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**The Countess's Palette**  
**Anne Countess of Warwick**  
**(1829-1903)**

Two Volumes: Volume 1

Text

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A thesis submitted in part fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

University of Warwick, Department of Art History

June 2021

## **Dedication**

This thesis is dedicated to my grandparents.

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## Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the Warwick Graduate School for supporting my research. I am also grateful to the Centre for Arts Doctoral Research Excellence for their financial support to this thesis.

Above all, I am indebted to my supervisor Prof. Michael Hatt for his invaluable support, generosity with knowledge and time, helpful advice, and patience over these past years. I am particularly grateful for his relentless encouragement.

I would like to thank the staff of the Warwickshire County Record Office for their support during my search through the Warwick Castle archive. I am particularly grateful for the assistance of Robert Eyre, Benjamin Earl, Robert Pitt, Mark Booth and volunteer, Stephen Wallsgrove.

I would particularly like to thank Lord Warwick and his family, and particularly to Lord and Lady Brooke, the Rt. Hon Leopold Greville and Mrs Sarah Jones, for allowing me to research through their private library and collection of art.

I would like also to thank the staff of Warwick Castle for their assistance in accessing some of the materials and interiors in their possession, with particular thanks to archivist Pamela Bromley for her generous time spent responding to my enquiries and to Val Bush for accessing parts of the Warwick Castle collection.

I am grateful to Lord Wemyss for granting me permission to use illustrations of artworks from the Gosford Estate for this thesis. I am also particularly grateful for the kind assistance from archivist Hilary Wilkie with my enquiries.

I am also grateful to Mr James Hervey-Bathurst of Eastnor Castle for granting me permission to access the castle's archives and collection. I am particularly grateful to archivist Hazel Hill for her assistance with my enquiries.

I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Gervald Frykman, archivist at Warwick School, for being so generous with his time and knowledge during my research.

Other Warwick institutions I would like to thank are St Mary's Collegiate Church, Warwick, and in particular Rev. Vaughan Roberts and parish administrator, Felicity Bostock. I would also like to thank Heidi Mayer, Master of the Lord Leycester Hospital in Warwick, for her support. Special thanks are due to James Mackay, Christine Hodgetts, and Hilary Holland of the Warwick Society for their continued support for my research.

I am particularly grateful to Aaron Manning, whose generosity in discussing all things related to the Earls and Countesses of Warwick Castle, over a period of nine years, has been of immeasurable help. Furthermore, due to the sheer size of the Warwick Castle archive, I am particularly grateful for the many interesting leads Aaron has shared with me as a fellow researcher.

I would also like to thank Lewis Copson, whose skills in photography have been enormously beneficial for the beautiful illustration of my research.

Finally, I am grateful to the support of my parents Andrzej and Susan Busiakiewicz for their unwavering encouragement for all my endeavours. My special thanks too to my brother Robert Busiakiewicz, his wife Clara MacCallum Fraser, and my friend Rachel Morley for their continued willingness to listen to the vast and seemingly unending history of Warwick Castle.

## **Declaration**

I declare that this thesis is my own work and that it has not been submitted for a degree at another university.

## Abstract

This thesis examines the life and artistic career of Anne Greville (1829-1903), née Charteris, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick. A thorough examination of the countess's archival papers encourages us to broaden the profile of the female aesthete often presented by scholars. Anne's involvement with many of the key elements of the Aesthetic Movement extends and complicates our understanding of the appeal of Aestheticism across the highest levels of society. Furthermore, her introduction of Aestheticism into Warwick Castle, her ancient home, suggests a rethinking of the geography of the movement and its place within the English Stately Home.

The research presented draws from the largely unexplored and under-appreciated Warwick Castle Archive held by the Warwickshire County Record Office. It demonstrates how the archive can be used to probe our assumptions of the type of women that were attracted to new developments in art and design during the second half of the nineteenth century. Such rare surviving documents also increases our understanding of how Aestheticism permeated into the highest levels of society and within significant ancient buildings.

By examining the distinctively artistic and aesthetic pursuits of the countess, this thesis will explore the role of female aristocratic aesthetes. The first chapter places Anne within the vast context of Warwick Castle, an important historic building and home to a considerable collection of art, in which women played a significant role throughout the centuries. The second chapter investigates Anne's early experiments with interior design throughout the 1850s and 60s, and how she balanced questions of her own interests alongside taste and fashion. The third chapter probes the significance of Anne's work after the 1871 fire at Warwick Castle, with particular attention to her involvement in redesigning the castle's Great Hall and new Library. The fourth chapter explores Anne's interest in the Aesthetic Movement in relation to interiors, focusing particularly on the roles played by printed materials, photography, family and likeminded aristocratic aesthetes. The fifth chapter examines the countess's aesthetic philanthropy, showing that aristocratic women could act as provincial agents of Aestheticism within pre-existing aristocratic models and traditional institutions such as the charitable bazaar. The sixth chapter focuses on Anne's abilities as a creator of art, highlighting the embeddedness of such women within the Victorian Art World alongside its leading artists and figures.

This thesis encourages a reevaluation of the role aristocratic women played in the Victorian Art World, broadening and complicating our understanding of the appeal of the Aesthetic Movement in late nineteenth-century Britain.

## Introduction

...the female Aesthete became a subversive, alternative type, one ultimately seeking independence, which increasingly appealed to a young generation of women, whose identity was threatened by social and demographic changes. By the 1870s, some two million middle-class women faced the prospect of never marrying or raising a family. It is against this background that the spectre of the High Art Maiden needs to be read.<sup>1</sup>

Anne Anderson, *Visualising the Aesthetic Woman or 'High Art Maiden' of the Victorian 'Renaissance'*, 2001.

I lost my heart to my future mother-in-law, Anne, Countess of Warwick, an unusually clever and charming woman... She was a genuine artist... Watts, the painter, used to say that Anne Warwick would have made her mark if she had devoted her life to painting...<sup>2</sup>

Frances Evelyn, 5th Countess of Warwick, 1929.

You will not have been long in Lady Warwick's society before you are impressed with two facts, namely, that you are holding converse with a nature which is all kindness and gentleness, and, that you are in the presence of one possessed of a *bel spirit* which is especially enthusiastic on all matters artistic.

*The Gentlewoman*, Saturday 19 December 1891

The opening quote above by Anne Anderson represents a broad consensus of the female aesthete, or 'High Art Maiden', in late nineteenth-century Britain. The Aesthetic Movement, a loose and slippery

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<sup>1</sup> A. Anderson, "Life into Art and Art into Life: visualising the Aesthetic Woman or 'High Art Maiden' of the Victorian 'Renaissance'", *Women's History Review*, vol. 10, no. 3, (2001), p.446

<sup>2</sup> Frances Evelyn, Countess of Warwick, *Life's Ebb & Flow*, London 1929, p.35.

term which represented a wide-ranging effort which placed art and beauty at the centre of life during roughly 1870-1890, is one that has long been associated with many of its more bohemian arbiters. Overviews of this movement have tended to focus on the colourful lives and achievements of its most exceptional and often eccentric leaders focused around the fashionable enclaves of London. More recent scholarship, and exhibitions too, have focused on redressing the underappreciated role of women artists involved with this movement in late Victorian Britain. Yet, the experience of an *aristocratic* female aesthete is rarely if ever represented in the paradigm of the ‘Pre-Raphaelite Sisterhood.’

This thesis will redress this general and broad profile of female aesthetes. From my investigation, I will show that using the life and artistic career of Anne Greville (1829-1903), née Charteris, 4th Countess of Warwick, we are able to deepen and broaden our knowledge of the way that women interacted with aestheticism and the Victorian art world during the second half of the nineteenth century. Anne possessed an artistic spirit and dedicated much of her life to art and the beauty of her ancient home, Warwick Castle. The primary questions of my thesis will be as follows: what exactly were the limits and experiences of a top-tier aristocratic woman in the Victorian art world? How might understanding and testing their experience challenge our assumptions of the profile of the female aesthete provided above? What were the limitations and freedoms that the aristocratic class enjoyed compared to a growing number of professional women artists during this period? What role did the social and artistic networks of aristocracy provide such women? Furthermore, what roles could their historic homes outside of London have in allowing them to experiment with self-expression in artistic and aesthetic forms?

Anne, Lady Warwick, represents a different kind of female aesthete to that usually identified in scholarship. Her life and works represented a much quieter revolution than is usually encountered in the literature on the subject. She was a conservative, emanating from the staunchly conservative Charteris family of Scotland, who married into one of the most historic and traditionally conservative families of Warwickshire.<sup>3</sup> She was a member of the conservative Primrose League and wore the

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<sup>3</sup> Anne’s brother Francis Charteris established the Liberty and Property Defence League in 1882. Her husband George served as Tory MP for South Warwickshire between 1845-1853.

organisation's badge in public.<sup>4</sup> Surviving evidence shows she was also against Home Rule in Ireland, a contentious liberal policy of the turn of the century.<sup>5</sup> Her home, Warwick Castle was visited by Tory grandees, including hosting the Primrose Fête under the patronage of family friend the 3<sup>rd</sup> Marquis of Salisbury in July 1887.<sup>6</sup> Politically speaking it is clear that there was nothing subversive or alternative in her politics. Considering this backdrop, I will show that she was deeply interested in a broad artistic and reformist movement that gave women greater opportunities than ever to express themselves through aesthetic mediums. Despite the reformist elements associated with Aestheticism, her involvement with art did not break the ties of her conservative background or cause any open scandal. In contrast, her artistic persona and lifestyle strengthened these bonds. The kind of quiet artistic subversion that Anne led worked well within the parameters and expectations of her class. Studying Anne both broadens and complicates our understanding of how exactly aristocratic elite interacted with Aestheticism.

My thesis fits into a broad and ever-increasing scholarly body of work examining the increasing role women played in the Victorian art world. The intention of my work is to not merely add another female name to the canon, but to use her experience to probe wider themes and historical questions relating to women artists as participators in the Victorian art world. I will particularly show Anne's embeddedness within the world of artists, patrons and aesthetes, showing exactly how aristocratic women moved through these complex relationships and existing traditional structures. Overall, this makes a case for how exactly the aristocratic elite and Aestheticism was integrated in the Victorian art world of the 1870s, 80s and 90s. Much feminist scholarship reasserting the role of women in art history has tended to pass over top-tier conservative women altogether. Early writers on Victorian women artists during the 1990s had already highlighted that more work needed to be done on understanding the roles that women at the top of the social ladder played in the nineteenth-century art world. This is particularly the case with early writers such as Clarissa Campbell Orr, whose *Women in*

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<sup>4</sup> WCRO CR1886, Box 469 (loose). Bill from jeweller Henry Lewis to Lady Warwick, for Primrose League Badge, dated 10 June 1885.

<sup>5</sup> WCRO CR1886, Box 467 (loose). Speech notes against Home Rule in Ireland, accompanied by a drawing of the British Isles in Anne's hand. Nd.

<sup>6</sup> *Warwick and Warwickshire Advertiser*, 9 July 1887, p. 4.

*the Victorian Art World* opened up scholarly interest in examining the underrepresented role of women in art histories of nineteenth-century Britain.

Recent scholarship has begun to examine more closely the variety of women artists who were involved in the creation of art. In the case of women artists of the Eighteenth Century, new work has already begun to reassert the myriad of different backgrounds, including aristocrats, which were exhibiting in the Academic art world.<sup>7</sup> Since the writings of Orr, more work has also been done to re-examine the highly eclectic and diverse strands of art women participated in. This is often cast by scholars as evidence of the growing breaking down of hierarchies between the art forms and participators in art witnessed during this period. The strong craft elements associated with women artists during the late nineteenth century are but one feature. In particular, the work of Talia Shaffer and Patricia Zakreski has initiated a reappraisal of the role of the decorative arts in the artistic and professional output of women.<sup>8</sup> Rather than focusing on the more sensational decadence naturally associated with the movement, Schaffer's reappraisal of the role of women in the aesthetic movement has placed greater emphasis on work in the home and in the commercial sphere. Recent scholarship, investigating the material culture of women during the eighteenth-century, has also begun to acknowledge that aristocratic women too were not frozen out of participating in skills such as dress making.<sup>9</sup> The work of Noël Riley too has shown how disparagingly the term of 'amateur' was, and is often still, used to describe the artistic work of women from more genteel backgrounds.<sup>10</sup> Riley's examination of the sheer variety of different mediums explored by women of the 'leisured' classes provokes the notion of a readdressing of these previously neglected groups of women. A direct study of Anne's experience teaches us that it was not only the aspiring bourgeois women who were interested in the professionalisation of women artists in these spheres, but aristocratic ones with historic titles too. The reasons for this are complex, yet, I will show that Anne's involvement in the

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<sup>7</sup> Female aristocrats as participators in Academic exhibitions are mentioned in P. A. Spies-Gans, "Exceptional, but not exceptions, public exhibitions and the rise of the woman artist in London and Paris, 1760-1830" in *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 51.4, (Summer 2018), p. 401; we will await if they feature within the forthcoming P. A. Spies-Gans, *A Revolution on Canvas: The Rise of Women Artists in Britain and France, 1760-1830*, New Haven 2022. (Published after the completion of this thesis).

<sup>8</sup>T. Shaffer, "Women's work: the history of the Victorian domestic handicraft" in K. Hadjiafxendi, P. Zakreski ed., *Crafting the woman professional in the long nineteenth century*, London 2013; P. Zakreski, *Representing female artistic labour*, London 2006.

<sup>9</sup> S. Dyer, *Material lives: women makers and consumer culture in the 18th century*, London 2021, p. 49. Dyer's reference to Louisa Stuart, Lady Carlow's interest in dress making is a rare example within this study of material culture, which inevitably focuses on more wider popular culture with brief references to aristocratic fashions.

<sup>10</sup> N. Riley, *The accomplished lady, a history of the genteel pursuits c.1660-1860*, Huddersfield 2017.

spheres of the decorative arts was serious, highly motivated and not the mere efforts of a wealthy dilettante. Rather than playing a passive role, women such as Anne could be agents of Aestheticism. How and why has the experience of Anne been overlooked in previous scholarship? The answers are broad as well as more locally grounded (as I will explain later). In terms of broader scholarship, this might be due to several feminist art historians, including Griselda Pollock, who have been reassessing feminist art histories. In Pollock's work, the perpetuation of 'aristocratic traditions' through the attempts of Victorian bourgeois women to 'beautify' is cast alongside notions of restraint and establishing order in a chaotic and threatening world.<sup>11</sup> Many such approaches associate their work with left-leaning socialist ideologies concerning redistributing power from patriarchal systems. Influenced by the equalising forces of Marxism, where aristocracy is grouped into bourgeois strata of society, it is clear why such newly established approaches to art histories may sidestep the question of where to place a figure and Countess like Anne.<sup>12</sup> Amada Vickery's scholarly summary on 'Women and Old Corruption' provides an introduction of the approaches various scholars have made in asserting that elite women derived their success and power from the same privileges as those claimed by patrician men, an element that sometimes rings with an air of negativity.<sup>13</sup> Their privileged position in society and wealth has often been tied to the making of art as leisure, rather than a subject that held deep meaning for such women. Introducing the art of the 'atypical' Lady Waterford, Pamela Gerrish Nunn explained that to be an aristocrat was "to some extent...a necessary condition for the amateur, for this meant not only leisure but also funds and opportunity for the practice of art..."<sup>14</sup> Evidence of Lady Waterford's emphasis on domesticity, comparing it to her contemporary radical emancipated artists dubbed 'The White Marmorean Flock', was also emphasised by Pollock and Parker as a reason why art could never be a full time pursuit for a woman.<sup>15</sup> Instead, women from middling and lower classes may have proven to be more attractive for scholars wanting to promote broad examples and

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<sup>11</sup> G. Pollock, R. Parker, *Old mistresses: women, art and ideology*, London 2020, p.309.

<sup>12</sup> The influence of Karl Marx, Michel Foucault and Sigmund Freud in G. Pollock, *Vision and difference*, London 1988 to "describe and penetrate the ideology of patriarchal society and the production of knowledge" was highlighted by K. Jakubowicz, *Griselda Pollock's vision and difference: feminism, femininity and histories of art*, London 2018, paragraphs 12.18 – 13.18.

<sup>13</sup> A. Vickery, "Women and old corruption" in A. Vickery (ed.), *Women, privilege, and power: British politics 1750 to the present*, California 2001, pp.8-14. Vickery's case heavily rests particularly on the political sphere.

<sup>14</sup> P. G. Nunn, *Victorian Women Artists*, London 1987, p. 174.

<sup>15</sup> Op cit. Pollock Parker 2020, p. 309.

theories which hinge on the struggling proletariat and aspirational middle classes. Figures who do not fit into these narratives are thus easily overlooked.

The ‘democratising’ narrative is often found in the theories relating to the aesthetic movement of the 1870s and 80s.<sup>16</sup> Lucy Harley has shown how new articulations of beauty in the nineteenth century were linked towards democratic ideals of equality, liberty and individuality.<sup>17</sup> This movement, which placed high value on art as a lifestyle and its potential to provide women with professional work, has long been associated as a significant step in the realms of independent self-expression for women.

This was particularly the case with interior design, as shown by the work of Deborah Cohen in *Household Gods*, where women were increasingly using this medium as a form of self-expression.<sup>18</sup>

This line of thought builds upon a much larger body of scholarly work investigating the interpretive potential of exploring material culture.<sup>19</sup> Using the ideas promoted by scholars such as Greg Noble, where being cumulating is intrinsically linked to statements of identity and being, we are thus able to broaden our understanding with the rich evidence supplied by Anne’s papers.<sup>20</sup> Studies of women and material culture too often uses individual case studies to broaden perspectives as a whole.<sup>21</sup> This methodology, in studying artworks, collections and their settings, will be key in helping to unravel the motivations and self-fashioning of a Victorian aristocratic woman.

Casting our minds back to the period in which Anne lived, the aesthetic movement might be cast as an important stepping stone in a quest for individuality and self-expression that would eventually lead to women’s suffrage.<sup>22</sup> Yet, a study of Anne challenges the orthodoxies that not all women participators were necessarily aligned with overtly radical motives, although their participation in art had in

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<sup>16</sup> This subject is discussed widely in L. Hartley, *Democratising Beauty in Nineteenth-century Britain*, Cambridge 2017.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* pp.2-3. Hartley’s work particularly picks out the writings of the likes of Charles Lock Eastlake, John Ruskin, Walter Pater, Edward Poynter, William Morris and John Addington Symonds who shared in the belief of a desirability for “enriching conceptions of the good” through art and beauty.

<sup>18</sup> D. Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and their possessions*, New Haven 2006.

<sup>19</sup> Recent scholarship which makes a case for the interconnectedness between Art History and Material culture includes M. Yonan, “Toward a fusion of art history and material culture studies” in *West 86th: a journal of decorative arts, design history, and material culture*, 18.2, (2000), pp.232-248; V. Coltman, “Im-material culture and history of art(efacts)” in A. Gerritsen, G. Riello (ed.), *Writing material culture history*, London 2014, pp.17-32; and later reformulated most recently in F. Gowrley, *Domestic space in Britain, 1750-1840: materiality, sociability and emotion*, London 2022, p. 44.

<sup>20</sup> G. Noble, “Accumulating being” in *International journal of cultural studies*, 7.2, (June 2004), pp.233-256.

<sup>21</sup> Several individuals, including Anna Damer and Grand Duchess Maria Fedorovna are explored within J. Batchelor, C. Kaplan (eds.), *Women and material culture, 1660-1830*, London 2007.

<sup>22</sup> Jane Rendall argued that this period of the late 1860s, and the involvement of figures such as John Stuart Mill, has traditionally been cast as a pivotal moment in the beginnings of the suffrage movement. See J. Rendall, “John Stuart Mill, liberal politics, and the movements for Women’s suffrage, 1865-1873” in A. Vickery (ed.), *Women, privilege and power: British politics 1750 to the present*, Stanford 2001, pp.168-200.

contemporary eyes a reformist vision attached to it. As a woman who possessed a deep knowledge and personal enthusiasm for art, it may seem that Aestheticism provided Anne a very suitable position from which she could explore her personal interests in a way that was deemed acceptable to society and her aristocratic peers.

Certain profiles have persisted in scholarship of the female aesthete. This has particularly been the case with artists associated with the Pre-Raphaelite movement and its later followers. The neo-Medieval utopianism of William Morris has fed into a particular narrative about the types of men and women who joined these artistic and bohemian movements. This is particularly the case with women artists, who most often conform to the Fanny Cornforth, Elizabeth Siddal and Jane Morris aesthetic. The National Portrait Gallery's 2019 exhibition *The Pre Raphaelite Sisters* is one such recent example of this effect. These women were young, beautiful, whimsical and romantic. Women like Anne do not readily fall into this stereotype. The closest female aristocrat who has entered into the realms of scholarly focus is the particularly fragile natured Lady Waterford (1818-1891), whose contributions are usually categorised away as a talented 'Lady Amateur' whose work existed in the shadows. Yet, it would be incorrect to suggest that all aristocratic amateurs fitted into this profile. Anne Bermingham in particular has shown how notions of amateurs and professionals were highly sexualized.<sup>23</sup> This thesis will allow for the opportunity to probe these masculine constructions with evidence that shows these boundaries were not entirely binary. I will show that Anne was keenly aware of her own image and public artistic persona, over which she seemed to have had a great deal of control. Her work as an artist, interior designer and artistic patron and protectress of women artists was celebrated in the national press, the most notable example being a two-page spread in *The Gentlewoman* magazine towards the end of her life in 1891. This was a persona that she carried on into her sixties, showing that age and belonging to the previous generation were not the only necessary requirements to take part. Surviving images of Anne give a very different profile of the female aesthete we might easily call to mind, and encourages us to reassess the broad appeal of the aesthetic movement amongst varying levels of society.

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<sup>23</sup> A. Bermingham, *Learning to Draw*, New Haven 2000, pp.174-181.

The narrative of women's pursuits in the arts as a road to broader freedoms from the patriarchal systems of society has also arisen. Anne's pursuits in the arts, however, do also not conform readily to this generality. My research has shown that concerns for personal freedoms, detached from her husband and family, did not play such a large role for women like Anne. Her pursuit of art in fact strengthened her family bonds and was a shared activity in her relationship with her children. Anne was in a genuine loving relationship, that produced four sons and a daughter, and was supported by her husband in all her aesthetic efforts.

Despite her own aristocratic roots and lifestyle, it is clear that women like Anne appreciated and advocated the benefits and increasing availability of lower and middle-class women having access to an education and profession in art. Here we might consider Riley's observation that women from the genteel backgrounds could and did rise above the restrictions of their class and push forward the boundaries for others.<sup>24</sup> Recent scholarship on philanthropy of the aesthetic movement, particularly in the 'Missionary Aesthete' identified by Diana Maltz, has pulled together clear examples of attempts by certain wealthy individual activists who used art in this period to improve the lives of deprived Victorian society.<sup>25</sup> Anderson too had linked artistic philanthropy with the aristocratic women artists, as part of a wider effort to set a good example and 'earn their salt'.<sup>26</sup> In light of this, Anne possessed her own distinctive form of missionary Aestheticism that drew on traditional aristocratic patronage and existing charitable events such as bazaars. All of her charitable aims had a distinctively aesthetic slant, whether it be connected to some architectural project or supporting the education in art for young women. Her bazaars also reflected her interest in promoting Aestheticism out of London and into the local area surrounding her ancient home. It is clear that Anne's local persona as a protectress of the arts, emanating from her home which was a beautiful and ancient castle, was key to her success in this sphere.

The identity politics of late twentieth-century feminism, in which some scholarly literature consciously or subconsciously has based itself, has also created certain blind spots. The tendency of

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<sup>24</sup> Op cit. Riley 2017, p. 3.

<sup>25</sup>D. Maltz, *British Aestheticism and the Urban Working Classes, 1870-1900*, London 2006.

<sup>26</sup> A. Anderson, "'Earning their salt in a busy world': royal and aristocratic art philanthropy, patronage and practice, *Women's History Notebook*, 6.2, (1999), pp.16-23.

some academics to group all women together, and divide between male or female, has proven to sometimes miss the greater nuances that existed within the sexes. The approach of an imagined solidarity often fails to appreciate the varying strata that women could occupy in historic contexts. It can also flatten our ability to differentiate between the social hierarchies that provided certain women of varying classes entirely different opportunities and limitations.

Aristocratic women in particular, I will argue, have often occupied a very complex position in Victorian society. Were the rules that governed their positions as stable and inflexible as it may initially appear? One of the accepted tropes concerning aristocrats is that they could not be seen to be occupying a profession. Writing on the rise of the professional society at the end of the nineteenth century, historians often recount Lady Dorothy Neville's quip in 1906 that ladies and gentlemen previously "had no ulterior object beyond intelligent, cultured and dignified enjoyment, money-making being left to another class..."<sup>27</sup> Some historians writing on English elites have refuted this generalisation, explaining that already in the mid-1880s attention was being drawn to the growing number of aristocrats seeking out commercial employments.<sup>28</sup> A profession occupied the realms of commerce and money-making, a position deemed unacceptable for the aristocratic class during the nineteenth century. Exactly how might these factors spilled over into the realms of the making and exhibiting of art? I will demonstrate through my thesis that figures like Anne Countess of Warwick clearly blurred the lines between the two. Although demands on her family life were great, I will show through my research that artistic and creative pursuits were the focus of her life. She dedicated herself to a wide variety of genres and mediums as well as redecorating and refurnishing her important historic home. Alongside these pursuits her philanthropic works were also related to the advancement of women artists locally in Warwickshire. The record to her profession as 'Artist – Sculptor' in the official 1891 census of Warwick Castle is perhaps the greatest indication of how seriously she took herself as a serious fully-fledged artist. Her artistic pursuits were not mere expressions of a wealthy amateur but contained great consideration and purpose. In her role as an exhibiting artist in London, it is clear too that she occupied a somewhat grey area. She was an exhibitor at the inaugural Grosvenor

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<sup>27</sup> Nevil's speech is quoted in H. Perkin, *The Rise of the Professional Society*, Edinburgh 1989, p.65 but the changing fortunes for the aristocracy to professionalism and making money is more widely discussed in Chapter 3.

<sup>28</sup> P. Horn, *High society: the English Social Elite, 1880-1914*, Stroud 1992, pp.36-41.

Gallery exhibition of 1877, widely viewed as one of the most important moments in the British art scene during the late nineteenth century. Yet, at the same time she also exhibited as an amateur for the retailers Howells & James in screen and tapestry painting where she won several prizes.

Rethinking the geography of Aestheticism also plays a key aspect in my argument. The role of place, outside of the more fashionable London enclaves, has been a neglected aspect of investigations into the aesthetic maiden. Alongside the analysis of *who* Anne was, is also the often-neglected question of *where* she was. Warwick Castle, Anne's home of forty years, was integral to her artistic persona.

Much has been written on artists's studios and houses during late nineteenth-century Britain, particularly in the recent work of Charlotte Gere.<sup>29</sup> Very few examples, however, tend to examine the influence such places exerted onto the artists themselves. The complex relationships between provincial Warwick, although on a major route through the Midlands to the north of England, and fashionable London is one that will be probed. The questions of where women artists worked, and how these places influenced their careers as artists, is almost always taken for granted in scholarship.

Warwick Castle performed several different functions for the countess. Firstly, it was a site of rich history stretching back centuries, which women had played important roles in shaping. The Greville family, into whom Anne had married, were also one of the most forward-thinking enlightened patrons, connoisseurs, and collectors in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Not only did the castle's collection of art inspire her, but she could also look back to many Greville women artists in the previous century. The Grevilles' use of watercolour and drawing masters from the mid-eighteenth century onwards left a considerable collection of amateur watercolours that survived in the castle until their sale in 1936.<sup>30</sup> From the castle's point of view, Anne represented a continuation of the women artists that came before. Yet, she also went much further than any of her predecessors. Here we must balance the factors of her own personal interests in art versus the circumstances in which she found herself.

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<sup>29</sup> C. Gere, *Artistic circles: Design & Decoration in the Aesthetic Movement*, London 2010.

<sup>30</sup> The two large sales of amateur drawings and watercolours from the Warwick Castle collection were sold Christie's, London, May 20 1896 and Sotheby's, London, June 17 1936.

A medieval castle too might not be the most likely site for experiments for Aestheticism. Scholarship has usually tended to emphasise the fashionable ‘Queen Anne’ houses of West London as the prime examples of where such experiments were usually found. Recent scholarship has also suggested that the emphasis on the interior and ideological construction of the home began in the decades prior to the movement, during the 1830s and 40s.<sup>31</sup> We might consider Anne’s lifetime as a one of gradual change towards a greater interest in the home and its various modes of emotion and expression. Yet, I will argue throughout several chapters that ideas surrounding Aestheticism were specifically one of the guiding forces in her redesign of the castle’s interiors. The castle’s rich historic collection of old master paintings, furniture, ceramics and arms and armour would also prove vital. Such diverse and important collections would perhaps be the ideal fertile ground for aestheticist imaginings and inspiration. I will show that the castle’s rich collection was of great interest to her as an artist and collector, suggestive that Aestheticism could quite easily be nurtured in such places within the hands of women like Anne.

Although it is easily forgotten in modern times, her home was also one of great importance that attracted high profile visitors and a burgeoning tourist trade in the nineteenth century. My research into the neglected visitors’ books demonstrate that her home was visited by royalty, artists, architects and arbiters of taste. Warwick Castle was by no means an entirely private inconsequential property, and thus one might imagine the expectations that she placed on her work there. Alongside its attractive qualities, her family’s seat was also a place which attracted many artists of the nineteenth century. I will demonstrate that Anne took great opportunities to converse socially and artistically with important artists as an equal in her great home. The contrast between Warwick and her London property in Stable Yard, St James’s is also suggestive of the many roles that she played and balanced between London society and expectant visitors to her ancient castle. She managed to balance and negotiate these two separately, but often colliding worlds with considerable dexterity.

Local specific considerations also have their place within contextualising women like Anne’s opportunities to experiment with art on a truly grand scale. Fate also dealt Anne some rather unique

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<sup>31</sup> The growth of interest in domesticity and the home, particularly in relation to material culture, was recently addressed in F. Gowrley, *Domestic Space in Britain, 1750-1840: Materiality, Sociability and Emotion*, London 2022.

circumstances. The 1871 fire, which destroyed the castle's Great Hall and domestic apartments, presented Anne with a unique opportunity to indulge her creative passions to the full. Her tackling of the devastation left by this event, I shall prove, resulted in her greatest and most long-lasting piece of artistic expression. Although it is likely that without the event of the fire Anne would have found different outlets for her art, yet, the fire presented an opportunity which I will show she made full use of.

Returning to the question of her roots, Warwick Castle was the home of her family whose relationships came first in her life. Ultimately, the redesign of the domestic apartments would benefit her husband and children the most. Yet art too played a significant role in her relationships with her husband the Earl, and each of her children. She painted portraits of her four boys and one girl, encouraged them to take lessons in art and pursue artistic interests. It is quite possible that the artistic education of her children was part of a wider plan to help them in their future careers in service to the children and grandchildren of Queen Victoria. Art was not just a personal pursuit hidden away from her family, but clearly bled into her family life that was not entirely at odds with their class.

The Warwick Castle Archive will remain central to the evidence provided throughout the thesis. It is perhaps no coincidence that neglected archives have proven very important for the rediscovery of women's histories in scholarship.<sup>32</sup> Throughout the next six chapters, I will show how archival evidence can be used to probe some of our assumptions about Aestheticism. In this case, I will show that archival research is not necessarily solely about adding additional data. Archival documents can prove vital in explaining how Aestheticism spread through aristocratic networks, and how much of a serious role it could play in the life of a Victorian Countess. These findings raise certain historical questions that require addressing. It was my discovery of Anne's uncatalogued papers just less than a decade ago which ultimately inspired this topic. Sold to the Warwickshire County Record Office in 1978, a catalogue of the castle archive was begun but leaving many boxes catalogued at box level. Anne's remarkable surviving correspondence, along with much of the nineteenth-century materials, have largely remained ignored since the late 1970s.

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<sup>32</sup> Archival evidence and letters was an integral element to the seminal book on the lives of Georgian women in England A. Vickery, *The gentleman's daughter: women's lives in Georgian England*, New Haven 1998.

Anne's own records are split between four to six boxes, much of which are interspersed with her daughter's youthful correspondence too.<sup>33</sup> Each box contains at least one thousand documents, and although I have looked through each box, I believe I have combed through the most relevant materials to address the principal questions of my thesis. My research has also brought me to several boxes of Anne's husband's correspondence, which too has provided further insight into her outgoing letters. Unfortunately, it seems that strikingly few of Anne's outgoing letters have survived in other collections, even in the archive of her own family at Gosford House.<sup>34</sup>

My research into the existence of archive material of Anne's contemporaries has shown that both the quantity and quality of Anne's archival papers are extraordinary. The rate of survival of even the most minute papers and ephemera is very impressive.<sup>35</sup> This is possibly explained by the very sudden death from a stroke in August 1903 at the age of 74.<sup>36</sup> Such a sudden departure afforded her no time, unlike many of those who suffered lingering mortal illnesses, to destroy any papers or correspondence before her death. The relative disinterest of her son and heir Francis, later 5<sup>th</sup> Earl of Warwick, also meant that her correspondence never seems to have been sorted through after death. This extraordinary survival is therefore the reason that my thesis focuses on Anne so thoroughly. To ignore such rich material, and not to use it to test against the key questions posed in my thesis, would I think represent a wasted opportunity.

In terms of content and spirit, my own work on Anne follows the publications of Virginia Surtees (d. 2017).<sup>37</sup> Surtees had completed the most consistent surveys of under-represented male and female aristocratic artists of the same time period and in the same circles in which Anne moved. This includes the patron and collector Lady Ashburton, a friend of Anne's, whose life and legacy Surtees reasserted in her 1984 publication. The same could be said for Sir Coutts Lindsay, whom Surtees

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<sup>33</sup> Lady Eva Greville (1860-1940). I presume that Lady Eva's youthful correspondence was shared with Anne, a right that any Victorian mother had over her daughter's personal possessions. Although interesting in their own way, I have actively spent less time examining her papers in order to focus on Anne.

<sup>34</sup> I am grateful to the assistance of archivist Hillary Wilkie at Gosford House in searching for any of Anne's correspondence in the papers kept there.

<sup>35</sup> Examining the vast quantities of household bills has been very time consuming, and thus I have limited my search through these. The quantities of bills relating to Anne's household shopping, alongside her purchasing of clothing, underwear, haircuts etc. is overwhelming in quantity.

<sup>36</sup> *Leamington Spa Courier*, 21 August 1903, p. 6.

<sup>37</sup> In particular V. Surtees, *Virginia Ludovisi Goddess: life of Louisa Lady Ashburton*, Norwich 1984; V. Surtees, *The Artist and the autocrat: George and Rosalind Howard, Earl and Countess of Carlisle*, Norwich 1988; V. Surtees, *Coutts Lindsay 1824-1913*, Norwich 1993.

published the most complete and rounded biography on in 1993. Here the scholar managed to provide a far greater portrait of Lindsay in the round, including probing his family background and personal relationships. These networks that Surtees identified have thus provided great insight into the deep and complex web of relationships that went into his cultural pursuits, including the establishment of the Grosvenor Gallery. I acknowledge the great influence Surtees's work has had on my own, especially in relationship to examining Anne's social and artistic circles thoroughly. In contrast to Surtees's biographies, I wish to stress that my thesis does not follow a biographical format. Its purpose is analytical, rather than hagiographic in nature.

The general outline of my thesis is as follows:

The first chapter will start with an examination of Anne within the context of Warwick Castle itself. As feminist methodologies have placed great weight in reasserting the voice of women in history and art history, I will show that Anne was in fact following in a great line of women who influenced the course of Warwick Castle's history. This was a location whose associations greatly inspired Anne, as I will show throughout the thesis. Starting from the castle's foundation in 914AD, where it was built under the orders of Aethelflead daughter of Alfred the Great, women have always exerted an important role in the castle's fortunes. During the medieval period, during the height of the Earls of Warwick, women served an important purpose dynastically as well as in the realms of manuscript patronage. This was continued into the Greville ownership of the castle beginning in 1604, where documentation shows that women played a key yet neglected role in the castle's survival during the English Civil War. Anne's own interest in the arts in particular, as I have previously mentioned, followed on from the achievements made by the Greville women of the eighteenth century. I end the chapter with two short case studies from archival materials which further emphasize the relevance of Warwick to Anne's own experience. The first being a letter from artist William Egley (1798-1870) encouraging Anne to create a history painting inspired by her home. Secondly, a set of undocumented letters from artist Joseph Severn (1798-1879) to Anne's artistically indifferent mother-in-law, Sarah 3<sup>rd</sup> Countess of Warwick, which provides direct contrast Anne's genuine and passionate approach to the arts.

The second chapter will focus on Anne's early involvement in the redesign of Warwick Castle's interiors beginning in the 1850s. Set just before the beginning of the advent of the Aestheticism of the 1870s, I will show that Anne had already developed a great interest in the interiors of the domestic apartments. This earlier age would prove a vital steppingstone for her later work, showing that gradual change set precedents that would allow Anne to flourish in later decades rather than changes in legislation regarding women's property rights. Her lavish attention spent on her private room, the Boudoir, indicates a developed sense of self-expression through interior design and historicism which marked this period. She conversed freely too with architect Anthony Salvin, whose relationship I probe for its significance in allowing Anne to achieve her own aesthetic and architectural wishes. This prefigures the scholarly literature that suggests that Aestheticism promoted a great deal of change for women in interior design. I use this chapter to set a background for the profound changes that would occur later after the fire of 1871, and will help provide questions as to the delicate relationships between following fashions or asserting her own taste and interests.

The third chapter focuses particularly on the effect the 1871 fire at Warwick Castle had on her interests in interiors. I will argue that this unique event had the beneficial side effect of allowing her to fully explore her interests concerning interior decoration as well as the minutiae required to bring her ancient home back to life. The national importance of the restoration of the castle, news of which spread around the country and was commented on by figures such as John Ruskin, creates a significant context for Anne's work and interest in Aestheticism that is worthy of exploration. This was not a minor project of a strictly private piece of property by any means. Warwick Castle's emergence as building of national importance, in an age where national heritage coupled with historicist romanticism held sway, is fundamental to the backdrop. Furthermore, I examine what role the archival material allows us to piece together her neglected involvement in this work. I particularly use Anne's new Italian Library designed by George Edward Fox to compare and contrast with the new Great Hall by Anthony Salvin. The differences and comparisons here show that Anne's adaptation to the appropriateness of place was clearly well advanced.

The fourth chapter asks the question of exactly what relationship Anne had with Aestheticism, particularly in regard to interiors. I will examine Anne's interest in several areas relating to interior design usually associated in scholarly material with more broad middle class or bourgeois households. Here I show that Anne was undoubtedly influenced by contemporary books, by writers such as Clarence Cook and Mrs Haweis, whose effect has been described in more modest homes and not castles. Anne's network here, and particularly in relation to Virginia Sommers of Eastnor Castle, was instrumental in the sharing of ideas between culturally minded female friends. Her correspondence reveals that other contemporaries of hers indulged in these interests, whose legacies in interiors have also never been acknowledged. From the wider questions to the more local contexts, I also show the role her children played in importing fashionable Japonisme into her medieval home, imports and ideas she received directly from family sources in the far east.

The fifth chapter investigates the role that philanthropy played in her artistic persona. I will argue that Anne's own distinctive approach to charitable work provided her with a platform to explore her highly personal artistic interests. In particular, I will show that Anne's particular approach provides a distinctive aristocratic variant to the 'Missionary Aesthete' highlighted in the work of Maltz. Contemporary with other more well documented attempts by Victorians to use art particularly in deprived areas of London, Anne's use of other pre-existing conventions such as the charitable bazaar broadens our understanding of how aesthete aristocrats could import fashionable trappings and concepts into the provinces. Her support of the School of Art in Leamington, and particularly supporting the work of young women artists, propelled her as a particularly female protector of the making of art in provincial Warwickshire.

Finally, the sixth and most extended chapter deals with her pursuits as an individual artist. In the light of the rich archival material, and examining her network of aristocratic patrons and friends, this chapter illuminates her absolute embeddedness with the Victorian art world itself. From inviting important artists to Warwick Castle, and interacting with Gustav Dore, John Brett and George Frederic Watts on equal terms, or using her contacts to exhibit her works in London, aristocratic women like Anne benefitted directly from an incredible well-connected network. As an exhibitor in

the inaugural 1877 Grosvenor Gallery exhibition, the experience of Lady Warwick at this highly publicised event has never received scholarly attention, despite its extraordinary nature. In combination with this particular event, this chapter will also deal with the significance of Anne's interest in the eclecticism of the decorative arts as a key area of interest, particularly the realms of ceramic painting in which she won several prizes. In particular, I will show how exactly she negotiated both the highly fashionable circles of the Grosvenor Gallery set, whilst including her works in less formal settings alongside other women artists in fashionable commercial London retailers. The contrasts between the fashionable London worlds, and those at her stately home in provincial Warwickshire, will show the various ways in which Aestheticism was exported outside of the capital. Alongside summarising my thesis, the conclusion will address exactly why Anne's legacy was so quickly forgotten. Furthermore, I will examine what her example might teach us about the legacies of other aristocratic women. As a non-professional, whose works did not enter great private or public collections, Anne's art was concentrated in locations that would prove to be extremely vulnerable. This includes assessing what role the downfall of the stately home and the importance of the traditional aristocracy had in eradicating her legacy in both material and spiritual terms. Although the reasons are complex, including economic and political, it is clear that the role of the Stately Home in the realms of art was largely over by her death in 1903. Drawing on research by Peter Mandler and David Cannadine, I will show why this new era simply brushed aside and forgot the contribution of women such as Anne.<sup>38</sup> Although Lady Warwick could have never foreseen it, she was the last generation to enjoy the castle's artistic and cultural pre-eminence. Faced with a changing world, and on a more local level faced with entirely aesthetically indifferent heirs, the building which had once stood as a stage and refuge for her artistic spirit could not survive the progress of the twentieth century and fell into sharp decline. The next Countess of Warwick's statement in 1931 that "The 'Stately Homes of England' have had their selfish day. Nothing could be better than that they should make atonement, in emptiness and disrepair, in the hope that a nobler future awaits them..." would prove prophetic.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> D. Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, New Haven 1990; P. Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of Stately Homes*, New Haven 1997.

<sup>39</sup> Frances Evelyn, Countess of Warwick, *Afterthoughts*, London 1931, p. 246.

## Chapter 1 - Anne in the Context of Women at Warwick Castle

### 1.1 Introduction

As chatelaine of the grandest residence of the world, Warwick Castle, she [Anne] found herself essentially in her right place, nature designed her for it.<sup>1</sup>

#### **Francis Charteris, 10<sup>th</sup> Earl of Wemyss, brother to Anne Countess of Warwick.**

From the outset of this thesis, I want to make a case for the inescapable role in which Warwick Castle played in the artistic life of Anne Greville (1829-1903), 4th Countess of Warwick. It is true that Anne was born into a period of the nineteenth century where women were increasingly involved in the art world, a theme which this thesis will develop in later chapters. However, through her marriage to George Greville, Lord Brooke and later 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Warwick, in 1851, she happened to have entered into a title, castle and family of historic and cultural importance. The history of Warwick Castle, I will argue, would provide inspiration for her artistic pursuits both internally and externally from her home. Furthermore, her new family was one in which women played a significant part throughout the centuries. Anne did engage with her cultural inheritance. Yet alongside her individual efforts, Anne appears neatly as a natural successor in the long history of important and creative women who have shaped the building's history and legacy. In this chapter I will try to make that case that Anne was in the right place, as well as the right time, to involve herself in the arts and the legacy of her home in a significant yet previously unappreciated way.

Throughout this first chapter I will develop a revisionist approach to reassert the significance women played in historic sites such as Warwick Castle. One of the founding blocks of the feminist revisionism of history is that historians of the past have failed in identifying and picking out the roles

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<sup>1</sup> Francis Charteris, 10th Earl of Wemyss, *Memories*, Unpublished autobiography dated 1912, p.256-7. (National Records for Scotland - RH4/40/19), p. 898.

that women had played in the past.<sup>2</sup> This is not only the case with outstanding individuals, but also assessing the long-term effects of women in particular sites and institutions. The recent popular histories of Warwick Castle are no exception to this rule.<sup>3</sup> Although castles may be more popularly associated with overtly masculine military stereotypes, I will show that women had in fact played key roles in the site's history and survival for centuries before Anne inhabited the place. In the broader context of the history of Warwick Castle, spanning at least 1,000 years, Anne falls neatly into a broader chronological context which deserves addressing.

