pragmatist philosophy, and as David Carrier argues, it was Dewey's 'desire to eliminate the usual barriers between 'art' and 'life' which made him so critical of traditional art museums' and therefore sympathetic to Barnes' curatorial approach.[160] Art as experience became the leitmotif of the Foundation. Barnes and Dewey theorised the encounter with art as a complex perceptual event, an experience incorporating multiple sensory elements, from the colour of the walls, surrounding objects, to the smells and sounds present in addition to the emotional state of the viewer themselves.[161]

Every element of the experience was carefully considered. The Foundation's home, a neo-classical mansion with modernist decorative programme, was purpose-built. Barnes worked with the Beaux-Arts trained architect Paul Phillipe Cret to design a building that was full of meaning both inside and outside.[162] The exterior blended art and architecture, including a tile mosaic inspired by African textiles, a frieze of Senufo figures from Barnes' collection of African art above the entrance portico, and specially commissioned bas-relief carvings by Cubist sculptor Jacques Lipschitz integrated into the building's limestone exterior. (Figs.6, 7) Inside, the layout and domestic scale of the rooms were intended to set Barnes' galleries apart from the model of the nineteenth century municipal art

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most effusive acknowledgment of debt to anyone in all of Dewey's published work.' See George Hein, 'Dewey's Debt to Barnes' *The Museum Journal* vol. 54 no.2 April 2011, p.124.

[159]Albert C. Barnes, *The Art in Painting*, Merion, PA: The Barnes Foundation, 1925, p.11.

[160]David Carrier, 'Albert Barnes' Foundation and the Place of Modernist Art within the Art Museum' *Museum Skepticism: A History of the Display of Art in Public Galleries,* Durham: Duke University Press, 2006, p.157.

[161]Dewey writes, 'moreover, the separation of architecture (music, too, for that matter) from such arts as painting and sculpture makes a mess of the historical development of the arts.' John Dewey, *Art as Experience* New York: Perigee, 2005, p.230.

[162] The Beaux-Arts tradition, with a taste for heavy symbolism, was the unofficial architectural language of progressivism in American civic architecture. The fabric of the building itself reflected Barnes' commitment to progressive social ideals and to modernism, and hinted at the theories of citizen-viewership at work within.

museum.[163] Views through and beyond rooms allowed visual connections between different cultures and periods.

Music played an important role in the environment and educational programme of the Barnes Foundation. It was integral both to the Deweyan teaching methodology Barnes developed, and to his formalist approach to art. He invited a variety of musicians to perform in the galleries,[164] and also offered musicians as well as artists scholarships to attend classes at the Foundation.[165] Taking his cue from leading formalists such as Fry, who coined the term 'visual music' to describe Kandinsky's work at the Salon D'Automne of 1912, and Meier-Graefe, who compared Rembrandt to 'some splendidly sonorous voice' and referred to Manet's 'great lyricism, avoiding the grander chords,'[166] Barnes would give regular lectures or 'demonstrations' as he called them, in which he made connections between composers and artists such as Beethoven and Cezanne, Gluck and Renoir, Mozart and Prendergast, Picasso and African American Spirituals.[167] Barnes loved Negro spirituals and folk songs, and had strong

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[163] Writing about the building in January 1926, Cret emphasized its deliberately domestic scale and character in contrast with the architecture of nineteenth-century museums, which he called 'cemeteries for works of art.' See Paul Cret, 'The Buildings of the Barnes Foundation at Merion, PA' *Architecture* vol. 53. January 1926, pp1-6.

[164] Between 1915-18, Dr and Mrs Barnes hosted Sunday musical events at their home and invited neighbours to join them. Musicians who came to the Barnes Foundation included the Brazilian pianist Guiomar Novaes, French pianist Jean Verd and Russian violinist Vassili Bezekirskii. According to Beaucar, Verd & Bezekirskii were sometimes invited to perform solely for the Barneses on Saturday night and then stay over for the Sunday programme. The Barnes had long association with the Philadelphia Orchestra and knew two of its most celebrated conductors, Leopold Stokowski and Eugene Ormandy.

[165] In the summer of 1933, Barnes gave composer Nicolas Nabokov a scholarship to attend the Foundation classes, and arranged for him to play some of his scores for Stokowski. Beaucar, unpublished lecture notes, n.d.

[166] Fry, quoted in Frances Spalding (1999). *Roger Fry: Art and life.* Norwich: Black Dog Books, p.168; & Julius Meier-Graefe, *Modern Art: Being a Contribution to a New System of Aesthetics,* trans. Florence Simmonds and George Chrystal, New York: Putnam's 1908, pp.30, 301 (Vol. 1).

[167] According to Beaucar, 'Sometimes, he made a direct comparison between one piece of music and a specific work of art., i.e. the 'heavy volumes' in both Ludwig von Beethoven's *Symphony No. 5, 1st Movement* and Paul Cézanne's painting *The Card Players* (Les Joueurs de cartes) (BF564). Other comparisons include Christoph Gluck, *Orfeo ed Euridice* [Andante] & Pierre-Auguste Renoir's *Bathing Group* (BF709); Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Symphony No. 40 in G minor*, K.550 – I. Molto allegro & Maurice Brazil Prendergast, *Marblehead Harbor* (BF216); the spiritual: 'Climbin' Up the Mountain,

connections with the Black community. He also assembled an important collection of African art, which he displayed alongside works of modern European art.[168] On April 4, 1926 the Bordentown Glee Club sang as part of one of these Sunday programmes featuring Paris art dealer Paul Guillaume speaking on African art, art professor Dr. Thomas Munro demonstrating the influence of African art on the modernist painters, Charles S. Johnson reading African American poetry, and Dr. Barnes speaking on African music.[169]

Barnes believed that art was a vital part of everyday life and should not be isolated from it, as was the convention of art museums.[170] According to G.E. Hein, Barnes had an 'unfailing faith that experiencing art was experiencing life, and that aesthetics was not primarily something to write about or to discuss, but something to *experience*.' He also 'believed passionately in the influence of visual art on life – more precisely, that the appreciation of art and the learned skill of carefully looking at art could change people's lives' and through his educational work at the factory and later in his foundation, demonstrated 'that aesthetic experiences could be transformative.'[171] This is where Ede and Barnes connected most powerfully. Ede was also a fervent advocate of the transcendent, creative

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Children' & Pablo Picasso – *Violin, Sheet Music, and Bottle* (BF673).' Beaucar, ibid. A whole chapter of *The Art of Henri-Matisse* was devoted to comparing the work of Henri Matisse to Igor Stravinsky. See Albert C. Barnes & Violette De Mazia, *The Art of Henri-Matisse* New York: Charles Scribner & Sons, 1933, Chapter 22, pp.218-226.

[168] Barnes created the collection between 1922-1924, in five substantial purchases from the Parisian dealer, Paul Guillaume. See Christa Clarke, *African Art in the Barnes Collection: The Triumph of l'Art Nègre and the Harlem Renaissance*, New York: Rizzoli, 2015

[169] The Glee Club performances became a regular feature on Sundays at the Foundation until 1950. Barnes explained: 'The concerts are primarily for the benefit of our students – that is, to show them that all enduring art comes out of the soil and, properly looked at, is one of the most simple and universally understandable facts of life. These concerts serve as an exemplification and epitome of our whole educational program.' Beaucar, ibid.

[170] Harold McWhinnie points out that Barnes' idea that art and education in the arts made a difference in the daily lives of ordinary people living far from artistic centres was borne out by evidence provided by the Owantonna Project, funded by the Carnegie Foundation in the 1930s. See Harold McWhinnie, 'Some Reflections on the Barnes Collection' *Art Education* Vol.47 no.6. November 1994, p. 24. John Dewey later wrote: 'our present museums and galleries to which works of fine art are removed and stored illustrate some of the causes that have operated to segregate art instead of finding it an attendant of temple, forum, and other forms of associated life.' Dewey, *Art as Experience*, p.158.

[171] Hein, 'Dewey's Debt to Barnes,' p.126.

experience of looking at art, and of the rewards of learning 'to see as the artist sees.'

Ede stayed with Barnes for two nights at his home in Merion, PA, at the end of October 1931. He spent long days studying in the galleries and being taken around the grounds, attending lectures and concerts, using music and nature to enhance his appreciation of the pictures. It was a formative experience that surpassed his already high expectations and had a lasting impact on Ede's own approach to the understanding and appreciation of art. [172]

[172] There is a detailed account of his visit in the journal Ede wrote during the trip, which is worth quoting at length:
'I spent the first evening in talking with the founder and in having a preliminary look at the galleries…next day I was able to put in three good hours of study before 10am and I realised what treasures of inestimable value was here stored up for the serious art lovers of America. It is a place where students can come and work without the insufferable molestation of the casual visitor, whose inquisitiveness fills the air, whose fluttering undirected movements distract one's power to become absorbed in the experience of the artist. […] There (sic) classes are free and as time goes on and art enters more and more into the lives of the people, there will be greater and greater numbers asking for admission and the experience which they must gain will be spread by them into an ever widening area. I was privileged to attend one of the lectures in the afternoon, its subject being the training of the perceptive faculties. The lecturer most interestingly combined phonograph records of different types of music with what he had to say about the vitality and meaning of various pictures which hung about the gallery. I was amazed to see how much I had missed during my morning's study […] I have been walking about the grounds and enjoying the upspringing of trees […] I came in and we had music, Robeson's rich voice, and many negro quartets which are so close to certain periods of Picasso; then I looked again at the pictures […] In the two days I am here I cannot do more than obtain a general idea of the meaning of the Institution; today I put in seventeen hours […] Mr Barnes has been taking me over the grounds […] I am too much of a layman to know of the value of different examples of trees, shrubs or ferns, but I do know their value as a setting of aesthetic beauty to this gallery. They throw the ball to the pictures and the pictures throw it back to the trees. You can go into the woods and there is a Cezanne all about you, here are the leaves which Rousseau so loved, and the ferns holding the mossy delicacy of a Renoir […] I brought a large magnolia leaf back with me, golden brown on one side, mauve grey white on the other, the colour of a Tarry Figure. The Congo heads have its precision and its form, Cezanne and Rousseau its universal attributes of leave, of plant, of tree. All afternoon we studied forms of modern expression – Stravinsky, his traditions, his personal expression and Matisse as a parallel – we surrounded them with Mozart and Gluck, with Giorgione, Cezanne and Renoir – we saw quite clearly how all was ordered in their apparent disorder. This combination of art and music is so right and so helpful, but how surprised the public would be in our English galleries if the lecturer suddenly turned on a jazz band or a Beethoven quartet.' H.S. Ede, 'A Visit To America (The Journey Out)' ibid., pp.29-31.

As Ede noted, music was a particularly important point of comparison in a formalist system of art appreciation; the more compelling aspect of Barnes' educational theories, however, was the way they were manifested in the collection displays. Artworks are not arranged chronologically, nor by subject, artist, style, country or date but 'everywhere, in arrangement, in frames, in choice of pictures, his ideas are apparent.'[173] Barnes began by setting up conversations between artworks of different periods and cultures. (Fig.8) This developed into elaborate arrangements containing items of furniture, fabrics, pieces of decorative metalwork, other paintings or sculpture. (Fig.9) Rika Burnham, who taught at the Barnes Foundation, noted that these non-art elements were used by students 'to renew their looking.'[174]

Barnes frequently rearranged ensembles; photographs show that Renoir's *Before the Bath* (c.1875) was the centre of several different ensembles, rearranged over the years, which suggests that Barnes' approach was an active, indeed a creative process, with multiple potential directions open for discussion.[175] (Fig.10, 11) In contrast with the kind of authoritative historical narratives put forth in museums, the Barnes Foundation, which privileged individual, subjective experience, was 'a world where Deweyian possibility could flourish.'[176]

Barnes' distinctive wall 'ensembles' of paintings, sculpture, antique furniture & ancient artefacts illustrated similarities of rhythm, form and style. The groupings were organised according to the size and orientation of paintings, or reflected

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[173] Ibid., p.30.
[174] See Rika Burnham, 'The Barnes Foundation: A Place for Teaching,' *The Journal of Museum Education* Vol. 32, no. 3: 'Place-Based Education and the Museum,' Fall, 2007, pp.221-232. URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/40479613 accessed 1 April 2015.
[175] For a discussion of Barnes' ensembles, see Grace Kuipers, 'Progressive Arrangements: Citizenship and the Modern Museum at the Barnes Foundation,' unpublished BA thesis, Wesleyan College, 2014.
[176] 'I think of the Metropolitan Museum of Art where I teach, the bustling agora of the twenty-first century world, crossroads of tourists and residents, of old and new, site of stylish exhibition designs and provocative curatorial thought, pushing forward new theses about art at the edges of historical scholarship. And I think of the Barnes, a sanctuary outside the flow of crowds and trends, its densely hung walls and its packed vitrines a mutable laboratory for interpretative experience, creative teaching, and imaginative speculation unfolding in their own time.' Burnham, 'The Barnes Foundation: A Place for Teaching,' p.203.

compositional arrangements within individual works, in order to create a coherent rhythm within the ensemble as a whole. As Violette de Mazia, Barnes' Head of Education, explained in 1983, 'the paintings and other objects are so hung that…they offer examples of certain compositional organizations [sic] found also in individual paintings and of other aesthetic features of concern to the artist-painter.'[177] They demonstrated what Barnes saw as a continuity of tradition and style across continents and time periods. According to Barnes, Cezanne had as much in common with Poussin and Lorraine as with Giotto. Renoir revitalised the sensibility of the Venetians, and of Rubens. Matisse echoed the strength of the French medieval primitives.[178] Barnes also juxtaposed folk art, native American pottery and silverwork, African sculpture, New Mexican primitives and Romanesque, Egyptian, classical, Oriental sculpture with late nineteenth and early twentieth century French painting to reveal common aesthetic qualities. He created his own work of art drawing together multiple artists' works in unified compositions that, while operating on one level to, in Burnham's words 'teach ordinary people the language of art,' also, as Jeremy Braddock points out, contained subliminal narratives along specifically personal themes.[179]

Much of what Ede absorbed at the Barnes Foundation would emerge at Kettle's Yard more than twenty-five years later. Ede eschewed labels in order to privilege direct perceptual experience over art historical knowledge and combined music with art through, for example, concerts in the house, to enhance the experience of both art forms.[180]

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[177] Violetta de Mazia, *The Barnes Foundation: The Display of its Art Collection*, Philadelphia: Barnes Foundation Press, 1983.
[178] See Lance Esplund, 'No Museum Left Behind' *The Weekly Standard*, 31 May 2010. https://www.weeklystandard.com/lance-esplund/no-museum-left-behind accessed 10 Sept 2017
[179] Braddock writes of Barnes' interest in Freud and discusses rooms where a more 'literary' theme, such as marital discord, sexual predation, or the emasculated male, links the subject matter of works. See 'The Barnes Foundation, Institution of the New Psychologies' in Braddock, *Collecting as Modernist Practice,* pp.106-155 and particularly pp.144-155.
[180] By dint of its sheer physical (although invisible) presence, Ede's 'gramophone,' hidden inside an eighteenth century chest effectively transformed into an enormous

Music was important to Ede. Helen, his wife, was an accomplished pianist and the couple had a number of very close friendships with musicians, including Vera Moore, Webster Aitken, Jelly d'Aranyi, David Grynley and Norman Notley. Music always played a part in their soirées at Elm Row, and Helen's piano went with them to Tangier, France and Cambridge. In the early years before the extension was built in 1971, they held intimate musical evenings with eminent musicians such as Jacqueline du Pré performing for a handful of friends and neighbours in the cottages at Kettle's Yard. Later, when the extension was built, Ede programmed larger chamber concerts with audiences of over a hundred, surrounded by artworks and the accoutrements of domesticity: rugs, furniture, pictures and plants.

He understood the ways in which all the elements combined to create aesthetic experience, and the significance not only of art's immediate neighbours but also of its physical context; something he learned, perhaps, from the location and surroundings of the Barnes Foundation. He appreciated the relationship between the arboretum outside and the art inside; at Kettle's Yard, the fresh flowers and plants, shells and stones, surfaces of polished wood, pewter, glass and most of all the fleeting shadows and reflections of the world outside 'throw the ball to the pictures and the pictures throw it back.' [181] (Fig.13) Outside, it is flanked by a tiny cottage garden and the ancient churchyard; homely and spiritual spaces respectively. Taking his cue from Winifred Nicholson, who frequently used windows as compositional devices, Ede used the windows as frames for views out and in.

The Barnes Foundation's relative physical isolation from the city, its restrictive admission policy and its rigorous educational mission afforded its students a deeper and more sustained engagement with the art than was possible in a museum or gallery. While Ede actively courted a relationship with university

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amplifier, also hints at the importance Ede placed on the experience of music in the house. (Fig.12)

[181] See note 168.

students, he also played on Kettle's Yard's relatively hidden-away location to conjure the same sense of discovering something special for those who made the effort to find their way to his inconspicuous front door.

Like Barnes' elaborate wall ensembles, Ede choreographed artworks and other objects within small compositional groupings, while specific leitmotifs such as the play of light and shadow continue like a refrain throughout the house, from the dark mass of Brâncuşi's *Prometheus* on the Bechstein piano to the intersecting white planes and volumes of the extension. Winifred Nicholson explained that she would use 'magenta to make her yellows sing,' and Ede followed her lead; he lined the heavy canvas curtains of the extension with a flash of magenta, and used the acid hues of a lemon placed on a pewter plate beneath the stormy grey *Seascape* (c.1928) by Alfred Wallis to enliven muted palette of greys and browns in the painting above.[182] (Fig.14) The soft browns, salmons and lime greens of Ben Nicholson's *Apples and Pears* (1927) are echoed in shells gathered in a bowl nearby, and the colours of sunlit grass in the churchyard through the adjacent window.

In Ede's bedroom, a spiral of spherical pebbles is arranged on a circular table next to a green glass fishing float and the tight round ball of a desiccated Rose of Jericho (Selaginella lepidophylla/Resurrection Plant), picking up the circle shapes in two of Ben Nicholson's works, *Relief Design* (1934) and *1941 (abstract)*. The rhythm of circles continues down the long axis of changing levels on the first floor of the cottages, linking Richard Pousette-Dart's *Four Brass Rings and One Jade Ring* (c.1940[183]), two Lucie Rie bowls (*Bowl,* c.1950 & *Bowl [brown and white inlaid line],* 1974) and a rusty barrel hoop encircling Gaudier-Brzeska's *Seated Fawn* (1913) with Gregorio Vardanega's oscillating *Spherical Construction* (1963) and Perspex *Disc* (1960), and a circular fossil, Tam MacPhael's *Construction* in iron (1968) and a fortune-teller's glass ball in a group next to a

[182] Beti Evans, who began working as an invigilator at Kettle's Yard before Ede left, explained that the particular hue of the lemon was crucial. It had to be a greenish yellow, not a warm, orangey one.
[183] Correspondence between the artist and Ede suggest Pousette-Dart gave several of these discs to Ede between 1940-1941. See Richard Pousette-Dart, letter to H.S. Ede, 5 Dec 1940, 20 Feb 1941 and 14 April 1941, Papers of H.S. Ede KY/EDE/1/13.

traditional Norwegian 'kubbestol' chair, carved out of a single tree trunk. (Figs.15, 16) As Barnes indulged in underlying psychological themes, so Ede's circles assume a symbolic as well as formal role within his aesthetic schemes. The circle is one of Ede's most consistent motifs; an homage, perhaps, to the artist Richard Pousette-Dart, for whom the circle was a symbol of infinity and the divine.

Ede made a good impression on Barnes, and took home an inscribed copy of Barnes & Dewey's A*rt and Education* (1929) as a souvenir.[184] Several days later, in January 1932, Barnes met Ede in London and offered him an eight-month scholarship at the Foundation with a generous monthly stipend of $200 (double the amount usually offered).[185] He confirmed this in writing to Ede on 20 January 1931.[186] Ede parried and eventually declined Barnes' offer, citing financial responsibilities and his employers' inflexibility. Barnes replied,

'I share your regret that the proffered scholarship missed fire. At no other place in the world could you get the experience you need if you are to play intelligently the game you have started. Another advantage would have been that after the sojourn here you could have, with one blow each, knocked off the blocks of Roger Fry and Clive Bell, and had the field of criticism to yourself.'[187]

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[184] Albert C. Barnes, letter to H.S. Ede, 28 October 1931. Albert C. Barnes Correspondence. Reprinted with permission.

[185] Ede wrote to Barnes, 'It is a wonderful thing for me to be offered this scholarship even if I have no chance of accepting it. The fact that you offer it gives me a considerable leg up to myself & makes me feel that after all something is happening. I am very sensible of the honour you do me & try not to be too proud knowing your generosity.' H.S. Ede, letter to Albert C. Barnes, 19 January 1932. Albert C. Barnes Correspondence. Reprinted with permission.

[186] 'A scholarship at the Barnes Foundation, Merion, P.A. USA offered to you under the following terms and conditions:
The scholarship extends from Oct 1st 1932 to May 31st 1933 and the stipend is two hundred (200) dollars per month. It requires that you be in residence at Merion and that you devote the entire period of the scholarship to work prescribed by the Foundation, including attendance at classes, reading books used in the Foundation courses and visits to the gallery to study the paintings belonging to the Foundation. It is stipulated that during the period of the scholarship you shall do no writing for publication upon the subject of art.' Albert C. Barnes, letter to H.S. Ede, 20 January 1932. Albert C. Barnes Correspondence. Reprinted with permission.

[187] Albert C. Barnes, letter to H.S. Ede, 10 February 1932. Albert C. Barnes Correspondence. Reprinted with permission.

On this note, Barnes withdrew from their correspondence.[188]

Barnes wasn't the only critical influence Ede discovered on his first trip to America. In New York, he met Alfred Barr at the Museum of Modern Art and A.E. Gallatin, founder of the Gallery of Living Art; at Harvard, he met with Paul Sachs, the director of the Fogg Museum, who subsequently invited Ede back to lecture to his students on the ground-breaking course in museum studies he had developed.[189] It was also during his first trip, in early November 1931, that Ede visited Duncan and Marjorie Phillips in Washington, D.C., who were to become lifelong friends.[190]

2.4.2: DUNCAN PHILLIPS

Duncan Phillips represented everything Barnes set himself against; he came from wealthy, American patrician society and had become a respected figure in

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[188] Barnes was notorious in his feuds, grudges and dealings with others. He had disagreements with numerous figures and institutions, including the University of Philadelphia, the philosopher Bertrand Russell and art historians Meyer Shapiro and Erwin Panofsky. Ede's last letter to Barnes suggests that Ede realised he had offended Barnes: 'I feel that I have forfeited the little regard you had for me – a regard which gave me great pleasure. I can think of one specific reason for this – apart of course from the thousand and one reasons against your ever having liked me at all.'. H.S. Ede, letter to Albert C. Barnes, 16 June 1933, Albert C. Barnes Correspondence. Reprinted with permission.

[189] Ede had met Sachs prior to his trip to America in 1931; presumably while Sachs was visiting Europe in 1930. He wrote to Sachs of 5 September 1931, 'I look forward very much to meeting you again.' Paul J. Sachs Collection, Harvard Art Museums Archives, HC 3/520, Ede, H.S. (1931-1962). During Ede's second visit to America, Sachs wrote to Ede 'If you do come to this country I shall be glad to have you speak to the graduate students in my so-called 'Museum Class' about 'Pictures are like People' or any other subject that may interest you.' Paul Sachs, letter to H.S. Ede, 25 Feb 1937, Paul J. Sachs Collection. On 19 March, Sachs confirmed that Ede will speak to his students in January or February 1938, and that the subject should be different to the lecture Ede will give at the MFA. Sachs invited Ede to lecture at the Fogg Museum in 1940 and again 1941; he also helped Ede secure further lecture opportunities during Ede's lecture tours of 1940-43. In 1962, Ede gave a drawing by Gaudier-Brzeska to a collection of drawings being formed at Harvard in Sachs' honour. See H.S. Ede, letter to Paul Sachs, 8 October 1962, Paul J. Sachs Collection.

[190] Correspondence in the archives at Kettle's Yard and the Phillips Collection spans a friendship of over thirty years, from the telegram announcing Ede's first visit in October 1931 (Correspondence between H.S. (Jim) Ede and Duncan & Marjorie Phillips, Phillips Collection Archives, VFI), to Marjorie's letter to Jim after Duncan's sudden death (Marjorie Phillips, letter to H.S. Ede, 8 December 1966. Papers of H.S. Ede, KY/EDE/1/1)

the American art world. Although Phillips began to collect modern art almost a decade later than Barnes, he was widely credited with founding 'the first museum of modern art' when he opened the Phillips Memorial gallery in 1921. Barnes and Phillips had similarly strong convictions about art's role in society, and the need to teach people how to look at art. Like Barnes, Phillips founded an institution that defined itself in opposition to the civic museum, created a distinctively personal collection and developed innovative display techniques among various initiatives to foster broader public understanding of art. He also perceived the revolutionary potential of modernism, although he framed it rather differently to Barnes.

As a student, Phillips had been struck by the 'deplorable ignorance and indifference' to art among fellow students at Yale. He was dismayed by the lack of art history courses in American schools, and in 1907, had published the article, 'The Need for Art at Yale' in the *Yale Literary Magazine.*[191] He saw himself as an interpreter and navigator between the public and art, a role that preceded his collecting activities by several years.[192] In 1918, he founded the Phillips Memorial Gallery as an educational institution in memory of his father and brother, who died within a year of each other.[193] He saw it as a way of channelling his grief into something that would make a positive contribution to the world: 'I saw a chance to create a beneficent force in the community where I live – a joy-giving, life-enhancing influence, assisting people to see beautifully as

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[191] He wrote: 'the arts, after all, serve no higher purpose than to serve as accessories to the joy of living…a wider diffusion of artistic knowledge and instinct would give birth and guidance to dormant individualities of taste, and would not only increase the number of future artists and art critics, but would help to color [sic] the lives of future citizens of the republic, and thus advance the precious cause of the beautiful, in this marvellous breathless modern world, so sadly stained in its cities with excess of printer's ink and factory smoke.' Duncan Phillips, 'The Need of Art at Yale,' *Yale Literary Magazine* no.72, June 1907, pp.355-361.

[192] In 1908 he wrote, 'I have met and talked with many artists in their studios and gone the round of exhibitions [In my writing] I have attempted to act as interpreter and navigator of the arts as a means for enhancing and enriching living.' Duncan Phillips quoted in Laughlin Phillips, 'Preface,' *The Eye of Duncan Phillips: A Collection in the Making*. Washington, D.C., New Haven, London: Phillips Collection in association with Yale University Press, 1999, pp.ix-x.

[193] Duncan Phillips, 'The Phillips Collection and Related Thoughts on Art', pamphlet, Phillips Collection Archives.

true artists see.'[194] Phillips gave himself 'the lifelong task of interpreting the painters to the public and of gradually doing my bit to train the public to see beautifully with a sublimated observation detached from self-interest and sufficient unto itself,' explaining 'pictures send us back to life and to other arts with the ability to see beauty all about us as we go on our accustomed ways. Such a quickening of perception is surely worth cultivating.'[195] Like Barnes, Phillips saw benefit for individuals and for society in learning to look at the world through art.

He also wanted art to connect with the everyday lives of ordinary people. 'Our hope' he wrote, in the back pages of an undated notebook, the earliest surviving programme for the Phillips Memorial Gallery, 'is that by bringing art to the people in the most attractive way we may be able to make art democratic in relation to the lives of the people who may find in it inspiration and solace without relinquishing our duty to guide them to the heights.'[196] Phillips planned to 'reverse the usual process of popularizing an art gallery. Instead of the academic grandeur of marble halls and stairways and miles of chair-less spaces, with low standards and popular attractions to draw the crowds…we plan to try the effect of domestic architecture, of rooms small or at least livable [sic], and of such an intimate, attractive atmosphere as we associate with a beautiful home.'[197] Luckily, the Phillipses had a beautiful home, and they opened the Phillips Memorial Gallery in two rooms of the house his father had built.[198] (Figs.17, 18)

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[194] Duncan Phillips, *A collection in the making: a survey of the problems involved in collecting pictures, together with brief estimates of the painters in the Phillips Memorial Gallery* Washington, D.C.: Phillips Publications No. 5, 1926, p.4.
[195] Ibid.
[196] Duncan Phillips, Journal C.C. 'Notes and essays for planned Phillips Memorial Art Gallery publications, 1917- c.1920,' pp.43-45. Quoted by David W. Scott in *The Eye of Duncan Phillips,* p.15
[197] Phillips quoted by Robert Hughes in 'Art and Intimacy,' *The Eye of Duncan Phillips,* pp. 1-2. As Hughes has noted, the Phillips Collection 'was not made for people with a viewing speed of three miles per hour.'
[198] A public announcement in January 1922 stated the gallery's opening hours: Feb 1st – June 1st, Tues, Thurs & Saturday afternoons. Phillips' wife Marjorie served as co-director.

Although he had initially envisioned building an entirely new gallery, the plan was curtailed for financial reasons and Phillips realised that he could make a virtue out of the domestic context in which he had begun. 'In our unpretentious, disarmingly domestic and frankly undistinguished setting there are many obvious disadvantages and even dangers,' he reflected, 'but at least there is a sense of art lived with, worked with, and loved.'[199] The Phillips' home became the locus of a programme of activities designed to cultivate a more critically engaged public sphere for art.[200]

By the mid-1920s Phillips was focusing considerable energies on developing an educational programme of lectures, concerts, books such as *A Collection in the Making* (1926) and the in-house journal, *Art and Understanding* (1929-1930), experimental display methods, 'exhibition units' and the loan of works from his collection to exhibitions elsewhere, and an art school. 'I cannot stress too much the eagerness of my desire to hasten the day when there will be in this country a public opinion more enlightened as to the significance and importance of beauty, the meaning and purpose of art and the special point of view of the artist' he wrote.[201] He envisioned a new, sophisticated cultural subfield made up of enlightened patrons, critics, curators and teachers that could mediate between artists, artworks and audiences. 'It is my hope that there will be other small galleries like ours all over the country – and around them art libraries and lecture rooms to develop and to train critics by contact with pictures thoughtfully exhibited.'[202]

Also like Barnes, Phillips saw his collection as work in progress, a resource to explore ideas about art that would continue to evolve. He very quickly coined the term 'experiment station' to describe the activities of their nascent institution, and he repeatedly emphasized the provisional nature of his own activities as curator, collector and critic. Ede shared with Phillips an intense delight in his

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[199] Duncan Phillips, 1952, *The Phillips Collection Catalogue*: *A Museum of Modern Art and its Sources*, New York and London, x.
[200] This notion is taken up and explored further in the next chapter.
[201] Phillips, *A Collection in the Making,* p.10.
[202] Ibid., 11.

relationships with artists, and both men built their collections around such friendships. Phillips saw this as a virtue and used it to distinguish his institution, as Ede would also do: 'It is the Collection's diversity and its unity as a personal creation which gives to our institution the special character that makes it something of a novelty among the public galleries of the world.' [203]

Phillips' experiments were founded on two fundamental ideas, set out in the first issue of *Art and Understanding* (1929). They were: to relate art to life, and to link 'the present tendencies in art to the traditions and the standards of its historical past.'[204] According to Hughes, Phillips was 'mildly sceptical of progress in art,' and refused to exhibit works according to chronological sequence. Rather, he explained, 'my arrangements are for the purpose of contrast and analogy.'[205] Like Barnes, Phillips sought to 'bring together congenial spirits among the artists from different parts of the world and from different periods of time.' He explained, 'I trace their common descent from old masters who anticipated modern ideas. Thus, I demonstrate two things – the antiquity of modern ideas, or, if you prefer, the modernity of some of the old masters, and I prove in our Main Gallery and its union of old masters and modern painters that art is a universal language which defies classification according to any chronological or national order.'[206]

Like Barnes, Phillips espoused formalist approach, to the extent that he also incorporated music as part of their artistic programme. From the outset, he hosted regular concerts in the music room, which was also used as a gallery. They also shared a curatorial premise based on 'conversations' between art works. Whereas Barnes created 'wall ensembles,' Phillips worked with 'exhibition units': representative groups of works by individual artists, which made it possible to set up conversations both within the 'unit,' i.e. between different works by the same artist, and in relation to other 'exhibition units' or

[203] Phillips, 'The Phillips Collection and related thoughts on art.'
[204] Duncan Phillips, *Art and Understanding* Issue 1. Washington, D.C.: Phillips Memorial Gallery, 1929.
[205] Phillips, *A Collection in the Making*, p.6.
[206] Ibid.

bodies of work by other artists. The largest units represent artists with whom Phillips had developed long-standing personal relationships, through years of studio visits and correspondence – artists such as Arthur Dove, John Marin, Pierre Bonnard, Georges Braque and Mark Rothko.[207] He used the layout of rooms to set up conversations between artists and highlight sympathies and connections between works, with comfortable seating to encourage contemplation, reflection and reverie. (Fig.19)

Phillips' job, as he saw it, was 'to understand and then to communicate the artist's point of view.'[208] In doing so, and like the charismatic Isabella Gardner before him – who in Boston had built a collection, displayed it in her own home, and opened it to the public as a museum in 1903 – Phillips styled himself as an artist.[209] He described the collection as being 'the creation of two artists who love painting very much, my wife Marjorie Phillips and myself,' and spoke of 'laying every block in place with a vision of the whole exactly as the artist builds his monument or his decoration.'[210] His aim in assembling the Collection was to create 'an intimate unity of effect, an ambiance or fusion, like that of a unifying light, corresponding to the private experience of many converging influences which go to the making of an artist's personal life, taste and creation.'[211]

Ede spent two days with Phillips in 1931, and there was an immediate and close connection; they shared the same thoughts and convictions about beauty and the social purpose of art, and the same sense of art as a source of solace and joy. Phillips was already articulating in print similar themes to those developing in Ede's writing and lectures:

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[207] Phillips' passion for Rothko may have been one of the reasons Ede wrote to the artist in 1969, asking if he might donate a work to Kettle's Yard: 'I suppose I'm trying to do here, without money, what Duncan and Marjorie Phillips, such dear friends of mine, have done for Washington…if you felt like giving, the sort of thing I want is something deeply loved – this is a very quiet & friendly place, an abode of friendship' H.S. Ede, letter to Mark Rothko, 12 July 1969, Papers of H.S. Ede, KY/EDE/2.
[208] Phillips, *A Collection in the Making*, p.4.
[209] Henry Adams lauded Gardner as a 'creator' in a letter to ISG upon the opening of the collection in 1903. Quoted in Morris Carter, *Isabella Stewart Gardner and Fenway Court*, 2nd ed., Cambridge, MA: Riverside Press 1963, p. 204.
[210] Phillips, *The Phillips Collection: A Museum of Modern Art and Its Sources,* p.vii.
[211] ibid.

'When we feel the sense of rhythm in the universe and in ourselves, we can understand the artist's application of certain laws to bring his own sense of order out of the chaos in the visible world.'[212]

Ede expressed the same idea in an evocative description of Leonardo's *Virgin and Child with St Anne*, where 'the physical side has given place to the spiritual; our physical reasoning has been fully occupied by the rhythmical quality of the lines, and these we feel and the values they express and not the outward stark facts. We are brought into a realisation of that essential harmony in life – a thing we all look for with so much difficulty and so seldom find.'[213]

The most significant aspect of Phillips' influence, however, lay in the relationship between modernism and the domestic, which is the subject of extended discussion in Chapter 4.

Ede returned to visit the Phillipses every time he was in America, and caught up with Duncan in Paris. They hosted several of his lectures, and invited him to curate the exhibition *Contemporary British Paintings* at the Phillips Collection in April 1941. In 1951, he ran a week-long seminar at the Phillips Collection.[214] Ede went to the Phillips for help in securing American sponsorship for his Brâncuşi travel fund; once it was established, Ede sent successive students to visit the Phillips with letters of introduction. He also tried to interest the Phillips in buying paintings by Christopher Wood, and works by Gaudier;[215] and in May

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[212]Phillips, *A Collection in the Making*, pp.4-5.
[213]H.S. Ede, c.1936, 'Lecture II: Tate Gallery, British and Foreign,' unpublished lecture, annotated typescript. Papers of H.S. Ede KY/EDE/4/3/1/3, p.4-5.
[214]The exhibition *Contemporary British Paintings* ran from April 23 – May 3, 1941 and comprised 75 works. The catalogue included an introduction by H.S. Ede. Phillips Collection Archives, PMG.1941.7. On 25 October 1951, Ede writes to Duncan and Marjorie Phillips, 'I hear I'm to do a week-long seminar for you – that will be lovely for me and I can only hope & pray also for your people. I have two new lectures which I think are interesting, one centred around the Louvre & the other around the London N.G.' Correspondence between H.S. (Jim) Ede and Duncan & Marjorie Phillips.
[215]Ede explained that he needed to raise some money to pay for the purchase and renovation of Les Charlotières, and proposed selling two of his best Woods, *Shipbuilders* and *Mermaids.* He offered them to Phillips for $4000 and $3000 respectively, but Phillips

1965, troubled by the uncertainty in negotiations with the University, he asked them if they would be interested in investing in Kettle's Yard as a UK branch of the Phillips Collection.[216] Phillips graciously declined Ede's offer, explaining that 'such a gift might be possible from Paul Mellon with their great love for English art and their great wealth. We are not in their class. All we can do is what we are doing.'[217] Nevertheless, he accepted Ede's offer of a bronze cast of Gaudier-Brzeska's *Dog* (1914, posthumous cast 1965) as a gift to the collection.

These encounters in America fuelled a lifelong affection for the country and inspired return trips in 1937 (his first lecture tour), 1940-1943, and similar lecture tours in 1950 and 1952. Each trip brought new contacts and equally influential encounters, including Robert and Mildred Bliss at Dumbarton Oaks in 1937, the curators James Johnson Sweeney and Perry Rathbone, art historian Meyer Shapiro and artist Richard Pousette-Dart between 1940-1942. To Ede, America and the American sensibility offered inspiration not found in Europe. In 1957, he sold Brâncuşi's *Poisson d'Or* in order to establish a scholarship for students to travel and study in America.[218] Following his return to England, Ede began to assimilate the innovative American influences with traditional models

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did not bite. Ibid. On 27 April 1965, he wrote with news of the Gaudier room at the Musée National d'Art Moderne in Paris, enquiring, 'Do you still increase your Collection – might not this be a chance to acquire a small corner in Gaudier-Brzeska […] I've been put to such expenses over all this Paris business, borrowing everywhere and pledging costs – that I must sell at least one original work. You might like it – it's the most lovely plaster carving relief of Wrestlers – about 4ft x 3ft by 4in. I suppose it should be now about £7000 but you could have it for £5000. I offered it to Perry Rathbone & Cleveland - & I won't offer it elsewhere. It's marvellous. It should stay here but I believe that a cast will do for Cambridge.' Correspondence between H.S. (Jim) Ede and Duncan & Marjorie Phillips.

[216] In his letter of 7 May 1965, Ede mentioned a figure of £120,000: 'Forgive me putting all this to you, but if you were interested in such an extension & were prepared to give the University £120,000, I think something of vital interest could be arranged on a joint basis.' Correspondence between H.S. (Jim) Ede and Duncan & Marjorie Phillips.

[217] Phillips continued, 'The Phillips Collection which I founded as a memorial & have continued as a Washington gallery of modern art, an intimate personal creative expression, a venture which is more than we can afford and but to which I am committed. I know that your collection is no less personal in its choices and I am honoured that you would like to give us a part of it. We gratefully accept the Dog by Gaudier-Brzeska.' Duncan Phillips, letter to Ede, August 1965. Correspondence between H.S. (Jim) Ede and Duncan & Marjorie Phillips.

[218] H.S. Ede, letter to Perry Rathbone, 25 April 1957. Kettle's Yard Archives, uncatalogued collection.

of patronage and the European salon-style gatherings of artists and intellectuals practiced by his friends Leverton Harris, Edward Marsh, Ottoline Morell and Helen Sutherland. In 1934, he met another American and her English husband whose radical, ambitious ideas about art and life were shaping yet another hybrid institution – this time an experimental arts centre and educational community – in her adopted home of Devon.

2.5.3: DOROTHY ELMHIRST

Dorothy and Leonard Elmhirst bought Dartington Hall and almost a thousand acres of surrounding land in 1925. It was a crumbling medieval estate, which became their family home and a centre for the arts, social enterprise and rural regeneration. They restored the buildings, built a community of artists, students, craftspeople and farmers, and started a progressive, co-educational boarding school.[219] The 'Dartington experiment,' as Leonard Elmhirst called it, was no less than a utopian project. Dorothy Elmhirst described it as 'a centre where a many-sided life could find expression. (Fig.20) Where living and learning could flourish together, where there could be a balance between … one feeding, providing our material needs, the other feeding our minds and our spirits.'[220] By the time Ede visited in September 1935, the 'experiment' was well underway, with artists, musicians, dancers and writers already gravitating towards the Dartington community.[221] Writing on the train back to London, Ede enthused,

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[219] According to Michael Young (Baron Young of Dartington), who attended the school in the 1920s, 'there was a minimum of formal classroom activity and the children learnt by involvement in estate activities. It was to have no corporal punishment, indeed no punishment at all; no prefects; no uniforms; no Officers' Training Corps; no segregation of the sexes; no compulsory games, compulsory religion or compulsory anything else, no more Latin, no more Greek; no competition; no jingoism.' Michael Young, *The Elmhirsts of Dartington*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982, p. 131.

[220] Dorothy Elmhirst, 10 June 1967, Foundation Day address, 10 June 1967. Annotated manuscript, Papers of Dorothy Whitney Elmhirst, DWE/G/S1/E. Audio recording: https://www.dartington.org/about/our-history/elmhirsts/ accessed 28 April 2018.

[221] Correspondence between Ede and the Elmhirsts also suggests that Ede already knew Dorothy Elmhirst at this point; a letter from Ede in March 1935, which predates his visit be several months, indicates that he they had met at least once before: 'Since I saw you I've been having my appendix out.' According to Rachel Harrison, it is likely that their acquaintance began around the time of the Wood memorial exhibition organized by Ede

'all my thoughts are circled around you and your husband & all your kindness to me during these last hours…Dartington lives in my mind as an oasis of light of actuality & of friendship. I'm so glad I came – I knew that I have wanted to for a long time & I wish now I could turn on some capacity which would keep me there.'[222]

An invitation to Elm Row followed swiftly in October 1935. Over the next two years, Ede returned frequently to Dartington, and often recommended artists and musicians to them, including Abani Roy.[223] He wrote excitedly to Dorothy Elmhirst about the possibility of starting a public gallery at Dartington. It was, he wrote, 'a most vital idea' and had they 'considered the possibility of having special exhibitions of such outstanding quality & idea that people would just have to come there to see them.'[224] Ede's vision of a privately financed public gallery was particularly germane in the context of a national debate surrounding the dissemination of visual art to a wider audience.[225] Although Dorothy replied

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at the Lefevre Gallery in 1934, from which Elmhirst bought four paintings, negotiating with the gallery (and Ede) over the price of one work, 'Street in Paris'. See Rachel Harrison, 'Dorothy Elmhirst and the Visual Arts at Dartington Hall, 1925-1945,' unpublished PhD thesis, University of Plymouth, 2002, p.96. Ede also wrote a letter of recommendation to the Elmhirsts on behalf of the British opera singers Norman Notley and David Brynley. His last letter to Leonard Elmhirst in 1973 asks for recommendations for the music programme at Kettle's Yard. See H.S. Ede, letter to Dorothy Elmhirst, 26 March 1935, Papers of Dorothy Whitney Elmhirst, Devon Heritage Centre, DWE/A/2/A1/1; H.S. Ede, letter to Leonard Elmhirst, 5 October 1973, Papers of Leonard Knight Elmhirst, Devon Heritage Centre, LKE/G/1/F/1.

[222] H.S. Ede to Dorothy Elmhirst, 21 Sept 1935, Papers of Dorothy Whitney Elmhirst, DWE/A/2/A1/1.

[223] Roy was an Indian artist and illustrator who lived with the Edes in Hampstead during the 1930s. See Dorothy Elmhirst, letter to H.S. Ede, 29 Oct 1935, Papers of Dorothy Whitney Elmhirst, DWE/A/2/A1/1.

[224] He effuses, 'We have never had in England a Douanier Rousseau show – how marvellous it would be to show 20 of his works – then I've long desired to show a Botticelli & a Picasso side by side - & to show a great group of Picasso from private collections instead of all the twaddle shown here by dealers…a show of Brâncuşi too – superb - & though it might not be of much interest to the school as a whole its effect on some would be incalculably long reaching. But it could easily be the best and only show of its kind in England – cost what – say £2000 p.a.!!!!' H.S. Ede, letter to Dorothy Elmhirst, 11 Oct 1935, Papers of Dorothy Whitney Elmhirst, DWE/A/2/A1/1.

[225] Rachel Harrison notes that it was not until the mid-1930s that 'individuals involved in the promotion of the fine arts in a professional capacity began to see the merits of a democratisation of culture through the dissemination of visual art to a wider audience.'

saying that Leonard 'had been carrying your letter about with him…we are all immensely interested in the idea,' they were already committed to supporting twelve other areas of activity and did not have the resources to realise it.[226] Instead, the Elmhirsts promoted the visual arts to the wider community through classes with resident artists including Cecil Collins and Mark Tobey, open access to the private house where the collection was displayed, and frequent loans to public exhibitions elsewhere. (Fig.21)

Thus began a friendship spanning almost forty years between Ede and the Elmhirsts. Ede found a kindred spirit in Dorothy, who shared Ede's interests in contemporary artists such as Christopher Wood, Winifred Nicholson, and David Jones.[227] Ede offered advice and became a willing go-between, introducing her to Alfred Wallis by selecting and sending a bundle of paintings down for consideration and helping her acquire additional works by Wood.[228] Like Ede she also had, as Rachel E. Harrison notes, 'an appreciation of harmonious interiors and the ability to create an informal atmosphere through furnishings

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See Harrison, 'Dorothy Elmhirst and the Visual Arts at Dartington Hall,' p.169. In 1932, Herbert Read penned a two-part article for *The Listener* on the lack of specialist knowledge of the fine arts in provincial galleries which had led, according to Read, to a situation where 'without exception these picture galleries are dreary records of the bad taste, even the depraved taste, of three generations of provincial amateurs.' See Herbert Read, 'The Problem of the Provincial Picture Gallery,' *The Listener* 31 August 1932, p.30, and Read, 'The Problem of the Provincial Picture Gallery II' *The Listener*, 7 September 1932, p.339.

[226] See Dorothy Elmhirst, letter to H.S. Ede, 29 Oct 1935, Papers of Dorothy Whitney Elmhirst, DWE/A/2/A1/1.

[227] Elmhirst acquired her first works by David Jones in 1927, and works by Wood and Winifred Nicholson in 1930, as well as Wallis (which Ede sent to her for £3), and a drawing by Gaudier-Brzeska in 1936.

[228] See, for example, H.S. Ede, letter to Dorothy Elmhirst, 29 November 1935: 'Dear Dorothy, I wonder if you would like a batch of paintings by Alfred Wallis? Anyhow I sent for some for you & am posting them on. They would be £3 the lot!' Dorothy replied, 'The arrival of the Wallace (sic) pictures was a moment of great excitement for Leonard and me. They are utterly fascinating, particularly to my mind, the perpendicular picture in two levels with the steamer in port and three sailing ships setting out from the lighthouse. I am grateful to you for sending these down to us, and they are going to serve as Christmas presents for my son Michael. I enclose three pounds, which seems a most paltry sum. Don't you think we should give Mr Wallis at least five pounds?' Papers of Dorothy Whitney Elmhirst, DWE/A/2/A1/1. See also Dorothy Elmhirst, letter to H.S. Ede, 11 March 1936, Papers of Dorothy Whitney Elmhirst, DWE/A/1/B/15, and H.S. Ede, letter to Dorothy and Leonard Elmhirst, 11 March 1936, regarding Wood. Papers of Dorothy Whitney Elmhirst, DWE/A/1/B/16.

and art works.'[229] Dorothy identified strongly with Ede's pursuit of beauty. Recalling the influence of her father, an extravagant connoisseur of the arts, she explained, 'his hunger and thirst after beauty brought a balance into his life. For me it is the same. The arts are essential to my completeness.'[230]

An aesthete and socialite, Dorothy Elmhirst was also a feminist, a pacifist and supporter of progressive education, social and labour reform whose inheritance made her one of the wealthiest women in America in the early twentieth century. She spearheaded the artistic developments at Dartington, including the founding of the College of the Arts and the International Summer School. Leonard, her second husband, focused on the architectural restoration and agricultural initiatives. He was an agronomist who had studied at Cambridge and Cornell Universities and worked closely with the Bengali poet, philosopher and polymath Rabindranath Tagore in India between 1922-1925, an experience that catalysed the Elmhirsts' social experiment at Dartington.

According to Dorothy Elmhirst, Dartington was built on the guiding conviction 'that we must live with beauty.' Not only for her but also for Leonard: '*Beauty always* was an essential for [Leonard]. He felt that beauty should become our daily bread.'[231] Ede shared this belief, but for him and perhaps for the Elmhirsts too – as Dorothy Elmhirst hinted with the phrase 'our daily bread' – it was not just in an aesthetic sense. In Christian theological discourse, dating back to Dionysius in the sixth century, beauty was another name for God.[232]

While the Elmhirsts consistently rejected any religious affiliation, various authors have alluded to the fact that Dorothy and Leonard Elmhirst were

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[229] See Harrison, 'Dorothy Elmhirst and the Visual Arts at Dartington Hall' pp.38, 50-51, 59-60. Harrison also discusses the influence of her father's patronage of the arts and interest in interior decoration, as well as DWE's own self-consciously domestic setting of the offices of *The New Republic*.

[230] Dorothy Elmhirst's speech on the eve of her departure for the Chekhov Theatre Group in America, 1939, quoted by Harrison in 'Dorothy Elmhirst and the Visual Arts at Dartington Hall,' p.39.

[231] Dorothy Elmhirst, Foundation Day address.

[232] See, for example, Brendan Thomas Sammon, *The God Who Is Beauty: Beauty as a Divine Name in Thomas Aquinas and Dionysius the Areopagite,* London: James Clarke & Co, 2013.

'attuned to spiritual qualities.'[233] There was general interest at Dartington in a wide range of religious subjects, including meditation, mysticism and Eastern philosophies, fanned by the presence of figures such as Mark Tobey, a member of the Baha'i faith, Arthur Waley, whose book on Taoism was financed by Dorothy Elmhirst; Rabindranath Tagore, Aldous Huxley, Michael Chekhov – one of the Elmhirsts' protégés, a follower of Rudolf Steiner and practitioner of Anthroposophy, and Gerald Heard, a mystic and initiate of Vedanta Buddhism who was, according to David Parsons, Dorothy Elmhirst's spiritual advisor in the early 1930s.[234]

Anna Upchurch, in her account of the origins of the Arts Council, argues that the arts replaced organized religion at Dartington as the focus of the spiritual life of the community. She quotes Michael Young, who attended the school: 'the arts were the means by which the Elmhirsts themselves, everyone at Dartington, everyone everywhere, could transcend the boundaries of self and enter into a communion with what lies beneath the surface of life. Hence their significance. They were not just veneer plastered on top of industry and agriculture. The were themselves the very substance of real life.'[235]

For Dorothy Elmhirst, art, beauty and a spiritual life were intertwined. She, echoing the words of Barnes and Phillips, believed in the relationship between art and a universal spirituality:

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[233] Charles Marowitz *The Other Chekhov: a Biography of Michael Chekhov,* New York: Applause Books, 2004, p.157. Anna Rosser Upchurch writes, 'The Elmhirsts believed that creativity and the expressive quality of the arts encouraged the imaginative freedom and emotional health of individuals and communities. Accompanying this belief was Dorothy's pursuit of a spiritual life that was stimulated by reading poetry. […] Dorothy pursued a spiritual life in practices that included reading books and poetry, spending time in nature, seeing and practicing the arts, and, at times, practicing meditation.' Upchurch, *The Origins of the Arts Council Movement: Philanthropy and Policy,* London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016, p.41.

[234] David Parsons, 'Dartington: a Principal Source of Inspiration behind Aldous Huxley's Island' *The Journal of General Education*, vol.39, no.1, 1987, p.10.

[235] See Upchurch, '*The Origins of the Arts Council Movement: Philanthropy and Policy*', p.41.

'we all need to be artists in our own way - taking time to really look at things around us: to listen, to feel, to relate one thing to another: to bring some order out of the chaos around us, and to express in some form the unity and the harmony that we feel.'[236]

This was something she shared with Ede. In November 1937, Dorothy wrote,

'Dear Jim, I have your two letters beside me…I still can't take in the fact that you have moved to Tangier for good, as it were. I am always expecting to receive a postcard telling me that you are landing at any moment in Plymouth. And a fortnight ago, when David and Norman were here, I felt all the time that something was wrong. It was strange and unsettling not to have you of the party, and often I wished that we might be hearing the music together, and enjoying the autumn colours on these hillsides… We have had an autumn of such stillness and beauty that I hardly know how to describe it. And within my own heart there is great peace too. I am learning something in my work with Mr Chekhov which is leading to a much deeper perception, and perhaps never before have I been so conscious of the goodness and beauty of life beneath all the turmoil and the pain….my love to Helen and the children, and send me soon a letter like the last.''[237]

Ede's letters to Dorothy Elmhirst during the war reveal Ede turning to their shared appreciation of beauty as if trying to make sense of things. 'I should have loved you to see all this country' he wrote in April 1940, 'each day of beauty is a renewal to me of a thing which no wars can touch, man's ability to be in touch with beauty – his awareness, I suppose, of God.'[238] He continued, 'and for this war it is a sort of civil war, it is a personal struggle, a conflict in our own nature […] I have ever felt the thought of man to be closer to reality than his deeds & often his deeds astonishingly balance his thought in constant proclamation of the

[236]Elmhirst, Foundation Day address.
[237] Dorothy Elmhirst, letter to H.S. Ede, 1 Nov 1937, Papers of Dorothy Whitney Elmhirst, DWE/A/2/A1/2.
[238] H.S. Ede, letter to Dorothy Elmhirst, 20 April 1940. Ibid.

progressive nature of life. But we know all this – so forgive me for repeating it. I like to think of Dartington going on - with its arts and its beauty.'[239]

Ede was referring to Elmhirst's letter of 18 March 1940, in which she had written, 'Here at Dartington, I am thankful to say, life continues almost as if there were no war…the arts are still alive and I am thankful we can still provide a home for such activities.'[240] To both of them, the arts, a source of beauty and route to God, offered hope. Ede's letters frequently assumed a biblical tone, as his letter of August 1940 reveals: 'Dear Dorothy I often think of you & of Leonard & of your children both old & young & hope that faith is ripe in you for by that we can live through any disadvantage – for with it every advantage is with us. As week passes week it comes rushing in upon me with ever greater force that good is eternally victorious & that therefore wars are of small account – all that matters being to ally ourselves with whatsoever things are good. […] Dorothy what a <u>wonderful</u> thing is this urge in humans, inwards – to that intangible <u>everything</u>. The Earth may rock about us & still we will proclaim it <u>still</u>! That 46th Psalm got it all right even then. Helen works every morning now at an Infant Welfare – painting the sores of Moorish children & generally helping to cure their diseases, a drop in the bucket but it steadies her!'[241]

At the end of September he told Dorothy of their plan to 'cast off all our ties here and go to the U.S.A. where it <u>is</u> possible that I can maintain ourselves & what is more do something useful to the cause – for it <u>is</u> useful to proclaim what I believe in – or so I feel it.'[242] He was referring to the lectures he had been writing. He explained, 'I'm sure that the less material possessions a man has in these days the better…so we have kicked ourselves out of here: we have lent the house & garden to the Consulate General for the War Emergency Fund & I hope that it

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[239] Ibid.
[240]Dorothy Elmhirst, letter to H.S. Ede, 18 March 1940. Papers of Dorothy Whitney Elmhirst, DWE/A/2/A1/2.
[241]His reference to the 46th Psalm aside, as Duncan Robinson has pointed out, the phrase 'whatsoever things are good' recalls Philippians 4, verse 8, in the King James version of the New Testament. H.S. Ede, letter to Dorothy Elmhirst, 18 July 1940. Papers of Dorothy Whitney Elmhirst, DWE/A/2/A1/2.
[242] H.S. Ede, letter to Dorothy Elmhirst, 28 September 1940. Ibid.

brings them in a revenue […] keep me a place of home in your heart, devotedly Jim.'[243]

Dorothy Elmhirst was one of the first people to know about Kettle's Yard. In 1956, shortly before he found the derelict cottages next to St Peter's Church, he wrote to her, explaining 'I'm trying to find a house in the middle of Cambridge because I want to create a very very poor man's Dumbarton Oaks where Undergraduates could come to our house and enjoy pictures & books & the setting of a HOME & have chamber music in the evenings.'[244] Ede knew that Dorothy would have been aware of Dumbarton Oaks and probably known the Blisses; both had worked closely with landscape architect Beatrix Farrand during the 1930s.[245] Ede also knew that she would recognise and understand the beliefs on which his scheme was founded. The Elmhirsts, like Duncan Phillips and Barnes, sought to help people to see and think like an artist. Ede had identified in Dumbarton Oaks a more holistic role for the arts in academic life that contrasted with Dartington's patronage of innovative, alternative educational practice in the arts.

2.5.4: MILDRED BARNES BLISS

Dumbarton Oaks was the home of Robert Woods Bliss and Mildred Barnes Bliss, collectors of Byzantine and Pre-Columbian art, and patrons of music as well as landscape architects and designers. They had acquired Dumbarton Oaks, a Federal-era, Colonial Revival mansion and six acres of land, which they would eventually increase to a fifty-four acre estate, in 1920. They made it their permanent home while developing, within its walls, a research institute, library, collection and landscaped gardens. (Figs.22, 23 & 24) In 1940, they transferred

[243] Ibid.
[244] H.S. Ede, letter to Dorothy Elmhirst, 10 December 1956. Papers of Dorothy Whitney Elmhirst, DWE/A/2/A1/5.
[245] Farrand worked with Mildred Bliss over the design and construction of the gardens at Dumbarton Oaks from 1921 until 1940. Between 1933-39, she oversaw the redesign of the grounds and gardens at Dartington Hall. See https://www.dartington.org/about/our-history/people/beatrix-farrand/, accessed 4 May 2018

everything to Harvard University but continued to live there, actively involved in the institution, until their deaths.[246]

Dumbarton Oaks was an educational institution conceived 'in a new pattern,' as Mildred Bliss explained in the 1966 preamble to her last will and testament, 'where quality and not number shall determine the choice of its scholars; it is the home of the Humanities, not a mere aggregation of books and objects of art' and 'the house itself and the gardens have their educational importance and […] all are of humanistic value.'[247]

Like Barnes, for whom the arboretum at Merion played as much of a role in relation to his collection as the exterior of the mansion he built to house it, and like the Elmhirsts at Dartington Hall, the Blisses approached Dumbarton Oaks as a holistic enterprise in which every element – the building and gardens, the visiting researchers, musicians and the collections, the art and the music and nature - contributed to the overall quality and character of the work done there.

Ede visited Dumbarton Oaks in January 1938, [248] and was profoundly affected by their ambition for a holistic, humanist vision of academic life, where the influence of the arts and nature played an integral part in scholarly endeavour. As Giles Constable, director of Dumbarton Oaks between 1977-1984, described it,

'Dumbarton Oaks is in its inspiration an almost ideal example of enlightened academic philanthropy. It exists to preserve not the memory of the founders, or their personal vision, generosity and taste, but to serve the scholarly areas in which they believed and which they wished to see flourish…The intention of the

[246] A similar arrangement was followed with the Edes at Kettle's Yard.
[247] The Last Will and Testament of Mildred Barnes Bliss, 29 July 1966. https://www.doaks.org/research/library-archives/dumbarton-oaks-archives/historical-records/from-the-archives/last-words accessed 13 September 2018
[248] Ede first visited the Blisses at Dumbarton Oaks in January 1938, having been in America to give lectures at the Fogg Museum and for Paul Sachs' museum studies course at Harvard. It was presumably Sachs who recommended Ede visit the Blisses, as he had been in discussion with them since the early 1930s over their potential gift of Dumbarton Oaks to Harvard.

founders [was] that "the Mediterranean interpretation of the humanist disciplines" should predominate at Dumbarton Oaks and that gardens and trees have their place in "the humanist order of life".'[249]

It was yet another beautiful place where art and life combined, and where aesthetic experience was part of a social experiment. It was also, along with the Phillips Collection, one of only two influences explicitly acknowledged by Ede in his account of the formation of Kettle's Yard.[250]

This encounter, coming at the end of his first lecture tour in the States, in many ways marked the end of one chapter in Ede's life and the beginning of the next; he had left the Tate in the Autumn of 1936, and moved his family permanently to Tangier. He had begun to work on a series of lectures that would encapsulate his views on art and its spiritual significance, and would take him back to America for an extended sojourn between October 1940 – February 1943.

Mildred Bliss was to play a critical role in helping Ede to secure lecture engagements during that trip. Already en route to New York with half a dozen lectures and only a handful of bookings, Ede wrote to her, explaining his plan and asking for 'any suggestions of places where I could lecture.'[251] They were to live on their savings while he toured the country lecturing, in order to send all his earnings from the lectures back to support war relief efforts in Tangier. He hoped to send $5,000 a year.[252] She responded immediately, and met with him in New York shortly after their arrival. Over the next two years, she sent out letters of introduction on Ede's behalf to her extensive personal network, and secured dozens of engagements for Ede across America.[253] She organised some of the

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[249] Giles Constable, *Dumbarton Oaks and the Future of Byzantine Studies: An Address to the Byzantine Studies Conference (Ann Arbor, Michigan, November 4, 1978)*. Washington, D.C.: Trustees for Harvard University, 1979.
[250] Ede, Handlist.
[251] H.S. Ede, letter to Mildred Bliss, 17 October 1940. Papers of Robert Woods Bliss and Mildred Barnes Bliss, Harvard University Archives, HUGFP 76.8.
[252] See H.S. Ede, letter to Mildred Bliss, 9 April 1941. Ibid.
[253] Mildred Bliss, letter to H.S. Ede, 23 November 1940. Bliss wrote to museums and art colleges from Portland to San Diego, lending the full weight of her personal reputation

events herself and from time to time the Edes would stay with the Blisses, either in Washington, D.C., or their home in California. On 7 October 1942, Ede wrote to explain that he was struggling to get enough bookings to raise 'the $5000 for them.' It was time to call it a day. He included excerpts from letters from his contact in Tangier, 'Mrs G,' detailing how the money had been spent.[254] Mrs G' was in fact the British Consul's wife in Tangier whose identity, Ede explained, 'must be kept more or less private for owing to the political situation she must be circumspect in her war work.'[255]

From Mrs G's letters, it would seem that over the two years, Ede had sent around $10,000 back to Tangier to support the British War Relief and Tangier Emergency War Fund. The money provided food, clothing, blankets and other essentials to those affected by the conflict, including Moorish and British poor, British refugees, prisoners of war and marooned merchant seamen.[256]

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and that of Dumbarton Oaks behind Ede's cause. See for example, her letter to Mr Buell Hackett, President of the Santa Barbara Museum of Art, 24 April 1941. Ibid.

[254] One such letter read, 'May 29th. Out of your money we give flour and peas now to about 100 families, and I am buying up materials to clothe them. I have just spent Frs. 32,580 on Flannelette and white cotton material. The Mission gets it all made up by their Moorish schoolgirls. We have distributed hundreds of garments – I get it all wholesale. We have just given £10 for stray Allies…the milk for the babies, Frs.500 per week, goes on and is doing immense good, and the weekly tea ration for the British poor is a great help and joy. (Aid to the Moors is incidentally of great political help in Tangier, since the other nations do nothing to alleviate the suffering.)' Quoted in H.S. Ede, letter to Mildred Bliss, 7 October 1942. Ibid.

[255] Ibid.

[256] See 'Extracts from Mrs G's letters', quoted in H.S. Ede, letter to Mildred Bliss, 7 October 1942. Ibid.

3. SPIRITUALITY

3.1: A LECTURER IN SEARCH OF AN AUDIENCE [257]

Ede arrived in New York in October 1940 with nine lectures. They included some he had used in 1937, along with several new ones. The lectures drew together the prevailing concerns of his earlier writing and represent the most comprehensive exposition of his outlook on art. Their connecting theme, according to the publicity materials used to promote the lectures in America, was 'the Integrity of Art and a searching into what it is that constitutes this integrity.'[258] It was a somewhat ambiguous description for a series of lectures that took a decidedly spiritual approach to the purpose and meaning of art.

In the 1930s, Ede was one of the few advocates of modern art, something he frequently credited to the pivotal influence of Ben and Winifred Nicholson. In 1924, shortly before they met Ede, the Nicholsons became involved in Christian Science, which had a decisive impact on the way they viewed the relationship between their artistic practice and spiritual beliefs.[259] Modernism itself had developed out of a cultural context in which movements for revolutionary social change mingled with strong interests in mysticism, the occult and eastern philosophies amongst the European avant-garde. Many of the earliest pioneers of abstraction were all heavily invested in spiritual ideas: Kandinsky, Malevich and Mondrian. The new language of abstraction was linked to a growing thirst for spiritual meaning, a higher consciousness of reality. Lingering behind this pursuit of enlightenment was the consensus, amongst various religious movements, from Christian Scientists to Buddhists, that enlightenment could bring about world peace. When he wrote to Dorothy Elmhirst to explain that he

[257] From H.S. Ede, 'An Outlook on Art,' typescript, n.d. Papers of H.S. Ede KY/EDE/4/3/4/1.
[258] 'Lecture subjects' leaflet. Papers of H.S. Ede KY/EDE/4.
[259] For a fuller discussion of the impact of Christian Science on the Nicholsons and other artists of this period, see Kent, 'Modern Gods: Art and Religion in Britain 1900-1950.'

hoped with his lectures 'to do something useful to the cause – for it is useful to proclaim what I believe in,' Ede could only have been referring to the underlying theme of his lectures, namely the path, through art, to spiritual enlightenment.[260]

Like the popular spiritual guru of the Twenties, P.D. Ouspensky, Ede positioned artists at the vanguard of humanity's perceptual development.[261] 'In sounds, colours, lines, forms – men are creating a new world,' wrote Ouspensky, 'thus in art we have already the first experiments in a *language of the future*. Art marches in the vanguard of inner evolution, anticipating the forms it is to assume tomorrow.'[262] As Ede put it:

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[260] H.S. Ede, letter to Dorothy Elmhirst, 28 Sept 1940. Papers of Dorothy Whitney Elmhirst DWE/A/2/A1/2.

[261] Ouspensky was a Russian mathematician involved with Theosophical Society who arrived in London in 1921. His first book, *The Fourth Dimension* (1909) was translated into English in 1920. For several years prior to his arrival in London, Ouspensky had been associated with the charismatic Armenian philosopher Georgei Ivanovitch Gurdjieff; Ouspensky's multi-dimensional and interconnected conception of time and reality, a 'world in which everything is connected, in which nothing exists separately' provided an intellectual framework for Gurdjieff's esoteric philosophy of self-improvement, known as the 'Fourth Way' and chimed with prevailing ideas of a fourth dimension of reality which, as R.M. Crunden notes, had been 'in the air' in Europe for nearly a decade, thanks to figures such as Kandinsky, Max Weber, and Marcel Duchamp. See Crunden, *Body and Soul: The Making of American Modernism*, p.343. Ouspensky's early lectures in London attracted a range of prominent figures, including T.S. Eliot, Aldous Huxley and A.R. Orage, then editor of the influential literary magazine *The New Age,* which listed Herbert Read, Ezra Pound, T.E. Hulme and Wyndham Lewis among its contributors. Ede met Orage, a key advocate of Ouspensky, at least twice, in August and December 1935. He was also given a copy of *Tertium Organum* (1923) in 1935. The inscription is not entirely legible: 'Helen & Jim, Chel/tw?? Xmas 1935'. Ouspensky positioned mysticism as a 'new method' of acquiring knowledge 'under conditions of expanded receptivity.' Pecotic, David, in Bron Taylor, ed. *Encyclopedia of Religion and Nature* , New York & London: Continuum, 2005, p.1226. He also attributed to art and artists a leading role in the development of humanity's perceptual abilities: 'At our present stage of development we possess nothing so powerful, as an instrument of knowledge of the world of causes, as art. The mystery of life dwells in the fact that the *noumenon*, i.e. the hidden meaning and the hidden function of a thing, is reflected in its phenomenon…Only that fine apparatus which is called *the soul of an artist* can understand and feel the reflection of the noumenon in the phenomenon. In art it is necessary to study 'occultism' – the hidden side of life. The artist must be a clairvoyant: he must see that which others do not see; he must be a magician: must possess the power to make others see that which they do not themselves see, but which he does see.' P.D. Ouspensky, *Tertium Organum*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1922, pp.161-2.

[262] Ibid., p.83.

'From the material world the artist makes a new world…and this new form of expression will not only stimulate our own imagination but will actually dictate new forms to our material paraphernalia; as the cycle is accomplished and each generation of artists increase our perceptive power.'[263]

He claimed art could reveal what he called 'that essential harmony in life.'[264] This was a commonly held idea, which derived from various mystical theories associated with Modernism and was as fundamental to the notion of art as 'an activity integral with life itself' as much as it underpinned Brâncuşi's notion of 'cosmic essence.'[265] As Ede put it, art could tune into 'essential' reality, revealing the underlying unity, cosmic order and universal rhythms. The artist might be Botticelli, in whose painting, *Primavera* (c.1470), Ede explained, "the night and the day are one, the earth is part of beauty's nature, the body and the earth are one; temporal solidity and the eternal fluid are wrought together in timeless unison," or the Russian dancer Leonid Massine (1915-1948):

'They said that he had such a natural and inherent rhythmic flow of movement, that even when he drove a car across Piccadilly Circus he caught the tempo of general movement so perfectly, that the whole activity in that crowded centre seemed to become the organised arrangement in a ballet, and he again the leading dancer, going from one side to the other with grace and artistry. The

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[263] H.S. Ede, 'The Artist and the Layman' unpublished lecture. Papers of H.S. Ede, KY/EDE/4, p.4.

[264] In 'Lecture II: Tate Gallery, British,' pp.4-5, Ede uses Leonardo's *The Virgin and St Anne* to explain 'the physical side has given place to the spiritual; our physical reasoning has been fully occupied by the rhythmical quality of the lines, and these we feel, and the values they express, and not the outward stark facts. We are brought into a realization of that essential harmony in life – a thing we all look for with so much difficulty and so seldom find. We are swung free into the power to think basically. We become one with life.'

[265] Herbert Read, 'The Faculty of Abstraction' in Martin, L., Nicholson, B. & Gabo, N. (eds.) *Circle: An International Survey of Constructive Art,* London: Faber, p.64; Constantin Brâncuşi, 'the artist should know how to dig out the being that is within matter and be the tool that brings out its cosmic essence into an actual visible existence' quoted in *Constantin* Brâncuşi*: 1876-1957* ed. Friedrich Teja Bach, Margit Rowell & Ann Temkin, exhibition catalogue, Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art; Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995, p.23.

artist sees life in this way; nothing he experiences is discordant, and every detail has its just importance being part of the life of the whole…'[266]

The aim of Ede's lectures was to teach his audiences to see this essential reality within the art, to see as the artist sees. 'It is impossible to know what you will find in a picture,' he declared, 'for it is a window opening onto life, a window opening onto mystery, a window opening onto God. The joy of seeing through these windows is so real, that it is worth a great effort to train the eyes to see.'[267]

The notion of 'training the eyes to see' was as much about leaving aside preconceptions about what art ought to look like as it was tied up with the more mystical notion of the artist as visionary. For Ede, it was 'first and foremost, the artist...who through perception touches the spiritual world.'[268] In a painting such as Rousseau's *La Bohémienne Endormie/The Sleeping Gypsy* (1897), according to Ede, "the insubstantial world of the imagination (is) made concrete to our physical perception…line and tone combine to throw us into an alert awareness of some quite other world, an immensity in which our worldly muddles lose significance."[269]

Ede positioned art as a means to approach God. He explained, "humanity both wants and needs to appreciate art; so does humanity need to know God. This latter has already been a constant and acknowledged search, and to arrive at an understanding of art is a part of that search.'[270] Promoting a contemplative approach to art appreciation, he recalled the traditions of Christian mysticism: 'Contemplation lives, I think, by contemplation and in contemplating works of art our power for contemplation is increased. This is essential for it is through contemplation only that a man can become part of that life which lies within a

[266] H.S. Ede, 'What Are Pictures?' n.d. unpublished lecture, annotated typescript, Papers of H.S. Ede, KY/EDE/4/3/2/3, pp.12-13.
[267] Ibid., p.1
[268] Ede, 'The Artist and the Layman,' p.3.
[269] Ede, 'The Bishop's Question,' p.25.
[270] H.S. Ede, 'Activity in Contemplation,' unpublished lecture, manuscript, c.1940. Papers of H.S. Ede, KY/EDE/4/3/2/4, p.8.

work of art; and it is only by entering in upon that life that a man will see a work of art; and by seeing come into a state of grace.'[271]

By situating the divine 'life' or spirit within a work of art, Ede also framed the act of looking at art as a spiritual activity, akin, perhaps to prayer or meditation wherein the viewer might enter a state of unity with the divine. He posited the viewer's experience of art as equally creative and mystical, potentially, as that of the artist in creating the work. 'This state of receptiveness is a state of grace,' he wrote. 'It is a completion of the circle between the giver and the taker, and in this circle art achieves its true purpose.'[272]

3.2: A RELIGIOUS UPBRINGING

Ede's taste for mysticism did not materialise when he met the Nicholsons; spirituality in its various forms had played a large part in his life since youth. He grew up in a sober middle-class Victorian family with strict Methodist values. According to Ede, the 'dowdy' austerity of his religious upbringing was enlived by Gypsy Smith-inspired Revivalist meetings, which played to his emotional character.[273] From an early age he was inclined towards the mystical, which went beyond the practice of devout Methodism; his reading material included Pascal's *Pensées,* Thomas à Kempis, Paul Sabatier, Spinoza, Plutarch and Maeterlink along with the autobiography and letters of Saint Thérèse and the Bible.[274] Ede also read classic works of philosophy and religion such as Plato's

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[271] Ibid., p.8.
[272] Ibid., p.19.
[273] 'These were the days too of Revivals, of Gypsy Smith, of the Salvation Army…It was all very immediate and Gypsy Smith filled Jim with fears and adoration. He and Kate would go together to the evening Revival meetings where their emotions were severally played upon him.' Ede, 'Between Two Memories', p.25.
[274] 'He became aware of Pascal's: "*In relation to infinity all finites are equal,"* and wondered how church denominations could pronounce themselves so sure of their own rules, even to the extent of anger over a doctrine of love […] I first remember enjoying for its own sake Sabatier's *St. Francis*, Colton's *Mediaeval Italy*, St Thomas à Kempis, and Rider Haggard's *She*: Also Spinoza and Maeterlink. Then came *Tess* and *Wuthering Heights*, and at 18 Froude, Motley, Prescott and Plutarch's *Lives*… At 19 H.G. Wells made a great impression; he came with the First World War, and with him Plato. At 20 I started on Henry James…I began to like Shakespeare and read a lot of obscure philosophy which I probably never understood but which made good bedding. At 30

Phaedo and Francis Bacon's *The Wisdom of the Ancients* (1609) and *New Atlantis* (1627), as well as Ezra Pound's *Cathay* (1915) and a copy of the Koran, a gift from Ede's old school friend, Donald Winnicott.[275]

He had a highly developed spirituality, anchored in a pantheistic belief in an immanent God and a deep appreciation of the sacramental. Looking back on his days at boarding school when he would have been no more than 13, Ede wrote: 'what he called God was his reality, the love of God infused almost his every contact, his friendships, the flowers in the fields, the sky, the school routine, sleep and waking, all were to him worship, carried on the drive of his religious fervour.'[276] In a letter to David Jones many years later, he wrote, 'I've been reading St A's Confessions & I think it a remarkably telling thing the way we are all so very cautious & slow in decisions regarding faith – perhaps the more so as we grow older. I wonder if you took long to become an R[oman].C[atholic]. (I at the age of 16 would have done it at once).'[277]

Ede's earliest education in art was interwoven with spiritual themes. He learnt about Michelangelo, Rubens, Leonardo and Raphael through books like *The Bible in Art,* and wrote passionately to the Clapps about Michelangelo's depiction of Moses and Raphael's interpretation of the transfiguration.[278] At art school in Newlyn in 1912, according to Ede, he and fellow students 'talked much about art and religion.'[279] It was a sign of the times. The great discoveries and scientific advances of the end of the nineteenth century did not, as one might assume, lead to the debunking of religious belief; on the contrary, they fuelled in many parts an existential desire for meaning.

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came the *Morte D'Arthur* and *Moby Dick*…I took them with me everywhere, together with *The Cloud of Unknowing*.' Ibid., pp.34, 145. Ede's library includes copies of all these texts. In 1914, aged 19, Ede gave Helen a copy of the *Life of St Francis of Assisi*. The inscription reads 'Helen Schlapp from H.S.E 1914.'

[275] Ede's library includes copies of all these texts. The Koran is inscribed 'D.W. Winnicott' – a presumed gift to Ede. The boys met at the Leys School in Cambridge.

[276] Ede, 'Between Two Memories,' p. 40.

[277] H.S. Ede, letter to David Jones, 21 June 1955. David Jones Papers.

[278] Ede refers to receiving *The Bible in Art* for his birthday in a letter to Frederick Mortimer & Maud Clapp, 12 Feb 1911, Frederick Mortimer Clapp Papers.

[279] Ede, 'Between Two Memories,' p.52.

'Modern' scientific concepts as non-Euclidean space, the fourth dimension and the space-time continuum frequently had what Linda Dalrymple-Henderson calls a 'symbiotic relationship' with ancient mystical traditions, and a number of early modern artists, such as the Russian Suprematist Kazimir Malevich, were deeply engaged with these ideas.[280] Henderson argues that the notion of a fourth dimension (an outgrowth of *n*-dimensional geometries, theories of special relativity and space-time) had by the early twentieth century 'accumulated a variety of nonmathematical associations' in the public consciousness, 'the primary one being an idealist philosophical interpretation as a higher reality beyond three-dimensional, visual perception.'[281] Albert Einstein openly discussed aspects of mysticism and belief in relation to his work, and encouraged connections between scientific discovery and spiritual enlightenment.[282] Henri Bergson's notion of *élan vital* spawned the theory of Vitalism.[283]

During the early twentieth century, membership of philosophical and religious groups promoting a variety of religious, mystical and esoteric beliefs grew steadily.[284] As Claire Gartrell-Mills notes, Christian Science was one such group, and enjoyed a rapid rise in popularity between 1910-1920; she describes the

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[280] Linda Dalrymple Henderson, 'Mysticism, Romanticism and the Fourth Dimension' in Tuchman, ed. *The Spiritual in Art,* p.219.
[281] Henderson, 'Mysticism, Romanticism and the Fourth Dimension' p.219.
[282] 'The most beautiful emotion we can experience is the mysterious. It is the source of all true art and science. He to whom this emotion is a stranger, who can no longer wonder and stand rapt in awe, is as good as dead. This insight into the mystery of life, coupled though it be with fear, has also given rise to religion. To know that what is impenetrable to us really exists, manifesting itself as the highest wisdom and the most radiant beauty, which our dull faculties can comprehend only in their most primitive forms—this knowledge, this feeling, is at the centre of true religiousness. In this sense, and in this sense only, I belong to the rank of devoutly religious men.' Albert Einstein, quoted in Rowe, David E. and Schulmann, R., *Einstein on Politics: His Private Thoughts and Public Stands on Nationalism*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007, p.229.
[283]Vitalism is the belief that 'living organisms are fundamentally different from non-living entities because they contain some non-physical element or are governed by different principles than are inanimate things.' Vitalism was associated with traditional healing practices and philosophies, and many equated 'elan vital' with the soul. See Bechtel, William; Williamson, Robert C. (1998). E. Craig, ed. *Vitalism*. *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Routledge.
[284] For example, 'In the late 1920s and early 1930s there were around one quarter of a million practicing Spiritualists and some two thousand Spiritualist societies in the UK in addition to flourishing microcultures of platform mediumship and 'home circles.' Stephen J. Sutcliffe, *Children of the New Age: A History of Spiritual Practices*, London: Routledge, 2002, p.35.

movement as a development of liberal Christianity, emblematic of a genre of metaphysical philosophizing popular at the time.[285] Its messages of positivism blended with the progressive ideals of modern technological society at the turn of the century; its language and abstract interpretation of Christian scriptures appealed to the literate and well-educated classes, aspiring intellectuals and the well-to-do who assumed some moral responsibility for world affairs and sought to improve the world through a detailed, introspective, intellectual philosophy.

Publications such as Evelyn Underhill's *Mysticism* (1911) fanned interest in medieval Christian mystics and Roman Catholic theology, while organisations such as the Theosophical Society fostered growing interest in Eastern religions and Occultism. As Sarah Turner has shown, a strong link existed between this field of enquiry and the visual arts.[286] The Quest Society, a splinter group of the Theosophical Society founded by G.R.S. Mead in 1909, promoted itself as a forum for the investigation and comparative study of religion, philosophy and science, advancing a syncretic outlook that blended various perspectives and often incorporated art. The Society's roster of lecturers included a significant number of artists, writers and curators, including W.B. Yeats, Ezra Pound, T.E. Hulme, William Rothenstein, Wyndham Lewis, Laurence Binyon and Ernest Bingfield Havell who were part of a broad, cross-disciplinary group attracted by what Mead described as 'a genuine spiritual life and stirring in the depths under all the stresses and struggles and ferment, psychic and otherwise.'[287]

A vocabulary of the mystical and spiritual infused public discourses on science and philosophy, which also spilled into art criticism and the rhetoric of modernism, resulting in a critical language infused with what Michael Saler has described as 'an eclectic mix of religion, science and aesthetics.'[288] Robert Morse Crunden notes that the ideas were so prevalent that spiritual phrases 'permeated the language of non-believers, so that references to the fourth dimension, to the

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[285] See Claire F. Gartrell-Mills, 'Christian Science: An American Religion in Britain, 1895-1940' unpublished PhD thesis, Oxford University, 1991, p.96.
[286] See Turner, '"Spiritual Rhythm" and "Material Things",' pp.274-283.
[287] G.R.S. Mead, 'The Rising Psychic Tide', *The Quest*, vol.3, no.3, April 1912, pp.410-11.
[288] Saler, *The Avant-Garde in Interwar England,* pp.23, 38.

various planes of existence, and even to simple repetition take on larger contexts, often merging with ideas from the anthropology of James Frazer or the psychology of Carl Jung in ways that permanently changed the discourse of the intelligentsia.'[289]

3.3: MYSTICAL MODERNISM

Such ideas captured the imagination of pioneering artists from Hilma af Klint to Kazimir Malevich. Klint, considered to be the first abstract artist, was involved in Spiritualism and the Occult, while Malevich's metaphysical interests included Vedanta Yoga and the Hindu Upanishads.[290] Many others, most notably Wassily Kandinsky and Piet Mondrian, were heavily influenced by Theosophy, and Kandinsky's treatise *Concerning the Spiritual in Art'* (first published in German in 1911) – in which he heralded the arrival of an 'Epoch of the Great Spiritual' – fused spiritual values and abstract art.[291]

One of the most influential proponents of modernism in Britain, Roger Fry, was a key proponent of the spiritual in art and the notion of the artist as mystic.[292] In his *Reflections on British Painting*, published in 1934, Fry wrote 'the power to see and feel plastic form is almost a measure of an artist's power to free himself from the interests of ordinary life and attain to an attitude of detachment in which the spiritual significance of formal relations becomes apparent.' [293] He was not

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[289] Crunden, *Body and Soul – The Making of American Modernism*, pp. xvi-xvii.
[290] See John E Bowlt, 'Esoteric Culture and Russian Society' in Tuchman, ed. *The Spiritual in Art,* pp.165-183.
[291] 'We have before us the age of conscious creation with which the spiritual in painting will be allied organically; with the gradual forming structure of the new spiritual realm, as this spirit is the soul of this epoch of great spirituality.' Wassily Kandinsky, *Concerning the Spiritual in Art*, Hilla Rebay, ed., New York: Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation, 1946, p.99.
[292]As Kent argues, Fry had long viewed artists in this light; see for example Fry's article 'Mantegna as Mystic', in *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol.8 no.32, November 1905, pp. 87-9, 91-3, 96-8.
[293] Roger Fry, *Reflections on British painting* London: Faber & Faber, 1934, p. 27. In a letter to Robert Bridges in 1924, he also wrote 'It…seemed to me that the emotions resulting from the contemplation of form were more universal (less particularized and coloured by the individual history), more profound and more significant spiritually than

alone; Clive Bell also alluded to the religious nature of aesthetic experience in *Art* in 1914: 'We may say that both art and religion are manifestations of man's religious sense,' he wrote, 'if by 'man's religious sense' we mean his sense of ultimate reality.'[294] Elsewhere, critical writing in fashionable journals like *Rhythm* and *The New Age* affirmed the hieratic powers of artists.[295]

When Ede was a student at the Slade between 1919-1921, Fry and Bell had provided the cornerstones of his education in art. By the mid-1920s, when Ede began to write about art, Fry's authority on matters of aesthetics was unassailable and his ideas ubiquitous.[296] Ede owned Bell's *Art* (1928 edition), as well as *Proust* (1928) and *An Account of French Painting* (1931); he also owned Fry's *Transformations: Critical and Speculative Essays about Art* (1926) and two copies of *Vision and Design* (1923 & 1928), in which Fry repeatedly asserted 'not only the necessity but also the great importance of aesthetic feeling for the spiritual existence of man.'[297]

While Ede's ideas about art are clearly built on foundations laid down by the older critic, Ede was often antagonistic in his opinions about Fry, and in a review of the London Artists' Association exhibition at the Leicester Galleries in 1926, to which Fry contributed several works, Ede took aim at what he perceived as a disparity between Fry's theories and the evidence of his efforts as a painter. He wrote:

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any of the emotions which had to do with life...I therefore assume that the contemplation of form is a peculiarly important spiritual exercise...' Virginia Woolf, *Roger Fry, A Biography*, London: The Hogarth Press, 1940, p.230.

[294] Clive Bell, *Art,* London: Chatto & Windus, 1913, p.92.

[295] See Ananda Coomaraswamy, 'The Religious Foundation of Life,' 1914 in Roger Lipsey, ed. *Coomaraswamy*, vol.3, p.35; Allen Upward, 'The Order of the Seraphim I' *New Age,* 10 February 1910, pp.349-50; John Middleton Murry, 'Art and Philosophy,' *Rhythm*, 1:1, Summer 1911, pp. 9-12.

[296] Fry was a distinguished and highly respected figure in the London art world, and a founding member of the Contemporary Art Society, actively involved with the CAS committee when Ede took up the role of Assistant Secretary in 1925 and remained so until 1933. For those nine years, Ede – who developed personal friendships with a number of the CAS committee members, including Frederick Leverton Harris, Ivor Churchill and Edward Marsh – would have interacted regularly with Fry in the process of conducting the activities of the CAS.

[297] Roger Fry, *Vision & Design*, London: Chatto & Windus, 1920, p.14.

'Roger Fry has produced an impressively well organised picture no.54, but it lacks that spontaneity which a picture should possess. An artist does not paint pictures for other people to see, he paints them because expression is his life; his knowledge and his theories only unconsciously serve him. In Roger Fry's picture knowledge and theory seem to take too important a position.'[298]

In Ede's estimation, Fry fell short of his own conception of the artist as mystic.[299] Despite his sniping criticisms, Ede was influenced by Fry, perhaps more than he would have liked. Kent argues that Fry and Bell together developed an aesthetic theory more akin to a mystical philosophy: 'a fully integrated approach to life, based entirely on the premise of transcendental unity.'[300] Ede's vision for Kettle's Yard also integrated aesthetic and philosophical principles as part of a way of life – which he clearly signalled with the publication of *A Way of Life* in 1984 – aiming at the fusion of the spiritual and the everyday. Almost one hundred years after Fry wrote to C.R. Ashbee: 'I am fully persuaded that the aim of all art and all life is ultimately the worship of God in its broadest sense,' Ede dedicated *A Way of Life* 'to God, ever present.'[301]

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[298] H.S. Ede, c. 1926. 'An Exhibition of Painting at the Leicester Galleries,' 1926, possibly unpublished, manuscript. Papers of H.S. Ede KY/Ede/4.