During the three hundred years prior to Anne's ownership, many of the owners of this ancient home also felt a strong connection with its history and legacy. From studying the various periods of ownership of Warwick Castle it is apparent that the many generations of owners were aware of their place within the castle's vast and illustrious history. The Medieval Earls of Warwick, who established the surviving stone walls and fortifications, may well be considered amongst the top tier aristocratic titles throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. As founding members of the Knights of the Garter, trusted Knights of the Hundred Years Wars, tutors to the infant Henry VI, and holders of the epithet *Kingmaker* during the Wars of the Roses, the names of the inhabitants of Warwick Castle are written into the history books of Britain. Ever since King James I had bestowed the then empty and ancient fortress to Sir Fulke Greville in 1604, it is evident that what is often referred to as 'the name' of Warwick was to them a key consideration behind their reasoning for preserving, developing and beautifying this ancient building.<sup>4</sup> The family's motto adopted since the early seventeenth century, VIX EA NOSTRA VOCO 'I scarcely call these things my own', may be considered the embodiment of stewardship. This theme continued into the later centuries. Horace Walpole, antiquarian and friend of the Grevilles, had in the next century professed "I had rather possess [Warwick Castle] than any seat upon earth - not that I think it the most beautiful of all, though charming, but because I am so intimate with all its proprietors for the last thousand years."<sup>5</sup> Reinforcing ancestral lineage, through aesthetic

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<sup>2</sup> This question was begun in the field of art history by L. Nochlin, "Why have there been no great women artists?" in *Woman in Sexist Society: Studies in Power and Powerlessness*, New York 1971, pp. 480-510.

<sup>3</sup> As there has been no major publication giving a complete history of Warwick Castle since the 1920s, all popular guides since the 1950s have only given cursory details of the women involved in its long history. In the most recent edition of the Warwick Castle guidebook, lists of the Earls of Warwick since 1088 are given, yet no corresponding list of Countesses are published alongside them.

<sup>4</sup> This point was one of the key arguments of my essay A. Busiakiewicz, "We scarcely call these things our own; Fulke Greville's curious collection" in *The Sidney Journal*, (2017), pp.47-76.

<sup>5</sup> J. Wright (ed.), *The letters of Horace Walpole*, IV, London 1842, p.378.

and architectural association, had been employed by the family since the seventeenth century. As early proponents of the Neo-Gothic from the mid-eighteenth century, backward-looking and romantic, historicist styles had been employed by the family as a useful tool in aligning themselves with the powerful Earls of Warwick of centuries old.

Anne's ownership, from 1853 till 1893, represented the high point of the romantic imaginings of the significance of her ancestral home. It was during her lifetime that the castle became a publicly recognised monument of national importance. After the disastrous fire of 1871, an event which made headlines across the country, a writer in *The Birmingham Daily Post* remarked that it was the responsibility of every man to aid "in restoring and preserving a monument of English life, and a famous landmark of English History..."<sup>6</sup> Anne, therefore, lived during the precise moment where her stewardship of this significant place was brought to the fore. The effect this had on Anne's involvement in the redesign of the interiors will be discussed in chapters two and three. It is relevant to explore the influence of the castle's history, collection and family on Anne as a whole. Her attempt at contacting the castle's spirits through seances is but one particularly evocative example of this.<sup>7</sup>

The specific role that art had in her new family was not an oversimplified example of aristocratic exuberance or decadence. It was a serious pursuit that held great symbolic meaning. The combination of history and art would prove to be a foundational element to Anne's initiation into the family. Anne's marriage to George Guy Greville, Lord Brooke and later 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Warwick, was sealed with the gifting of a monumental work of art which reinforced the historic ancestral associations of their title. In March of 1852 an elaborate ceremony was devised to install a significant piece of Victorian furniture in Warwick Castle's Great Hall to celebrate the marriage of Lord and Lady Brooke. The *Kenilworth Buffet* was carved out of one solid oak tree by the Warwick firm Cooke & Sons, and received great attention when displayed in the Great Exhibition of 1851 (FIGURE 1.1). Its design featured scenes from Sir Walter Scott's novel *Kenilworth* (1821), which focuses on the relationship of Elizabeth I with her favourite, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. A curious mix of both

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<sup>6</sup> Quoted in P. Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home*, New Haven 1997, p.104.

<sup>7</sup> For my discovery of transcriptions of seances found in Anne's papers, see [www.ourwarwickshire.org.uk/content/article/warwick-castle-secret-conversation-ghosts](http://www.ourwarwickshire.org.uk/content/article/warwick-castle-secret-conversation-ghosts) [Accessed Summer 2020].

archaeologically inspired ornamentation and fanciful fabrication, the style of the piece reflects the mannerist Elizabethan design on a monumental scale. Emblazoned with figures of worthies of the Elizabethan age, the *Kenilworth Buffet* was also covered in the heraldic motifs of the Earls of Warwick; the Bear and Ragged Staff. A special fund was established by the Town of Warwick which raised £1,200 by subscription. Warwick Castle was deemed from the outset ‘most befitting to receive, and from its own proud historical associations, most peculiarly fitting to grace so distinguished a work of elaborated artistical skill’.<sup>8</sup> William Jones, an antiquarian and poet, wrote on the significance of the buffet that ‘no genuine woodcarving on a grand scale has ever been produced in this country, under circumstances of, we may fairly term in, greater *patriotism* than the sumptuous Kenilworth Buffet...’<sup>9</sup> It is clear that Jones and other journalists recognised that the buffet represented a new highpoint in the capabilities of English woodcarving and design, especially in opposition to the other continental exhibits on display in the Crystal Palace. On the evening of the presentation an elaborate ceremony was devised with ‘buffeteers’ in Elizabethan dress bearing arms placed on either side of the buffet. The Mayor of Warwick’s speech explained that the buffet was hoped to ‘long remain an heirloom of your family, as proof of our present regards, and of the good feeling which, trust, ever bind together the future Earl of Warwick their neighbours.’<sup>10</sup> This spectacle would in many ways set the tone for the rest of Anne and George’s married life, united by both history and art. This showpiece wedding present was later installed in the Castle’s neo-Jacobean eighteenth-century dining room, where Queen Victoria would have seen it on her visit to the castle in 1858 (FIGURE 1.2).

Throughout the nineteenth century, and during the forty years Anne owned the castle, the historical associations of her home and title were still held in high regard. By 1881 it was generally perceived that the social currency of the Warwicks was very much linked to the title’s rich history, rather than their political or monetary buoyancy in a time of great economic change. The example of the marriage of the next Lord Brooke gives many very vivid examples of the perception of the Warwick dynasty by society. At the sensational marriage of Anne’s son and heir to heiress Frances Evelyn Maynard at Westminster Abbey in 1881, attended by the Prince of Wales and members of the Royal Family,

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<sup>8</sup> W. Jones, *An Account of the Kenilworth Buffet*, Warwick: Cooke & Sons, 1851, p. 18.

<sup>9</sup> W. Jones, *An Account of the Kenilworth Buffet*, Warwick: Cooke & Sons, 1851, p. 18.

<sup>10</sup> ‘Presentation of the “Kenilworth Buffet” to Lord Brooke’ in *Leamington Spa Courier* Saturday 13 March 1852, p. 3.

*Vanity Fair* remarked specifically that the bride was “one of the richest hands in England joined one of its oldest titles”.<sup>11</sup> Benjamin Disraeli even remarked that the marriage “will possess every element of happiness...romance, youth, wealth, beauty and love, a lofty rank and an historic name to sustain and inspire.”<sup>12</sup> Inspiration that this historic title evoked in the minds of the Victorian Earl and Countess of Warwick played a significant role in their lives as stewards, collectors and patrons.

Although this chapter broadly follows a chronological approach, it is worth establishing and reasserting the significance of place into Anne’s influence on this important building. I will use this rare chance to delve deeply into one letter from artist William Egley RA (1798-1870) that probes the significance of Warwick in terms of female patronage and artistic inspiration.

## 1.2 Medieval Legacy

A thorough analysis of the history of the castle’s founders and many owners reveals a significant number of female interventions which has directed the fate of this important aristocratic home and title. I will regularly refer back to evidence where I can suggest that Anne was aware or might have been influenced by these precedents.

The foundations of Warwick Castle stretch back well over 1,100 years. Despite the masculine connotations of a military fortress, the foundation of Warwick as a fortified town in 914 / 15 AD is attributed to the efforts of Aethelfleda, the daughter of King Alfred the Great.<sup>13</sup> The fortification of Warwick was part of a greater effort to rid the Kingdom of Mercia from the constant threat of Danish invasion. Modern scholarship has indicated that that Aethelfleda’s Saxon burh would have constituted a simple ditched defence of the town rather than the structure that would have constituted the castle’s present shape.<sup>14</sup> However, from at least the seventeenth century onwards, the myth of

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<sup>11</sup> *Vanity Fair*, Volume 25, 1881, p.258.

<sup>12</sup> Transcription of an original letter written from Lord Beaconsfield to Lord Rosslyn 20 June 1880, in S. Anand, *Daisy the Life and Loves of the Countess of Warwick*, Piatkus, London, 2008, p.20.

<sup>13</sup> 'The borough of Warwick: Introduction, the medieval town', in *A History of the County of Warwick: Volume 8, the City of Coventry and Borough of Warwick*, ed. W B Stephens (London, 1969), pp. 418-427.

<sup>14</sup> This was largely confirmed by the following report N. Palmer, GMD. Booth, *Documentary and pictorial evidence of Warwick Castle Mound*, Warwickshire County Council 1996.

Aethelfleda having founded the actual castle was taken for granted by antiquaries such as William Dugdale.<sup>15</sup>

Despite these Saxon origins, the significant presence of women at Warwick stretches back even further into the mythology of the Anglo-Saxon period. The chivalric legend of *Guy of Warwick*, in its day said to be as famous as the legend of King Arthur, dominates the mythology of Warwickshire. This tale appears in the majority of guidebooks of the castle in the nineteenth century. More recently, scholars have designated *The Romance of Guy of Warwick* as an elaborate piece of mythmaking probably written during the thirteenth century to shore up the legacy of the powerful Beauchamp Earls.<sup>16</sup> The story itself hinges upon the mythical Guy's romance with the Earl of Warwick's daughter, Fellice. Guy's low birth dictated that he should prove himself by going on to perform various acts of chivalry, including embarking on a crusade and participating in dangerous knightly tournaments. His brave feats eventually won the hand in marriage and fortune of his wife. The continued loyalty, steadfastness and feminine virtues of his wife Fellice, in comparison to her husband's constant returns to crusade and battle, is accentuated throughout the various interpretations of the romance. This would, in effect, provide a useful pattern for all future Countesses to follow. By the end of the thirteenth century Guy was adopted by the Beauchamp Earls of Warwick, who continued to build on the legacy and myth of this legend. During the building of the stone east front during the fourteenth century, one of the towers was named after the significant namesake and earl Guy de Beauchamp (d.1315), 10<sup>th</sup> Earl of Warwick, who had famously put to death Piers Gaveston, favourite of Edward II. Guy's relics, including his sword, helmet, meat-fork and porridge pot would remain some of the highlights on display at the castle since at least the sixteenth century.<sup>17</sup> The myth of Guy of Warwick continued throughout the centuries, appearing in illuminated manuscript pedigrees of later Tudor Earls (FIGURE 1.3). Anne painted her youngest son Sidney Greville holding Guy of Warwick's sword next to the infamous Porridge Pot in the 1880s, a painting I will discuss in a later chapter (FIGURE 1.4).

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<sup>15</sup>W. Dugdale, *The Antiquaries of Warwickshire*, London 1656. P. 298. This myth was duly repeated in William Field's historical account of Warwickshire 1815, which would set a precedent for the later guide books and nineteenth century literature on the history of the town and castle, see W. Field, *An historical and descriptive account of Warwick and Leamington*, London 1816, p.3.

<sup>16</sup> See E. Mason, "Legends of the Beauchamp's ancestors; the use of baronial propaganda in medieval England" in *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol 10, 1, (March 1984), pp.25-40.

<sup>17</sup> A detailed description of these relics was published in E. J Wood, *Giants and Dwarfs*, London 1868, pp.84-6.

The power Beauchamp Earls of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries continued to add to the splendour of their ancestral seat. In the mid-fourteenth century onwards the Beauchamp dynasty began to build impressive stone towers, a barbican and gatehouse, to promote the fame and success of their line.<sup>18</sup> The Beauchamp Earls were amongst the most trusted families during the Hundred Years War and were at the key battles of Crecy (1346) and Poitiers (1356). They were amongst the founding members of the Knights of the Garter.

Much of the legacy of Richard de Beauchamp (1382-1439), 13<sup>th</sup> Earl of Warwick, arguably the most celebrated, is intertwined with the women encountered during his life. Myth also played a part in this posthumous reputation, as Richard was involved in the sentencing and execution of nineteen-year-old Joan of Arc in 1431.<sup>19</sup> On his death in 1439, a Chantry Chapel was built in St Mary's Collegiate Church, Warwick, to house his body and marvellous gilt bronze effigy. It remains to this day as one of the wonders of medieval Britain and a reminder of the rich material culture of the medieval Earls of Warwick.<sup>20</sup> It is under Richard's daughter Anne Beauchamp (1426-1492), that the fortunes of the Earldom came crashing down during the Wars of the Roses. Anne's marriage to Richard Neville (1428-1471), then Earl of Salisbury and later 16<sup>th</sup> Earl of Warwick, allowed Neville to wield the power of *Kingmaker* over the throne of England.<sup>21</sup> Neville's premature death in 1471 did not end the influence of his estate and accumulated wealth. These eventually passed through his daughters Isabel Neville (1451-1476) and Anne Neville (1456-1485), whose sizeable inherited estates helped them in their path to marry into the Lancastrian Royal Family.<sup>22</sup> Isabel married George, Duke of Clarence, who through marriage became the first Plantagenet Earl of Warwick. A succession of early deaths meant that the Plantagenet creation died in 1499. Isabel's sister Anne, however, progressed one step higher. Before her father's death in 1471, she became Princess of Wales by marrying Edward Plantagenet, who was slain at the Battle of Tewkesbury in 1471. Anne went on to marry her husband's enemy Richard Duke of Gloucester, the future Richard III. Their marriage was celebrated

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<sup>18</sup> For a full description of the phases of building see N. Palmer, GMD Booth, *Warwick Castle: Barbican and Gatehouse*, Warwickshire County Council 1995.

<sup>19</sup> See D. Brindley, *Richard Beauchamp: Medieval England's Greatest Knight*, Stroud 2001, Chapter 7.

<sup>20</sup> For a description see L. Monckton, "Fit for a King? The Architecture of the Beauchamp Chapel" in *Architectural History*, No. 47 (April 2016), pp. 25 – 52.

<sup>21</sup> The most significant book on the Kingmaker's life, career and politics is found in M. Hicks, *Warwick the Kingmaker*, London 1998.

<sup>22</sup> See M. Hicks, "Descent, Partition and Extinction: the 'Warwick Inheritance'" in *Historical Research*, Volume 52, no. 126, (November 1979), pp. 116-128.

in the Beauchamp manuscripts of the fifteenth century (FIGURE 1.5). The Earldom of Warwick, and the Countesses whose marriages were instrumental in the survival of the title's prestige, would remain synonymous with this turbulent period of English history.

The Victorian owners of the castle may well have known the significant medieval manuscripts produced in the late-fifteenth century. Various female members of the Medieval Warwick family have been connected to the patronage of these.<sup>23</sup> The extraordinary Rous Roll (Add MS 48976), which provides extremely rare visual illustrations of the powerful Countesses of Warwick, and their marriages into the Plantagenet line, was in the collection of the Greville's relations the Dukes of Manchester in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (FIGURE 1.6).<sup>24</sup> Indeed, the provenance of this manuscript suggests it was created during the 1480s under the patronage of Anne Beauchamp (d.1492), who sought to reclaim her inherited estates and realign her family with the new ruling dynasty.<sup>25</sup> Equally, the Beauchamp Pagaent (Cotton MS Julius E IV, part III, ff 1-28), an unrivalled visually detailed account of the life of Richard Beauchamp, was one of the celebrated medieval manuscripts in the British Museum since 1755. This manuscript has also been linked by scholars to Anne Beauchamp's patronage.<sup>26</sup>

The narrative of 'Warwick – the Kingmaker' survived for centuries in the popular imagination. Shakespeare featured both Richard Neville and his father-in-law Richard Beauchamp in his history plays of *Henry VI*. Anne Neville's ghost also appears to Richard III in Shakespeare's history on the same King, alongside earlier entrances related to her various marriages. Several plays dedicated to his story were written and performed in the eighteenth century and received the praise of Voltaire.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>23</sup> A full study of the surviving Beauchamp and Neville manuscripts, in which women play a key part, was covered in L. McGoldrick, *The literary manuscripts and literary patronage of the Beauchamp and Neville Families in the Late Middle Ages, c.1390-1500*, [doctoral thesis], York 1985.

<sup>24</sup> These manuscripts were known and studied by Horace Walpole, and were later published in 1859, and of which four copies survived in other various collections including the College of Arms.

<sup>25</sup> Horatio Walpole, 'Historic Doubts on the Life and Reign of King Richard the Third', in *The Works of Horatio Walpole, Earl of Oxford*, 5 vols London: G.G. and J. Robinson, and J. Edwards, 1798, II, pp. 216-17, 2 pls. between pp. 166 and 167; *Thys rol was laburd & finished by Master John Rows of Warrewyk*, ed. by W. Courthope, London: W. Pickering, 1859, reprint with an introduction by C. Ross, Gloucester, 1980, [facsimile].

<sup>26</sup> K. L. Scott, *The Caxton Master and his Patrons*, Cambridge 1976, pp. 61-64.

<sup>27</sup> In 1763, a new play entitled *Le Comte de Warwick* written by Jean-Francois de la Harpe was performed in Paris and attempted to recast the Kingmaker's tale as a tragedy, a much more sympathetic and romanticised interpretation than those experienced by writers of Tudor propaganda. It even attracted the attention and admiration of the likes of enlightenment figures such as Voltaire, who praised the strength of character of Neville. See C. Todd, *Voltaire's disciple; Jean-Francois de la Harpe*, Modern Humanities Research Association 1972, pp.103-4. Three years later, it was translated and adapted for English audiences by clergyman and dramatist, Thomas Francklin, who premiered the play in the Drury Lane Theatre to much success. His script was reprinted in several editions throughout the eighteenth-century, added too in several printed collections including Sir Walter Scott's, *The modern British drama* (1804), and was reprinted in 1864 and 1879 respectively, see re-printed *The British Drama*, vol. 6, London 1864 ; 1879 by Dicks' Standard Plays, J. Dicks Publishing, London, no. 192.

These early dramas should not be overlooked when considering the enduring fame of the title and castle into the later centuries.

Although the reimagining of the lives of these particular female figures has been of greater interest to historical fiction writers of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, much due to Phillipa Gregory's novels, the importance of these women in the legacy of the Earldom is undisputable. Writers on marriage politics during the Wars of the Roses have been keen to revise the previous assumptions of these women serving the sole purpose of pawns in an elaborate game of faction and court politics. Revisionists have been keen to emphasise the important and much overlooked influence these women played in the lives of their husbands. Rather than frozen out of a world dominated by men, women had their own parts to play in the shaping of the political landscape in late medieval England.<sup>28</sup>

The Tudor age also brought new mythmaking to the Warwick name, showing that the associations were not merely frozen into the medieval period. The Dudley Earls of the sixteenth century were also involved in the complex political realms of marriage and the influence of women. Notably, John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland and Earl of Warwick, used the advantages of marriage politics by supporting the claim of Lady Jane Grey after the death of Edward VI, a melancholic figure who continued to inspire nineteenth-century artists.<sup>29</sup>

After the downfall of John Dudley, the rise of his sons Robert and Ambrose to the Earldoms of Leicester and Warwick was due to the powers of a significant woman. Gaining the favour of the Virgin Queen Elizabeth I allowed the Dudleys to rise to new levels of wealth, power and influence. The Queen's visits to both Warwick and Kenilworth Castles during the 1560s and 70s would be enshrined into the local folklore of the county.<sup>30</sup> Although both Earls died heirless, their majestic tombs and effigies in the Beauchamp Chapel in St Mary's Collegiate Church, Warwick, emphasises their dynastic ambitions of inheritors of the Beauchamp Dynasty (FIGURE 1.7).

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<sup>28</sup> Anne Neville is treated at various points in J. L. Laynesmith, *The last medieval Queens: English Queenship 1445-1503*, Oxford 2004.

<sup>29</sup> Notably including Paul Delaroche's *The Execution of Lady Jane Grey*, 1833, National Gallery, London.

<sup>30</sup> A detailed account of the Queen's visits would appear in the Black Book of Warwick, transcribed and republished in full T. Kemp, *The Black Book of Warwick*, Warwick 1898, pp.94-97.

### 1.3 Greville Ascendancy

The rise in fortune of the Greville family, and particular Sir Fulke Greville (1554-1628), was due to their success at Elizabeth I's court. Despite their origins as Cotswold wool merchants in the fifteenth century, only a century and a half later the family would come to own one of Britain's most significant surviving historic castles. Sir Fulke Greville was eventually bestowed Warwick Castle in 1604 by King James I, after managing to climb the social ladder and gain the friendship of Queen Elizabeth I after the downfall of his cousin the Earl of Essex. Warwick was dynastically important to Greville, as he could claim through his grandmother's bloodline to be a descendant of the medieval Beauchamp Earls of Warwick.<sup>31</sup> In the Queen's final years he secured important administrative positions, including Treasurer to the Navy between 1598-1603. He indulged in the chief pursuits of his day and was a playwright, courtier, soldier, jousting, statesman and poet.<sup>32</sup> Amongst these passions, he was also a great patron of composers, musicians, architects (Inigo Jones designed his London house), artists and cartographers.<sup>33</sup> He later became Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1614 and Privy Councillor in 1621. Greville's efforts, money and patronage saved Warwick Castle from dereliction, a fortress which he transformed into a lavish home.

The tumultuous events of the English Civil War allowed another female figure to influence the fortunes of the family and castle. In 1643 Robert Greville (b.1607) 2<sup>nd</sup> Baron Brooke, a Parliamentarian commander of considerable renown, was killed in action. His wife Katherine Russell (d.1676), mother to Robert's three children, took responsibility for the family's finances and properties in London. Her signature is found in all the family accounts between 1645 - 1659, showing her oversight of the minute details demanded by her deceased husband's estates (FIGURE 1.8).<sup>34</sup> She successfully petitioned Parliament for reparations due to damage for the castle, and cast herself as a 'War Widow' for propaganda purposes.<sup>35</sup> At least four portraits of Katherine Russell survive from the seventeenth century, showing the Baroness mourning the death of her husband with black veil holding

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<sup>31</sup> I have argued this in Op cit. Busiakiewicz 2017, pp. 56-57.

<sup>32</sup> The leading biography on Greville remains R. Rebholz, *Life of Fulke Greville First Lord Brooke*, Michigan 1971.

<sup>33</sup> See A. Busiakiewicz, "We scarcely call these things our own; Fulke Greville's curious collection" in *The Sidney Journal*, (2017), pp.47-76.

<sup>34</sup> For example WCRO CR1886 TN16-TN25. I am grateful to Mr Aaron Manning for sharing his research with me on Katherine Greville's stewardship of Warwick Castle during the English Civil War.

<sup>35</sup> Research on this period is currently being undertaken by Professor Andrew Hopper of Leicester University.

flowers (FIGURE 1.9).<sup>36</sup> Her family too were intimately connected with the arts. Katherine was daughter to Francis Russell (1593-1641), 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Bedford, and sister to William 1<sup>st</sup> Duke of Bedford. The Russells were a family of great aesthetic intentions and were significant and early patrons of Inigo Jones.<sup>37</sup>

Inventories of the Grevilles' residences in London describe the lavish surroundings kept and maintained by Katherine, which included fine gardens.<sup>38</sup> The portraits of these early ancestors were hung in the principal staterooms of the castle during Anne's ownership.

#### 1.4 Eighteenth-century inheritance

In terms of the beginning of the family's deep connection to the arts, the eighteenth century proved a watershed moment. The beginnings of the family's active engagement in amateur art making, alongside their patronage of key artistic figures, was initiated in this century. The Grevilles in the eighteenth century were amongst the many top-tier enlightened Georgian aristocratic families who educated the majority of their children, including the women, in the liberal arts. The period of 1760 to 1830 in Britain and France has been highlighted as an era where the possibilities of female artists were transformed, as highlighted in recent scholarship by Paris Amanda Pies-Gans.<sup>39</sup> This work, which amends the at times narrowing assumptions of the classification of the 'amateur' female artist, mirrors the experience of the eighteenth century Greville women. Anne only had to look back to the great-aunts of her husband's family to find several accomplished women artists. Bermingham had suggested directly that the liberating effects of artistic education for women in the eighteenth century

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<sup>36</sup> Two of these portraits, almost identical, survive in the castle's collection. Another panel survives in Woburn Abbey, and another sold Christie's, South Kensington, 20 March 2011, lot 135. Pasted to the back of one of the Warwick portraits is the story of Katherine, written in a neat nineteenth century hand.

<sup>37</sup> C. Trent, *The Russells*, Barnes & Noble 1966, p. 162.

<sup>38</sup> WCRO CR1886 BL2712; Bishop Corbett's verse makes several remarks on the orchards and gardens at Warwick Castle, including the installation of a walkway up the steep motte 'And thus the workemans art deceaves our sence, making those rounds of pleasure a defence'; John Evelyn later described the gardens at Hackney as "*one of the neatest and most celebrated in England*" and was where Samuel Pepys first saw oranges grow. W. Bray (ed.), *Memoirs of John Evelyn comprising his diary from 1641-1705*, London 1870, p. 228.; Transcribed in R. Latham (ed.), *The Diary of Samuel Pepys, 1666*, vol 7., Los Angeles 2000, p.182.

<sup>39</sup> P. A. Spies-Gans, "Exceptional, but not exceptions, public exhibitions and the rise of the woman artist in London and Paris, 1760-1830" in *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 51.4, (Summer 2018), pp.393 – 416; and presumably expanded at length in the forthcoming book P. A. Spies-Gans, *A revolution on canvas: the rise of women artists in Britain and France, 1760-1830*, New Haven 2022. (Published after the completion of this thesis).

could be felt throughout the culture of the late nineteenth, suggesting a clear link between these periods.<sup>40</sup>

A new age of prosperity in the visual arts and aesthetic prowess of the family began under the ownership of Francis Greville (1719-1773), 1<sup>st</sup> Earl Brooke and made 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Warwick (under a new creation) in 1759. Francis was a considerable patron of the arts whose upbringing allowed him to be exposed to leading figures of taste. Orphaned at the age of eight in 1727, Francis was brought up by his mother's sister Frances, Countess of Hertford. Surviving letters seem to show that it was Frances and the Countess of Pomfret who encouraged him in "...taking possession, with grandeur worthy his blood and fortune, of the noble palace of his ancestors, and not sculking, like a modern hero, in a cheese-cake house."<sup>41</sup> After his Grand Tour of the late 1730s, he initiated a great campaign of improvements to Warwick Castle which had not been refurbished since the late-seventeenth century. His works at Warwick were captured in no less than five paintings by Canaletto and his parkland was redesigned by Lancelot 'Capability' Brown in the late 1740s. This was Brown's first personal large-scale commission (FIGURE 1.10, 1.11, 1.12).<sup>42</sup> His early patronage of portrait painters such as Jean-Marc Nattier, Joshua Reynolds, Thomas Gainsborough and Angelica Kauffman has also received scholarly attention.<sup>43</sup>

Francis instilled a passion for art in all his children. His desire to have his sons and daughters tutored by drawing masters might have been part of a growing interest in a liberal education, inspired by writers such as Locke and Shaftesbury.<sup>44</sup> It seems that the Greville women had been involved in the arts since at least the turn of the century, as the earliest recorded payment to a drawing master is recorded for Mrs Greville [Anne Wilmot] in 1700.<sup>45</sup> Several significant artists and drawing masters

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<sup>40</sup> Op cit. Bermingham 2000, p.227.

<sup>41</sup> Correspondence between Frances, Countess of Hartford, and Henrietta Louisa, Countess of Pomfret, between the years 1758 and 1741, Vol. 3, London 1803, pp. 320-21. (Countess of Pomfret to Countess of Hartford dated July 31 1741).

<sup>42</sup> For the best description of this particularly energetic period of Francis's patronage see D. Buttery, *Canaletto and Warwick Castle*, London 1992.

<sup>43</sup> D. Buttery, "Canaletto's patron, portrait of Francis Greville, 1st Earl of Warwick" in *Apollo*, Vol.CXXXV, No. 359, (January 1992), p.42-47.

<sup>44</sup> K. Sloan, *The teaching of non-professional artists in eighteenth-century England*, PhD thesis, University of London 1986, pp. 116-17.

<sup>45</sup> The payment 'To My Domball teaching Mrs Greville to paint £5 0s 0d' is found in the February 1700 Accounts in WCRO CR1886 TN118. I am grateful for Mr Aaron Manning for bringing this reference to my attention.

have been linked to his sons and daughters of that century, including Paul Sandby, Alexander Cozens, John Warwick Smith, Dr William Patoun, William Austin and later William Payne.<sup>46</sup>

Francis's first child, Lady Louisa Augusta Greville (1743-c.1779), took to the art of print-making, a medium which was growing in popularity amongst women in the eighteenth century.<sup>47</sup> The majority of her prints are works after Old Masters, including landscapes by Salvator Rosa, Guercino, Marco Ricci and Berchem, many of which are found in the Richard Bull album in the British Museum.<sup>48</sup> Her single most original work was a view of her childhood home, Warwick Castle, taken from the Gardens of the Priory in Warwick. Lady Louisa had exhibited her works at the Society of Artists during the 1750s and won the first honorary Gold Medal offered by the society in 1758 for her view of the Priory (FIGURE 1.13).<sup>49</sup> This prize foreshadows, we might argue, awards that Anne would later win during the 1870s and 80s for her paintings on ceramics and screens.

The portraits of the Greville daughters also show signs of a concerted effort to promote the image and fame of women artists. Both Louisa and her sister Frances (1744-1825), later Lady Harpur, had their portraits painted by Angelica Kauffman, commissions almost certainly made by their father the 1<sup>st</sup> Earl (FIGURE 1.14).<sup>50</sup> Louisa's work as an artist was also recognised in Francis Cotes's pastel portrait of her sitting with Lady Anne Somerset, showing Louisa in front of an easel whilst her friend is engaged with needlework (FIGURE 1.15).<sup>51</sup> Furthermore, Francis's youngest daughter and last child Lady Anne Greville (1760-1783) was also an amateur artist. The survival of Anne's self-portrait in pencil at Warwick Castle contains an eighteenth-century inscription indicating she took drawing lessons in Paris up until her return in 1776 (FIGURE 1.16).<sup>52</sup> Indeed, it was this drawing that her

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<sup>46</sup> This is the subject of an article being prepared by the author on George Greville, 2nd Earl of Warwick, and his patronage of John Warwick Smith.

<sup>47</sup> See D. Alexander, *Caroline Watson & Female Print Making in late Georgian England*, Cambridge 2014. Louisa Augusta Greville is featured on p. 18.

<sup>48</sup> The British Museum, London, 1931,0413.1.

<sup>49</sup> C. Grant, "Arts and commerce promoted: female excellence and the society of arts" in S. Barnett (ed.), *Cultivating the Human Faculties*, Associated University Presse 2008, p. 73.

<sup>50</sup> A photograph of the portrait of Louisa Augusta Greville as Hebe by Angelica Kauffman survives in the Witt Library, London. Two copies of the portrait of Frances Greville by Kauffman, after a lost original, survive at Calke Abbey, Derbyshire, now owned by the National Trust.

<sup>51</sup> This portrait survives in the Duke of Beaufort's collection.

<sup>52</sup> The self-portrait contains the following note: The above sketch a very like Portrait of Lady Anne Greville was found after her Decease amongst other drawings of hers, & is evidently an Essay she made of taking her own resemblance and the design of a Picture she meant to Paint in Crayons / Pastels & which was actually begun but only a faint outline traced. Lady Anne had sometimes given hints of having intentions of Painting her own Portrait, but never mentioned being about the execution of it. She had always much reluctance to allow any of her works being seen, her most excellent Taste and Delicacy cause her to be more apt to Criticize her own performances than to be partial to them, or even to judge of them as other did. She never had any Drawing Master, or instruction whatsoever from any Person in any sort of Painting after the time that she left Paris in the Year 1776.

Lady Anne Greville Born 26th of August 1760. Died 26th of May 1783.

relative, Mary Hamilton, later Dickenson, was shown in the Dowager Countess of Warwick's closet in her London home in 1783, along with "all her children's drawings".<sup>53</sup> The Earl and his family's London friends included other significant female artists, including the artist Mary Delaney.<sup>54</sup>

Francis was not the sole influence on his daughters' artistic education. His wife, Elizabeth Greville (1721-1800), *née* Hamilton, 1st Countess Brooke and later 1<sup>st</sup> Countess of Warwick, was an important female patron in her own right (FIGURE 1.17). Recent research has uncovered the extent of her patronage of James and Robert Adam in the architect's first Marylebone mansion.<sup>55</sup> This extraordinary piece of architectural patronage was undertaken during the separation of the Earl and Countess, which occurred at some point in the late 1750s, at the same time when Elizabeth was developing a close relationship with General Robert Clerk. Their eventual separation allowed the Countess and Clerk a considerable financial settlement which resulted in the commissioning of a townhouse from architects James and Robert Adam in the 1760s and 70s. Through both Clerk and the Countess's connections, the Adams brothers were sought out to design a modern townhouse utilising both French, Palladian and Roman influences in the shape of a quadrangle. In the University of Manchester archives there is a plan of the layout of the house which is reputed to be in the Countess's own hand, it both labels the rooms and gives an indication of the layout of furniture (FIGURE 1.18).<sup>56</sup> After Clerk's death in 1797, the house was sold and became the celebrated and eccentric London abode of Thomas Hope, of which much has been written.<sup>57</sup> Such a significant piece of patronage indicates the great importance of the arts in and around the Greville women of this period.

Indeed, the cultural atmosphere of Warwick Castle in the later part of the eighteenth century saw this trend continue to rise. Warwick had even attracted the young Jeremy Bentham to social gatherings at the Castle, perhaps in order to gain a position as tutor to the Earl's daughters. After a visit made there in November 1791, he wrote a letter to one of the younger daughters of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl, offering his services as a musical tutor or "anything else I should be capable of, being turned adrift upon the wide

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<sup>53</sup> Llanover (ed.), *The autobiography and correspondence of Mary Granville*, second series, vol. 3, London 1862, p. 188. The diary entry refers to the new case Lady Warwick had made for the drawing of Anne, which still houses the drawing at Warwick Castle to this day.

<sup>54</sup> R. Bentley (ed.), *The autobiography and correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs. Delaney*, London 1862, p.322.

<sup>55</sup> See C. Thom, "Robert Adam's first Marylebone House: The Story of General Robert Clerk, The Countess of Warwick and their Mansion in Mansfield Street" in *The Georgian Group Journal*, XIII, (2016), pp.125-146.

<sup>56</sup> The John Rylands Library, University of Manchester, Mary Hamilton Papers, GB 133 HAM/1/5/4/1)

<sup>57</sup> D. Watkin, "Thomas Hope's house in Duchess Street" in *Apollo*, no. 505, (2004), pp. 31-39.

world, and out of place at this time.”<sup>58</sup> He describes in the same letter playing Signor Bach’s Sonatas alongside one of the Greville women.

Such cultural heights were realised by the next Earl. George Greville (1746-1816), 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Warwick, continued his father’s patronage and collecting spirit. He reportedly spent a staggering £100,000 on improvements to his castle, including amassing an impressive collection of Old Master portraits by Rembrandt, Rubens and Van Dyck (FIGURE 1.19, 1.20, 1.21). Treasures from antiquity, including the celebrated Warwick Vase purchased through his uncle Sir William Hamilton, also furnished his castle (FIGURE 1.22).<sup>59</sup> His patronage also extended to contemporary portrait painters and watercolourists, of which his friend later wrote that “At that period, artists of celebrated fame were liberally supported at the castle, and generously remunerated for their labour.”<sup>60</sup> He paid for several artists to travel to Italy, including George Romney, John ‘Warwick’ Smith and George August Wallis, the fruits of which resulted in the enrichment of the Warwick collection until the beginnings of its dispersion after the death of Anne’s husband in 1896 and later in 1936 (FIGURE 1.23). Curiously, even illegitimate children of the Earls were encouraged to become artists, with John Westbrooke Chandler (1763/4-1807) exhibiting several works at the Royal Academy between 1787 and 1791.<sup>61</sup> Amateur artmaking also resulted in documents relating to the production of watercolours. Recently resurfaced from the archive is a handwritten manual dated 1786 for producing watercolours by ‘Warwick’ Smith, whose position in the archive seems to suggest it was known to the owners in the nineteenth century (FIGURE 1.24).<sup>62</sup> No fewer than one hundred and fifty-seven watercolours by Smith emerged from the collection in 1936, of which his most impressive Italian views are now in the British Museum.<sup>63</sup>

The legacy and afterlife of the extraordinary patronage, connoisseurship and taste certainly continued into the nineteenth century. The vast majority of the eighteenth-century owners’ collection, drawings,

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<sup>58</sup>J. Bentham, "Jeremy Bentham to Lady Elizabeth Greville [née Greville]: Sunday, 27 November 1791." *Electronic Enlightenment* Scholarly Edition of Correspondence, ed. Robert McNamee et al. Vers. 3.0. University of Oxford. 2022. Web. 19 May 2022. <https://doi-org.lonlib.idm.oclc.org/10.13051/ee:doc/bentjeOU0040344a1c> >

<sup>59</sup> D. Buttery, “The Warwick Vase” in *History Today*, vol. 42, issue 4 (April 1992).

<sup>60</sup> O. Serres, *Letters of the late Right Hon. Earl of Brooke & Warwick, to Mrs. Wilmot Serres*, London 1819, p. 6.

<sup>61</sup> See A. Busiakiewicz: “John Westbrooke Chandler; with a checklist of works” in *The British Art Journal*, XX, 1, (Summer 2019), pp. 82-89.

<sup>62</sup> This is due to the later nineteenth century material found in an around the manual in WCRO CR1886 Box 619.

<sup>63</sup> Sotheby’s, London, June 17 1936, lots 147, 148, 149, 150.

portfolios, and watercolours remained in the Warwick Castle library until 1936. The design and decoration of this room would become one of Anne's greatest pieces of patronage during the 1870s and 80s. At least twelve lots containing large parcels of family drawings were sold in the 1936 sale, including no fewer than seven volumes of watercolours by the 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl and his daughters (possibly rebound in the nineteenth century).<sup>64</sup> If the collection of family drawings and artworks had survived intact, it might have been possible to draw more conclusions that we can at present. Some of these works decorated Anne's London home, which will be discussed at a later stage. Both Anne and her husband were the last generation to benefit fully from being surrounded by the extraordinary achievement of the Earls of Warwick collection, which began to be dispersed under the ownership of their son and heir.

### **1.5 Sarah, 3<sup>rd</sup> Countess of Warwick, and Joseph Severn**

Over the centuries one may observe that each individual Countess had the ability to mould the role into what they wanted it to be. The roles of the various Countesses of Warwick were also influenced highly by external as well as localised factors. However, did each subsequent Countess take the opportunity to use these methods of expression in the same way?

Anne's mother-in-law, Sarah Monson (1786-1851), *née* Saville, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Countess of Warwick, shared many of the character types of a strong matriarchal figure that was possessed by our subject. However, I believe it is useful to compare Anne's mother-in-law's experience as a patron of the arts to that of her daughter-in-law, especially in the realm of interior design.

Sarah Saville, 3<sup>rd</sup> Countess of Warwick, was the daughter of John, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Mexborough, and was first married to Lord John George Monson (1785-1809), 4<sup>th</sup> Baron Monson, who died prematurely in 1809. She later married Henry Richard Greville (1779-1853), 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Warwick, in 1816. Their marriage produced one child, George Greville (b.1818), Lord Brooke later 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Warwick, Anne's husband.

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<sup>64</sup> Sotheby's, London, June 17 1936, lots 154-165.

Very few examples of Sarah's interest in the castle survive, which makes a fascinating contrast to her daughter-in-law Anne. Dorothea von Biron, Duchesse de Dino, described specifically on visit to Warwick Castle in February 1834 that;

The lady of the house is far from being in harmony with the splendid pile which she inhabits. She has been pretty without being beautiful; she is naturally witty, but has not improved her gifts by study. She knows nothing of the traditions of her castle. Her disposition is all towards fun and informality; her bodily habits are nonchalant, and altogether this plump, lazy, idle little woman seems anything but the natural mistress of her vast, sombre, and almost terrifying house. Moreover, everyone seems to me a pigmy in these rooms, to fill which you would require superhuman creatures like the King-maker...The châtelaine cares nothing whatever about all the curiosities with which her domain is stored, and took me through them at breakneck speed.<sup>65</sup>

This quote is perhaps the best explanation as to why the 3<sup>rd</sup> Countess left little in terms of a lasting legacy to Warwick Castle. It was a home that held little personal significance to her, a drastic contrast to Anne. Yet, her patronage of artists did produce one significant work of interior design relating to her first husband's home. Most notably, Sarah was involved in the commissioning of an important set of frescos at Gatton Hall, Surrey, commemorating the premature death of her son Lord Frederick John Monson, 5<sup>th</sup> Baron Monson (1809-1841). Much destroyed after a fire in 1934, Gatton had been purchased by the 5<sup>th</sup> Baron in 1830 and filled with treasures purchased during his Grand Tours of the late 1820s. The architect, Sextus Dyball was to redesign the house to reflect several famous rooms found in Italy, including the marble hall based on the Corsini Chapel in Leterano. His work here, however, was incomplete at the time of his death in 1841.

Lady Warwick turned to fresco painter Joseph Severn (1793-1879) to fill the hall with elaborate fresco work. Severn, who notably accompanied his friend the poet John Keats to Italy, was a founding member of the British Academy of the Fine Arts in Rome. A very impressive unrecorded set of letters between Severn and Sarah survive in the Warwick Castle archive, but are too extensive to discuss

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<sup>65</sup> Princesse Radziwill, *Memoirs of the Duchess de Dino*, BoD 2020, p. 24.

here.<sup>66</sup> Lady Warwick was introduced to Severn through Charlotte Monson, her daughter in-law and Severn's old Roman friend. In keeping with the Italian Renaissance character of the Hall, Severn's fresco scheme included the painting of several trompe l'oeil figures seen standing in arches. Notably, the stylistic details of the schemes were informed by later sixteenth-century Italian art, rather than the pre-High Italian Renaissance era which other British artists were beginning to experiment within the same years (FIGURE 1.25, 1.26, 1.27). Surviving archival evidence shows that it was the artist who led the way, rather than an engaged conversation between artist and patron which became a hallmark of Anne's patronage. Had they survived a fire in the 1930s, the interiors would have probably remained one of the great achievements of interior design surviving from this period.

### **1.6 William Egley and the Warwick inheritance**

In contrast to the disinterested view of Anne's predecessor, Warwick Castle took a centre stage to her artistic interests as both a creator of art and patroness. One surviving document from Anne's papers illustrates her interest in both the eighteenth-century inheritance and medieval historical contexts of her ancestral home. Furthermore, it provides an interesting example of the motivations and potential limitations of her artistic creativity.

From Anne's papers a four-page letter from the ageing artist William Egley RA (1798-1870) written on January 1 1870 has emerged (FIGURE 1.28).<sup>67</sup> A prolific painter of miniatures, Egley exhibited no less than one hundred and sixty-nine works at the Royal Academy between 1824 and 1869. He was also the father of the more widely known William May Egley (1826-1919), whose paintings of historicist and contemporary scenes were produced in the vein of Millais and the other artists associated with the Pre Raphaelite movement.

The thrust of the letter was an encouragement to Lady Warwick to paint an historical work, and in particular, to learn from the technique of Sir Joshua Reynolds.

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<sup>66</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 620.

<sup>67</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 468 (loose), William May Egley, 8 Montague Street, Portman Square, to Lady Warwick. 1 January 1870.

He wrote:

On looking over a Manuscript book the other day in which had jotted down years since a few minor notes connected with the Fine Arts, I met with some notes by Sir J Reynolds & others that I thought might be of some little service to your Ladyship as you are now fairly launched on the sea of Art.<sup>68</sup>

He explains that they “are not theoretical, but on the colours used and the manner of painting by some of the old masters”. The handwritten technical notes cover eight pages titled; ‘Colours used by Sir J Reynolds in 1755 and the preparation of his pallet’; ‘Observations by Sir J Reynolds’; ‘Extracts from a Manuscript Book by Mather Brown’.