[299] Perhaps the root of Ede's disdain for Fry lay in the fact that he couldn't disassociate Fry's theories from his unremarkable output as an artist. For much of his youth, Ede had also aspired to be an artist. He studied art at the Slade, and continued to paint for several years after joining the Tate, although at some point gave up any serious attempt to distinguish himself as an artist. In 1925 he wrote to Edward Marsh, 'I don't think I ever will paint again – I'm not a painter & haven't a painter's outlook – I should never do anything creative in paint.' He continued by comparing himself to Fry: 'I <u>might</u> hit off a happy scheme of colour which is pleasant as a record of an emotion felt. That is what Fry's roof is. It gives you nothing, suggests nothing which you haven't yourself felt a thousand times – it only records sensation. I think a picture if it's really good touches you up into new sensations new emotions.' H.S. Ede, letter to Edward Marsh, 28 October 1925, Sir Edward Howard Marsh Papers. Years later, the artist Richard Pousette-Dart writes to Ede, 'I think Roger Fry is very good - I remember you poo pooing his talk of the significant line…tell me why you do or don't care for his words…let us talk about this significant line next time we meet – it is a crux of the matter.' Richard Pousette-Dart, letter to H.S. Ede, n.d. (2 August). Papers of H.S. Ede KY/EDE/1/13.

[300] Kent, 'Modern Gods,' p.41.

[301] In Denys Sutton, (ed.), *Roger Fry Letters*, Vol. I. London: Chatto & Windus, 1972, pp.109-110. Ede, *A Way of Life,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984, pp.234-235.

3.3.1: LOOKING EAST

By the time he enlisted in September 1914, Ede's appreciation of religions beyond Christianity was well developed. He drew from different traditions as and when they corresponded with his own mystical inclinations. In a letter to his aunt Maud Clapp in December 1914, he explained that he was planning to take his 'Guan Yin', an East Asian bodhisattva associated with Buddhism,[302] back to the army training camp.[303] In response, Maud sent a pocket-sized ivory carving of Christ, which Ede carried with him in the trenches.[304]

He read the transcendentalist poet Walt Whitman in Cambridge, where, having been invalided out of the trenches in 1916, he spent seventeen months training cadets, and the poet's celebration of nature and universal love resounded in the beauty of the river Cam and its meadows, while his pantheistic views chimed with Ede's.[305] Whitman was accepting of all religions while believing in none.[306] His worldview, which according to David Kuelich 'presupposes a God that is both immanent and transcendent' and 'imagines divine immanence, including the human soul, to be engaged in a process of progressive development,'[307] provided

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[302] Also known as Goddess of Mercy, associated with compassion and venerated by Mahayana Buddhists, and revered by Taoists and in Chinese folk religion as immortal. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guanyin

[303] 'I think I shall take my Quan Yen back with me. She looks so calm & peaceful & might take me away from the war when I come in from drills. She has something the feeling of your wonderful ivory Christ, only she can't be carried about as the wee Christ can.' H.S. Ede, letter to Maud Clapp, 22 December 1914. Frederick Mortimer Clapp Papers.

[304] 'I always carry the "ivory" with me & take it out now & then as I spludge through the mud.' H.S. Ede, letter to Maud Clapp, 9 Nov 1915. Frederick Mortimer Clapp Papers.

[305] Ede recalled, 'Amongst his vivid impressions of this period was his enjoyment of the river, of willow trees, and of Walt Whitman; they somehow went together… And then the meadows, with their cows and willow trees and the river banked up so that it ran along the sky; and reeds; and long lying in the sun of an afternoon, and cool refreshing dives. It was along with this he met with Walt Whitman and his universal love, his praise of the body and enjoyment of nature.' Ede, 'Between Two Memories,' p.66. He would later return to transcendentalism via Alfred Stieglitz and Richard Pousette-Dart.

[306] In the poem "With Antecedents," for example, Whitman affirms 'I adopt each theory, myth, god, and demi-god, / I see that the old accounts, bibles, genealogies, are true, without exception.' Full text: http://www.bartleby.com/142/87.html

[307] David Kuebrich 'Religion and the Poet-Prophet' in Donald Kummings, ed. *A Companion to Walt Whitman*, Oxford: Blackwell, 2006, p.211.

a philosophical framework that gave Ede the freedom to embrace and interweave an expanding pool of metaphysical ideas from both East and West.

Ede was posted to India in 1917. During this trip, he encountered Buddhism and 'found it much to his way of thinking.'[308] Ancient Indian metaphysics held a powerful appeal for Ede, who began to overlay neo-platonic Christian concepts with ideas about the 'insubstantiality of matter' and Nirvana. 'He gradually came to feel that the nature of life was growth towards good, and sin a cessation of the act of living.'[309] It was a period in which Ede found a kind of enlightenment, writing 'my thoughts make my reality.'[310] He informed his parents: 'all so-called inanimate things are really feeling, of the same nature as ours, though infinitely less powerful. This literally makes the chair I am sitting in and the table at which I write rise up to caress me, instead of their being dead things which have no part in me.'[311] Ede's subsequent travels around northern India, he explained, 'were to feed his mystic nature'[312] and had a lasting impact on his religious ideas. 'If one period could be separated from another,' he wrote, 'this year between the age of 23 and 24 had the most reverberations of any.'[313]

On his return to England, Ede maintained his links with India.[314] He also acquired a number of books devoted to Eastern religion and culture, including a 1922 edition of Lao Tzü's *Tao Teh King*; a 1936 edition of Alexandra David-Néel's *With Mystics and Magicians in Tibet*; Swami Vivekananda's lectures on Jnana-

[308] Ede, 'Between Two Memories,' p.69.
[309] Ibid.
[310] Ibid. p.71.
[311] Ibid. p.68.
[312] Ibid. p.74.
[313] Ibid. p.73.
[314] Ede's diaries document ongoing contact with prominent members of Indian society, including Lady Hydari/the Hydaris, and various members of the Latifi and Tyabji families including Danial Latifi and Badrhuddin Tyabji. These three families were influential in Indian politics in the early 20th century, involved in events that have shaped the country today – including the creation of Pakistan and the formation Indian National Congress. At the other end of the social spectrum, the homeless artist Abani Roy lived with the Edes for several years and Ede continued to support him throughout his life; on 26 December 1970, Ede wrote to Leonard Elmhirst to ask for a contribution towards the purchase of the leasehold on a flat in London for the artist. H.S. Ede, letter to L.K. Elmhirst, 26 December 1970, Leonard Knight Elmhirst Papers LKE/G/1/F/1.

Yoga, Karma-Yoga and Bhakti-Yoga, published posthumously in 1930 and 1933; Krishnamurti's *Authentic Report of Seventeen Talks given in 1936*; and various works of Chinese and Japanese literature, including *The Pillow-book of Sei Shōnagon, The Tale of Genji by Lady Murasaki* and *The Life and Times of Po Chu-I*, translated by his friend Arthur Waley.

Once again, Ede's interest in Eastern philosophy coincided with growing public interest in non-western cultures, signalled by the founding of institutions such as the India Society in 1910, the Department of Oriental Prints and Drawings at the British Museum in 1912, the School of Oriental Studies in 1916 and the Oriental Ceramic Society (O.C.S.), founded in 1921. Roger Fry, Eric Gill, Ananda Coomaraswamy and Ernest Binfield Havell were among the founding committee of the India Society, while the first president of the O.C.S. was the collector George Eumorfopoulos. Charismatic personalities such as the poet Rabindranath Tagore, the musician Ratan Devi and acclaimed choreographer Uday Shankar helped to popularise ancient Indian literature, art, music and dance amongst Western audiences, while publications such as Okakura Kakuzo's *Book of Tea* (1906) and Waley's seminal translations of classical Chinese and Japanese literature from 1917 onwards were instrumental in opening up the philosophy and culture of the East to the English-speaking world.[315]

Ede knew many of these figures socially and professionally; Waley was a regular visitor to Elm Row, as were Devi, Shankar, Eumorfopoulos, and the Japanese art historian Yuki Yashiro.[316] Ede knew Fry and Gill, as well as Lawrence Binyon, an expert on Oriental art and culture. He was an early friend and supporter of the potter William Staite-Murray, who according to Julian Stair, was one of the first

[315] Waley, who joined the Oriental Department at the British Museum as Laurence Binyon's assistant in 1913, taught himself to read the Chinese and Japanese poetry he found in the Oriental Department collections, and published his first translations of Tang and pre-Tang poetry in 1917 – distributing several as Christmas cards to friends such as TS Eliot and Roger Fry.

[316] Letters from Yashiro reveal an affectionate relationship, which appears to have developed while he was working on his ground-breaking book on Botticelli (published by the Medici Society, London & Boston, 1925); they stayed in contact until the early 1950s. Ratan Devi was the stage name of Alice Coomaraswamy, an expert on traditional Indian music who performed Hindu songs and poetry. She was the second wife of Ananda Coomaraswamy.

practicing Buddhists in England.[317] Binyon designated the arts of Eastern cultures as an important reference point for early proponents of a mystical modernist aesthetic such as Ede, who owned a copy of *The Flight of the Dragon* and quoted from *Paintings of the Far East* in his lecture, 'What are Pictures?' It was Binyon's mysticism that appealed to Ede. He called for art 'to communicate…realities that are vital to the soul'[318] and, as Turner writes, 'connected the concept of 'rhythm' [in art] with access, through representation, to a spiritual, imaginative realm beyond the physical realities of nature.'[319]

Ede's interest in Eastern religious and philosophical traditions surfaces in his use of concepts of 'space' and 'spaciousness' in his writings. The word 'spaciousness' is one of several English translations of the Sanskrit word 'sunyata,' a central notion of Mahayana Buddhism; it signifies a meditative state, absolute emptiness, and is associated with open mindfulness in the terminology of meditation. In Japanese Zen Buddhist tradition, the feeling of Satori (enlightenment) is that of infinite space, while in Chinese Buddhism, the concept of dharmadhatu may be understood as an all-encompassing space.

In his review of the London Artists Association exhibition in 1926, Ede refers to an 'inner vitality – the free spaciousness which is really the subject of the picture,'[320] but a much fuller exposition of the theme is provided in the short radio talk, entitled 'A Room to Live in,' and associated article published in *The Listener* under the title 'Space to Live In,' in 1931. The published article, an abridged version of the radio talk, provides a greatly distilled and direct exposition of his central theme.[321] 'We all want space – we are spatial beings' began Ede. While spaciousness is a quality frequently sought in a domestic

[317] According to Julian Stair in 'Factive Plasticity: the abstract pottery of William Staite-Murray' in Jovan Nicholson, ed. *Ben Nicholson, Winifred Nicholson, Christopher Wood, Alfred Wallis, William Staite Murray: Art and Life 1920-1931*, London: Philip Wilson Publishers, pp.19-23.
[318] Laurence Binyon, *Flight of the Dragon* London: J Murray, 1911, pp.14-15.
[319] Turner, 'Spiritual Rhythms and Material Things,' pp.210-211.
[320] H.S. Ede, 'Exhibition of Paintings at the Leicester Galleries.'
[321] 'A Room to Live In,' broadcast 28 November 1931; 'Space to Live In,' an abridged version of the talk, was published 2 December 1931. A typescript version of the talk and copies of the published article are held in the papers of H.S. Ede, KY/EDE/4. Unless otherwise indicated, quotations are from the published text.

interior, this can hardly be construed as a mystical claim in itself, but Ede returns to the subject of 'this space which we so much want,' only revealing its mystical implications in a final reference to 'an eternal spaciousness' – a transcendent leap from the everyday to the infinite. Ede's empty rooms were for contemplation and meditation. 'Even when you are sitting in your chair by the fire you will find this space between you and the door a great relief, for there is nothing to stop your thoughts wandering from the room into the world of greater space beyond.'[322] Windows, he wrote, are 'an opening to the limitless sky'; it was another Buddhist metaphor, as the Sanskrit word for space and sky are the same.

3.3.2: PARIS-LONDON

In the melting-pot of interwar Paris, discourses of modernism were inflected by spirituality, science and utopian politics from across Europe. The Russian constructivists brought a blend of physics and metaphysics, and the De Stijl group had its roots in Theosophical ideas; these mingled with the teachings of ancient orthodox religions from Judaism to Zen Buddhism amongst the city's international artistic community. As a regular visitor to Paris in the 1920s and 1930s, Ede became immersed in this ferment of art, spirituality and idealism. Brâncuși, who was one of Ede's most important influences, drew proudly on the traditions of the Romanian Orthodox Church while nurturing a profound respect for Tibetan Buddhism; Ede was also close to Georges Braque, who declared an intuitive affinity with the teachings of Zen Buddhism late in life.[323] Other friends included César Domela, a member of the De Stijl group, known to carry a copy of the Tao Te Ching around with him; Chagall was steeped in Jewish mysticism while Arp, who declared 'the starting point for my work is from the inexplicable,

[322]H.S. Ede, 'Space To Live In' *The Listener* no. 977, December 2, 1931.
[323] According to Alex Danchev, Braque 'found himself instinctively in harmony with the teachings of Zen Buddhism' and contributed to a special edition of *Le Tir à l'arc (Archery)* which interleaved extracts from Eugen Herrigel's original distillation of Zen and the art of archery with selections from Braque's thoughts and aphorisms, chosen by D.T. Suzuki. See *Georges Braque: A Life,* London: Penguin, 2007, p.cl-cliii.

from the divine,'[324] used chance to 'open up perceptions to me, immediate spiritual insights.'[325] Ede met frequently with Mikhael Larionov and Natalia Goncharova, who were proponents of the mystically-imbued Rayism.[326] Naum Gabo, another life-long friend from this time, had been strongly influenced by Kandinsky; the Realist Manifesto, which he co-authored in 1920 with his brother Antoine Pevsner, made reference to underlying life forces and rhythms.[327]

Winifred Nicholson, who visited Paris regularly from the early 1920s and lived there between 1930-37, described the mood of the city as 'fizzing like a soda water bottle.'[328] Many of the European émigrés who came to Britain during the interwar period brought this energy and strident optimism as well as various strains of a metaphysical modernism with them. These leading exponents of Modernism and Constructivism who sought refuge in Britain saw themselves as constructors of a new society – through architecture, design, ceramics and typography as well as painting and sculpture.[329] From Gabo's Constructive art, which aimed 'to manifest the harmony and rhythm of that very current which

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[324] Quoted in Michael Seuphor, *The World of Abstract Art*, New York, Wittenborn, 1957, p.153.
[325] Jean Arp, *On My Way: Poetry and Essays, 1912-1947,* New York: Wittenborn, 1948 & Jean Arp, *Transition 21,* March 1932.
[326] According to Anthony Parton, Rayism was 'a means of moving beyond the phenomenal world of light and objects to embrace the noumenal world of the spirit,' making this explicit in a letter to Alfred Barr in 1936, where he described Rayism as 'the materialisation of the spirit.' See Anthony Parton, 'Goncharova's Rayism,' *InCoRM Journal* Vol.2 Spring – Autumn 2011, p.28.
[327] 'We know that everything has its own essential image; chair, table, lamp, telephone, book, house, man…they are all entire worlds with their own rhythms, their own orbits. That is why we in creating things take away from them the labels of their owners…all accidental *and local*, leaving only the reality of the constant rhythm of the forces in them.' Excerpt from *The Realist Manifesto* (1920) by Naum Gabo & Antoine Pevsner, reproduced in Gabo, N., Read, H. & Martin, L., *Gabo*, London: Lund Humphries, 1957, p.151.
[328]Winifred Nicholson, 'Paris in the 1920s and 1930s' in Andrew Nicholson (ed.), *Unknown Colour: Paintings, letters, writings by Winifred Nicholson [an anthology]*, London: Faber, 1987, pp. 105-6.
[329]The British artistic émigré community included Hungarian architect and furniture designer Marcel Breuer, Jewish-German architect Eric Mendelsohn and German architect and Bauhaus founder Walter Gropius; Dutch artist Mondrian, Russian Constructive artist Gabo, Hungarian artist and Bauhaus professor Lázló Moholy-Nagy, the German typographer Jan Tschichold and Russian choreographer and dancer Leonide Massine.

links human existence to the universe'[330] to the Bauhaus, heralded as a 'crystal symbol of a new faith' by Gropius,[331] their artistic aims centred on building a 'more perfected social and spiritual life.'[332]

They found a small but receptive community in Britain. In the early decades of the twentieth century, groups such as the Leeds Art Club (LAC) had given visibility and expression to what Holbrook Jackson described as a 'spiritualised social consciousness' and 'transcendental view of social life' that combined social concerns and spiritual priorities with a broad interest in how life is lived.[333] According to Tanya Harrod, the perceived failure of the original Arts & Crafts Movement as a political force galvanised the likes of artists such as Eric Gill, who joined the Fabian Socialist Society in 1905, then became a Roman Catholic in 1913 before setting up the Guild of St Joseph and St Dominic in 1921.[334]

The interwar period saw a flush of books such as *The Necessity of Art* (1924), which collected together essays by Arthur Clutton-Brock, John Middleton Murry and others including Percy Dearmer – an Anglican priest, socialist, professor of ecclesiastical art at King's College, London and member of the Society for Psychical Research – with the specific intention to 'further in the world at large,

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[330] Naum Gabo, 'Constructive Art', *The Listener*, 4, no.408, 4 November, 1936, p. 846.
[331] See Walter Gropius, 'The First Proclamation of the Weimar Bauhaus' (1919) and 'The Theory and Organisation of the Bauhaus' (1923), excerpted and translated in Herbert Bayer, Alexander Dorner & Walter Gropius, eds. *Bauhaus, 1919-1928,* Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1938, pp.18, 22-25.
[332] Naum Gabo, 'Constructive Art', p.846.
[333] See Holbrook Jackson, *The Eighteen Nineties: A Review of Art and Ideas at the Close of the Nineteenth Century*, New York: M. Kennerley, 1913. Jackson had co-founded the Leeds Art Club (LAC) with Alfred R. Orage in 1903. It was an iconoclastic philosophical society that became one of the most influential loci of modernist thinking in Britain, mixing 'radical socialist and anarchist politics with the philosophy of Friedrich Nietzche, Suffragette Feminism, the spiritualism of the Theosophical Society and modernist art and poetry.' The LAC counted among its members Frank Rutter (writer, critic and founder of the Allied Artists' Association), the radical educationalist and avant-garde collector Michael Sadler – also a stalwart member of the CAS committee throughout the period that Ede held the position of Assistant Secretary – and the young critic and writer Herbert Read, Ede's fellow Hampstead resident and guest at Elm Row. See Tom Steele, *Alfred Orage and the Leeds Arts Club, 1893-1923*, Mitcham: Orage Press, 1990, pp. 234-7.
[334] Harrod writes that it 'had the effect of making spiritual solutions to the industrialised world seem more promising than political ones.' Tanya Harrod, *Crafts in Britain in the Twentieth Century*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999, p.179.

the conviction already widespread, that art is necessary to the spiritual life.'[335] A number of prominent cultural figures called for the closer involvement of art with the disciplines of industrial design, education and architecture, partly in the belief, according to Saler, that art was 'the agent that would revivify the modern individual's awareness of the spiritual forces integrating the material with the spiritual, community with the cosmos.'[336]

Read, meanwhile, brought the heady intellectualism of the LAC to bear on the community of artists, architects and writers who began to converge in Hampstead in the 1930s. Other residents included Ben Nicholson, Barbara Hepworth, Piet Mondrian, Henry Moore and Cecil Stephenson.[337] Close by, in the Isokon Building designed by Wells Coates in 1934, lived the architect and key Bauhaus figures Walter Gropius, Marcel Breuer and Lázló Moholy-Nagy. The combination of so many visionary artists and intellectuals in close proximity, and a volatile social, economic and political climate generated a number of hugely influential groups and short-lived movements including the Modern Architecture Research Group/MARS (1933),[338] *Unit One* (1934),[339] *Circle* (1937),[340] and the

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[335] P. Dearmer, 'Preface', *The Necessity of Art* (London: Student Christian Movement, 1924), pp. vii.

[336] According to Michael Saler, these included Frank Pick, W.R. Lethaby, Frank Rutter, William Rothenstein, as well as Clutton-Brock and Read. Michael Saler, *The Avant-Garde in Interwar England*, p. 94.

[337] Charles Harrison describes the 'community of modern artists, architects, designers and sympathizers' in some detail in *English Art and Modernism 1900-1939,* pp.276-77. Herbert Read also gives an account of the Hampstead scene in the 1930s in 'A Nest of Gentle Artists,' *Apollo*, September 1962, pp.536-540.

[338] Morton Shand, Sigfried Giedion, Maxwell Fry, Wells Coates and F.R.S. Yorke were the group's founding members, later joined by John Betjeman, Ove Arup, and members of the Tecton Group. In 1938, the MARS Group organised a 'New Architecture' exhibition at the Burlington Galleries in London.

[339] Unit One was founded by Paul Nash and included the architects Wells Coates, Colin Lucas; the painters John Armstrong, John Bigge, Edward Burra, Frances Hodgkins, Tristram Hillier, Paul Nash, Ben Nicholson and Edward Wadsworth; and the sculptors Barbara Hepworth and Henry Moore. The group staged one major touring exhibition as a group.

[340] An *Exhibition of Constructivist Art* was held at the London Gallery in July 1937. *Circle: International Survey of Constructivist Art* (1937) was a 300-page book edited by Ben Nicholson, Naum Gabo and Leslie Martin. It featured contributions from JD Bernal, Constantin Brâncuși, Le Corbusier, Maxwell Fry, Naum Gabo, Sigfried Giedion, Walter Gropius, Karel Honzig, El Lissitzky, Leslie Martin, Kazimir Malevich, Leonide Massine, Lázló Moholy-Nagy, Piet Mondrian, Henry Moore, Lewis Mumford, Richard Neutra, Ben Nicholson, Winifred Nicholson (under the name of Dacre), Antoine Pevsner, Herbert

Design Research Unit (1943).[341] Due to shared interests, membership of the different groups frequently overlapped and networks extended well beyond explicit affiliations.[342]

Lucy Kent has argued that *Unit One* articulated an ambitious collective aim to align social, spiritual and aesthetic values, drawing attention to the fact that almost all those involved had some kind of spiritual interest.[343] Ben Nicholson's statement for the Unit One catalogue, for example, declared 'painting and religious experience are the same thing, and what we are all searching for is the understanding and realisation of infinity – an idea which is complete, with no beginning, no end, and therefore giving all things for all time.'[344] Kent's analysis reveals a group of deeply spiritual individuals, with varying forms of belief, from Wells Coates' interest in Japanese Buddhism to the Christian Science beliefs of Nash, Nicholson and Hepworth - drawn together by 'a more holistic vision of "reality," one that held daily life in the context of a greater spiritual unity and, when recognised by the public, would ensure a more harmonious future.'[345]

Read, J.M. Richards, Alberto Sartoris, Cecil Stephenson & Jan Tschichold. An Exhibition of Constructivist Art was held at the London Gallery in July 1937.

[341] The Design Research Unit was a design consultancy with expertise in architecture, graphics and industrial design, founded in 1943 by Herbert Read and Marcus Brumwell, with architect and designer Misha Black and designer Milner Gray. Read was the organisation's first employee.

[342] Both Barbara Hepworth and Ben Nicholson were members of Unit One and Circle, as well as the Seven & Five Society and the international Abstraction-Création group. Hepworth was a member of the National Society (1930), as was Henry Moore, who was also associated with Circle, Unit One, and the Artists International Association (AIA). Misha Black was a founding member of the AIA and the Design Research Unit (DRU). Herbert Read was a key figure in Unit One, Circle, and DRU. Wells-Coats was a member of Unit One and the MARS Group. Leslie Martin was co-editor of Circle and member of the MARS group while his wife, Sadie Speight, was later involved with the DRU. While Brumwell was a founding member of the DRU, he also worked with Ben Nicholson, Barbara Hepworth and graphic designer Edward McKnight Kauffer (who played a key role in Ede's purchase of the Gaudier estate in 1930) in his role as managing director of Stuart's Advertising Agency.

[343] Kent, 'Modern Gods,' pp.143-151.

[344] Ben Nicholson, 'Statement' in Herbert Read, ed. *Unit One* London, Cassell & Co., 1934 p.89.

[345] According to Kent, Colin Lucas was inspired by the mystical teachings of Ouspensky and Gurdjieff. Wells Coates drew on the teachings of Buddhism. Paul and Margaret Nash, Ben Nicholson and Barbara Hepworth were studying Christian Science. Herbert Read wrote his mystical novel, *The Green Child* (1935), the story of a man pursuing progressively deeper levels of existence. John Bigge was a follower of the Bergsonian

Similar values underpinned *Circle* and Nicolete Gray's *Abstract and Concrete* exhibition of 1936, which included works by Nicholson, Hepworth and Moore alongside Jean Hélion, Jean Arp, Joan Miró, Alexander Calder, César Domela, Alberto Giacometti, Wassily Kandinsky, and provided the first UK platform for the austere abstract work of Mondrian. Like *Unit One,* its central aim had been to underscore a broad commonality of purpose between the artists.[346] Gray was deeply spiritual, having converted to Roman Catholicism in 1931.[347] As she explained in 1935, 'abstract art partakes of the harmony, completion and other attributes natural to the idea of perfect unity. In this sense each abstract work becomes a possible symbol for God or Tao or any conception of supreme power.'[348]

According to Gabo, the 'Constructive Idea in Art' which underpinned *Circle* was 'a spiritual state of a generation, an ideology caused by life, bound up with it and directed to influence its course.' He continued, 'since the beginning of Time man has been occupied with nothing else but the task of perfecting his world…this is the task which we constructive artists have set ourselves, which we are doing and which we hope will be continued by the future generation.'[349] Although their affiliations were fleeting due perhaps to the differences between individual spiritual beliefs, the Hampstead circle were, as Michael Saler has observed

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critic Matthew Stewart Prichard, and Tristram Hillier had trained to become a Benedictine monk before becoming an artist; John Armstrong was the son of a parson who maintained a religious faith and Edward Wadsworth quoted from the bible in his statement for the Unit One book. Moore's statement carefully wove a sense of 'spiritual vitality' into his description of sculpture penetrating 'into reality.' See Kent, 'Modern Gods,' pp.143-152.

[346] In Nash's words, *Unit One* was a group of artists, architects and designers united in a 'community of aesthetic belief.' Nash, P., 'A New Force in Art: What Unit One Stands For,' *The Observer* 18 June 1933, reproduced in *Paul Nash: Writings on Art* selected by Andrew Causey, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000. p.100.

[347] See Frances Spalding, 'Gray, Nicolete Mary (1911–1997)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/66078, accessed 18 Sept 2017. According to Spalding, Gray took instruction from Father D'Arcy, a Dominican priest who was also known to David Jones and Ede.

[348] N. Gray, 'Abstract Art', *The New Oxford Outlook*, 22 November 1935, p. 252.

[349] Gabo, 'The Constructive Idea in Art' in Martin, L., Nicholson, B. & Gabo, N., eds. *Circle: An International Survey of Constructive Art,* London: Faber, pp.6, 10.

"united in a common quest for (eternal and immutable) underlying essences that could restore harmony, stability and spirituality to a "modern" world that appeared increasingly fragmentary, transitory, and secular.'[350]

Ede was connected to many of the key figures in this community; he knew Read, Mondrian and Paul Nash as well as Gropius and Moholy-Nagy, but was particularly close to Nicholson and Hepworth as well as Naum Gabo and Leslie Martin. In 1935, Read, Nash and Ede were among the contributors to the first issue of the avant-garde journal *Axis* edited by Myfanwy Evans.[351] Although not directly involved with *Circle*, Ede was involved with the community from which it sprang, and felt a kinship with the ideas about art, human society and spirituality expressed therein. He was very close to Ben Nicholson, and had known Gabo as a friend almost as long; Leslie Martin would later design the acclaimed extension to Kettle's Yard.

There is an obvious alignment between their writings and Ede's in this period. Between his earliest published article in 1923 and the first texts on contemporary art written around 1927, Ede's writing had developed a distinctly mystical lexicon. Terms such as 'vital,' 'universal,' 'inner' and 'outer,' 'real' and 'true' – words that, to the spiritually-conscious reader, are laden with allusions to various mystical and metaphysical ideas, from Bergson's 'élan vital' to a Neo-platonic notion of 'absolute truth,' essential reality and divine unity – become much more prevalent. In Ede's article on the work of Winifred Nicholson, Ben Nicholson and William Staite-Murray in the Winter 1928 issue of *Artwork,* he celebrated the 'secret inner life' of William Staite-Murray's pots and Winifred Nicholson's ability to represent 'so closely the heart of the essential' and 'convey the vital beauty of the thing depicted' and claimed 'Ben Nicholson takes us into a world of spirit – spaceous (sic.) yet intimate – a world of *heightened reality.*'[352]

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[350]Saler, *The Avant-Garde in Interwar England*, p.6.
[351] H.S. Ede, 'Modern Art,' *Axis*: *A Quarterly review of Contemporary Abstract Painting and Sculpture* no. 1, Jan 1935, pp.21-35. *Axis* had strong links with the *Abstraction-Création* group in Paris, which counted Nicholson, Hepworth, Gabo, Hélion and Mondrian among its members. Evans was married to the British artist John Piper.
[352] Ede, H.S. 'Winifred Nicholson, Ben Nicholson and William Staite-Murray,' p.262.

The same article incorporates key mystical precepts, such as the privileging of intuition over knowledge – as when describing Winifred Nicholson's work as 'a thing felt before it is seen'[353] – and unity with a cosmic life force. 'If Ben Nicholson paints two jugs they are not two isolated objects but are *one life*' wrote Ede. Staite-Murray's pots, likewise, were 'so inevitably lovely in shape and colour that they *become one* with the beauty of created life.' He described Staite-Murray as channelling 'the melody of concrete idea' and Ben Nicholson's pictures of bottles and jugs as 'the clothing of living ideas, the quick throbbing of life in its spiritual rarety.' [354] Eight years later, Gabo would declare the aim of 'constructive' art was 'to manifest the harmony and rhythm of that very current which links human existence to the universe, and which is the source and nourishment of all human creations.'[355]

Ede also shared Nicholson and Gabo's enthusiasm for metaphysical discourses around science. 'We have come to believe that forms are fixed quantities and we still cling to this idea although Einstein has proved that it is false and superficial' Ede declared in *Artwork*; Nicholson, he argued, with a reference to developments in modern physics, penetrated beneath the fugitive nature of the material world to reveal 'the fluidity of so-called solid objects.'[356] Gabo was a great admirer of Einstein, who believed in mystical inspiration and purpose behind both art and science.[357] Martin Hammer and Christina Lodder have noted that Gabo drew significant inspiration from other scientific and mathematical sources including James Jeans, Arthur Eddington and D'Arcy Wentworth.[358] Ede and Nicholson also

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[353] In 1935, David Jones paraphrased the words of Thomas Acquinas when he wrote to Ede, 'It is better to love more than to know, is [the artist's] golden rule.' This was also a central theme in one of Ede's favourite devotional tracts, *The Cloud of Unknowing*. Ede subsequently used this aphorism frequently in his own lectures on art, drawing comparisons between the contemplation of art and the contemplation of God.
[354] H.S. Ede, 'Winifred Nicholson, Ben Nicholson and William Staite-Murray,' ibid.
[355] N. Gabo, 'Constructive Art,' p.846.
[356]H.S. Ede, 'Ben Nicholson, Winifred Nicholson and William Staite-Murray,' p.262. An undated letter from Winifred Nicholson appears to include extensive commentary on an early draft of this article. See Winifred Nicholson, letter to H.S. Ede, n.d., Papers of H.S. Ede, KY/EDE/1/12.
[357]See, for example, Albert Einstein, *The World As I See It*, New York: Philosophical Library, 1949, p.21.
[358]See Martin Hammer and Christina Lodder, *Constructing Modernity: The Art & Career of Naum Gabo*, Yale University Press, 2000, pp.379-402.

owned copies of Eddington's *The Nature of the Physical World* (1928), and Sir James Jeans' *The Mysterious Universe* (1930), which sought to explain the perception of the physical world as a largely mental exercise, arguing for a philosophical harmony between scientific investigation and religious mysticism. The idea that existence could be shaped by thought led Gabo to claim that 'constructive' art could instigate social change by cultivating 'a state of mind which will be able only to construct, co-ordinate and perfect instead of destroy, disintegrate and deteriorate.'[359]

3.4: EDE'S LIBRARY

Ede collected books on scientific and philosophical theories, which sat alongside books on metaphysics, comparative and esoteric religion, such as Sir James George Frazer's *The Golden Bough* (1890) and John Macmurray's BBC lectures *Freedom in the Modern World* (1932). There were books on American transcendentalism and pragmatist philosophy by William James, Walt Whitman, Ralph Waldo Emerson and John Dewey.[360] By far the largest group of books within Ede's library relate to Christian mysticism and theology. They include Pascal's *Pensées: Theology and philosophy* (1931 edition), the *Confessions of St Augustine* (1929 edition), *The Cloud of Unknowing*, a fourteenth century work of Christian mysticism written in Middle English given to him by Gertrude Harris (1924 edition), and Traherne's *Centuries of Meditation* (1908), which Ede recalled was a gift from Ottoline Morrell. He owned a first edition of Jean and Jerome Tharaud's two-volume biography of the French Catholic writer and philosopher, Charles Péguy*, Notre Cher Péguy,* (1926), as well as Joseph Delteil's

[359]Gabo, 'The Constructive Idea in Art,' p.9.

[360] James, one of the key protagonists of American pragmatism and close friend of Henri Bergson, stated that 'in mystic states we both become one with the Absolute and we become aware of our oneness.' Quoted in William Harmless, *Mystics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007, p.14. The artist Richard Pousette-Dart gave Ede his copy of Emerson, and inscribed it with a circle.

portrait of Jeanne d'Arc (1925), Thomas Aquinas' selected writings edited by the Rev. Martin D'Arcy (1939 edition) and Evelyn Underhill's *Mysticism* (1911).[361]

Ede also indulged a taste for the mystical in literature. Alongside David Jones' *In Parenthesis* (1937), a gift from the artist, and T.S. Eliot's *For Lancelot Andrewes: Essays on Style and Order* (1928),[362] *Ash Wednesday* (1930) and the pageant-play *The Rock* (1934),[363] Ede acquired a 1926 copy of Rilke's novel, *Les Cahiers de Malte Laurids Brigge* (1910), Christopher Wood's copy of Rilke's *Le Livre des Rêves* (1928) and Antoine de Saint-Exupéry's *Wind, Sand and Stars* (1939). From the late 1940s, Ede acquired more books on theology and mysticism, including multiple titles by the French idealist philosopher and Jesuit priest Teilhard de Chardin and the Catholic writer, social activist and theologian Thomas Merton, *Outrenuit* (1949), by Ede's old friend Georges Cattaui, and his biography of the radical French Roman Catholic writer Léon Bloy (1954), who preached 'spiritual revival through suffering and poverty.'[364] Many were gifts, including a 1908 edition of Lancelot Andrewes' *Preces Privatae* (late sixteenth-century devotional prayers),[365] E.V. Rieu's 1952 translation of *The Four Gospels*,[366] René Char's *Fureur et Mystère* (1948), the poems of St John of the Cross (1951 edition), and the collected letters of the mystical poet Rilke (1952 edition),[367] which joined

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[361] *Mysticism: A Study of the Nature and Development of Man's Spiritual Consciousness* was considered Underhill's greatest book. Ede's copy is inscribed 'Helen from Jim 1955 Les Charlotières.'

[362] Lancelot Andrewes (1555-1626) was an Anglican bishop of the Caroline Divine era, whose *Preces Privatae* is a devotional classic.

[363] Ede was a great fan of Eliot, but his collection of first editions did not include, for instance, *The Wasteland* (1922). For a discussion of Eliot's views on church, tradition and the ritual function of art in *The Rock,* see Hazel Atkins, 'Raising the Rock: The Importance of T.S. Eliot's Pageant-Play,' *Christianity and Literature* vol.62 no.2 Winter 2013, p.261-282.

[364] See https://www.britannica.com/biography/Leon-Bloy. When Ede first met Cattaui in the mid-1920s, the poet and diplomat was taking courses in theology, which led to his religious conversion from Judaism to Catholicism in 1928. Cattaui also wrote books on T.S. Eliot, Charles Péguy and Simone Weil.

[365] The 1953 edition (originally published 1908) is inscribed 'Jim remembering St Matthias and HCS 1881-1961 and April and Easter in May-time – Spring and the Resurrection.'

[366] From Helen Sutherland, inscribed 'Helen & Jim with great love from H.C. S. Jan 1953.' E.V. Rieu was a renowned classicist and poet, editor of the Penguin Classics series.

[367] *Rainer Maria Rilke collection les lettres 1875-1926* Paris: Librairie les lettres, 1952. Inscribed 'I am glad to put into Jimmie's hands this collection of documents concerning

various other works of Rilke's, all of David Jones' works, and numerous books of poetry and essays by Kathleen Raine.[368] Various books by noted theologians Charles de Foucauld, Romano Guardini, Michel Quoist, John Burnaby and Alec Vidler include inscriptions to Ede from the authors.

Also sitting on the shelves at Kettle's Yard are Juan Mascaró's 1962 translation of the Baghavad Gita, Maharishi Yogi's *The Treasury and the Market: A Talk on Meditation* (1961) and several books on Hinduism and Eastern religions by Solange Lemaître.[369] Dense theology in *Evolution, Marxism and Christianity* (1967), Martin Buber's theological classic *I and Thou* (1958 [1937]), Dietrich Bonhoeffer's *Letters and Papers from Prison* (1962 [1953]), Jacques Maritain's *The Rights of Man and Natural Law* (1943) and *The Dream of Descartes* (1946) mingles with the more mystical Alan Paton's *Instrument of Thy Peace* (1968),[370] Père Monier's *Saint Jean La Première Contestation Chrétienne and Miettes Spirituelles* (1967-1968),[371] and a first edition of Simone Weil's *Attente de Dieu* (1950). Ede's library is dominated by books on largely Christian theology and ethical themes, and conveys an overall impression of a lively, lifelong interest in all things spiritual. Indeed, a number of these books are referred to in his correspondence with friends and in *A Way of Life* (1984), but such things are merely clues as to the influence of various texts Ede read or owned on his own ideas. What the library can tell us, however, is that these are the books Ede chose

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our dear Rilke Jenny de M.' Jenny de Marjerie (1896-1991) was a patron of English poets (including David Gascoyne), wife of senior diplomat Roland Jaquin de Marjerie.

[368]Kathleen Raine (1908-2003) was a poet and scholar, known for her interest in various forms of spirituality, including Platonism and Neoplatonism. She was a close friend of Winifred Nicholson and Helen Sutherland. She founded the Temenos Academy and *Temenos* journal in 1980, to publish creative work that 'acknowledged spirituality as a prime need for humanity and to offer education in philosophy and the arts in the light of the sacred traditions of East and West.' www.temenosacademy.org

[369]Lemaître's books include *The Mystery of Death in Asian Religions* (1943), *Hinduism, or Sanatana Dharma* (1959), *Ramakrishna and the vitality of Hinduism* (1968). She gave Ede copies of *Une Grande Figure de l'Unité: Abdul Baha* (1952), *Ramakrishna et la vitalite de l'hinduisme; Textes Mystiques d'Orient et D'Occident: Le Sel de la Terre* (1959) and *Hinduisme ou Sanatana Dharma,* all with personal inscriptions.

[370]The book contains two inscriptions: 'Jim, que ça petit livre vous dise merci pour tout la paix et la joie que je trouve dans votre maison. (Jim, with this book I thank you for all the peace and joy I found in your house.) Caroline Cambridge 19-12-70', and later 'for Kettle's Yard where it should have been in 1970. Jim Ede 1979'

[371]Père Monier (1886-1977) was a French Jesuit priest, Ede's copies of his books are both inscribed by the author to 'Jim Ede, homage d'un ami.'

to leave at Kettle's Yard, to be read in the context of what he had created. Whatever he drew from these books, it is quite clear what he wanted his visitors to take away.

3.5: KEY INFLUENCES

Ede pursued spiritual ideas through conversation and correspondence with a range of friends and mentors throughout life. His predilection for mysticism from youth meant that his closest friendships had a spiritual dimension, and it was of little consequence whether that spirituality took the shape of Zen Buddhism or Roman Catholicism. Ede was drawn to artists such as Ben Nicholson, Winifred Nicholson, David Jones, Barbara Hepworth, Henry Moore, Constantin Brâncuşi, Naum Gabo, William Staite-Murray, Alfred Wallis, Richard Pousette-Dart, William Congdon, Jean Arp and Italo Valenti, whose spiritual outlook informed both their art and their lives. Spirituality played a part in his relationship with these artists and others including Ottoline Morrell, Gertrude Harris and Helen Sutherland; with writers such as T.E. Lawrence, Georges Cattaui and Solange Lemaitre. In later life, a shared sense of the spiritual was the basis of intense friendships with the artists Richard Pousette-Dart and William Congdon, while he turned to religious figures such as Dom Philip Jebb of Downside Abbey and the radical theologian Thomas Merton in his restless interrogation of faith.[372] Some of these friendships and encounters, as Ede acknowledged, had greater influence than others. A brief meeting with Alfred Stieglitz in 1931, for example, appears to have resonated with Ede for some time. In the following pages I examine in greater depth the influence of four lifelong relationships that all began around 1924: with the collector Helen Sutherland, and with artists Constantin Brâncuşi, David Jones, and Ben Nicholson.

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[372]Ede corresponded with Jebb throughout the 1960s, although a letter dated 5 July 1960 suggests that their conversation had already been underway for some time. See Philip Jebb, letter to H.S. Ede, 5 July 1960. Papers of H.S. Ede KY/Ede/4. It is likely that Ede made contact with Thomas Merton through William Congdon. Merton wrote a preface for Congdon's autobiographical book, *In My Disc of Gold: Itinerary to Christ* in 1951, and he is referred to as a mutual friend in correspondence between Ede and Congdon in the 1950s. A small group of letters between Ede and Merton covering the period 1956-1969 is held at the Thomas Merton Centre at the Abbey of Gethsemani, Kentucky, USA.

3.5.1: AN ASIDE - ALFRED STIEGLITZ

There is a small photograph in Ede's archives entitled *Life and Death* (1927). It is one of a number of images of a dying chestnut tree at Lake George, Stieglitz' family home, that were made by the American photographer and gallerist, Alfred Stieglitz, between 1927-1937. It was a subject he photographed repeatedly, always tilting the camera sharply upwards to cut off the tree's leafless limbs from its earth-bound roots. (Fig.26)

There is no letter, no explanation for its presence, except a short passage in 'A Visit to America,' Ede's account of his trip in 1931:

'I called on a dealer of pictures, a person really alive to the meaning of art; too much an artist to become rich, more ready to help others than to help himself. I took him a paying-in slip on a foreign post office given to me in London by a German artist who had fallen on lean days. Give this to S— if you see him, he had said with a strange laugh. My dealer said I could have brought no better card of introduction, for our mutual friend was a real artist though most people in an official world would think him mad. "There is always something bitter in his messages, but I will try to send him a little", he said. I was sorry to have to leave but glad at least to have made this contact with so genuine a man.' [373]

Stieglitz' print is one of only four photographic works, the others by Brâncuși – in Ede's collection. If their meeting is the reason for it being there, one might surmise that in that conversation a connection was made, an understanding reached, between the two men.

Stieglitz had links with transcendentalism, and believed divine order was manifest in nature. He was also a champion of the European avant-garde, an advocate of Kandinsky's who also introduced Picasso, Matisse and Cezanne to American audiences in the early 1910s. He had spent most of the 1920s pursuing

[373]H.S. Ede, 'A Visit to America (The Journey Out),' pp.45-46.

an overtly spiritual theme in his work, in the *Equivalents* series (1922-1935) – images in which the artist famously declared he had 'photographed God' – and a small exhibition space that he called 'the Intimate Gallery' (1925-1929) in which, according to Kristina Wilson, 'references abounded to an art that would help viewers to achieve an enlightened awareness of a spiritual realm.'[374]

As its name suggests, the Intimate Gallery was a small space, 'a mere 20 x 26 feet' in which Stieglitz 'carefully orchestrated every aspect of a visitor's experience,' focusing particularly on what he described, in the pamphlets he produced to accompany exhibitions, the 'Spirit of the Room.'[375] (Fig. 27) The majority of work shown at the Intimate Gallery was representational, despite the fact that Stieglitz had been a champion of European abstraction at his previous gallery, 291. In spiritual terms, according to Wilson, this shift reflected an important distinction between an intellectualised notion of spirituality as an abstract state, and Stieglitz' conception of the spiritual as intimately linked to one's embodied existence:

'he wanted not an art that simply illustrated the completed spiritual state but one that catalysed the process of enlightenment. A work of art would do this by calling on the viewer to empathise with both its subject matter and the body of the artist who created it. By establishing this inter-animating zone – in which the art, infused with a tactile vibrancy by the artist, in turn evokes an embodied awareness in the viewer – the work would seemingly encourage the viewer to participate in the same spiritual transformation that the artist had ostensibly experienced.'[376]

In 1926, Ede had likened the experience of viewing art to that of creating it, observing that 'in this vision he creates; even as an artist created by establishing a contact in painting between himself and his vision.'[377] It was the same concept

[374] Kristina Wilson, 'The Intimate Gallery and the *Equivalents*: Spirituality in the 1920s Work of Stieglitz,' *Art Bulletin* Vol. LXXXV no. 4 December 2005, p.746.
[375] Ibid.
[376] Ibid., p.755.
[377] Ede, 'An Exhibition of Painting at the Leicester Galleries.'

that Stieglitz was advancing in the gallery setting. Moreover, many of Stieglitz' display techniques – the neutral walls, the domestic spaces are echoed at Kettle's Yard, while his preference for an embodied, rather than intellectual, experience of spiritual enlightenment offers a convincing argument for the predominance of representational and semi-abstract art, and relative absence of purely abstract, or non-objective art, in Ede's collection.

While it may testify to a sympathetic understanding between Stieglitz and Ede, the image claims its place at Kettle's Yard on its own terms, next to the Brâncuşi's photographs. (Fig. 28) Brâncuşi used photography to capture ephemeral effects of light and shadow on his sculptures and confer an impression of immateriality; Stieglitz used his camera to reveal the divine workings of God in nature. Both pushed the photographic image to the point of transcendence, and both artists' images anticipate the black and white photography in Ede's book, *A Way of Life*.

3.5.2: HELEN SUTHERLAND

Helen Sutherland was deeply religious, although she moved between faiths. She spent twenty years as a Quaker before joining the Anglican Church, then moved gradually towards Catholicism in old age. Sutherland valued the traditions of institutional religion, observed religious festivals and Saints' days, and played an active role in the religious community life but she retained a Quaker's feeling for life as a sacrament.[378]

Within a few months of their meeting, Sutherland's letters to Ede began to include allusions to religious belief. These references developed into a long-running conversation regarding shared spiritual concerns, which often seeped

[378] According to Philippa Bernard, 'Helen Sutherland's Anglican faith was very impressive, a full and welcome part of her existence…Her letters to Kathleen (Raine) were usually dated according to Anglican convention: Candlemass, the Eve of St Michael and All Angels, Ascension Day.' See Phillipa Bernard, *No End to Snowdrops: A Biography of Kathleen Raine*, Shepheard-Walwyn Ltd, 2009, p.67. The Ede's copy of *The Romantics: an anthology selected by Geoffrey Grigson* (1942) is dedicated 'to Helen from Helen in November – the month of All Saints.'

into their discussion of other subjects, from art appreciation, literature and music to the lives of their artist friends. Sutherland's views on religion did not coincide exactly with Ede's. She had little time for Ede's vague mysticism, and their correspondence quickly became a forum for contentious disagreements over God and religion, as this letter shows:

[redacted][379]

Ede and Sutherland's conversations were frank and open, and in Val Corbett's words, 'frequently profound.'[380] According to Ede, Sutherland 'had a power of stimulating thought' and he credited her with inspiring him to write about art.[381] Sutherland was receptive to Ede's ideas about art and beauty, and equally earnest in pursuing spiritual enlightenment, to engender Christian values, to live more 'spiritual' lives, and recognise and appreciate divine presence in the world around them. Her surviving letters to Ede are fragments of an on-going conversation around their shared passions of spirituality and art:

[redacted][382]

They increasingly expressed their faith to one another as a joy in beauty around them, in art, nature or people. [redacted] wrote Sutherland in August 1933. She continued:

[379] Helen Sutherland, letter to H.S. Ede, June 1927. Papers of H.S. Ede, KY/EDE/1/15/2/13. REDACTED
[380] Val Corbett, *Helen Sutherland at Cockley Moor*, p.32.
[381] Ede, 'Between Two Memories,' p.115.
[382] Helen Sutherland, letter to H.S. Ede, 3 April 1932. Papers of H.S. Ede KY/EDE/1/15/7/10. REDACTED

[redacted][383]

The beautiful made a frequent appearance in Sutherland's prose and she described Ede's poetic letters as 'splashing into the day.' For both Ede and Sutherland, the recognition and cultivation of beauty was a form of devotional experience - living 'from & to God.' Both sought beauty in the domestic and the everyday. Their homes, naturally, became the focus of their religious devotion.

Sutherland described her [redacted] where she lived between 1928-39, as a [redacted][384] Throughout the summer months, she entertained a steady stream of visitors, some who would stay for several weeks at a time. It was Sutherland's equivalent of Elm Row, although neither Ede's open house nor Sutherland's country retreats were indulgent affairs. Out of necessity as much as a sense of style, Ede cultivated an aesthetic of simplicity and austerity, while Sutherland interpreted her appetite for beauty in people and experiences in a more overtly spiritual way, with a taste for luxury but not excess. She was known for wearing exquisitely tailored clothes and her penchant for Givenchy soap; for food and wine that was 'rare and delicious but frugal' for which 'one was expected to be appreciative but not greedy,' Nicolete Gray noted, 'it was more spiritual than bodily nourishment.' Likewise, Gray recalled, 'one should be exquisitely clean, but not waste the water, or the electricity.'[385] Indeed Gray, who became a close friend of

[383] Helen Sutherland, letter to H.S. Ede, 11 August 1933. Papers of H.S. Ede, KY/EDE/1/15/8/39. REDACTED
[384] Helen Sutherland, letter to Kathleen Raine, 13 February 1965, Letters of Helen Sutherland to Kathleen Raine, KY/Sutherland/20/5. REDACTED
[385] Nicolete Gray, quoted in Corbett, *Helen Sutherland at Cockley Moor*, p.31

Sutherland's, described the experience as 'something of an ordeal, in the basic sense of the word; one had to contribute, to be beautiful if possible and wear beautiful (not necessarily smart or conventional) clothes, to join in the conversation (and Helen was ruthless to those whose contribution was foolish or trivial), to conform to the spirit of the house which was something positive.'[386]

Sutherland expected her guests to adhere to a number of house routines and rules, which included punctuality at meals, sleeping with the window open all year round, and joining in 'all activities arranged for their benefit, whether this was a long walk in the hills, reading Wordsworth aloud after dinner, going to church, or listening to a recital of music.'[387] It was apparent to her friends that Sutherland was asking just as much of herself as of her guests. As Gray reflected, Sutherland struggled with her own high ideals: 'what impressed me most was being aware for the first time of someone who was wrestling with her temper and possessiveness, admitting them, trying, in our company, to find truths and values and translate them into living.'[388] It was her version of a religious life. In April 1932, Sutherland wrote to Ede,

[redacted]'[389]

[386] Ibid.
[387] Edward Hodgkin quoted in ibid., p.21.
[388] Nicolete Gray, quoted in ibid.
[389] Helen Sutherland, letter to H.S. Ede, 2 April 1932, Papers of H.S. Ede KY/EDE/1/15/7/9. REDACTED.

Sutherland's reference to monastic life was no glib allusion. She moved to Cockley Moor in the Lake District in 1939, and continued to pursue a life dominated by beauty and religious devotion. The former farmhouse was a more modest situation than Rock Hall had been.[390] It was also wartime, and she was isolated from many of her friends. She hunkered down like her friend Winifred Nicholson at Bankshead nearby, and a quiet, simple routine evolved, involving real housework for the first time.[391] Winifred Nicholson, who, as friends had observed, lived a 'spartan existence' herself,[392] painted an austere picture: 'She had a cold bath every morning, walked every day… about twenty miles, lived on nothing but apples, grapes, pineapple and a little lettuce.'[393]

Sutherland made some significant adaptations to the architecture of Cockley Moor before moving in. She commissioned Leslie Martin to design a large, south-facing extension to contain a music room '[redacted][394] and a suite of rooms above for her own personal use. The architecture bore the trademarks of Martin's Brutalist style: a pared-down palette of bare wood and stone, curtainless windows with wide reveals, whitewashed walls and clean, clear spaces. It contrasted sharply with the vernacular architecture of the existing building, although in 1967 Pevsner described it as 'an uncommonly sensitive blend of modern and old.'[395] In its simple spaces and relation to site, the juxtaposition of vernacular and international architectural languages, Martin's work embodied a continuity of sensibility, from raw stone and limewash to

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[390] Rock Hall had fourteen bedrooms, five sitting rooms, a library and picture gallery as well as capacious staff quarters.

[391] [redacted] Helen Sutherland, letter to H.S. Ede, 1 Feb 1940. Papers of H.S. Ede KY/EDE/1/15/15/1. REDACTED

[392] 'My hosts are charming and this rather Spartan existence becomes very pleasant and restful and one does nothing but work all day.' Christopher Wood, letter to Clare Wood from Bankshead, March 1928. Tate Gallery Archives TGA 773.8.

[393] Winifred Nicholson quoted in S.J. Checkland, *Ben Nicholson: the vicious circle of his life and art*, London: John Murray, 2000, p.63.

[394] Helen Sutherland, letter to H.S. Ede, 2 Nov 1939. Papers of H.S. Ede, KY/Ede/1/15/14/14. REDACTED

[395] Nikolaus Pevsner, *Cumberland & Westmorland*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967, p.160.

concrete and glass. It invoked a sense of timelessness and provided a sensitive backdrop for Sutherland's collection of early C20th British art, echoing the 'essential' formal qualities of the art with an interior aesthetic of material austerity – and reflected the collectors' spiritual priorities.

Sutherland's aesthetic preferences were also brought to bear on the parish church, where she had her own seat. According to Corbett, Sutherland had by this time become 'a devout Anglican. She loved the service, though it had to be 'rightly' celebrated […] She had very certain views about Christian doctrine as well as the running of services and the Church itself.'[396] She commissioned Ben Nicholson to make an offertory box for the church, and when she bought a new carpet for church, she decided on blue without consultation because, according to Corbett, she considered red to be vulgar.[397]

Like Sutherland, Ede also had quite clear ideas about the religious environment. According to Simon Barrington-Ward, former Chaplain (1956 – 1960) and Dean (1963-1969) of Magdalene College, Ede stripped all extraneous detail from St Peters' Church[398] and persuaded him to do the same to the College chapel: 'Jim influenced me into developing the chapel in a way which I would never have done without him, making it very austere, Cistercian, puritanical, in its simplicity and whiteness, removing panels, removing curtains, removing the Victorian altar which he thought ugly and having a refectory table instead - the chapel had been

[396] Corbett, *Helen Sutherland at Cockley Moor*, p.51. Sutherland also had a strong sense of Christian duty, and had always been involved in supporting others – particularly artists and her local community. She supported numerous artists, writers and musicians with financial stipends, and paid for the Ashington Group, or Pitmen Painters, to visit London; every Christmas, she gave a book to each child in Matterdale parish, and supported the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society (CWAAS) from 1945 until her death in 1965.
http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archiveDS/archiveDownload?t=arch-2055-1/dissemination/pdf/Article_Level_Pdf/tcwaas/002/1966/vol66/tcwaas_002_1966_vol66_0033.pdf

[397] See Sutherland's letters to the Rev. J. Norman regarding Matterdale Parish Church, PR 130 Matterdale Parish Records, Cumbria Archive Centre, Carlisle.

[398] Except for a cartoon by Leonardo, which Ede put at the back of the church. Barrington-Ward recalls he 'used to talk of the centre of gravity down the middle and out of that rootedness the child could lean out from it.' Simon Barrington-Ward, interviewed by Robert Wilkinson, 26 February 2008. ReCollection: Kettle's Yard Oral History Archive, MYKY02.

remade at a Victorian time and perhaps Dykes Bower was right in being a little bit shocked…but he (Jim) said he thought this was how it should be done.'[399]

As far as Ede was concerned, the tiny Norman church of St Peter's was 'far more important to Kettle's Yard than the Exhibition Gallery and all the telephones.' (Fig.29) He called it his 'emblem of the spirit which kept me alive and gave me courage; it was a daily joy to get those three to four minutes, at eight and at six, to walk up that little path and to go into that space of stillness and ring out the bell of welcome to all the neighbours.'[400] Although he was confirmed an Anglican in 1959, the Roman Catholic tradition of ringing the Angelus was an aesthetic ritual he couldn't resist.

Duncan Robinson recalls that Ede also 'became quite monastic in a funny way…his favorite dress in the evening was a black cassock (but never before four o'clock).'[401] Ede's penchant for the monastic was unmistakably aligned with Sutherland's own interest in the aesthetics of the religious lifestyle.[402] Ede turned the daily routines of cleaning, tidying or tea-time into an aesthetic experience.[403] He had a demanding regime of cleaning and housework: polishing silver, cleaning the glassware, waxing floors and scrubbing stone flags, sweeping the paths to the street and the church. He insisted on taking cold baths (purportedly to avoid steam damaging the paintings in the bathroom) and the

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[399] Simon Barrington-Ward, ibid. Stephen Dykes Bower was the architect who oversaw the restoration of the sixteenth-century First Court at Magdalene College between 1953-1964.
[400] H.S. Ede, 'Letter from Jim Ede to an applicant for the post of Resident at Kettle's Yard.' Papers of H.S. Ede, KY/EDE/uncatalogued (Ephemera 1).
[401] Duncan Robinson interviewed by Robert Wilkinson, 29 May 2008, ReCollection: Kettle's Yard Oral History Archive, MYKY12.
[402] Coincidentally, Eugeneia Errazuriz, whose style Ede also admired (see Ch 4., pp.149-150) became a Tertiary Franciscan or lay nun, and commissioned Coco Chanel to design a plain black habit for her to wear.
https://www.nytimes.com/1992/10/11/magazine/the-queen-of-clean.html.
[403] According to Robinson, 'tea was a complete ritual. It was always Lapsang Souchong, served out of a Queen Anne silver teapot into cracked and stapled china cups, which had travelled halfway round the world; they had clearly had them in North Africa as well as France, because Jim never threw anything away. Along with tea came burnt brown toast, because he was usually too busy talking as he was toasting the toast under the gas grill to take it out in time, and honey and homemade marmalade. That was it, a completely invariable feast, every day at four o'clock.' Ibid.

same rule applied to guests; he detested electric light, so he went to bed at sunset and rose at dawn. Like Sutherland, he ate very little, and only plain food.[404] According to Robinson, 'their pleasures were simple: listening to gramophone records sitting upstairs as the light faded…it really taught me something about the quality of life, and that there is something about a self-regulated life where pleasures are taken seriously and enjoyed all the more deeply for it.'[405]

Ede visited Sutherland at Cockley Moor at least once, in 1949. When Ede later wrote that Sutherland taught him how 'the ordinary conventions of life could be made beautiful by devotion,' he words echoed with this inscription by the French poet and philosopher Charles Peguy (1873-1914) [406] which hung in the hall:

'Everything was a rhythm and a rite and a ceremony from the moment of rising in the early morning. Everything was an event; a sacred event. Everything was a tradition, a lesson, everything was bequeathed, everything was a most saintly habit. Everything was an inner elevation and a prayer. All day long, sleep and wake, work and short rest, bed and board, soup and beef, house and garden, door and street, courtyard and threshold, and the plates on the table.'[407]

3.5.3: DAVID JONES

Few of Ede's friendships match the closeness of Ede and Jones, or the enduring inspiration that Ede derived from Jones and his work. Kettle's Yard reverberates with Jones' influence. John Matthias noted that Ede's house became 'a visual, tactile equivalent for David Jones' accumulating written works…these stones, pictures, sculptures and objects which he has assembled in his house are Ede's

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[404] According to Robinson, Ede lived on the nutritional drink Complan because he suffered digestive problems as a consequence of exposure to poison gas in the trenches during World War I. Ibid.
[405] Ibid.
[406] Peguy's work went overlooked by the mainstream because of its religious tenor; he was a believing but non-practicing Roman Catholic, whose writing 'combined fervent Catholicism with socialist politics.' See https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poets/charles-peguy
[407] Charles Peguy, *Basic Verities: Prose and Poetry,* trans. Ann & Julien Green, New York: Pantheon Books, 1943, p.85.

Anathemata.'[408] Kettle's Yard was, like Jones' poem, Ede's greatest work. 'Anathemata' means, in Greek, 'things set apart,' or 'special things,' and one might describe Ede's collection of treasured artworks and objects as just that; but the place itself is also meant to be a refuge: a place of peace and order' removed from the hubbub of modern life, to which visitors might withdraw. Like the Anathemata, Jones' mystical explication of Christian doctrine through British history and legend, its central theme is faith; it is filled with allusions to God, and in both its material manifestation and the rituals and routines Ede practiced there, it is the apotheosis of Ede's own spiritual journey.

One of the most important ideas Ede absorbed from Jones was the notion of the sacramental. Ede wrote that Jones showed him 'more than other artists the symbolic, the ritualistic beauty of things in human usage. A teacup the cup of life, a window the Heavens opened, a boot the fragility of this flesh. If it was light it was the light that shineth in darkness.'[409]

Jones met Ede around the same time as Ben Nicholson and Winifred Nicholson, early in 1924, and became a close, lifelong friend of both Jim and Helen.[410] He introduced Ede to a number of religious figures, including Jacques Maritain, Desmond Chute and Martin D'Arcy, and to many of his friends – Tom Burns, Harman Grisewood, Rene Hague and Robert Speaight, Cedric Morris, John Betjeman and Evelyn Waugh, who were all members of a conservative, Catholic group that Thomas Dilworth called 'the Chelsea Group.'[411]

Ede rightly regarded Jones as something of an authority on theological matters and hungrily absorbed his ideas about faith and the Christian church, from the subject of angels to radical ecumenism, which often came out of the Chelsea

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[408] Matthias, John, 'Sleeper: The Sleeping Lord and Other Fragments by David Jones reviewed' *Poetry,* vol. 125, no.4, January 1975, pp. 233-241.
[409] Ede, 'Between Two Memories,' p.110. Jones may have had a similar influence on Helen Sutherland, for whom the sacramental was equally intrinsic to her everyday life, and to whom Ede also looked in his exploration of faith.
[410] Jones almost invariably began his letters to 'my very dear' or 'dearest' Jim, and always ended with 'God bless you.'
[411] See Dilworth, T. 'David Jones and the Chelsea Group' in *David Jones: A Christian Modernist?* Boston: Brill, 2017, pp.107-122.

group discussions. Jones was unerringly devout. Worrying that his eyes had 'gone wrong' as a result of a concentrated bout of work, he wrote to Helen 'perhaps, however, I have become an idolator & seek that satisfaction in painting and engraving etc that should only be found in God.'[412]

According to Jonathan Miles and Derek Shiel, Jones dealt with what he saw as a 'failure of his aspiration to approach more closely into communion with God' by sublimating this within a growing preoccupation with the forms of religious celebration.[413] Jones travelled to Lourdes in May 1928, from where he wrote to Ede, 'Saw a wonderful German peasant woman doing pilgrimage here with the usual black headdress like a peacock's fan – jolly good,' although he also noted that 'the grotto here is alright & the people's devotion amazing but the town & the church buildings are a piece of concentrated horror difficult to envisage – pathetic.'[414] Ede bought Jones' drawing of Lourdes a year later, having seen it for himself from a train.

For Jones, the relationship between art and religion was paramount. He became a Roman Catholic in 1921, and in 1922 joined the Guild of St Joseph and St Dominic led by Eric Gill at Ditchling. The Ditchling community sought to reconnect art with work in the tradition of Ruskin and Morris, while prayers, or canonical offices, marked the rhythm of each day. Jones was involved in the printing of an English translation of Jacques Maritain's *Art et Scholastique,* which became a sort of 'handbook for that period at Ditchling,' and gave Jones a philosophical framework within which to understand his practice as an artist.[415]

Maritain offered an alternative to the metaphysical idealism of abstract form that dominated the language of modernism. Maritain's interpretation of the processes

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[412] David Jones, letter to Helen Ede, 13 Aug 1928. Papers of H.S. Ede KY/EDE/1/8/1/7.
[413] Jonathan Miles & Derek Shiel (1995) *David Jones; The Maker Unmade*, Bridgend: Seren, p.138.
[414] David Jones, letter to Ede, 21 May 1928. Papers of H.S. Ede KY/EDE/1/8/1/6.
[415] Jacques Maritain, *Art and Scholasticism*, translated by the Rev. John O'Connor, under the title of *The Philosophy of Art*, Ditching: St Dominic's Press, 1923. 500 copies were printed on hand-made paper. See Fiona MacCarthy, *Eric Gill,* London: Faber & Faber, 2011, p.253.

of signification and epiphany led Jones to realise that the possibilities of anamnesis and transubstantiation, as practiced in the communion sacrament of bread and wine, were equally available to the artist in re-presenting a landscape or a still life. He wrote to Ede in 1943, 'In such matters as the possible relationship between the theory of transubstantiation in the theological sense & the analogous process in artworks – it [is] a delicate matter & one which has greatly exercised my mind & one with many obvious snags but as I think, a matter which, within limits, has a real meaning.'[416]

Jones had settled on a way to fuse spiritual ideas and aesthetic form without resorting to the modernist rhetoric of abstraction. He could harness the material qualities of colour and line, even light in the translucent medium of watercolour, to create delicate, complex paintings and later, painted inscriptions. Ede sensed in Jones' work an immanent, universal spiritual energy. He explained, 'His skies are full of other skies – his birds sing the songs of all birds – teapots and cups are emblematic of the meeting together of people – the Breaking of Bread as it were – his compotiere is almost the sacred Grael – the cup of communion, held as it is in thorns impossible to disassociate from the Crown of Thorns – flowers are not portraits of particular flowers but the idea of flowers, their delicacy and persistence.'[417]

In 1970, Ede remarked that Jones 'brought shape to the ephemeral in me.'[418] His influence was critical in catalysing Ede's faith. According to Barrington-Ward, it was 'through his interest in David Jones, whose spiritual vision appealed to him and gave a frame to him, from being a pantheist, seeing the divine in everything and ourselves a part of that, within that, as he was catching hold of Jones' vision (he made me read him), he came to Jones' idea of the sacramental, the sacrament of humanity.'[419] It was Jones' concept of the sacrament as a visible symbol of the

[416] He continued, 'Between ourselves, I have always 'felt' that the statement of 'transubstantiation' had, apart rather from its particular theological application, a singularly important & central meaning with respect to the 'arts' in general.' David Jones, letter to Ede, 3 May 1943. Papers of H.S. Ede KY/EDE/1/8/1/47.
[417] Ede, 'Five Contemporary British Painters,' p.65b.
[418] Ede, Handlist.
[419] Barrington-Ward, ibid.

reality of God which underpinned Ede's vision for Kettle's Yard, and Jones' notion of loving 'God *through* created things'[420] – i.e. through signifying images and objects' – was something that, Barrington-Ward noted, Ede 'was actually expressing and embodying in the house…it seemed to me to go a great deal with the way he was approaching the notion of both the bread and wine and the person of Christ and the humanity of Christ.'[421]

It was part of what Ede called the 'sacrament of the everyday' at Kettle's Yard.[422] Barrington-Ward explained that the slightest detail was significant: 'I remember picking up the lemon asking why does it have to be right here? He told me to put it down, and adjusted it slightly after I'd replaced it.'[423] Ede saw himself as an instrument of God, and regarded his aesthetic intuition, his sense of balance or 'rightness' in a painting or the layout of a room, as the means by which the divine was made visible. As Jones declared in *Epoch and the Artist* (1959), 'our business here below is to make the universal shine out from the particular.'[424]

3.5.4: CONSTANTIN BRÂNCUŞI

Ede first visited Brâncuşi's studio, tucked away down an alley in the Montparnasse district of Paris, in 1924.[425] It was a rough stone and timber construction, with his name in chalk on the door and blocks of stone, waiting to be carved, outside. Inside, it had a large sloping glass roof, compacted earth floors and powdery (lime) plastered walls. The overwhelming impression was of light and a unifying whiteness. Ede observed,

'All the elements were there collected in his studio, almost as though it were nature's workshop. There was such an air; light, poise and rhythm in his

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[420] David Jones, letter to Ede, 4 November 1927. Papers of H.S. Ede, KY/EDE/1/8/1/4.
[421] Barrington-Ward, ibid.
[422] Ede, *A Way of Life*, p.78.
[423] Barrington-Ward, ibid.
[424] David Jones, 'James Joyce's Dublin' in *Epoch and Artist,* London: Faber & Faber, 2013 (1959), p.304.
[425]Montparnasse was the heart of the artistic and intellectual life of Paris in the 1920s and 1930s, as poor emigrant artists such as Brâncuşi moved into the area following the cheap rents.

carvings…The only dark things in all that world were Brâncuşi's eyes, they were like wet pebbles on the sand; everything else was finely powdered over, his grey hair and beard, his face, his clothes, the tall columns of eternal movement, the *Nouveau Né*, the *Tête de Nègre*, the white cloths covering the polished brilliance of the *Fish*, the *Bird in Flight* and *Mademoiselle Poyani*. Through the dim roof glass the sky was blue and there was a gentle movement of trees. It was the first of many visits and I never lost the sense of living energy it was to be there.'[426]

Ede's description, with its accumulating details, conveys the intoxicating effect of all the elements combined, united by the fine white dusting of powdered plaster on every surface. (Fig.30) It was a unity that others also noted: the texture of the crumbling walls, the leaves on trees outside filtering sunlight through the skylights onto the walls and sculptures, the proximity of neighbouring workspaces and the approach via the Impasse Ronsin were as much a part of the aesthetic experience as the sculptures. Architectural historian Albrecht Barthel points out that the studio was the container both of the artist's work and his life: 'The building…contained manifold information that, apart from historiographic interest, bore immediate witness to the artist's everyday life.'[427] Inside, art and life were inseparable. Indeed, Ede's first visit included a simple meal, cooked and eaten in the studio – and described with the same intense aesthetic delight as the sculptures and the environment in which he was immersed:

'He would lift the cover from those shining brasses; the fish would start revolving on its plate of clear reflection, a Bird, full throated, hung poised like a star, the great grey Fish of marble swam in limitless waters and Brâncuşi was clearing a large slab of stone and laying white paper on it, glasses, knives, butter and fresh cut radishes, a long French loaf: and all the time some new object would come upon my wonder, forms of carved wood lying at hazard, or seemingly so, for nothing was at hazard in that studio, since all was part of one

[426]H.S. Ede, 'Visiting Picasso and Brâncuşi,' pp178-179.
[427]Albrecht Barthel, 'The Paris Studio of Constantin Brâncuşi: A Critique of the Modern Period Room,' *Future Anterior: Journal of Historic Preservation, History, Theory and Criticism,* Vol.3, No.2, Winter 2006, Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, pp.34-43.

vision, or the remnants of some little bouquet. Brâncuşi's flowers seemed never to wilt, but to become immobilised, perhaps they thrived on powdered air; and in that air I now heard, so softly that it did not break my thought, the distant sound of xylophones, the quick beat of Balinese and Javanese music, and Brâncuşi was coming in with a bucket of ice in which stood bottles of wine looking themselves like statues by Brâncuşi…He brought the most marvellously cooked chops I had ever tasted, and haricots verts. The salt took on a special whiteness on that white paper and the carvings all about became one, and I was in that unity.'[428]

Largely practical, white lime plaster was traditionally used to cover up soot and dirt but it also gave walls their characteristic powdery texture. The 'immobilizing' effect of the 'powdered air' also conjured a sense of timelessness that, as Margit Rowell has noted, was an important theme in Brâncuşi's work and served to harmonise between ancient traditions and a modern aesthetic.[429] The whiteness of Brâncuşi's studio was a key feature noted by countless visitors, and, according to Jon Wood, a carefully cultivated part of the artist's mythology that provided a consistent visual link between himself, his work and his studio.[430] It was something most visitors remarked upon. Margaret Anderson, editor of *The Little Review,* recalled:

'His hair and beard are white, his long working-man's blouse is white, his stone benches and large round table are white, the sculptor's dust that covers everything is white, his Bird in white marble stands on a high pedestal against the windows, a large white magnolia can always be seen on the white table. At one time he had a white dog and a white rooster.'[431]

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[428]Ede, 'Visiting Picasso and Brâncuşi,' ibid.
[429]Margit Rowell, 'Brâncuşi: Timelessness in a Modern Mode' in Bach et al., *Constantin* Brâncuşi*,* pp.38-49.
[430]See Jon Wood, 'Brâncuşi's White Studio' in Mary-Jane Jacob and Michelle Grabner, eds. *The Studio Reader: On the Space of Artists*, Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 2010, pp.269-282.
[431] Margaret Anderson, *My Thirty Years War: The Autobiography*, New York: Horizon Press, 1969 (1930), pp.251-252.

Brâncuşi's white studio was not just a proto-white cube, the neutral backdrop to modernism.[432] Rather, Wood argued, it 'was an elaborate construct that was generated by the artist through his sculpture, through his photography, through his self-conscious crafting of a studio-oriented artistic identity': it was a place to stage his art and life.[433] The overwhelming whiteness had a powerful symbolic effect. It served to isolate the studio and its contents from the outside world and perpetuate the modernist image of the sculptor's heroic solitude and autonomy; Blaise Cendrars wrote to Brâncuşi from the Alps, feeling 'all alone in the snows, as you are in your all white studio.'[434]

It also conjured associations with light, purity, cleanliness, perfection and holiness; as the symbolic opposite of darkness, white carries significance in various religions. In Roman Catholicism it is associated with Jesus Christ, with innocence and sacrifice, and it is the liturgical colour for the most important events in the Christian calendar – Christmas and Easter. In Buddhism, white is the colour for Saraswati, the goddess of learning and knowledge. It gave the studio the air of a sacred space.

According to friends, Brâncuşi's religious heritage was important to him and he was a practising Christian.[435] He had strong connections with the Romanian Orthodox Church from a young age, and his funeral at the Romanian Chapel in Paris was held according to the Orthodox Church's rites in 1957.[436] He also

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[432] As Brian O'Doherty argued persuasively in 1986, the white cube is anything but neutral. See Brian O'Doherty, *Inside the White Cube: The Ideology of the Gallery Space* Berkeley, Los Angeles, USA & London, UK: University of California Press, expanded edition 1999.
[433] Wood, Ibid.
[434] Ibid.
[435] 'Brâncuşi was a practicing Christian. I saw him kneeling in the Church in Tirgu-Jiu [...] He knew by heart the whole Liturgy, all the Orthodox rituals with fasts and alms. [...] He liked coliva, he enjoyed rituals. [...] Before every meal he signed himself. [...] I saw a crucifix above his bed. [...] When entering a church, he behaved as a good Orthodox. [...] We cannot overlook the Christian idea which, undoubtedly dominated him. [...]' Sanda Tatarascu-Negroponte, personal communication, December 8, 1994, quoted in Dragos Gheorghiu, 'Brâncuşi and Popular Orthdoxy,' *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, Vol. 213 no. 1, 1996, pp.75-91.
[436] Vasile Georgescu Paleolog, *Tineretea lui Brâncuşi / The Young Brâncuşi* Bucharest: Editura Tineretului, 1967.

understood art in terms of mystical experience: 'Look at my sculptures until you see them. Those nearest to God have seen them.'[437] Widely acknowledged as one of the founders of modern sculpture, he nevertheless held to traditions of sacred folk art that played a key role in the Romanian Orthodox church. He wrote, 'I never burned my boats, nor pulled out my roots in order to roam giddily. My art profited from that.'[438] Brâncuşi sensed affinities between iconographic religious art and modern, abstract art, and saw abstraction as means to express objective metaphysical fact. 'Reality lies in the essence of things…and not their external forms,' he wrote; 'the artist should know how to dig out the being that is within matter and be the tool that brings out its cosmic essence in an actual visible essence.'[439] As Aidan Hart has noted, Brâncuşi's mystical words recall the advice of the 7th century saint, Maximus the Confessor: 'Do not stop short of the outward appearance which visible things present to the senses, but seek with your intellect to contemplate their inner essences (logoi), seeing them as images of spiritual realities...'[440]

Brâncuşi drew widely on religious texts. Around 1924, he read Jean Bacot's translation of *The Life of Milarepa / Le Poete Tibetain Milarepa.*[441] Anecdote has it that Brâncuşi kept this book by his bed, but as far as its influence went, he wrote, 'Buddhism isn't a religion, it is a morality and a technique through which one can come closer to the gods. Buddhism is my morality. I have neglected the technique.'[442] Nevertheless, he combined Buddhist principles with Romanian orthodox teachings and Christian mysticism in composing his own aphorisms:

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[437] Brâncuşi quoted in H.H. Arnason and Peter Kalb, *History of Modern Art,* 5th ed. Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 2004, p.154.
[438] Brâncuşi quoted by Aidan Hart (2012) 'Constantin Brâncuşi: His Spiritual Roots,' p.1, https://aidanharticons.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/08/Constantin-Brancusi.pdf accessed 13 February 2017.
[439] Brâncuşi in Bach et al., *Constantin Brâncuşi,* p.23.
[440] Hart compares this text with Brâncuşi: 'They are imbeciles who call my work abstract; that which they call abstract is the most realist, because what is real is not the exterior form but the idea, the essence of things.' Ibid., p.5.
[441] See also Mircea Eliade, 'Brâncuşi *and Mythology'* in Mircea Eliade & Diane Apostolos-Cappadona, eds. *Symbolism, the Sacred and the Arts,* New York: Crossroad, 1986, pp.93-101.
[442] Brâncuşi quoted in Roger Lipsey, *An Art of Our Own: The Spiritual in Twentieth Century Art*, Boston: Shambhala 1988, p.237.

'The vain ego of the person ought to be dissolved. The hidden principle - that is, the truth – can only be revealed if the ego is entirely eliminated.'[443]

Ede was one of many visitors in whom Brâncuşi's studio triggered a powerful, almost spiritual response. Man Ray described the experience as 'like entering another world'[444]; Dorothy Dudley, journalist and friend of Brâncuşi, noted that 'every object, even the tools, seemed to vibrate with a supernatural presence.'[445] The white surfaces of his studio allowed Brâncuşi to exploit subtle effects of natural and artificial light in his photography of the studio and sculptures, to highlight textures and emphasized shadows, lending metaphysical import to the formal contrasts of darkness and light.

The Edes visited Brâncuşi's studio whenever they were in Paris, and regularly implored him to visit them at Elm Row and at Les Charlotières, although he rarely travelled out of Paris. In April 1928, following a recent visit, Ede wrote to Brâncuşi, 'it was a great rest to us to sit in your studio, everything is so lovely and makes such a good harmony.'[446] Their last visit was in 1955 – by which time Brâncuşi had largely stopped making work, stopped lending or selling his work, and spent his time rearranging his sculptures in his studio. Where later modernists would cite the condition of alienation as motivation for their work, Brâncuşi spoke about an underlying harmony between all things: 'They who have preserved in their souls the harmony residing in all things, at the core of things, shall find it very easy to understand modern art, because their hearts shall vibrate in keeping with the laws of nature.'[447] Modern art for Brâncuşi was vibrating with 'cosmic harmonies' and the unity he sought between his sculptures and the studio was equivalent to a sense of spiritual oneness. 'I am no

[443]Quoted in Jean-Louis Ferrier, ed. *Art of the Twentieth Century*, Paris: Chene-Hachette, 1999, p.11.
[444]'The first time I went to see the sculptor Brâncuşi in his studio I was more impressed than in any cathedral. I was overwhelmed with its whiteness and lightness.' Man Ray, *Self-Portrait* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown & Co. 1963), p.206.
[445]Dorothy Dudley, 'Brâncuşi,' *Dial* no.82, February 1927, pp.123-130.
[446]H.S. Ede, letter to Brâncuşi, 19 April 1928, Fonds Constantin Brâncuşi.
[447] Brâncuşi quoted in Aidan Hart, 'The Altar and the Portico Pt.1, *Orthodox Arts Journal* October 2016, https://www.orthodoxartsjournal.org/the-altar-and-the-portico-pt1/ accessed 16 September 2017.

longer of this world,' he wrote; 'I am far from myself, I am no longer a part of my own person. I am within the essence of things themselves.'[448]

Brâncuşi was often quoted as saying 'Do not look for mysteries, I give you pure joy,' [449] and that is how Ede described the safe arrival of Brâncuşi's *Poisson d'Or*: 'Cher Brâncuşi vous me faites beaucoup de joie/Dear Brâncuşi you have given me great joy'.[450] This was Ede's first major purchase, and the point at which the earliest surviving correspondence between Ede and Brâncuşi begins.[451] In the same letter acknowledging receipt of the work, Ede explains how the Fish has sustained him while rescuing thousands of artworks from the floods of 1928: 'J'ai été ici onze ou plus heures par jours avec encore du travail chaque nuit ainsi je commence d'être un peu fatigué et si ça n'a pas été pour votre Poisson je ne sais pas ce que j'aurai fait – mais le Fish a été très tranquilisant, très stable' / 'I've been here eleven or more hours per day with more work every night, so I have started to get a little bit tired and if it wasn't for your Fish I don't know what I would have done – but the Fish has been very calming, stable.' Je l'adore' he declares.[452]

Through his art and the environment of his studio, Brâncuşi offered the means to transcend the outside world through aesthetic experience. Both were a source of spiritual and aesthetic inspiration for Ede, who borrowed much Brâncuşi, from the notion of a real bell at the front door to 'bring me music while they wait' to the artist's carefully composed self-image. The overwhelming sense of unity between Brâncuşi, his studio and his artworks were to reverberate with Ede throughout his life.

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[448] Brâncuşi quoted in Sidney Geist, Brâncuşi*: A Study of the Sculpture*, London: Studio Vista, 1968, p.178.
[449] Brâncuşi, quoted in Geist, *Brâncuşi,* p. 144.
[450] H.S. Ede, letter to Brâncuşi, 25 January 1928, Fonds Constantin Brâncuşi.
[451] In a letter dated 9 December 1927, Ede asks Brâncuşi if he might consider selling him the *Poisson d'Or* 'pas pour la musée à ce moment, pour moi'(not for the museum at the moment, for me), describing it as 'une de ces choses qu'on ne peux pas payer avec l'argent, c'est comme l'air, l'eau, le vent, les arbres – dans un mot c'est la vie' (one of those things one can't buy with money – like the air, water, wind, trees – in one word, life.), Ibid.
[452] H.S. Ede, letter to Brâncuşi, 25 January 1928, ibid.

In July 1949, delighted to discover that Brâncuşi had survived the war, he declared 'Pendant les années j'ai souvent pensé à vous et la mémoire de vous et de votre oeuvre m'a beaucoup aidé dans tout ce temps difficile.' / 'Through these years I've often thought of you and the memory of you and your work has helped me greatly during all the difficult times' [453] And in February 1955, he wrote, 'Quelque fois je pense aux premières visites que je vous avais faites – et cette joie est une grande partie de ma vie, et je vous remercie' / 'Sometimes I think of the first visits I made – and this joy is a large part of my life, and I thank you.'[454]

3.5.5: BEN NICHOLSON

Ede's account of the forming of Kettle's Yard always begins with meeting Ben and Winifred Nicholson in 1924. As Ede recalled, they were responsible for introducing him to contemporary art, but it was their way of life that caught his imagination most. 'Winifred Nicholson taught me much about the fusing of art and daily living, and Ben that traffic in Piccadilly had the rhythm of a ballet and a game of tennis the perfection of an old master. Life with them at once seemed lively, satisfying and special.[455] Theirs was a life in which, as Helen Sutherland noted, 'the world of imagination really reaches & touches & lights up & enfranchises the ordinary human life so that this is lived in all its beauty and promise and fullness.'[456] Ben, according to Sutherland, 'was utterly absorbed in the adventure both of painting and living – he insisted that living and painting must be <u>one thing</u>. To watch Ben Nicholson playing ball games, to be driven by him, even in the cheapest of cars, was to realise the miracle of rhythm and of how inseparably this rhythmic sense was an integral part of the whole man.'[457]

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[453] H.S. Ede, letter to Brâncuşi, 21 July 1949, ibid.
[454] H.S. Ede, letter to Brâncuşi, 8 Feb 1955, ibid.
[455] Ede, Handlist.
[456]Helen Sutherland, letter to Ben Nicholson, undated, quoted in Frances Spalding, 'Helen Sutherland, patron, collector and friend of Ben Nicholson' *The Burlington Magazine* CLV, July 2013, p.482.
[457]Helen Sutherland quoted in Corbett, *Helen Sutherland at Cockley Moor*, p.36.

The Nicholsons' religious beliefs played an intrinsic part in this. In the mid-1920s, both Ben and Winifred became fervent believers in Christian Science, a religion premised on the notion that there are two conceptions of reality; one governed by the physical senses or 'mortal' mind, and one shaped by 'divine mind' – that is, 'true' reality, the manifestation of an infinite, universal force, of which everything is a part, and synonymous with God. An awareness of the world as a spiritual whole brings the believer into a state of health and harmony with the universe. Christian Science aligned the teachings of the Bible with a transcendental world-view akin to Neo-Platonic philosophy and Eastern religions, and the idea of unity with all things translated clearly into the way Sutherland and Ede both interpreted Ben Nicholson's intuitive sense of rhythm and his intense absorption with painting as a way of looking at and interacting with the world.

Given their close friendship in the 1920s and 1930s, it would have been impossible for Ede not to be aware of Ben and Winifred's beliefs or to appreciate the connection between their work as artists, their spirituality and their daily lives; particularly, as Christopher Andrea has noted, Christian Science was something Winifred 'did not separate from any part of her life.'[458] Although Lucy Kent notes that the Nicholsons were careful not to discuss their faith with others outside of Christian Science , occasional references in the surviving correspondence with Ede suggest that metaphysics and spirituality were subjects they did discuss, as part of ongoing conversations that encompassed a broader spectrum of ideas.[459]

For example, when Ede writes to Ben and Winifred having heard the news of Christopher Wood's death, he describes it in terms of 'an actual physical vibration,'[460] presumably referring to the physical fact of Wood's death as being separate from his continuing existence in a spiritual plane. In Christian Science, life is divine energy, distinct from matter and therefore immortal. He continued:

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[458]Christopher Andreae, *Winifred Nicholson*, London: Lund Humphries, 2009, p.66.
[459] Kent, 'Modern Gods,' p.26.
[460] H.S. Ede, letter to Ben and Winifred Nicholson, August 30 1930. Ben Nicholson Papers, Tate Gallery Archive TGA 8717.1.2.875.

'you hold more than anyone, I think, the aliveness that is Kit's and no accident of death can alter this…it is the gift of God which always is alive.'[461] He made similar allusions in his letters to Ben following the deaths of both Barbara Hepworth (1975) and Winifred Nicholson (1981).[462]

The letters between Ede and both Winifred and Ben Nicholson during the interwar period, together with Ede's writing about their work, also reveal a nuanced understanding of the Nicholsons' ideas about art and spirituality, which evolved in conversation with them. A letter from Winifred to Ede in the summer of 1928 regarding an early draft of Ede's *Artwork* article on Winifred Nicholson, Ben Nicholson and William Staite-Murray involves a lengthy explication of an idea that Ede was obviously wrestling with – something from a previous exchange with Winifred – in the article. She writes, 'when I wrote before I never meant that the visual concept of an object in movement was an optical delusion, as you seem to suggest – I meant that shape it was seen as in the painter's head was a summary of the moment which gave the essence of the moment.' [463] While Ede seemed to have grasped the Christian Science idea of the illusory nature of the material world of appearances, Winifred hones in on the underlying 'essence.' She elaborated:

'Ordinary vision tries to see things isolated, outlined, and static, the new (old) painting vision attempts to see them […] as space filled with air and light and solid things, […] not isolated but with a profound and underlying purpose that orders everything into its right place, although it itself is not seen, but is all powerful […] not static…but in that shape which it takes when it opens its wings and flies, or when it opens its eyes and laughs at the world, like Picasso, also Ben.