Although Egley writes in his letter that he had consulted a manuscript, seemingly his own, the description of Colours by Reynolds had been in print since at least 1842.<sup>69</sup> The ‘Observations’ too had appeared in print since 1835.<sup>70</sup> The Mather Brown notes, however, may well have been from an original manuscript now lost.

From the mid-nineteenth century there was a growing interest in the materials and colours used by Reynolds. Anecdotes, such as the ones Egley attached in his letter, were published most notably in W. Cotton’s *Sir Joshua Reynolds’s Notes and Observations on Pictures* (London, 1859). In the middle of the century, the loose, flamboyant and grand manner style of Reynolds was lampooned with the nickname “Sir Sloshua” by Millais and his Pre-Raphaelite circle. However, it would only be towards the beginning of the 1880s when new money collectors such as the Rothschilds and Iveaghs were driving up the demand and prices for these increasingly sought after works which were appearing on the art market.

What might have spurred on Egley to send these notes to the Countess? It is more probable that this letter was the result of a conversation between the artist and Countess. As he suggests, his notes are based mostly on the practicalities of which colours Reynolds used to build up flesh tones, which

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<sup>68</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 468 (loose), William May Egley, 8 Montague Street, Portman Square, to Lady Warwick. 1 January 1870.

<sup>69</sup> *General Rules for Painters*, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, *The Magazine of Science, and Schools of Art*, London 1842, p.311.

<sup>70</sup> H. W Beechey, *The literary works of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, I, London 1835, pp.87-88.

seems to suggest a pre-knowledge of her interests. The ‘Observations’ recorded focus on the various preparatory paint layers used by various Italian Old Masters, including Corregio, Titian and Veronese. Notes are also composed on the ground of Poussin’s landscapes, and the insistence on making finished sketches of portraits. Warwick’s outstanding collection of Old Masters must have provided ample source of inspiration for Anne. Her son and heir, recounting his youth at Warwick, later wrote his love of painting “...was nurtured in the castle galleries where some of the finest achievements of the greatest masters gave me such measure of their message as I was able to receive.”<sup>71</sup>

Certainly, Lady Warwick had become the custodian of a fine collection of eighteenth-century portraits by Reynolds, Gainsborough and Romney, which exhibited a variety of different stylistic elements relating to techniques and materials. Notably, the Warwick collection contained a portrait of a *Boy holding a Portfolio*, which was purchased directly from Reynolds in 1779 by the 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Warwick (FIGURE 1.29).<sup>72</sup> This painting, which was hung in pride of place in the Warwick Castle library, was executed in the fluid manner and warm colouring of Rembrandt, even Waagen writing in 1854 described it as “exquisite in the truth of the expression, and in the warmth and clearness of tone approaching Rembrandt.”<sup>73</sup> I will argue in Chapter 6 that this portrait may have provided inspiration for Anne’s portrait of her son Sidney made in the 1870s (FIGURE 1.30).

In Mather Brown’s notes, copied by Egley, references are also made to Reynolds’s colouring and technique. Notably, the paint mixtures of vermilion for the facial features used by George Romney are also featured within the notes. The Warwick collection too had a sensational selection of portraits by Romney, purchased by the 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Warwick in the late eighteenth century. The majority of these eighteenth-century portraits seem to have been hung in the Countess’s London apartment in Stable Yard. Indeed, there are several letters in Anne’s papers relating to her collection of Romneys. In March 1882, Anne hosted a visit from fellow aristocrat and Victorian sculptor and Romney biographer Lord Ronald Gower (1845-1916).<sup>74</sup> Gower, a fellow aesthete and friend of Anne’s acquaintance Gustav Doré, might be considered a successful male equivalent of Anne. Gower wrote

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<sup>71</sup>F.R.C.G Greville, Warwick, *Memories of sixty years*, London 1917, p.12.

<sup>72</sup>Sold, Sotheby’s, London, 9 July 2014, lot 44

<sup>73</sup>G. Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, III, London 1854, p. 216.

<sup>74</sup>WCRO CR 1886 Box 467. (Ronald Gower, Stafford House, London, to Lady Warwick, 11 March 1882).

to the Countess to enquire as to her knowledge on Romney's works, especially those relating to commissions undertaken for the 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl (FIGURE 1.31).<sup>75</sup>

The purpose of these notes is revealing. Egley had sent the Countess these notes as a pretext for creating a work of art worthy enough to display. He wrote:

I hear that you are progressing very satisfactorily in your studies, & I hope that you will soon feel sufficient confidence in your powers, to send a fine historical picture to the Royal Academy.<sup>76</sup>

This suggests that Anne was being supervised in her painting, although the identity of this tutor remains unknown.

Egley goes on to suggest a specific subject to the Countess;

I will venture to support a subject – the Trial of Piers Gaveston by the Barons in the Hall at Warwick Castle – there you have a magnificent background all ready to your hands – As the work progressed you would find our interest in it increased daily so that it would be a source of delight not a task – A fine historical picture on the walls of the Royal Academy should be our Ladyship's 'Red Flag at the Fore'... I have no doubt that we can picture in your mind's eye what such a scene as the Trial would be – I think the costume would not be very difficult to meet with, as there are works on the costumes of all periods, at the British Museum. ... I hope that you will not think me impertinent in my suggesting a subject for your pencil and on which to try your skill.<sup>77</sup>

The Trial of Piers Gaveston, confidant and friend of Edward II, in 1312 was one of the tales relating to the History of Anne's ancestral home. Her home already provided a readymade setting for the picture, even though in 1870 the hall would have retained its Neo-Elizabethan character initiated by architect Ambrose Poynter in the late 1820s (FIGURE 1.32).

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<sup>75</sup> WCRO CR 1886 Box 467, (Ronald Gower, Stafford House, London, to Lady Warwick, 10 March 1882).

<sup>76</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 468 (loose), William May Egley, 8 Montague Street, Portman Square, to Lady Warwick. 1 January 1870.

<sup>77</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 468 (loose), William Egley, 8 Montague Street, Portman Square, to Lady Warwick. 1 January 1870.

Gower's reference to costumes is in line with the growing interest for accuracy in historical pictures. Certainly, in terms of medieval 'costume' the castle's rich arms and armour collection could too have provided ample inspiration, as it had for John Brett in 1868. Anne's husband's acquisition of parts of the armoury of collector and antiquarian Samuel Rush Meyrick (1783-1848), through dealer Samuel Luke Pratt, had further added to the quality of the Warwick's collection (FIGURE 1.33).<sup>78</sup> The Pratts had famously supplied armour to the infamous Eglinton Tournament of 1839, another link to a significant moment in the romantic movement in Britain.<sup>79</sup> The castle's collection of books contained the three volumes of Meyrick's seminal illustrated *A critical inquiry into antient armour*.<sup>80</sup> Equally, Egley might have been referring Anne to study the extraordinary Beauchamp Pageant (at the British Museum since 1755), a manuscript made for the Earls of Warwick illustrating, with extraordinary detail of clothing and armour, the notable feats of Richard Beauchamp 13<sup>th</sup> Earl of Warwick in the early fifteenth century.

The Countess did eventually exhibit a drawing of her daughter Lady Eva Greville in the Royal Academy exhibition of 1870.<sup>81</sup> However, it seems no evidence has survived to suggest Anne ever painted the trial of Piers Gaveston. There are several possible reasons. Either Anne did not like the subject, or she lacked the 'confidence in her powers' as Egley suggested. The lack of any finished large-scale history painting by Anne allows for the possibility of all aforementioned restraints. However, the varying oil sketches that have survived, discussed at a later point, suggest an ambition to experiment. Despite this, it seems that Egley's notes might have been of some interest to Anne. This is due to the location of the notes separated from the letter in Anne's papers, and notably coupled closely to other packets of notes relating to the methods of decorating ceramics with painting. Two years after Egley's letter the painter Marcus Stone (1840-1921) produced his own historicist scene of *Edward II and his favourite Piers Gaveston* (1872), which was exhibited at the Royal Academy in

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<sup>78</sup> For the most recent research on Pratt's dealings see J. Tavares, *Samuel Luke Pratt and the Arms & Armor Trade in Victorian Britain*, (unpublished doctoral thesis, Bard College, New York, 2013). For the relevance of Samuel Rush Meyrick to antiquarianism and arms and armour see C. Wainwright, *The Romantic Interior*, New Haven 1989, pp. 60-61, 241-268.

<sup>79</sup> For a description of Pratt's work here see M. Westgarth, *The emergence of the antique and curiosity dealers in Britain 1815-1850*, London 2020, p. 143. For the Eglinton tournament's relevance to antiquarianism see Op cit. Wainwright 1989, p. 22.

<sup>80</sup> S. R. Meyrick, *A critical inquiry into antient armour*, London 1842; WCRO CR1886, Box 807/33. Ms. Catalogue of Books on the Library & Cedar Lobby, May 1914.

<sup>81</sup> The Exhibition of the Royal Academy of Arts, MDCCLXX, London 1870, no. 825.

1872 (FIGURE 1.34). This scene may give us the best understanding of what Anne may have aspired to.

Exactly why Egley might have suggested such an ambitious project is of interest. Certainly, his letter seems to express enthusiasm and encouragement for skills he had already encountered. But, more interestingly, as an artist known for his miniatures it is baffling as to why he would be personally interested in promoting the painting of a large-scale history painting. However, this might be explained by his family connections. Egley's son, William Maw Egley (1826-1916), a painter of Victorian social and historical scenes, may well have also been known to the Countess. Certainly, his son's paintings would have made a better match for those of Anne and the subject matter he suggested. Notably, WM Egley had served as an assistant to William Powell Frith, arguably one of the greatest mid-century Victorian painters, which had propelled him into his own career. The finer descriptions of historical clothing, armour and interiors, embodied by his *The Lady of Shalott* (1858) in Sheffield, would have no doubt resonated with the antiquarian character of the castle's collection and owners (FIGURE 1.35).

## **1.7 Conclusion**

This chapter is intended to be a foundation upon which the later chapters will build. The historic context of Anne's surroundings, and how she chose to engage with them, or instead follow other fashions and avenues of creativity, is of considerable interest and importance. At Warwick, Anne became immersed in a title and family with a great deal of historical precedent in which women had played significant roles in both the near and distant past. In the context of Warwick Castle, Anne was following centuries worth of women who had played their part in the history of the family's title and seat. Considering the antiquarian interests of both the age in which she lived, and her husband and artist friends she kept, her surroundings could certainly have contributed to her creativity. She also had access to a rich and significant collection of Old Masters, British eighteenth-century paintings, watercolours, furniture, arms & armour and other *objets d'art*. These were not just objects that

performed a passive role but provided a narrative for her to contribute her own input and imagination. Not all chatelaines of Warwick made their mark like Anne did. Yet, in her mother-in-law, Anne had a vivid example of patronage which to follow, better and truly make her own. Finally, letters of encouragement from William Egley and others provide evidence from which we may deepen our appreciation of the inspiration both her historic surroundings and inherited collection played on her. Warwick Castle was not just her home, but a place that could inspire contemporary works of art destined for public exhibition.

## Chapter 2 - Rebuilding Warwick Castle – 1853-1871

### 2.1 Introduction

Where you will probably find the Countess is in her charming boudoir, the octagon bow window of which overlooks the river, which here breaks into a babbling waterfall, and the room is so high up as to be on a level with the crows' nests in the trees on the island opposite. From this eyrie boudoir you look on one side upon the quaint old street of brick and timber houses leading to the ruined mill at the foot of the castle; and on the other, you view the river flowing past the grand old cedars on the lawns to a vista of blue distance, denoting the borderlands of Warwickshire and Gloucestershire. The view is so beautiful that Lady Warwick has painted it several times. The room is quite unique. It is panelled with old French carvings painted white, with flowers of the carved wood painted in their natural colours, giving the effect of Dresden china... You will not have been long in Lady Warwick's society before you are impressed with two facts, namely, that you are holding converse with a nature which is all kindness and gentleness, and, that you are in the presence of one possessed of a *bel spirit* which is especially enthusiastic on all matters artistic.

*The Gentlewoman*, Saturday 19 December 1891

The above quote comes from one of the most substantial pieces of published text which praised the artistic talents and interests of Anne Countess of Warwick. Published in 1891, it presents a snapshot of the Countess at ease within a room which reflected her interests in eighteenth-century art, design and ceramics. Despite this brief glimpse of Anne in the 1890s, this room and the character to which we are introduced does not adequately represent the thirty-three years of experimentation and development it took for Anne as an artist to get to this point.

The localised and wider scholarly context of Anne's involvement in re-imagining the interiors of such a significant historic building provides a most compelling backdrop to all of her and her husband's works. The transformation of Warwick Castle straddled several significant changes in the wider

discourse of aristocratic taste, a process which passed through many decades. Its redesign actively engaged with eclectic opposing styles with drastically different associations and connotations. The evocative contrast between the pure medievalism promoted by Ruskin and the extravagant revivalism emanating from Napoleon III's France is typical of the diverse approaches to style and their differing associations. To engage the core questions of this thesis, Anne's work at Warwick also adds depth to some of the scholarly points made on the role of women in interiors during the second half of the nineteenth century. The most significant trend identified by scholars for this period is the more individualistic roles women were beginning to play towards the end of the century. Most notable in recent scholarship is Deborah Cohen's argument that the Women's Property Acts of 1870 and 1882 were a significant driver of this change.<sup>1</sup> It is argued that these pieces of legislation allowed women greater freedom to use their personal ownership of art, furniture and other *objets d'art* to speak for their individualism freed from their husband. This may be so for the majority of the population, however, women like Anne do not fit so easily into this pattern. Anne's case shows that aristocratic women had far greater opportunities to experiment with interiors far back into the 1850s. This generally conforms to recent scholarship by Freya Gowrley, which suggests that the emphasis on the deeply emotional connection with interior of the home was a gradual process that began in the 1760s and developed throughout the subsequent decades.<sup>2</sup> Amanda Vickery had made similar points, expressing that stereotypes women as purely consumers in the Georgian age should be readdressed in favour of a more balanced and discerning view.<sup>3</sup> In essence, might these legislative reforms have reflected a growing trend from below that started well before 1870?

In the next two chapters I shall illustrate how Anne's involvement in the redesign of Warwick Castle's interiors provides a well-documented example of the possibilities aristocratic women had in the realms of architecture and interior design in the mid to late-nineteenth century. Her involvement in the re-development of Warwick Castle lasted close to four decades, which provides the scholar with a

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<sup>1</sup> D. Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions*, New Haven 2006, p.111.

<sup>2</sup> See F. Gowrley, *Domestic space in Britain, 1750-1840: materiality, sociability and emotion*, London 2022.

<sup>3</sup> J. Styles, A. Vickery (eds.), *Gender, taste and material culture in Britain and North America 1700-1830*, New Haven 2006, pp. 1-8 and pp. 253-257.

rare opportunity to investigate the changing role of women as patrons and active participators in this field between the years 1850-1890.

More specifically, this chapter will focus predominantly on the 1850s and 60s. The complex relationships between fashion and personal taste will be at the centre of this chapter. I will highlight those aspects of Anne's patronage that provide an insight into her personal interests, and how these compared to prevailing fashions of the period. How serious were her experiments with interiors? What evidence survives to suggest where her interest lay between strict academic antiquarianism or a proto-Aestheticism? Perhaps a more complex task will be to differentiate Anne's own taste and involvement to that of her husband George, the 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Warwick. Despite this, differences of materials surviving in their papers help to suggest that they did at times pursue their own separate interests. Archival evidence shows a differentiation.<sup>4</sup> Notably, these tastes changed over time, particularly with the rise of interest in Aestheticism which marks out the post 1871 period.

I hope to illustrate how both the local and site-specific contexts influenced and sometimes merged and conflicted with the wider changes of artistic development in Victorian Britain. More locally, Anne's relationship with her husband was a loving one filled with mutual respect for each-other's interests and opinions. This specific context must have played its own part in allowing Anne to become involved with a great deal of the decision-making required in the redesign of the interiors. In this case, her involvement points towards a reformist vision for women in the arts. However, the limits of Anne's abilities and influence will also be presented and analysed against the context of the family's increasingly limited wealth and means.

### The Fire – a backdrop

Although this chapter specifically deals with the 1850s and 60s, it is undeniable that context of Anne's work on the interiors of Warwick hinges around the disastrous 1871 fire. This pivotal event shows that Anne's home was no ordinary dwelling. The event is worth introducing right at the

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<sup>4</sup> To summarise, George's was more orientated towards the antiquarianism of rare books, Italian art, and arms & armour. In contrast, Anne's was rooted in the decorative arts of eighteenth-century France, a style which was associated with femininity in the nineteenth century as I will show.

beginning of my investigation into Anne's work in order to set out some initial context which will be elaborated thoroughly in Chapters 3 and 4.

On the evening of the 3<sup>rd</sup> December 1871 a ferocious fire ripped through Warwick Castle. Reports state that the fire began in Lady Warwick's dressing room, which was allegedly undergoing certain alterations by workmen. Early reports had speculated that the entire castle was lost to the flames, including the vast historic collection - the highlights of which were itemised in some press reports.<sup>5</sup> By sheer luck, the damage of the fire could have been much worse with only the Great Hall and domestic range to the east of the hall being completely gutted. The most historic parts of the castle, including the medieval towers on the east front and the state apartments, were spared. Despite this, news of this unfortunate event travelled throughout the country, with illustrations of the castle on fire even printed on the front page of the *London Illustrated News*.<sup>6</sup> Efforts were made in subsequent reports to combat hysteria at the perceived loss of such an important historic building, many of which focused on emphasising the limited extent of the damage. An illustration of the castle's art collection being saved on the lawn was also published, perhaps to calm the rumours that the fire had consumed all artefacts (FIGURE 2.1). A set of photographs was also made, illustrating the damage to the Hall and the shelled out domestic apartments.<sup>7</sup>

Within a short space of time a group of Lord Warwick's friends rallied around to set up the 'Warwick Castle Restoration Fund Committee', headed by the influential aesthete Sir Coutts Lindsay (to be discussed in Chapter 3). The committee's treasurer was artist Joseph Jopling (1831-1884), husband of painter Louise Jopling (1843-1933). Although I will elaborate on the specifics of this committee in the next chapter, it is worth outlining some basic information. In January 1872, less than a month after the fire, Lindsay published a column in local newspapers about the aims of the fund.<sup>8</sup> It was made clear that although Lord Warwick would be benefitting from funds raised, the greater benefit was to the future generation who would experience the continued existence of this important building for years to come.

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<sup>5</sup> *Illustrated Times*, Saturday 9 December 1871, p. 354.

<sup>6</sup> *The Illustrated London News*, Saturday 16 December 1871, front page.

<sup>7</sup> A set of these are in the possession of the current owners of Warwick Castle.

<sup>8</sup> *Coventry Standard*, 5th January 1872, p. 3.

This must have been particularly painful for Anne and her husband, considering they had spent much of the previous decade remodelling the domestic apartments of the castle. After succeeding to the Earldom in 1853, George was quick to employ architect Anthony Salvin (1799-1881) to extend and alter the domestic range towards Caesars Tower in 1856.<sup>9</sup> This afforded the family extra rooms in a portion of building whose dimensions were little changed since being installed in the 1670s. It seems that Salvin's work at Warwick pre-fire was to rationalise the domestic apartments which may not have been remodelled since the mid to late eighteenth century. The expense of these works begun in the mid-1850s may have contributed to the financial strain of the family post-fire. This is not to mention the vast amounts presumably spent on their significant London residence, No. 1 Stable Yard, St James's, undertaken by Salvin.

In recent scholarship, Peter Mandler used the fire at Warwick Castle as a case study in his seminal *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999). Mandler illustrated that the fire brought to the fore the conflicting and changing attitudes towards the role of both owners and visitors to historic buildings.<sup>10</sup> As such a popular and iconic building, whose proud associations with British history I have already shown, questions arose in relating to the role public money should play in supporting what was, technically, a private residence (to be developed in Chapter 3). So too was the role of the visitor, if they were effectively putting public money into rebuilding private apartments: what should their wider entitlements to these spaces be? Mandler's work places Anne's involvement in the redecoration of the domestic apartments in an interesting context, especially as this was a project that had attracted national attention.

The question of finances for the 'Restoration' even attracted the attention of John Ruskin, who Mandler pointed out should have been the 'best friend' of castles. Despite having overlapped as students at Oxford, even winning prizes at the same awards ceremonies, it seems that Lord Warwick and Ruskin did not know each other personally.<sup>11</sup> Ruskin attacked the Fund publicly, writing that;

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<sup>9</sup>J. Allibone, *Anthony Salvin*, Cambridge 1988, p.76.

<sup>10</sup> P. Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home*, New Haven 1999, pp.102-106.

<sup>11</sup> Lord Warwick received his Master's Degree on the same day Ruskin received the prestigious Newdigate Prize for poetry in 1839.

If a noble family cannot rebuild their own castle, in God's name let them live in the nearest ditch till they can...by all means...let the public subscribe to build a spick-and-span new Warwick Castle; let the pictures be touched up, and exhibited by gaslight; let the family live in the back rooms, and let there be a table d'hote in the great hall at two and six every day, 2s 6d a head, and let us have Guy's bowl for a dinner-bell.<sup>12</sup>

Ruskin's comments reveal several interesting points. Firstly, he believed that it was the duty of the family to sacrifice their own personal comforts to reverse the damage that had been done. Yet, it is also apparent that he was anxious as to what would replace it, that a newly built sham castle would satisfy the public but not connoisseurs like Ruskin.

Later, when writing *Praeterita*, Ruskin used Warwick Castle as an example of architectural beauty whilst ruminating over the many stately homes he had visited in his youth. Perhaps he had forgotten, by then a decade later, his controversial public involvement in the restoration fund when he wrote;

...As I grew older, the healthy delight of uncovetous admiration, and perceiving, as soon as I could perceive any political trust at all, that it was probably much happier to live in a small house, and have Warwick Castle to be astonished at, than to live in Warwick Castle, and have nothing to be astonished at; but that, at all events, it would not make Brunswick Square in the least more pleasantly habitable, to pull Warwick Castle down. And at this day, though I have kind invitations enough to visit America, I could not, even for a couple months, live in a country so miserable as to possess no castles.<sup>13</sup>

Ruskin had visited Warwick Castle in 1847 during a visit to the Midlands including trips to Shakespeare's Stratford.<sup>14</sup> He wrote in his diary that he spent time drawing there which resulted in a highly finished watercolour (FIGURE 2.2).<sup>15</sup> Ruskin also owned Turner's sublime view of Warwick Castle (1830-1) in watercolour, which served as a great inspiration for his own work (FIGURE 2.3).<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> J. Ruskin, *The Works of John Ruskin*, vol 12, Chesterfield 1910, pp.152-3.

<sup>13</sup> J. Ruskin, *The Works of John Ruskin*, vol. 1, London 1871, p.35.

<sup>14</sup> T. Hilton, *John Ruskin*, New Haven 2002, p.113.

<sup>15</sup> According to a card in the Witt Library, London, this work of art was recorded in the collection of B B Macgeorge Esq in 1908.. This picture was published in black and white in *The Bookman*, (October 1908).

<sup>16</sup> Now in the collection of the Whitworth Art Gallery, University of Manchester. It seems that the watercolour was only in his possession for a few years, until he sold it to Colnaghi's in the first half of the 1860s.

Some came to the defence of Lord Warwick, including the *Birmingham Daily Posts*'s proprietor John Jaffray, who asserted that the Grevilles were 'rather the stewards than the owners of a place which belongs to English history, and therefore to all English people'.<sup>17</sup> Both personal and collective stewardship, relating to this important ancient building, I will later argue, became a powerful feature of the post-fire reconstruction.

The family's comparative lack of means was a feature in Anne and her husband's work throughout their forty years of ownership. The Warwick's lack of funds was lampooned in a satirical pamphlet entitled *Cakeless*, a small satirical pamphlet play privately printed in Oxford by John Howe Jenkins (1854-85). A speech, made by a character representing Anne's son who was the Oxford compatriot of Prince Leopold and a friend of the Liddels of Christchurch, was particularly damning of the family's debts in relation to their building projects.<sup>18</sup>

Considering the enormous impact of this event on the public perception of the castle and its stewards, how pivotal did the fire prove in unleashing Anne's creative capabilities? Or alternatively, had her deep interest in interiors already been brewing for some time? Can we chart how the different external contexts across the decades influence Anne? What role did this early phase have in providing a steppingstone for her later work? I will show that archival materials point towards several important features during this phase of work.

## 2.2 First Phase 1850s

Although the 1871 fire initiated a great period of improvements at Warwick, this was not the first phase of renovations made during the century. Works began to improve Warwick Castle only a few

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<sup>17</sup> Transcribed in op cit. Mandler, p.104.

<sup>18</sup> Anon. (J H Jenkins), *Cakeless*, Printed privately in Oxford by Mowbray, c.1872, p.10-11.

Thanks to friends all for cordial toast.  
A fairer bride can no man boast;  
Money's acquired, while beauty's only given,  
A gift from Jupiter the King of Heaven.  
My father, too, great sorrow does he feel  
That he before our altar could not kneel;  
Our noble hall, where fire has made its raid,  
He must rebuild, when all our debts are paid

years after George and Anne ascended to the Earldom after the death of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl in 1853. For academic purposes, it is useful to compare the works undertaken during these two phases completed only decades apart. A thorough analysis, and careful comparison, allows us to chart the changes in Anne's involvement. For example, it is likely that these earlier works had an influence on the later involvement post fire and gave her a chance to prove her talents.

The first phase of improvements was probably initiated due to reasons of modernisation in décor and fashion. The domestic apartments of the castle had possibly not undergone any serious improvements since the late eighteenth century. George's father, Henry Richard Greville, 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Warwick, was seemingly more interested in adding to the castle collection than remodelling the interiors.<sup>19</sup> A letter dated to December 1856 suggests that the Boulle furniture of the castle was already in need of rearrangement.<sup>20</sup>

Acquiring knowledge from the continent seems to have been a key consideration of their early work at Warwick. It is perhaps no coincidence that George and Anne began works at the castle after a prolonged tour of France and Italy undertaken during the years (late) 1854 – 1856. Although George had travelled to the continent before this date, records also show that they travelled to Paris shortly after their wedding in March 1852.<sup>21</sup> Foreign visits seem to have proved a vital influence. It seems they had discussed some of their ideas during their tour with their Italian travelling companions Lord and Lady Somers. A letter from Charles Somers-Cocks, owner of Eastnor Castle, reminisced after works had begun;

A rumour has reached me through my wife whom I sent over to England last month, to spy out the land and bring back the children, that you were building at Warwick – are you carrying out any of the plans & schemes which we talked over at Tours – The Chapel & the

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<sup>19</sup> This included purchasing significant pieces of furniture, including Pietra Dura tables from the Grimani Palace and various pieces of Boulle furniture intended for the State Rooms of the castle. Sold Sotheby's, London, London, 10 December 2015. During my research for the Sotheby's Sale, I uncovered drawings and correspondence between consul William Taylor Money and the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Warwick regarding the sale of these tables. These were reproduced in full in the Sotheby's sale catalogue.

<sup>20</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 628 (loose) Samuel Luke Pratt to Lord Warwick, dated Dec 5 1856.

<sup>21</sup> *Morning Advertiser* 2 March 1852, p. 4.

twisted stair from Plessis les tours. How I did enjoy those few days. It was a pleasant sport in what was otherwise to me, a very dull year.<sup>22</sup>

Lord and Lady Somers too were great connoisseurs in their own right, and friends of Anne and her husband. Their corresponding work at Eastnor Castle in the 1870s will be discussed in the next chapter.<sup>23</sup> Both aristocratic families shared ideas of taste and appropriateness of design and their surviving correspondence illustrates the significance of their relationship and sense of competition. Virginia Somers-Cocks (1827-1910), *née* Pattle, was good friends with Anne and art features a great deal in their correspondence. Virginia, although herself not known as an artist, was sister to the Victorian photographer Julia Margaret Cameron (1815-1879) and artistic socialite and patron Sarah Prinsep (1816-1887). The relationship between the Somers and Warwicks will remain of importance throughout this thesis.

The architect Anthony Salvin Snr. (1799-1881) must have appeared as the natural choice to realise the improvements at Warwick. Having already been involved in several important commissions and castles by the 1850s, including the Tower of London and Alnwick Castle for the Duke of Northumberland, his ability and proven experience in sensitively modernising ancient structures must have proven attractive. Anne's close relationship with Salvin shows that he was very willing to encourage her involvement in the process. Biographically speaking, it is plausible that Salvin's close relationship with his family had played a part in making him more open to the influence of women. His daughters Eliza Anne and Emmeline never married, remained at home throughout their lives, and often accompanied their father and brothers on sightseeing trips. Despite this, Jill Allibone's volume on Salvin makes no suggestion that he encountered any significant female patron throughout his career. A handful of female patrons appear in Allibone's *catalogue raisonne* of the architect's work, most of whom were married women in charge of restoring their local churches. The only two noblewomen who are named are firstly Lady Louisa Giles Puller for a new church and parsonage in High Cross, Hertfordshire. Secondly, a project for a new parsonage in Stanwick, North Yorkshire,

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<sup>22</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 625 (loose). Letter from Charles Somers-Cocks, 3rd Earl Somers, to George Greville, 4th Earl of Warwick, sent from Rome dated December 7th 1857.

<sup>23</sup> Both Somers and Warwick employed architect George Edward Fox (1833-1908) to be discussed in Chapter 3.

commissioned by the Dowager Duchess of Northumberland.<sup>24</sup> Salvin had arranged for Anne to meet the Duchess to view his most recent works at Alnwick, redesigned in the most extravagant interpretation of the Italian Renaissance style.<sup>25</sup>

It is likely that the location of these improvements also lent themselves to be the most appropriate for Anne's involvement. Most of the works during this first phase were based in the domestic wing, rather than the much more publicly orientated Great Hall and State Rooms. The private and family-orientated nature of these rooms would have been the domain of the Countesses of Warwick. Yet, there is no recognisable evidence to suggest that any of the leading matriarch figures had had any influence in these set of rooms before Anne. This theme will be particularly contrasted to Anne's involvement after the 1871 fire, where her impact in the public spaces of the castle was far greater.

How would foreign travel and good connections to an important architect express itself? Stylistically, it seems that Anne and George were particularly fond of creating historic period rooms, each based in a certain style presumably chosen for their appropriateness to the room's function. Their playful and creative use of historic ornament, and fragments of original rooms imported into their historic castle, very much follows the tendencies identified in Clive Wainwright's investigations into the *Romantic Interior* (1989). The influence of the historical romanticism promoted by the likes of the writer Sir Walter Scott had a very significant impact for nineteenth century British interiors, most clearly witnessed in his own house Abbotsford between 1812 and 1832.<sup>26</sup> Building on the revival of interest in the surface-deep neo-gothic, notably employed at Strawberry Hill by Horace Walpole, Scott's intellectually vigorous interest in the Scotland's history produced a highly personalised view of what the past looked like.<sup>27</sup> Developments at Warwick can be linked to this personalised historicist approach. Scott had visited Warwick Castle in 1815 and 1828, where he described the fine collection of art and recounted having been personally entertained by Anne's father and mother-in-law.<sup>28</sup> Wainwright's case study of the improvements to Charlecote Park in the 1820s, located a mere seven

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<sup>24</sup> J. Allibone, *Anthony Salvin*, Cambridge 1988, p. 171, 190.

<sup>25</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 625 (loose). Letter from Anthony Salvin, 11 Hannover Terrace, to Lord Warwick, dated July 28th 1858.

<sup>26</sup> C. Wainwright, *The Romantic Interior*, New Haven 1989, Chapters 6, 7, pp. 147-207.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid. p. 207; for the latest examination of the various motivations behind Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill see M. Harney (ed.), *Place-making for the Imagination: Horace Walpole and Strawberry Hill*, London 2016.

<sup>28</sup> W. Scott, D. Douglas (ed.), *The journal of Sir Walter Scott, from the original manuscript at Abbotsford*, II, New York 1891, pp.153-154.

miles away from Warwick, illustrated how antiquarian interiors and furnishings were employed to conform to the expectations required of an historic building which retained few original features.<sup>29</sup> These interiors, which were created and assembled in the nineteenth century by their owners who aspired to certain historical associations through aesthetic means, share very much the same spirit of Anne and George's work. Compared with George Hammond Lucy, the Grevilles had a much stronger and lengthier bond to their ancestral seat. They also benefitted from tourists on the way to Shakespeare's Stratford.<sup>30</sup>

Aided by a close relationship with London antique dealers, in association with the architectural talents of Salvin, Anne and George were enabled to realise their own personal vision for the domestic apartments at Warwick. Recent work by Mark Westgarth adds further context to this period, as it was the first half of the nineteenth century that was most associated with the rise of the antique and curiosity dealer.<sup>31</sup> Westgarth's resassertion of the role of the antique dealer encourages a close examination of the relationships between patron and supplier of goods. The following chapter will attempt to chart Anne's individual personality, taste, and evidence for her own creative and artistic input alongside these factors.

Where exactly does Anne's influence begin to appear? In terms of archival source material, it is perhaps relevant that little of Anne's actual correspondence from the 1850s and early 1860s has survived. Evidence of her involvement appears in her husband's papers, a clear distinction from her work post 1871. Payments too were made by her husband and from his personal account. This is another clear distinction from the later works in the 1870s, where Lady Warwick begins to use her own personal bank accounts for payments.<sup>32</sup> Anne's own thoughts and feelings are encountered throughout her husband's letters at regular intervals. It is clear from drafts of letters, particularly those which attempt at conveying Lady Warwick's thoughts, that Anne was probably involved in writing them. It also appears that Anne was a more proficient linguist than her husband: there is at least one draft of a letter in French written by Anne on behalf of her husband to an art dealer regarding payment

<sup>29</sup> Op cit. Wainwright 1989, Chapter 8, pp. 208-240.

<sup>30</sup> The guest books from the castle dating to the mid nineteenth century illustrate how many national and foreign visitors the castle received in this period. These are mostly focused around WCRO CR1886 TN1290s.

<sup>31</sup> See M. Westgarth, *The Emergence of the Antique and Curiosity Dealer in Britain 1815-1850*, London 2020.

<sup>32</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 467 – This box is particularly filled with later nineteenth century bills organised and paid by Lady Warwick.

for a chandelier.<sup>33</sup> Incoming papers indicate Anne did write letters expressing her own thoughts to both architects and dealers. However, none of these letters from this period seem to have survived in the archive.

### 2.3 Anne's Boudoir

The quotation at the start of this chapter describes Anne's most private room. It was published as part of an interview for *The Gentlewoman*, a popular magazine aimed at affluent and fashion-conscious women. The Countess featured on the front page as the edition's lead feature entitled *Gentlewomen "At Home"*, printed precisely two decades after the disastrous fire of 1871. Spread over two pages, the article was perhaps the single most dedicated piece of writing which summarised her artistic ambition and legacy. More tellingly, however, it painted a picture of this room being the most significant of rooms associated with Anne, being a space of both artistic refuge and inspiration.

Anne's Boudoir is undoubtedly one of the most characterful rooms of the domestic apartments (FIGURE 2.4, 2.5, 2.6, 2.7). Stylistically, it embodies the taste and interests of the Countess, much of which surrounded Rococo art from mid eighteenth-century France. One of the most intimate rooms in the family's quarters, it is likely that this would have been conceived as a very personal and private space, unlike the other rooms which were frequently used for business matters. In this section I will investigate what elements of its design and execution relate to Anne directly, and what it reveals about her interests and abilities.

Structurally, the boudoir required a slight rearrangement of the rooms in the castle (FIGURE 2.9). Firstly, from late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century ground-floor maps of the castle, it seems that this new room repurposed an older bedroom, with a dressing room in the next room down the corridor. As part of Salvin's plans in this particular corner of the building, it seems that the rooms were restructured to provide greater flow and increased use to these spaces. It is quite likely that this downstairs bedroom was no longer needed, and the adjoining dressing room seems to have been

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<sup>33</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 625 (loose). Letter from Lord Warwick (written by Lady Warwick), to M. Dina (presumably in Paris), dated 7 December 1856.

lacking a servant door or easy access. The transformation of this area towards being a space used for day-time business and occupation is worthy of note.

Warwick Castle did technically already have a 'Boudoir', or closet, in the State Apartments. This small room, located at the end of the State Apartment corridor, would have originally provided an intimate space for the entertainment of women during its original conception in the late seventeenth century. However, by the time of Anne's ownership the use of these rooms would have been during Stately occasions only, or if visitors wished to see the castles collection of small Dutch paintings, landscapes and portraits which had decorated this room since the late eighteenth century.<sup>34</sup> This new purpose-built Boudoir for Anne was a space designed purely for the comfort and enjoyment of the Countess of Warwick and her closest friends.

It is clear that this room was initially designed in the late 1850s, as drawings by Salvin for the ceiling survive dated 1858-9. Anne's son mentions in his autobiography that Queen Victoria was shown her new boudoir, then in the course of being finished, during her visit in June 1858.<sup>35</sup> Although the fire of 1871 required the room to be rebuilt, it seems that this room was recreated much as it had been in the late 1850s. Anne's daughter in-law would later write "there is a tiny boudoir at Warwick and a little upstairs sitting-room in the Italian suite, the decorations of which bear witness to her [Anne Warwick's] artistic abilities".<sup>36</sup> However, apart from this, it seems that this room is rarely mentioned in any serious guidebook.

What does the decoration of this room suggest about Anne's interest in prevailing fashions? Exactly how serious was her approach, and was it more antiquarian or personal in nature? Stylistically, the room is a homage to mid eighteenth-century France, and particularly to the Rococo style of Louis XV. Scholars of the Rococo-revival of the nineteenth century have been correct to point out the effect produced by writings of the Goncourt brothers, who revived the interest in the artistic patronage of figures like Madame de Pompadour, had [over] "fuelled the notion that it [rococo] was a feminine

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<sup>34</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 466 (loose). Inventory of Warwick Castle.

<sup>35</sup> Francis Guy Greville, Earl of Warwick, *Memories of Sixty Years*, London 1917, pp.1-2.

<sup>36</sup> F E Warwick, *Life's Ebb & Flow*, London 1929, p.35.

style...”<sup>37</sup> This prejudice, where highly decorative and ‘pretty’ interiors are related to female taste, survives to this day in popular culture embodied by Disney. Although this prejudiced interpretation was very much one born in the nineteenth century, we might easily assume that this highly decorative Rococo boudoir seems to conform to this assumption. Anne’s very personal involvement in the decoration of this room tends to support that she might have heartily believed this notion, and adopted a style that she found suitable for her own reincarnation of Pompadour, patroness of the arts. Her highly personal involvement suggests that this was not a passive appreciation, but was a key personal interest.

To catalogue its design: the walls are lined with boiserie panelling, over a coffered dado, with carved ornament of Rococo cartouches consisting of s- and c-shaped scrolls enriched with flowers and foliage. The carving is picked out with blue and pink paint, with additional greens, blues and other colours for the flowers, a particularly sugary nineteenth-century embellishment seemingly to attempt to imitate Dresden ceramics, a passion of Anne’s that will be treated in a later chapter.<sup>38</sup> The cornice entablature consists of egg and dart with acanthus leaves painted in the same colours as the panelling. The interior panelled doors are unique, as they contain a Rococo cartouche which envelope a loosely formed circular disk, which on the extremities is decorated with flowers and birds which are brightly painted. The overmantle contains a painting after Francois Boucher, of two female shepherdesses being watched by a shepherd.

The fireplace too, which would have proven more than able to provide heat to this intimate room, is decorated with a richly carved white and red marble chimney piece. Above the marble is a large mirror, framed in carved c- and s-shaped scrolls, crowned with another painting after Francois Boucher. The painting is set against a ground of carved lattice work.

The exterior bay window of the Boudoir, on the south elevation of the castle, existed before Salvin’s improvements, yet was cased in new stone and enlarged during this period. The continuation of the bay to the upper story seems to have been Anne’s idea, as detailed in a letter from Salvin dated 29th

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<sup>37</sup> M. L Hyde, “Rococo redux: from the style modern of the eighteenth century to art nouveau” in *Rococo: the continuing curve* [exhibition catalogue], Smithsonian Museum, New York 2008. pp.16-17.

<sup>38</sup> It is possible that this colour may have only been added after the 1871 fire and might have been painted rather plainly in their initial setting.

September 1857.<sup>39</sup> New carved capitals, composed of florid gothic stiff leaf, decorated the exterior window arches to embellish this otherwise plain external arrangement.

The drawings for the original ceiling (dated 18<sup>th</sup> November 1858), pre-fire, are also a curious mixture of styles that deviates from strict antiquarianism (FIGURE 2.10). The central arrangement of geometric coffering, based on a quatrefoil with squared corners in the creases, is reminiscent of Italian baroque ceilings. The plans show the central motif would have been decorated in neo-classical plaster laurel wreathes, which might have been intended to be gilded. The ceiling niche too would have been coffered with neo-classical ornament, with a rounded dome containing what looks to have been a Tudor rose in splendour. It seems that the design for the niche was rejected, and six months later a simpler arrangement with the possibility of a fresco or ‘painting’ was drawn (dated 8<sup>th</sup> May 1859). These new designs were more in keeping with chosen Rococo style which required greater space over dense ornamentation. The highly skilled Rococo details were encountered on the floor too. A drawing (possibly in Anne’s hand), decorated with polished marquetry containing Anne’s coat of arms (Wemyss lions) adjoining those of her husband, survives at Warwick Castle.<sup>40</sup>

This is a style which had no precedent in any other area of the castle and was almost certainly the choice of Anne rather than the architect. This was a style in which Salvin rarely worked. He had only briefly experimented with the French Baroque style, particularly at Oxon Hoath (1846-7), Kent and Marbury Hall (1856-8), Cheshire.<sup>41</sup> Marbury Hall is perhaps the clearest example the influence born from Salvin’s visit to France during the beginnings of the Second Empire, a period when Visconti’s new buildings of the Louvre were in their infancy. Allibone too suggests that designs of Oxon Hoath might have taken inspiration from its patron’s collection of French furniture, yet it seems again that the influence of France was limited to the exterior only. However, despite the exterior imitations of French architecture, it seems that Salvin never attempted a full French interior, apart from that at Warwick. Generally, Salvin catered more towards a more scholarly gothic and Italian renaissance

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<sup>39</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 628, Letter from Anthony Salvin Snr, Alnwick Castle, to Lord Warwick, Sep 29 1857.

<sup>40</sup> Currently kept in the Warwick Castle collection.

<sup>41</sup> J. Allibone, *Anthony Salvin*, Cambridge 1988, pp. 92-4.

classicism, which was consistently popular amongst British clients.<sup>42</sup> It is possible that Salvin never again designed a room in the French style, making Anne's boudoir an interesting exception.

The room seems to have been a collaboration between Salvin and Anne, with the assistance of artworks purchased from the New Bond Street Dealer, Samuel Luke Pratt (1805-1878).<sup>43</sup> Recent research by Diana Davis has readdressed the pivotal role dealers like Pratt played in the reignited interest in the Anglo-Gallic interior, particularly in the period after the sustain peace post-French revolution.<sup>44</sup> Davis referenced the Pratts as one of the leading dealers who catered for the growing interest in eighteenth century French furniture and panelling.<sup>45</sup> Contained in a bundle labelled 'Pratt', is an envelope addressed to the Countess, covered by a pencil drawing of hers and handwriting by Anne and her husband. Inside is a receipt for 'A set of Louis XV carved panelling for a Boudoir' and 'A very beautiful painted ceiling by De Wit consisting of large Center & 4 very beautiful corners of boys the seasons' at a cost of £200.<sup>46</sup> There is little doubt that Anne would have chosen these herself, perhaps when they were on display in Pratt's fashionable show rooms in Central London.

The question remains whether the panels were carved in the nineteenth century or were eighteenth-century originals. In the 1891, *The Gentlewoman* article the panels were described as 'Old French Carvings', which is suggestive.<sup>47</sup> Full-scale importation of panelled rooms into new settings was generally borne of antiquarianism of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when the appreciation of antique decorative figures and fittings was increasing amongst connoisseurs and collectors. Aside from having a few separate objects or pieces of age and beauty in a new setting, the importation of a complete interior created an illusion of authenticity and a possibility to "recreate the atmosphere of bygone days and to present objects and furniture "in their setting".<sup>48</sup> Both Anne and George seem to have been aware of this growing interest in providing the right setting for the castle's collection of artworks, a trend which scholars have particularly identified with the 1860s.<sup>49</sup> The

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<sup>42</sup> Salvin's work at Alnwick Castle is an exemplary example of this.

<sup>43</sup> For a short biography of Samuel, Henry Joseph and Samuel Luke Pratt, see D. Davis, *The tastemakers, British dealers and the Anglo-gallic interior, 1785-1865*, Los Angeles 2020, p. 269.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid. pp. 56, 66-67, 92.

<sup>46</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 628. Bill from Samuel Pratt, 47 New Bond Street, to Lord Warwick dated 11 Aug 1857. £200.

<sup>47</sup> *The Gentlewoman*, Saturday 19 December 1891, p.1.

<sup>48</sup> B. Pons, *French period rooms 1650-1800*, Editions Fatons 1995, p.8.

<sup>49</sup> J. Harris, *Moving rooms*, New Haven 2007, p.4-5.

castle's pre-existing collection of French furniture was limited to elaborate works by the earlier Andre-Charles Boulle. The arrival of full-fledged Rococo was therefore a new stylistic import into Warwick's history, suggestive of Anne's direct influence.

Pratt is recorded to have purchased and brought to England original boiseries from the eighteenth-century Hôtel de Noailles-Mouchy in the Rue de l'Université.<sup>50</sup> Coincidentally, recent scholarship has never been able to establish what became of these, and it is possible that the Warwick panels were original examples.<sup>51</sup> Although we must assume that Anne was not aware of the provenance of the panels, their high quality is worthy of note.

Anne's boudoir conforms to other earlier experimentations with boiseries in British country houses made in the mid-nineteenth century, albeit on a much smaller and intimate scale. Perhaps it is relevant to point out that the first large-scale importation of French Rococo panels into Britain was in fact due to patronage of the female Duchess of Rutland at Belvoir Castle in 1824. However, it would be misleading to associate the appreciation of the Rococo with female patrons exclusively. Despite this, and a few other rare examples such as at Highcliffe Castle, Dorset, it was during the 1850s that it became more widespread. Notably, this fashion was promoted by the British branches of the Rothschild family, first at Mentmore Towers in the mid-1850s and then at Waddesdon Manor in the next decades but purchased in the same period.<sup>52</sup> These opulent ready-made interiors particularly appealed to newly affluent families imitating the splendour of previous ages, which by the end of the century became extremely popular in mansions and museums in the United States. The Grevilles, one of the oldest aristocratic families, do not fit this profile. It is therefore compelling to imagine that Anne made this choice on personal grounds rather than merely in imitation.<sup>53</sup> The increasing availability of French boiseries, due to the large-scale demolitions and improvements occurring in Paris due to Napoleon III's wide sweeping town planning, is another relevant factor to consider.

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid. p.65.

<sup>51</sup> See B. Pons, *French period rooms 1650-1800*, Fatou 1995, pp. 283-290. It terms of style, decoration and quality the panels do bear a remarkable resemblance to those that came a neighbouring building the Salon de L'Hotel de Saint-Simon Sandricourt, Ru du Bac, dated to 1760 and created by architect Nicholas Ducret and sculptor Jean Hersant (now preserved in the Cincinnati Art Museum); The Hôtel de Noailles-Mouchy famously contained boiseries and paintings gifted by Queen Marie Leszczyńska to the Comte and Comtesse de Noailles, which originated from her apartments at Versailles, See B. Pons, *Waddesdon Manor architecture and panelling*, London 1996, pp. 143-145.

<sup>52</sup> Op cit. Harris 2007, p.65.

<sup>53</sup> Indeed, Anne's husband the Earl was a known opponent of the Jews Relief Act 1858. See *Journals of the House of Lords*, vol. 90, 1857-8, p.570.

Equally, might Anne have been influenced by the Francophile Richard Seymour-Conway (1800-1870), 4<sup>th</sup> Marquess of Hertford, owner of Ragley Hall just fifteen miles away in Alcester, Warwickshire? Although Lord Hertford was a prolific collector of French eighteenth-century art during the 1850s, and owner of several properties in Paris including Bagatelle, it is surprising that no evidence has emerged to suggest that the Warwicks and Hertfords were on friendly terms. In any case, the 4<sup>th</sup> Marquess of Hertford never did transform Ragley into the French inspired château one might have expected. Scholars have pointed out that the Marquess represented a rather atypical collector who happened to be English.<sup>54</sup> His fine collection of French art was mostly unknown during his lifetime.<sup>55</sup> In contrast, Anne and George, with their nationally important English castle, were not Francophiles of the same kind, although Britain's recent siding with the French during the Crimean Wars may have softened relations politically.

Returning to the ceiling, the 1891 *The Gentlewoman* interview describes how the original ceiling for this room by De Wit was destroyed. Another ceiling painting by Dutch artist Jacob de Wit (1695-1754) still survives at the castle in an upstairs bedroom. It transpires that this particular one was purchased after the 1871 fire (FIGURE 2.11).<sup>56</sup> A watercolour of the original ceiling in Anne's hand survives amongst several drawings and plans of the room (FIGURE 2.12). Unfortunately, it is not possible to identify the scene. Other examples of his work make marvellous effect of *trompe l'oeil*, creating brilliance of depth and most often depicting figures from a forty-five-degree angle.<sup>57</sup> The four corners contained scenes of putti representing the seasons in grisaille, creating the visual effect of moulded plaster rather than flat oil on canvas.

Although heavily inspired by the art of Rubens, De Wit's painting takes stylistic inspiration from the developments of late Baroque and early Rococo art emanating from the early works of pre-Boucher painters such as François Lemoyne (1688-1737), which contained a brighter palette and less murky

<sup>54</sup> A. Laing, "Playful perfection; Boucher in Britain" in *Country Life*, 179 (1986), p.1566.

<sup>55</sup> His unrivalled collection of French art was largely only unveiled by the philanthropic outlook of his illegitimate son Sir Richard Wallace, and would eventually be reborn in 1900 as the Wallace Collection.

<sup>56</sup> De Wit's ceiling remaining at Warwick Castle depicts the Rape of Ganymede, showing the young Ganymede being whisked off by Jupiter (in the form of an eagle) surrounded by the gods perched on clouds. De Wit's drawing for this particular ceiling was sold at Christie's, London, 4 July 1927, lot 12 (it doesn't seem to have ever been in the Warwick collection). This is now in an upstairs room known as the Italian Library, which was initially designed as a bedroom (discussed later). It is surprising that neither painting features in the extensive study on the artist by D. M. A. Staring, *Jacob de Wit 1695-1754*, Amsterdam 1958.

<sup>57</sup> See G. van den Hout, "'Kapitale Kunsttaferelen' – Jacob de Wit als schilder van plafondstukken" in J. Boonstra, G van den Hout (ed.), *Inde wolken Jacob de Wit als plafondschilder*, [exhibition catalogue], Bijbels Museum 2000, pp. 44-61.

shadowing than painters of the previous generation. It is possible that George and Anne were fond of De Wit as they owned a significant collection of thirty-six ceiling designs by De Wit in red chalk on paper after Rubens, the near complete collection of which now resides in the British Museum.<sup>58</sup> Whether it was De Wit they were admiring, or Rubens, of whom they had an impressive collection of paintings and drawings, is debatable.<sup>59</sup> It is possible that De Witt was favoured more for the fact that his paintings were less celebrated and thus more financially accessible.<sup>60</sup>

What was Anne's relationship with the paintings she amassed in her Boudoir? Was the room designed for the presentation of significant French art works, or was it more decorative in nature? The Warwick collection contained no serious examples of French Rococo painting prior to Anne's involvement, the exception being two particularly fine family portraits.<sup>61</sup> There are very few documents relating to any French paintings purchased by Anne or her husband. One particular letter survives from Lord Somers to the Earl explaining; "I congratulate you on your success with the Boucher, it is really a prize – there is no doubt one can pick up wonderful bargains sometimes at sales, but I cannot say that I ever did."<sup>62</sup> This may be the only reference to a French Rococo art work found in George's papers, which are almost exclusively dedicated to Italian pictures and Old Masters. This Boucher must have been one of the copies that found its way into Anne's boudoir. Paintings by Boucher were continually prized by British collectors in the nineteenth century, whilst being out of fashion in France for much of the century. However, when taken into context, the ceiling by De Wit and overmantles after Boucher at Warwick do tend to conform to the suggestion by scholars that the interest in French painting during the nineteenth century by English collectors was inseparable from their passions for interior decoration.<sup>63</sup> Davis made this point in the Anglo-Gallic interiors for the London Townhouse of the connoisseur and collector Lionel Nathaniel de Rothchild (1808-1879), begun in the same year

<sup>58</sup> The series of drawings begins at BM Collection number 1921,0411.26.

<sup>59</sup> A search through the Lugt Art Sales and Getty Provenance Indexes indicate that very few pictures by the artist were bought or sold at public auction in this period, with no ceiling paintings being mentioned at all. Notably, Alphonse James de Rothschild, a member of the French arm of the family, had acquired a ceiling by De Wit in 1857, see D. M. A Staring, *Jacob de Wit 1695-1754*, Amsterdam 1958, p.84.

<sup>60</sup> Perhaps the ceiling was acquired by Pratt during his travels in the Netherlands, and could well have been ripped out of a town house in Amsterdam or the Hague, where most of his paintings were and are still to be found. Pratt's acquisition of a door reputedly from Rubens's House, Antwerp, will be discussed later in this chapter.

<sup>61</sup> These depict the 1st Earl and Countess of Warwick by Jean-Marc Nattier completed in 1741 and 1754 respectively. The portrait of Francis Greville, 1st Earl of Warwick, was Sold Sotheby's, London, 3 December 2014, lot 42; and the portrait of Elizabeth Hamilton, 1st Countess of Warwick, is in the Frick Collection, New York. It seems that they left the Warwick Collection at some point during the turn of the century, perhaps just after Anne's ownership.

<sup>62</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 625 (Loose) (Lord Somers to Lord Warwick, The Priory Reigate, April 18 [1856?]).

<sup>63</sup> J. Whiteley, "Collectors of eighteenth-century French Art in London 1800-1850" in G. Faroult, M Preti, C. Vogtherr (ed.), *Delicious decadence; the rediscovery of French eighteenth-century painting in the nineteenth century*, London 2014, p.58.

as the French panels were purchased for Warwick.<sup>64</sup> It is undeniable that these paintings would have played their part for decorative effect in a complete setting, rather than to be admired as individual objects. In comparison, the State Apartments of the castle, where all the prized Flemish, Dutch and British portraits were kept, never seem to have been furnished with any serious piece of Rococo painting. Anne's boudoir was the sole exception.

The arrangement of the ceiling was obviously important to Anne. A letter from Salvin dated 30 June 1858 explains that this drawing (FIGURE 2.12) might have been connected with her ideal arrangement of the figures in the four corners of the picture. A letter written by Pratt on the same day refers to letters that Lady Warwick was sending him regarding the arrangement of the ceiling paintings, of which he then continued to discuss with Salvin. Comparing Anne's watercolour to Salvin's plan, it seems that Anne had possibly suggested a more decorative border than Salvin had anticipated, decorated with flowers bands in line with the seasons represented by the grisaille putti. This overcomplicated decoration, which was not used, would have almost certainly spoil the balance and deception of this Rococo-revival room.

It seems that Anne was directly involved in writing to both Pratt and Salvin regarding the progress of the room's construction. However, Anne's suggestions during the 1850s are far more evident in Salvin's letters than those of Pratt, who was after all more of a commercial dealer. It is possible that they did not entirely see eye-to-eye, born perhaps by a lack of patience, and, in an undated letter to her husband she wrote, 'I am so glad to have had it out satisfactorily with Pratt & I long to see the things in the rooms.'<sup>65</sup>

Salvin's friendly nature and his convivial relationship with Anne is also apparent. After suffering a heart-attack at Warwick Castle 1857, and whilst taking respite in Dover during December, he wrote to the Earl of his recovery and mentions that he was seeking houses suitable for Lady Warwick to stay in. Often mentioning Anne's sketching, he jovially ends with '...best regards to Lady Warwick, to whom say there is no end of things to sketch [here], live & dead.'<sup>66</sup> Although Salvin would have been

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<sup>64</sup> Op cit. D. Davis 2020, pp. 232–237.

<sup>65</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 625 (loose). Letter from Lady Warwick to Lord Warwick, undated.

<sup>66</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 628 (loose). Letter from Anthony Salvin Snr, 6 Marine Parade, Dover, to Lord Warwick, 11 Dec 1857.

expected to have been courteous to Anne's presence, it seems that there was a genuine respect for her thoughts on aspects of aesthetics and design, albeit in a playful manner. Once more, Allibone's study on Salvin gives no account of any female patron with whom Salvin conversed on both a professional and private level.

It is miraculous that the panels were saved after the 1871 fire, and presumably re-installed in very much the same fashion. Later letters reference the fact that they required scraping and sanding down, suggesting the panels had suffered partial damage.<sup>67</sup> It is presumably at this point when the current bright colour scheme of paint was added. The post-fire transformation of this room will be discussed in a later Chapter.

## 2.4 Paris Exhibitions

One of the key influences of Anne's work during this era was her visits to foreign exhibitions. We may observe that these were more than just trade shows to the Countess, but were places where knowledge could be acquired. This was knowledge which was put into practise at Warwick. Anne's Boudoir represents a long interest in French art, and the movements which were initiated by the exhibitions of the mid to late nineteenth century. This interest may well have begun at the Great Exhibition of 1851, an event which scholars have reasserted as containing great deals of furniture and wares in the French as well as traditional English styles (as highlighted by *The Kenilworth Buffet* in the Introduction).<sup>68</sup> Much evidence has survived to show that Anne was very keenly interested in the increasingly new opportunities experienced in France for commissioning furniture and artworks at these later continental exhibitions, as well as making observations of historic sites and buildings.

Shortly after her husband's rise to the Warwick Earldom, both George and Anne escaped on a prolonged two-year continental tour between (late) 1854 - (late) 1856. The primary destination of their travels was Italy and France. The journey was undertaken with servants and their two infant sons Francis (b.1853) and Alwyn (b.1854). A surviving account book details their journey starting in

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<sup>67</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 626 (loose).

<sup>68</sup> Op cit. Davis 2020, pp. 92-95.

Tuscany in November 1854, leading to Florence over the new year, heading to the Italian Lakes in April, Naples in May, Rome in June, Sienna and then to Leghorn by the end of the month.<sup>69</sup> Next was Geneva by boat at the end of July, and they then made their way through France arriving in Paris in mid-October (possibly staying at the Hotel Mirabeau on Rue de la Paix). It is likely that their children were sent home in March of the next year, but Anne and George stayed in Paris till early April, before making their way back to Italy by the end of April where they continued to travel until at least June 1856.<sup>70</sup>

The birth of their third son, the aptly named Louis, occurred in Paris on 1<sup>st</sup> January 1856. George and Anne would have been in Paris during the *Exposition Universelle* of 1855 (15 May – 15 November), which was initiated as France and Emperor Napoleon III's answer to Britain's own wildly successful 1851 exhibition at the Crystal Palace. George had toured the exhibition with Lord Somers, and it is hard to imagine Anne did not couple up with his wife Virginia. It is likely that George had met the then exiled Louis-Napoleon in late 1838, as he is recorded as being entertained by his father, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl, at Warwick Castle during his trip to England during that year.<sup>71</sup> Prince Louis Napoleon's signature appears in a Warwick Castle guest book from the nineteenth century, only recently identified.<sup>72</sup>

Nevertheless, Anne would have been able at the 1855 exhibition to have seen first-hand the increasing fascination for the revival of French styles in both furniture and the decorative arts. Scholars writing on the exhibitions of Napoleon III have also been keen to emphasise their political nature, in which the abundant eclecticism played its part in sweeping away the government, academic and aristocratic control over the arts in favour of the triumph of popular and heavily consumerist taste.<sup>73</sup> As an aristocrat with a rich collection of art from varying centuries, and coupled with her artistic sensibilities, it is understandable why Anne would have found the enormous variety and styles of objects on display of such great interest, allowing her to explore perhaps her own interests for particular periods and styles. Jackson & Graham's *Cabinet*, designed by Alexandre Eugène Prignot

<sup>69</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 477 (loose). Account Book.

<sup>70</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 477 (loose). Account Book.

<sup>71</sup> B. Jerrold, *The Life of Napoleon III*, London 1875, p.86.

<sup>72</sup> WCRO CR1886 TN 1293 Possibly during late November 1838.

<sup>73</sup> P. Mainardi, *Art and politics of the Second Empire*, New Haven 1987, p.2-3.

exhibited in 1855 and now in the Victoria & Albert Museum, encapsulates the growing interest in the experimentation of styles and materials perfected in eighteenth-century France. These fairs, in their own way, provided artists and makers a chance to show their skill to perspective buyers.

In contrast to the new extravagant artworks in the exhibition, the travel accounts also indicate that George and Anne had spent time visiting sites of historic and artistic interest, including the Palace of Versailles in February 1856.<sup>74</sup> By 1856 the Palace had been transformed into a museum dedicated to the history of France, filled with artworks relating from the earliest periods till the present day, from which Anne and George would have been able to draw inspiration.

After Louis's birth, and after recovering from a brief illness, it seems that both Anne and her husband were keen to personally go and seek out items for the Castle and possibly their London home. Anne and George seem to have done a great deal of searching for artworks on their own. This is a testament to their personal interest in the arts. In contrast, patrons such as the 4<sup>th</sup> Marquess of Hertford purchased most of his greatest artworks through agents.<sup>75</sup> Although this might have been a luxury the Grevilles might have chosen to forsake, it is more likely that the search for artworks and fittings was of enormous personal enjoyment to them both. It is clear that Anne did not approach this activity as an aimlessly wandering amateur but with a serious attitude. A significant notebook in Anne's papers has revealed an extensive list made on visits to Paris in 1856 and 1867 entitled 'Directions of Curiosity Shops in Paris' (FIGURE 2.13). It is possible that part of this might have been undertaken with the assistance of her husband, yet the handwriting is certainly Anne's. For the first half, there are no fewer than ninety-nine dealers listed by street, name, and notes on objects and prices of interest. This mirrors the vast number of lists which are found in Anne's papers in particular, which meticulously list artworks objects, with prices, that she found appealing. To visit so many dealers would have been no easy task, suggesting that it must have been a labour of love and undertaken over the full three months of their stay in Paris.

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<sup>74</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 477 (loose).

<sup>75</sup> The 4th Marquess of Hertford's letters to his agent Mawson were transcribed and annotated in J. Ingamells, *The Hertford Mawson letters*, London 1981.

From analysing the list of names, and their locations, it is also clear that Anne was not sticking to the larger celebrated dealers, but visited the smaller and more obscure ones too.<sup>76</sup> Occasionally, small words are included to describe whether the object was of good quality, and she could differentiate between new and old, and even ‘good but dear’.

Leaving ceramics and Limoges enamels aside, the list of objects is rather eclectic. However, a reoccurring feature are chairs, particularly those described as ‘Louis XVI or XV’ or even ‘L.15’. A set of drawings of hers, with various styles of chair with prices and written details of their decoration, shows how seriously she took this task (FIGURE 2.14). Evidence shows Anne was in the market for a suite of chairs, rather than individual showpieces, often giving the price for each chair and a breakdown if left white or gilded. This too conformed to a growing appreciation for comfortable chairs in grand interiors of a greater number than previous ages, a notable feature in Napoleon III’s apartments in the Louvre completed 1852-7.

Textiles are another key item encountered in her list. This includes tapestries, of no specific date, smaller elements of which might have been used for screens. Silks and curtains are the most reoccurring textile. Several references are made to silks specifically for chairs, indicating that the Countess was considering reupholstering chairs she was intending to buy. The travel accounts refer to regular withdrawals of cash for personal use, possibly for purchasing artworks. 30 francs 15s for ‘Cash for Lady W’s Silk’ and another 40 francs for a Bill are recorded in February, however, in March 1856 a ‘Bill for Silk’ is noted as costing 2,000 francs, by far one of the costliest expenses entered into the account book. Notably, apart from some ‘terra cotta heads’ on the Rue le Mercier, no other sculpture is mentioned.

Two suites of Louis XVI chairs, the surviving suite consisting of four (and five) chairs, two armchairs and one sofa, must have been purchased in this period. They were sold by the current owners of Warwick Castle in January 2018 (FIGURE 2.15).<sup>77</sup> Although several dealers are mentioned in the notebook as having chairs in the style available, it is probable that Anne turned to Parisian furniture

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<sup>76</sup> Some addresses contain no name, apart from *curiosite*, suggesting very low-key premises.

<sup>77</sup> Sold Sotheby’s, London, 17 January 2018, lot 46-7.

makers Guéret Frères. A business card of theirs contains a full list of costs for single chairs, armchairs, and sofas both gilded and left ‘white’. Denis-Désiré and Onésime Guéret, the founding craftsmen, were regular exhibitors at the exhibitions since the 1855 exhibition. The card details their address as 5, Boulevard de la Madeline, a premises they occupied between 1863-70. This suggests that the suite was likely to have been commissioned after Anne and George visited the 1867 Paris Exhibition. In comparison, the Warwick suite of chairs are far more faithful to the style and design of French chairs of the period. Their medallion backs and carved neoclassical ornaments of laurel and acanthus leaves comes close to the proportions and quality of original eighteenth-century furniture. One set, which retains its original reddish-pink woven silk, seems to have been positioned in the Palmyra-ceilinged Green Drawing Room during the nineteenth century.<sup>78</sup> The striking clash of colours however, between pink and green, betrays this arrangement as a nineteenth-century one. Part of the other suite, in blue silk (possibly reupholstered in the twentieth century), seems to have been split between Anne’s Rococo boudoir and other rooms in the domestic apartments. Later photographs of the castle’s primary State Rooms shows the vast number of comfortable chairs now available for use (FIGURE 2.16).

The second section of the list, dated 1867, is labelled ‘Exhibition Paris Oct 1867’. Napoleon III’s second exhibition continued to showcase France’s impressive artistic and technological advancements to millions of visitors who flocked to visit it. It seems Anne visited the exhibition with Lady Somers, as her name appears as having possibly purchased some red and silver damask.<sup>79</sup> Again, individual exhibitors are listed with their addresses and objects of interest. Ceramics and enamels are the principal interest of this section, and will be addressed in Chapter 6. Other notable furniture makers are listed and starred, including Fourdinois, who exhibited an outstanding ebony and gilt cabinet on a stand, which was awarded the Grand Prix and now on display at the Victoria & Albert Museum.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>78</sup>WCRO CR1886 503/2. The inventory of 1893-4, made on George’s death, describes no fewer than eleven of the chairs with six arm chairs en suite.

<sup>79</sup>WCRO CR1886 Box 468 (loose). 12.Rue des Petits Thoueas (?), red & silver damakes, 1 set beauvais – Ldy Somers...blue set. Louis 15.’

<sup>80</sup> For full catalogue description see <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/Q59326/cabinet-hiltaire/> [accessed January 2018].

Unfortunately, the interiors of Anne's London residence are near impossible to reconstruct.<sup>81</sup> It seems although inventories that list the furnishings survive, there are no surviving period photographs of the interiors. One photograph dating to the first half of the eighteenth century shows a finely panelled room, probably dating to the original scheme laid out by William Chambers. There are letters however to show that Anne was interested in the redecoration of the interiors in the 1850s, including small references to purchasing of wallpaper.

## 2.5 The Italian Library

If Anne's boudoir was her opportunity to express herself, then the newly designed library may have been a shared project. The library, which occupied half the space it did before the fire and was decorated with a richly carved ceiling and decorated in fine old specimens of carved wood, was still described as being incomplete in 1870.<sup>82</sup> It is interesting to note that there is little to suggest that Anne was involved in the redecoration of the first library redesigned in the 1850s. All the correspondence that survives suggests that it was the passion of Anne's husband that led the way. Although the large lists of books that survive in Anne's papers suggest that she was well read, it seems that the collecting of books, especially those relating to Shakespeare, was her husband's true passion.<sup>83</sup>

In contrast to Anne's French Boudoir, it is interesting to ruminate over why the Italian (presumably Renaissance) style was preferable in this room. If the Goncourt associations with the Rococo were related to femininity and Pompadour, as appropriate for a Boudoir, then the Italian renaissance evoked more refined and studious ideals associated with a library. It was during the 1840s that British tourists and arbiters of taste were beginning to rediscover Italian art and architecture of the late gothic. Renaissance art had long been appreciated in England, with serious collections of paintings being formed earlier in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (including examples found at Warwick).<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Warwick House, located in the heart of St James's, is still a private residence and attempts to gain access have been unsuccessful. It is for this reason that a thorough examination of Anne's London residence has been outside of the scope of this thesis.

<sup>82</sup> H T Cooke, *An Historical and Descriptive Guide to Warwick Castle...*, ninth edition, Warwick 1870, p.88.

<sup>83</sup> George managed to amass a significant collection of Shakespeariana, with the assistance of James Halliwell-Phillips. This included a vast number of texts and versions of the first folio, which ended up becoming the foundation of the Folger Library, Washington. The development of this museum will be explored in the next chapter.

<sup>84</sup> For an overview of the reception of the Italian Renaissance in Britain see J. Hale, *England and the Italian Renaissance*, Oxford 1954.

Direct travel in Italy during the mid nineteenth century would inspire Ruskin, and a new generation of artistically minded figures, to revisit the various schools of Italian Art for his volumes of *Modern painters* (particularly the second volume published in 1846 which featured a great emphasis on Italian Art) and eventually culminating in *The Stones of Venice* (1851-3).<sup>85</sup> Literature from the Italian renaissance too was receiving greater attention than before, with Rossetti's *Early Italian Poets from Ciullo d'Alcamo to Ante Alighieri* published in 1861. George's interest in collecting Italian Old Master Drawings is also particularly pertinent to the setting of a library, where they must have been kept in folios. The most valuable of his drawings sold after his death in 1896 were Italian pictures, including works by Bellini, Correggio, Ghirlandaio, Leonardo, Lippi, Michelangelo, Morretto and Raphael.<sup>86</sup> As already noted, the artworks discussed in his papers relate mostly to Italian works, and letters received from Lord Somers often focus entirely on Italian works.<sup>87</sup> Famously in 1840, J G Crace's lower library for the 6<sup>th</sup> Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth channelled the Italian Renaissance through the lens of France to create a library of serious intentions yet with a colourful gaiety.<sup>88</sup> In contrast, the library at Warwick must have felt like a more serious antiquarian approach towards the recreation of a late fifteenth or sixteenth-century Italian panelled room.

The archival evidence suggests that historic panelling for this room was also purchased through Pratt, and contained vast amounts of original fragments.<sup>89</sup> Frustratingly, no photographs have survived to indicate what the room looked like.

By far the most significant detail of the library was an elaborate marble door surround reputedly from Ruben's house in Antwerp (FIGURE 2.17). Letters and drawings survive which Pratt sent from

<sup>85</sup> C. Harrison, C Newall (ed.), *The Pre-Raphaelites and Italy*, Oxford 2010, p.5-9.

<sup>86</sup> Christie's, London, 20 May 1896, Lot 213, Head of a Young Girl in black and red chalk, sold for £480. Now in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Lot 232, The Virgin supporting the body of Christ in black chalk. Now in the British Museum.

<sup>87</sup> One such example, which features a long description of Italian pictures seen and up for sale, can be found in WCRO CR1886 Box 625 (loose), Lord Somers, Venice, to Lord Warwick dated 14 Nov 1854.

<sup>88</sup> M. Aldrich, "The Victorian Craces, c.1830 to 1899" in *The Craces: Royal decorators 1768-1899*, Brighton 1990, p.63-4.

<sup>89</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 625 (loose). Samuel Luke Pratt, 42 New Bond Street, to Lord Warwick, dated March 23 1857. 12 Rich carved friezes as pattern – (different designs)

2 Bolder ditto for friezes or cornices of doors

3 Ditto for panels

2 Plain with center panels

1 very rich ditto probably (chimney piece)

17 Figure pilasters

2 Shorter ditto diff design

2 shorter ditto

6 other pieces

Brussels offering the doorway to the Earl.<sup>90</sup> His price of £120 must have proved very attractive, and the doorcase did eventually make its way to the castle's newly designed library.<sup>91</sup> The chimney piece, purchased by Lord Rothschild, is still in situ at Mentmore Towers, remodelled during this exact same period.

Contrasted to the architectural elements highlighted above, Anne's involvement in this room might have been constrained to the drapery and furniture. The few letters and receipts also suggest that Anne was heavily involved in choosing the drapery, curtains and other materials for the new rooms. As early as 1856 Pratt wrote to the Earl explaining 'I have this day sent off a parcel of some different specimens of ancient Italian appliqué work for Lady Warwick's inspection'. Anne's concern for these perhaps minor decorative details is suggestive of her willingness to be involved at all levels of creating the perfect setting, rather than outsourcing this work to other agents or suppliers.

A notebook of Italian dealers, similar to the French book, also survives in Anne's papers.<sup>92</sup> Alongside a few sketches of Italian buildings, churches and landscapes, the majority of drawings are of Italian Baroque and Renaissance furniture. It is likely that these represent objects purchased by Anne and her husband, yet they are treated in a less systematic and more haphazard fashion than in the French notebook. There are also lists of flowers and fauna, and drawings of Italian coffered ceilings, almost certainly made during visits to palaces and their gardens.

Anne's artistic spirit reveals itself in a relatively comprehensive set of letters which survive between George and the British diplomat and collector Sir James Hudson (1810-1885). Hudson, described as an 'Italiophile per excellence', doubled up as an agent (with assistance from his enormous web of Italian dealers), helping to import artworks back to Britain including for Charles Eastlake and the National Gallery.<sup>93</sup> Most of the letters concern furniture which Sir James was sourcing for the Earl, which included cabinets, side tables, caskets and paintings (by Bordone and Luini) which were

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<sup>90</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 625, Samuel Pratt, Brussels, to Lord Warwick dated Sep 6 1864. "On my way to Germany I have had the good fortune to purchase the celebrated doorway from Ruben's House at Antwerp in Black & White Marble & Red Marble Columns – Rothschild had the chimney piece from the same house at a cost I believe of £400. . . It would be magnificent for the entrance to the Italian Library & exactly the same period as the balustrade & the arches. . . I would not trouble your lordship with this letter if I did not think the object well worthy of a place at Warwick."

<sup>91</sup> The doorway was destroyed in the 1871 fire and a photograph of the destroyed door is owned by the present owners of Warwick Castle.

<sup>92</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 481 (loose).

<sup>93</sup> See J. Fleming, "Art dealing and the Risorgimento I" in *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol 115, No. 838 (January 1973), pp. 4-17.

sourced from dealers and auctions. Lady Warwick appears several times aside from the usual pleasantries. Hudson mentions sourcing two commodes of ebony and ivory for a bureau specifically for Anne, requesting they both come to see them before they are made. He knew Anne's taste well enough to purchase a cabinet, allegedly from the eminent Spinola family, which he suggested was 'worthy of being presented to Lady Warwick on her birthday or at Xmas', and that George did eventually purchase.<sup>94</sup>

It is also clear that Anne had designs for a wardrobe created from antique fragments. A draft letter from George, dated 27th May 1856, explains 'Lady Warwick has made a sketch of what strikes her about the wardrobe – She thinks the inside of the black frames should project – as to figures it is perhaps a question whether they suit with the fine work of the ivory. She also sketches what she thinks would be about the size. I forward the price which we thought of for Sciutto's chairs.'<sup>95</sup> George's written instructions from Anne are heavily altered, suggesting that he was careful to ensure her wishes were conveyed properly. By the beginning of June, Sir James explained that 'I am busy with the pieces of two commodes out of which I have hopes of seeing wise Lady Warwick's pretty sketch of the armoire'.

It seems that Anne had also made an impression on Sir James regarding drapery and cloth; later several cases of Genoese velvets are recorded to have been exported to the Castle. Specifically, the diplomat was particularly keen in encouraging Anne to promote a new branch of needlework into Britain, in imitation of ancient Italian examples. He wrote:

I asked him [Vannenes – presumably an Italian dealer] to let me have a bit of the embroidered velvet of the 15<sup>th</sup> century for Lady Warwick. I think that those velvets (which after all are merely bits of velvet and silk embroidery stitched on satin) might be easily made up in England. Why could not Lady Warwick introduce that branch of embroidery into her schools? Nothing can be prettier – nothing is easier and more economical...Therefore, I intend, if Vannenes will give it me or sell it me, to send you a pattern and I hope Lady Warwick may be

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<sup>94</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 625, Sir James Hudson, Turin, to Lord Warwick dated 20 Nov 1856.

<sup>95</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 625, Draft Letter from Lord Warwick to Sir James Hudson, dated 27 May 1856.

induced to try to attempt the introduction of this new branch of industry. The Duchess of Sutherland has done a great deal for China and Porcelain and I do not see why Lady Warwick should not do as much for embroidery, silks, satins and velvets.<sup>96</sup>

There is no evidence to suggest that Anne ever pursued this course, yet, Sir James must have been impressed with Lady Warwick's own interest in this particular field. The flattering comparison made to Harriet Sutherland-Leveson-Gower, 2nd Duchess of Sutherland, who assisted her husband to remodel their significant residences such as Dunrobin Castle, Trentham Hall, Cliveden House and Stafford House (now Lancaster House), is also telling of his high regard for Anne.

It is possible that Anne accompanied her husband to visit the studios of artist and dealer William Blundell Spence (1814-1900) and sculptor Hiram Powers (1805-1873), as a few letters from both artists written to the Earl survive. A letter details that George had purchased a bust of *Prosepine* from Powers, one of the most popular types that Powers had produced after his sensational *The Greek Slave* which was exhibited in both The Crystal Palace and the 1855 exhibition.<sup>97</sup>

## 2.6 The Chapel

Anne's involvement in the rationalisation of the domestic apartments was also encountered in the Castle's chapel, where her input concerning the balancing act of aesthetics and functionality is also witnessed. A letter from August 1858 details Anne's grand ambition to transform the chapel into a bedroom. Salvin wrote:

I am intended paying a visit to Warwick on Saturday next, when I will look at the present (?) men...[illegible]. I am afraid Lady Warwick must give up the Bed Room as making the Chapel out of the crypt is not feasible as the vault rises from the floor & there would not be head room for anyone at the points XX [accompanying drawing]<sup>98</sup> (FIGURE 2.18).

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<sup>96</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 625 (loose). Sir James Hudson, Turin, to Lord Warwick dated 15-16 January 1857.

<sup>97</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 625 (loose). Hiram Powers, Florence, to Lord Warwick. Nd.

<sup>98</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 625 (loose). Anthony Salvin to Lord Warwick dated Aug 16 1858.

The suggestion of moving the chapel into the vaulted basement below was a highly original idea, and testament to Anne's interest in repurposing ancient rooms of the Castle for their aesthetic and historic value. Underneath the chapel of Warwick Castle is an atmospheric mid-fourteenth-century vaulted room, which would have in its original conception acted as grand medieval quarters. By the nineteenth century, this room had acted as little more than a cellar and had retained much of its medieval character. The choice of moving the chapel into this space would have proven to be a highly aesthetically beautiful one, despite the difficulty in height as Salvin highlighted.

Equally interesting is Anne's ambition to create a new bedroom of the existing chapel, as Salvin's letter makes clear. Although the State Rooms contained a State Bedroom and tall canopy bed, its purpose was obviously more for extravagant display than any functional use by the mid-nineteenth century. It is notable that up until this point Warwick Castle did not contain a domestic bedroom with a high ceiling, which might have encouraged her to view the chapel as an appropriate space which to convert.

Notably, the chapel would undergo grand embellishments much later in the 1880s, under the instruction of an architect chosen by Anne (featured briefly in Chapter 5).

## **2.7 The Kenilworth Bedroom**

There was at least one new bedroom that was created during this phase of works. Although we cannot be sure that it was the brainchild of Anne, evidence shows she had intended to create a new bedroom of some grandeur.

Located within the upper storey, to the west of the hall, is the so-called Kenilworth Bedroom (FIGURE 2.19). Lined with carved Tudor oak panels, this room embodied the Victorian fascination for the Elizabethan style as exemplified by the Kenilworth Buffet. Due to their adaptable nature, the movement of sixteenth-century wooden panels had occurred throughout the seventeenth and

eighteenth centuries, and was particularly revived during the rise of antiquarianism of late eighteenth century.<sup>99</sup>

The discovery of an auction catalogue dated to 2nd June 1863 held in 21 Old Bond Street, London, proves that this room must have been conceived during this particular phase in the 1860s. The description for Lot 124 is extensive and suggested a previous connection to Anne's home.<sup>100</sup>

As expected, the arrangement and provenance given here must have been the concoction of a London Wardour Street dealer. A closer inspection of the room shows indeed original fragments of early sixteenth-century panels incorporated into a new setting. The frieze, decorated with the initials R L and stylised ragged staffs, is too suspicious to be original sixteenth-century work. Despite these observations, it is likely that the room was taken seriously as a sixteenth-century original.

There is scant evidence to prove that Anne had any involvement in its creation, apart from her obvious interests in creating a new showpiece bedroom able to inspire. It is this room in which artist Gustav Doré would stay during his visit to the castle in 1876, where he spent a great deal of time with Anne, and having supposedly remarked on the room's appearance "Ma foi, c'est impérial."<sup>101</sup>

The aforementioned letters to Hudson are evidence that Anne admired fragments being incorporated into new furniture. The most obviously 'feminine' touch, perhaps, is a grand set of wardrobes hidden behind the west wall panels. Conceived as the most elegant piece of storage space imaginable for the storage of all forms of expensive linen and cloth, might have this been another attempt at combining both practical and beautiful furniture?

## 2.8 Breakfast Room

Although little is known about exact details of this room's decoration Anne's involvement supplies further evidence of the balancing act she maintained between the beautiful and the practical.

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<sup>99</sup> Op cit. Harris 2007, pp.21-35.

<sup>100</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 625 (loose). Sold London, 2 June 1863, 21 Old Bond Street, lot 124. 'The very rare carved oak panelling for a room, complete, with doors chimney piece, &c, 8ft 8 high, of the period of Queen Elizabeth, said to have been formerly in Warwick Castle, and to have belonged to Robert, Earl of Leicester. The friezes and pilasters elaborately carved with initials "R.L.," and the cognizance, the wreath and ragged staff. The whole is in the most perfect preservation, having been recently removed from the country. Dated 1575'

<sup>101</sup> B. Roosevelt, *The life and reminiscences of Gustav Dore*, Cassell 1885, p. 429.

Considering that the Breakfast Room was one of the first significant rooms encountered from the Great Hall into the domestic apartments, several letters from Salvin written in August 1858 show that the key consideration was to please Lady Warwick's own thoughts on their design.

It was during this period that the addition of a buttress on the south front facilitated the addition of a new balcony. This balcony, easily accessible from the Breakfast Room, would allow a new and unrivalled view over the river Avon and castle behind. Initially, it may seem that Anne's requests were frivolous. Salvin described, in a joking manner, whilst proposing his arrangement of doors, that:

I have an idea which I hope may bear print & not only allow my Lady to put out her head with her hat on but also admit a fair sized crinoline into the balcony. Pray inform her Ladyship that she is of great service in developing the inestamtable [his spelling] recovery of the medieval style.<sup>102</sup>

This is perhaps the most obvious point where Salvin playfully mocks Anne's own considerations for her large and impractical female dress, which must have appeared as frivolous requests to the great architect. Leaving this aside, Anne also desired a style of window that admitted as much light as possible.<sup>103</sup> Furthermore, the detail of the carving on the heads of the windows in the upper story was also left for Anne to decide<sup>104</sup> (FIGURE 2.20).

One surviving draft letter from the Earl to Salvin is a striking example of Anne's strong opinions and power over her husband's own thoughts:

Respecting the alteration in the bedroom windows above the breakfast room, I do not think that Lady Warwick has any objection to the alteration proposed. The breakfast room itself is a more difficult question. At this point I fear that Lady W & I do not quite agree as you know she looks to the inside, & I to the outside. She had a great dread of the high & narrow panes of glass caused by mullions which she thinks destroy the comfort of the interiors & also the

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<sup>102</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 625 (loose). Letter from Anthony Salvin to Lord Warwick, dated Aug 27th 1858.

<sup>103</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 625 (loose). Letter from Anthony Salvin to Lord Warwick, dated Aug 29th 1858. "My Lady will not I think be satisfied with an additional width to some light if two are made narrower. Therefore I trust she will later plan A into her favour, in which one mullion is abolished & two light thrown together... I am also in favour of this because it gives the effect if a door when in fact it is to get into the balcony. The height of the balcony will be a serious consideration because Lady Warwick will rejoice to see everything in front & below."

<sup>104</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 625 (loose). Letter from Anthony Salvin to Lord Warwick, dated Aug 21st 1858.

view. I looking to the exterior, certain consider the mullion an advantage...Lady W I know thinks the windows in the old alcove bedroom too high & narrow & I fear is still not quite happy about her own sitting room in this respect. Of course I am anxious to fall in, as much as possible with her wishes, as long as it can be done without hurting the exterior & I know you will kindly forgive me for thus playing your about it & will think over whether any compromise can be made.<sup>105</sup>

This reveals several important points. Firstly, that the emphasis of Anne's thoughts were to the comfort and beauty of the interiors, over respecting the historic and aesthetic integrity of the castle from the outside. Preserving the view captured by his great grandfather's Canaletto's paintings of the south front may have been a key consideration of the Earl. This point makes a case for Anne having great ownership over the domestic apartments, as matriarch of the household. Secondly, that she was an equal, if not slightly superior, partner in all of her husband's thoughts. Certainly, it seems as if George was entirely happy to allow her to influence the aesthetic outcome of these rooms, even those which were not her own private boudoir or sitting room.

## **2.9 Conclusion**

Rather than waiting for legislative changes of the 1870s and 80s, it is obvious that aristocratic women such as Anne had already plunged deeply into personalising interiors of their houses. Their position in society afforded them the obvious benefits of means and travel, which they could approach with industriousness. They could be taken seriously by architects and dealers in regard to their own aesthetic desires. An in-depth analysis of Anne's involvement in the first phase of improvements at Warwick Castle indicates that she did take the opportunity to play an active role in many aspects of architectural and interior design. The creation of her Boudoir was decorated tastefully with a style very much of her own choosing. Rather than being a mere follower of the fashion for the Rococo revival, it seems that she cared a lot about attention to details in a serious manner. In terms of taste

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<sup>105</sup> WCRP CR 1886 Box 625 (loose). Letter from Lord Warwick to Anthony Salvin, dated August 25th 1858, Bournemouth Poole.

and stylistic preferences, her interest in revival styles was most likely influenced by her and her husband's continental travel and particularly visits to the French exhibitions, where eclecticism gave her the opportunity to indulge her personal interests in design and ceramics. Travel also allowed Anne to do a vast amount of searching for antiques and furniture, an activity which she approached with a markedly professional diligence during the 1850s and 60s.

Her involvement in other areas of the castle, mostly relating to the domestic apartments and other largely non-public areas, showed a subtle presence. Her husband the Earl was obviously happy for her ideas to take precedent over his own, which seems to have been gladly accepted by Salvin in an encouraging and at times humorous manner. This chapter will provide an interesting starting point to consider her works after the 1871 fire, a moment when the eyes of Victorian Britain were suddenly turned on the fate and rebirth of this important historic aristocratic home and national treasure.

## Chapter 3 - Rebuilding Warwick Castle, The Great Hall and Library

### 3.1 Introduction

The gem of the Midlands – the fairest jewel of the Heart of England – the great Midland stronghold – the home of Princes and King Makers – around which a thousand historic memories cling during a thousand years, has been the fire-offering of Warwickshire, on Advent Sunday.

*The Leamington Spa Courier*, 3<sup>rd</sup> December 1871

Anne, 4th Countess of Warwick, presents a fascinating case study that probes many assumptions about the aesthetic maiden, particularly in relation to her involvement in the rebuilding of Warwick Castle after the disastrous fire of 1871. This chapter will show to what extent women like Anne could be personally involved in the redesigning of their significant historic homes. Furthermore, how far would the Countess go in introducing her own ideas, taste, characteristics and personality into such a significant building during such a sensitive moment? As highlighted in the previous chapter, the era in which the fire occurred has been identified as a significant period for women expressing their individuality through interior design. This context, however, is not the only one we should consider. This chapter will probe the evidence which explains the various contending influences at play, from historical precedent, appropriateness, to fashion contending with individual taste. I will go on to show that Anne's own distinctive interests in art and Aestheticism played a significant role in the rebuilding.