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[461] H.S. Ede, letter to Ben & Winifred Nicholson, August 30 1930. Ibid.
[462] On 23 May 1975, following Barbara Hepworth's death, Ede writes to Ben, 'I have always the belief that death is a freedom into a far greater awareness & marvellous joy – I lose this a bit lately but still hold to it – all the eternal things of life still go on…Forgive me if I am pushing in where I should not – we have all been friends for so long and that friendship continues' Papers of ben Nicholson, TGA 8717.1.2.1017. Following Winifred's death, on 21 March 1981, he writes 'I am happy that she has gone forward without distress. The memory of her is ever fresh in my heart or mind they are one.' Papers of Ben Nicholson, TGA 8717.1.2.1028.
[463] Winifred Nicholson, letter to H.S. Ede, n.d. (c.1928). Papers of H.S. Ede, KY/EDE/1/12.

This idea of the ebb and flow of solidity, its tide, if one can call it that, seems to me to be at the back of Picasso and the new thinking about the visual universe.'[464]

Winifred appears to have meant the Christian Science idea of a unifying, universal reality and alludes to the 'new thinking' – in modern physics – about matter at sub-atomic and cosmic levels.

The article that was finally published included a reference to 'the so-called solid objects' and was Ede's most mystical yet.[465] If Ben had any reservations about Ede's interpretation of his work during this period, he was still appreciative of Ede's style. He wrote from Banks Head 'Nice letter of yours. I feel something in common between you & Borotra, even if it's only the jack in the box. I don't think mystic charm and subtlety are his points though they may be yours…'[466] In 1930, he asked Ede to write something for an exhibition catalogue. Ede replied 'It's ever so nice of you to ask me to do a foreword…I feel so pleased that you think I could. I like to think that you feel that my thought has a union with yours.'[467]

Ede was never closely involved in Christian Science, but he wrestled persistently with, and in fact foregrounded, the conceptual nature of Nicholson's practice in his engagement with the work. 'Ben Nicholson is occupied not with his design or with his surface value, but with his idea,' he wrote in *Artwork*. 'His picture is his idea whether it appears in the form of jugs and plates, landscapes or flowers…'[468] The notion of an underlying 'idea,' 'an infinite idea forever developing itself' was

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[464] Ibid.
[465] See pp.104-105.
[466] Ben Nicholson, letter to H.S. Ede, c1928. Papers of H.S. Ede, KY/EDE/1/11. Jean Borotra was a French tennis player who dominated the game during the 1920s and 30s; tennis was a favoured analogy used by Ben to teach Ede about intuitive rhythm, economical movement, and underlying order – from traffic to ballet to painting and life.
[467] H.S. Ede, letter to Ben Nicholson, 2 Feb 1930, Ben Nicholson Papers, TGA 8717.1.2.865.
[468] Ede, 'Ben Nicholson, Winifred Nicholson and William Staite-Murray,' p.467.

of course a central tenet of Christian Science.[469] 'What is this IDEA?' asked Ede in 'Five Contemporary Artists':

'This Platonist idea – sublime and abstract – yet somehow embodied which pervades all his work – which is his genius and his strength for it makes him singular – but in this singularity lies often weakness too, for it removes him from the quick touch, the solidarity of common understanding, making his world seem scarcely recognisable to us who are so steeped in things themselves.'[470]

Using the Christian Science model of two conceptions of reality, Ede links Ben's sublime, abstract 'genius' with the 'divine mind'; a purer, rarefied and less accessible form of expression than that which might be understood by 'mortal' minds, such as himself. To be 'steeped in things themselves' may make it hard to engage with Nicholson's abstract revelation of the divine, but it is also a prerequisite for a relationship with God on David Jones' terms, i.e. 'loving God through created things.'[471] Ede ventured, 'Persons, direct experiences, sensuous objects, these become transmuted, embodied somehow into an Idea – an abstract feeling which touches him to the quick, which is the life of his inner citadel, a citadel ceaselessly at work.'[472]

Nicholson had moved beyond material reality, Ede explained. 'His idea has stopped expressing itself through bottles and basins. These have now developed into squares and circles – but the picture behind them and about them – the IDEA is still as independently alive, is indeed the more so as he himself grows freer.'[473]

In 1934, Nicholson began his *Unit One* statement by quoting the celebrated scientist Arthur Eddington, who had been responsible for 'proving' Einstein's

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[469] Mary Baker Eddy, *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures,* 1875, p.258. Available at: https://www.christianscience.com/the-christian-science-pastor/science-and-health/chapter-ix-creation?citation=SH%20257:12-257:21
[470] Ede, 'Five Contemporary British Painters,' p.50.
[471] David Jones, letter to Ede, 4 November 1927, David Jones Papers.
[472] Ede, 'Five Contemporary British Painters,' p.46.
[473] Ibid., p.52.

theory of relativity. He attended Eddington's public lectures in London and owned a copy of Eddington's 1928 book, *The Nature of the Physical World*. One of Eddington's most provocative claims, which would appear to support Christian Science claims, was that 'the substratum of everything is of mental character.'[474] In 1929, Nicholson gave Ede a copy of Eddington's book. Ede wrote to thank Ben: 'Dear Ben that book is terribly exciting…it's the sort of book I <u>really</u> like, & while reading the small bit I have read I kept talking to Helen about you and when I got into my bedroom and saw your 'brown' picture (plate, knife, lemon, jug) I said to Helen 'Ben and Eddington are talking of the same thing.'[475] (Fig.31)

In August 1937, Nicholson asked Ede to send back any correspondence containing material of a personal nature so he could read through and destroy 'what ought to be destroyed.'[476] Given their intimate friendship and the date of this request, one might assume that the letters included details of Nicholson's separation from his first wife, Winifred, which he wanted to forget. Ede complied, and so the few surviving letters reveal scant glimpses of what was one of the most significant relationships in Ede's life at that time.

The language of their correspondence is sprinkled with coded terms such as *real*, *local,* or *universal*, which continues to the end. 'The more I see of the black fellows the more I like them,' wrote Ede, about a group of paintings Nicholson had shown him. 'They are a <u>real</u> whole idea, a lovely birth and life'.[477] About Christopher Wood he commented, 'Soon he will be able to […] paint his thought rather than his local vision.'[478] Meanwhile Nicholson wrote to Ede, 'A good Wallis

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[474] Arthur S. Eddington, *The Nature of the Physical World,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928, p.281.
[475] H.S. Ede, letter to Ben Nicholson, 5 November 1929. Papers of Ben Nicholson, TGA 8717.1.2.858.
[476] Ben Nicholson, letter to H.S. Ede, August 1937, ibid.
[477] H.S. Ede, letter to Ben Nicholson, November 1928, Ben Nicholson Papers, TGA 8717.1.2.848.
[478] H.S. Ede, letter to Ben Nicholson, nd. (Tues), Ben Nicholson Papers, TGA 8717.1.2.849.

is simply REAL – like a good Picasso;'[479] 'the kind of people I may or may not be able to send you are *universal* in their approach.'[480]

Evidence of Nicholson's continuing interest in spirituality in the postwar period is scarce, although letters from Ede suggest that there was still a shared appreciation of the mystical between them. In March 1964, he wrote 'Dear Ben I'm ever so touched that you should send me an invisible drawing because you think I have an eye for the invisible – it is what I'm always looking at (ask Felicitas about this!) & here it has now arrived. It <u>is</u> almost invisible (there can't have been any ink in your pen or it did not like its first contact with the paper) but <u>what</u> a beauty – most noble space and tower(?) like quiet a filled Presence (if only we can <u>see</u> it) – life <u>is</u> like this. Its transparent too – again what we ought to be.' [481] Ben's third wife, Felicitas Vogler, also shared Ede's taste for Christian mysticism. He sent her copies of Martin Buber's *I and Thou* (1923) and *The Cloud of Unknowing* (late 14th century),[482] and sent Ben pebbles and shells. Ede regarded pebbles as 'strange expressions of miracles,' glimpses of a universal divine presence.[483] Ben had always kept them in his studio, and the fact that Ede sent them to Ben suggests that they might have shared this interest.[484] Some

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[479] Ben Nicholson, letter to H.S. Ede, 29 Aug 1942, Papers of H.S. Ede, KY/EDE/1/11. On 24 September Ede replied, 'Yes. The REAL is the thing & of course I agree with you that a good non-figurative Picasso is not photographic…The good stuff is always just REAL!!' Ben Nicholson Papers, TGA 8717.1.2.888.

[480] Ben Nicholson, letter to H.S. Ede, 10 Feb 1968. Papers of H.S. Ede, KY/EDE/1/11.

[481] H.S. Ede, letter to Ben Nicholson 2 March 1964. Ben Nicholson Papers, TGA 8717.1.2.951.

[482] H.S. Ede, letter to Ben Nicholson, 29 Aug 1962: 'Love to you & Felicitas (I hope she rec'd 'The Cloud of Unknowing')' Ben Nicholson Papers, TGA 8717.1.2.928. See also H.S. Ede, letter to Ben Nicholson, 2 Aug 1964: 'I have been meaning to write to Felicitas to ask her if she liked "I and Thou" (Martin Buber) – I feel it's full of deep TRUTH – but its <u>very</u> hard to understand from a syntax point of view.' Ben Nicholson Papers, TGA 8717.1.2.962.

[483] See H.S. Ede, 'I have always been fascinated by pebbles,' typescript. Papers of H.S. Ede, KY/EDE/4/2/2/4.

[484] Barbara Hepworth's inventory of things in the Hampstead studio flat they shared in the 1930s included 'a scarlet circle on the wall, a slender white bottle on a shelf near it, a bright blue box and lovely-shaped fishing floats that rest in the hand like a bird, weighty pebbles, dull grey, some gleaming white, all these move about the room and as they are placed, make the room gay or serious or bright as a frosty morning.' In Harrod, *Crafts in Britain in the Twentieth Century*, p.115. See also H.S. Ede, letter to Ben Nicholson, 12 March 1964. Ben Nicholson Papers, TGA 8717.1.2.9520: 'Glad those shells pleased you'; and H.S. Ede, letter to Ben Nicholson, 26 June 1964, ibid., TGA 8717.1.2.959: 'Dear Ben I

years later, Ede described Nicholson's work as having 'the fantastic rightness of a pebble on the shore – a very special pebble of course - & I can't say more.[485] The conversation between the pebbles, shells and Ben's work, which is found in casual pairings around the house, was an important element of Kettle's Yard, and one of the reasons he saw the collection as a single entity with a specifically spiritual purpose.[486] (Fig.32) In 1965, struggling to secure its future with the University, he acknowledged this in a letter to Ben 'I'm determined not to break up the collection, its after all based on early Ben Nicholsons, & I feel that these should stay together along with stones & shells!'[487]

By the late 1960s, however, their diverging views on art and spirituality surfaced in a painful rift between Ede and Nicholson, precipitated by, of all things, Kettle's Yard. Nicholson visited in 1967, and his response was lukewarm to say the least: 'Yes indeed I liked the "general idea" & thought much of your choice well made. It seems absurd to make any criticism of what has been a huge & long sustained venture on your part.'[488] However, he then proceeded with a number of criticisms that suggest a fundamental misconception of Ede's vision: 'the vertical poster regardless of whether it's good or not…seems to disturb - & I suppose requires a position all to itself. […] Many of your Wallises hung so low from want of space is a pity…his work needs some form of isolation from conventional painting.'[489]

Ede had been nurturing an idea to create a 'BN [Ben Nicholson] centre' at Kettle's Yard, which at first was gently rebutted: 'my impression of KY was that it was

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was in Budleigh Salterton & the great beach is full of miracles which made me think often of you – so I posted you a small parcel of pebbles – I wanted to find one great round one – they are so luminous – but just didn't. I had not long enough. I hope these are nice and will inspire a great ptg!'

[485] H.S. Ede, letter to Ben Nicholson, 16 July 1976. Ben Nicholson Papers, TGA 8717.1.2.1020. The 'fantastic rightness' seems to be an oblique reference to the 'right idea' of Christian Science.

[486] Ede referred directly to the relationship in his correspondence with Ben: 'Found a lovely lot of grey & white shells and stones on beach – they go perfectly into these pale Bens.' H.S. Ede, letter to Ben Nicholson, 4 April 1960. Ben Nicholson Papers, TGA 8717.1.2.920.

[487] H.S. Ede, letter to Ben Nicholson, 21 July 1965, ibid., TGA 8717.21.2.972.

[488] Ben Nicholson, letter to H.S. Ede, 23 July 1967. Papers of H.S. Ede KY/EDE/1/11.

[489] Ibid.

very decidedly cared for (it's the whole point?) but already rather over-full.'[490] But in September Nicholson had to reiterate, 'What I look for is space – also I look for something contemporary – today & yours is quite naturally I suppose of that very interesting past […] I thought Italo's 3 at the end looked very well - but they are 'today' & don't fit in with 'yesterday' - probably my 1960's relief is the same but where it was hung it couldn't be seen at all.'[491] Evidently, Ben Nicholson had his sights on a very different, more contemporary context for his work; Kettle's Yard evidently lacked the 'space' he needed for his work, and smacked of yesterday – both in terms of the aesthetic and the company of the other artists represented.

There are sixty-six works by Ben Nicholson at Kettle's Yard, including a number of paintings, drawings and etchings, most of which date from the interwar period. Although Ede had been asking Nicholson for newer works since moving to Kettle's Yard, there is just one example of a three-dimensional painted relief, which Nicholson made for Ede in 1962. The small, sensuous *1962 (Argos)* that Nicholson referred to, with its 'subtle combining of blues and greys,' its careful modulation of space and tone, suggests the essence of a seascape. (Fig.33) It hovers on the cusp between abstract and non-objective art, and belongs to that body of work from the 1960s that represented the apotheosis of his artistic and spiritual vision, the spare lexicon of line, circle and square that identified Nicholson as Britain's foremost proponent of geometric abstraction, the lingua franca of international modernism.

Nicholson's cool reaction was indicative of tensions already surfacing in their relationship: Nicholson was becoming increasingly reserved about the spiritual dimension of his work, while Ede grew ever more evangelical; Nicholson recognized Ede's attachment to the spirit of the interwar era, but he wanted to move on. Undeterred, perhaps oblivious, Ede would not drop his idea:

[490] Ben Nicholson, letter to H.S. Ede, 31 July 1967. Papers of H.S. Ede KY/EDE/1/11
[491] Ben Nicholson, letter to H.S. Ede, 12 Sept 1967. Papers of H.S. Ede KY/EDE/1/11.

'You may easily prefer to give to the Tate Gallery, but haven't they quite an adequate assembly & isn't Kettle's Yard here in Cambridge, centred as it is amongst an ever changing supply of young life, a more interesting and vital home? […] You of course may have so many commitments requiring the sale of ptgs [sic] that you would not feel it right to create this BN centre, of all that I know nothing, and only that between us we can leave something of incalculable value to the future of mankind.'[492]

Eventually, Nicholson had to make his position clear. His letter is lost, but Ede's response survives, and it is clear from this that Nicholson did not share Ede's vision of art's timelessness, or its relationship to the divine.

'If it were not for Faith I expect I would agree with you' wrote Ede in September 1970. 'But my whole endeavour is founded on this faith & all its deepest issues.'[493] For Ede, Kettle's Yard's capacity to transcend temporality – immortality – was the cornerstone of its spiritual mission. He continued, 'it is immensely important – to search for that hub of seeming immortality from which time actually springs – Douanier Rousseau's Bohémian Endormie could never be "yesterday" – somehow we are here to find that stillness where God IS – I find this stillness – this hub – in so much of your work. […] "Space & contemporary" – what are they – the Avignon Pieta is contemporary – Piero della Francesca's "Christ Rising from the Tomb" ditto – Wallis ditto – some Picassos – but as he knew these would look right along with the Mona Lisa & a Giotto…KYD is also contemporary – it is made TODAY & I am contemporary – but it is useless if it is not still contemporary in 100 years time. Your best work will still vibrate then and will make its own space – To me 'today' means little – it is passed almost at once – & a good work of art will soon become "yesterday" and yet fits in with tomorrow – the Italos look splendid & will continue to do so & if Kettle's Yard looks 'yesterday' they don't object at all – nor will they.' [494] It was no good, though, as Ede conceded: "However there it is & I'm sorry not to have made the

[492] H.S. Ede, letter to Ben Nicholson, 8 July 1968. Papers of Ben Nicholson, TGA 8717.1.2.992.
[493] H.S. Ede, letter to Ben Nicholson, 17 Sept 1970, ibid.
[494] Ibid.

place where you yourself wanted to be shown – its my failure & I will have to swallow it & still continue to do what I can. There is still enough inspiration in the place for most people who come to it, & they go away with a new start on life.'[495]

This was a terrible blow for Ede, which struck the core of his belief in art. It also marked the end of Nicholson's generosity: the collection contains nothing by Nicholson later than 1967. Nicholson visited Kettle's Yard again in 1971; it was a reconciliation of sorts. Ede continued to derive spiritual sustenance from Nicholson's work, and began, almost relentlessly, to share this with the artist; 'Dear Ben' he wrote in October 1971, 'what a joy I have had in seeing your work this morning – a great uplift and a constructive living.'[496] From Edinburgh, he enthused about the new hospice he had begun to visit: 'It is a marvellous place – I would say the nearest thing to a Ben Nicholson in the medical world – a place of clean, clear, brightness – serenity – stillness & all seeingness.'[497] Nicholson sent him catalogues from his London shows in the late 1970s, which elicited rapturous comments from Ede, such as this:

'Dear Ben I am delighted – moved – wanting to start life again – with all this quickened movement of your 1978-9 work…For some of these I could quote Roy Campbell: "So borne aloft, so drunken reeling, so rapt was I, so swept away – that in the shape of sense or feeling, my sense or feeling could not stay – God in my soul I felt revealing a sense that, though its sense was naught, transcended knowledge with my thought."[498]

Despite their differences, Nicholson's work was almost essential to Ede's sense of spiritual wellbeing. 'Its often so difficult to see clearly through my confusions,

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[495] Ibid.
[496] H.S. Ede, letter to Ben Nicholson, 8 October 1971. Ben Nicholson Papers, TGA 8717.1.2.1014.
[497] H.S. Ede, letter to Ben Nicholson, 12 July 75, Ben Nicholson Papers, TGA 8717.1.2.1018.
[498] H.S. Ede, letter to Ben Nicholson, 30 June 1980 Ben Nicholson Papers, TGA 8717.1.2.1025. St John of the Cross, translated by Roy Campbell, 1951: 'Encounter with God' (Poem) – Description of an Ecstasy of High Exaltation (Entréme donde no supe).

but you help me to know that clarity exists, indeed IS'[499] wrote Ede. 'Heavens how grateful I have always been to you, through these last 50 years, for the joy you have constantly given to me in your work – it's a living & vital force & has, in depth, coloured everything I do.'[500] Nicholson had been the mainstay of his spiritual life.

3.6: 'I HAVE CREATED MY OWN CHURCH'[501]

In 1955, Ede wrote to David Jones from their home in France, 'for twenty years I've been rather living on the stored up beauty of my first forty years & all that was revealed & I suppose my present unrest is that I seem to myself no longer to be contributing (to God) (giving Back to Beauty). I have had periods of great activity of seeming self forgetfulness & union with others - & then I have been at rest. But now – what do I do – I build a temple of beauty – but it is uninhabited.'[502]

Within eighteen months, Ede had bought Kettle's Yard and moved to Cambridge, where he began to build a temple of beauty that stood a better chance of being inhabited, where he might again start 'giving back' to Beauty/God. Integral to this plan was the keeping of 'open house' every afternoon, during term time, for fifteen years, "all the time alert, perhaps to my own joy, and my desire for others to share it; and they, in turn, by their surprise and reception, kindled daily in me, fresh vision."[503] At Kettle's Yard, Ede put into practice the aesthetic and spiritual ideas that had been percolating during those 'first forty years.' It was, in

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[499] H.S. Ede, letter to Ben Nicholson, 15 January 1979, Ben Nicholson Papers, TGA8717.1.2.1023.
[500] H.S. Ede, letter to Ben Nicholson, 23 Mar 1975, Ben Nicholson Papers, TGA 8717.1.2.1016.
[501] H.S. Ede, letter to David Jones, 21 June 1955. David Jones Papers. Ede writes that he has never seen the value in belonging to a church, and he puts this down to his unwillingness to work to change himself and to obey laws without seeing the value of them. Thus he has created his own church in lieu. He explains: 'at the moment though I'm very occupied with God – I think always have been, I don't appreciate the value of belonging to a Church…or rather not quite that, for if I already belonged, I appreciate that value – but not having belonged I suppose I have created my own church…'
[502] Ibid.
[503] Ede, 'Letter from Jim Ede to an applicant for the post of Resident at Kettle's Yard.'

Barrington Ward's words, 'a house that was so ordered, in a place of education, like Cambridge, people could come into and catch a vision that was deepening and sharpening as he was making it. He was trying to live and be and make what was right, and in doing that, to open the eyes and hearts and minds and imaginations of others.'[504]

Ede filled Kettle's Yard with spiritual symbols, from figures of the Buddha to the spiral. In *A Way of Life,* he noted, 'the mystics through centuries have used it as a metaphor.'[505] At the core of the house is the spiral staircase, echoed by Ede's *Pebble Spiral* and Kenneth Martin's *Screw Mobile* (1969) and other items including the old cider press and a Nautilus shell (now missing). (Figs.34, 35) The symbol of the circle, a sign for eternity, totality or God, is found throughout Kettle's Yard, but there are also explicit references to the divine, in artworks like David Peace's Sanctuary lamp 'VERE DOMINUS EST IN LOCO ISTO' (in truth God inhabits this place), 1955, (Fig.36) Alfred Wallis' depictions of fishes and boats, and in the historical mysticism of David Jones' painted inscriptions and paintings.

In 1970, Alan Bowness observed that at Kettle's Yard, 'the values that the paintings and sculpture stand for are translated into everyday living.'[506] Ede had surrounded himself with artists and artworks that embodied his spiritual ideals. A prominent theme was the artist's ability to connect with an 'inner' or 'essential' life, and to manifest this in their work, thus 'fusing art and life' in a spiritual practice. 'If Ben Nicholson paints two jugs they are not two isolated objects but are *one life*,' he wrote.[507] The untrained Wallis was championed by Ede for his 'direct' contact with imaginary life, and he wrote of Christopher Wood's paintings

[504] Barrington-Ward, 'Interview,' ibid.
[505] According to Tuchman, the spiral 'was widely associated in late nineteenth-century mysticism with the search for an underlying life-form: 'the Ur-form, the thyrsus, the spiral, the double ellipse.' Tuchman, 'The Spiritual in Art', p.31; Ede, *A Way of Life*, p.62.
[506] Alan Bowness, 'About Museums and Their Uses,' *Cambridge Review* vol.91 no. 2197, May 1970, pp.174-175.
[507] Ede, 'Winifred Nicholson, Ben Nicholson and William Staite-Murray,' p.262.

'in front of them you don't think, you live.'[508] Winifred Nicholson, wrote Ede, 'paints a pot of flowers and in it you feel the laws of universal birth – it isn't just these flowers growing – it is the whole life of nature.'[509] Likewise, Ede wrote of David Jones, 'he sees much more than the actual world in seeing the actual world. His touch with reality, as much as that of any living artist I know, goes back to a well of essential life. It is the grand unchanging reality which underlies the changing actuality of the world which at clear moments our quickest apprehensions see.'[510] 'Essential life' was the quality that linked these painters with the sculptors in Ede's collection: Gaudier-Brzeska, Brâncuşi, Henry Moore and Barbara Hepworth, all exponents of direct carving and an intuitive, emotional response to materials. They made spiritual experience into physical objects. Fittingly, the 1970 Handlist had Jones' painted inscription, *Quia per Incarnati*, c.1953, on the cover. The whole inscription translates as 'For by the mystery of the Word made flesh, the light of thy brightness has shone anew into the eyes of our mind. Minerva has sprung from the head of Jove.'[511] (Fig.37) At Kettle's Yard, Ede saw his own role alongside that of the artists, as an instrument of God – and Kettle's Yard as the expression of divine creativity.[512]

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[508] Ede, 'Five Contemporary British Painters,' p.14. This phrase is borrowed from Jean Cocteau's introduction to the exhibition catalogue for Wood's exhibition at the Beaux-Arts Gallery, London, in 1927.

[509] H.S. Ede, 'Ben Nicholson, Winifred Nicholson and William Staite Murray,' p.467.

[510] Ede, 'Five Contemporary British Painters,' p.54.

[511] By way of explanation, Jones wrote on the reverse of the work: 'From the Preface of the Mass of the Nativity used from the Midnight Mass of Xmas until the Feast of the Epiphany and was used also, and very appropriately, on the Feasts of Corpus Christi until a decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites for some inexplicable reason, disallowed its use on Corpus Christi some years back, I think in the late 1950s. This seems very regrettable, because its use on Corpus Christi provided a liturgical link between the Word made Flesh in the stable and what is made present at the Mass. The words round the margin were proposed (I think by one of the Pontiffs in perhaps the sixteenth century, not sure) as expressing the Eternal Generation of the Son from the Father, but the proposition was not found acceptable.' Kettle's Yard (2015) Collection Database.

[512] Ede was very particular in defining the nature of his relationship to Kettle's Yard as Resident rather than curator. The Publisher's Note in the first edition of *A Way of Life* explains that 'He never felt it was his creation, he just put things where they seemed to belong.' Ede, *A Way of Life*, p.5.

3.6.1: A WAY OF LIFE

Perhaps the clearest demonstration of Ede's devotional intentions for Kettle's Yard is the book, *A Way of Life* (1984). It was Ede's last opus, a paean to Kettle's Yard. The book is built around an illustrated bibliography of mystical references in which quotations from William Blake to Ramakrishna, Rainer Maria Rilke to Simone Weil are juxtaposed with black and white photographs of the interiors. The images, according to Ede, 'speak the stillness of Kettle's Yard' – a quality closely associated with mysticism and contemplative meditation, which Ede made 'a conscious effort to create right on the street of turmoil, noise and disorder.'[513] Eschewing colour, the monochrome palette emphasised the incidental effects of light and shadow, transcendental qualities integral to the unique aesthetic experience of Kettle's Yard, as Ede intended,[514] and directed the reader to:

'I stare and stare at this extraordinary photograph and cannot get my fill, everything in it is perfection, each object is poised in stillness, and their brilliance claps its hands for joy. Follow each shadowed form and light encircles it. Is it moonlight? The iron circle lifts to leave its shadow – which artist could place a line with such appeal? Even the *Sleeping Fawn* will not waken from a trance so spellbound. I may have placed these things and made this bunch, tense with celestial light, but it is the photographer who has reached and revealed this 'sacrament of the present moment.'[515] (Fig.38)

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[513] For example, on p.104 of *A Way of Life*, the caption reads: 'this corner thus becomes a place of stillness, ready to contain that phrase, perhaps the most remarkable and powerful ever to come into the English language: 'Be still and know that I am God.' Eight words only but holding everything. I search always for this stillness, which penetrates our fullest activity and even our sleep.'

[514] A note to the publishers in an early draft of *A Way of Life* reads, 'I think that whoever takes photographs for this book on KY should concentrate on the beauty of LIGHT as conveyed by a black and white reproduction. It is something entirely international & when I speak of light I include the light found in darkness.' Papers of H.S. Ede, KY/EDE/5. In 1981, Ede wrote to Ben Nicholson, 'I am trying to assemble material for a book which could be called The Beauty of Light – it will practically all come from what can be seen at Kettle's Yard.' H.S. Ede, letter to Ben Nicholson, 4 February 1981, Ben Nicholson Papers, TGA 8717.1.2.1027.

[515] Ede, *A Way of Life,* p.80. The only photography in Ede's collection is black and white; as a medium it is particularly good at capturing light. The symbolism of light is of great

The 'sacrament of the present moment' is one of many poetic 'thoughts' interspersed through *A Way of Life*. It is a reference to the devotional text also known as 'Abandonment to Divine Providence,' attributed to the French Jesuit priest and writer, Jean Pierre de Caussard (1675-1751). The book describes the heightened awareness of the everyday as a holy state of grace achieved through the selfless abandonment to God. The rituals of daily life – cleaning and caring for the house, ringing the Angelus, tending the garden and sweeping the path – became 'demonstrative acts of prayer,' the means to cultivate a perpetual state of openness to God and to Beauty.

A Way of Life opens with a quotation from the Confessions of St Augustine: 'Oh Beauty, so ancient and so new.' In the passage from which this phrase is taken, Augustine refers to God *as* Beauty.[516] While the quote itself is offered without explanation, Ede expounds more readily on this theme in a formal note written after the publication of *A Way of Life*:

'Beauty in all its aspects, becomes as it were, another name for God, the source of all…We should live in the presence of beauty led by the hand. Some people would call this prayer, and why not for what can life be about if it does not tap this wondrous source we call God, which calls for a constant awareness of rapture, rapture at any moment to be made manifest in the simplest daily things such as a fork sheltering beside a plate, or the way that sunshine will sparkle on a leaf, its shadowed edge opening wide the doors of perception received by our waiting

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importance to Ede and to a number of artists in his collection, from David Jones to Brâncuşi.

[516] 'Late have I loved you, O Beauty ever ancient, ever new, late have I loved you! You were within me, but I was outside, and it was there that I searched for you. In my unloveliness I plunged into the lovely things which you created. You were with me, but I was not with you. Created things kept me from you; yet if they had not been in you they would have not been at all. You called, you shouted, and you broke through my deafness. You flashed, you shone, and you dispelled my blindness. You breathed your fragrance on me; I drew in breath and now I pant for you. I have tasted you, now I hunger and thirst for more. You touched me, and I burned for your peace.' From 'Confessions, Chapter XXVII' in F.J. Sheed, trans. *The Confessions of St Augustine,* New York: Sheed & Ward, 1943, pp. 236-244. Augustine was an early Christian theologian and saint in both Catholic and Anglican faiths.

spirit. This spirit is the air we breathe, the main current of our life as we wash dishes, scrub floors and sort the daily post. This way of life sustains us by its love which knows no alternative. It enters every nook and cranny of our being; through it the tedium of each day vanishes, our leaden senses are uplifted and radiance abounds. Kettle's Yard is the visual aspect of this rooted joy. Each cup, each painting or sculpture, books, flowers, the polished floor, a rug; all are the flowers of this root. It is free to all who can perceive it. The beauty of light, the beauty of darkness, the beauty of space, the beauty of thought, of sleep and of waking, and indeed of life.' [517]

Ede had immersed himself in the praxis of a fully spiritual life, which for him meant complete preoccupation with beauty; he turned to the quixotic French philosopher and mystic Simone Weil (1909-1943) to explain: 'a sense of beauty, although mutilated, distorted and soiled, remains rooted in the heart of man as a powerful incentive. It is present in all the preoccupations of secular life. If it were made true and pure it would sweep all secular life in a body to the feet of God…'[518]

Weil believed that beauty was 'almost the only way by which we can allow God to penetrate us;' she also believed that the concept of beauty was first and foremost a theological category from which the aesthetic emerged, and that beauty was the visible aspect of God. The beautiful, Weil argued, was God incarnate, and our desire for beauty stemmed from the presence of God in every person.[519] Weil, a militant Marxist and political activist whose saintly ascetism led to self-starvation saw the love of beauty as equal to Christ's commandment to 'love thy neighbour.'[520] This provided Ede with a moral justification for his

[517] H.S. Ede, 'Note regarding a book called *A Way of Life*, published by Cambridge University Press.' Typescript, n.d. Papers of H.S. Ede, KY/EDE/5.
[518] Simone Weil quoted in Ede, *A Way of Life*, p.79.
[519] 'The beautiful is the experimental proof that the incarnation is possible.' Simone Weil, *Waiting For God*, Harper Torchbooks, 1973, pp.164-165. For an extended discussion of Weil's concept of beauty, see Shannon Nason, 'Beauty in Simone Weil' http://www.academia.edu/9699108/Beauty_in_Simone_Weil. Accessed 10 Aug 2018.
[520] In her essay, 'Forms of the Implicit Love of God,' Weil wrote, 'The love of the order and beauty of the world is…the complement of the love of our neighbor.' George A. Panichas, ed., *Simone Weil Reader*, Wakefield and London: Moyer Bell, 1977, p. 469.

profound aestheticism, although already balanced by a strong sense of social responsibility enacted in small but numerous ways, from the scheme for soldiers in Tangier to his hospice visits in Edinburgh.

Having settled into a rhythm at Kettle's Yard, Ede began to contemplate formally adopting a religion. Ede was confirmed into the Anglican Church in 1959.[521] He continued to wrestle with the notion of a spiritual life, and began to correspond with the Benedictine monk, Dom Philip Jebb of Downside Abbey (1932-2014) around 1960.[522] In Cambridge, he found himself a community of theologians, Franciscan and Dominican friars; many were regular visitors to Kettle's Yard.[523] He made pilgrimages to various Italian churches with the artist William Congdon and his Franciscan brothers, and visited several Roman Catholic communities in France, including the Canons Regular at the Abbeye de Sainte Maurice, Trésor, in July 1961, the Cistercian monks at Cîteaux Abbey, and the ecumenical monastic order at Taizé in June 1962.[524]

In 1958, he began to correspond with the Catholic theologian, poet and social activist Thomas Merton (1915-1968). Merton was deeply interested in other religions and developed controversial ideas with affinities to both radical humanism and Buddhism. He sent Ede a copy of *Prometheus/A Meditation,* in which he used the figure of Prometheus, long a symbol of rebellion against God, to deconstruct the 'standard Christian God-image' of a heteronomous being, the guarantor of moral absolutes, and replace it with an alternative conception of God as a non-sovereign, 'lonely voice of dissent from the herd.'[525] Ede, who had often struggled with aspects of Christian doctrine, found Merton's provocative

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[521] Ede was baptised in a ceremony on 29 November, followed by an Advent Service at Kings College Chapel; his confirmation took place the next day. See 1959 diary, Papers of H.S Ede, KY/EDE/6.
[522] Letters from Phillp Jebb, c.1960-1969, Papers of H.S Ede, KY/Ede/4.
[523] Father Barnabas, a young Anglican Franciscan who became Dean of Jesus College, as well as Father Ilford, Father L. of St F.N./H, Father Lothian and Father Michael are listed regularly amongst his visitors in the late 1950s. See diaries, Papers of H.S Ede, ibid.
[524] St Maurice, Trésor 4 July 1961; Cîteaux & Taizé 26-28 June 1962. See 1961 & 1962 diaries, Papers of H.S. Ede, ibid.
[525] Patrick Cousins, 'Prometheus and Promethean Theology in the Thought of Thomas Merton', unpublished MA thesis, Syracuse University 2015, p.7; Thomas Merton, *Prometheus/A Meditation*, University of Kentucky, King Library Press, 1958.

reconfiguration of God, and his identification with the myth of Prometheus, particularly given Brâncuşi's interest in the same myth, intriguing. The book marked the start of a conversation, and further gifts of Merton's published writings, which continued until his untimely death.[526]

Ede was an aesthete first, and a mystic second. He was devout, although the spiritual life had its challenges. He believed in the artist's visionary role as an instrument of a divine life force circulating through the universe; and in art as a window opening into God. He found kindred spirits in the pioneers of modernism, seeking meaning and purpose in the modern world. For a brief moment in the interwar period, the formalist approach of the avant-garde fused with this mystical envisioning of God as Beauty; Ede was one of the few who carried this belief into the post-war period.

[526] These include *Emblems of a Season of Fury* (1963), *The Way of Chuang Tzu* (1965), *Conjectures of a Guilty Bystander* and *Raids on the Unspeakable* (both 1966), *Seeds of Destruction* (1967) and *Cables to the Ace, or Familiar Liturgies of Misunderstanding* (1968).

4. HOME

In January 1956, Ede wrote to David Jones,

'It has struck me how, in these days when everyone has taken refuge in hotels, in rooms, in flats and there is no longer that gracious life of the country house, or the house in town where beauty is cultivated, it would be interesting to be lent a great house on the verge of a city – or a place of beauty in a town (Cambridge I have in mind!!) & make it all that I could of lived in beauty, each room an atmosphere of quiet & simple charm & open to the public (in Cambridge to students especially) & for such a living creation I would give all that I have in pictures and lovely objects, would bear the initial cost of making the house suitable, give my services for the next 10 years (if I live so long) as organiser and guardian & if it worked endow it when I die with what I can. It just happens to be something I believe I could do with usefulness. Helen and I could live in a bit of it and the rest of it would look lived in & its special feature would be I think one of simplicity & loved qualities. There could be a library there (art perhaps) & there could be evenings of chamber music + your pictures + Bens + Kits + Brâncuși & so on would be part of its life & beauty.'[527]

The essential kernel of this idea, which was to become Kettle's Yard, was not an art gallery or museum, but simply the notion of a beautiful home. Ede describes a house whose most notable quality is that of 'lived in beauty'; not perfect or spectacular, but one that bears witness to lives lived 'in beauty' – as Dorothy Elmhirst said, with beauty as commonplace as 'our daily bread.'[528]

There is something strongly nostalgic about this idea, prefaced as it is in his letter to Jones with an image of a lifestyle consigned to history, and society reduced to rather meaner and less permanent accommodation. In the context of

[527] H.S. Ede, letter to David Jones, 31 January 1956. David Jones Papers.
[528] Dorothy Elmhirst, Foundation Day address, 10 June 1967.

a country slowly picking up the pieces after the war it posits the need, as Duncan Phillips also believed, for solace in beauty.

Beautiful homes had featured in Ede's life from a young age. Visiting his uncle Tim & aunt Maud's apartment overlooking the Luxembourg Gardens in Paris made a vivid impression on the fourteen year-old Ede; decades later, he recalled that everything 'had been chosen with love and taste,' and had 'that unity and rhythm which comes from selection and arrangement…[that] can and should be carried into the minutest details of life.'[529] Ede also spent a year living with a French family in Caen around this time. With them, he visited homes in the countryside of northern France and was particularly 'struck by their way of living, an achieved standard, so different from anything he had known at home. Here there was a greater beauty than in the town, the rooms more elegant; a sober elegance of high polish on ancient Normandy wood. There was an ampleness of country living, good glass, fine porcelain, and silver...' [530]

In 1920 he bought, in his words, 'one of the most beautiful houses in London'[531] and for two decades, lived daily in the company of artists and aesthetes. His social and professional life revolved around visits to friends and art collectors with beautiful homes, country estates and stately townhouses, in Britain and France as well as America. At the Paris apartment of Picasso's patron, Eugenia Errazuriz, the Chilean doyenne of style and taste who 'though rich had grown tired of sumptuousness,' Ede revelled in her austere aesthetic sensibility.[532] 'Not

[529] Ede, 'Between Two Memories,' p.45.
[530] Ibid. Ede attended school in Caen between 1909-1911.
[531] Ede, 'Between Two Memories,' p.8.
[532] Society photographer Cecil Beaton noted that Errazuriz 'emptied her rooms, placing only a few pieces of furniture in them with an uncanny instinct for the dynamic symmetry of arrangement…Bibelots were swept out as useless; frills were banished…allowing only things of intrinsic merit or quality to be found her rooms. But this did not mean that they had to be of great value […] Madame Errazuriz appreciated the quality of individual objects, despite their category or price, and a simple wicker basket could often be found on a valuable table. […] Her Paris salon had an inkwell, a blotter, a vase of fresh leaves, a flowering plant in an eighteenth-century jardinière, a magnificent commode, and little more. There was no excess; no object was left there by chance. Each detail, on the contrary, had been selected with the greatest care…The abiding rules of proportion and measure were of prime importance in her estimation, and she herself always lived in beautifully constructed houses and well-proportioned

hanging on the walls but living on the walls' were Picasso's paintings. 'It was a house after my own heart' recalled Ede.'[533] Cecil Beaton described her as an authority 'in the art of living.'[534]

The Edes were also regular guests of Gertrude Harris (the widow of Frederick Leverton Harris)[535] at Little Compton, where he recalled 'being so gently entertained by my hostess, I felt that it was my house at least as much as [the servants], and wandered where I pleased as a son returning to his home.'[536] Ede also enjoyed the legendary hospitality of Lady Ottoline Morrell, who entertained generously at Garsington Manor in Oxfordshire during WWI, and later hosted salons at no.10 Gower Street in Bloomsbury, where Ede regularly made an appearance.[537] The family spent weekends with the 8th Earl of Berkeley and his American heiress wife, Molly Lowell, at Berkeley Castle, and Ede visited the

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rooms. […] Within such dimensions Madame Errazuriz could create her satisfying yet unadorned world. The walls of her salon were inevitably painted white; the floors had a cleanliness that comes only from soap and water.' See Cecil Beaton, *The Glass of Fashion* London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1954, pp.169-170.

[533] Ede, 'Visiting Picasso and Brâncuşi,' p.179.

[534] Beaton, *Glass of Fashion*, p.169.

[535] Ede knew the Leverton Harrises through the Contemporary Art Society (see note 68). Harris had been the Honorary Secretary of the Contemporary Art Society while Ede was Assistant Secretary from 1925-37. Gertrude Harris was an independent member of the society both during her husband's tenure and after his death in 1926. Ede recalled, 'the day he [Harris] died she wrote to me and Helen so touching a note, asking us to come to her and signing it with her Christian name, that it started a friendship which lasted until her death 20 years later, and for my lifetime.' Ede, 'Between Two Memories,' p.111.

[536] He continued, 'This was in itself an enormous comfort to me, and this she always maintained for me. I will never forget the early mornings as I walked barefooted across well-kept lawns to the swimming pool, the willows and the flowers about me, the joy of the water, and then breakfast, often by myself, for the house was filled only at weekends. There was never a sense of constraint, I had always the wonderful feeling that I was entirely accepted, and when, toward midday, Gertrude Harris came from her own quarters, we would talk and weed and plan, and I would swim again, and people would be over for lunch, and, almost, they seemed my personal guests. Sometimes Helen and I would be there together and we would go long walks into the country, and always that lovely home would shelter us and our friend delight us. […] It no doubt 'gave me ideas', as the saying is, making me feel at home in settings far beyond my financial means, and perhaps, sometimes, a little irked by my restrictions.' Ede, 'Between Two Memories,' p.112.

[537] According to Ede's memoirs, Ottoline Morrell 'taught [him] a beauty and rhythm in fine manners and showed me a gentleness and intimacy which was never self-seeking save that it expressed her spiritual belief.' Ede, 'Between Two Memories,' p.113.