After the 1871 fire, and considering the volume of papers directly related to the decoration of the rooms that are found in Anne's archival papers, we are given the impression that the Countess was fulfilling a rather modern role equivalent to a 'project manager'. Anne was overseeing the majority of bills and payments particularly relating to decorating, painting, carpentry, plasterwork and furnishing,

that were occurring after the disastrous 1871 fire. In contrast, and as explained in the previous chapter, most of the documents which relate to payments for improvements and purchases pre-1871 are found in the Earl's papers.

Cohen asserts, in her own analysis on the changing role of women in interior design, that changes in the law had instigated a greater involvement of women in the decoration of the home.<sup>1</sup> The Married Women's Property Act of 1870 had for the first time secured the rights of women to their own money, stocks, furniture and livestock. This was further enhanced by the Married Women's Property Act of 1882, which allowed for an even greater control of private property in their own right, and ended the legal subordination of wives to their husbands.

The framework does not particularly fit with Anne's experience. Firstly, as a Countess from one of the leading aristocratic families, it is right to assume that Anne had already enjoyed far greater opportunities than many of her sex due to her noble birth. Not only did she have staff assigned to her needs, as can be said for nearly all aristocratic women stretching back into the early modern and medieval periods, the rich material culture available to affluent women in clothing, accessories and embellishments would have all been available to carve out her own individuality away from her husband.

Secondly, and at a closer context, Anne's involvement with art had a strong family focus. Her creative powers benefitted greatly from being in a genuine loving marriage. The restoration of the castle's rooms, and her particular approach of Aestheticism, strengthened her family ties, rather than subverting them. It was remarked in the previous chapter that George was already very keen for Anne's wishes to be obeyed as early as the late 1850s. This chapter will continue to make the case that Anne's aesthetic opinion and convictions were equal if not more forceful than her husband's.

A very localised factor was George's continued poor health during the years after the fire. A hereditary disease affected his lungs and skin, which required him to be away in warmer climes for substantial parts of the year.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, as this chapter will highlight, George might have wished to

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<sup>1</sup> D. Cohen, *Household gods: The British and their possessions*, New Haven 2006, p.111.

<sup>2</sup> References to Lord Warwick's illness are found throughout the letters received from his family members and himself. Inc. WCRO CR1886 Box 467 (loose), Letter from Lord Warwick to Lady Warwick, dated 28 August 1892, where he describes the 'gout all over me'.

remove himself entirely from the invasive dust and debris natural to most building sites, which created a space for Anne to fill for reasons of necessity, as well as enjoyment. This local context, with evidence supplied by archival papers, will be explored regularly.

Their social circle included some of the leading figures associated with the institutions that fuelled the Aesthetic Movement, including the founders of the renowned Grosvenor Gallery. Exactly whether Anne or her husband, and their circle of aristocrats, would have qualified as archetypal 'Aesthetes' is difficult to determine. In any case, opulent interiors had always been the preserve of aristocracy, and thus their work at Warwick represented a continuity of sorts. Aestheticism's unofficial motto 'art for art's sake' found refuge and spread into the affluent middling classes, yet its effect on top tier aristocrats shows that it was far more widely reaching than is often portrayed.

Examining and weighing up the extent that these various contexts might have influenced Anne will form the heart of this chapter.

### **3.2 Warwick Castle Restoration Committee**

Anne's network of likeminded aristocratic aesthetes played a significant role in the Castle's restoration. Her embeddedness within this circle is a defining feature throughout much of her work. Shortly after the fire on 3<sup>rd</sup> December 1871, a group of loyal friends gathered around George, Earl of Warwick, to establish a committee with the intentions of raising funds by public subscription for the castle's rebuilding.<sup>3</sup> The most striking feature of the committee is that it consisted of several connoisseurs, collectors, artists and aristocrats with artistic and creative pretensions. As mentioned previously, the committee was Chaired by Coutts Lindsay (1824-1913) and featured Joseph Jopling (1831-1884) as Treasurer. It seems likely too that Lord Warwick's friend Lord Somers also played a part, alongside other family friends in the Greville family circle. The nature of Anne's role in the Restoration Committee is difficult to determine. Resembling a mirrored counterpart to a male dominated committee, we know that she maintained extremely close relationships with the wives of

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<sup>3</sup> Op cit. Mandler 1999, pp.102-106.

the key figures involved, including Blanche Lindsay, Louise Jopling and Virginia Somers.<sup>4</sup>

Considering the artistic interests of all of these women, it is hard not to believe that their influence was felt in a more nuanced way than that of their husbands.

Anne seems to have been involved with the administration behind the scenes, as a handwritten overview of the Restoration Account indicating the totals raised (£9,651-5-9) survives in her hand.<sup>5</sup> A letter from Coutts Lindsay also mentions that Anne was plainly often the recipient of forwarding letters, presumably since her husband the Earl was often away seeking warmer climes due to ill-health.<sup>6</sup>

Not only did the Restoration Fund Committee influence the financial viability of the rebuilding of Warwick Castle, but it is also clear that it influenced the stylistic choices of the redesign. In a draft letter dated 30<sup>th</sup> January 1874, the Earl explained to Lindsay the debt that he owed to the committee.<sup>7</sup>

Notably, concerning the progress and approach towards the restoration, he stated:

The restorations at the Castle are progressing, & the Hall is far advanced. I have endeavoured to carry them out in a manner worthy of those who have been interested themselves in the matter, & which I trust may meet their approval.<sup>8</sup>

The rebuilding of Warwick after the fire was no ordinary building project. As explained, the destruction of Warwick Castle had received coverage in the national press. Ruskin, the arbiter of taste whose opinion was stirred by the prospect of what form of ‘restoration’ would occur there (see previous chapter). The thought of a brand new modern building, rather than a carefully considered conservation project, was obviously at odds with his own thoughts on how restoration might proceed. The contradiction of public funds being used to restore a national monument in the hands of a private family was also a significant factor of his barbed comments.

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<sup>4</sup> Letters been Anne and Blanche Lindsay and Virginia Pattle, Countess Somers, are mentioned throughout this thesis. Lady Warwick is mentioned as having been a visitor to Louise Jopling’s studio in L. Jopling, *Twenty years of my life*, London 1925, p.190.

<sup>5</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 626 (loose) Warwick Castle Restoration Fund, Statement of Acct. c.1874

<sup>6</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 626 (loose) Sir Coutts Lindsay, 4 Cromwell Place South Kensington, to Lord Warwick dated 23 July 1873.

<sup>7</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box626 (loose) Draft letter from Lord Warwick, sent from Bonchurch, Isle of Wight, to Coutts Lindsay, dated January 30th 1874. “Under these circumstances I take the earliest opportunity of expressing to you my deep feelings of gratitude for the great kindness which I have throughout received from yourself as Chairman, from the committee, & from The Honr. Sec. [Joseph Jopling]...I must ask you likewise to be good enough to convey in the manner you may think best, to all those friends who with so much liberality responded to your call, the deep & lasting sense which I shall ever entertain of their sympathy on that occasion.”

<sup>8</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box626 (loose) Draft letter from Lord Warwick, sent from Bonchurch, Isle of Wight, to Coutts Lindsay, dated January 30th 1874.

The fire also fell into several interesting contexts regarding the preservation of historic buildings. It had occurred only six years before the Society of the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) was established by William Morris in 1877. Morris and Phillip Webb's manifesto rallied against what it saw as over-restoration and removing the patina of time.<sup>9</sup> This built on earlier writings including Ruskin's *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, a copy of which existed in the castle's library.<sup>10</sup> Ruskin had called restoration a 'total destruction' advocating preservation of buildings in the state which they are found.<sup>11</sup> Pale imitations, and falsifying the patina of age, were considered anathema. It is clear that the state of Warwick Castle post-fire, which was only damaged in specific sections which multiple layers of complicated histories, presents far a far too complex challenge for the idealism of Ruskin's or the SPAB's guiding principles.

The case at Warwick, with the Great Hall requiring complete reconstruction yet the domestic apartments retaining their basic shell exterior, might have proved a conundrum too complex for any absolutist manifesto. In terms of the interiors inside the walls, there was simply nothing left to conserve and thus a new interior needed to be reimagined. The fact that these rooms constituted a great majority of the private family rooms, rather than constituting the proportion of the historic fabric integral to the significance of the site, provides further complexity. Ruskin, we might suggest, found it difficult to differentiate between domestic space and historic monument. Anthony Salvin, who was called upon once against to tend to Warwick Castle within years of his recent work on the domestic apartments being completed, had represented the approach despised by figures such as Ruskin and Morris. They would have criticised his heavy restorations of Norwich Castle and Norwich Cathedral, which was entirely refaced in new stone erasing the age and patina of the building.<sup>12</sup> Unlike the

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<sup>9</sup> "From this lack and this gain arose in men's minds the strange idea of the Restoration of ancient buildings; and a strange and most fatal idea, which by its very name implies that it is possible to strip from a building this, that, and the other part of its history - of its life that is - and then to stay the hand at some arbitrary point, and leave it still historical, living, and even as it once was. ... If repairs were needed, if ambition or piety pricked on to change, that change was of necessity wrought in the unmistakable fashion of the time... The result of all this was often a building in which the many changes, though harsh and visible enough, were, by their very contrast, interesting and instructive and could by no possibility mislead. But those who make the changes wrought in our day under the name of Restoration, while professing to bring back a building to the best time of its history, have no guide but each his own individual whim to point out to them what is admirable and what contemptible; while the very nature of their task compels them to destroy something and to supply the gap by imagining what the earlier builders should or might have done." The SPAB manifesto is found printed in full online; <https://www.spab.org.uk/about-us/spab-manifesto> [Accessed 11 June 2018].

<sup>10</sup> See n.360.

<sup>11</sup> "[Restoration] It means the most total destruction which a building can suffer: a destruction out of which no remnants can be gathered: a destruction accompanied with false description of the thing destroyed. Do not let us deceive ourselves in this important matter; it is impossible, as impossible as to raise the dead, to restore anything that has ever been great or beautiful in architecture." J. Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, London 1849, (reprint) Orpington 1889, p. 194.

<sup>12</sup> J. Allibone, *Anthony Salvin*, Cambridge 1988, pp.95-6.

buildings above, Warwick Castle occupied the more unique position of being both historically significant yet still privately owned and still inhabited.

The Restoration Fund Committee consisted of advocates of a very particular type of aesthetic, which both Anne and George subscribed to at various points during the rebuilding of Warwick. Notably, this aesthetic incorporated opulent reinterpretations of the Italian Renaissance style, coupled with influences from Aestheticism of the 1870s-80s. Walter Pater's *The Renaissance Studies in Art and Poetry*, a text that epitomised the link between the Aestheticism and the Italian Renaissance, praised this era for its "outbreaking of the human spirit" and "care for physical beauty" coupled with a "subtle and delicate sweetness which belongs to a refined and comely decadence."<sup>13</sup> Pater's ideals were exactly contemporary for the library's design. Identifying the aesthetic preferences of the group of committee aesthetes provides useful insight into the influences that Anne was absorbing, and at times deviating from, to form her own identity.

Sir Coutts Lindsay (1824-1913), 2<sup>nd</sup> Baronet, friend of the Earl and Committee Chairman, is likely to have exerted the greatest influence over the rebuilding of Warwick. A notable connoisseur and painter his single most celebrated achievement was the establishment of the Grosvenor Gallery in 1877. His wife, wealthy new-money wife Blanche Lindsay, *née* Fitzroy and descendant of the Rothschilds, was a close confidant to Anne who eventually encouraged the Countess to exhibit works at the inaugural Grosvenor exhibition.<sup>14</sup>

Like George and Anne, Coutts descended from nobility, being a descendant of the Earls of Crawford and Balcarres, Fife. Unlike Anne and George, it may be argued that his position carried far less historical baggage than the Earldom of Warwick, especially since he was a mere Baronet and thus below an Earl. Despite his nobility, from youth Coutts had expressed an early desire to break free from his family's expectations and become a serious collector and creator of art, informed by prolonged periods of travel in both Italy and France starting in 1838. Remarkably for a man of his

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<sup>13</sup> W. Pater, *The Renaissance Studies in Art and Poetry*, London 1873, p. xxviii-xxix.

<sup>14</sup> There are many various letters from Blanche to Anne, including WCRO CR1886 Box 468, letters dated 24 Jan, 29 March, nd. (all without years). Most seem to focus on the breakdown of her marriage with Sir Coutts, which occurred in 1882.

class, at the age of twenty-six he gave up a career in the army in 1850 to pursue his passion for painting.<sup>15</sup>

It was Coutts's involvement in decorating the interiors of Dorchester House, created for his brother-in-law Robert Holford, that is generally believed to have made his reputation as an artist.<sup>16</sup> Created during the early 1860s under the supervision of architect Lewis Vulliamy, this reimagining of an Italian Palazzo represented a high point in the extravagant Italianate style and described as "...the finest private dwelling in London, as well as London's most grateful and beautiful attempt at modern domestic architecture".<sup>17</sup> Holford's vision was later detailed by his successor in the two volume 1927 catalogue as attempting "to realize the dream which had taken shape in his mind long before of a private house in London which would be itself a work of art – a natural development of the classical spirit embodied at Genoa and Rome and a visible protest against contemporary Victorian Architecture."<sup>18</sup> Despite this extravagant description and the great amount of text given to the artworks in the collection, the exact details of the building are seldom mentioned in the catalogue. As connoisseurs interested in the presentation of artworks, a key feature of Aestheticism, the style of the mansion seems to have been chosen to compliment Holford's collection of Old Masters including choice pictures by Leonardo, Del Sarto, Fra Bartolomeo and Titian.<sup>19</sup> This is not to mention an impressive collection of Italian Renaissance furniture and ceramics.<sup>20</sup> Coutts is known to have contributed several Italian Renaissance friezes to the State Apartments of Dorchester House, mostly notably in the Red Drawing Room around the years 1863-7<sup>21</sup> (FIGURE 3.1). The 1927 volume describes Coutts's involvement in a footnote, downplaying his 'improvised' work as a necessity following artist Alfred Stevens's death in 1875 (a gross inaccuracy).<sup>22</sup> Coutts's alterations to Balcarres Castle, likewise, have never undergone academic study.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> V. Surtees, *Coutts Lindsay 1824-1913*, Norwich 1993, p.52.

<sup>16</sup> S. P. Casteras, C. Denney (ed.) *The Grosvenor Gallery, a palace of art in Victorian England*, New Haven 1996, p.3.

<sup>17</sup> E. B. Chancellor, *The Private Palaces of London*, London 1908, p.250

<sup>18</sup> G. Holford, *The Holford Collection: Dorchester House*, Oxford and London 1927, p.xvii. What this protest was, in comparison to the likes of Barry's Farnese-inspired Reform Club (1837-41), leads to a problematic assessment due to the later destruction of so many of London's aristocratic residences.

<sup>19</sup> Two fine volumes were printed giving a full catalogue of the Holford Collection in 1927. See G. Holford, *The Holford Collection: Dorchester House*, Oxford and London 1927, I, II.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.* Vol II.

<sup>21</sup> V. Surtees, *Coutts Lindsay 1824-1913*, Norwich 1993, pp.99-100.

<sup>22</sup> *Op cit.* G Holford, 1927, I, p.xviii.

<sup>23</sup> The decorator JW Clark was employed both at the Lindsay's ancestral home and at Warwick Castle in 1868. WCRO CR1886 Box 630, Letter from J W Clark, Balcarres, to Lord Warwick, dated April 29th 1868.

As already encountered in the previous chapter, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl and Countess Somers of Eastnor Castle also formed a part of this highly educated and connoisseurial circle of aristocrat aesthetes in which Anne and George moved. Although the pair were not on the committee of the Restoration Fund it is inconceivable that they wouldn't have played a part.<sup>24</sup> Eastnor Castle, a fine imitation of a gothic castle built by Sir Robert Smirke between 1810-21 and filled with lavish gothic interiors by Pugin in the 1840s, could boast grandeur yet lacked the genuine antiquity of Warwick<sup>25</sup> (FIGURE 3.2). Its owner Charles Somers-Cocks (1819-1883), 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl Somers, too had expressed artistic ambitions which were downplayed by his family as a youth.<sup>26</sup> He had probably known Lord Warwick at the University of Oxford, Somers having been at Christ Church and Warwick at St Johns's graduating in 1840 and 1839 respectively. His wife Virginia Pattle (1827-1910), George Frederic Watts's early muse, resident of the Pattedom of Little Holland House whom he married in 1850, was also an active participator in artistic circles. Virginia had also built up a strong friendship with Coutts Lindsay, who is known to have harboured romantic desires towards the Countess.<sup>27</sup> Architecturally, and as a trio, Somers, Lindsay and the Earl of Warwick were also bound together by financial investments, including the reconstruction of significant portions of Milan under the City of Milan Improvements Company Limited.<sup>28</sup>

George and Anne's relationship with these connoisseurs had serious consequences on the development of each other's houses. They shared the same tastes and interests when it came to art. The relationship between this group of aristocrats was summarised in Anne's daughter-in-law's memoirs:

Mr. Holford built the house [Dorchester House], and he and his wife were great friends of my father and mother-in-law, the old Lord and Lady Warwick. Those two, together with Lord and

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<sup>24</sup> As mentioned in the previous chapter, George and Anne had spent considerable time with the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl and Countess during their travels in Italy. They had also been in discussions with them during the 1850s regarding the improvements of Warwick Castle, as highlighted in the previous chapter.

<sup>25</sup> For an overview of Pugin's work at Eastnor see C. Wainwright, "Eastnor Castle, Herefordshire" in *Country Life*, CLXXXVII, no. 20, (May 20 1993), pp.90-93.

<sup>26</sup> His portrait by Watts, hanging at Eastnor Castle, shows him in the 1850s-60s with a folio and brushes in hand and his vibrant watercolours of Italy hanging at Eastnor Castle are a testament to his ability as an amateur artist.

<sup>27</sup> Op cit. Surtees, 1993, p. 63, 78, 105, 113.

<sup>28</sup> All three held significant shares in the 'City of Milan Improvements Company Limited', which was primarily involved in the reconstruction of Milan's central squares under architect Giuseppe Mengoni (1829-1877). Several letters survive from Somers to Warwick discussing the financial collapse of the company, probably in an attempt to regain some of their investments, in which Lindsay's name also frequently occurs. WCRO CR1886 Box 630, Lord Somers, 33 Princes Gate to Lord Warwick, dated 27, 28 March 1868.

Lady Somers, who were the parents of Adeline, Duchess of Bedford, and Lady Henry Somerset, were connoisseurs, and used to pay periodical visits to Italy, where they would collect every beautiful objet d'art that appealed to them.

The state rooms at Warwick Castle, the town and country house of the late Lord and Lady Somers [Eastnor Castle], and Dorchester House in Park Lane, bore witness to their taste and the love of the beautiful that these three couples shared.<sup>29</sup>

Another unifying factor was that the Warwicks, Lindsays, Eastnors and Holfords all made use of the same architect George Edward Fox (1833-1908). Fox's background is difficult to deduce, especially as he does not feature in the RIBA's Directory of British Architects (1834-1900).<sup>30</sup> It is likely, however, that his work and relative fame as a designer took inspiration from his antiquarian and archaeological pursuits.<sup>31</sup> Lord Somers suggests that he had toured parts of Italy with Fox, around the same time that Anne and George were touring in the country, in 1868.<sup>32</sup>

Fox's connections to arbiters of Aestheticism through the route of antiquarianism is also a particularly interesting feature of his work. His singular most celebrated creation was a grand piano designed in ivory, mother of pearl and tortoiseshell for the artist Alma Tadema, a work that was admired in the 1885 Musical Exhibition at South Kensington.<sup>33</sup> Fox's patronage by such a significant artist keenly involved in the reimagination of classicism through the lens of Aestheticism is significant and an interesting comparison to his efforts at the predominately medieval Warwick.

The simple dismissal of Fox by scholars as a more cost-effective equivalent of Royal Decorators the Craces does not give a full picture of his position amongst Victorian patrons, especially considering his noted replacement by JD Crace at Longleat in 1874.<sup>34</sup> He is noted for having worked on a ceiling

<sup>29</sup> F. Countess of Warwick, *Afterthoughts*, London 1931, p.248-9.

<sup>30</sup> A Felstead, J. Franklin, L. Pinfield, *Directory of British Architects 1834-1900*, London 1993. Note – There are two other George Foxes mentioned, both having died in 1873 and 1925 respectively.

<sup>31</sup> An obituary that appeared in the *Archaeological Journal* noted "Although of a quiet and retiring nature, Mr Fox was an ideal companion, and readily placed his vast knowledge, not only of Roman and medieval antiquities, but also of art, at the service of anyone working on such subjects." *The Archaeological Journal*, vol 65 (1908), pp.338-9. His pursuits as an archaeologist saw him publish several papers for the same journal on Roman finds and excavations at Chedworth, Leicester, Norfolk, Kent, Uriconium and Suffolk. He is later known to have published a guide to Romano-British finds of the Silchester Collection in 1905, and is recorded to have presented other classical archaeological findings to the Society of Antiquaries in 1891, see G. E Fox, *A short guide to the Silchester Collection*, Reading 1905; *The Athenaeum, A journal of literature etc.*, I, London 1891, p.580. Note – These are regarding findings made at Lincoln in 1891.

<sup>32</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box Box 630 (loose). Letter from Charles Somers-Cocks, 3rd Earl Somers, 33 Princes Gate, to Lord Warwick, dated 28 March 1868.

<sup>33</sup> H. Zimmern, *Sir L. Alma Tadema; RA, his life and work*, London 1886, p.31.

<sup>34</sup> M. Aldrich, *The Craces: Royal Decorations 1768-1899*, Brighton 1990, p.120.

for Dorchester House, and exhibited a ceiling design executed for the Holfords at the Royal Academy in 1880.<sup>35</sup> It is notable that he appears in the Graves Dictionary as a ‘Decorative Painter’, rather than a painter or architect in full and obviously representing a lower rung in the hierarchy of artists.<sup>36</sup> The most substantial documents that survive by Fox are forty-four drawings that were bequeathed to the Victoria and Albert Museum by Mill Stephenson FSA in 1919.<sup>37</sup> A great majority of them were meticulous designs for a London townhouse for the Duke of Westminster at 5 Grosvenor Place made in 1870 (unfortunately this building no longer survives). These include elaborate ceilings in the Italian Renaissance, the eighteenth-century Rococo and neo-classical styles, chimney pieces, fireplaces, and wall coverings in the neo-medieval style (FIGURES 3.3, 3.4, 3.5). These exhibit an obsession with attention to detail and tend to suggest that they take inspiration from carefully studied ornament and decoration found in surviving examples.

Fox, whom Anne would later have substantial dealings with during the post-fire period, had first-hand personal experience of working with female artists. In 1871 Fox had married the notable female artist Eliza Bridell Fox (1823-1903), who had exhibited at the Royal Academy since 1848, and whom it has been suggested might have assisted Fox in his painted decorative schemes.<sup>38</sup> Working for a demanding Countess of Warwick may have therefore been a familiar experience for him.

Joseph Jopling’s, the committee’s treasurer, influence on the Restoration Committee is even harder to interrogate. His far more notable and prolific artist wife Louise specifically recalled in her memoirs that “Joe had been acting as Secretary to the Warwick Castle Restoration Fund, which some friends of the Earl of Warwick’s started, to restore his ancient and historic Castle, after it had been a good deal damaged by fire. Sir Coutts was the Chairman.”<sup>39</sup> She also mentions that Joseph had completed a portrait of the Earl, for *Vanity Fair*, which was neither published or has survived.<sup>40</sup> Both husband and wife were obviously aware of Anne’s abilities as an artist, as a letter from Joseph survives regarding a as yet unidentified picture of Anne’s presumably lent to the 1876 Centennial Exhibition held in

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<sup>35</sup> A. Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts, A Complete Dictionary*, IV, London 1905, p.152.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* p.152.

<sup>37</sup> Accessible online: <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/name/fox-george-edward/A7552/> [Accessed Summer 2018]

<sup>38</sup> S. Gray, *Dictionary of British Women Artists*, Cambridge 2009, pp.108-9.

<sup>39</sup> L. Jopling, *Twenty Years of My Life*, London 1925, p.73

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.* p.256.

Philadelphia.<sup>41</sup> Anne was a noted visitor to Louise's studio, a friendship which might have encouraged Joseph's involvement.<sup>42</sup> Recent scholarship has been keen to reassert Louise's distinctive interest in gaining aristocratic patronage, which developed during the 1870s due to her connections with the Lindsays and commissions received from the Rothschilds.<sup>43</sup> Anne's role in the redesign of the interiors of Warwick Castle was not only set against a backdrop of national interest, but also against the interests of her aesthetically minded friends. Archival research teases out the significant role of art and Aestheticism in the lives of these individuals.

### 3.3 The Great Hall

In contrast to her behind-the-scenes work during the 1850s and 60s, by 1871 Anne was now directly involved in addressing the obliteration of the castle's most important rooms. The destruction of the most significant room of their ancient home had a devastating effect on Anne and George (FIGURE 3.6). It seems that the Countess's personal strength during this moment was evident, as her son would later recount in his memoir:

My mother and I went down to Warwick very sadly; the only satisfaction she knew was that my father had been spared the shock of being present at the destruction, and that my brother and sister were at least safe and sound...The roof was burnt off the great hall, and molten lead lay on the marble floor...<sup>44</sup>

The Great Hall represented the very public focal point of the interiors of Warwick Castle throughout the centuries, yet, its original medieval appearance was to Anne, and is still to this day, entirely unknown. The original medieval hall, which must have been instituted in the fourteenth centuries by the Beauchamp Earls of Warwick, had been renovated by Sir Fulke Greville in the early seventeenth century.<sup>45</sup> The very first illustration of the Hall that does survive dates to 1814 by J Coney (FIGURE

<sup>41</sup> WCRO CR1886 630 Box Joseph Jopling, 8 Clareville Grove, South Kensington, to Lord Warwick dated 25 May 1877. "Lady Warwick's picture has at length arrived from Philadelphia, and is at Mrs Gillespie's in Jermyn Street". The letter also mentions that it will be inspected by Mr Trendell, secretary to the commissioners of the exhibition. The painting is not listed in any catalogue of the exhibition.

<sup>42</sup> Op cit. Jopling 1925, p.190.

<sup>43</sup> P. Montfort, *Louise Jopling: a biographical and cultural study of the modern women artist in Victorian Britain*, London 2017, pp. 61-65.

<sup>44</sup> F. Greville, 5th Earl of Warwick, *Memories of sixty years*, Warwick 1917, p.8.

<sup>45</sup> For a summary of Sir Fulke Greville's work at Warwick Castle see G. M. D. Booth and N. J. Palmer, *Fulke Greville and Warwick Castle* (Warwick, Warwickshire County Council, 1996).

3.7). By this point, any original features apart from the large windows must have already been obscured by the high ornate baroque and neo-gothic carvings and plaster work.<sup>46</sup> In the late 1820s the Hall was redesigned in an decidedly academic neo-Elizabethan style with a flat Tudor style ceiling by Ambrose Poynter (1796-1886)<sup>47</sup> (FIGURE 3.8). As there were no original plans or views surviving before 1814, the choice for the new hall was effectively completely open for architect and patron to decide.

During the 1850s and 60s, we have no evidence to suggest that Anne was involved in the layout of the Hall. It is possible that this was due to the strong attachment her husband the Earl had to this very public and historic space. Yet in this later context, a pen drawing of the Great Hall, in Anne's distinctive bold hand, survives amongst various plans relating to the castle<sup>48</sup> (FIGURE 3.9). Rather than a true architectural drawing, it seems to be a much quicker sketch putting ideas onto paper including playing around with roof structures. It suggests that Anne had toyed with the notion of rebuilding the hall in an elaborate Italian renaissance style. Indeed, the drawing bears a striking resemblance, including decorative features around the doors and gallery, to those George Edward Fox had designed for the Great Hall at Eastnor Castle for their friends Lord and Lady Somers in the late 1860s (FIGURE 3.10). The arrangement of doors, wall decorations and fireplace in Anne's drawing shows that it is not a straightforward copy of the Somers's Hall. The Hall at Eastnor encapsulated the most extravagant polychrome decoration inspired by the twelfth century, featuring wall various paintings inspired by various sources, including cufic inscriptions and details from an ancient altar cloth from the Cathedral of Toulouse.<sup>49</sup> The arches of the hall doorways also bear circular disks of imported marbles, a feature which Anne had included in her sketch for Warwick.

Despite this drawing, it seems that Anne's bold architectural imaginings did not progress beyond this piece of paper. Unfortunately, no written evidence survives as to exactly why the decision was made for the grand baronial style hall that was eventually decided upon for Warwick Castle. The lack of written evidence is suggestive that these conversations must have happened in person with architect

<sup>46</sup> The exact period of the ceiling is unknown, yet, might be attributed in part to neo-gothic architect Daniel Garrat, who received payments from Francis, 1st Earl of Warwick, from his account at Hoare's Bank in 1747.

<sup>47</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 783/11 – For the Accounts paid from the 3rd Earl to Ambrose Poynter.

<sup>48</sup> WCRO CR1886 M83.

<sup>49</sup> Lady H Somerset, *Eastnor Castle*, Eastnor 1889, p.18.

Salvin and his patrons. The overall style that was chosen could be described as a grand interpretation of the baronial fourteenth-century gothic style, yet, lacking any true ornamentation in the hammer beamed ceiling apart from deep chamfering (FIGURE 3.11). The walls too, consisting of vast plain surfaces of smoothly cut and undressed stone, is noteworthy (with panelling to be discussed later). It may be argued that this would have been the most sensitive redesign, that could not be attacked for its ostentation. The overall impression is one of restraint, especially compared with the variety of decorative embellishments that might have been possible with polychrome decoration.<sup>50</sup> We can only assume that this comparative sobriety might have been an attempt to appease discerning figures such as Ruskin and Morris. Evidence till this point had suggested that Anne and George's personal interest remained in more flamboyant decorative styles (as explored in Chapter 2). Further evidence suggests that an approach of 'restoration' was also in their minds when the opportunity presented itself. Fortuitously, the destruction of the old hall had revealed two original medieval door arches on the eastern wall, which were incorporated into the new design (albeit as part of blind doorways) and was specifically mentioned in the committee's press release in 1874.<sup>51</sup> In any case, Anne would have the opportunity to explore the extravagant Italian Renaissance style fully in another room (to be discussed).

What was the influence of Lord Warwick, compared to that of his wife? Evidence is in the archival documentation. George, writing at Cannes, regularly mentions receiving news from Anne in his letters, who was generally pleased with the progress in the rebuilding including such structural work including the new roof.<sup>52</sup> The initial years of the Hall's reconstruction are recorded in George's letters to his estate manager Captain Fosbery. Despite the enormous construction efforts occurring at Warwick, the Earl's letters are predominately filled with estate management, drainage, roofing, local politics, and his charity work relating to local schools.<sup>53</sup> Surprisingly few of his opinions on the decoration or aesthetic are expressed in any of his letters. It seems that George's main considerations revolved around the exterior of the castle and attempts to make the newly cut stone appear ancient,

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<sup>50</sup> We might remember that William Burges's extravagant banqueting hall at Cardiff Castle for the coal magnate the 3rd Marquess of Bute was begun in the very same decade.

<sup>51</sup> *Birmingham Daily Post*, Saturday 4th April 1874, p.5

<sup>52</sup> WCRO CR1886 TN. Letter from Lord Warwick, Cannes, to Captain Fosbery, dated 24th October 1872.

<sup>53</sup> See WCRO CR1886 Box 842/12.

rather than fresh replacements. This included adding old lichen to the walls, or as he suggested “I would rather pull down part of some old wall, & built it up with new stone, than not have it even part of the wall which runs from the stable to the kitchen garden might be taken, if it would do.”<sup>54</sup> He also records being sent exterior photographs of the south elevation while abroad, updating him with the progress of the new work to the windows. Once more, his primary fear was the incongruence of the new stone in meeting the new, and gave instructions not to use grease or paint which might prevent lichen from forming on the new work.<sup>55</sup> Whilst in Nice together, George had also suggested that watercolour mixed with soot or ochre could even be applied to the interior of the new hall to aid the ageing effect.<sup>56</sup> We encountered the Earl’s similar concern for the ‘outside’ of the building in Chapter 2, showing perhaps again a deference to Anne’s choices for the interiors. Rebuilding, or what might have been termed ‘restoring’, the walls just as they looked before in the famous views by Canaletto, without too many new details or embellishments, must have been a guiding factor in the rebuilding. During their travels together, Anne would also regularly send letters to George’s estate manager in Warwick, when ill health had prevented the Earl from doing so himself.<sup>57</sup> She would take charge of decisions relating to the castle’s rebuild, as well as local estate management that required urgent attention. She had personally cut short her own sojourn on the continent in the summer of 1873 to return to Warwick, where she was awaited by Salvin and regularly sent her husband updates on progress and expressing her pleasure at the rate of work.<sup>58</sup> Anne and Salvin had even made agreements to alterations to details in the Earl’s private dressing room.<sup>59</sup> Troubles regarding the over running of costs also had George worried, leading the Earl to request Fosbery to enquire into the matter and send Anne his thoughts on which she would presumably cast her opinions before forwarding.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> WCRO CR1886 908/3. Letter from Lord Warwick, Villa Balger, Enis, to Captain Fosbery, dated 9th September 1872.

<sup>55</sup> WCRO CR1886 908/3. Letter from Lord Warwick, Villa Andifrett, St Philippi, Nice, to Captain Fosbery, dated 5th February 1873; WCRO CR1886 908/3. Letter from Lord Warwick, Villa Andifrett, St Philippi, Nice, to Captain Fosbery, dated 17th February 1873. An old wall on the estate was torn down for this purpose.

<sup>56</sup> WCRO CR1886 TN 908/3. Letter from Lord Warwick, Villa Andifrett, St Philippi, Nice to Captain Fosbery, dated 11th April 1873.

<sup>57</sup> WCRO CR1886 TN 908/3. Letter from Lady Warwick, Turin, to Captain Fosbery, dated 9 June 1873.

<sup>58</sup> WCRO CR1886 908/3. Letter from Lord Warwick, Kipeleffstrasse, Homburg, Frankfurt, to Captain Fosbery, dated 21st June 1873, WCRO CR1886 Box 626 (loose). Letter from Anthony Salvin, 19 Cranley Place, to Lord Warwick, dated 28 May nd., WCRO CR1886 908/3. Letter from Lord Warwick, Kipeleffstrasse, Homburg, Frankfurt, to Captain Fosbery, dated 4th July 1873.

<sup>59</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 626 (loose). Letter from Anthony Salvin, 19 Cranley Place, to Lord Warwick, dated 2 July 1873.

<sup>60</sup> WCRO CR1886 TN908/3. Letter from Lord Warwick, Kipeleffstrasse, Homburg, Frankfurt, to Captain Fosbery, dated 19th July 1873.

Salvin and Anne also discussed the ornamental aspects of the Hall in detail. This included the type of panelling that would line the Hall's walls, in which Salvin sent tracings of designs for George's approval. Salvin indicates that Anne had expressed her preference for designs that were the most extravagant of the four that were sent (designs no. 1 & 3)<sup>61</sup> (FIGURE 3.12). Both of Anne's choices, which feature sumptuous interpretations of wainscot panelling, were not followed on this occasion. The panelling that was chosen consisted of plain quartered chambers, topped with an entablature of fluting in the sixteenth-century style. The acquisition of historic panelling, rather than using new work, had been a consideration in other rooms post the 1871 fire. It seems that Anne had been enquiring after some of her daughter's friends in Yorkshire, who might have had access to ancient oak panelling from an ancient parish church for the restoration of the castle.<sup>62</sup> Details regarding the wood and designs of the doors were also discussed in the same sheets alongside Anne's inspection of the "patting of the concrete on the dining room roof".<sup>63</sup>

The eventual choice of a more restrained design of panelling might be explained by the intentions to display George's collection of armour in this room (FIGURE 3.13). The collection of historic arms and armour was almost entirely George's interest, purchased through Pratt, with not one single example of purchases or thoughts on armour found in Anne's papers.

Salvin had submitted various designs for the fireplace of the Great Hall the next year in 1874, the most ornamental architectural feature of the Hall. His most arresting design consisted of columns in the form of bears and ragged staffs, the heraldic motifs of the Earls of Warwick which Salvin described "I am afraid I have drawn now like pigs than bears"<sup>64</sup> (FIGURE 3.14). Two other designs feature highly ornamental interpretations of the gothic style, including tracery niches with red marble columns in which helmets could be placed (FIGURES 3.15, 3.16, 3.17). None of the drawings Salvin submitted were used for the surviving fireplace. It is possible that its design and execution was put off until 1877. Great efforts were made to source stone for it from the Greville's collieries in Clutton, Somerset. Its design may be connected with architect George Edward Fox, who was mainly linked

<sup>61</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 626 (loose). Letter from Anthony Salvin, 19 Cranley Place, to Lord Warwick, dated 25 June nd.

<sup>62</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 468 (loose). Letter from Ellen Ashley, Otley Vicarage, West Yorkshire, to Lady Eva Greville, Sept 187/84 (?)

<sup>63</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 626 (loose). Letter from Anthony Salvin, 19 Cranley Place, to Lord Warwick, dated 25 June nd.

<sup>64</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 626 (loose). Letter from Anthony Salvin, 19 Cranley Place, Onslow Gardens, to Lord Warwick dated 20 January 1874.

to Anne's work in the library and features heavily in the next section.<sup>65</sup> Difficulties in acquiring stone from Clutton, an endeavour which had seemingly been instigated by Anne, further demonstrates that the Earl repeatedly deferred the final choice and that "Mr Fox had better write to Lady Warwick about it, before he quite decides."<sup>66</sup> The design of the surviving Great Hall fireplace takes inspiration from Italy, rather than Salvin's more fanciful British gothic designs. Rather than the use of Warwick bears, it might be tempting to read the resulting carved lions as referring to Anne's own heraldic crest, the Wemyss lions (FIGURE 3.18).

Although elements related to construction and fabric seem to have been of less concern to Anne, it is likely that she cast her eye over many details with her husband. Regarding the installation of new waterpipes, she had specially requested detailed estimates from contractors, to compare with the final charges that were submitted later in 1877.<sup>67</sup> Details regarding the water supply too were in her remit, her wishes regarding the mains were eventually adopted by her husband.<sup>68</sup> Anne too had practical considerations at heart for the downstairs servants' area, presumably the kitchens and servants' halls, requesting the floors to be 'flat and good' and stone to be used rather than tiles.<sup>69</sup>

Anne's involvement in this very public, and historically significant, room was entirely new. Anne needed to balance her own artistic ambitions with those of her husband, who was mostly concerned with old and new elements blending seamlessly. Anne's determination to fulfil her aesthetic desires is demonstrated by her attendance at site meetings with Salvin to inspect works. This provides significant evidence of the integral role she held.

### 3.4 The Library

The new library at Warwick Castle, completed between 1878-1881, is one of the most visually engaging rooms that Anne was involved in redesigning (FIGURE 3.19). The various elements related

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<sup>65</sup> WCRO CR1887 Box 824/12. Letter from Captain Fosbery to Lord Warwick, nd.

<sup>66</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 824/12. Letter from Lord Warwick, Gosford House, to Captain Fosbery, dated 13th October 1877.

<sup>67</sup> WCRO CR1886, Box 824/12. Letter from Lord Warwick, 1 Stable Yard, St James, to Captain Fosbery, dated 16th March 1877.

<sup>68</sup> WCRO CR1886, Box 824/12. Letter from Lord Warwick, Peterborough, to Captain Fosbery, dated 25th June 1877; WCRO CR1886, Box 824/12. Letter from Lord Warwick, 1 Stable Yard, St James's, dated 10th July 1877.

<sup>69</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 824/12. Letter from Lord Warwick, Stead's Hotel, Bath, to Captain Fosbery, dated 1st April 1877.

to its conception, design and execution illustrate the varying factors that influenced Anne's aesthetic choices. It seems that the project overran, with receipts indicating that final details and gilding were still being added as late as 1889.<sup>70</sup> This project must have been very personal to Anne, as her papers contain all the relevant estimates, bills and receipts concerning its design and execution.<sup>71</sup>

It is significant that this library was in itself a new creation, unlike the previous library (in the preceding chapter) composed of fragments of ancient wooden panels and carvings from Italy. Several factors may have affected this choice. Firstly, although a similar amount of historic fabric may have been unavailable to recreate a romantic interior along the same lines, evidence shows that George and Anne were flooded with offers of historic oak panelling and furniture after the 1871 fire to re-fill their castle.<sup>72</sup> The long period it took to rebuild the interiors may have also given the Warwicks the chance to seek out original fragments if they so desired. The more plausible explanation might be the growth in confidence that Anne and George must have had in the belief that there was a place for new work in their historic home. They had no existing precedents at Warwick to draw references from. In contrast to complete restoration, Ruskin had advocated that "Another spirit may be given by another time, and it is then a new building", opening up the possibility for the creation of something new.<sup>73</sup> The external structure of the domestic apartments, an extension of the late seventeenth century in a restrained gothic style, largely survived and allowed for an almost complete reimagining inside. The library allows us to chart how Anne might have negotiated these varying factors.

The continued choice of the Italian Renaissance style is also significant. Although the previous library had been an interpretation of the exact same style, this new library represented a significant step forward in terms of the style's progression in artistic circles. Here too, we might feel the influence of Coutts Lindsay at the Dorchester House. The Grosvenor Gallery's opening in 1877 has come to represent a significant moment in British art, a project funded by Lindsay and his wife Blanche, close friends of the Warwicks. The powerful evocation of the Italian Renaissance style in the Grosvenor's architectural elements, creating a gallery space for contemporary art worthy of a palace, had earned

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<sup>70</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 467 (loose). Bill from F Holt of Warwick, dated 1 July 1889. Includes references to library ceiling and shutters.

<sup>71</sup> These are spread between boxes 467-9 in WCRO CR1886.

<sup>72</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box891/41, Labelled Old furniture pictures etc. 1876.

<sup>73</sup> Op cit. Ruskin 1849, p. 194.

Lindsay the title of the modern ‘Lorenzo de’ Medici’ by artist Walter Crane<sup>74</sup> (FIGURE 3.20). As early as 1860, Lindsay had expressed his admiration for the period and its artistic outlook in the *Quarterly Review* “the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when the great masters of art took part in the state affairs of their day, the highroads of life lay through an open and unencumbered field of action, not as yet hedged about by the claims of vested interests or the laws and privileges of a profession.”<sup>75</sup> One imagines that this sentiment, based on notions of nobility found through action and art, would have appealed to Anne and George. The effect of the Grosvenor’s celebrated opening, and opulent interiors, must have influenced the outcome of the library whose design was presumably finalised the following year. Furthermore, Anne exhibited two painted ceramics at this the very first exhibition (discussed in Chapter 6).

Considering these precedents, it is obvious that the new Warwick Library evoked a more nuanced approach to the Italian Renaissance style. Although Dorchester House represented the grandeur of Rome, the new Warwick library’s smaller size and intimacy represented something on a far more modest scale. The remarkable profusion of details within also attempts to encourage a more closely observed reading, rather than relying on grand impression alone. The ability of architect and patron to mould the style to fit the nature of the space is clear.

The colour scheme of the library, green and gold, might also suggest further influence from the Grosvenor Gallery. The infamous lampoon in the nickname ‘greenery-yallery’, poked at the ‘aesthetic green’ that even retailers Jeffrey & Co had transformed into a fashionable and commercially available paint.<sup>76</sup>

The architect behind the library’s creation was George Edward Fox, to whom Anne paid £200 directly from her account at Hoare’s Bank in 1880.<sup>77</sup> Several plans by Fox, dated 1874, survive showing details of the bookcases, windows, fireplace and details of the stone columns for the main western doorcase leading into the anteroom<sup>78</sup> (FIGURES 3.21, 3.22). It is significant that Fox exhibited a

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<sup>74</sup> W. Crane, *An Artist’s Reminiscences*, London 1905, p. 8.

<sup>75</sup> *Quarterly Review*, CVIII, July, (1860), p. 163.

<sup>76</sup> L. Lambourne, *The Aesthetic Movement*, London 1996, p.58.

<sup>77</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 467 (loose). The Rt Hon The Countess of Warwick, in Account with Messrs Hoare. 27 Apr 1880, G E Fox £200-0-0.