Elmhirsts at Dartington Hall regularly.[538] There were also numerous family holidays at Rock Hall, Helen Sutherland's Northumberland home.[539] According to Cherrie Trelogan, Rock Hall 'was beautifully decorated and hung with a growing collection of art works.'[540] Sutherland was generous but strict and her hospitality was a model of refined austerity.[541]

Ede was welcomed into this privileged world thanks in no small part to the immense changes taking place within society during the interwar era. While the British Empire and the stately home were in decline, the economics of modern capitalism fuelled a new generation of families 'buying, borrowing and sometimes building themselves a country house,' which, according to Adrian Tinniswood, 'introduced new aesthetics, new social structures, new meanings to an old tradition,' and Ede benefitted.[542] As he put it, 'the social position no longer hindered: people were people and I was able to pick my way nimbly. I could enjoy the pageantry of sheltered ease in aristocrats, their immense houses and gardens, their taking for granted a position of command, their luxurious living, their ignorance, their fine perceptions, their crass disregard…"[543]

Leisure – the privilege of the rich – afforded the cultivated appreciation of aesthetic experience as a way of life, not a compartmentalised experience in a museum. It was, Ede believed, something 'that all men should aim at achieving.'[544] He observed that the lifestyle of the leisured classes afforded one the opportunity to develop 'fine perceptions,' to appreciate 'the refinement of

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[538] Ede's diaries record visits to Berkeley in Ede's earliest surviving diary, 1927, and upon their return to England in March 1943. Ede's diary mentions lunches with 'Molly' during a trip to Italy in February 1955 (according to Muriel Spark in *Curriculum Vitae: a volume of autobiography* (1992), Molly Berkeley lived in Rome in the 1950s). Visits to Little Compton are also regularly recorded between 1930 – 1938. Ede visited Dartington between 1935 - 1938. Diaries, KY/EDE/6, Papers of H.S. Ede.
[539] Ede's diaries record visits to 'Rock' and 'Northumberland' between 1932-1938. Diaries, ibid.
[540] Cherrie Trelogan, 'Sutherland, [married name Denman] Helen Christian 1881 – 1965,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online ed.) Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/40712 accessed 16 Sept 2017.
[541] See Chapter 3, p.115.
[542] Adrian Tinniswood, 'Preface,' *The Long Weekend* London: Jonathan Cape, 2016, p.ix.
[543] Ede, 'Between Two Memories,' p.137.
[544] Ibid.

austerity' and 'to meet life with imagination.' [545] Leisure also created the necessary conditions for the appreciation and production of art: 'I came to realise more clearly how a creative worker needed leisure, as beauty needed space'.[546] Consequently, Ede wrote, 'I have a burning desire for all men to have the privileges of the rich, to be able to travel and read, to have time to cultivate their minds, for I find that men are atrophied by their dull lives, and no longer have the will towards education. It is a sad thing that at a period of astonishing enlightenment, the masses should be so paralysed.'[547]

The elegant homes of the leisured classes embodied for Ede a way of life distinguished by the aesthetic quality of its surroundings; these places and the people who inhabited them confirmed in him the belief that life was infinitely enhanced by the proximity of beauty. He wrote:

'There are so many things existing in my own day for which I feel especially indebted to the rich, like great houses of England and the patronage of the arts, from which latter live those wonderful exhibitions held in Burlington House. Without the rich these things would never have been achieved and without these things Great Britain would have been so much poorer. Places like Hampton Court, which have become public property, must enliven the minds of countless people. I hope that no one can walk in this place of spacious levels and clean uprights without a simple stirring of response, and that something of that order must be brought to bear on their own disorder.'[548]

4.1: DOMESTICATING MODERNISM

An idealised notion of home underpinned the British government's programme of social reconstruction, subsidized housing, suburban villas and mass housing,

[545] Ede, 'Between Two Memories,' p. 111, 137-138.
[546] Ede, 'Between Two Memories,' p.137.
[547] Ede, 'Between Two Memories,' p.138.
[548] Ede, 'Between Two Memories,' p.139.

as well as 'homes fit for heroes' in the interwar period.[549] Such policies encouraged an appetite for home life and an economy of home-making amongst the growing ranks of middle classes now living in single-family homes. It was echoed in the commercial realm, with events such as the Ideal Home Exhibitions, and the proliferation of women's magazines with titles such as Good Housekeeping (1922), Woman and Home (1926), My Home (1928), Modern Home (1928).[550]

Economic pressures in the early 1930s had the effect of encouraging artists to diversify, applying their talents to more commercial art forms aimed at the domestic interior.[551] Their work was as likely to appear in department stores such as Heal's as in a Cork Street gallery.[552] Galleries such as the Leicester Galleries, the Beaux Arts Gallery and the avant-garde bookshop and gallery Zwemmers represented a range of makers alongside their stable of artists as a

[549] This phrase was coined by the press coverage of Prime Minister David Lloyd George's speech the day after Armistice, promising 'habitations fit for the heroes who have won the war.' See http://www.socialhousinghistory.uk/wp/index.php/homes-fit-for-heroes/

[550] For a fuller discussion of the significance of the home in twentieth-century British society, See John Burnett, *A Social History of Housing: 1815–1985*. London: Methuen, 1986, p.251, and *Plenty and Want: A Social History of Food in England from 1815 to the Present Day*, London: Routledge, 2013, p.81.

[551] Artists such as Ben Nicholson, Paul Nash, Henry Moore, Eric Ravilious and Barbara Hepworth produced designs for mass-produced textiles, rugs and ceramics for the home with companies such as Wedgwood, and the Edinburgh Weavers in the 1930s. The Edinburgh Weavers also worked with prominent designers such as Marion Dorn and the architect Leslie Martin. The pottery firm Wedgwood developed a successful partnership with Eric Ravilious in the late 1930s. In 1943 Henry Moore began to work with Zika Ascher, the Czech textile manufacturer, and Naum Gabo designed a car for the Design Research Unit (founded in 1941 by Herbert Read and Marcus Brumwell). A number of small outlets in London were also involved in commissioning and selling applied arts designed by fine artists in the 1930s. The shop 'Footprints' sold fabric designs by Paul Nash and Eric Kennington; wallpapers by Edward Bawden and pots by Bernard Leach could be purchased at the Little Gallery, and Dunbar Hay Ltd. stocked embroidery designs by Duncan Grant and Vanessa Bell. According to Andrew Stephenson, collaborations between artists and commercial manufacturers, and the production of more affordable multiples such as prints were some of the many ways artists strove to earn a living during the economic slump that followed the 1928 crash; see Stephenson, '"Strategies of Situation": British Modernism and the Slump C.1929-1934.' *Oxford Art Journal*, vol. 14, no. 2, 1991, pp. 30–51 www.jstor.org/stable/1360523.

[552] Sir Ambrose Heal opened a gallery on the fourth floor of his London furniture store to showcase innovative contemporary art. See http://somethingcurated.com/2017/06/05/the-mansard-gallery-blurring-the-lines-between-art-design-retail-a-century-ago/ accessed 11 May 2018

matter of course. Enterprises such as Muriel Rose's Little Gallery (1928-1939) and Dunbar & Hay Ltd (1936-40) reflected a growing domestic market for interior design. They showed studio pottery and fabrics by contemporary artists such as Bernard Leach and Enid Marx, prints and graphic design by the likes of Eric Ravilious and Edward Bawden alongside examples of folk art, non-European indigenous arts and eighteenth century pieces of furniture. They mixed periods and styles, embracing a heterogeneous 'look' that borrowed from the bricolage technique popular amongst artists in the early twentieth century as a means of making work when resources were scarce.

Bricolage became, as Harrod notes, a fashionable interior style.[553] The model consisted of 'relatively under-furnished interiors'[554] in which carefully selected elements such as kilim rugs, objets trouvés, hand block-printed textiles and white walls created a visually sympathetic environment for modern art. Harrod cites the homes of artists such as Bernard Leach, whose plain granite, early nineteenth-century house at St Ives was 'vast, cold and empty' except for a selection of 'choice early Oriental pots, a red Ethel Mairet blanket on the back of a sofa, shells and other *objets trouvés*, and the furniture he designed and had made in Japan.' Similarly, Katherine Pleydell-Bouverie's 'Spartan' home provided a backdrop for 'inherited blue & white china, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century furniture and her own Gaudier-Brzeska bronze, Sung pots, Tang figurines and studio pottery.'[555]

The same could be said of Ben Nicholson and Barbara Hepworth's studio, the homes of Herbert Read, Henry Moore,[556] and Winifred Nicholson's 'frugal but

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553 Harrod, *Crafts in Britain in the 20th Century*, p.114.
554 Ibid., p.115.
555 Ibid., p. 114.
556 In his essay, 'The Sculpture in the Home Exhibitions: Reconstructing the Home and Family in Post-war Britain,' Henry Moore Institute Essays on Sculpture (no.60), 2008, (p.12), Robert Burstow reproduces a photograph showing Herbert Read in his study at Stonegrave House, Yorkshire, c.1959, with works by Reg Butler, Barbara Hepworth and Naum Gabo placed on makeshift 'plinths' – a stool, his desk, covered in books and papers.

poetic interiors'[557] which were appreciated by many, including Ede and the architect Leslie Martin. The 'white walls, deep window reveals, natural weave curtains, the vivid colour of a bowl of flowers and landscape beyond'[558] that Martin recalled, or the "butter muslin and old wooden crates" noted by Ede together provided a backdrop for her own paintings and those of Ben Nicholson, Alfred Wallis, Christopher Wood, Piet Mondrian and Jean Hélion, among others.[559] The bricolage approach enacted a lively and continuous relationship with history that was no less modern or less expressive of the democratic aims of modernism than the rigorous visual language and hermetic interiors of El Lissitzky, Marcel Breuer or Kurt Schwitters.[560] These stripped-back but richly textured interiors fostered conversations across time periods and cultural differences to create the perfect setting in which to contextualise the formalist visual language of modern art.

A small number of London galleries promoted the milieu of the home as an ideal environment for modernism, or as historian Ann Compton suggests, a 'more sympathetic' environment 'for understanding and appreciating modern art.'[561] Throughout the 1930s, Henry Moore's main dealer, the Leicester Galleries, habitually showed his work in sparsely decorated, domestically-sized rooms, in keeping with 'advanced approaches to interior decoration.'[562] Exhibitions such

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[557] Carolin, Peter and Trevor Dannat, *Architecture, Education and Research: the Work of Leslie Martin*. London: Academy Editions, 1996, p.23.
[558] Ibid.
[559] Winifred Nicholson owned the first Mondrian in Britain, which she purchased directly from the artist, who was a close friend. She also owned works by Giacometti and Christopher Wood. See Elizabeth Fisher, *Winifred Nicholson: Music of Colour*, Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 2012.
[560] Bricolage refers to a technique used to create or assemble a work of art using whatever materials to hand, a 'make-do' approach that usually applies to art that is made from non-traditional materials.
[561] Ann Compton, "An essentially different kind of rhythm': Rediscovering Henry Moore's Sculpture in Wood' in *Henry Moore: Sculptural Process and Public Identity* Tate Research Publication, 2015, https://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/henry-moore/ann-compton-an-essentially-different-kind-of-rhythm-rediscovering-henry-moores-sculpture-r1151313#f_1_41, accessed 13 Mar 2018.
[562] Ann Compton gives an evocative description: 'the solo shows Moore had with his main dealer, the Leicester Galleries, made subtle suggestions to buyers about the works' suitability for the home while giving full scope for his wider ambitions to come through. The exhibition space in the south-east corner of Leicester Square was divided into three domestically-sized rooms which were rather plainly decorated […] Potential

as *Room and Book*, organised by Paul Nash in 1932 at Zwemmers, presented paintings and sculpture alongside craft and design work and, as the title suggests, alluded strongly to the domestic context in the hope of countering public antipathy and establishing a market for abstract and modern art.[563] Exhibits included Henry Moore's sculptures, Enid Marx textiles and quotations from Le Corbusier's *Vers une Architecture.* The following year, the *Artists of To-Day* exhibition brought together fabrics, furniture, glass, lamps, rugs, works on paper, paintings and sculpture. A contemporary critic for the Observer remarked that such displays 'assembled in the relationship of the ordinary domestic interior' demonstrated that 'adequately evolved surroundings are desirable, if not indispensible, so as to get the full ornamental value out of a picture or a piece of sculpture of the type usually referred to as being of "advanced tendency".'[564]

4.2: THE MODERN INTERIOR

Growing interest in the domestic interior was one of the many outcomes of sweeping changes wrought by industrialisation in the nineteenth-century. The cultural theorist Walter Benjamin noted that changes in working practices, economic and social systems as well as urbanisation had a profound effect on both public and private experience, as well as the collective and individual sense of selfhood.[565] The interior itself, claimed Benjamin, was an inherently modern invention. In the essay, 'Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century' (1935) which

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associations between works shown in these spaces and the viewer's home were also intimated by William Staite Murray's and Katharine Pleydell-Bouverie's pots that were part of the Leicester Galleries' stock items in the 1930s.' Ibid. This is also noted in Harrod, 1999, p.128. See also Evelyn Silber, 'The Leicester Galleries and the Promotion of Modernist Sculpture, 1902–75', *Sculpture Journal*, vol.21, no.2, 2012, p.133.

[563] Ede owned a copy of Nash's book of the same title, published the same year by Charles Scribner & Sons, New York.

[564] *The Observer*, 17 April 1932, quoted in Nigel Vaux Halliday, *More than a Bookshop: Zwemmer's and Art in the 20th Century*, London: Phillip Wilson, 1991, pp.102 & 107.

[565] In the 1935 essay, 'Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century,' Benjamin wrote, 'Under Louis-Philippe, the private individual makes his entrance on the stage of history.' In Benjamin, W., Jennings, M., Doherty, B. et al., *The work of art in the age of its technological reproducibility: and other writings on media*, Cambridge, MA; London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008, p.103. Louis-Phillipe's reign (1830-1848) coincided with a massive increase in the population and economy of Paris, with people flocking to work in the new factories built along the Seine, and the construction of the first railways in Paris.

became the Preface to *The Arcades Project* (eventually published in 1999) he declared, 'for the private individual, the place of dwelling is for the first time opposed to the place of work. The former constitutes itself as the interior.'[566] According to Benjamin, the interior was both the universe and the 'étui' of the private individual: a container for small and precious 'things,' imprinted with traces of the inhabitant.[567] It was 'an expression of individual personality' and the source of 'phantasmagorias (of the interior).'[568] Taking up Benjamin's argument, design historian Penny Sparke has shown that the modern interior had a critical role to play in 'the construction of the modern 'self' or 'subject.' Sparke argues that the domestic interior assumed a new psychological, symbolic and cultural role as a representation of modernity. It had the capacity not only to express social status and aspiration, but also to mark the changing identities and increasingly fragmentary experiences of inhabitants of the modern world.[569]

The domestic interior became a popular subject of early modern art and literature. It provided, as Morag Shiach notes, a 'crucial imaginative and social resource for modernist cultural production' and acted as an echo chamber for the interior monologues of writers from Virginia Woolf to Dorothy Richardson.[570] It was the setting for introspective portraits, domestic dramas and social critique in the work of Walter Sickert and the Camden Town Group. For Pierre Bonnard, interiors and household objects assumed an agency that

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[566] Ibid.
[567] Ibid., p.104.
[568] Ibid., p.103.
[569] Penny Sparke, *The Modern Interior*, London: Reaktion, 2008, pp.9, 12-13.
[570] Morag Shiach explores the role of the domestic interior in examples of modernist literature including works by Virginia Woolf (*A Room of One's Own,* 1929; *Jacob's Room,* 1922), Katherine Mansfield (*Bliss*, 1918; *Feuille* d'Album, 1917), Dorothy Richardson's 13-volume *Pilgrimage*, (1915 – 1957) and the poetry of Ezra Pound. See Morag Shiach, 'Modernism, the City and the "Domestic Interior' in *Home Cultures* vol. 2 no.3, 2005, p.255. DOI: 10.2752/174063105778053300. Elsewhere, Diana Fuss has written on the links between writer's lives, their interior settings and their creative practices in *The sense of an interior: Four writers and the rooms that shaped them*, New York; London: Routledge, 2004; while Victoria Rosner has looked at the relationship between modernist writers and their interior environments in order to posit a more intimate, psychological interpretation of their work. See Victoria Rosner, *Modernism and the architecture of private life,* New York; Chichester: Columbia University Press, 2005.

heightened the psychological drama of the depicted scene. The French artist Edouard Vuillard said, 'I don't make portraits. I paint people in their homes.'[571]

The Arts and Crafts movement (c. 1880-1920) and the Bloomsbury Group and Omega Workshops (1913-1920) saw the home as the crucible of social and/or artistic reform; artists, designers and architects associated with the Arts & Crafts movement defended a strong moral position in response to the social impact of industrialisation.[572] They promoted traditional craftsmanship, often romanticising the rural life, and made buildings, furniture, textiles and interior decoration the focus of their activities. The Omega Workshops Ltd was founded by Roger Fry and other members of the Bloomsbury Group, Vanessa Bell and Duncan Grant, to sell furniture, fabrics and household accessories designed by artists. In 1916, Bell and Grant moved to Charleston in East Sussex, where they transformed the interior of their home using the walls, fixtures and fabric of the house as their canvas. (Fig.39) In the late 1920s and early 1930s, they also undertook a number of interior design commissions. Theirs was an aesthetic ideal that owed much to the lingering influence of the Aesthetic Movement (c. 1860-1900).[573]

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[571] This phrase is widely quoted without a source. See for example the Tate label for 'Girl in an Interior', December 2011. http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/vuillard-girl-in-an-interior-n04436.

[572] They included Augustus Pugin, Charles Voysey, Charles Ashbee, Mackay Baillie Scott and William Morris.

[573] As its name suggests, the Aesthetic Movement privileged aesthetic qualities above other considerations, giving equal attention to both the fine and applied arts. Artists experimented with interior decoration; perhaps the most famous example is James Abbott McNeill Whistler's *Harmony in Blue and Gold: The Peacock Room* (1877). They were equally concerned with the question of how paintings and objets d'art were displayed. The domestic interior was, for Whistler, 'not only a rich vein of subject matter' but also, as Juliet Kinchin observes, where dealers showed his paintings to potential buyers; it was the space in which his paintings were 'produced, displayed and consumed.' Juliet Kinchin, 'From Drawing Room to Scullery: Reading the Domestic Interior in the Paintings of Walter Sickert and the Camden Town Group,' in Helena Bonett, Ysanne Holt, Jennifer Mundy (eds.), *The Camden Town Group in Context*, Tate Research Publication, May 2012, https://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/camden-town-group/juliet-kinchin-from-drawing-room-to-scullery-reading-the-domestic-interior-in-the-r1104375, accessed 08 May 2018. The movement was initially popularised by Oscar Wilde in his lecture 'The House Beautiful' (1882).

The domestic interior also drew the attention of the European avant-garde. For those associated with De Stijl and the Bauhaus, the interior of buildings could not only reflect peoples' experiences of modern life, but also shape them.[574] They took a unified approach to the building and its contents, the lighting, colours, materials and decorative details, furniture and furnishings, advancing the notion of the interior as a *Gesamtkunstwerk*. Many were committed to the idea that these new environments would bring about new behaviours; Le Corbusier referred to furniture as 'equipment' in his 'machines for living in,'[575] while Theo van Doesburg explained, 'we can bring our emotion, realised in space and atmosphere, to its full independence precisely through our coloristic and formal projects.'[576]

The home environment became a place in which to articulate a new relationship between art and life; from Mondrian's studio/apartment (1926) to the collector Raoul La Roche's home, designed by Le Corbusier (1925). (Figs. 40, 41) Artists, curators and museums also treated the domestic context as a source of experimental display strategies; Katherine Dreier's Société Anonyme exhibition at the Brooklyn Museum of Art in 1926, or Alexander Dorner's collaborations with artists El Lissitzky and László Moholy-Nagy at the Landesmuseum, Hannover, in 1927-1928 and 1930 respectively.

Such developments, however, were somewhat anticipated by the Folkwang Museum, which opened in 1902. The Folkwang was founded by German collector Karl Ernst Osthaus, who developed his vision for the institution in collaboration with artist Henry Van de Velde and art historian Julius Meier-Graefe. It was the first example of a combined museum and domestic dwelling conceived as a 'Gesamtkunstwerk.'[577]

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[574] See Sparke, *The Modern Interior*, p.48.
[575] Le Corbusier famously wrote 'homes are machines for living in' in 1923, in his collection of essays *Towards a New Architecture*, New York: Dover 1986, p.107, and in 1929, his *Salon d'Automne* installation was entitled 'Equipment for the Home.'
[576] Van Doesburg quoted in Sparke, *The Modern Interior*, p.66.
[577] See Katherine Kuenzli, 'The Birth of the Modernist Art Museum: The Folkwang as *Gesamtkunstwerk*' in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 72, no.4 (December), 2013, pp. 503–529.

4.3: THE FOLKWANG IDEA

According to Katherine Kuenzli, Osthaus 'lived and breathed art according to Nietzsche's idea of *Lebenskunst*, or the idea of fashioning one's life as art.'[578] The lives and identities of the Osthauses melded with that of the museum; Osthaus was its figurehead while his wife Gertrud wore clothes designed by van de Velde. The couple lived in a private apartment, also designed by van de Velde, within the museum.[579] Van de Velde applied a single decorative schema throughout the public and private spaces of the building. (Figs.42, 43) In keeping with its domestic function and identity, the Folkwang maintained the appearance and proportions of a private residence, both inside and out, and the galleries (including a music room) were furnished with plush sofas, cabinets and occasional tables.[580] His bold colour schemes and sinuous lines created a harmonious and cumulative aesthetic experience, and a coherent visual backdrop for Osthaus' collections of modern paintings, eighteenth-century porcelain, lacework and decorative sculptures. The same attention was paid to the upholstery, light fittings and door handles as to the architecture and hanging scheme, which was organised to illustrate formal relationships rather than a chronological narrative.

The Folkwang was a grand gesture that sought to unite art and life, the collector and his collection in a single, all-encompassing artwork - the museum. But as Count Harry Kessler, a fellow patron of van de Velde, observed in the same year the Folkwang opened, the Gesamtkunstwerk was not just an artwork. It was, in its ultimate manifestation, 'an artistically complete and well-rounded way of life.'[581]

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[578] Katherine Kuenzli, 'The Birth of the Modernist Art Museum,' p.512.
[579] Kuenzli, 'The Birth of the Modernist Art Museum,' p.513.
[580] The Folkwang was located in a residential neighbourhood and the building was designed to reflect its architectural context. According to Kuenzli, Max Osborn writes at length about the domestic, personal character in 'Das Folkwang Museum in Hagen,' *National Zeitung Berlin*, 7 Aug. 1904, quoted in Kuenzli, ibid.
[581] 'an unbroken chain of necessity leads from the smallest artistic conception to the *Gesamtkunstwerk* that in the end is an artistically complete and well-rounded way of life.' Harry Kessler, Diary entry 29 May 1902, quoted in Anger, 'Modernism at Home,' p.224.

4.4: THE HOME AS AN ALTERNATIVE INSTITUTIONAL MODEL

While Anne Higonnet, in her survey, 'A Museum of One's Own: Private Collecting, Public Gift' argues that all collection museums 'invited you to be at home with art,' the Folkwang demonstrated that the domestic idiom offered ways of interpreting the specific aesthetic and social aims of modernism. It represented a more intimate context for the individual, interiorised experience of modern art, but also offered a point of critical engagement with ideas about the social function of art and museums. In 1929, Paul Sachs, founder of the first US post-graduate museum studies course at Harvard University, and Alfred Barr, first director of MoMA, visited the Folkwang while travelling through Europe. The 'Folkwang idea,' which put the relationship between art and life at the heart of the institution, became an important touchstone for both men, who in turn exerted significant influence over the development of exhibition practices in America in the 1930s.[582]

In America, where the civic museum was still a relatively new phenomenon and by no means a fixed entity,[583] such ideas spawned a flush of experimental, hybrid and idiosyncratic (usually private) enterprises that sought to interpret and embed the tenets of modernism within the new institutions themselves. Challenging traditional display conventions and institutional models, these experiments deliberately deviated from the authoritative and conservative style

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[582] According to Kuenzli, Barr sent Philip Johnson to the Folkwang later the same year, and in the late 1930s, acquired a number of 'degenerate' artworks for the Museum of Modern Art from the Folkwang's collection. Sachs' views on the Folkwang were reported in German newspapers following a second visit in 1932; he wrote '[the Folkwang Museum] is not only famous for its valuable artworks, but far more for its selection of paintings and their hanging, for the ways in which the entire museum's installation exemplifies the latest aesthetic viewpoints.' 'Ein Amerikaner uber das Essener Folkwang-Museum' in *Essener Volks-Zeitung,* 18 Dec 1932. Quoted in Kuenzli, 'The Birth of the Modernist Art Museum,' p.524.

[583] The Wadsworth Atheneum, which opened in 1842, claims to be 'the oldest continuously-operating public art museum in the United States', although the Yale University Art Gallery, originally known as the Trumbull Gallery, was founded in 1832 when artist John Trumbull gave over 100 paintings to Yale College and designed the original Picture Gallery. See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yale_University_Art_Gallery and https://www.thewadsworth.org/about/

of the civic museum or academy. Many were founded as educational institutions, not art galleries or museums. Several deployed the domestic idiom as a means to frame their activities or the encounter with modern art. They included the Phillips Collection (founded 1920) and Dumbarton Oaks, both in Washington, D.C. (given to Harvard University in 1940), the Barnes Foundation in Philadelphia (founded 1922), the Société Anonyme (founded by Marcel Duchamp, Man Ray and Katherine Dreier in 1920), Alfred Stieglitz' 291 Gallery (1905-1917), the Intimate Gallery (1925-1929) and An American Place (1929-1946), Albert Gallatin's Gallery of Living Art (1927-1943), and of course, the Museum of Modern Art in New York (1929).

America was an important influence for Ede.[584] While the avant-garde in London looked largely to Europe during the interwar years, Ede, perhaps thanks to his favourite aunt Maud Clapp, also kept an eye on what was happening across the Atlantic.[585] Having visited multiple times – in 1931, 1937, 1940-1942, 1950, 1951 and 1952 – Ede was inspired by subtle differences in the way American collectors and institutions engaged with European modern art. During his first trip, he had met with Stieglitz, Duncan Phillips and Albert C. Barnes among others.[586] He already knew Albert Gallatin, the collector and founder of the 'Gallery of Living Art' in New York thanks to mutual connections in the Paris art world, [587] and had met Alfred Barr, director of the Museum of Modern Art in New

[584] See Chapter 2, section 2.5: American Influences, pp. 50-82.
[585] Maud was American, and she and her husband Frederick Mortimer Clapp, who had provided Ede with his first experiences in Paris and art education at the Louvre, moved to New York in the early 1920s. Their home was Ede's base for his visits to America in the 1930s and 1940s, and their connection with the American art world was certainly useful to Ede.
[586] H.S. Ede, telegram to Albert C. Barnes, 28 October 1931. Albert C. Barnes Correspondence, reproduced with permission. H.S. Ede, telegram to Duncan Phillips, 27 October 1931. Correspondence between H.S. [Jim] Ede and Duncan & Marjorie Phillips.
[587] Gallatin opened the Gallery of Living Art in New York University's Main Building in 1927. It was the first public institution to collect and show the work by living European artists who were at the forefront of developments in modern art. It was renamed the Museum of Living Art in 1936 and, following the redevelopment of the NYU building in 1943, was offered a permanent home at the Philadelphia Museum of Art. Gallatin travelled frequently to Paris and was involved with members of the Abstract-Création group including Jean Hélion. Gallatin visited Elm Row on 6 July 1934 with Georges Braque and Jean Hélion. Ede diaries, Papers of H.S. Ede, KY/EDE/6. It is likely that Ede had previously met Gallatin during one of his frequent trips to Paris.

York, and Paul Sachs, director of the Fogg Museum at Harvard and founder of America's first 'Museum Course' during their trip to Europe.[588] When he returned to lecture on Sachs' 'Museum Course' at Harvard in 1937, [589] Sachs introduced Ede to the Blisses of Dumbarton Oaks who, although not collectors of modern art, took a decidedly modern approach to collecting. These were some of the key players involved in the dissemination and institutionalisation of modernist ideas in America.[590]

From his first trip, Ede made a point of visiting influential collectors, from the Rockefellers to the Mellons, and was able to view their collections at home, while also taking in collection museums created in their founders' homes, including the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston (founded 1903) and the Frick Collection in New York (opened in 1935).[591] His exposure to the collection museum in its many and varied manifestations, particularly in relation to the domestic and in the context of American philanthropy and patronage, inevitably informed his own ideas about the institution he would later create. But Ede was

[588] In a letter to Sachs, 5 September 1931, Ede wrote 'I look forward to meeting you again'. Paul J. Sachs Collection, Harvard Art Museum Archives, Harvard Art Museums, Harvard University, HC 3/520. Ede met both Barr and Sachs in 1931, and remained in touch with both men in the following decades. He saw Barr on multiple occasions in New York and Barr visited Elm Row on 4 Jan 1935. Correspondence between Ede and Barr spans 1931-1973. Alfred H Barr Jr. Papers, Series I.A, Museum of Modern Art Archives. See also Ede Diaries (1935-1943), Papers of H.S. Ede, KY/EDE/6. Ede visited Harvard at the invitation of Sachs on several occasions, to lecture both at the Fogg Museum and to students on Sachs' pioneering 'Museum Course.' See for example Paul Sachs, letter to H.S. Ede, 25 Feb 1937; Paul Sachs, letter to H.S. Ede, 24 October 1940. Paul J. Sachs Collection.

[589] See for example, Paul Sachs, letter to H.S. Ede, 25 Feb 1937; Paul Sachs, letter to H.S. Ede, 24 October 1940. A further letter from Sachs to Ede dated 6 December 1941 also reveals that Sachs wrote on Ede's behalf to solicit lecture engagements for Ede at other institutions. Papers of Paul J. Sachs, HC 3/520.

[590]Other influential American collectors included John Quinn and Katherine Dreier, neither of whom Ede knew personally, although he was probably aware of both. Henri Pierre Roche is a possible link to Quinn and there is a copy of the Quinn Collection auction catalogue in Ede's archives. No evidence links Ede to Katherine Dreier, although her influence was widely acknowledged amongst her contemporaries, many of whom Ede would have made contact with. A number of Ede's contacts in Paris also had dealings in New York, including the art historian Gerstle Mack, musician Webster Aitken and dealers Dikran Kelekian and Henri Pierre Roche.

[591] Ede's uncle, Frederick Mortimer Clapp, was appointed 'organising director' of the Frick Collection in 1931 and oversaw its transition from private collection to public museum, remaining in post until 1950.

not, at that point, a collector; at least he didn't see himself that way. He was a modernist, and like Barnes, Barr, Gallatin, Dreier and Phillips, saw his role as an advocate and interpreter of modern art. Decades later, in his account of the formation of Kettle's Yard, Ede (notably taciturn regarding the source of his ideas and anecdotes) acknowledged just two influences: Dumbarton Oaks and the Phillips Collection, both of which evolved as institutions at the same time as they engaged in establishing the meaning of modernism in an American context.[592]

While the Phillips Collection staked its claim as the first 'museum of modern art' in 1920, Dumbarton Oaks (founded in 1940) houses a collection of Byzantine and Pre-Columbian art, with a research library and gardens devoted to landscape architecture and design.[593] Both were founded by wealthy patrons who had built collections that would massively outstrip Kettle's Yard in terms of the number, value and significance of their holdings. But it was not their collections that interested Ede so much as the context in which they were presented, and visitors could engage with them. The crucial thing that both institutions share is their having originated, evolved and remained within a domestic setting. The buildings they occupy today had been the homes of their founders, in which they continued to live, and to play an intimate part in the institution's evolution for the rest of their lives.[594] In both institutions their collections are treated as an integral part of the home in such a way as to convey, as Duncan Phillips put it, 'a sense of art lived with, worked with, and loved.'[595]

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[592] 'I wanted, in a modest way, to use the inspiration I had had from beautiful interiors, houses of leisured elegance, and to combine it with the joy I had felt in individual works seen in museums and with the all embracing delight I had experienced in nature; in stones, in flowers, in people. These thoughts were greatly encouraged by American activity, by the Phillips Memorial Gallery and by Dumbarton Oaks; homes made public and vital by continued enterprise.' Ede, Handlist.

[593] From 1929, Phillips described the Phillips Collection as 'a museum of modern art and its sources,' referring to the presence of paintings by El Greco, Goya and Chardin, and his rather more complicated, personal approach to collecting.

[594] In the case of the Phillips Collection, the directorship stayed 'in the family' until Phillips' son Laughlin retired, in 1992.

[595] Duncan Phillips, *The Phillips Collection: a museum of modern art and its sources'* catalogue, Washington, D.C.: The Phillips Collection, 1952, p.x.

4.4.1: THE PHILLIPS COLLECTION

As I argued in Chapter 2, Duncan Phillips saw the Phillips Memorial Gallery as 'a home for the fine arts and a home for all those who love art and go to it for solace and spiritual refreshment.'[596] The emphasis on the word 'home' was not accidental as the gallery was literally in his home for the first nine years. When the Phillips family moved out of the original mansion in 1929, allowing the entire building to be taken over by their expanding collection and educational ambitions, the original interiors, from the layout of the rooms to the furniture and details such as windows and hearths were retained in order to preserve the intimate character of a domestic residence which had become the hallmark of the institution and strategic counterpoint to the 'academic grandeur' of civic museums such as the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.[597]

This was a minority, but hardly radical, proposition given the culture of the 'salon' in private homes at the end of the nineteenth century and the fact that, as Robert Hughes notes, 'most of the paintings that changed art history between 1860-1950 would fit over a fireplace.'[598] At the same time, however, as Jeremy Braddock points out, Phillips was one of several individuals 'loosely collaborating in a general project of popularizing modernism…but also competing for influence over the mode of its reception' – in other words, competing to establish the meaning of modernism for American audiences.[599]

Phillips was a relative latecomer to the party when he began collecting modern art in the late 1920s; the collectors John Quinn and A.E. Gallatin had been buying work from the likes of Picasso, Matisse and Brâncuşi since the early 1910s, and

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[596]Duncan Phillips, 'The Phillips Memorial Gallery' *Art Bulletin*, 3.4, June 1921, p.149. See also my discussion of Duncan Phillips and his collection in Chapter 2, pp.64-70.
[597] Phillips, *The Phillips Collection: a museum of modern art and its sources*,' pp.vii-x.
[598] Robert Hughes, 'Art and Intimacy' in *The Eye of Duncan Phillips: A Collection in the Making*. p.4.
[599] Jeremy Braddock, *Collecting as modernist practice* (Hopkins Studies in Modernism), Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012, p.76.

both Barnes and Dreier had developed much more substantial collections of modern art by the early 1920s. However, only Barnes and Phillips were able, in the end, to provide a permanent home for their collections. Quinn's collection was, controversially, dispersed through a series of private sales and auctions between 1924-1926. Dreier, who pursued a more 'polyphonic' view of modernism and peripatetic exhibition practices, also attempted, unsuccessfully, to establish her home in West Redding, Connecticut as a 'Country Museum of Visual Education' in the late 1930s. Without an institution to preserve her legacy, most of her collection was given to Yale University (with the exception of a handful of works going to the Philadelphia Museum of Art and the Philips Collection) upon her death in 1952.[600] In 1943, New York University closed Gallatin's Gallery of Living Art, and in the same year, Gallatin presented his collection to the Philadelphia Museum of Art.

The Phillips Memorial Gallery was founded in 1920. It was intended to transform the tragic loss of Duncan Phillips' father and brother into 'a joy-giving, life-enhancing influence, assisting people to see beautifully as true artists see.'[601] In the aesthetic experience, as Fry and Bell described it, Phillips found order and meaning as well solace and pleasure. He realised that he could share this with others. Phillips had two main concerns: to make people feel 'at home' with modern art, and to cultivate a more critically engaged public.

Initially, specific rooms in the Phillips' home were given over to the display of art, while the family occupied the other rooms. There was a degree of overlap, naturally, and the inevitable proximity of the two kinds of spaces, both of which were accessed through the residence's front door, blurred the boundaries between public and private, although the overall effect was closer to what Higonnet calls 'artificial domesticity'[602] than a real, lived-in space. This is most vividly expressed in the main gallery of the Phillips Collection, which was built in

[600] See Higonnet, 'A Museum of One's Own,' p.19 & Marjorie Phillips, *Duncan Phillips and his Collection,* Little Brown & Co., Boston & Toronto, 1970, p.257.
[601] Duncan Phillips, *A collection in the making: a survey of the problems involved in collecting pictures, together with brief estimates of the painters in the Phillips Memorial Gallery* Washington, D.C.: Phillips Publications No. 5, 1926, p.4.
[602] Anne Higonnet, *A Museum of One's Own* p.92.

1929 on the top floor of the house. This gallery was significantly larger than the other rooms in the house, and lit from above by a large roof-light. Despite its scale, the walls were delineated by architectural mouldings and a dado, and it was furnished with comfortable, domestic furniture – a large library table with books and journals available to read, sofas and armchairs positioned away from the walls, just as in the private spaces of the house – clearly signalling the domestic interior.[603]

According to Phillips, his principal aim was to 'make our visitors feel at home in the midst of beautiful things and [be] subconsciously stimulated while consciously rested and refreshed.'[604] The quiet intimacy of the spaces at the Phillips Collection is still sufficiently novel for the critic Robert Hughes to write of their 'aedicular quality' and a prevailing atmosphere of 'unhurried ease.'[605] But how many would feel 'at home' in such a setting which, though not palatial, reflected the luxury and refined taste of American patrician society? Braddock argues that Phillips was nurturing an audience that, while unable to lay claim to his own class status, were 'still capable of appreciating the beauty of its expression: an audience that 'could 'feel 'at home' while not necessarily being at home.'[606]

By comparison, also in 1920, Katherine Dreier established the Société Anonyme in a brownstone apartment at 19 East 47th Street, New York.[607] Dreier was

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[603] K. Porter-Aichele, *Modern Art on Display: The Legacies of Six Collectors,* Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2016, p.14.
[604] Phillips, *A collection in the making*, p.6.
[605] Hughes, 'Art and Intimacy,' p.1.
[606] Braddock, *Collecting as Modernist Practice*, pp.79-80. See also Duncan Phillips, 'The Phillips Memorial Gallery,' p.150.
[607] Katherine Dreier (1877-1952) came from a family committed to social reform and progressive politics. A trained artist and fervent proponent of modern art, she travelled back and forth to Europe between 1907-1914, studying and buying art while also participating in exhibitions in Germany. In Paris, she visited Gertrude Stein's salon, and read Kandinsky's 'Concerning the Spiritual in Art' in German, in 1912, the year it was first published. She was an early collector of Van Gogh and translated his sister's memoir into English in 1913. She founded the Cooperative Mural Workshops in 1914, modelled after the Arts and Crafts movement and Roger Fry's Omega Workshops; in 1916, she was involved in founding the Society of Independent Artists, bringing her into an influential circle of European and American avant-garde artists; and in 1920, she

convinced that modern art addressed the existential questions facing the modern individual, and 'offered a profound interpretation of the relationship between the individual and the larger contemporary world' - in much the same way as Benjamin saw the home functioning as critical intersection between the realms of public and private in modern society. She made it her mission to persuade the American public that modern art was well suited to everyday life and the private home, rather than confined to the social spheres of institutions and galleries, explaining in a lecture of 1930, 'the HOME is a woven part of ourselves.'[608] Both Dreier and Phillips shared the conviction that the domestic setting could offer a private, interiorised experience more appropriate to the modernist mode of engagement than the traditional museum. Dreier experimented with display techniques that, according to Kristina Wilson,' turned the gallery itself into an artwork' but also owed something to Alfred Stieglitz' presentation methods at 291.[609] Dreier claimed that the small, domestic nature of the gallery space also reflected how the artists had created their work, through 'sustained, intimate, daily encounters.'[610] It also affirmed the relationship between the home, modern art and the self.

In contrast to the Phillips' comfortable home, the proportions of the Société's spaces were decidedly modest; there was one room for a gallery and another

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founded the Société Anonyme 'for the study and promotion of international avant-garde art' with Marcel Duchamp and Man Ray.

[608] Katherine Dreier, 'The Home and Its Changes', lecture, 28 October 1930. Katherine S. Dreier Papers, Box 46, Folder 1364.

[609] Stieglitz ran 291, or the 'Little Galleries of the Photo-Secession,' between 1905-1917. He introduced neutral-coloured walls and gave fewer works more space to encourage close examination and 'unhurried contemplation.' See Wilson, 'One Big Picture,' p.77. Dreier's innovative approach was duly noted by her contemporaries. Phillips' wife, Marjorie, visited the Société Anonyme Headquarters at least once, in 1920, when she was living in New York, as did Alfred Barr. Wilson claims that Barr later drew on Dreier's approach to display in his own installations in the six rooms MoMA occupied on the 12th floor of the Heckscher Building in midtown Manhattan, before moving to its iconic purpose-built modernist home in 1939. Primarily out of necessity, but also in tacit acknowledgment of the conversation between artworks and their surroundings, Dreier countered the 'period' features of her residential apartment with a restrained and uncluttered single-row hang. The effect was to present unfamiliar modern art 'within a familiar structure of visual cues' - a technique Alfred Barr used to deal with the same difficulties presented by MoMA's initial accommodation. Wilson, 'One Big Painting,' p.80.

[610] Katherine Dreier (with Constantin Alajalov), *Modern Art*, New York: Société Anonyme, 1926, p.1.

given over to a reference library. Wilson records that the largest room was 21' 7" by 15'2", while the smaller room was 14'7" by 15'6."[611] Each room had a relatively low ceiling, at 8'10," a fireplace and windows. While this space functioned as a base for their activities, Dreier adopted an 'outreach' approach to audience development, organising over eighty exhibitions in a wide variety of locations, in labour clubs and provincial museums, through publications, lectures and events. In 1926, Dreier organised what was then one of the largest shows ever devoted to contemporary art in the United States, the Société Anonyme's ambitious 'International Exhibition of Modern Art' at the Brooklyn Museum. At the heart of the exhibition, Dreier built four model rooms – a parlour, a library, a dining room and a bedroom – to show 'how modern art looks in the home'.[612] (Fig.44) Among works by Jean Arp, El Lissitzky and others, she installed collages by Kurt Schwitters in the library, landscapes by American artist Louis Eilshemius in the dining room, and Jacques Villon's etched version of Edouard Manet's *Olympia* - with its disconcertingly direct gaze - in the parlour. She chose conservative, period-style furniture from the Brooklyn furniture store Abraham & Straus; the hypothetical home she evoked was not the wealthy collector's mansion but a contemporary middle-class house that the majority of museum-goers could identify with their own domestic situation.[613]

The contrast between Phillips' older model of patrician domesticity, with its elegant and harmonious interiors, furnished with 'beautiful things' and the sparsely furnished interiors of Dreier's two small, rented rooms at 19 East 47th Street, New York, couldn't have been sharper. While Phillips presented

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611 Wilson, 'One Big Painting,' pp.75-96.

612 Dreier, quoted in ibid., p.88. Alongside the domestic rooms, Dreier experimented with a single-row hang in the grander, main galleries and there was also a prototype 'television room' designed with Friedrich Kiesler, who would later design Peggy Guggenheim's Art of This Century gallery in 1942. The Société also sponsored eighteen lectures alongside the exhibition in Brooklyn, fourteen of which were delivered by Dreier.

613 'The more I think of making a selection of furniture which Abram & Straus will have for sale, the more pleased I am with the thought, especially as Abram & Straus is the big store where the big middle class Brooklynites buy.' Katherine Dreier, letter to Paul Woodward, 14 September 1926. Katherine S. Dreier Papers (Box 6, Folder 153), Yale University Library, Yale Collection of American Literature
Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, New Haven, CT.

audiences with the refined tastes and cultural authority of historic American gentility, Dreier put her visitors in a situation they could afford to replicate.

It was as important to Phillips that 'artists and their pictures should feel at home' as it was to put visitors at their ease.[614] An article written by Phillips in *Art Bulletin*, June 1921, reveals how Phillips translated this idea into the carefully composed tableau of individual rooms designed to echo and complement the paintings:

'In all the rooms the setting will be carefully planned, and executed with the object of enhancing the effect of the paintings…and of producing a sympathetic background and a perfect *ensemble.* For instance, in the Twachtman room, those who know the marvellous nuances of colour, opalescent and phosphorescent, in the works by this great master will be delighted to find these subtle felicities echoed in the background in choice bits of Chinese pottery, Persian lusterware, or Greek glass. To complete the room imagine a black carpet and a wall like that in our present gallery, where a grey, transparent mesh hangs over the plaster, which is toned a delicate apricot.'[615]

Like Dreier, who once wrote, 'I always treat my exhibitions, as you may know, as one big painting, for in that way alone do the rooms look complete,'[616] Phillips also attempted to connect what was inside the frame with what was outside. He clearly planned to follow the modernist model of the Gesamtkunstwerk and situate the art as part of a visually coherent 'ensemble' that included furniture and decorative elements, and his description evokes the visually complex interiors of the Aesthetic movement and a number of venerable antecedents, which included the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum.[617]

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[614] Duncan Phillips, *The Phillips Collection and related thoughts on art*. Text originally presented as a radio talk entitled 'The Pleasures of an Intimate Art Gallery,' WCFM, February 24, 1954. Phillips Collection Archives.
[615] Phillips, 'The Phillips Memorial Gallery,' p.149.
[616] Katherine Dreier, letter to Stuart Davies, 29 September 1926, Katherine S. Dreier Papers, Box 10, Folder 281.
[617] According to the art historian Linda J Docherty, 'Isabella Stewart Gardner's Fenway Court in Boston has long been interpreted as an exemplar of aestheticism in museum

While it was first and foremost her home, Gardner incorporated period furniture and decorative details in her interiors that were intended to both complement and contextualise the artworks, positing the domestic environment as a site of both critical reflection and reverie.[618] Likewise, Phillips' furniture and 'beautiful things,' were, Braddock notes, 'implicitly objects of appreciation'.[619] K. Porter-Aichele has also noted that the placement of sofas and chairs in Phillips' galleries created 'viewing stations similar to Isabella Stewart Gardner's observation posts to the extent that they provided optimal views of Phillips' carefully constructed ensembles.'[620] (Fig.45)

Not only were both Phillips and Gardner meticulous about how the viewer perceived the constellations they had arranged, but they were equally precise about the way in which they used the domestic environment to affirm specific social structures. Anne Higonnet makes the point, which is also taken up by Braddock, that collectors' museums such as the Gardner and the Phillips Collection, 'cast both the ownership of art and the experience of seeing it on the terms of a capitalist middle class.'[621] Braddock argues that Phillips saw himself, as Higonnet suggests all collectors situated themselves, as middle class, individualist, and capitalist.