<sup>78</sup> WCRO CR1886 M83 Warwick Castle Plans

view of the ‘New Library at Warwick Castle’ at the Royal Academy in 1883, nearly ten years since the creation of his first plans for Anne.<sup>79</sup> Fox’s first involvement at Warwick may have been as early as 1868, as a Mr Fox’s sketch is mentioned in an estate letter regarding the design of a stand for china.<sup>80</sup> However, no other mention of him during the intervening period has emerged. The 1874 plans show that designs were begun five years before the decoration of the library commenced. This prolonged period must have presumably been caused by delays in reinstating the fabric of the domestic apartment block, undertaken by building contractor Mr J Bromwich of Rugby, who, it appears, had no substantial contact with Anne.

As a devotee to the art of the Gothic, we might speculate as to what Ruskin might have made of this stylistic choice for a room at Warwick Castle. Morris, who had only visited Italy when nearly forty years old, found the Italian Renaissance impressive but lacking in humanity.<sup>81</sup> As a socialist, he was noted for not being able to separate the artefacts of the renaissance from the political regimes that created them, the exact opposite sentiment that Lindsay expressed above in 1860. A library, perhaps, might have evoked less suspicion than if the Great Hall was redecorated with an opulence that was very foreign and out of keeping for English medieval castles. The library was located in a private family space, its inclusion had not affected the outward appearance of the domestic wing.

Fox’s library for Warwick can be compared to two other examples of work in which he was directly involved in this period. Firstly, Fox produced a powerful interpretation of the Italian Renaissance style for the library at Eastnor Castle c.1866 for the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl and Countess Somers<sup>82</sup> (FIGURE 3.23). Fox had also worked alongside J D Crace on the new libraries for the 4<sup>th</sup> Marquess of Bath at his Elizabethan mansion at Longleat, Wiltshire, although his exact involvement is obscure<sup>83</sup> (FIGURE 3.24). John Thynne (1831-1896), 4<sup>th</sup> Marquess of Bath, who had spent considerable time in Italy and had built up a envied collection of Italian paintings, might be likened to the Lindsays, Somers and

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<sup>79</sup> A. Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts, a complete dictionary*, IV, London 1905, p.152

<sup>80</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 630 (loose). Letter from Thomas Gregory (estate worker) Warwick Castle, to Lord Warwick, dated 24 June 1868.

<sup>81</sup> F. MacCarthy, *William Morris*, London 1994, pp.327-330.

<sup>82</sup> “Eastnor Castle” in *Country Life*, 28 November 2012, p. 69.

<sup>83</sup> M. Aldrich, *The Craces: Royal Decorations 1768-1899*, Brighton 1990, p.120.

Warwicks in his aesthetic spirit. Thynne rented Anne and George's London home in St James's in the summer of 1862, yet no material has surfaced to show that they maintained a close friendship.<sup>84</sup>

Both of these libraries predate Fox's work at Warwick, and provide useful comparisons to pinpoint the backdrop of Anne's work. It is undeniable from the start that the Warwick Library occupies a much smaller space than that at Longleat or Eastnor. A continuing theme of Fox's work here was how to balance the various economies of ornament and materials in such a restricted area. Eastnor and Longleat make a greater use of marquetry in their libraries, and is particularly noticeable in the doors, columns, and window shutters (FIGURES 3.25, 3.26). Warwick's new library, in comparison, incorporates painted decoration. There is no evidence to explain why this was the case, however, one might suggest that this choice had to do with cost, as painted decoration would have proven more cost-effective than marquetry.

The details of the woodwork in Eastnor Castle's libraries shows the extraordinary lengths that Fox went to in replicating the details of existing sixteenth-century Italian work, about which Somers boasted to George.<sup>85</sup> The 1889 guide to the castle goes into further detail, explaining the doors were made of Italian walnut inlaid with boxwood, the designs based on those attributed to Bernardino Luini in the sacristy of the Church of Santa Maria della Grazie at Milan.<sup>86</sup> The bookcases and window shutters at Longleat too bear the same quality of work, executed in fine marquetry. As I intend to expand on, Warwick's new library was far less academic in approach, and is suggestive of other influences at play.

Beginning with the ceiling, it is likely based on a highly decorated sixteenth-century original. Fox's plans for it, dated January 1874, give a drawing to scale omitting much of the detailed ornament (FIGURE 3.27). Anne had made two quick sketches of such an ornate, and probably gilded, sixteenth-century Italian ceiling in her Italian notebook.<sup>87</sup> The first gives a more generalised design and the second taking in the details of one coffer with a laurel wreath framing a stylised Renaissance flower at

<sup>84</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 467 (loose). Bill from T and W Wanting relating to repairs made in preparation for Lord Bath dated August 1862.

<sup>85</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 630 (loose). Letter from Charles Somers-Cocks, 3rd Earl Somers, 33 Princes Gate, to Lord Warwick, dated 28 March 1868. "“you saw my doors and shutters which are been done from Fox's designs for the long Library at Eastnor. They were at Favenza's.” Favenza might related to an antiquary Vincenzo Favenza of the same name who sold Bellini's Adoration of the Magi to Sir Henry Layard in Venice in 1866 (now NG3098, National Gallery, London).

<sup>86</sup> Lady H Somerset, *Eastnor Castle*, Eastnor 1889, p.32.

<sup>87</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 481 (loose).

the centre (FIGURE 3.28). The only example found of Anne's husband's thoughts on the decoration of the Library relate to the ceiling.<sup>88</sup>

The resulting design for the ceiling bears no resemblance to one single design from any palazzo in Bologna, seemingly<sup>89</sup> (FIGURE 3.29). However, the size and intimacy of the room may well have represented those found in a regional centre such as Bologna, rather than the powerful Roman ornament found in Dorchester House. The alternating bosses, from pyramidal to rose shaped, are encased in dense grisaille borders of laurel wreaths and interlocking guilloche patterns. The ornament in grisaille resembles some of the plasterwork in the borders from the State Drawing Room at Longleat.

It is in the close details which one begins to find the personal details that we can be sure relate to the interests of Anne and her husband. The profusion of details affords a complex interpretation of the library being a space for learning, moral improvement, expressions of interests and passion for gardening and plants, and a celebration of the castle's illustrious history, all bearing the monograms of its Countess and Warwick. In comparison to the grand libraries of Eastnor and Longleat, the new Warwick Library bears more individual personality of its owners. Although the Warwick library borrows on Italian Renaissance decoration, it cannot be described as a slavish imitation. It was pure imitation that underpinned the distaste of Ruskin and Morris. The decoration found in the libraries of Eastnor and Longleat borrowed strict interpretations of historical ornament. In fact, it may be suggested that the new Warwick Library did embody some of the ideals of the newly heralded 'English Renaissance', which owed a great deal to the success of the Grosvenor and this particularly fruitful period of British art.<sup>90</sup>

Although the library is Italian in spirit, in many details it is profoundly local and English. This is particularly true of the ornaments and details, which I will argue, we can attribute to Anne. As a side

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<sup>88</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 824/12. Lord Warwick, Queen's Hotel Southsea, to Cpt Fosbery, dated 7th Sept 1878. "I am sorry you do not like the bosses – I have had my own doubts about them, but they are taken carefully from the ceilings of some of the best old palaces in Bologna, & I have such confidence in the taste of that time that I hope, when up, they will not disappoint."

<sup>89</sup> There is a vague resemblance to the ceiling in the Sala Farnese in the Palazzo Comunale in Bologna.

<sup>90</sup> This term was coined by notable aesthete Oscar Wilde in an essay and speech in 1882 that:

"I call it our English Renaissance because it is indeed a sort of new birth of the spirit of man, like the great Italian Renaissance of the fifteenth century, in its desire for a more gracious and comely way of life, its passion for physical beauty, its exclusive attention to form, its seeking for new subjects for poetry, new forms of art, new intellectual and imaginative enjoyments: and I call it our romantic movement because it is our most recent expression of beauty" in O. Wilde, *The English Renaissance*, London 1882, p.2.

note, Oscar Wilde's name appears in the guest book of Warwick Castle in April 1879, alongside that of actor Henry Kemble, and Wilde would have seen Anne's artworks in the inaugural Grosvenor Exhibition of 1877.<sup>91</sup>

Much evidence survives pointing towards Anne's significant personal involvement with the designs and execution of the library specifically. She had cut short her summer visit to the continent in the summer of 1877, around the time that Fox had returned to Warwick to presumably continue with work there.<sup>92</sup> It seems that final changes to the design were agreed in August of 1878, as a letter survives from Fox asking to meet Anne to discuss the final designs in person.<sup>93</sup> Final estimates for the library were also sent through by Fox to Anne in October 1878, presumably just before work was to begin.<sup>94</sup>

Several letters from her family seem to suggest that Anne was leading the work herself. Work must have been continuing on the room well into the 1880s as letter from her son Louis indicates that it was Anne's efforts that were keeping momentum going: "I suppose you will have had lots of things to do pushing them on at Warwick - Eva says the library is nearly finished & also papa's little room which must be a great thing for him..."<sup>95</sup>

It also seems that the stress of completing the room had taken its toll on the Countess. Her son wrote again that "Your letter which I received last evening has dispelled many pleasant illusions which I had formed in the first place I had hoped that long ere this you would have been quite recovered you poor dearie instead of still lying helpless in the library and now this idea of a put off is very disturbing..."<sup>96</sup> This begs the question if Anne's personal involvement in this room was also due to necessity, and lack of funds in the face of delays and a possible strike or 'put off'.

It is likely that the work was completed in phases. The elaborate frieze above the bookcases must have been completed a year after work was begun, as Holt sent through his final estimate for the work

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<sup>91</sup> WCRO CR1886 TN448. Warwick Castle Guest Book.

<sup>92</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 824/12. Letter from Lord Warwick, Homburg, Frankfurt, to Captain Fosbery, dated 3rd August 1877.

<sup>93</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 468 (loose). Letter from George Edward Fox to Anne, Countess of Warwick, dated 7 Aug 1878.

<sup>94</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 486 (loose). Letter from George Edward Fox to Anne, Countess of Warwick, dated 12 October 1878.

<sup>95</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 486 (loose), letter from Louis Greville, British Embassy [Italy?], to Anne Countess of Warwick, dated May 2 1884.

<sup>96</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 486 (loose), letter from Louis Greville, British Legion Copenhagen, to Anne Countess of Warwick, dated 24 June 1881.

roughly a year later in December 1879<sup>97</sup> (FIGURE 3.30). One small watercolour, presumably in Fox's hand survives, bearing notations regarding to colouring presumably for the artists executing the murals.<sup>98</sup> It consists of emblems and sayings of the Seven Sages of Greece, which herald warnings against excess, surety, and pride in favour of self-knowledge, moderation, forethought and knowing one's opportunity. Such strong overtones are synonymous with the moralising reformist strands of the Victorian age at large. Their appearance in a library, a centre of learning, as a reminder for their heirs of their moral responsibilities is also a relevant consideration. The emblems themselves, which might have been inspired from any sixteenth or seventeenth-century books of *Emblemata*, are joined together with scrolling ribbons, and hung together with garlands of laurels. They are executed in bright colours, and the overall design is reminiscent of Coutts Lindsay's work on the frieze of the Red Drawing Room in Dorchester House. A draft letter by Anne, presumably to Holt remarks the slow progress on the library, explains that it was her husband's illness that took her away from supervising the works on site. The letter also contains little sketches which bear a little resemblance to the frieze above the bookcases.<sup>99</sup> The final surviving bill for the painting of the frieze for £492-14-1 was submitted to Anne by Holt on 6 May 1880.<sup>100</sup>

It is the columns of the bookcases which provide the greatest sense of individual personality imparted by the Countess and add to the profusion of artistic detail in the room. The overriding themes of history, family and beauty are encountered throughout. Once more, the inspiration for much of the gilding is unique, and reminiscent of a typically English interpretation of the Renaissance style. One detailed watercolour of designs intended for the bookcase columns, signed by Fox and dated April 1875, survives<sup>101</sup> (FIGURE 3.31). This design involved a more faithful reproduction of Renaissance grotesque work, however, in typical style, this design was not followed.

Payments to Holt indicate that charges were made for the gold-leaf required for 'laying ornament to bookcases' in August 1879.<sup>102</sup> One quote seems to suggest that the majority of the work Holt was

<sup>97</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 486 (loose). Letter from George Edward Fox to Anne, Countess of Warwick, dated 11 December 1879.

<sup>98</sup> I am particularly grateful to Paul Baker bringing my attention to the name of the French-born painter Tony (Antoine) Dury (d.1896) who is referred to as one of the artists who was employed to work on the Library at Warwick Castle. His involvement is referenced in *Leamington Spa Courier* 3 June 1904. Dury became a painter for Holland & Holt, making his mark in the painting of stained glass.

<sup>99</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 468 (loose), draft letter from Anne Countess of Warwick to [Holt] ?, undated.

<sup>100</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 468 (loose), Bill from F Holt of Warwick, dated 6 May 1880.

<sup>101</sup> WCRO CR1886 M83.

<sup>102</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 467 (loose). Bill from F Holt of Warwick, dated 20 Aug 1889.

engaged with required stencils, particularly relating to the more repetitive areas including cornices of the bookcases and the borders.<sup>103</sup> The upper frieze of swans, the Grevilles' emblem, must have been completed using stencils. Another short letter from Holt to the Countess dated to 8th October 1879 suggests that some of the window cases and a large door were ready for arrival, yet, also suggest that designs were still required from Fox for decoration.<sup>104</sup> The other descriptions of payments made at the same time indicate much more general painting work, including painting the bookcases '3 coats white' in preparation for more detailed work.

Women dedicating time to paint decorations on their doors, or their rooms in general, was not uncommon in this precise period. The practice even found its way into a cartoon published by *Hearth and Home* in 1895 entitled *The Career Path of the Artistic Girl*. The attempt of this cartoon was to suggest the progress in which affluent middle-class women might employ their time in the branches of the decorative arts, with painting doors as the first step.<sup>105</sup>

If Anne was involved personally in gilding, then it is conceivable that her efforts would have remained on the columns most obvious and visually accessible. There are many examples of Anne purchasing quantities of gold-leaf, and various gilders' cushions and tracing papers, from the London picture restorers Charles E Clifford.<sup>106</sup> It is also plausible that Anne sourced materials and colours directly through Holt, which were added to their final bills. For example, a substantial list of colours for ceramics entered in a Bill from 1876 might well have been intended for Anne's use.<sup>107</sup> We know that Anne was proficient in the art of gilding through book binding. The article in *The Gentlewoman* mentions "Book-binding is a favourite study and an art which she successfully practises, having, too, as models for her endeavours the exquisite bindings of the rare volumes which Lord Warwick counts amongst his greatest treasures."<sup>108</sup> These often required the use of tracing dense ornament at least one example of such a tracing survives in her papers.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 468 (loose). Letter from F Holt of Warwick to Lady Warwick [officially addressed to Lord Warwick] dated 24 Oct 1878.

<sup>104</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 468 (loose). Letter from F Holt of Warwick to Lady Warwick, dated Oct 8 1879.

<sup>105</sup> A. Anderson, "The China Painter: amateur celebrities" in *Crafting the woman professional in the long nineteenth century*, London 2016, pp.124-5

<sup>106</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 469 (loose), bill dated 1882, including back-payments from 1877-1880.

<sup>107</sup> WCRO CR 1886 Box 468 (loose), Bill from F Holt of Warwick, dated 1876.

<sup>108</sup> *The Gentlewoman*, no.76, III, 19 September 1891, p.1.

<sup>109</sup> WCRO CR1887 Box 467 (loose), elaborate tracing of laurel wreaths, suitable for book binding.

These details make it clear that it was Anne's intention to write her and her husband's efforts into the long history of Warwick Castle. Their own role in the restoration would be placed alongside the work and architecture of old, showing again the role that history played in their choices. Indeed, there are several columns, close to the doors in the south-eastern corner of the room, that were completed in free handed gilding (FIGURE 3.32). Moving in a curious direction from top right to bottom left, it features a tableau of medallion portraits, hung from ribbons and wreaths, of the various owners of the castle. It begins with Thomas de Beauchamp the elder, the medieval 11th Earl of Warwick who initiated the stone fortress that survives, and features a small view of the East Front of the Castle. The right side then ends with Thomas de Beauchamp the younger, 12<sup>th</sup> Earl of Warwick, and features playful depictions of weapons, shields, burning pitch and culminating in a siege machine.

The next side progresses to the late seventeenth-century Grevilles who initiated the domestic apartments (indicated with a ground plan map, dates 1660-76, and EXEDRA [living room?]). After this, then appears a roundel depicting the disastrous 1871 fire, the event which initiated the rebuilding, and next a map showing the new outline of rooms including the words BIBLIOTHECA [library]. Then appears the Greville crest and Swan, progressing to a fine portrait of Anne's husband, the George Earl of Warwick, and a view of the new Great Hall (ALVA MAGNA) presented proudly in front of a draped cloth.

Several drawings of George's portrait survive in Anne's papers, many of which might be connected with attempts to design a memorial to her husband after his death in 1893 (See Chapter 6) (FIGURE 3.33). It seems she cared deeply about commemorating her husband's achievements, and a sign of immense modesty perhaps as there are no images of her to be found.

References to other living family members are also present in the library, alongside those of Anne. It is also notable that the monogram 'AW' [Anne Warwick] appears in several key areas. Firstly, it appears in the upper frieze, carved in stone on the decoration of the grand door way which leads into the anteroom. Here an interwoven 'WB' [Warwick – Brooke] is flanked by two interwoven 'AW's [Anne Warwick] (FIGURE 3.34). Also, the initials 'AW' appear on the gilded decoration of the

window shutters accompanied by bouquets of stylised lilies (or bluebells) (FIGURE 3.35). Curiously, the window shutters on the far eastern window bear the monogram 'EG', which can only relate to Anne's daughter Lady Eva Greville, who too was an artist and may have assisted her mother. We might speculate why the initials of Anne appear with such frequency, yet it might be too fanciful to suggest that they might have acted as Anne's signature and presence to the room. Anne often sketched her monogram on sheets of paper, incorporated them onto her painted silk screens (see Chapter 6) and signed her artworks AW<sup>110</sup> (FIGURE 3.36). Initials of notable persons, and their heraldry, is commonplace in the more official rooms of stately homes. However, in this case, we might speculate that the initials had an artistic function also.

Another strong feature encountered on the columns, and the two doors, is the highly decorative arrangements of flowers (FIGURE 3.37). Much evidence survives to show that Anne possessed a serious interest in flowers. A vast handwritten book of hers records flowers and their specific colours and tones, along with pen drawings of designs found in significant British and European gardens she had visited, survives in the archive.<sup>111</sup> Anne too was personally involved in the commissioning of Robert Marnock to plant a brand new Tudor Rose Garden at Warwick Castle between 1868-9, including instructing the gardener herself in August 1868.<sup>112</sup> She painted a great deal of flowers, typical for female artists in the period and had even confessed in a letter to her husband in 1865 to having spent an evening budding roses till quarter to nine at night.<sup>113</sup> Against the dark green ground, the sheer amount of gilded flowers in their various arrangements make a bold visual impression. The panels of the two doors, which do not follow the arrangement Fox had suggested in his plans of 1874, consist of two vases filled with roses (with some perhaps being Tudor roses). The fluidity of the roses is such that they do not readily imitate Italian examples and are much more flamboyant and decorative than the examples of the archaeologically inspired ornament found at Eastnor or Longleat. In style, they bear more resemblance to the profuse and dense decorative aesthetic movement floral patterns in

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<sup>110</sup> Many surviving watercolours at Warwick Castle bear the signature AW (often inter-twined), and examples of her sketches of AW are found in WCRO CR1886 Box 467 (loose).

<sup>111</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 474 (loose).

<sup>112</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 630 (loose). Letter from Lady Warwick to Lord Warwick, 19th August 1868.

<sup>113</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 630 (loose). Letter from Lady Warwick to Lord Warwick, June 1865.

textiles by designers B J Talbert or even William Morris (FIGURE 3.38). The golden rose an historicised version of the sunflower, a flower so often associated with the aesthetic movement.

Anne seems to have submitted changes to many of Fox's initial designs. In the most prominent feature, the fireplace, Fox's 1874 plan shows a much shallower Italian renaissance construction, presumably intended to be made from stone, featuring niches for statues and a central motif bearing the Greville coat of arms. This, however, was never realised. A letter from George to his estate manager explains; "Lady Warwick is very anxious that I should move the carved Italian Chimney piece from the little red sitting room into the new room, & put it on the river side – she has never liked it where it is –..."<sup>114</sup> That this carved Italian chimney piece ended up in the New Library, can be attributed to Anne<sup>115</sup> (FIGURE 3.39). The painted top of the fireplace, however, is emblazoned with an ornate Greville coat of arms, flanked by proud swans joined decoratively with the walls with laurel swags. More practical documents also survive with recipes for painting the insides of fireplaces.<sup>116</sup>

It is clear that Anne was happy to engage with contractors on financial matters. She visited Holt in October 1878, before work had begun, to complain about the high estimates that the library decoration would cost.<sup>117</sup> In the adjoining Anteroom to the library, Anne had also complained to the decorators Plucknett that their increased prices were unacceptable. Writing in a draft letter dated 2<sup>nd</sup> August 1878 she explained:

Lrd Warwick has asked Lady Warwick to write to Mr Plucknett on the subject of his acct... Lord Warwick thinks, & Ldy Warwick also, that it is a most enormous charge for the making of the bookcases in the Lobby – for Mr Pluknett will remember that where it was proposed to have low bookcases only the estimate was £17 or £18 & in deciding to have the upper bookcases Mr Plucknet will remember that all the ornamental part pilasters & indeed the entire frontage had only to be advanced & therefore it does seem most unreasonable to make this large sum now of £78! ... It is given as a reason that the existing woodwork required so

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<sup>114</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 824/12. Letter from Lord Warwick, Queen's Hotel, Southsea, to Captain Fosbery, dated 7th September 1878.

<sup>115</sup> Pevsner had noted the incongruence of the highly ornate canopy chimney piece, which he described as bearing a greater resemblance to the mannerism of Francois I rather than Italian renaissance. See N. Pevsner, A Wedgwood (ed.), *Warwickshire; the buildings of England*, London 1966, p.456.

<sup>116</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 469 (loose), 'Receipe for Red Distemper colour', nd.

<sup>117</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 469 (loose). Letter from Holt, St John's Warwick, to Lady Warwick, dated 11th October 1878.

much repairing – but it must be remembered that the woodwork was put up by M Pluknett only 5 or 6 years ago ... Lady Warwick begged Mr Pluknett to give an estimate for the work, but was told she wd have no reason to be dissatisfied which she certainly feels is not the case.<sup>118</sup>

Appealing for sympathy for her use of a local decorator, in a decidedly barbed comment, she also explained that “Lady Warwick is always glad to employ Warwick people, especially those with whom she has been long acquainted.”<sup>119</sup> The contrast between using ‘Warwick people’ and presumably more fashionable or esteemed ‘London people’ (or decorators) is good evidence that she understood the significance of her patronage to local provincial decorators.

Finally, a watercolour of Anne’s surviving at Warwick Castle depicts an elegantly dressed lady occupying this very room (FIGURE 3.40). It is unlikely to be a self-portrait, as it does not bear any resemblance to Anne personally. However, it might be a depiction of her daughter Lady Eva, daughter-in-law Frances Evelyn or another friend close friend at ease enjoying this new beautiful and comfortable room (to be developed in Chapter 4). The pencil work shows an enormous labour that went into depicting the furniture and accessories on the table. So too with the decoration, which can be seen loosely sketched into the columns and shutters. Importantly, this watercolour shows us how this space was used, a significant point of view compared with contemporary photographs which are always devoid of figures (FIGURE 3.41). Here we see that the library was indeed a place for artistic inspiration for the Countess, as well as enjoyment and comfort.

### **3.5 Conclusion**

I have discussed the significant involvement Anne had in the architectural details of Warwick Castle’s new Great Hall and Library. Using the archive to chart Anne’s involvement, we witness the broad influence she had in deciding architectural details as well as the practical processes for its construction and final decoration. Her patronage was not passive but highly personal and defined her artistic

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<sup>118</sup> WCRO CR1887 Box 468 (loose), draft letter from Anne Countess of Warwick to William Pluknett, dated 2nd August.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*

persona. She used the decoration of these rooms to negotiate her distinctive interests in artistic, aesthetic, historic and familial matters. Anne's personal network of aristocratic aesthetes played a considerable part in her and her husband's choices when it came to redesigning their ancient home. Yet, in comparison to interiors designed by their shared architect Fox, it is clear that Anne's choices were individual and personalised to suit her interests and aesthetic. The influence of a distinctively elaborate and aristocratic form of Aestheticism is also visible, especially in the new Italian Library which embodies an eclecticism and rejects strict historicism in favour of individualism.

## Chapter 4 – Anne and the Aesthetic Movement

### 4.1 Introduction

In her love of the beautiful, Lady Warwick has somewhat shocked the severe taste of antiquarians...

*The Gentlewoman*, Saturday 19 December 1891

Here, I will examine Anne's relationship with the broader aspects of Aestheticism, particularly in relation to the interior furnishing and decorating of Warwick Castle after the 1871 fire. What does her interest suggest about the broad appeal of Aestheticism and some of its key concepts? How could a Countess import these new ideas into her important historic home? What precedents were there to follow? What role did other women, family and printed sources play in influencing and guiding Anne's aesthetic desires? Overall, how does Anne further complicate our understanding of Aestheticism?

This chapter will delve further into the complexity of Anne's identification as an aristocrat and aesthete during the 1870s to 80s. Many scholars have tended to focus on London-centric aspiring middle-class examples from this particular era of Victorian Britain. A study of Anne's involvement in the redesign of the interiors of Warwick Castle illustrates that the aesthetic movement's appeal reached much further than the fashionable London circles and 'Queen-Anne' houses that are more widely known and celebrated. Anne's work is testament that aristocratic women, possessing traditional conservative values, could also be interested in engaging with some of the major elements of the movement. Furthermore, it is clear that these women thought so highly of many of its trappings that they would happily transplant them into their traditional ancient historic homes.

Writers have previously emphasised the highly democratising influence the aesthetic movement had on society, with a particular focus on the unleashing of the middle classes into the realms of personal individualisation through art. Scholars such as Linda Dowling, whose work is particularly geared towards exploring the philosophical notions behind the new aesthetic ideals of this period, identified supposed fears that had initiated these radical movements in the Victorian Britain of the 1870s.

Firstly, that the previous age of art had been “undone by a Court-directed materialism of luxury and corruption”, and that it had lost art’s transcendent value in favour of wealth and consumption.<sup>1</sup> This too had been emphasised by Lucy Hartley who emphasised the democratic liberal values attached to opening up beauty and aesthetic ideals to more diverse groups than before.<sup>2</sup>

Such theories as promoted by Dowling do very little in explaining why and exactly how an aristocrat like Anne would have subscribed to such beliefs, especially if the blame for the corruption in art was placed at those of her class. Places such as Warwick Castle might have been held up as a physical manifestation of traditional Tory aristocratic privilege. If it is true, as Cohen suggests, that

“Aristocrats, though oftentimes conspicuous consumers, did not secure their status by their household possessions...”,<sup>3</sup> why did aesthetic design and household possession seemingly matter so much to Anne? Identifying the movement as a solely affluent middle-class venture does not neatly explain Anne’s pursuits. This is despite her being equally interested in the new opportunities for women to educate themselves through mass printed literature, alongside finding refuge in the growth of fashionable London retailers and consumer culture.

What was distinctive about Anne in this sense? I will illustrate how Anne was expressing several identities in her approach, as a woman, artist and aristocrat. Her work at Warwick during this period helped to satisfy a great deal of these identities. Indeed, such a harmony existed between these voices that it suggests these perceived boundaries of her class did not matter as much as one might have naturally assumed. She was able to confide her artistic interests in her social circle of female aristocrat

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<sup>1</sup> L. Dowling, *The Vulgarisation of Art*, Virginia 1996, pp. 18-21.

<sup>2</sup> L. Hartley, *Democratising beauty in nineteenth-century Britain*, Cambridge 2017.

<sup>3</sup> D. Cohen, *Household gods*, New Haven 2006, p.86.

aesthetes, decorate her ancient seat in a manner recognisable to the themes associated with the movement, as well as study printed literature at home.

Her effect on Warwick Castle, a significant historic building as well as her home, will remain central to the argument. Its position as a building embedded in British history and possessing marvellous interiors, alongside its growing popularity as a visitor attraction, makes this study even more intriguing. Aestheticism must have been a self-conscious approach, especially as her house would be on show. Mandler has shown that in this exact period, the 1880s, more pressure was put on the Earl than ever before to open the Castle's doors as a visitor attraction throughout the summer months.<sup>4</sup> By 1889 annual visitor numbers had crept up to twenty five thousand, and peaked at forty thousand in 1905, two years after Anne died.<sup>5</sup> The rooms of this particular chapter, however, were much more private in origin than the Great Hall and Library, and thus present a complex balancing act between the influences of fashion, family interests and her choices and personal taste as a female artist. Despite the private nature of these rooms, they would have undoubtedly been seen by the close aristocratic friends of the family as highlighted in the previous chapter, including the Lindsays, Somerses and Joplings. The guest books of the castle record the important guests who flocked through its doors, which included artists, architects, actors, aristocrats and royalty (see footnote).<sup>6</sup> Warwick Castle, therefore, was therefore not the private experiment of a West London aesthete, but of an artistically-minded Countess who was self-conscious in her pursuits.

The surviving archival evidence allows us to pursue Anne's interest in Aestheticism despite the lack of surviving original works of art, furniture or preserved interiors. Many of the individual objects that once adorned these rooms have been periodically sold off or dispersed since the beginning of the twentieth century, making the exact identification of certain objects very difficult.<sup>7</sup> Equally, the surviving 1894 inventory is of immense value, yet the descriptions are often frustratingly vague and

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<sup>4</sup> P. Mandler, *The fall and rise of the Stately Home*, New Haven 1999, pp. 217-219.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p.220.

<sup>6</sup> WCRO CR1886 TN 448. Guest Book. Including architects William Burges in July 1877, painter Frederick Leighton in July 1877, the Duke of Westminster and family in August 1877, B A Paice (President) & members of the Architectural Association in August 1877, The Duke of Norfolk in April 1878, Lord and Lady Jersey in October 1878, Oscar Wilde accompanied by the actor Henry Kemble in April 1878, Mr & Mrs Alma Tadema in June 1880, American Art Historian Harry Huntington Powers in August 1873, The Marquis and Marchioness of Bath in October 1873, Prince Leopold in June 1875, The Prince of Lichtenstein in August 1875, the Duchess of Marlborough and entourage in October 1875, the Marquis of Hertford and family in November 1875, Rajah Pretap Singh of Narsingargh in June 1888, Countess Spencer and entourage in May 1886, Comtessa Dolla Sorraglia Doria Pamhijl in August 1889.

<sup>7</sup> Sales at Christie's began in 1896, and then again in 1936, and later at Sotheby's in 1968 and 1978.

must have been compiled by laymen possessing none of the descriptive terminology required for cataloguing furniture and works of art accurately. Fortunately, the evidence does survive in Anne's papers. It shows the great care that was taken with the details of furniture and artworks selected for the interiors. Learning about the appeal of Aestheticism through such archival documentation allows for a deeper understanding of exactly how Aestheticism spread through the lives and homes of women such as Anne. This approach allows for remarkable details to be pulled out from the evidence of exactly how far aristocratic women responded to themes encountered in the movement. However, from a visual sense, of equal frustration are the photographs that do not exist or have not survived for certain key rooms. This allows for only a partial reconstruction of the exact intentions of the rooms in the castle, and thus the archival evidence replaces what has been lost to time.

## 4.2 The Gentlewoman at Home

Anne's appearance in *The Gentlewoman at Home* feature in 1891 is significant. It provides a solid starting point from which to appreciate what drove Anne's distinctive aesthetic persona and artistic and expressive ambitions<sup>8</sup> (FIGURE 4.1). Here, undoubtedly the most far-reaching example in print, Anne was publicly portraying herself as an artist and aesthete equal to being the worthy inhabitant of an historic title and home. Most notably, its publication coincided with a rise in fascination for features on famous individuals from Victorian Britain, starting with *The World's* feature on 'Celebrities at Home' in 1874 edited by Edmund Yates for print. Cohen describes that this brand new opportunity to invite readers into one's home was in part a collective consciousness that "the domestic interior expressed its inhabitant's inner self."<sup>9</sup> The author continued to explain that although the "well-to-do" lavished great deals of attention on interiors in the past, little of this had to do with any true form of self-expression.<sup>10</sup> Her argument then follows a fairly traditional narrative of looking at the ways middle-class Britain harnessed its purchasing power to delve into a "feverish quest" for individuality.<sup>11</sup> The homes of artists, not to mention writers and poets, too would be the focus of these

<sup>8</sup> *The Gentlewoman*, no.76, III, (Dec 19 1891), pp. 81-82.

<sup>9</sup> D. Cohen, *Household Gods, the British and their Possessions*, New Haven 2006, pp. 122-123.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* p. 124.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* p. 125.

features, including Gustav Doré of whom Anne had met and produced a portrait of (Chapter 6). These would often place particular emphasis on the uniquely artistic nature of these interiors, featuring the quote ‘An artist, sir, should rest in art’.<sup>12</sup> The homes of Frederic Leighton and John Ruskin also came under the examination of such features, showing that establishment artistic figures too were involved in this public display. It is obvious Anne was particularly interested in placing herself up for public review in a way that mirrored these established aesthetes.

Using this pattern, it is therefore interesting that a top-tier aristocrat would engage with this same quest in such an overtly public way. This article seems to have been the only time that Anne put herself and her particularly artistic ambitions ‘on stage’, and therefore, provides a unique opportunity to analyse its significance – as well as gaining a greater first-hand understanding of how Anne viewed herself.

A surviving letter from the editor, asking Anne to participate in the form of an article, seems to have been pitched as an opportunity for her to promote the upcoming charitable bazaar at the Castle.<sup>13</sup> The annual bazaar was the most public philanthropic event in Anne’s calendar, and was partly geared towards spreading Aestheticism into the provinces (to be explored in Chapter 5). Little was made of what exactly the article would focus on, yet the editor’s initial suggestion of having profiles of the key ladies involved with the enterprise was obviously abandoned. This is suggestive that Anne’s personal tour of the castle and her explanations of her decades of work there must have made for engaging content for the magazine.

The article is initially concerned with the illustrious history of the castle. Only in the third paragraph does Anne appear as the newcomer with a particularly artistic eye:

One so keenly alive to artistic effect, and so appreciative of antiquity as coming herself of an ancient Scottish race, the young Countess of Warwick must have felt thoroughly in tune with the sentiment of her new home. And that feeling has gone on increasing with ripened association, so that Lady Warwick pardonably thinks there is no place like the Castle.

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<sup>12</sup>E. Yates, *Celebrities at home*, London 1877, p. 139.

<sup>13</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 468 (loose). Letter from J S Wood to Lady Warwick, 19 Nov 1891, from Howard House, Arundel Street, Strand.

The rich description of Anne's Boudoir, which the article frames as her artistic refuge, specifically points out her taste and abilities in configuring her room as going hand-in-hand with her artistic achievements:

The room is quite unique. It is panelled with old French carving painted white, with the flowers of the carved wood painted in their natural colours, giving the effect of Dresden china [To be explored]... The furniture is old cream brocade, set in grey plush. It is so pretty and artistic as only to have been "thought out" by the lady who, during the early years of her married life, gained the Crown Princess of Prussia's gold medal for amateur painting on porcelain, who exhibited a portrait of her daughter, Lady Eva Greville, at the Royal Academy; and who gained the first prize for painted tapestry. You will have not been long in Lady Warwick's society before you are impressed with two facts, namely, that you are holding converse with a nature which is all kindness and gentleness, and, that you are in the presence of one possessed of a *bel esprit* which is especially enthusiastic on all matters artistic.

As highlighted in Chapter 2, Anne's Louis XV Boudoir had been a significant room in the Countess's involvement in the castle's interiors during 1858-9. Its rebuilding will be examined further later in this chapter.

The rest of the article focused on Anne's preparations for the upcoming bazaar to be held at the castle. A key point is made to suggest that her involvement in the Castle's new features, as well as it hosting such an artistic and public event, was pitted against the decidedly historic 'nature' of the place. This is a surprising suggestion that Anne was involved in a kind of subversion through her acts. These were acts which the writer of this article, and presumably the readers of this magazine, were in support of and cast as decidedly distinctive. Painted as someone who was breathing new life and *beauty* into this deeply historic building, it is explained that:

In her love of the beautiful, Lady Warwick has somewhat shocked the severe taste of antiquarians by introducing terraced walks and lovely parterres in close proximity to the ancient walls, but the beauty of the gardens, with their wealth of flowering shrubs, makes

simple amends for any violation of the canons of austerity in respect to ancient castle. (...)

The antiquarian will probably stand aghast when they hear that Caesar's Tower has been relegated to the fripperies of millinery, while American drinks – but there, we will spare their feelings. It is not the dry-as-dust antiquarians, but youth and beauty, with bright looks and rippling laughter, well able to hold their own, who are wandering in and out the Castle gates during the days of the Great Bazaar.

Such a comparison between the old antiquarians and the new younger generation of art lovers, obviously overlooked that Anne was sixty-two years old when this was published. This description must have been formulated to show Anne as a woman who was entirely in tune with the youth of 1891. This is a surprising fact considering that her position in society. Her photographic portrait that accompanies the article, showing her in profile, is also rather severe, mature and atypical from the youthful and beautiful Rossetti-esque aesthetic maiden usually portrayed by scholars.

#### 4.3 Printed Materials

Where did Anne find influence for her interest in Aestheticism? There is plenty of evidence to suggest that Anne was entirely up-to-date with the latest reading material geared towards educating women in the field of interiors during the 1880s. Her daughter-in-law-described her as “ a genuine artist, well-read and a good talker...”<sup>14</sup> During the late nineteenth century, the increasing availability of published books allowed women to experience the increasing aestheticist trends in interior design in a way that was not possible in the 1850s. A surviving inventory of the books at Warwick Castle (1925) suggest that Anne had access to rather important reading materials connected with the movement. We might attribute the enormous amounts of books on art, design and architecture to her and her husband, due to their heirs being widely uninterested in books and the arts in general.<sup>15</sup> Most surprising perhaps for an aristocrat possessing an ancient home, Anne owned a copy of Clarence Cook's *The House Beautiful*

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<sup>14</sup> F. E. Maynard, Countess of Warwick, *Life's Ebb & Flow*, London 1929, p.35.

<sup>15</sup> Anne's daughter-in-law wrote in her memoirs that “...I had never been influenced by books”, and went on to say that “nobody influenced me. This is the truth.” F. E. Maynard, Countess of Warwick, *Afterthoughts*, London 1931, p.188.

(1878).<sup>16</sup> Cook's book, which scholars describe as one of the 'cheap' manuals which was regularly pirated for popular consumption, was dedicated to giving advice to women in pursuit of the new fashions promoted by the Aesthetic Movement.<sup>17</sup> Its intended audience however, was decidedly not for women who owned castles. Rather it was intended for young married women "who find themselves in a 'whole house'", or new owners of 'Queen Anne' apartments in the suburbs of London.<sup>18</sup> This beautifully bound volume also contained many views of decidedly intimate and domestic interiors, sporting highly fashionable 'Queen Anne' furniture. The thought of transferring ideas from such a publication into such a grand setting questions our natural assumptions of the movement's appeal.

Anne also owned a copy of Mary Eliza Haweis's seminal *The Art of Beauty* (1878).<sup>19</sup> Cohen attributed the proliferation of such books to the awakening of middle-class artistic sensibilities, with Mrs Haweis herself assuming propagandising roles as 'Lady art advisors', a new position associated with the last decades of the nineteenth century.<sup>20</sup> Haweis, the wife of a reverend, came from this very same affluent middling class for which these books were produced, and thus a great distance from Anne's social situation. It is therefore surprising that Anne might have found Haweis's notes on the colours of drapery useful in the furnishing of Warwick Castle. Evidence suggests Anne could have perhaps agreed with Haweis's sentiment that rather than employing a firm to undertake works in a house "I do not approve of delegating to other what is so completely our own department as the decoration of the home...so that the house may reflect the owner's taste and character."<sup>21</sup> Many aristocrats of the previous century, and much of the nineteenth, were far more used to employing firms and cabinet makers to provide furnishings entirely 'en suite'. The approach of using dealers such as Pratt, encountered in Chapter 2, reflects perhaps this older model of patronage. The contrast between this previous method and using a book like the ones produced by Haweis and Cook shows a remarkable shift between approaches.

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<sup>16</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 807 / 33 Catalogue of Books at Warwick Castle. Noted as being on 'Tables' in the Library.

<sup>17</sup> C. Gere, L. Hoskins, *The House Beautiful, Oscar Wilde and the aesthetic interior*, London 2000, p. 81, pp.90-92.

<sup>18</sup> C. Cook, *The House Beautiful*, New York 1878, p.158.

<sup>19</sup> Sold Cadogan Rooms, Knightsbridge, 'Removed from Warwick House, St James's Palace', Wednesday 11 December 1907, a part of Lot 362.

<sup>20</sup> Op cit. Cohen, pp.63-5.

<sup>21</sup> M. E. Haweis, *The Art of Beauty*, London 1878, p.239.

There is no evidence that suggests that Anne owned a copy of Charles Eastlake's earlier *Hints on Household Taste* (1869), which educated and warned against the trivialities of following fashion and consumerism in favour of 'good' taste.<sup>22</sup> Here Anne might have found this tome more appealing to her class. It is possible that there were more books she owned on the subject of interior design that went unidentified in book sales from Warwick House and Warwick Castle. In contrast, we have examples of over ten books and manuals on gardening that Anne owned.<sup>23</sup>

Her papers make it clear that she was intimately interested in serious academic books as well as manuals by Cook and Haweis. Vast lists survive of recently printed volumes on art, design, fashion as well as novels, indicating a keen interest in searching out printed material on the subject. This might include highly theoretical yet practical books such as Frank Jackson's *Theory & Practise of design with 700 illustrations* (1894)<sup>24</sup> (FIGURE 4.2). Later surviving bills also highlight that she was buying 'books' from the Royal School of Needlework.<sup>25</sup> She also had a subscription to the lending Library of the Grosvenor Gallery and received their catalogues of recent additions.<sup>26</sup> Although less well known than the sensational exhibitions that were established there, scholars have recognised the Gallery's amenities such as its 'Ladies Room' in attracting and retaining affluent women to its establishment as a site of pleasure and rest<sup>27</sup> (FIGURE 4.3). Furthermore, Anne could easily find inspiration from the Castle's library which was suitably stocked and geared towards scholarly books on art, travel and early modern history.<sup>28</sup>

The evidence above is highly suggestive that Anne had access to many relevant materials to explore her passion and interest in art and current fashions. Both her own library, and lending libraries such as

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<sup>22</sup> T. Logan, *The Victorian Parlour*, Cambridge 2001, p.82-83.

<sup>23</sup> Sold Cadogan Rooms, Knightsbridge, 'Removed from Warwick House, St James's Palace', Thursday 12 December 1907, Lot. 814 (sold for £1-12-0). Relevant texts include Alfred Austen's *The Garden that I love* (1894), Eleanor Vere Boyle's *Day and Hours in a Garden* (1887) and *A Garden of Pleasure* (1895) (all bundled in with ten other unidentified books and Lot 821 consisting of over 100 unidentified volumes).

<sup>24</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 467 (loose). Nd.

<sup>25</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 467 (loose). Books bought alongside screens, bottles etc. on 13 Nov 1894 & 15 Mar 1895.

<sup>26</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 467 (loose). A bill for subscription, 3rd May 1895; WCRO CR1886 Box 469 (loose). Catalogue dated to Dec 1894.

<sup>27</sup> C. Denny, *At the Temple of Art, The Grosvenor Gallery*, Madison 2000, p.150.

<sup>28</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 807 / 33 Catalogue of Books at Warwick Castle. For nineteenth century architecture and interiors, there were copies of Nash's enormous bound *Illustrations of The Mansions of England in the Olden Time* (1839-40), Pugin's *Gothic Architecture* (1821) and *Ornaments of the 15th and 16th Centuries* (1836). There was also a copy of Chippendale's second edition of the Cabinet Directory (1762), and Sheraton's *The Cabinet Maker & Upholsterer's Drawing-Book* (1794). Other notable books included Ruskin's *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849), Serlio's *The First Book of Architecture* (1611), A Malone's three volume *Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds* (1801) E P R James's *Memoirs of Celebrated Women* (1837). William Young Ottley's *The Italian School of Design* (1823), Rev J T James's *Italian School of Painting* (1820), Three volumes of George Vertue's *Anecdotes of Paintings* (1765).

the Grosvenor, would have allowed her to keep in touch with current trends not usually associated with owners of historic castles.

#### 4.4 Letters from Virginia Countess Somers

Other aristocratic female aesthetes also provided the opportunity to discuss and share ideas regarding the decoration of interiors. The most telling and revelatory example of Anne's interest in the minute details of decoration appears in a set of seven highly detailed letters from her friend Virginia Somers (1827-1910), *née* Pattle, Countess Somers, dating to May 1880<sup>29</sup> (FIGURE 4.4 & 4.5). Much of the scholarship that touches on Virginia's contribution is often geared towards her family's artistic connections and her celebrated beauty, as Ruskin had dubbed her "The Elgin Marbles with Dark Eyes".<sup>30</sup> Virginia's appearance in recent published material often gravitates towards her relationship with the celebrated male artists in her life. This has included her friendship with the artist George Frederic Watts, whose romantic feelings towards Virginia has been the speculation of several scholars.<sup>31</sup> Her relationship with Coutts Lindsay, with whom Virginia is also said to have charmed and accused of being her admirer, has also clouded her reputation in biographies.<sup>32</sup> Virginia's eventual marriage to Charles Somers-Cocks, later 3rd Earl Somers, was a not-uncommon example of a mercantile family marrying into the aristocracy. Her background, being wealthy middling class rather than purely aristocratic like Anne, would enable her to fall into the popular social narrative of the female aesthete. Anderson had classed Virginia amongst the 'aesthetic elite' who had been "marrying up through art", an example perhaps of reverse snobbery that the scholar connected to Wilde's critique of skin deep 'lifestyle Aestheticism'.<sup>33</sup> These letters, however, make it clear that Virginia and Anne's interest in furnishing rooms was informed and executed with a remarkable energy.

Virginia's interest in the decoration and furnishing of interiors has never been, to my knowledge, recognised or acknowledged by any scholar or biographer. This is probably due to the comparatively

<sup>29</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 469 (Loose). 7 Letters dating from May 1880.

<sup>30</sup> T. Hilton, *John Ruskin*, New Haven 2002, p.275.

<sup>31</sup> V. F Gould, *G.F. Watts The last great Victorian*, New Haven 2004, pp.27-29.

<sup>32</sup> V. Surtees, *Coutts Lindsay 1824-1913*, Norwich 1993, p. 63, 78, 105, 113.

<sup>33</sup> A. Anderson, "Life into Art and Art into Life: visualising the Aesthetic Woman or 'High Art Maiden' of the Victorian 'Renaissance'", *Women's History Review*, vol. 10, no. 3, (2001), p.450; L. C. Dowling, *The vulgarisation of art*, Virginia 1996, pp. 96-7.

meagre archival material that remains at Eastnor Castle. Considering just these seven letters, it is surprising if she did not have a profound effect on the interiors of Eastnor, a feat for which, like Anne, she too might have been better remembered. It is likely that many more aristocratic women friends too shared such correspondences in which approaches to furnishings were the basis for friendship and correspondence. In this context, the survival of her letters in Anne's papers is a rare insight into the role that these aristocratic friendships and networks played, but also speak to the broader question of how serious top-tier aristocratic women were in the approach to interior design during the 1870s and 80s.

Their correspondence focuses on the soft furnishing and furniture of two principal bedrooms. The letters are decidedly not antiquarian in nature but contain the conversation of two women engaging in questions relating to their individual and personal visions of the aesthetic and comfort of these rooms. The tone of Virginia's writing is open and honest and contains detailed and often vast suggestions of fabrics, combinations of materials, colouring and quality. Offering her advice, she wrote to Anne that "I shall want to know what I can do in the furnishing line for you, I am so glad you liked the silk – but you make too much of it dearest."<sup>34</sup> This sentence in particular is suggestive of her assuming an aristocratic equivalent of a 'lady art advisor', a role that became increasingly popular during the 1880s and usually associated with figures such as Mrs Haweis and women of the middling classes.<sup>35</sup>

Surprising anecdotes often appear in between her lengthy notes on furnishings, including reports on sermons given by various preachers, which juxtapose these serious discussions on furnishing with rather genteel and polite conversation.<sup>36</sup> Although much literature on the aesthetic movement focuses in on its subversive elements, we are reminded here of its popular appeal amongst civilised aristocratic society. One senses that Anne and Virginia had been discussing ideas for some time, and her offering advice is perhaps best summarised by one of her parting remarks "You will think it over my random suggestions will get you thinking."<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 469 (Loose). Letter from Virginia Somers to Lady Warwick. Dated 11 May [1881], sent from Cocking House, Wantage, Berks (?).

<sup>35</sup> Op cit. Cohen, pp. 108-113.

<sup>36</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 469 (loose). Letter from Virginia Somers to Lady Warwick. Dated 5 May [1881], sent from 4 Chesterfield Gardens.

<sup>37</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 469 (loose). Letter from Virginia Somers to Lady Warwick. 6 May [1880], from 4 Chesterfield Gardens, Mayfair.

Many of Virginia's remarks, and descriptions of the process of deciding on certain fabrics to suggest to Anne, seem to revolve around visiting the show-rooms and 'shops' of the various drapers.<sup>38</sup> This was also a task undertaken with her husband, as she describes visiting the showroom of the Lapworth Brothers of Old Bond Street with her husband Earl Somers to investigate the quality of wares there on behalf of Anne.<sup>39</sup> Here, we must acknowledge the work of scholars who have highlighted the growth of 'Cathedrals to Commerce', in the form of fashionable retailers, which helped to fuel the desire of affluent women to part with their money for domestic consumer goods.<sup>40</sup> Anne's papers show that she personally participated in the consumption of such wares from fashionable retailers in London, as vast numbers of bills from Liberty's, for example, show that she purchased Indian rugs, hand screens, chair covers, silks and decorated cases for her home in this very period.<sup>41</sup>

Virginia also made it clear that although Fox was the architect overseeing the works in this rooms, the choices of fabrics and furnishings were obviously, to her mind, beyond his capabilities. These choices, it seems clear, were Anne's personal choice. She described, with an air of superiority in such matters, that "I went to Melliers' this afternoon – if I were you I would not ask either him or Mr Fox for any dressing whatever of drapery for the beds – Mr Fox has no experience or knowledge in those matters..."<sup>42</sup> It is amusing that Charles Mellier of London, whose claim to fame was being the draper who furnished the celebrated Ballroom of 5 Grosvenor Place with silks, tapestries and furniture for Edward Guinness 1<sup>st</sup> Earl Iveagh in 1883, might be considered as having no knowledge in such matters.<sup>43</sup>

Although the physical layout of the bedrooms of the castle remained largely the same, it is particularly difficult to re-identify and reconstruct exactly which rooms relate to those that appear in the 1894 Inventory.<sup>44</sup> The bedrooms which were identified as being the Earl's and Countess's were located on the most eastern side of the range (FIGURE 4.6). The two bedrooms discussed in the letters, described

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<sup>38</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 469 (loose). Letter from Virginia Somers to Lady Warwick. Nd. 'Monday. "...if you would like to come up with dear Eva & yr maid to sleep here we can take you in - & we wd shop, & you sd be incase & not worried..."'

<sup>39</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 469 (Loose). Letter from Virginia Somers to Lady Warwick, 'Tuesday evening' (n.d.), from 4 Chesterfield Gardens.

<sup>40</sup> See D. Cohen, *Household Gods*, New Haven 2006, Chapter 2, pp. 32-62.

<sup>41</sup> Some examples can be found; WCRO CR1886 Box 469 (loose). Bills dated from June 1883 (£38-40-0); 15 June 1883 (£33-16-0); Box 467, 15 Aug 1890 (request for outstanding payments). 13 Mar 1896 (table cover, £1-10-0), Box 468, 19 Dec 1894 (Antique Italian embroidery).

<sup>42</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 469 (Loose). Letter from Virginia Somers to Lady Warwick, 'Tuesday night' (n.d.)

<sup>43</sup> J. Bryant, *Kenwood, paintings in the Iveagh bequest*, New Haven 2003, p.12.

<sup>44</sup> WCRO CR1886 CR3508/2.

as the 'Italian' and 'Louis XVI' bedrooms, were positioned in the most western end of the domestic range. Although the exact descriptions of these rooms will follow, each room and accompanying dressing room was allocated a particular historical theme. This playful nature of historical styles broadly conforms to the eclecticism of the Romantic Interior, as laid out in Chapter 2. Yet, archival evidence points towards Aestheticism also playing a distinctive role. These parts of the castle were entirely untouched by the 1871 fire, and their later date is suggestive that the priority was in reconstructing the burnt-out domestic wing. Also of note is their relatively obscure and distant location in the castle, which would have felt far more private and personal than the other side of the range which was in full view from the central courtyard. Despite this, these two rooms were ambitious and singular in their design. The rabbit warren of rooms along long winding corridors, almost unique to such a historic castle which had undergone such varied changes over centuries, might too have encouraged such a varied and eclectic approach. Castles like Eastnor, built as a Regency gothic castle by Smirke between 1812-20, were similar to the symmetrical, thought-out and rationalised plans of Palladian country houses whose regular and large rooms might not have been as conducive to such a varied and playful approach (FIGURE 4.7). The dressing rooms of the castle, which were obviously used as quasi-sitting rooms with large amounts of seating, must have felt far more domestic and intimate in scale. It is regrettable that their current use as back of house offices, with its original furniture replaced with corporate ephemera, has reduced the visual attraction of these rooms considerably.

The employment of Charles Mellier, who obviously catered to aristocrats with an eye for opulence through historical styles, is also telling. It is clear that Anne and Virginia did not conform to all aspects relating to 'Aesthetic Movement' taste. Oscar Wilde, in his American lectures on the subject of the House Beautiful, had condemned the furniture both Countesses were using "the furniture of the Italian Renaissance is too costly, and French furniture, gilt and gaudy, is very vulgar."<sup>45</sup> In the case of Anne and Virginia, cost was less of a consideration and fine opulent furniture was obviously essential to their vision for the interiors at Warwick in the two rooms discussed in Virginia's letters. A

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<sup>45</sup> O. Wilde, *Collins complete works of Oscar Wilde*, London 2003, p.919.

handwritten list of Anne's shows that she had visited and seen other fashionable 'arts and crafts' furniture in the workshop of Morris & Co in 8 Red Lion Square, where she notes having seen a 'painted leather cabinet'. It seems that this type of furniture, often celebrated in scholarship, had little appeal for her.<sup>46</sup> Wilde, as well as Clarence Cook, had promoted the new elongated, aestheticist and vaguely historicist 'Queen Anne' style furniture, designed by well-known aesthete architects such as E W Godwin, as being most suited to the English. Unfortunately, the 1894 Inventory mentions many examples of 'Queen Anne' furniture, including '3 Queen Anne stuffed over sing chairs 1 carved legs' and 'Oak Queen Anne kneehole writing table' in Anne's bedroom, yet caution must be exercised in case of misidentifying them as genuine early eighteenth-century pieces.<sup>47</sup>

Two pieces of 'Queen Anne' furniture formerly from Warwick Castle had appeared on the art market in 2016 (FIGURE 4.8 & 4.9). Stamped W. Bennett of Birmingham, the exact location for this armoire and washstand is impossible to trace satisfactorily within the inventories. Constructed from walnut, and containing decisively aestheticist tiles of birds and flowers, these two pieces optimise the elegant and decorative furniture that is associated with the taste of Wilde and Cook. The size, and sheer number of rooms at Warwick Castle, might have allowed Anne to experiment with different respective styles. Tellingly, two printed pages from *Building News* of a Queen Anne interior designed by J M Brydon, dated to 7th May 1875, survives wrapped up in the drawn plans for the new post-fire rooms. This includes a view of the artist James Tissot's Studio in London<sup>48</sup> (FIGURE 4.10 & 4.11). Unfortunately, no documentary evidence has survived that explains what Anne's exact thoughts were on this style.

#### **4.5 Louis XVI Bedroom**

The first, the so-called 'Louis XVI' bedroom with adjoining dressing room, features painted decoration on plaster walls (FIGURE 4.12 & 4.13 & 4.14). Fox's drawings for the decoration of the

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<sup>46</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 481 (loose). In an envelope inscribed 'Paris Directions'; for an essay on Painted Victorian Pre Raphaelite furniture see M. Archer, "Pre Raphaelite Painted Furniture" in *Country Life*, 3552, (1 April 1965), p. 720.

<sup>47</sup> WCRO CR1886 CR3508/2.

<sup>48</sup> WCRO CR1886 M83 Warwick Castle Plans, Drawing Room, Summerfield, Roehampton. J M Brydon Architect, *The Building News*, May 7 1875.

walls, dated to August 1877, show that four years had passed between design and completion.<sup>49</sup> The dressing room, in comparative terms, is far more elaborately designed. Consisting of square panels, each containing a painted medallion hung from illusionistic ribbon, this decoration is reminiscent of the neo-classical decoration found on in abundance mounted onto the furniture from late eighteenth-century France by Jean Henri Riesener. It is possible that Anne had painted these scenes herself.

Drawings of hers survive of scenes, clearly aiming more towards the Rococo of Boucher and Watteau rather than the neo-classicism of late-Fragonard and Greuze, which seem to have been intended for some panelled boiserie (FIGURE 4.15).

Four watercolours by Fox of designs for French rooms survive in the Victoria & Albert Museum.<sup>50</sup> The most impressive example being a French rococo ceiling, and a fireplace and full wall design for unidentified houses. Another design for a ceiling of his survives for Canford Manor in Poole, Dorset (FIGURE 4.16). Built and redesigned for Lord and Lady Wimborne from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, surviving pictures of the interiors before its adaption into a school illustrate how extravagant the neo-Rococo interiors there were (FIGURE 4.17). Its owner was another discerning aristocratic female connoisseur and collector. Lady Charlotte Guest, later Schreiber, was a literary antiquarian and celebrated collector of ceramics.<sup>51</sup> Her bequest to the Victoria & Albert Museum in 1884 contained a great deal of English eighteenth-century porcelain, but remarkably little French Sèvres.<sup>52</sup>

Anne's personal interest in eighteenth-century France endured into later decades (see Chapter 2). This must have been a particularly historical style that she continued to admire. Anne and George had continued to travel to France, and the Countess had exhibited some painted porcelain at the 1878 *Exposition Universelle* in Paris (to be discussed in Chapter 6).<sup>53</sup> Anne's library also contained a beautifully bound version of the 1880 edition of the Goncourt Brothers's important two volume work on *L'art du dix-huitième siècle*.<sup>54</sup> This illustrated volume, originally published in instalments between 1859-75, was used by the authors to make great assertions of the book's role in reviving the interest in

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<sup>49</sup> WCRO CR1886 M83.

<sup>50</sup> Museum Numbers; E.79-1919, E.78-1919, E.108-1919, E.102-1919.

<sup>51</sup> See E. Obey, *The Wunderkammer of Lady Charlotte Guest*, Lehigh 2007.

<sup>52</sup> See *Catalogue of English Porcelain, Earthenware, Enamels &c: collected by Charles Schreiber and Lady Charlotte Elizabeth Schreiber and presented to the South Kensington Museum in 1884*, London 1885.

<sup>53</sup> This is where she was awarded the first prize for amateur painting on china by the Crown Princess of Germany.

<sup>54</sup> This volume survives in the private library of the Greville family, bearing the library mark J / 8.

eighteenth-century French painters including Jean-Antoine Watteau.<sup>55</sup> ‘The Ladies’s Room’ at the Grosvenor Gallery was also decorated in a loose interpretation of the Rococo style, in contrast to the Italianate front entrance.

The reincarnation of Anne’s Boudoir also shows how the room was used to emphasise her interests and facility in the decorative arts. Miraculously, the Louis XV panels purchased from Pratt in 1858 were saved from destruction.<sup>56</sup> Having lost the original drawings for Anne’s Boudoir, it seems that Salvin made a request for the plans which Anne had kept in her personal possession.<sup>57</sup>

The surviving paint scheme, using blue, pink and greens, for “giving the effect of Dresden china”,<sup>58</sup> must have also been added during this period (FIGURE 4.18). Not only would this vibrant colouring obscure any evidence of fire damage, but also act as a decorative focus for the room whose ceiling was now less of a focal point. Anne possessed a deep interest in ceramics, a strand of the decorative arts which is often associated with both the nineteenth century and Aestheticism. Although the ‘Chinamania’, exemplified by the Du Maurier and Punch cartoons, largely revolved around eastern blue and white, we know that Anne’s interests spanned this and other forms of ceramics. As well as collecting, her interest also lay in the artistry, design and practise of painting on ceramics, as she collaborated with artist and curator Thomas Kirkby of Mintons as well as displaying painted wares at the inaugural Grosvenor Gallery exhibition in 1877.<sup>59</sup>

Anne’s interest included opulent eighteenth-century European wares such as Meissen and Sévres, the collecting fervour of which had actually started at the beginning of the century with aristocrats including the 2<sup>nd</sup> Marquess of Hertford, Edward Viscount Lascelles and the Prince Regent.<sup>60</sup> Anne had specifically written directions on how to get to the Sévres factory, and watercolours in her hand survive of designs she probably saw being produced there<sup>61</sup> (FIGURE 4.19). Handwritten lists of

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<sup>55</sup> M. D Sherriff (ed.), *Antoine Watteau, perspectives on the artist and the culture of his times*, Delaware 2006, p.37

<sup>56</sup> When it came to redecorating her Boudoir after the fire, Anne had the room recreated without replacing the ceiling painting by De Wit which had been consumed by the flames.

<sup>57</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 626 (loose). Letter from Anthony Salvin to Lord Warwick, 13 Sept 1875, from Castle Edge, Durham (?).

<sup>58</sup> *The Gentlewoman*, (Dec 19 1891).

<sup>59</sup> Letters with Thomas Kirkby, mostly focusing around 1879-1882, can be found throughout WCRO CR1886 Boxes 467-9, and will be dealt thoroughly with in a later chapter.

<sup>60</sup> See J. Gwilt, *French porcelain for English Palaces*, London 2009; R. Savil, A. Dewsnap, exhibition catalogue, *Sèvres from the Harewood collection*, Harewood 2014.

<sup>61</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 469 (loose). Headed ‘Directions for Sevres’.

Sèvres she owned survive in her papers inventories perhaps made for safekeeping including lists of dealers she noticed who had wares to buy.<sup>62</sup> It is surprising that the 1894 inventory lists very few ceramics in detail, apart from the 223 pieces of ceramics described as Sévres or Dresden in the castle's China inventory.<sup>63</sup> Despite this, one can't help but imagine the effect of this room was to encourage one to feel encased in refined eighteenth-century porcelain. When the room was photographed for *The Gentlewoman* article, one of Anne's own ceramic portraits is clearly visible attached to a screen, a detail which was undoubtedly intentional to contrast the historicist exterior of the room with the 'modern' artwork in the centre (FIGURE 4.20). This play of modern art contrasted with its setting is once again a feature of Aestheticism. A vibrant watercolour by W Quatremain, completed in her years as Dowager, gives the impression of utter comfort within a profusely artistic setting (FIGURE 4.21).

Returning to the Louis XVI Bedroom, Virginia's letters demonstrate the great thought that went into exactly which furniture and drapery would be appropriate for this space. As discussed in Chapter 2, Anne had spent a great deal of time finding and acquiring appropriate chairs for her French Boudoir. Colouring was of great consideration, especially in balancing the highly decorative upholstery in the chairs to the overall scheme.<sup>64</sup> Anne's thoughts on colour, and exactly which colours and shades would complement each other, is reminiscent of the advice given in Mrs Haweis's *The Art of Beauty* (1878), a copy of which Anne owned. Haweis devoted Chapter IV to 'Colours in Furniture' and describes useful and practical ways to achieve the most harmonising results in rooms.<sup>65</sup> She supported the reliance on ancient models and examples, "we have not improved on the ancient patterns; - we have to go back to them again and again to them for our lace, brocade and carpets", a sentiment that

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<sup>62</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 469 (loose). Contained in an envelope entitled 'My notes if they are any use to you darling.'

<sup>63</sup> WCRO CR1886 CR3508/2

<sup>64</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 469 (loose). Letter from Virginia Somers to Lady Warwick. 6 May [1880], from 4 Chesterfield Gardens, Mayfair. "In thinking of the Italian room, you will bear in mind that a red carpet will look very well as you propose, but as regards the Louis XVI room I think you must weigh what color the furniture is to be - I would suggest a plain sofa - arm chair covered yr old damask - the doors of the wardrobe to be plain ... with pale blue ribbon fullering(?) framing the outline of the frame that encloses yr initials as well as the bow that is above it (I will send you the ribbon). Taking these things into consideration I sd incline to the dark green from maple on one of the dark blues from Watson a touch of red will be wanted in the room I don't quite see where - in a rug perhaps, but perhaps it will not be wanted. Perhaps a pale color on the chair or sofa wd be pretty - the chair that arms against the plum wardrobe - if Mellier were down again he wd help you on the spot further - the force of habit in furnishing. Perhaps the ribbon framing 2 bows of the applique on the seames of the wardrobe wd be pretty in pink satin (art out) and painted pretty. In the shadows in deeper tints of red. You will think it over my random suggestions will get you thinking."

<sup>65</sup> Op cit. Haweis 1878, Chapter IV, pp.235-252.

Anne seemingly was very keen to support.<sup>66</sup> Virginia also had ideas for mixing various fabrics, in a strategic manner, emphasising the lowering of costs as the primary objective.<sup>67</sup>

Questions of appropriate furniture for a bedroom were also discussed. It seems Anne's natural instinct was the antiquarian approach, with selecting furniture specific to the room's period, which Virginia sternly rebuffed.<sup>68</sup> Anne might well have been following Cook's endorsement of using 'antique' or 'old' furniture. After all, Warwick Castle had an ample stock of fine antique furniture from all different ages, and which Anne had been collecting with her husband for decades. Aestheticist taste therefore could easily be transferred to such a place which had already so much existing objects and materials to choose from, although, this approach was far from an academic antiquarian approach.

Comparing the fashion for buying new poorly crafted imported chairs, Cook wrote; "Yet, notwithstanding all their rudeness, they are much more artistic and effective than the chairs covered with carving which we were all admiring as antique a few years ago. It is to be hoped that no one will let himself be laughed out of his fancy for a good piece of "old furniture".<sup>69</sup> Cook also wrote that "For, all the French furniture of the old time was well made, and their cheap furniture to-day is much better made than ours, so long as it is kept at home."<sup>70</sup> Tellingly, Virginia's reference to "absolute comfort continued with an equal covenant of beauty" is highly reminiscent of Cook describing her present age as one where "...we are now set to thinking and theorizing about the dress and decoration of our rooms: how best to make them comfortable and handsome..."<sup>71</sup>

The 1894 inventory of these rooms suggests that Anne followed Virginia's advice. Each room contained a staggering level of soft furnishings and particularly chairs. Sumptuously furnished, the principal items of furniture contained within it were a 6ft 6" carved gilt framed Louis XVI bedstead

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<sup>66</sup> Op cit. Haws 1878, pp.236-237.

<sup>67</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 469 (Loose). Letter from Virginia Somers to Lady Warwick, 'Tuesday night' (n.d.) "As to Melliers after choosing yr satins I would recommend half the back of the beds to be draped in calicos of the colours - & patterns of the fringes or trimmings to be shown you - it is only thus that you will realise how they are going to be treated and it will be a great saving of expense."

<sup>68</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 469 (loose). Letter from Virginia Somers to Lady Warwick. 11 May [1880], from 4 Chesterfield Gardens, Mayfair. "If I were you I would not put the old Louis XVI sofa, or any like it, in the Louis XVI bedroom. Where nothing must interfere with absolutely comfort continued with an equal covenant of beauty. The pretty old Louis XVI sofa you have stitched will do beautiful for the Louis XVI Boudoir or for your Boudoir. I think if I were you I would put it in yr Boudoir under the looking glass & therefore the large one that is now there to the Green Drawing Room which you wish to pull about & make livable - or I wd put it in the Louis XVI Boudoir. The little sofa in the corner of yr Boudoir is not at all the think, I know, a copy or an old Louis XVI one, at Mellier's that wd be quite perfect for that corner in yr Boudoir and most comfortable. I must send you a sketch of it & the price & so please do not have a loose cover made of the striped pink entouse for the little English sofa you have there now."

<sup>69</sup> Op cit. Cook 1878, p. 164.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid. p.292.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid. p.19.

head and footboard in satin panels (this, or one like it, now survives in another room of the castle (FIGURE 4.22). Japanned Louis XVI commode, bamboo cheval screen, a pair Japanned chamber pedestals, Lac Japan sofa table, square toilet glass in carved gilt frame, two Queen Anne carved chairs, a Venetian gilt armchair, all set off by a pair of silk brocade curtains. Although Sévres ceramics might have been expected, the decisively oriental examples are described as a pair of lavender and gold vases, yun vase, yun leaf shape tray, yun basket, yun small tray, yun vase, apple vase, red glass vase.<sup>72</sup> This mixture of a European room containing Eastern ceramics is a highly aestheticist approach. Other items in this packed room, which contained no fewer than ten chairs, included a Bamboo table, a bamboo cheval screen, painted top oval Pembroke table, gilt frame pier bracket and ceramics described as a pair blue modern jars and cover, blue yun square vase and a rough glass vase.<sup>73</sup>

Virginia later, returning to the question of fabric for the sofas, remarks Anne's presence was vital to make the final decisions, rather than accepting her advice blindly ; "But you can see the actual sofa as soon as you come to Town – it is delightful to expect you – the question of sofas must be settled by you here – we shall not find it so difficult as you fear to get the bedroom sofa satisfactorily done as regards I hope to covering for the Louis XVI bedroom."<sup>74</sup>

#### **4.6 Italian Room**

The other principal room discussed in the correspondence was the so-called 'Italian Room' or referred to as the 'State Bedroom' in the 1894 Inventory (FIGURE 4.23 & 4.24). Designed by G E Fox, if the castle's new library reflected the intricate interiors of Renaissance Bologna, then the Italian Room imitated the grandeur of Rome (albeit without marble dressings). In terms of aesthetic, this particularly tall and spacious room followed to a greater extent the interiors that Fox created at Eastnor.

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<sup>72</sup> WCRO CR1886 CR3508/2.

<sup>73</sup> WCRO CR1886 CR3508/2

<sup>74</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 469 (Loose). Letter from Virginia Somers to Lady Warwick, 'Tuesday evening' (n.d.), from 4 Chesterfield Gardens.

Although not connected with this room or ever carried out, a surviving watercolour gives the countess's impression of a grand 'Baroque' setting (FIGURE 4.25). Featuring a carved chimney piece and Grinling Gibbons-esque over mantle with a grand painting above, perhaps a Van Dyckian portrait, the scene is reminiscent of stately home grandeur of the seventeenth century. Tellingly, considering Anne's interest in fabrics, the central scene is flanked by two panels of later eighteenth-century decorative tapestry with brightly coloured threads on a yellow ground.

As encountered in Chapter 2, Anne had been seeking a new and grand bedroom since the late 1850s. Although the castle already had a ceremonial State Bedroom in the castle's ground floor State Apartments, it seems that this was not entirely sufficient. Her initial choice, which would have seen the chapel moved, might be explained as an attempt to gain greater ceiling height, a feature befitting a State Bedroom.

The most arresting feature of the room is the ceiling painting by Jacob de Wit (1695-1754), which recalls the former ceiling of Anne's boudoir that was created by Salvin for her two decades earlier (FIGURE 4.26). Its format mirrored the previous one, with four seasons in grisaille framing the central scene shaped in a quatrefoil. De Wit's *The Rape of Ganymede*, a curious yet provocative subject for a bedroom, suits the setting. The strong influence of Rubens, particularly felt in this picture, must have suited the Roman Baroque theme of this much grander room.

Virginia's letters again turn towards the appropriate drapery for Anne's Italian bed. Italian fabrics had been an interest of Anne's since at least the 1850s, as envoy Sir James Hudson had made clear in his letters (see Chapter 2). Lists from this period also survive of Anne's investigation into Italian laces and fabrics, with one rough sheet dedicated to comparing the prices of lace and linens from dealers in Venice and Verona.<sup>75</sup> Anne is also noted for having sent plans of the Italian bedroom to the Lapworth Brothers of 22 New Bond Street, for the sizing for carpets and margins for fringes.<sup>76</sup>

Virginia then goes on to explain her suggestions to Anne, satisfying again the Countess's desire to use old fabrics in this new setting:

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<sup>75</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 469 (loose).

<sup>76</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 469 (Loose). Letter from Virginia Somers to Lady Warwick, 'Tuesday evening' (n.d.), from 4 Chesterfield Gardens.

Reading yr letter over again I find it is for the drawing of the foot of the Italian bed that you had recourse to Mr Fox. – so that I retract my observation which applied merely to the “draperies” within the head of the bed – I send you a few patterns of mulberry satins not l... I think. Any of them will do but because it will amuse you to look at them with yr old damask – They are too warm in width for Mellier to use them if ... can get the colour made in time in furniture satin...[describes sizes etc]...I shall not be able to look for yr carpets till Friday as the shops will be shut on ascension day.<sup>77</sup>

When you had some strips of Italian damask on the walls & one or two of the grand panels or scones up – He will put the pattern of mulberry satin at once & the pale blue for the lining I propose his softening the mulberry lining at the back by draping it (something like the Queen Anne’s bed) with your own old damask.<sup>78</sup>

Anne’s interest in Italian furniture and artworks too had endured into the post-fire period. A letter to her husband, whilst he was travelling in Venice in August 1877 with his son Lord Brooke, explains that it was Anne who was making the suggestions of places and dealers to visit. In comparison to the sometimes-cynical descriptions of the consumerist habits of Victorian women, this letter indicates a serious and considered approach.<sup>79</sup>

Milan too was of interest to her, with various suggestions of palaces and places to visit and learn from; “Palazzo Pesoldi – (modern ebony & ivory, make Brookie observe it well especially the chairs). (...) Peluzzi – the man who made most of the furniture for Casa Pesoldi...you ought to go to the big Palace not far from the Hotel where there are those two fine Canalettis one like ours.”<sup>80</sup> Once again, it is clear that a knowledge and experience of such wares was of equal importance to Anne, and something that must have continued with her since the vast lists of dealers made in the 1850s and 60s.

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<sup>77</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 469 (loose). Letter from Virginia Somers to Lady Warwick, 5th May [1880], Chesterfield Gardens.

<sup>78</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 469 (loose). Letter from Virginia Somers to Lady Warwick. Nd. ‘Tuesday night’.

<sup>79</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 832/12. ‘Directions Foreign, August 1877’. “(...) Marini – on the Grand & also small shop – near the Frari. Richetti, Rietti, Nana – All on the Grand Canal & easily found. Usili – I forget whether he has moved from the ghetto. Guggenheim – On the Gd Canal near the Europe but to be reached ...by back streets from Place St Marc. Several other small curiosity shops in small streets at the back of Danieli’s. I remember one well with red dishes & gold salvers – also old lace. Please don’t be much tempted one gets excited at the time – but regrets it after - I am writing their addresses from memory only – I but I feel pretty sure there are no others.”

<sup>80</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 832/12. ‘Directions Foreign, August 1877’.

The furniture contained in this room must have been sumptuous, yet, also displayed an eclecticism which is a decided movement away from the purely antiquarian historicist approach.<sup>81</sup> In keeping with the Italian theme the ceramics and artworks here reflected the national school and period, and included a pair of fine Raffaele ware vases and covers, a pair of Italian oval vases and covers, black ware statuette of a child, and two Etruscan lamps.<sup>82</sup>

Virginia's letters provide some illustrative examples of the how Anne set about these two new bedrooms, and the serious and purposeful level of detail that went into their furnishing. A lack of period photographs makes the inventory key here. Furthermore, comparisons with advice given in the books by Cook and Haweis help us to unravel some of the aspects of the room's aesthetic details that Anne and Virginia were both following.

#### **4.7 Japan**

The appearance of the Japanese style in Warwick, a fashion often associated with the Aesthetic Movement, may seem entirely incongruous with that of a medieval castle. 'Chinoiserie' had been a staple of the English Country House since the late seventeenth century, and is exemplified perhaps by elaborate hand painted Chinese wallpapers that survive in Woburn Abbey and Temple Newsam (FIGURE 4.27). Yet a full formed aestheticist Japanese Room in such a significant and ancient historic building such as Warwick Castle is unusual and deserves consideration (FIGURE 4.28 & 4.29). This room has never before received scholarly attention.<sup>83</sup> Cook had advocated the use of Japanese ceramics and furniture, as had Mrs Haweis as suitable objects to be placed in a Jacobean Room.<sup>84</sup> The appropriateness of Japan in a Jacobean room hints towards a playful eclecticism mirrored at Warwick. Located off winding corridors above the State Dining Room, as part of the domestic apartments, this room would have been once again located in a relatively obscure location.

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<sup>81</sup> WCRO CR1886 CR3508/2 The principal furniture of the bedroom included a 6ft Italian bedstead with massive carved and gilt footboard canopy and furniture coverlet, 4 Venetian shaped mirrors in carved gilt frames, 2 pairs brocaded silk curtains valences and holders, Italian pier glass in massive carved frame, 7ft painted Italian armoire, Gilt frame high back chair in Utrecht velvet, 4ft elliptic back Louis XV settee in silk, lac Japan sofa table amongst many other items.

<sup>82</sup> WCRO CR1886 CR3508/2.

<sup>83</sup> Unconfirmed anecdotes have always suggested this work was connected with Anne's daughter-in-law, Daisy.

<sup>84</sup> M. E. Haweis, *The Art of Decoration*, London 1881, p.28.

Its construction is mysterious, as no paperwork seems to have survived detailing its design or execution. The existence of this room further deepens the complexity of Anne's motivations, and particularly between influences of fashion and her relationship with family.

The possible motivations for this room had two contexts, from both aestheticist fashion and the very local. We might attribute the greatest influence on this room's appearance to Anne's second youngest son, the Hon. Louis Greville (1856-1941), who was the Diplomatic Second Secretary in Tokyo between 1882-1887. Anne and her family had direct access to Japanese culture that most Britons only knew through secondary and imported sources. Although the craze for Japonisme had been the preserve of artists in the 1860s, by the 1880s it had already become an increasingly widespread fashion which had infiltrated consumer goods and fans sold by Liberty & Co.<sup>85</sup> Academics have highlighted that many of the early devotees to Japonisme in Britain during the 1850s were medievalists, including William Burges, who were inspired by its synergy of form and a romanticised view of the conditions which created Japanese art.<sup>86</sup> Warwick Castle too contained hangovers of the misidentification of Eastern Indo ebony furniture which was identified as 'Tudor', including a bed having been fantastically described as belonging to Thomas Wolsey<sup>87</sup> (FIGURE 4.30).

The bedroom comprises an ornate ceiling of white cranes in plaster on a blue ground. The walls are lined with silk, now very faded. The most imposing decorative feature is the fireplace, which contains an ornate mantle shelf and glass boxes ready to display fine ceramics (FIGURE 4.31). Likewise, the grate itself seems to be reminiscent of those aesthetic movement examples by Thomas Jekyll. The wooden structure of the fireplace also has high quality lacquer panels inserted into it, the central scene showing swimming ducks. Unfortunately, these features, including the ornate door surrounds, are missing their original decorations and are in bad state of repair. A bedstead from this room was sold by the Greville family in 1997, dated by Sotheby's to c.1880, was composed of two fine panels of black and gold lacquer work which have been inserted into a decorative frame (FIGURE 4.32). It is reminiscent of the distinctively aristocratic and extravagant pseudo-Japanese furniture created by the

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<sup>85</sup> T. Logan, *The Victorian Parlour*, Cambridge 2001, pp.188-193.

<sup>86</sup> A. Ono, *Japonisme in Britain*, London 2003, p.28.

<sup>87</sup> Sold Sotheby's, Syon House, 14-16 May 1997, lot. 149.

French born Edouard Lieve (1828-1886), rather than the more widely discussed spindly English aesthetic furniture of Christopher Dresser (FIGURE 4.33).

Anne would have been able to experience Japanese wares at the 1878 Exhibition in Paris, where the 'Japanese' section had a prominent position on the Camp de Mars.<sup>88</sup> As a fellow exhibitor of painted ceramics, one could imagine these wares must have provided great interest for her. We know that Japanese ornament had influenced her paintings on ceramics, particularly the use of dainty and decorative cherry blossoms in her portraits (FIGURE 4.34).

Many surviving letters written from Tokyo provided insights into wares and rituals her son was observing first-hand.<sup>89</sup> Louis's papers not only give descriptions of elaborate tea ceremonies, but also small drawings of interiors in which they featured (FIGURE 4.35). He also sent Japanese objects back to Warwick Castle. In December 1883, Louis sent a crate of kimonos, silks (possibly for curtains), lacquer and ceramics to Warwick, accompanied by a letter explaining how to wear such garments and the costs associated with Japanese scroll work.<sup>90</sup> It is possible that the lacquer that he sent would have been incorporated into the fireplace and bed of this bedroom. Anne was also sent gold paintings on silk, presumably from which a screen could be made.<sup>91</sup> In 1884 Liberty's had opened a dress department which began to sell clothing which imitated the slender styles and textiles of Japan, yet this seems to have been the preserve of bohemians and artists such as E. W Godwin's wife Ellen Terry, or the elongated figures in Albert Moore's paintings.<sup>92</sup>

Letters to his sister also indicate his keen bargaining with locals for 'China'. "I buy lots of little things which my colleagues, who know nothing about it & have not a scrap of taste".<sup>93</sup> Louis was also self-consciously aware of the effect Japanese art was having on artists in Europe, having described evening festivities "Some of the boats would be full of singing girls called geishas, with their musical instruments...The fireworks lasted till about 10 o'clock and the boats kept moving about with their coloured lights. Such a picture as would send Whistler raving."<sup>94</sup> The consequences of Louis's interest

<sup>88</sup> "Japanese Section" in *Illustrated Paris Universal Exhibition*, (July 20 1878), pp.122-123.

<sup>89</sup> It is conceivable that as a mother she had a right to access her unmarried daughter's correspondence.

<sup>90</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 467 (loose). Letter from Louis Greville to Lady Warwick, dated 12 Dec 1883. Sent from Tokyo.

<sup>91</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 467 (loose). Letter from Louis Greville to Lady Eva Greville, dated 1st November 1883. Sent from Tokyo.

<sup>92</sup> A. Ono, *Japonisme in Britain*, London 2003, pp. 34-40.

<sup>93</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 467 (loose). Letter from Louis Greville to Lady Eva Greville, dated 13 February 1883. Sent from Tokyo.

<sup>94</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 468 (loose). Letter from Louis Greville to Lady Eva Greville, dated 17 Aug 1883. Sent from Tokyo.

in the Japanese style, and its adoption into Britain during the early twentieth century, is too extensive to be included within this study.

This room, and other surviving evidence, further deepens the complexity of Anne's aesthetic, which could be highly surprising and innovative in the interior for what many saw simply as a medieval fortress. The connection that these experiments of Japonisme had with Anne's family is also very striking. This was not the pursuit of a lone aristocratic aesthete, but a passion shared with her sons and daughters. This strengthening factor that art played within her family, and heavily contrasted to the independence seeking type that is often portrayed, does expand our profile of the aesthetic maiden.

#### **4.8 Photographs**

New technology, often associated with Aestheticism, was used as a tool for Anne's interest in artistic interiors within her ancient home. The final part of this chapter will examine a private family photo album and some surviving photographs of the interiors of Warwick Castle, which in some cases remain the most poignant examples of how one might interpret their own interpretation of displaying the castle's collection in an artistic manner.<sup>95</sup> The private album in particular, which must have been created by Anne or a female member of the Greville family, provides another particularly rich material for analysis of the significance of the interiors at Warwick Castle.

The surviving photographs of interiors of this period, often of distinctively affluent middle-class interiors found in industrial townhouses situated in likes of Birmingham or Liverpool, are some of the most vivid documents of the aesthetic movement's impact during the 1870s through to the nineties (FIGURE 4.36). Mrs Haweis had promoted the comparisons of rooms looking like pictures explaining "A room is like a picture; it must be composed with equal skill and forethought; but unlike a picture, the arrangement must revolve around to a point which is never stationary, always in motion..."<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> The album, bound in red leather, is owned by the current owners of Warwick Castle and is kept in storage.

<sup>96</sup> Op cit. Haweis 1881, p.10.

A personal photo album, dated to the late 1880s and 1890s, survives in the castle's library. It is filled with pictures of family, fancy-dress plays, and student painters. Such private family albums, of those belonging to women, have been acknowledged by academics as "taking part in the culture of collection associated with elite lifestyles. It aimed to demonstrate knowledge of current definitions of what was tasteful, but also to show a degree of individuality and creativity in selection, combining and displaying the material collected."<sup>97</sup> Di Bello's analysis links the particular feminine interest in the decorative arts and the formation of photo albums, both of which embodied the social and visual aspects of feminine culture.<sup>98</sup> Alongside photographs of family members found in this private album are several very purposeful images of views of the castle's rooms and artworks, which are highly suggestive of the importance of the decoration of these spaces in the family's private sphere (FIGURE 4.37 & 4.38 & 4.39). They also capture some views of the family's private apartments not found elsewhere, and thus must have served an exclusive personal function.

By the mid-nineteenth century, photography had already become a more commonplace way for Anne to capture artworks in her ancient home. A surviving letter shows that George had sent Prince Albert photographs of the castle's enamel collection after the royal visit to Warwick in 1858.<sup>99</sup> Warwick Castle had also attracted the premier nineteenth-century landscape photographer Francis Bedford, who first came to take pictures in 1863<sup>100</sup> (FIGURE 4.40). Primarily known for his exterior landscapes, which spanned from rugged Welsh views, rural cottages and historic Shakespearean buildings, recent scholarship has neglected to address the significance of his interior views, including those vivid examples that survives of the rooms at Warwick.<sup>101</sup> Yet, the multiple rooms that he captured must signify their importance in the castle's public image, especially as his photographs were printed widely for public consumption.<sup>102</sup> Photographs of the Great Hall, for example, illustrate the importance that furniture, ceramics and artworks had in the scheme. A surviving photograph,

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<sup>97</sup> P. di Bello, *Women's albums and photography in Victorian Britain*, London 2007, p.41-42.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid. pp.117- 128.

<sup>99</sup> WCO CR1886 Box 628 (loose). Letter from Sir Charles Phipps to Lord Warwick, dated 2 August 1858. Sent from Osborne House.

<sup>100</sup> Bedford's surviving letter to the Earl flaunts his recent patronage of the Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, along with a letter of introduction from Lord Grosvenor. WCRO CR1886 Box 629 (loose). Letter from Francis Bedford to Lord Warwick, dated 18 Mar 1863. Sent from 22 Carlton Hill Villas, Camden Road.

<sup>101</sup> For significance of Bedford's views of Warwick Castle see S. Spencer, *Francis Bedford, Landscape photography and nineteenth-century British culture*, London 2011, pp.103-106.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid. pp.14-15.

attributed to Bedford and dated to around 1890, shows the Hall filled entirely with artworks collected by Anne and George over the period of forty years (FIGURE 4.41). Once more, the highly contrasting elements of sixteenth-century Italian furniture, pietra dure tables, sculpture, vases, arms and armour, and eastern ceramics is evocative of a sophisticated Aestheticism that is usually found in images of middle-class drawing rooms, not Great Halls of castles. We might also consider the significance of the castle's opulent interiors in terms of their associations with Warwick's aristocratic credentials, Spencer firmly notes Bedford's photographs as having "acknowledged and preserved class division in his use of the aesthetic modes."<sup>103</sup> Photographs of the Hall, however, illustrate perhaps the great pride that was taken over the castle's rich collection, as many items here had only arrived at Warwick in the nineteenth century.

Anne was connected, through her friendship with Virginia Somers, to the significant female photographer Julia Margaret Cameron (1815-1879). A signed photograph by Cameron of the actress Ellen Terry survives in the family's collection.<sup>104</sup> Archival evidence enriches these links. An extremely detailed set of notes with little drawings on how to use photographic plates, in her own hand on headed paper, survives amongst her papers.<sup>105</sup> A bill also survives showing that Anne purchased an 'Instanto' ¼ plate Camera, along with a canvas case, shutters and stand, from makers E & T Underwood of Birmingham in April 1890 for £4-18-6.<sup>106</sup>

One particular example exemplifies the connection between interiors, art and photography. The so-called 'Breakfast Room' was a significant private room connected directly with the Castle's Great Hall. At least three photographs from the period survive of both the overall view and features found within (FIGURE 4.42 & 4.43 & 4.44). Chapter 2 explained the significance of this room to Anne.

Although we have no visual evidence of how it appeared before 1871, the new room seems to have been based on an interpretation of a Georgian interior, with a detailed dentil course entablature and deep red printed silk lining the walls. Such an arrangement would have suited the paintings that filled

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<sup>103</sup> Ibid. p.105.