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design. See Docherty L.J. (1999) 'Collection as Creation: Isabella Stewart Gardner's Fenway Court,' in: Reinink W., Wessel, A. & Stumpel J., eds. *Memory & Oblivion: Proceedings of the XXIXth International Congress of the History of Art held in Amsterdam, 1-7 September 1996*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 1999.
p.271. As Higonnet notes, contemporary audiences responded positively to the overwhelming impression of 'organic unity' at the Gardner Museum. She cites the *Boston Herald* report that while other museums had 'yarns,' 'the Gardner idea is to show the same yarns where they belong: in the exquisite designs of embroidery,' and the collector John Quinn's remarks in a letter to Augustus John on 7 Mar 1912, 'all the pictures seemed to be at home.' Higonnet, *A Museum of One's Own,* pp.21-22.

[618] Other American examples include the Huntington Library, Art Collections and Institute, founded by Henry Edwards Huntington and opened in 1928; and Henry Clay Frick's home and collection, which opened to the public in 1935.

[619] Braddock, *Collecting as Modernist Practice,* p.82.

[620] K. Porter-Aichele, *Modern Art on Display: The Legacies of Six Collectors,* p.14.

[621] See Higonnet, *A Museum of One's Own,* p.96. She continues, 'The question of class was historical, and the collection museum positioned its class identity historically.' See also Braddock, ibid., p.82.

Phillips, coming from a background of privilege and respectability, held relatively conservative social and political views. His understanding of modernism was, like his politics, rooted in a belief in historical tradition and continuity. He was not a fan of the notion that modernism represented a break with the past, and was keen to suppress the association, which as Braddock notes was perceived by political extremists and conservatives alike, between 'the radical aesthetics of modernism and the revolutionary theory and practice of Marxism.[622] As early as 1913, Phillips had been alarmed at the appearance of radical politics at the Armory show in New York.[623]

Although his opinions on politics and modernism mellowed in the years that followed, Phillips nevertheless used his home and patrician status to frame a 'domesticated' version of modernism at the Phillips Collection and to affirm the values of an existing social structure.[624] As he declared in 1953, 'the continuity of tradition is my most compelling interest in forming and interpreting a collection of modern art and its sources.'[625] His aesthetic and social programme were the same. He focused on cultivating a culturally advanced society, as he indicated in *A Collection in the Making*: 'We should at least aspire to another Renaissance, another age of far-sighted patrons, of an enlightened public, of artists liberated by patrons and public but most of all by trained critics from the need of being organised manufacturers and self-advertisers of sentimental, standardized, smart, sensational pictures instead of fine ones.'[626] Within the domestic interior, with its Benjaminian layering of past and present, its aura of stability and familiarity, Phillips set about defusing the antagonistic rhetoric of modernism to

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[622] Braddock, ibid., p.76.
[623] In his review, 'Revolutions and Reactions in Painting', published in *International Studio* vol.51 no. 202, December 1913, Phillips described the show as an 'orgy of the subjective' featuring 'anarchists, not artists' (pp.cxxiii-cxxix). According to Braddock, 'members of Kreymborg's *Others* group had affiliations with anarchism, and as Allan Antliff has shown, a faction of the 1917 Armory Show's supporters had been eager to demonstrate a connection between political anarchism and modernism,' while 3 months earlier Leon Trotsky had heralded 'the second Russian Revolution' on a visit to New York. Ibid., pp.75-6.
[624] The historian John Ott refers to Phillips' 'desire to de-radicalise the avant-garde' in 'Patrons, Collectors, and Markets' in Davis, J., Greenhill, J. & D LaFountain, J., eds. *A Companion to American Art*, Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2015, p.535.
[625] Phillips, 'The Phillips Collection and Related Thoughts on Art'
[626] Phillips, *A Collection in the Making,* p.11.

reinforce a cultural paradigm based on traditional 'American' values of individualism and free enterprise.

4.4.2: DUMBARTON OAKS

Mildred Bliss, the co-founder of Dumbarton Oaks, called it a 'home for the Humanities,' and it was a home on several levels. It was the primary residence of the Blisses for over forty years, and a permanent home for their substantial library and collections. It was also a 'home' for scholars in fields that overlapped with their broad interests, from their ancient art collections to the practice of landscape design. It would provide the shelter and ease of 'home' to those who came to use the library, collections and gardens for their research, and it would become a place to go back to – in the sense of 'home' as an origin and of belonging, the locus of an academic community created around the rich resources gathered together by the Blisses.

Why did the Humanities need a home? With substantial investment flowing into burgeoning new fields of scientific and technological research from business and the military, the Humanities were becoming increasingly sidelined within universities. The Blisses initially approached Harvard in 1932 with a proposal for a post-graduate educational institute to be run as an outpost of the Fogg Museum and Fine Art department with links to other departments such as Architecture, Landscape Architecture and Archaeology.[627] Its aim was to advance work in these fields in order to establish parity between the level of research and training in humanities and other scientific or applied subjects. They had an ardent advocate in Paul Sachs, then director of the Fogg Museum of the University of Harvard, who in making the case for their scheme to his university colleagues, felt it necessary to state that 'the importance of the fine arts in the life

[627]As Duncan Robinson has pointed out, the Blisses were not the first to make such an offer to Harvard. In 1915, the influential art historian Bernard Berenson had indicated his intentions to give his home, Villa I Tatti in Florence, Italy, to the same institution. He publicly reaffirmed this promised gift in 1937, although the bequest was only formally accepted at Berenson's death in 1959. See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Villa_I_Tatti

of a nation is abundantly testified to by historic fact. But their importance in education, particularly university education, has never been sufficiently stressed.'[628] Sachs went on to argue,

'The purpose of a university fine arts department, as distinguished from an art school is not, as is popularly supposed, the creation of artists. It is to give a large number of men a familiarity with the art heritage of our civilization and to a limited number of men the training and experience necessary to enable them to serve as curators and directors of museums, or connoisseurs, critics and teachers of the arts. (It is into this part of the work that I have just underlined that the work of the Bliss Foundation would not only fit, but be an important logical and almost necessary addition) [...] the times demand that in all fields of human endeavor America must insist that men be trained for leadership. But even if this were not so, our studies have advanced to the point that it has become mandatory, as I tried to point out to you at our meeting, that professional men in the field of the fine arts be given as rigorous a discipline as men have long been given in, shall we say, medicine and in the law.'[629]

According to Robert Bliss, they perceived 'a need...of a quiet place where the advanced students and scholars could withdraw, the one to mellow and develop, the other to write the result of a life's study.'[630] In 1937, Mildred Bliss wrote to their close friend and advisor, Royall Tyler: 'I know that what Dumbarton Oaks has to give—the work that it can do—can never be done in a big center—it must be small and quiet and un-emphatic: a place for meditation and recueillement.'[631] The opportunity to 'withdraw' was critical. Their institution was to be intimate and of a domestic scale, a form of intellectual retreat from the rest of the world. It was not exactly public-oriented, although as the local paper wryly recounted, 'Mildred Bliss agreed that her 16-acre garden should be opened to the masses –

[628] Paul Sachs, letter to Alfred Gregory, 19 July 1932. Paul J. Sachs Collection, HC 3/520.
[629] ibid.
[630] Robert Woods Bliss, quoted here: https://www.doaks.org/about/history, accessed 4 May 2018.
[631] Mildred Bliss, letter to Royall Tyler, 25 September 1939, https://www.doaks.org/resources/bliss-tyler-correspondence/letters/25sep1939 accessed 24 Sept 2018.

though not, of course, at mealtimes, or in mornings or in evenings, or in the heat of summer, when the elect of Dumbarton Oaks, the fellows and the staff, would be allowed, in privacy, to swim in the deep pool. But from 2 p.m. to 5 p.m., in spring and early fall, when the flowers were in bloom and the foliage most lovely, the public could be offered the garden she had wrought.'[632]

Dumbarton Oaks tread a delicate line between public and private and still has the air of a protected space for the privileged few. The Blisses focused primarily on hosting a small community of serious Humanities scholars in a setting that recreated the cloistered, humanist tradition of academic scholarship. They provided unfettered access to rich historic collections and research resources; peace and beauty in the form of the architecture, collections, landscaped gardens and regular music concerts. A key feature of this Arcadian scheme was the culture of the social lunch, the teas and sherry hours hosted by Mildred Bliss as part of another ancient tradition of hospitality, which brought the whole Dumbarton Oaks community together.

Over the course of twenty years prior to transferring Dumbarton Oaks to Harvard, Mildred Bliss oversaw the conversion of room after room of their home to accommodate their collections with the future use of others in mind.[633] Like Isabella Gardner, Mildred Bliss modelled the domestic milieu as a space of contemplation and reverie. Art objects were incorporated into the decorative schemes of rooms containing the accoutrements of domesticity: sofas, tables, carpets, bibelots and books; the Byzantine Reading Room was styled as a large personal library and according to Gudrun Bühl, the Music Room, which drew inspiration from Renaissance interiors, 'was originally conceived as a grand residential room rather than a gallery' with paintings hung alongside tapestries on the walls, lamps and sculptures resting on Renaissance cabinets and large,

[632] Paul Richard, 'Dumbarton Oaks' *Washington Post*, August 26, 1979. Archived here: https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/lifestyle/1979/08/26/dumbarton-oaks/1433f9dc-dba7-4482-9234-cfd1cd6c6f37/?utm_term=.57fc1bb20c24 accessed 12 June 2018.

[633] Most of the alterations were completed by 1940, but a major new extension was added in 1963 in the form of Philip Johnson's striking glass 'pavilion' for the Pre-Columbian collection.

upholstered sofas and easy chairs in front of a grand, sixteenth-century French hearth and chimneypiece.[634] (See Fig.25)

The Blisses developed their passion for collecting Byzantine and Pre-Columbian art while living in Paris between 1912-1919. It was a period of intense interest, particularly in Paris, in non-western and ancient art forms, from African and Pre-Columbian cultures to the Byzantine Empire. These so-called 'primitive' art forms were lauded by leading artists of the avant-garde such as Henri Matisse and Pablo Picasso, while influential dealers such as Paul Guillaume and Joseph Brummer showed and sold modernist art alongside African sculpture and antiquities.[635] Modernist critics and art historians including Roger Fry and Willhelm Worringer identified similarities between the Post-Impressionists' approach to abstraction and that of Byzantine artists, [636] while the Russian artist and art historian Alexander Benois singled out Matisse as 'one of the most important pioneers of 'Byzantinism,' describing 'Byzantinism' as both a particular set of modernist pictorial values and a new theory of art that firmly rejected the slightest hints of representational illusionism as an aesthetic compromise.[637] According to Maria Taroutina, 'Modern 'Byzantinism' was thus understood by figures as diverse as Benois and Fry as a totalizing and definitive

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[634] Gudrun Bühl, 'Preface' in James N. Carder, ed. *A Home of the Humanities: The Collecting and Patronage of Mildred and Robert Woods Bliss* Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2010, p.xvii.

[635] The Blisses bought many of their early acquisitions from Brummer, who was closely associated with the Blisses' friend and principal advisor, Royall Tyler.

[636] In 1908, Roger Fry coined the term 'Proto-Byzantines' in a review of works by Paul Signac, Paul Gaughin, Vincent Van Gogh and Paul Cézanne on display at the International Society in London, and framed Post-Impressionism as a revival of Byzantinism. See Roger Fry, 'Letter' to the *Burlington Magazine*, March 1908, in Christopher Reed, *A Roger Fry Reader by Roger Fry,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996, p.73. The leading German art historian, Willhelm Worringer, also wrote about the abstract properties of Byzantine art in *Abstraction and Empathy: A Contribution to the Psychology of Style, Abstraction and Empathy: A Contribution to the Psychology of Style,* trans. Michael Bullock, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1953 [1908], pp.93-105.

[637] Matthew Stewart Prichard, aesthete and advisor to Isabella Gardner, also claimed in letters to Gardner that Matisse had been influenced by Byzantine coins. See, for example, Matthew Stewart Prichard, letter to Isabella Stewart Gardner, January 1914, Matthew Stewart Prichard Papers, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum. Alexander Benois is cited in Maria Taroutina, 'Byzantium and Modernism,' *Byzantium/Modernism, The Byzantine as Method in Modernity,* BRILL online, DOI: 10.1163/9789004300019_003 2015, p.2.

reconceptualization of the appearance and function of art in modernity, one that moved beyond reductive imitation or copying of medieval Byzantine forms.'[638]

In this milieu, the Blisses' taste for antiquities was primed and honed through the aesthetic lens of modernism. They learned to identify and celebrate, as no American collectors had previously had done, the abstract visual language and formal qualities of what had been viewed up to that point not as art but as cultural 'artefacts.' They regarded their acquisitions in the same way as collectors of modern art such as Albert C. Barnes and Duncan Phillips were doing. They took to heart the modernist theory of artistic development, not as a chronological narrative but as a cyclical process of discovery and reaction. They therefore presented their collections in the home with the same eye for formal rhythms, and conversations between art works and their surroundings as their fellow collectors of modernism. They provided their own version of the interiorised aesthetic experience of modernism, promoting a sense of intimacy and reverie by cultivating the atmosphere of a home that, while not private, was not exactly public either; it was, in some ways, like the Barnes Foundation: a protected space for serious, sustained engagement.

4.5: AT HOME WITH ART

In 1930, Hilla Rebay, the founding director and curator of the Guggenheim Museum declared, 'Anyone who hopes to fully comprehend a picture has to live with it.'[639]

Rebay, following in the footsteps of Dreier, Phillips and others, attempted a compromise. By drawing on the tropes of domestic interiors – furnishing the galleries with carpets, curtains and low ottomans with soft velvet covers, and playing music by Bach and Beethoven in the background – she made the public

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[638] Taroutina, Ibid.
[639] Hilla Rebay, 1930, letter to Rudolph Bauer, cited in Don Quaintance, 'Erecting the Temple of Non-Objectivity: The Architectural Infancy of the Guggenheim Museum' in Karole Vail, ed. *The Museum of Non-Objective Painting: Hilla Rebay and the Origins of the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum*, New York: Guggenheim Museum, 2009, p.202.

place of art (in this case, the newly inaugurated Guggenheim Museum) a little more like a home.

Forty-four years later, William Rubin, the director of the Painting & Sculpture Department at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, declared,

'To the extent that it remains within the tradition of modern easel painting, [art] still finds the museum a hospitable environment, although the *ideal* place – even for a big Pollock – is in a private home. I think that's what most modern painting, given its character, really wants. To me, museums are essentially compromises. They are neither like a really public place nor are they private – like an apartment. Their weakness is that they are necessarily homogenised – emptied of all connotations other than art, and that finally is an artificial situation…Museums never were, and I think never will be, the absolutely right environment for works of art. I don't think works of art are at their most interesting when separated from the whole fabric of life. It makes it possible for more of the public to see them, its convenient, its good for art history – especially as it preserves them – but it is a compromise.'[640]

What does it mean – what did it mean – to be 'at home' with art? Hilla Rebay seemed to think that it had something to do with spending time in the presence of art, to 'dwell' in both senses of the word; Rubin pointed to a fundamental relationship between art and life, to the nature of art as lived experience. Rubin, a champion of second generation, large-scale post-war American modernism of the kind that would inevitably have been obscured by furniture and become part of the interior décor in most domestic situations, nevertheless believed that the most meaningful place to encounter modern art was in this context.

[640] William Rubin, director of the Painting and Sculpture Department at the Museum of Modern Art, 1968 – 1988, quoted in Lawrence Alloway and John Coplans, 'Talking with William Rubin: The Museum Concept Is Not Infinitely Expandable,' *Artforum* 13, no.2, October 1974, p.53.

So what do these museums, which so closely ape the domestic idiom, tell us about the task they set themselves? Is it possible to share with others the intimate experience of living with art?

A museum is purpose-built to preserve and display art. In the hushed environment of the museum there is none of the noise and paraphernalia of other spaces of modern life to interfere with the art experience. Temperature, humidity and light levels are routinely controlled. Gallery spaces are capacious and often windowless. Architectural detailing is minimal. Art is surrounded by empty white space. In the home, art jostles for attention and often has to contend with tight corners and corridors, furniture and windows. Rarely is it possible to stand in front of a work of art in a home and see it in isolation; it is more likely to be glanced in passing from one room to another, or from a soft couch or a bed, as the backdrop of occupants' lives. Nor is it possible to see it in *ideal* conditions. Lighting is usually a mixture of natural and artificial sources, direct or raking, too little or too much. There are no labels or interpretation to prompt and assist the viewing experience, nor any sense of purposeful activity that usually accompanies a trip to the museum. Furniture takes little account of the presence of art but fulfils essential social and functional roles in the home, whereas in the museum, it is used to enact a self-consciously physical relationship with the art, as an attempt to counteract an institutional setting, like Rebay's ottomans or to create a specific vantage point, as it does in the Phillips Collection and the Gardner Museum.[641] The artist Josiah McElheny has observed that the presence of furniture in a museum is not usually enough to put visitors at ease: 'I'm struck by how difficult it is to relax, to feel entitled to occupy the [domestic] furniture in such a setting as this, not to feel intimidated by the institutional space. How difficult it is to get oneself to spend enough time to feel as though the room could be your own, even if just for a moment.'[642] McElheny is, of course, speaking in

[641] Robert Rosenblum described sitting on ottomans which were 'so low it makes one aware of the tug between body and spirit, between gravity and weightlessness.' Cited in Vail, *The Museum of Non-Objective Painting,* p.203.
[642] McElheny, in conversation with Lynne Cooke, in *Interiors,* New York: Center for Curatorial Studies, Bard College, and Sternberg Press, 2012, p.185. McElheny co-curated the exhibition *If you lived here, you'd be home by now'* at CCS Bard's Hessel Museum of

about the present, an era in which museums and 'cultural experiences' have never been so popular. It is much easier to begin to imagine a room as your own if you are alone in it, but these days, it is rarely possible to have a gallery to oneself, as you might in your own home. One might say that in the success of such institutions lies their failure.

Duncan Phillips encouraged his visitors to 'relax, to smoke, to think and enjoy' in the 'lingering quiet' of his galleries so that they might feel 'at home.' He contrasted this image with 'the throngs' who attended their occasional loan exhibitions, 'with their instructive labels and catalogues.'[643]

To feel 'at home' is to feel at ease, and not everyone feels at ease in museums. According to Albert Barnes, being at ease very much depended on who you were. He saw the traditional model of the art museum as perpetuating disadvantage and division based on a social class system that used obfuscating codes of etiquette and connoisseurship to exclude those who did not have the financial resources to access to education or polite society.[644] He explicitly welcomed 'the ordinary people,' the working classes and black community, and used his collection to teach analytical and critical thinking skills that would empower his students to become politically active citizens. Barnes' theories centred on the development of understanding through Dewey's notion of direct experience, which has something in common with Rebay's conviction that 'to fully comprehend a picture one has to live with it.'

The knowledge acquired through living with something doesn't necessarily develop by formal means, through a lecture or by reading. This kind of knowledge is broader than language; it is haptic and intuitive; it can accumulate

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Art, New York, in 2011, which incorporated examples of furniture in room-like scenarios like those created by Dreier in 1926.

[643] Phillips, *The Phillips Collection Catalogue,* p.x.

[644] As an institution, the art museum enshrined certain behavioural codes (none of the picnics or illicit meetings of the nineteenth century) and promoted art historical connoisseurship based on knowledge that could be accessed only by the wealthy and privileged. See Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* London: Routledge, 1995, pp.100-101.

subliminally and in an unstructured way, as the art historian Matthew Stewart Prichard suggested to his friend, Denham Waldo Ross, in 1911:

'People have not gone very far yet in the understanding of art; that should not surprise us if we realize how decentralized it is in its organization, how evasive it is when skilfully employed, how readily it escapes detection, how refractory, in a word, it is to speculation.'[645]

He explained, 'You visit a lady of feeling. She receives you in a room hung with tapestries; someone is playing on the piano; your friend is charmingly dressed and she wears jewellery; there are flowers about. You sit down and talk with her. At the end of the conversation you leave. Analyse now, and you find that your attention was given to your hostess and her conversation; you were aware of the various elements affecting you during the call, the music, the flowers, the dress and so on, but you did not examine them, you paid no notice to them, you did not fix your attention on them, you did not conceptualise them. It appeared all as one harmony, and however much your mind may have wondered towards disengaging the different impulses, the adjustment was happily enough calculated to defy dismemberment. Do you not think that such an experience may be typical of what we call art?'[646]

Prichard was a protégé of Isabella Gardner, a Byzantinist and an aesthete. Although there is no obvious connection between them, Ede owned a typescript copy of this fourteen-page letter.[647] When Ede declared that it was emphatically 'GOOD' if a visitor could 'pick up a book and sit down somewhere and not know there is a picture in the place,' he seems to have been echoing Prichard's words.[648] While Kettle's Yard is unquestionably influenced by the institutions I have described, I would like to suggest that perhaps Ede's approach to the question of how to share the intimate experience of living with art was

[645] Matthew Stewart Prichard to Denman Waldo Ross, 11-24 March 1911. Typescript. Isabella Stewart Gardner Collected Letters, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum Archives.
[646] Ibid.
[647] It may have been given to him by the Blisses, who knew Prichard through their interest in Byzantine art.
[648] Ede, 'Letter to applicants for the post of Resident at Kettle's Yard.'

ultimately based on Prichard's model, where the apparent focus is not on the art itself but on the conversation, the experience of visiting a friend.

4.6: EDE'S HOMES

Anne Higonnet has described the collection museum as a form of self-portraiture, and Penny Sparke argues that the same can be said of the domestic interior.[649] Jon Wood has suggested that the artist Brâncuşi constructed his own personal mythology around his studio, which served to enhance and amplify certain characteristics. Kettle's Yard bears the imprint of its founder just as clearly. In 1931, Ede asked 'For how many of us is our room the expression of ourselves, so that when we go into it it just receives our natures, giving us a sense of ease and freedom?'[650] In each of his homes, he approached the arrangement of the interiors as if he were constructing his ideal self.

Kettle's Yard had its precursors in Ede's previous homes, and the pattern of hospitality that marked their domestic life in each place. Although strikingly different, there was great beauty in the character of each house, their original features and well-proportioned rooms and the quality of light admitted. Elm Row was a Georgian terrace in London; White Stone, a huge modernist villa in Tangier, and Les Charlotières at Chailles, an old French farmhouse, which Ede fancifully imagined dated back to the twelfth century.

4.6.1: ELM ROW

The Edes lived at No. 1 Elm Row between 1924-37.[651] 'Every bit of the house was like a painting by Van Eyck or Terborch' wrote Ede in his memoir. He described it as 'a rambling old house that had probably once been an inn, and had grown by degrees from the sixteenth century outwards. It had powder closets and wig cupboards and mysterious stories of secret passages and ghosts.

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[649] See Anne Higonnet, 'Self-Portrait as a Museum' in *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics,* no.52, Museums: Crossing Boundaries (Autumn, 2007), pp.198-211.
[650] Ede, 'A Room to Live In.'
[651] Smith, 'H.S. Ede: A Life in Art,' p.44.

It had lovely windows and shapely rooms and an abiding sense of quiet, an inward quiet.'[652] He wrote of its 'flat façade of ancient brick with its many windows shining sombrely like deep pools in shadow,' of the 'walls of shadowy panels' and 'sills of softly polished wood' on which stood some Waterford crystal, 'catching in its diamond surface the darkness of the room.'[653] Like the rest of the Georgian terrace it adjoins, the house probably dated from around 1720.[654] But in his mind, Ede had added a couple of hundred years to the house, linking it with the interiors painted by the Dutch masters he revered.[655] (Figs.46, 47)

Elm Row inspired 'A Room to Live In', the radio talk he delivered in December 1931, where he spoke almost mystically of the qualities of space and light. 'Those of you who went to the Dutch Exhibition in London will remember the beauty of interiors and that beauty is due to the artist having loved the light in a room and having painted that light; and wherever there are objects in the room that light which the artist loved, is always lying around them, caressing them in a deep quiet and an eternal spaciousness.' He described his own home in the same terms:

'Sometimes the big room, so dimly lit, its floor mysteriously shining like the back of an old fiddle, would look exceptionally lovely. The street lights flickered through the vine leaves and made shadows on the white panels, odd leaves would blow into the room and someone's voice turned the wooden walls to stone as it rang out with a sixteenth century melody.'[656]

Ede's ability to conjure an atmosphere appealed to many. '[redacted]' wrote Helen Sutherland after one particular evening. '[redacted]

[652] Ede, 'Between Two Memories,' pp.92-93. At the time, the house was notable for its previous occupants, which included D.H. Lawrence, who stayed there in 1923.
[653] Ibid., pp.198-199.
[654] Ede noted the building's many, multi-panelled windows, wood panelling and classical proportions – all tropes of Georgian architecture. See https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1078275 and https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1378844
[655] See H.S. Ede, 'A Jan van Eyck in the National Gallery' *Apollo Magazine* vol. 2 no.12, December 1925, pp.334-339.
[656] Ede, 'Between Two Memories,' p.94.

[redacted]'[657] As Ede put it, 'visitors...found an atmosphere in which their natures took pleasure and were at home.'[658]

The Edes kept 'open house' at Elm Row for thirteen years, welcoming the rich, famous and fashionable, the poor and talented, the eccentric and interesting. Unmistakeably reminiscent of the fashionable pre-war salons of T.E. Hulme and Edmund Gosse, and inspired at least in part by the informal breakfast gatherings at Eddie Marsh's home in Gray's Inn, or the tea parties at the Morrells,[659] the Edes' gatherings were distinguished by the spare beauty of their surroundings and unconventionally humble cuisine and sobriety. What Ede called the 'bare receptiveness' of an empty room others simply saw as 'unfurnished,'[660] and, as Ede recalled with some satisfaction, they were renowned for entertaining 'extensively but not expensively; at their house you may sit down to a three or even a two course dinner, but on the table may be a statue worth hundreds of pounds.' [661] They never served alcohol and the menu consisted of, as Ede put it,

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[657] Sutherland to Ede, 27 Sept 1934. KY/EDE/1/15/9/29. REDACTED
[658] Ede, 'Between Two Memories,' p.87.
[659] Between 1907-1928, Lady Ottoline and Sir Phillip Morrell maintained both a townhouse in Bedford Square in Bloomsbury, where they held a regular Thursday evening salon, and Garsington Manor in Oxfordshire, to which they invited many of their friends, including the artists Stanley Spencer, Dora Carrington and Mark Gertler, to join them for weekends. Morrell 'delighted in opening both as havens for like-minded people.' See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lady_Ottoline_Morrell#cite_ref-11
The Morrells, famous for their hospitality, were not wealthy and in 1928, they sold both Garsington Manor and Bedford Square and moved to 10 Gower Street, where Morrell's 'hospitality for intellectuals was undiminished' and 'the walled garden at the back of the building provided the perfect setting for afternoon tea.' See http://10-gower-street.com/history-of-10-gower-street-2/, accessed 11 May 2018
Kinkead-Weeks refers to 'the literary salon of Edmund Gosse', p.85, *Triumph of Exile*; Marsh's sociable breakfasts are noted by Master Timothy Shuttleworth in 'Guess Who's Coming to Breakfast,' in *Graya* no.129, pp48-53. The poet T.E. Hulme, who, according to Christopher Nevinson, 'had the most wonderful gift of knowing everyone and mixing everyone' (*Paint and Prejudice, 1937, p.63)* presided over a literary and artistic salon on Tuesday evenings at the home of Ethel Kibblewhite between 1911-1914.
[660] Ede, 'Between Two Memories,' p.20.
[661] Ede, 'Between Two Memories,' p.88. According to Smith, this was written by Arnold Bennett.

'food for the spirit rather than flesh-pots.'[662] Friends joked at cocktail parties: 'if you are going up to dine with the Edes you had better tuck in now; for they only give you two berries on a plate.'[663] However, they served their meals on 'lovely plates, mostly riveted […] but beautiful in texture and colour,' while Brâncuşi's *Poisson d'Or* sat in the centre of the table.[664] Ede prided himself on his refined aesthetic sensibility, claiming he would 'always prefer to eat porridge or macaroni with a Queen Anne silver spoon than caviar or lobster with a Woolworth *'utility,'* and even compared himself to Whistler, whose Sunday breakfasts, according to fellow artist George Boughton, were 'as original as himself and his work, and equally memorable.'[665]

Nevertheless, according to Ede, 'people came for each other and the general beauty of the house,' [666] which soon included numerous works of art by many of their regular visitors. Ede's diaries and visitor books attest to his claim that their parties at Elm Row 'were always popular and on most days there were guests to meals.'[667] They had a constant stream of artists around them, and from time to time, they took in artists and musicians who needed a place to stay; they also rented out part of their home to friends of friends, such as the patron and political activist Margaret Gardiner – who was introduced to them by the artist Barbara Hepworth. To David Jones, their home was 'a harbour.' He painted and drew the view from their window. Art and artists were part of their daily life, and home was synonymous with hospitality.

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[662] Ede, 'Between Two Memories,' pp.87-88.
[663] Ibid.
[664] Ede explained, 'each glass they used had been lovingly found in some little out of the way shop, each spoon recalled its own particular thrill. There were no sets or services, but all were friendly.' Ede, 'Between Two Memories,' pp.88, 93.
[665] Quoted in Cox, Devon, 2015. *The Street of Wonderful Possibilities: Whistler, Wilde and Sargent in Tite Street* (London: Frances Lincoln): 46-47. Cox continues, 'Whistler took great pains to ensure that every detail was perfect. He designed the invitations himself, arranged the table with 'blue and white plates, coffee-cups, and other accessories being of Oriental design', polished silver, starched linen, Japanese bowls with goldfish and a jar of flowers in the centre.'
[666] Ede, 'Between Two Memories,' p.94.
[667] Ede, 'Between Two Memories,' p.87.

4.6.2: WHITE STONE

In 1935, Ede bought a plot of land to the west of Tangier, on a hillside above the town with a view that stretched south across the plain towards the Rif mountains. 'I'm up on the roof top' he wrote to David Jones during a trip to oversee the construction work, 'there is view after the middle distance - & on to 100 miles or so – a soft undulating green with cloud shadows floating about on it & in the distance mountains getting more & more identified with the sky.'[668] There, as he told Jones, he built a house 'to my own design' and commissioned local architect M. Rolin to help him oversee its construction.[669] White Stone was completed in Autumn 1937. It was Ede's antidote to the Tate.

In sharp contrast to Elm Row, the house was designed in the modern style: simple geometric volumes with large, floor-to-ceiling windows and a generous veranda encircling the building, and as with all Mediterranean buildings, painted white inside and out. (Fig.48) In place of Elm Row's mystical, mysterious play of shadow and darkness between inside and outside, the bright, penetrating sunlight of North Africa flooded the interiors. A few interior details from Elm Row crept into White Stone, including corner cupboards and window seats, and images also reveal a brick and tile-built fireplace, and the long, low white sofa that would reappear years later at Kettle's Yard. (Figs.49, 50)

The Edes left most of their artworks and books behind with family and friends (Ben Nicholson borrowed the Mirò), but a handful of artworks by Christopher Wood, David Jones and Ben Nicholson followed them to Tangier.[670] They also had with them the cut glass goblet which now sits on the mantelpiece at Kettle's Yard, the C16th gold frame, the Venetian mirror which had been a wedding present from the Leverton Harrises, the large Spanish chair, a French iron garden

668 H.S. Ede, letter to David Jones, n.d. David Jones Papers.
669 Ede wrote to David Jones that he had 'finished all the drawings myself' See financial notes in the back pages of 1935 diary. AWOL? KY/Ede/
670 Works included Christopher Wood's Le Phàre (1930), Snowscape (1926), Boy with Cat (1926), Mermaids (1929) and The New Boat (1930); David Jones' Lourdes (1928) and Ben Nicholson's Musical Instruments (1933), Study for Massine ballet (1934) and various screen printed fabrics by Nicholson and Hepworth.

chair, the round dining table from Elm Row, their Quaker Pegg plates, Ede's writing desk, the glass and the large brass candlesticks that now sit on the long narrow, dining table in the cottages at Kettle's Yard and of course, Helen's grand piano.

The Edes lived at White Stone for two years before war broke out. 'Here it has been beyond belief beautiful' he wrote to Dorothy Elmhirst.[671] Their lives revolved around trips to the beach and the mountains, picnics, swimming and walks through olive groves on the hillsides around them. They planted fruit trees from Dartington and orchids from Dumbarton Oaks, and Ede wrote to friends with delight over the vigour of nature in their garden; 'flowers are a bewilderment of beauty in the fields & in the garden.'[672] He admitted to Jones, 'its so beautiful here that its almost easy to forget the volcano on which we all live – we seem here away in a place where time & beauty just live quietly on their own. I'm sure it's wise to live in a fools paradise while we may – better at any rate than in a wise man's Hell.'[673] In December 1939, however, they handed White Stone over to the British Consulate (who were to rent it out to raise funds for the War Effort) and left for New York, uncertain when they would return. Ede wrote to Dorothy Elmhirst. 'Lucky the people who rent this place I feel - every day it seems more beautiful. Perhaps one day we will be able to return here – but I try not to think of that & look ahead to us landing in a new world with half a dozen suitcases & a pocket full of dollars: luckier than so many.'[674]

The Edes spent most of the war years living a peripatetic existence, in hotel rooms and as houseguests, living out of suitcases and travelling back and forth across America in a second-hand Buick, or living apart in Britain while Ede travelled from army camp to army camp, lecturing to British and American

[671] H.S. Ede, letter to Dorothy Elmhirst, 21 June 1939.
[672] H.S. Ede, letter to David Jones, 10 May 1951.
[673] H.S. Ede, letter to David Jones, n.d. David Jones Papers.
[674] H.S. Ede, letter to Dorothy Elmhirst, 28 September 1940. Papers of Dorothy Whitney Elmhirst DWE/A/2/A1

troops.[675] When they returned to Tangier in 1945 they had been away from their home for five years. They heard of the plight of British soldiers in Gibraltar who had been unable to get back home for over four years. It struck a chord, and they turned their home into a 'home from home' for more than four hundred British servicemen over the next two years. They hosted groups of five soldiers every week for up to four days at a time.

Ede subsidized the whole scheme from his own savings, but managed to negotiate the loan of a car from of the British authorities in order to drive the servicemen around on days out to the beach or the mountains. The Edes added an entire additional floor to the house, with five new bedrooms for the soldiers to stay in, and Helen prepared their meals while Jim cleaned the house and took them on outings. He wrote to Mildred Bliss, 'At present we have brought our large soldier family down to such a wonderful Atlantic beach – clean sand for 20 miles & transparent seas with water so fresh it might just have been washed. Soon the sun will set with a sizzle into the sea and then we will have supper together by moonlight & so drive home. They do so love it all. I feel the only thing I can do is just to make good around me & to the best of my ability – perhaps that is local & nearsighted, but I feel impotent to do anything about bringing more order into the world.'[676]

For two years, until they could no longer manage to cover their costs, they devoted themselves almost entirely to looking after their weekly guests.[677] It had been a far more ambitious model of hospitality than the 'open house' they had practiced at Elm Row, and this time their guests were certainly not part of any cultural élite; they were not even familiar faces. Indeed, as Ede noted, they were not universally welcomed by the British expatriate community in Tangier:

'Sometimes, when Jim asked rich, established people, kindly and human,

[675] The Edes were in America from October 1940-February 1943; they went to Britian for the rest of the war, Helen lived in Edinburgh to be near the children while Ede moved around Britain, lecturing to British and American troops in army camps.
[676] H.S. Ede, letter to Mildred Bliss, 31 August 1947. Papers of Robert Woods Bliss and Mildred Barnes Bliss, Harvard University Archives HUGFP76.8.
[677] H.S. Ede, 'The Long Weekend (Tangier log),' Papers of H.S. Ede, KY/EDE/4/1/2A.

according to many standards, to have four or five soldiers in to tea, they would say they didn't believe in spoiling the Tommy; it would give him ideas, it was bad for discipline, and what had he done to need entertainment, he wasn't on active service, and anyhow one shouldn't be familiar with that class. A few days after one such refusal the four Air Force boys proposed had been killed. That, of course, had been a coincidence, but it emphasized for Jim the crassness of such an outlook and brought it home to him how easily people still divided themselves into classes and if they were more privileged thought that the less privileged were to that extent atrophied of human sensibility. The previous war had, of course, helped a lot to break down these prejudices, but still at the beginning of 1940 they remained close to the surface.'[678]

Their guests were strangers: young and old men from all walks of life, with very different life experiences. This contact gave Ede a vivid appreciation of common humanity at the same time as an awareness of the class divide that still dominated British society.[679] Ede noticed 'how much the soldier abroad longed

[678] Ede, 'Between Two Memories,' p.161.

[679]'This taught Jim and Helen a great deal. It showed them the abounding kindness, tolerance and directness of these individuals who have been loosely termed '*the common people*'. It gave them an appreciation of human unity. [...] It taught them something of a truer generosity, the generosity of selflessness, an unpretentiousness and a reliance on common decency. It developed in them a power to love in the abstract as it were, not confining it to their intimate friends but extending it to human beings in general. This meeting with strangers several times a day taught them to see below the surface, to a mutual kindness, to touch a need to love and to be loved. It taught them much of loneliness and of modesty, and brought home to them the incalculable support to a man of an imaginative education. It extended their perceptions, their enjoyment increased, for each guest became a further branch of their own being. When a man felt happy by the fire, or picking a flower in the garden, or running the gramophone, or enjoying his tea, it became for Jim and Helen a far greater pleasure than that they had ever experienced on their own account. This taught them too how much the soldier abroad longed for human consideration and domesticity, and how very little he ever got it. They found that hardly any service man had been into a private home during all the years of his foreign service, or spoken in homely fashion with civilians, and that often the nearest they got to these most natural needs was in a brothel. It showed them, too, how closely conventions and prejudices still held many persons. Jim found, quite to the contrary, that a little informal friendliness was good for discipline, that the serviceman went back to his garrison life feeling humanly at ease, and consequently prepared to accept graciously the rigors of his daily life. Also Jim learnt that all the hospitality in many homes which these men were experiencing during their short visits had a most balancing influence on their own increasingly warped outlook.' Ede, 'Between Two Memories,' pp.160-162.

for human consideration and domesticity, and how very little he ever got it.'[680] Beyond urgently needed respite from the rigours and inhumanity of army life, he viewed the soldiers' visits as 'an imaginative education' and an affirming experience. The pleasure they felt in the music or the conversation, in the beauty of the garden or sitting by the fire had, Ede believed, a 'balancing influence' on the servicemen's outlook. One of their guests, in a letter to Helen Ede some years later, wrote of 'the artistic result and success of what I watched Jim doing so often with a party of chaps who had come over for their holiday. After the first time I knew what had happened to me and could watch it happening to others.'[681] For the Edes too, it 'extended their perceptions, their enjoyment increased, for each guest became a further branch of their being.'[682]

The experience of 'meeting with strangers several times a day' instilled in Ede a confidence to extend their hospitality 'to human beings in general.' He explained, 'out of close on four hundred servicemen staying with them they never had any unpleasant behaviour, which confirmed in Jim the theory he had always held, that if you give of the best you get the best.'[683] This became the underlying principle at Kettle's Yard, where he welcomed strangers into their home on a daily basis, allowing them to wander freely about the house, and entrust the security of their treasured possessions to human nature.

4.6.3: LES CHARLOTIÈRES

In 1952, Ede bought Les Charlotières on the recommendation of their friend, Vera Moore, without ever having seen the place.[684] It comprised a collection of dilapidated buildings around a long courtyard, with two tumbledown fifteenth-century outhouses joined by a large kitchen at the end, and a seventeenth-

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[680] Ibid., p.160.
[681] Ibid., p.178.
[682] Ibid.
[683] Ibid., p.177.
[684] Their primary motivation seems to have been a desire to be closer to friends and family, as Ede implies in a letter to David Jones, 'it's very beautiful here now, but we are rather lonely – we have given up having soldiers over – cash ran out.' H.S. Ede, letter to David Jones, 1 April 1948. David Jones Papers.

century house beyond. There was also a little house with a large stove, which Ede believed dated back to the twelfth century and into which they retreated during the extreme cold of winter. There were also twelve acres of land: an orchard, two woods and a vineyard. Shortly after their arrival, Ede wrote to David Jones,

'We think so often of you, & look forward to the time when you may visit us in this really beautiful place. We have been here about 6 weeks now, & deep down we feel we are in Paradise. […] The land about the place is stately – classic – wide & generous – such trees & vistas & only a mile away the great Loire swiftly shifting its smooth surface of water. We walk there of a Sunday evening, & pick wild flowers. We have a wood, its full of birdsong, shadow & freshness – there are glittering cherry trees all about, they hang so full no man could eat them. We have your picture of the Crucifixion, as Helen calls it, the Blessed Cup in the middle shedding its bounty to the empty side ones….we look at it lots. The high windows hang thick with cobwebs…the wine is delicious…we drink it daily.'[685]

They were enchanted by the house's great age and its proportions (Ede mused that Heloise and Abelard, the twelfth century lovers, might have sheltered in their little house on their journey from Blois, and noted that the long courtyard 'was just the size, if spread out, of the great arch at Chartres'[686]), and the simple, satisfying lifestyle it afforded. (Fig.51) At Les Charlotières Ede could enjoy for himself the 'an ampleness of country living' that had coloured his memories French country life as a youth. Ede recalled,

'There was a richness of quality in that French life, and a reality in the land. Floors were made of ancient bricks, softly polished, and the windows were generous. […] We loved working the walled garden, Helen did the vegetables and I the flowers. There were peaches and walnuts, apricots, cherries and apples galore. I learnt to preserve cherries in eau-de-vie which was brewed on the premises. […] It was a great joy to walk about our own land. While the workmen

[685] H.S. Ede to David Jones, 12 June 1952, David Jones Papers.
[686] Ede, 'Between Two Memories,' p.181.

were in the house we had to bring water into one of the woods and have our baths there, with periwinkles, strange striped tulips, and the cooing of doves.'[687]

Ede's diary entries for 1953 are all about the flowers, from early March 'hyacinths, daffs, snowdrops, periwinkles, cowslips' to September 'chicory still a little in flower, marrons (chestnuts) finished.' In November, he records the arrival of snow: 'fantastic beauty in the house and looking out, white walls etc., courtyard greatly enhanced, old 'yellow' walls now of great beauty with snow.'[688]

They had time 'to think, to read and to enjoy it all,' and 'it was a dream world…Helen hoped that Heaven would be like it.'[689] Despite the idyllic setting, they lived at Les Charlotières for just four years. Perhaps the realities of harsh winters, and the work involved in maintaining the house and land, played a part in this decision. They were in their sixties and Helen had begun to develop serious health problems. Although friends and family could visit more easily, they were still somewhat isolated from England and much of the art world. More significantly, perhaps, Ede was unable to enact the 'ancient tradition' of hospitality that had been such a vivid part of his memories of French country life and its culture, and he couldn't share his home with others in the same way that shaped his relationship to Elm Row and White Stone. As he wrote to David Jones, 'I have built a temple of beauty – but it is uninhabited.'[690] (Fig.52) A private paradise was not enough. They had, after all, 'a great store of contemporary painting and sculpture which should be used to the advantage of others.'[691] It was just two years after settling in France that he began to 'think of a possible return to England and of what we could do with our many possessions.'[692]

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[687] Ede, 'Between Two Memories,' p.180-182.
[688] Diaries, 1952/1953, Papers of H.S. Ede, KY/EDE/6.
[689] Ede, 'Between Two Memories,' p.181.
[690] H.S.Ede, letter to David Jones, 21 June 1955, David Jones Papers.
[691] Ibid., p.182.
[692] 'For two years or so before leaving France I was trying to interest various Cambridge colleges in an idea I had.' Ede claimed to have travelled twice to Cambridge from France during this period 'in the hope of carrying things a little further, but in the end there were no dibs, and we decided to find something suitable and try to do it on our own steam.' Ede, 'Between Two Memories,' p.182-183.

5. CONCLUSION

When Kettle's Yard opened in late 1957, Britain was coming to the end of an era of reconstruction in which the arts, and particularly modern art and design, had played a central role. It was quite a different world to that which Ede had left in 1937, when modern art and its advocates had faced widespread resistance.[693] In the intervening years, various government agencies had adopted modernism as part of a positive propagandist language of reconstruction.

Perhaps the most important developments for the arts in postwar Britain came as a result of political will. In 1940, of the Committee for the Enjoyment of Music and the Arts, which was renamed the Arts Council of Great Britain in 1945. Among CEMA's activities, the Museums Association published a document entitled 'Museums and Art Galleries: A National Service. A Post-War Policy.' It was based on the 'Memorandum on Museums and Reconstruction' formulated at the height of the war in 1942. Recommendations included the formation of 'a nationwide system of education in the appreciation of art for adults and for school children, to be operated through arts centres or art galleries.' The Labour Party's postwar manifesto included increased public funding for the arts alongside increased access to education and the welfare state. Underpinning this policy, according to Andrew Stephenson, was 'the desire to find ways to expand access to modern art and empower a greater sense of responsible and democratic citizenship, thereby helping to secure a positive and enlightened commitment to an altered post-war social consciousness.' [694]

[693] In interviews for Andrew Forge's programme, 'The Thirties in Britain, Art: Innovation and Commitment (Part I),' broadcast on Network Three, 25 November 1965, both Ede and Barbara Hepworth recall 'tremendous hostility' to modern art. British Library Sound Archives, T30015. This is corroborated in accounts of the period by Charles Harrison and Jasia Reichardt. See notes 21 & 71.

[694] Andrew Stephenson, 'Fashioning a Post-War Reputation: Henry Moore as a Civic Sculptor c. 1943-58.' The Arts Council of Great Britain was formally constituted in 1946,

Art was promoted widely as part of the fabric of everyday life. Leading artists, architects and designers such as Frank Dobson, Misha Black and Ralph Tubbs were invited to organise innovative exhibitions featuring work by contemporary visual artists such as Henry Moore, Ivon Hitchens, Graham Sutherland and John Piper as well as the best in modern design and architecture.[695] These exhibitions toured extensively and especially to 'the regions' outside of London, where they were received enthusiastically.[696]

These touring exhibition initiatives spawned a series of *Sculpture in the Home* exhibitions organised by the Arts Council between 1946-59. (Fig. 53) Drawing on display strategies that had evolved during the Thirties, the *Sculpture in the Home* exhibitions presented contemporary sculpture in settings suggestive of modern domestic interiors. Their declared aim was 'to encourage an appreciation of an art which is less widely recognised than painting as being suitable for decoration of the home'[697] and create a market for more affordable art on a modest (domestic) scale amongst the burgeoning middle classes already interested in t interior decoration. They also promoted an everyday role for art and audiences with greater aesthetic awareness as a way of addressing underlying economic as well as cultural drivers. As Ernest Musgrave, Director of Leeds City Art Gallery (1945-1957) put it in 1949:

'By showing what is generally recognized as good art, we are silently educating those who are prepared to take advantage of this civic amenity. Our aim is enlightenment, our objective is the improvement of public taste not by the

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and the Arts Inquiry report into the visual arts declared that modern art 'was crucial to the formation of a public of discriminating and civilized individuals.' *The Visual Arts* (the Arts Inquiry), Oxford 1946. Quoted in Stephenson, ibid.

[695] See Davies, 'Steering a Progressive Course?'

[696] As Veronica Davies explains, many of these exhibitions were made specifically 'for display in non-traditional locations such as stations, retail premises and workers' canteens. This is especially significant, given the desire of certain bodies and individuals to make the visual language of modern art and design much more widely accessible than had been the case in the 1930s, and especially to take it beyond the confines of the metropolis.' Veronica Davies *'Steering a Progressive Course'? Exhibitions in Wartime and Post-war Britain*, 5 December 2008 Source: Henry Moore Institute Online Papers and Proceedings www.henry-moore.org/hmi.

[697] 'Foreword', *Sculpture in the Home*, London 1953, p.1. For a more detailed discussion of the *Sculpture in the Home* exhibitions, see Burstow, 'The Sculpture in the Home Exhibitions: Reconstructing the Home and Family in Post-war Britain'.

imposition of what we like but by placing before the public what we know to be good.'[698]

These exhibitions laid the modernist groundwork for a post-war society, and such policies delivered wider public interest in modern art, and expanding audiences at art exhibitions and sculpture parks. The post-war years saw a proliferation in public art and innovative exhibition models, from the open-air sculpture exhibitions organised by London County Council between 1948 and the mid-1970s, to *Documenta*, which was founded in Kassel in 1955 and described by its founder Arnold Bode as the 'museum of 100 days.'[699] British audiences were primed with ambitious, Arts Council-organised exhibitions such as Giacometti's first major solo exhibition in 1955, and collaborations between the Tate Gallery and the Museum of Modern Art, New York, in 1956 & 1959. Taking up the baton from the interwar pioneers, these models introduced new ways to engage with contemporary art and paved the way for new art forms to develop in response to expanding contexts, reconfiguring (again) the relationship between art and life.

By the mid-1950s, the notion of art as part of a broader visual culture had entered mainstream institutions, and paved the way for interdisciplinary exhibitions such as *This is Tomorrow* at the Whitechapel Art Gallery (1956) (which satirized the modern obsession with the domestic interior while at the same time defining a new lexicon of art and an expanded, everyday context) or Wakefield City Art Gallery's *Living Today: an exhibition of Modern Interiors* (1959).[700]

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[698] Ernest Musgrave, 'The Pictures WE Want,' Leeds Art Calendar, Autumn 1949, pp 1-4.
[699] Arnold Bode coined this phrase in the prologue of the first volume of the catalogue *documenta III. Internationale Austellung.* Kassel/Köln 1964, p.XIX.
[700] *This is Tomorrow* was a seminal interdisciplinary exhibition at the Whitechapel Art Galllery, devised by artists associated with the Independent Group and facilitated by curator Bryan Robertson. *Living Today* was curated by Wakefield Art Gallery director Helen Kapp in the museum's original setting, a Victorian townhouse on Wentworth Terrace. Kapp worked with architects, designers and artists to create immersive living spaces such as a nursery, dining room, and bachelor flat within the existing, but stripped, domestic spaces of the gallery, featuring Lucie Rie pottery, Paul Vezeley curtains and Terence Conran furniture, among the work of others.

When it opened in 1957, Kettle's Yard must have already seemed out of step with its contemporaries.[701] Ede believed in the 'perpetual contemporaneity' of art, but the relationship between art and life as he understood it was rooted in the social, aesthetic and metaphysical ideals of early modernism. Kettle's Yard was full of works gathered together during this period and the place resounded with the ideas and beliefs that had inspired them. Already a relic, Kettle's Yard had, as Ben Nicholson pointed out, already been superseded by a new, and implicitly better, language of display. It was, of course, the white cube.

Given that one of the prevailing concerns of the early twentieth century was the relationship between art and life, it is surprising that the display strategy most commonly associated with modernism today is one that has effectively isolated art from its historical and social context.

The neutral frame, single, horizon-line hang and large, empty spaces that have long been attributed to the exhibition techniques of Alfred Barr at MoMA in the early 1930s (although, as some have argued, his approach was derived from the display practices at Alfred Stieglitz' Gallery 291 between 1905-1917, and Katherine Dreier's Société Anonyme exhibitions in the 1920s[702]) was among a number of experimental display strategies that emerged in the early twentieth century as ways to influence the viewer's perceptual experience of art. Other examples include Frederick Kiesler's 'L and T' modular display system, invented in 1924, and Alexander Dorner's collaborations with artists El Lissitzky and László Moholy-Nagy at the Landesmuseum Hannover (1927-1928 & 1930 respectively). The domestic environment was yet another experimental context in which to choreograph a new relationship between art and life, widely deployed in museums and exhibitions of modern art, from the Folkwang Museum (1902) to Dreier's Société Anonyme exhibitions in the 1920s.

However, since the late 1950s, the 'white cube' paradigm has dominated exhibition practices and established a universal visual language favoured by

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[701] As Ben Nicholson pointed out in 1967 - see note 485.

[702] See Kristina Wilson, 'One Big Painting' in Jennifer R. Gross, ed. *The Societe Anonyme: Modernism for America*, Yale University Press, New Haven & London, p.77.

artists, museums and commercial galleries alike. International biennial exhibitions with curatorial remits that proclaim the historical, cultural and geographic specificity of their locations from Johannesburg to Gwangju, Berlin to Dakar, nevertheless default to creating display spaces that replicate the timeless, hermetic, non-place of the inalienable white cube. As Brian O'Doherty provocatively argued in the 1980s, the apparent neutrality of the white cube belies its effectiveness as an instrument of ideological propaganda.[703] By inserting a large white space between art and life, it has also been particularly effective at neutralising the disruptive influence of art while reinforcing the (centuries-old) status of art as commodity.

Kettle's Yard, by contrast, in its nostalgia for an era that pre-dates the white cube and the market forces of late capitalism, enshrines a utopian idea about the relationship between art and life. It sublimates the high aesthetic and spiritual ideals of modernism – its revolutionary envisaging of a new world – within an aesthetic paradigm that has become the epitome of quiet good taste, and the bastion of a cultural status quo.

While it is not the Bauhaus or Le Corbusier's Cité Radieuse, Kettle's Yard still bears witness to an important, experimental moment in the early twentieth century, when the social and aesthetic demands of modernism generated new conceptions of the relationship between art and life. It is testament to the heterogeneity of modernist voices, to the possibility of experiment, and to the specificity and contingency of our relationship with art.

What's more, over the last sixty years Kettle's Yard has thrived, drawing increasing numbers through Ede's front door. Undoubtedly a resounding mark of its success, the sheer volume of visitors passing through the house on a daily

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[703] O'Doherty, *Inside the White Cube: The Ideology of the Gallery Space,* 1999 (1986). More recently, Elena Filipovic has pointed out that the aesthetic of the white cube was deployed by the Third Reich in 1937, in the *Grosse Deutsche Kusntaustelling* (Great German Art Exhibition) held in the newly-constructed Haus der Kunst in Munich. It was the Nazi Party's first architectural project after coming to power, and its gallery spaces were vast, windowless but well-lit, and all white. For a detailed discussion of the ongoing legacy of the white cube aesthetic, see Elena Filipovic, 'The Global White Cube', *On Curating* Issue 22: Politics of Display, April 2014. http://www.on-curating.org/issue-22-43/the-global-white-cube.html#.WywLwBJKiSM accessed 21 June 2018

basis has, nevertheless, fundamentally altered the nature of the individual visitor's experience.

Ede's original aim was to share with others the intimate, ineffable experience of living with art as he practiced it. He described the atmosphere of quiet calm at Kettle's Yard as 'a matter of daily attention to detail…such that each newcomer could feel the first to enter in upon that quiet – just as one often does early in the morning along a sea shore, with the day breaking, or in a wood where sunlight fell and there was no sound but tiny rustling of leaves, of birds.'[704] He was dismayed by the introduction of burglar alarms, telephone lines, blinds and artificial lights in the attic because each threatened to affect the mood of the place. Would he have been pleased with visitor numbers as they are today?

All the institutions that Ede looked to – the Phillips Collection, Dumbarton Oaks, and the Barnes Foundation – have grown steadily over the last sixty years, sometimes in ways that have involved a renegotiation with their founding principles.[705] They all set out to serve a minority or niche audience; the Phillips Collection saw its primary purpose in developing a 'sophisticated cultural subfield' of specialist intermediaries – trained teachers, critics, curators and dealers 'who would go out into the world to become active workers on the side of artists.' [706] Phillips channelled significant resources and all his creative energies towards this small section of his broader audience, at one point anticipating having to close the gallery to the wider public in order to pursue this aim. Dumbarton Oaks was created for the benefit of a small group of specialist scholars and researchers, and maintains the cloistered atmosphere of an elite

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[704]H.S. Ede, 'Letter from Jim Ede to an applicant for the post of Resident at Kettle's Yard.'
[705] Almost immediately after the inauguration of Dumbarton Oaks, for instance, the Blisses had to concede that a larger library was needed to meet their researchers' needs, and agreed to convert two second-floor bedrooms into a reading room. See https://www.doaks.org/research/library-archives/dumbarton-oaks-archives/historical-records/75th-anniversary/blog/then-and-now-libraries-at-dumbarton-oaks Most controversially, the Barnes Foundation broke the founder's Indenture of Trust to move to a new location in 2012. See John Anderson, *Art Held Hostage: The Battle over the Barnes Collection,* New York: Norton & Company, 2003, and Roger Kimball, 'Betraying a Legacy: the case of the Barnes Foundation.'
[706] See Phillips, *Collection in the Making*, pp.5, 10. Phillips pursued this aim through publications including the in-house journal, *Art and Understanding*, lectures, an art school and the experimental displays.

academic community. The Barnes Foundation deliberately hid from the general public, ostracised the art world and required every visitor to attend a lecture on how to look at art before entering the galleries, although Barnes himself was inordinately supportive and generous towards 'the ordinary people' the underprivileged black and working classes for whom the gallery was intended.

Their reasons for doing so were remarkably similar; they were all concerned with the way we engage with art. They all believed that a deeper and more sustained interaction between individuals and art objects, enshrined at the heart of their institutions, would contribute to the betterment of society at large. Ede believed the same. At Dumbarton Oaks, this meant academic scholarship; at the Phillips Collection and the Barnes Foundation, it was a form of training – not in art historical knowledge or connoisseurship but a discerning eye. It was of utmost importance to preserve the chemistry between artwork, context and viewer, and therefore the nebulous qualities of atmosphere and setting were critical. As Mildred Bliss put it, their work 'could never be done in a big centre': it was not, by definition, for everyone. The Barnes Foundation was, according to Ede, 'a place where students can come and work without the insufferable molestation of the casual visitor, whose inquisitiveness fills the air, whose fluttering undirected movements distract one's power to become absorbed in the experience of the artist,' and the Phillips Collection was defined at the outset by what it would not be: 'a public building with all that the phrase implies' with its 'low standards and popular attractions to draw the crowds.'[707]

With success, one might then argue, comes compromise. It's difficult these days to find that quality of stillness that Ede cherished, the stillness celebrated in *A Way of Life.* Maybe that means the spiritual aesthetic experience that Ede imagined is no longer available to visitors today; but art and life will find other

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[707] Phillips, quoted in Passantino, 'Preface,' *The Eye of Duncan Phillips* p.xiii. At the Barnes Foundation, Ede noted, 'the experiment was once tried of throwing the Gallery open to all who wished – it naturally resulted in a forced cessation of individual education which is the chief aim of the institution, so of course, the Gallery was closed again and classes resumed.' H.S. Ede, 'A Visit to America (The Journey Out),' p.29.

ways to connect, to make meaning, and Kettle's Yard will quietly continue to resist the hegemony of the white cube. There may even be moments, on a dark winter's afternoon perhaps, when it is possible to find yourself sitting alone in a comfortable chair at Kettle's Yard, watching sunlight track across the surface of a sculpture, and imagine that it is your room.

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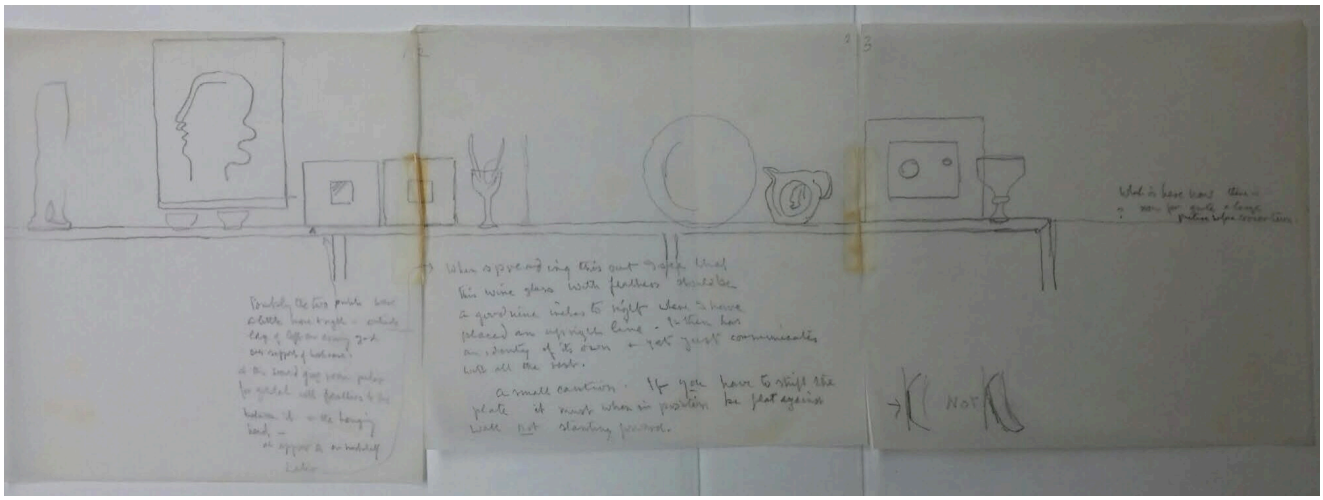
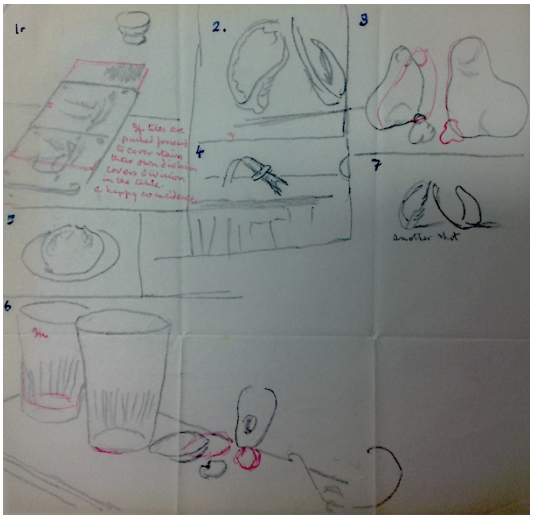
ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig.1 Edward Wolfe,
Portrait of H.S. Jim Ede, 1931
© The Estate of Edward Wolfe

Fig.2
Kettle's Yard
poster, c.1957
Papers of H.S. Ede,
KY/EDE/2.
Courtesy Kettle's
Yard, University of
Cambridge





Figs.3, 4 (above)
H.S. Ede, sketches for Jeremy Lewison with notes on position of objects, 24 October 1981.
Papers of H.S. Ede, KY/EDE/2.
Courtesy Kettle's Yard, University of Cambridge.

Fig.5 (right) REDACTED
Cambridge Review Vol.91, no.2197, May 1970

Fig.6 The Cret Gallery and the administration building in Merion, 1994. Unidentified photographer. Photograph Collection, Barnes Foundation Archives
Fig.7 The Barnes Foundation, Merion. Unidentified photographer. REDACTED.

Fig.8 Cret Gallery (Barnes Foundation, Merion). South wall of gallery 22, 1927. Showing works by Picasso alongside African Ndomo masks and sculptures (in cases). Unidentified photographer. © The Barnes Foundation.

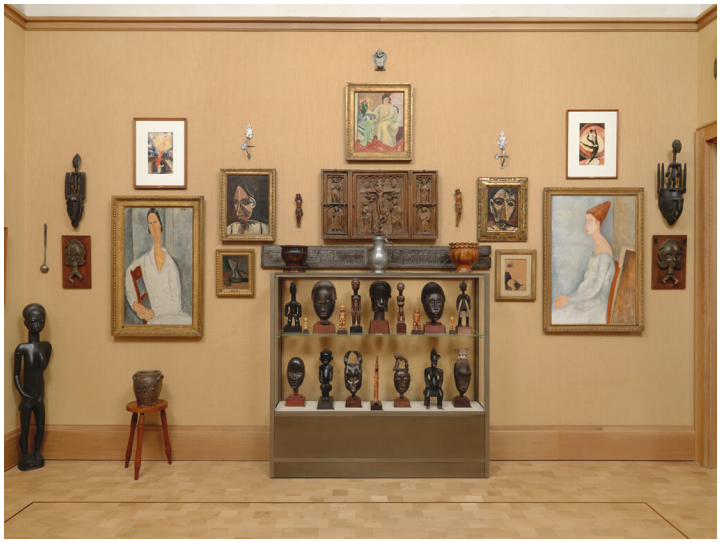


Fig.9 Barnes Foundation, Room 22, south wall, 2018. © The Barnes Foundation.

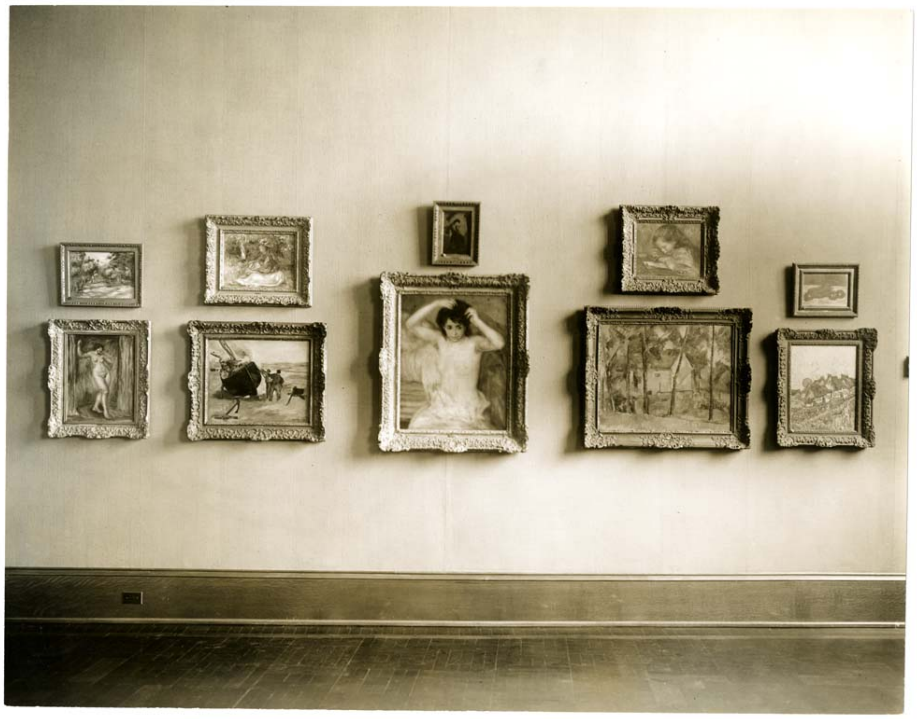


Fig.10 Cret Gallery (Barnes Foundation, Merion) Gallery 2, 1928.
Photograph by W. Vivian Chappel. Photograph Collection,
Barnes Foundation Archives. © The Barnes Foundation.

Fig.11 Cret Gallery (Barnes Foundation, Merion), west wall of gallery 4, 1951-52.
Photograph by Angelo Pinto. Photograph Collection,
Barnes Foundation Archives. © The Barnes Foundation.

Fig.12
Ede's gramophone and speaker are disguised in this eighteenth-century French chest, which also functioned as an amplifier.
Photograph Paul Allitt.
© Kettle's Yard, University of Cambridge.

Fig.13 Fleeting shadows, mirrors, plants inside and trees outside 'throw the ball to the pictures and the pictures throw it back.' In this case, to the small Ben Nicholson, with its overlapping solid and transparent planes which is reflected in the mirror. Ede kept his gramophone records in the small chest under the mirror.
Photograph Paul Allitt.
©Kettle's Yard, University of Cambridge.

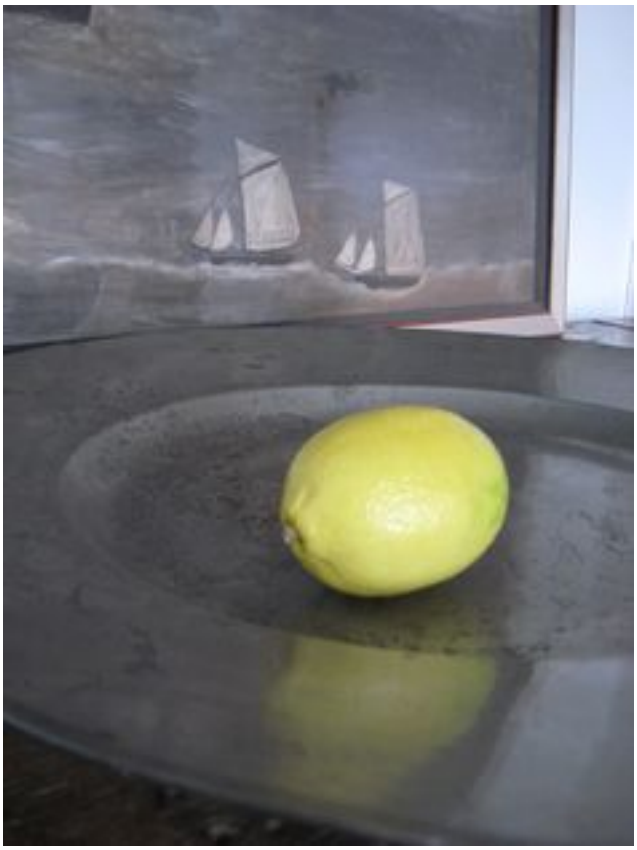


Fig.14 Detail, *Seascape* by Alfred Wallis with lemon on seventeenth-century pewter dish. Photograph Paul Allitt. ©Kettle's Yard, University of Cambridge.

Fig. 15 (above) Richard Pousette-Dart's *Four Brass Rings and One Jade Ring* c.1940-1941 in front of plates decorated by 'Quaker' Pegg, c.1780. Photograph Paul Allitt. © Kettle's Yard, University of Cambridge.

Fig. 16 (above right) On bookshelf, left to right:
Fossil; Tam MacPhael, *Construction* (1968); fortune teller's glass ball; Norwegian 'kubbestol' chair. On wall: William Congdon, *Naples* (1950). Foreground: Henri Gaudier-Brzeska, *Mermaid* (1912-1913). Photograph Paul Allitt. © Kettle's Yard, University of Cambridge.

Fig.17 Main gallery, Phillips Memorial Gallery c.1923. Showing works by El Greco and American artists John Henry Twachtman, Julian Alden Wier and Ernest Lawson. Phillips Collection Archives. http://www.phillipscollection.org.

Fig.18 Music Room, Phillips Memorial Gallery c.1930. Renoir's *Luncheon of the Boating Party* is on the left. Phillips Collection Archives. http://www.phillipscollection.org.

Fig.19 East and west parlours, Phillips Collection, c.1950-1951. Showing works by Honoré Daumier, Jean-August-Dominique Ingres and Pierre Bonnard. Phillips Collection Archives http://www.phillipscollection.org.

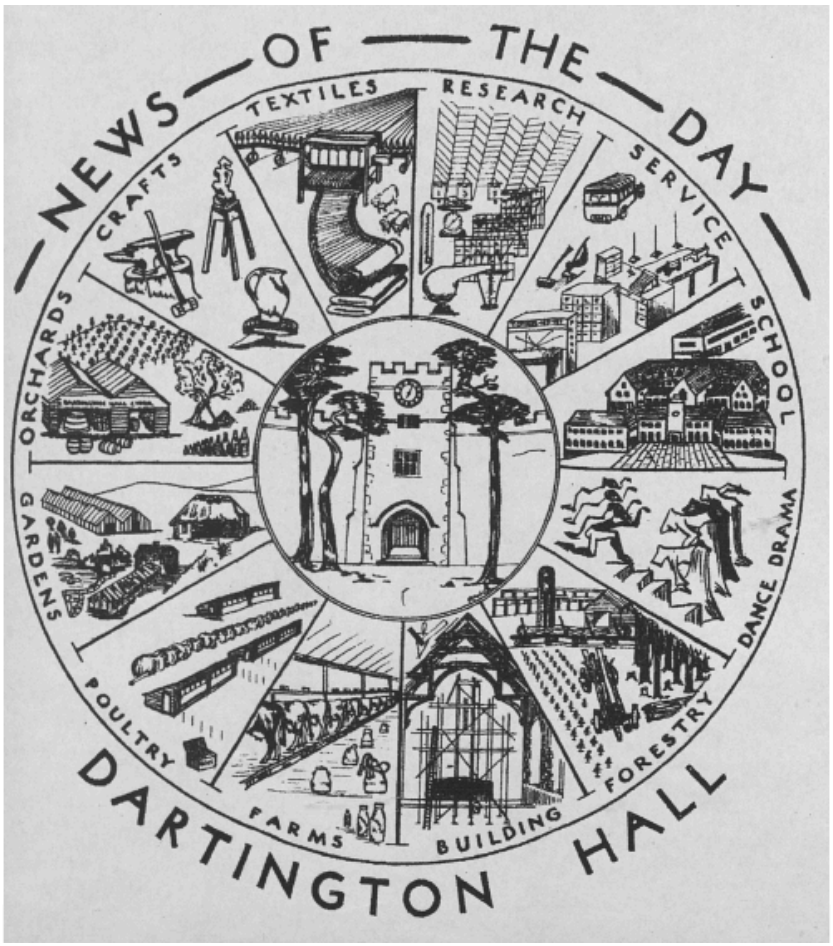


Fig.20 'News of the Day' Dartington Hall estate newsletter, March 1934. Courtesy Dartington Hall Trust.

Fig.21 Music Room, Dartington Hall private house, 1964. Dorothy Whitney Elmhirst Papers, South West Heritage Centre. Courtesy Dartington Hall Trust. REDACTED

Fig.22, Dumbarton Oaks, main building, 1945.
AR.Misc.PC.001. REDACTED

Fig.23 (left) Dumbarton Oaks, Path [Ellipse], 2002. Photographer Julia Cart HC.PH.2017.01. REDACTED
Fig.24 (above) Dumbarton Oaks, Box Walk and Fountain, AR.Misc.PC.013. REDACTED

Fig.25 Music Room, Dumbarton Oaks, c..1937–1940. Archives, AR.PH.MR.010, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection

THE
INTIMATE
GALLERY
ROOM 303
ANDERSON GALLERIES BUILDING
489 PARK AVENUE AT FIFTY-NINTH STREET, NEW YORK

opens its door to the public on December Seventh with a

JOHN MARIN EXHIBITION

The Intimate Gallery will be used more particularly for the intimate study of Seven Americans: John Marin, Georgia O'Keeffe, Arthur G. Dove, Marsden Hartley, Paul Strand, Alfred Stieglitz, and Number Seven.

It will be in the Intimate Gallery only that the complete evolution and the more important examples of these American workers can be seen and studied.

Intimacy and Concentration, we believe, in this instance will breed a broader appreciation. This may lead to a wider distribution of the work.

The Intimate Gallery will be a Direct Point of Contact between Public and Artist. It is the Artists' Room. Alfred Stieglitz has volunteered his services. He will direct the Spirit of the Room.

Every picture will be clearly marked with its price. No effort will be made to sell anything to any one. Prices will be kept as low as possible. Rent is the only overhead charge.

The Intimate Gallery is not a business nor is it a "Social" Function. The Intimate Gallery competes with no one nor with anything.

The Gallery will be open daily, Sundays excepted, from 10 A.M. till 6 P.M.

Exhibition I —JOHN MARIN.
Exhibition II —ARTHUR G. DOVE, January, 1926.
Exhibition III—GEORGIA O'KEEFFE, February.
Exhibition IV —MARSDEN HARTLEY, March.
Other exhibitions to be announced.

All the not overtired will be welcome

Fig.26 (above left)
Alfred Stieglitz,
Life and Death c.1927-1930.
Courtesy Kettle's Yard, University of Cambridge.

Fig.27 (left)
Intimate Gallery announcement, 1925.
Yale Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

Fig. 28 (above right)
Constantin Brâncuşi,
Oiseau dans l'espace,
1926-1927. REDACTED

Fig.29
St Peter's Church, showing Kettle's Yard on the left.
Photograph Paul Allitt.

Fig.30 Brâncuşi's studio, 1957.
Photograph by Robert Doisneau ©Atelier Robert Doisneau. REDACTED

Fig.31 Ben Nicholson, *1927 (still life with knife and lemon)*
© Kettle's Yard, University of Cambridge

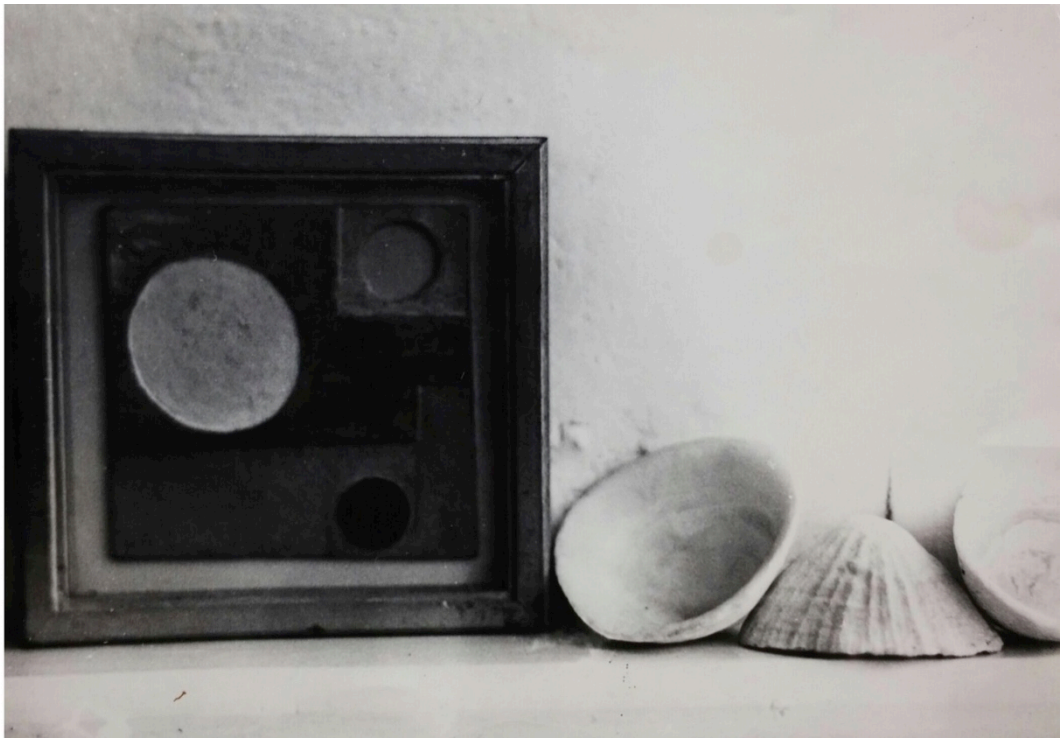


Fig.32 Installation view, Ede's bedroom at Kettle's Yard showing Ben Nicholson, *1934 (relief design)*. Papers of H.S. Ede, KY/EDE/5. © Kettle's Yard, University of Cambridge.

Fig.33 (top) Ben Nicholson, *March 1962 (Argos)*

Fig.34 (left) Spiral staircase at Kettle's Yard Photographer unknown.

Fig.35 (bottom left) *Pebble Spiral*. Photograph Paul Allitt.

Fig.36 (bottom right) David Peace, *Sanctuary Lamp*, 1955/1994 Photograph Paul Allitt.

Figs. 34-36 © Kettle's Yard, University of Cambridge.

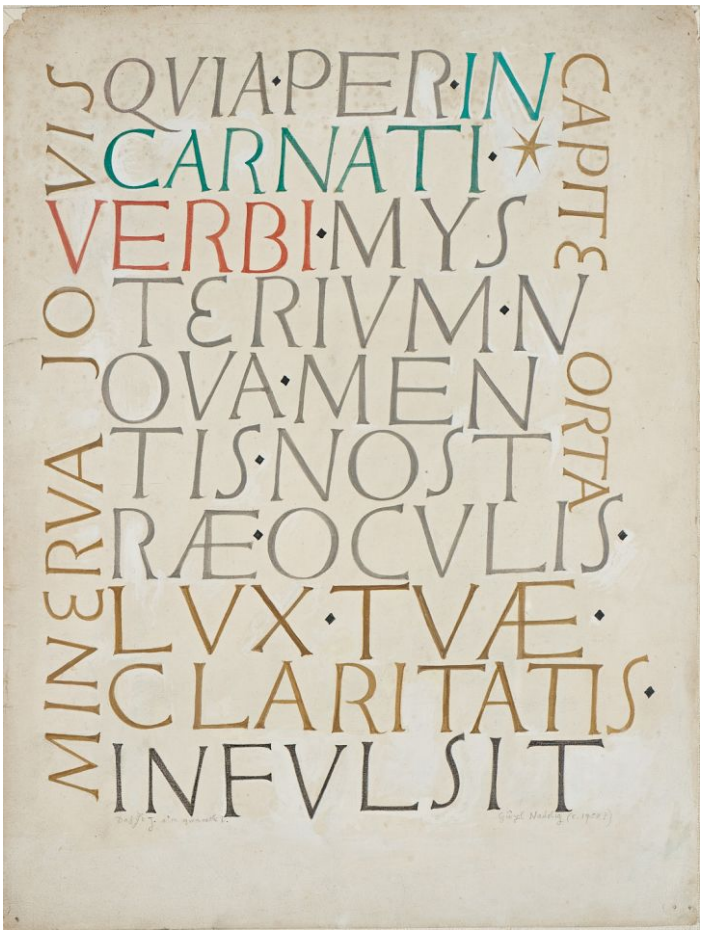


Fig.37
David Jones, *Quia per Incarnati* (c.1953) © the Estate of David Jones / Bridgeman Images

Fig.38
H.S. Ede,
A Way of Life, 1984,
page 80. Photographer Nicholas MacKenzie.
©Kettle's Yard, University of Cambridge

Fig.39
Duncan Grant's studio at Charleston.
© Penelope Fewster / The Charleston Trust

Fig.40
Piet Mondrian's studio, c.1926
Photograph by Paul Delbo.

Fig.41 Maison La Roche, c.1926
© Artists' Rights Society/ DACS.

Figs.42, 43 Henry van de Velde, Folkwang Museum, Hagen, 1902.
Left: music room, 1902. *Innen-Dekoration*, Nov. 1902, 280. Artwork ©Artists Rights Society/DACS. Right: entrance hall with fountain by George Minne and paintings by Paul Gauguin and Henri Matisse, c.1910. Photo © Bildarchiv Foto Marburg; artworks © Artists Rights Society/DACS.

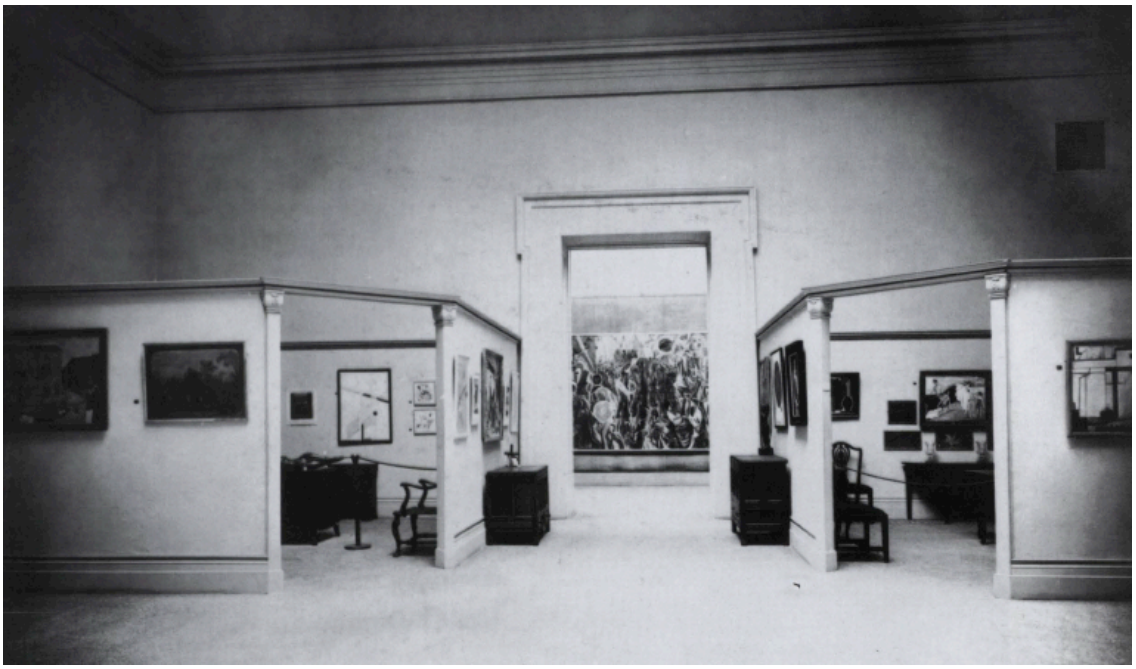


Fig.44 Installation view, *International Exhibition of Modern Art,* organized by Katherine Dreier and the Société Anonyme, Brooklyn Museum of Art, November 1926 – January 1927. Katherine S. Dreier Papers/ Société Anonyme Archive, Yale Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

Fig.45 Titian room, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum. Of note is the installation of *Christ Carrying the Cross* (1505-1510, Circle of Giovanni Bellini), which is placed on a table at right angles to a window with a seat placed directly in front of it. The viewer is invited to sit and contemplate this work at close quarters while also considering its relationship with other works in the room. Courtesy ISGM / Sean Dungan

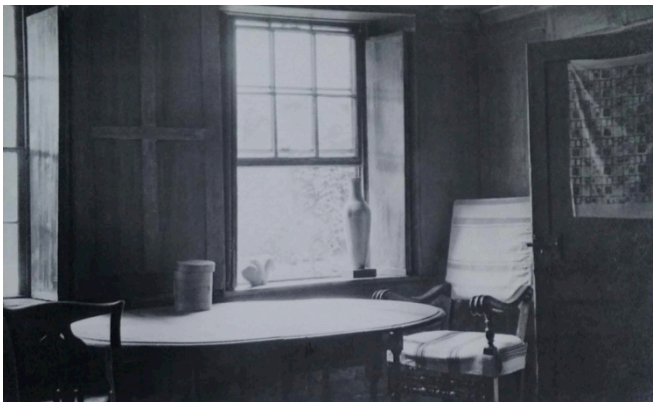


Fig.46, 47
Elm Row, Hampstead, 1920-1936.
Papers of H.S. Ede, KY/EDE/8.
Photographs by Kamran Latifi © Kettle's Yard,
University of Cambridge.

Fig.48 (above) White Stone, Tangier, c.1937.
Photographer unknown.
Papers of H.S. Ede, KY/EDE/8.
REDACTED.

Figs. 49, 50 (left, below) Interiors, White Stone, Tangier, c.1937, showing works by Christopher Wood and Ben Nicholson.
Photographer unknown. Papers of H.S. Ede, KY/EDE/8.
REDACTED.

Fig.51
The garden at Les Charlotières, Chailles. Photographer unknown. Papers of H.S. Ede, KY/EDE/8.
REDACTED

Fig.52 Interior, Les Charlotières, Chailles, showing Christopher Wood's *Mermaids* (1930). Papers of H.S. Ede, KY/EDE/8. Photograph by Geoffrey Burnaby © Kettle's Yard, University of Cambridge.

Fig.53 *Sculpture in the Home* exhibition, London, 1950.