<sup>104</sup> Virginia Somers, nee Pattle, was the sister of Julia Margaret Cameron. A signed photograph of actress Ellen Terry survives in the Greville's private library, which was taken out of Warwick Castle during the 1970s. The subject of this new discovery will form part of an article published by the *Burlington Magazine* in December 2021.

<sup>105</sup> The utmost care is given to describing the complex chemicals required, how to set up the stand, how to achieve the correct exposure for certain lighting conditions (with 'Italy' requiring less light than a dull day), and how to develop the film. WCRO CR1886 Box 469 (loose).

<sup>106</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 481 (loose). Bill from E & T Underwood, directed to the Countess of Warwick, dated April 28 1890, for £4-18-6.

the room, mostly being the Castle's outstanding collections of Canaletto's Venetian scenes and views of the castle itself.

Curiously, the focal point of this significant room was a tall dresser, filled with an ornate display of seventeenth-century Hispano-Moresque lusterware.<sup>107</sup> Famously, these historic fluorescent and metallic copper red wares had played an integral role in the inspiration for designs and techniques of William de Morgan's celebrated wares in the very same period. The photograph of this specific display encourages us to imagine it held an importance to the Grevilles. Heavily decorated overmantles and shelves filled with modern ceramics were a staple of the Aesthetic Movement interior and are found in practically every illustration of fashionable middle-class artistic interiors of the 1880s. Cook had emphasised the symbolic importance of this feature in the home, especially with regard to family.<sup>108</sup>

If the mantelpiece in the Breakfast Room said anything about Anne's family, it is that they were devotees to history and beauty. Not only concerned with Aesthetic Movement ceramic painting, and eighteenth-century French ceramics, part of Anne's collaboration with Minton's was concerning painting new foots and stands for some Italian Maiolica in her collection.<sup>109</sup> The intimate domestic setting of this arrangement is also telling. One might contrast this assemblage, for example, with that of Sir Richard Wallace's much more forceful display which has been described as revealing "a fascination for the decorative appeal of a collection pregnant with historical association and a broad, non-purist evocation of times past..."<sup>110</sup> (FIGURE 4.46). Photographs of some of the State Rooms show that vibrant tinned glazed wares produced in sixteenth-century Italy were also used to decorate the rooms, contrasted in some cases by heavy Baroque Louis XIV Boulle furniture (FIGURE 4.47). Finally, this ornate display sits on top of a walnut Mannerist Italian coffer, which Anne and George had purchased through Sir James Hudson in 1857.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Sold Sotheby's, Syon House, 16 May 1997, Lot 778 W. A collection of Hispano-Moresque vases and scudelli, 17th century and later.

<sup>108</sup> Op cit. Cook 1878 p.121. "The mantel-piece ought to second the intention of the fire-place as the centre of the family life – the spiritual and intellectual centre, as the table is the material centre. There ought then to be gathered on the shelf, or shelves...a few beautiful and chosen things – the most beautiful that the family can afford...the main point being that they should be things to lift us up, to feed though and feeling...because they belong alike to nature and to humanity..."

<sup>109</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 469 (loose). Letter from Thomas Kirkby to Lady Warwick, dated 20 Sep 1882. Sent from Stoke on Trent, Staffordshire.

<sup>110</sup> S. Higgott, "Sir Richard Wallace's maiolica" in *Journal of the History of Collections*, Vol 15, 1, (May 2003), p.63.

<sup>111</sup> See Chapter 2.

Another photograph shows a very atmospheric view, looking into the room from the ‘Smoking Room’, also sometimes known as ‘Lady Eva Greville’s sitting room’.<sup>112</sup> Although containing a grand gothic doorway, this narrow space and view is filled with furniture. Above a seventeenth-century cabinet on a stand is Canaletto’s view of the east front of Warwick Castle, sitting next to a fine carved chair and a seventeenth-century scagliola table.<sup>113</sup> One of the corners is packed with a small table with piled books and framed watercolours, works probably by Anne, one imagines, hang from a small picture rail above. Perhaps she was following Cook’s advice on the importance of filling such awkward spaces.<sup>114</sup>

The significance of this view, and a sign of it being specifically ‘thought-out’, is captured in a watercolour made by Anne (FIGURE 4.45). It includes a young lady, perhaps her daughter Lady Eva or daughter-in-law, holding a small bouquet, propping herself up on a French commode, and looking wistfully out a window into the River Avon below. The door behind, half open, gives a view into the red silk walls beyond, with old masters and fine cabinets picked out in detail. The corner table too is also present, bearing a blooming flower, a yellow green cover and the obligatory blue and white vase. The atmosphere, drapery, carpets, furnishings, and other fussy details evokes the spirit of elegant domestic comfort, albeit in a grand setting. Although the strong gothic presence looms over the scene, there is little to distinguish it as a purely aristocratic setting. Sharing in sentiment with the illustrations of women at ease in *The House Beautiful*, this watercolour is very telling of the shared purpose between middle-class publication and its aristocratic reader.

## 4.9 Conclusion

This chapter has provided examples which illustrate Anne’s deep interest in beauty. Her approach to furnishing of rooms in her ancient home points towards her interest in some of the key aspects of Aestheticism in interiors. Furthermore, we can show that this played into her individual public persona

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<sup>112</sup> WCRO CR1886 CR3508/2.

<sup>113</sup> This table is now in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Scagliola Table by Artima Baldassarre, c.1671. Museum Number; W.12:1, 2-1968.

<sup>114</sup> Op cit. Cook 1878, p.186. “In arranging these objects, the artist’s intention was to show how a dark corner may be lighted up, and, perhaps also how things which, beautiful of handsome or curious in themselves, lose something of their value by isolation, and are also sometimes in a way, and apt to find themselves thrust into closets and corners, may be made pleasing to their owners and just to themselves.”

as an artist, a profile that she constructed over decades of collecting and patronage. Her own type of aristocratic Aestheticism was inspired by a variety of sources. It was spread through her network of fellow elites, including Countess Virginia Somers, a relationship which seems to have been mirrored aristocratic example of the 'Lady art advisor'. Their conversations explain how their personality and interests contributed to their approach to furnishings and decoration, along with the energy they invested in such matters. Yet simultaneously, Aestheticism was imported into Anne's ancient home using the newly available printed literature, a striking example of the broad appeal of current trends. Localised familial contexts also clearly mattered, including her shared love of art amongst her children who had direct access to some of the latest fashionable trends in Japonisme. The vast archival evidence deepens our knowledge as to the many and varied ways in which Aestheticism could find its way into one of the most traditional and ancient stately homes in Victorian Britain.

## Chapter 5 - Anne and Aesthetic Philanthropy

### 5.1 Introduction

Compared with Warwick, with all its ancient beauty and majesty, they [Leamington Spa] had nothing, and yet it seemed to him that every encouragement was given to Leamington to do all in its power to foster art and beauty. The Countess of Warwick, had come from her own beautiful castle, and from Warwick, so full of ancient beauty, to Leamington, to help and encourage them in that work.<sup>1</sup>

Extract from a speech made at the Leamington School of Art prize giving ceremony in December 1888.

This speech, made in front of the teachers, pupils and distinguished guests of the Leamington School of Art, demonstrates Anne's very particular philanthropic persona. This persona, as high maiden of art and beauty, was carefully cultivated by the Countess. Leamington Spa, a relatively newly established middling town with a few grand properties made famous for its restorative waters, was perceived as being supported aesthetically and historically by its local and distinctively *artistic* aristocratic Countess.<sup>2</sup> Warwick Castle, Anne's historic home which she had spent great time, money and energy restoring, was considered the seat and beacon from which beauty and Aestheticism emanated. This remarkably top-down vision was fostered by Anne and used as a vehicle to promote her personal interests in good design, art education and particularly supporting young and particularly female artists. Furthermore, as a connected individual with the wider London-centric Victorian art world, Anne acted as an agent and figurehead against provincial prejudices against the arts in Warwickshire.

This chapter will investigate role of the female aristocrat in the realms of artistic and aesthetic philanthropy. A study of Anne, I will argue, allows the scholar to re-examine the varied roles and paths aristocratic women could take in disseminating art and beauty into the provinces. In particular,

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<sup>1</sup> *Leamington Spa Courier*, Saturday 15 December 1888.

<sup>2</sup> L. F. Cave, *Royal Leamington Spa: its history and development*, Bognor Regis 1988, pp.104-109. Cave's analysis of the census records shows that the affluence of Leamington Spa and its population was affected in the 1850s by the downturn of the Royal Pump Rooms. However, growth was seen during this period in the professional and businessmen class (the middle classes).

these pages will illustrate Anne's concerted efforts to promote herself as an arbiter of taste, a friend of artists, art students, female artists and importer of Aestheticism in her local area.

This chapter will also cast some new light on the different role aristocratic women played within the framework of the 'missionary aesthete'. In particular, I intend to examine Anne against the context of Diana Maltz's scholarly study of the Missionary Aesthete, groups of artistically minded philanthropists who believed in "the fantasy of remedying slum chaos and slum brutality through communal aesthetic revelation".<sup>3</sup> The work of Lucy Hartley in the democratisation of beauty also touches on this period as being particularly interested in concepts of beauty and the 'good' so often conforming to liberal values.<sup>4</sup> Building on a term coined by Ian Fletcher in 1987, this study focused on identifying particular strands in the Aesthetic Movement and social networks which embraced the notion of exposing the working classes to beauty. The study began with the works of John Ruskin and Matthew Arnold, who promoted the social good of art in society through a paternal method of instructing and educating in what was beautiful and good. Maltz identified in Arnold's work the notion "that any devoted student might arise above the limitations of his class", and thus able to transform and improve the lives of the labouring classes.<sup>5</sup> This study, with its strong framework, provides an interesting point of discussion as to whether Anne's experiences could be included within its parameters. Aristocratic women are given fleeting references in this study, including Adelaide, Countess Brownlow, who was patron to Eglantyne Louisa Jebb's philanthropic Home Arts and Industries Association, and instead the discussion is heavily weighted towards radicals such as Octavia Hill and institutions such as Toynbee Hall.<sup>6</sup> Yet, it is clear that Anne's work represents a particular form of missionary Aestheticism in which her role as a philanthropist was intrinsically connected with her historic title and home. The inseparable nature between the two is significant. Rather than going out into deprived areas to seek those in need, Anne's home and historic title acted as a local beacon for her philanthropic efforts, and more widely acted as a steppingstone between fashionable trends in London and provincial Warwickshire.

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<sup>3</sup> D. Maltz, *British aestheticism and the urban working classes, 1870-1900*, London 2006, p.1.

<sup>4</sup> Op cit. Hartley 2017 pp.2-3.

<sup>5</sup> Op cit. Maltz 2006 p.7.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. p.22.

In contrast to the beliefs of aesthete Walter Pater, who Maltz identified as being disinterested in the role of class and believed the dissemination of culture transferred across from artist to artist, it is clear that Anne's approach was a curious combination of diffusion in the traditional conservative aristocratic top-down way and at times in the horizontal direction.<sup>7</sup> Her patronage as a protectress of the arts was careful fusion of the two directions of dissemination. Anne's personal identification as an artist and creator of art helped to lessen the class divide between her and the female artists she wished to support. This also affected the types of art she was herself producing and supporting the production of, including previously snubbed 'lesser crafts' redeemed as being instrumental in the professionalisation of female artists by scholars such as Shaffer.<sup>8</sup> There would be no chance of mistaking the Countess's politics as anything but conservative. Her production and public exhibition of decorative art did not break the bonds of her conservative aristocratic class structures, but rather reinforced them. Anne could even discuss her interest and involvement with the Art Needlework school with conservative elites like Dorothy Nevill, who attended a Primrose League meeting in Leamington Spa in May 1889.<sup>9</sup>

Aristocratic patronage had of course existed for centuries, yet its role during the so-called 'Aesthetic Movement' is complex and relatively unexplored. Scholarship, however, often refers to aristocratic patronage as having a legitimising effect, rather than having an active role in its own right. Previous scholarship usually paints this involvement as relatively passive and arms-length in nature. However, these assumptions have since been questioned by Anderson, who identified a strong link between philanthropy and artistically inclined female aristocrats from the 1880s.<sup>10</sup> Art could in fact be an acceptable pursuit for Royalty and aristocratic women keen to set an example socially by 'earning their salt'.

Returning to Anne, the role of Aestheticism in particular is a clear feature in her work as a patron of local institutions in Warwickshire. Through her involvement in various philanthropic events she acted

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid. pp.8-9

<sup>8</sup> T. Shaffer, "Women's work: the history of the Victorian domestic handicraft" in K. Hadjiafxendi, P. Zakreski (ed.) *Crafting the Woman Professional in the Long Nineteenth Century*, London 2013, pp.24-42.

<sup>9</sup> WCRO CR1886, Box 468 (loose), Letter from Dorothy Nevill to Lady Warwick (45 Charles Street Berkley Square), 6 May 1889; *Leamington Spa Courier*, Saturday 4 May 1889.

<sup>10</sup> See A. Anderson, "'Earning their salt in a busy world': royal and aristocratic art philanthropy, patronage and practice, *Women's History Notebook*, 6.2, (1999), pp.16-23.

as the main promulgator and benefactor. In the realms of decorative art needlework, in which Anne was also concerned, the roles of women like Lady Marian Alford, author of the essential *Needlework as Art* (1886), and Mary Adelaide Duchess of Teck and founding aristocrat of the Royal School of Needlework, are often described as having “legitimised needlework’s modern position within the context of historical patronage.”<sup>11</sup> This is almost certainly the case with much of the Countess’s work, yet rarely are the intentions and interests of such figures explored in their own right. A study of Anne, therefore, demonstrates that these efforts could be very personally and aesthetically driven, sometimes as a result of practice and involvement in the making of art itself.

I will show that Anne employed existing society events, including the bazaar, to disseminate her aesthetic, artistic and moral beliefs. Charity bazaars, which served a diverse set of society, provided an established and relatively relaxed atmosphere to promote the artistic objects associated with the Aesthetic Movement. These were also events where the aspiring middle-classes, the strata of society most often associated with the bulk of the Aesthetic Movement, could ‘look up’ - as Dickens had associated with ‘Would-be aristocrats’.<sup>12</sup> Alongside furnishing stalls with vast amounts of aestheticist trappings, Anne had also used these events to promote her own artworks, alongside those of other local female artists. This would conform to Riley’s suggestion that genteel women could push forward the boundaries for others, including the various different classes of women who participated and attended bazaars.<sup>13</sup> Five hundred copies of *The Gentlewoman*, in which her work at Warwick Castle and her artworks were documented and praised, were given out at the 1891 bazaar which she organised for the Leamington School of Art.<sup>14</sup> Not only were her bazaars showcasing her work, but their charitable funds were dedicated to aesthetic and artistically reformist educational projects with which she was deeply concerned.

The central role of Warwick Castle in this persona will be of continual interest. Anne’s ancient home did not play a passive role in her philanthropic pursuits but was at the fore. The castle acted as an exhibition space for artworks by local women, alongside her own works too. The mixture of modern

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<sup>11</sup> P. Zakreski, *Representing female artistic labour*, London 2006, pp.23-24.

<sup>12</sup> C. Dickens, *Sketches by “Boz”*, volume I, 1839, p.136-7.

<sup>13</sup> Op cit. Riley 2017, p. 3.

<sup>14</sup> *Leamington Spa Courier*, Saturday 9 January 1892.

art with ancient art was a very aestheticist approach, showing once again the influence of modern fashions. In effect, her home became a beacon of sorts where fashionable London trends, and even objects bought in London, could be implanted into the surrounding areas of her home. This relationship between her London life and Warwickshire seat is a very interesting and unexplored example of how Aestheticism travelled into the provinces.

Although the comparisons are too complex to discuss in full, Anne's distinctive philanthropic work, which related specifically to architectural and artistic projects, might be compared to those more acknowledged examples instigated by Louisa Anne Beresford (1818-1891), Lady Waterford. Her biographers have suggested that it was her profound religious convictions and evangelism that contributed greatly to her passion for combining her own artistic talents into church building and mural painting.<sup>15</sup> Her religious inspired murals in the School Hall in Ford, close to her estate near Berwick upon Tweed, present an interesting comparison to Anne's own concern for aesthetic-led considerations (FIGURE 5.1).

## **5.2 Bazaars**

Anne's involvement in the fashioning and execution of four bazaars at her home, Warwick Castle, provide the opportunity to examine closely and purposefully the relationships between female artists, taste, and fashion in the realms of charity and aristocratic philanthropy. Indeed, it is clear from her papers and from public reports that these increasingly fashionable public charitable festivities were used as a vehicle for promoting Anne's persona as an arbiter of taste and simultaneously as an artist. The four significant bazaars occurred in July 1884, December 1891, June 1893 and October 1894, towards the end of her husband's life.

In terms of context, the timing of these bazaars might have also coincided with the completion of much of the restoration of Warwick Castle, which had continued into the opening years of the 1880s.

Another of the key features of each of the bazaars was the opening of the castle including as it was

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<sup>15</sup> This case is particularly made throughout R. Franklin, *Lady Waterford, artist and philanthropist*, Sussex 2011, Chapter 11 'Art and Evangelism'.

referred to in the press “parts of the castle not usually open to visitors”.<sup>16</sup> This encourages us to imagine that areas of the highly personalised domestic apartments were opened also. Warwick Castle, we might deduce, was finally in a state to be proudly opened and shared. The previous two chapters have made the case for how important its design was to Anne and her husband, with features chosen to showcase to local people their own interpretations of Aestheticism, their own personal interests, and the history of their ancient home. One imagines that the completion of this work had increased Anne’s confidence greatly in the realms of art and aesthetics. These private areas could now be shared to the diverse, local set of visitors that flocked to these successful events, providing what must have been the most suitable stage set for her work and efforts.

In terms of placing this into its broader historical context, the rise in popularity of the bazaar developed in tandem with the growing independence of women artists and philanthropists. As Prochaska has noted “the fancy fair [or bazaar] was an expression of the coming of age of women in philanthropy. It offered an escape from lives of refined idleness or domestic drudgery; it provided an opportunity for public service compatible with household routine; and it was a reflection of the compassion that was thought to be at the heart of the female character.”<sup>17</sup> In this context, it is obvious that Anne too must have recognised this to some degree. These were highly personal projects, whose opportunities of expression she must have relished.

The history of the bazaar during nineteenth-century Britain also provides an interesting study as to the changing role of women in society and consumer culture. Instituted during the Napoleonic Wars to assist widowed women and their orphans to make a living, the early associations of the bazaar was one of a degrading influence from what was seen as the ‘oriental’ East, and linked to depravity and prostitution.<sup>18</sup> Many of these bazaars naturally appeared in highly populated and commercial cities, including London. This notion was linked to the ever-present caution of women as commercial agents, an ancient prejudice which predates this study by centuries, that was being questioned during Anne’s lifetime.

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<sup>16</sup> *Leamington Spa Courier*, 1 July 1893.

<sup>17</sup> F. Prochaska, “Charity bazaars in nineteenth-century England” in *Journal of British Studies*, Vol 16, no. 2, (Spring 1977). p.84.

<sup>18</sup> G. R. Dyer “The ‘Vanity Fair’ of nineteenth-century England: commerce, women and the east in the Ladies’ bazaar” in *Nineteenth-century Literature*, vol. 46, No. 2 (Sep 1991), pp.197-210.

Scholarship has rightly shone a light on the unusually diverse meeting place such events facilitated. The increasing philanthropic nature of these bazaars combined charity and commercialism as the century progressed, which echoed the increasingly blurred lines as to those sections of society who took part in them. As early as the 1840s the rather unique social effect of these part commercial part philanthropic bazaars was already being commented on by novelists. Literary scholar G. Dyer identified the role of the bazaar in facilitating the mixing of social classes as a present theme in Thackeray's *Vanity Fair* (1848), where the vulgar expendable incomes of the newly wealthy were contrasted against the more noble purses of gentlemen of old money.<sup>19</sup> We can be sure that Anne acknowledged the power of successful bazaars in bringing in various levels of society into the provincial setting of her ancient home. In a letter requesting loaned objects for one of the Warwick Castle bazaars in 1893, she had explained "if weather only favour us we expect people will come from Birmingham & great distances & that it will be a great success."<sup>20</sup> To judge the success of a bazaar on its ability to draw visitors from an industrial and commercial centre such as Birmingham, makes clear her aspirations to attract a greater variety of persons than provincial Warwickshire could afford. Dyer had characterised the phenomenon in the early nineteenth century, noting that "the bazaar topos encapsulates bourgeoisie antipathy towards commercialism and the East, as well as an ambivalent and ultimately fearful and hostile understanding of women".<sup>21</sup> However, it is clear that by Anne's provincial and philanthropic experiments during the 1880s and 90s, these prejudices carried much less of a sting.

It was during the 1820s, the decade that Anne was born, that the term bazaar became appropriated by charitable fairs and was often linked initially with female-led Christian religious institutions and causes.<sup>22</sup> For example, 'A Ladies Bazaar' for Spanish refugees had raised £2,000 in May 1829 in Hanover Square Rooms under the prestigious patronage of the Duke of Wellington.<sup>23</sup> The introduction of the presence of aristocratic women involved in bazaars too changed the perception of these events amongst society. Scholars have highlighted the many charity balls, dinners, concerts and sermons that

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid. pp.215-6.

<sup>20</sup> WCRO CR1886, Box 468 (loose), draft letter from Lady Warwick to Sir Henry Ponsonby (nd.) [1892-3].

<sup>21</sup> Op cit. Dyer 1991 pp.221.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. pp.208-211.

<sup>23</sup> Op cit. Prochaska 1977 p.65

existed amongst the upper classes before the bazaar, which might have helped it eventually gain respectability through association.<sup>24</sup> It is surprising, considering Dyer's assertion, that the bazaar had overcome its negative associations in such a short space of time. Only in 1833, the diarist and distant relative Charles Greville had recorded his distaste at seeing aristocratic ladies manning a bazaar stall at the Hanover Square Rooms, where there was a "vast familiarity established between perfect strangers under the guise of barter. The Queen's stall was held by Ladies Howe and Denbigh, with her three prettiest maids of honour, Miss Bagot dressed like a soubrette and looking like an angel. They sold all sorts of trash at enormous prices."<sup>25</sup>

The appearance of a titled lady holding a stall is suggested to have increased sales, and there are undated letters to Anne from both to Duchess of Westminster and the Duchess of Bedford regarding their presence at the opening of bazaars.<sup>26</sup> The role of middle-class women in emulating the titled ladies they saw and held stalls alongside at such events, received critical comment. Dickens, for example, had described bazaars as the preserve of "the would-be aristocrats – of the middle classes" who "from mere charity, exhibit themselves for three days, from twelve to four, for the small charge of one shilling per head!"<sup>27</sup> Comments like this are suggestive of these events having become somewhere to be seen and admired, alongside the objects and visual delights on offer. Anne had specially commissioned photographs of her widely-recognisably beautiful daughter-in-law, Daisy, Lady Brooke, to be sold amongst the stalls of the 1890 and 1891 bazaars.<sup>28</sup>

Mary Adelaide, Duchess of Teck, was perhaps the most high-profile Royal-connected aristocrat to have dedicated her time and philanthropic efforts to bazaars. The Duchess too had visited Warwick Castle as private guest in January 1888, where she would have no doubt seen Anne's new rooms finally completed after the 1871 fire.<sup>29</sup> They had shared a love for art needlework, and Mary Adelaide had personally written to Anne to request if she might consider the role of Secretary for the Silk

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid. p.72

<sup>25</sup> C. C. F Greville, *A journal of the reigns of King George IV and King William IV*, London 1875, vol 3., p.383.

<sup>26</sup> Op cit. Prochaska, p.79; WCRO CR1886, Box 467 (loose), Letter from Katie Duchess of Westminster to Lady Warwick, (Cliveden, Maidenhead, Aug 1892); WCRO CR1886, Box 468 (loose), Letter from Duchess of Bedford to Lady Warwick, (Woburn, 16 November nd.).

<sup>27</sup> Op cit. C. Dickens 1839, p.136-7.

<sup>28</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 467 (loose), Bill from Walery Ltd, 164 Regent Street, to Countess of Warwick, 8 Cabinet portraits of Lady Brooke for Bazaar' £1/6 - 12-0, 19 June 1890 & 31 December 1891.

<sup>29</sup> *Leamington Spa Courier*, Saturday 5 January 1889. '10 January 1888'.

Association of Great Britain, of which she was President.<sup>30</sup> It is likely that the ill health of her husband the Earl prevented this from happening. Their friendship was further entrenched once Anne's daughter Lady Eva Greville had become lady-in-waiting to Princess Mary of Teck (later Queen Mary) at the end of the 1880s. Eva had even produced paintings as gifts for Mary Adelaide, the mother of her mistress.<sup>31</sup> This royal connection and network must have been considered important to Anne in the realm of her philanthropic work, as through her daughter she entreated Princess Mary to open one of the Warwick Castle bazaars.<sup>32</sup> Although this offer doesn't seem to have been taken up, silver matchboxes bearing Princess Mary's photograph were sold alongside painted clocks and embroidered cushions at the 1893 Warwick bazaar.<sup>33</sup> The Warwick's connections with London-based royalty, indeed themselves almost being portrayed as 'local' royalty, is another example of the diffusion of Aestheticism between centre and periphery. Described as "the hardest working member of the royal family", Mary Adelaide was often commented upon as having likely had six or more bazaars on the go at any one time, and was known for challenging the associations of her status by having enjoyed the role of 'shopwoman'.<sup>34</sup> Although her efforts in bazaars and her work for the Needlework Guild have been acknowledged, scholars have never examined the exact relationships between these pursuits.

The bazaar combined art and commerce under the guise of charity which must have been seen as increasingly acceptable to society. It seems that Anne had no fears of being seen in such pursuits by her royal friends and to the public at large. The realms of art and design had for a long time been linked to successful commercial ventures led by middle-class professional women. The outstanding example of Mrs Eleanor Coade (1733-1821), whose artificial stone architectural dressings and sculpture was received and employed by leading architects, is an example of what was possible for commercially minded female artists. The charity bazaar, however, might have afforded top-tier aristocrats like Anne to explore a highly unusual chance to play the role of an artistic or aesthetically

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<sup>30</sup> WCOR CR1886 Box 467 (loose), Letter from Mary Adelaide, Duchess of Teck, to Lady Warwick (White Lodge Richmond, 8 April 1893).

<sup>31</sup> WCOR CR1886 Box 469 (loose). Letter from Princess Alexander George of Teck to Lady Eva Greville (26 Dec 1889)

<sup>32</sup> WCOR CR1886 Box 469 (loose), letter from Lady Warwick to Lady Eva Greville (Warwick Castle, nd.)

<sup>33</sup> *Leamington Spa Courier*, Saturday 1 July 1893.

<sup>34</sup> F. Prochaska, *Royal Bounty, the Making of a Welfare Monarchy*, New Haven 1995, p.116-7.

minded 'shopwoman'. After all, a bazaar possessed the pleasures of running a shop without having to receive 'vulgar' money for one's own pocket.

At a more local level, the popularity of bazaars reached a peak at the end of the century. By the 1870s, the number of bazaars occurring away from the big cities was increasing at pace, with estimates suggesting that over one thousand fairs might have been held in the provinces during one single year.<sup>35</sup> Looking more closely at Warwickshire, the first recorded 'Ladies' Bazaar' occurred in May 1829, in raising funds for the Leamington General Hospital.<sup>36</sup> The first Ladies' Bazaar patronised by a Countess of Warwick, including the presentation and display of 'Ladies's Work', occurred August 1842 in the ruins of Kenilworth Castle, and occurred again in 1863 under the patronage of the Earl of Clarendon.<sup>37</sup> Unfortunately, little has survived indicating what these earlier fairs were like.

The overall context of the position of the bazaar, and the role of aristocratic women as leading patrons, is important to consider. Furthermore, this sets an intriguing background for Anne's own role, which suggests that she was using existing societal events to promote her interests in Aestheticism to provincial Warwickshire.

### 5.3 Objects at the Bazaars

The most compelling aspect of Anne's bazaars was the objects and wares on display which she was producing and sourcing herself. The nature of these objects can be distinctively associated with the trappings of Aestheticism. The evidence promotes the notion that through this philanthropic work Anne could play the role of an efficient agent of Aestheticism. Previous scholarship on bazaars, and particularly the roles taken on by aristocratic women, have not touched on the significance of who was collating these wares, perhaps due to the lack of surviving evidence. Much of the wares were exactly the sort of fashionable Aesthetic Movement trappings associated with the period. Scholars have suggested that bazaars had an appeal amongst consumers, who would not otherwise have had the

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid. pp.66-68.

<sup>36</sup> *Leamington Spa Courier*, 16 May 1829.

<sup>37</sup> *Leamington Spa Courier*, 10 August 1842.

time or skill to make such articles at home.<sup>38</sup> It seems that these events might well have been an opportunity for Anne to import into these bazaars fancy and cheap artistic objects that attendees from Warwickshire or generally lower income families might not have had an opportunity to buy. This approach would, I believe, initiate Anne into a unique sort of ‘Missionary Aesthete’ who was actively trying and engaged with disseminating Aestheticism both simultaneously into London and importing it into the surroundings of her home in the Midlands.

An extraordinary set of receipts survive in Anne’s papers which detail wares she was specifically buying for two bazaars in Knightsbridge held in June 1885. The first, which covered 10<sup>th</sup> – 12<sup>th</sup> June 1885, is recorded in a list of receipts taken for the entire events which raised an extraordinary £656.2.9.<sup>39</sup> Unfortunately, the exact cause of this bazaar remains unidentified. The second bazaar must have been much closer to Anne’s interest, and was in support of the building of an extension to the Female School of Art, Queens Square, Bloomsbury. The opening of this bazaar, which occurred 26<sup>th</sup> June 1885, was attended by the Prince and Princess of Wales, accompanied by Prince Edward and Princess Victoria. Amongst the many works of art produced by the students of the school, including an oriental stall attended by Lady Waterlow and a ‘small art gallery’ supervised by Mrs Alma Tadema, were what was described as “very fine pieces of ivory carving, bronzes, and satsuma, and cloisonné ware, antique and modern, are marked at absurdly low prices.”<sup>40</sup> The connections with aesthetes here is apparent.

Enclosed in an envelope labelled ‘bazaar’ are sets of receipts from the importers C B Pare & Arthur, located in relative backstreets of 125 London Wall. C B Pare had been a partner in the Chinese & Japan Importers, supported by important Aesthetic Movement designer Christopher Dresser (1834-1904) who had encouraged such enterprises to “use every effort consistent with business success to import only such objects [beautiful works from the East], whether cheap or expensive, as have art merit.”<sup>41</sup> Over four separate dates, Anne had sourced over four hundred objects from the firm for the two bazaars. Amongst the dizzying array of aesthetic items were art metal bronze trays, Japanese tea

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<sup>38</sup> Op cit. Prochaska 1995 p.83.

<sup>39</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 469 (loose), Bazaar at Knightsbridge June 10th, 11th and 12th 1885.

<sup>40</sup> *The Times*, 27 June 1885.

<sup>41</sup> C. Dresser, “Art manufacturers from Japan, a personal observation” *Journal of the Society of Arts*, XXVI, (1878), p.170.

tables, Japanese dishes and bowls, blue and white flowerpots, apple green vases and stands, metal storks and swallows, 36 decorative screens, 24 Japanese umbrellas, 100 antimacassars, boxes of various woods with metal mounts and vases of all descriptions.<sup>42</sup> The relative low quality of these wares is reflected perhaps in the total cost of roughly £80 for the entire stock. Keeping costs down, and thus allowing less affluent buyers at bazaars to take away such aesthetic goods, must have been the key consideration. Pencil markings on one of the long receipts shows that Anne might have been using this document to mark off which items had been sold, as per a shopkeeper. We might imagine that this must have brought some pleasure to Anne, who might have easily avoided such intense search. Comparing what Anne was supplying for London bazaars, it is undeniable that she must have had a serious influence on the stalls held at her Midlands home, Warwick Castle. The stalls of the inaugural 1884 bazaar, headed by Anne, were given praise in the press.<sup>43</sup>

The particularly lavish description of the 1893 Warwick bazaar allows us to recreate and unpick exactly what type of objects were picked and ‘curated’ by Anne. Unfortunately, no photographs of these events survive, possibly due to their fleeting nature. The location of the bazaar, in the castle’s conservatory next to the ancient Warwick Vase, is also telling of the seriousness of which the display of ‘modern’ artworks and wares might have been considered (FIGURE 5.2). The contrast of modern art next to an object as ancient and significant as the Warwick Vase is yet another sign of the eclecticism of Aestheticism, which placed great emphasis on the harmonious mixture of materials and mediums from different ages. Artworks by the Countess led the way and were described as being the focal point of the displays:

DESCRIPTION OF THE STALLS. In the conservatory, equally divided on each side of the famous Warwick Vase, were four stalls draped in Art fabrics of silk and primrose, the first of which had been provided by the Countess of Warwick...Among the prominent articles were

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<sup>42</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 467 (loose), Envelope labelled ‘Bazaar’, Bills from June 6, 8, 9, 16 1885, from Pare & Arthur.

<sup>43</sup> *Leamington Spa Courier*, Saturday 9 August 1884. “They compromised a most valuable collection of every variety, embracing the useful as well as the ornamental, and there was sufficient to tempt as well as to please the most fastidious. Willing hands and no inconsiderable amount of ingenuity, must have been at work for some time, to have produced such an attractive display of goods, which, if disposed of, could not fair to realise a very handsome amount.”

several paintings, both in oil and watercolours, by the Countess of Warwick, several artistic fire-screens by the same lady.<sup>44</sup>

The fact that Anne was using this event to showcase, and perhaps sell, her own artworks is significant. This is clearly a case of Anne challenging the restraints of her class, which generally supposed that aristocratic women could not be considered entirely as professionals who could generate income by selling works of art. Yet, considering the display of other artworks alongside other aristocratic women and middle-class female artists, this bazaar also placed the artworks of women of vastly different social status alongside each-other. Social hierarchy was not banished entirely though, as press descriptions listed Anne's works first. The contrast between Anne's exhibition of artworks at the inaugural 1877 Grosvenor Gallery exhibition, and then alongside many of the middle-class women artists of Warwickshire sixteen years later, must have been dramatic. Disseminating fashionable styles from such significant artistic events in the capital to Warwickshire is significant. However, it might also be argued that the guise of charity, and its location away from the artistic centre of London, might have meant that the normal etiquette and rules could be bent or suspended. The short duration of the bazaar too, lasting three days, might have helped lessen the focus and potential critique of such an event. Evidence shows that Anne approached these provincial events with great energy and attention. Furthermore, the display of various forms of mediums, from serious oil paintings to painted screens and embroidered fabrics, shows that Anne was playing into the aestheticist fashions where decorative forms of art were given equal status alongside more academic works of art.

Who exactly were the women who Anne is bound to have influenced and interacted with? Next to Anne's work was "an oil painting of a portion of the large hall in Warwick Castle" by Miss Emilie Browne, artist and art teacher from the Leamington School of Art, a significant figure protected and patronised by Anne who will be discussed later. The image's purpose was perhaps to point out Anne's involvement in the rebuilding of Warwick Castle's Hall, interiors and domestic apartments. Works by other aristocratic women were also on display, including a "choice-looking gipsy-table, covered with embroidery, and a painted clock by Lady Louisa Wells (Anne's sister); embroidered cushions; a

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<sup>44</sup> *Leamington Spa Courier*, Saturday 1 July 1893.

Russian embroidered cushion by Lady Hilda Finch (daughter of a neighbouring aristocrat); and some elegant silver matchboxes, bearing photographs of Princess Mary.”<sup>45</sup> The hierarchy of the descriptive text in the newspaper is intriguing too, which was clearly adopting a top-down approach, with the exception of Miss Browne (to be discussed). Next, in terms of hierarchy, was a stall supervised by Mrs Hinks, the Mayoress of Leamington, alongside four other ladies.<sup>46</sup>

Other women on the organising committee were also listed. Comprising an equal mixture of what must have been fairly middle-class local married and unmarried ladies, the total number of around sixty plus assistants is quite staggering. Many of these could well have been students at the Leamington School of Art. Much of the wares of these stalls too were Aesthetic Movement objects, including glass, china, flowered art fabrics, Japanese umbrellas and lanterns, Viennese blotters, Russian silverwork, Indian portieres, fire-screens, lamp-covers, ‘sketches by lady friends’, hand-painted photo frames, costume dolls, Nuremberg glass alongside a vast profusion of flowers and plants on display.<sup>47</sup> Once more, the newspaper articles describe the stall holders, almost exclusively women, occupying this busy space amongst the distinctively aestheticist delights on offer:

Mrs Grundy’s stall came next, with a quantity of toilet articles, a few dolls, screens, and some very handsome Japanese bamboo tables and chairs...their attractiveness enhanced by the winning smiles and the alluring wiles of the attendants, who hurried to and fro under a canopy of yellow, white, and flowered art fabrics, from which depended Japanese umbrellas and lanterns.<sup>48</sup>

It is likely that a great majority of this was sourced by Anne herself. This was conceivably an attempt of what she might have interpreted as ‘importing’ highly fashionable artistic objects into rural Warwickshire. Another surviving handwritten list, perhaps compiled by a servant, suggests that Anne

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<sup>45</sup> *Leamington Spa Courier*, Saturday 1 July 1893.

<sup>46</sup> The wares described by these ladies included “a choice collection of Worcester porcelain, some excellent Caldas ware, a handsome bedspread, and a beautifully dressed doll; bent iron work, some very good embroidery, poker work, filigree clock, “Sussex trugs”, embroidered linens, fancy pincushions, workboxes and painted plaques.”

<sup>47</sup> *Leamington Spa Courier*, Saturday 1 July 1893.

<sup>48</sup> *Leamington Spa Courier*, Saturday 1 July 1893.

was offering second-hand goods that she no longer needed, with extremely low prices indicated alongside the prices originally paid for such items.<sup>49</sup>

Anne had also initiated photography and doll competitions at the 1893 bazaar, the winners of which were chosen by the Countess.<sup>50</sup> This too is a very compelling example of Anne nurturing a persona as an arbiter of taste, especially within this relatively new artistic medium. Awards for photographs of a seascape went to Mr R O Milne of Leamington “showing the highest phase of photographic art”, and the award for a landscape went to Mr P Spicer, of Leamington, for a view of none other than Warwick Castle. More interestingly, Anne had also initiated a specific prize for “the best interior” photograph, which was awarded to Miss A Heath of Myton Grange. In the previous chapter I highlighted Anne’s interest in photographing her new interiors as a valid form of artistic expression. In this award, we might once again witness Anne publicly supporting and promoting aestheticist interior design, and attempts to visually capture it, as a subject worthy of an artist. It is a shame that the exact scene by Miss Heath is not described. It would be tempting to imagine the photograph showing an interior view of her own home. The doll competition was presented to a Miss Laura Nelson, for a doll dressed in a handstitched white dress, with special mention going to Miss Bertha Hill’s doll representing a Henry VIII as painted by Hans Holbein, surely inspired by the painting hanging in Warwick Castle. Alongside various musical performances and concerts, a Mr J Plucknett gave what was described as “an excellent representation of Sir Joshua Reynolds’s “Cherub Choir”. The overall theme of Anne’s 1893 bazaar was art and beauty in all its forms.

#### **5.4 The Aesthetic and Political Dimensions of the Bazaar**

Returning to the causes of each bazaar, each fair was in support of some aesthetic project of great meaning for Anne and her husband. The 1884 bazaar was in aid of the restoration of St Mary’s Collegiate Church, Warwick, the resting place of many of the Earls of Warwick. Bazaars in aid of

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<sup>49</sup> *Leamington Spa Courier*, Saturday 9 August 1884. These included a Lady’s black silk umbrella richly mounted, a Gentleman’s handsome silver patent liver, a Lady’s gold keyless watch, a tea and coffee service full size, a handsome solid oak bowl with servers, a pair of “Duchess” Opera glasses, and sixty-three other suitably decorative objects. The arrangement of this list might have been to support the “auctions” of “goods” which occurred at the 1884 Bazaar.

<sup>50</sup> *Leamington Spa Courier*, Saturday 1 July 1893.

enlarging a school, or helping relieve the debts of churches, were commonplace during this period.<sup>51</sup> The 1842 Kenilworth bazaar had been in order to buy a new organ for the local church with a further event aimed at the church's restoration in 1863.<sup>52</sup> Considering the emotional connection to St Mary's, it is not surprising that Anne and her husband took an interest. A bazaar to help raise funds was seemingly agreed to by Anne before the details were finalised of the exact works. Funds of £10,000 were required to renew parts of the stone edifice, yet, also included substantial changes to the interiors. This included the removal of galleries inside the building, and the moving of the organ which would lead to the opening up of the church's nave. Anne's political involvement in the bazaar, in supporting her and her husband's aesthetic views on how work should proceed, is evident in a theatrical draft letter which threatened to remove her support if their views and opinions were ignored.<sup>53</sup> A letter from the Earl to Anne had suggested that this restoration had raised serious aesthetic considerations, explaining "I believe it would injure the appearance of the Church, leaving an ugly bald space"<sup>54</sup> (FIGURE 5.3). Nothing relative to religiosity is mentioned. Another draft letter also makes clear that the money raised by *her* bazaar was specifically intended to be spent on the galleries not to the organ.<sup>55</sup> Anne seems to have also had the political power to manipulate her female supporters in the town, another draft letter explaining that the Ladies Committee for the Bazaar had agreed with her and her husband's wish to proceed in stages.<sup>56</sup> A lack of evidence has failed to show whether Anne's threats had the desired effect. Anne's voice remains the strongest in surviving evidence, showing perhaps a significant control over how these events were organised and run.

Reports of the 1884 bazaar, the first seemingly in the castle's history, show that it raised a total of £566 2s 11d, with an estimated two to three thousand paying visitors<sup>57</sup> (FIGURE 5.4). Anne's role

<sup>51</sup> Op cit. Prochaska 1995, p.75.

<sup>52</sup> *Leamington Spa Courier*, 18 July 1863, 3 August 1842.

<sup>53</sup> WCRO CR1886, Box 467 (loose), draft letter from Lady Warwick to Mr Irvine (Warwick Castle, 15 August (?))

Dear Mr Irvine,

We were away almost all last week & I have only just read in the Papers the discussion wh. Took place at the vestry meeting on Monday... However great the interest Mr Lyttelton may take in St Mary's, one can hardly conceive that it is an equal his Lordship's – whose ancestors built the church & whose family has been connected with it for hundreds of years... It seems to me that his Lordship's request in the 2nd letter was a very reasonable one – namely that all the galleries shd be removed before removing the organ (in order to judge of the effect of the church) – a course which possibly would be naturally adopted in the ordinary progress of the work. But this request appears to have been negotiated by all the Vestry committee but yourself. I was asked to take part in a bazar for raising funds for the Restoration of the Church & was prepared to go very heartily into it – but I am sure you will quite understand that I hard feel inclined to do so now.

<sup>54</sup> WCRO CR1886, Box 467 (loose), letter from Lord Warwick to Lady Warwick (nd.).

<sup>55</sup> WCRO CR1886, Box 467 (loose), draft letter from Lady Warwick to [Irvine] (?).

<sup>56</sup> WCRO CR1886, Box 467 (loose), draft letter from Lady Warwick to [Irvine] (?), written in her husband the Earl's point of view.

<sup>57</sup> *Leamington Spa Courier*, 3 August 1884.

was described in the press; “Whilst his Lordship lent his strong sympathy with the movement, and furthered it by his influence in every possible way, the Countess of Warwick has been absolutely heart and soul in the work, and it must be a source of much gratification to her ladyship to find that, aided by the noble array of ladies who have come to her assistance, matters have been brought to such a successful issue.”<sup>58</sup>

Sparing the 1891 bazaar, the 1893 bazaar was also dedicated to an architectural project in which Anne was seemingly heavily invested. This case happened to be the extension of the School Chapel in the King’s School, Warwick, initiated by its progressive Headmaster Rev John Pearce Way DD (active 1885-1896) in order to enlarge the school<sup>59</sup> (FIGURE 5.5). The Earl had been on the board of governors of the school since the 1870 Education Act, and thus Anne’s involvement might have been seen as the aesthetic counterpart to her husband’s.

Anne had already previously been involved in the redecoration of an historic church in Clutton, Somerset. The Grevilles’ collieries at Clutton were the family’s largest income stream and dominated the Earl’s business in his letters with his estate manager. A letter dated from May 1889 indicates that the largely medieval parish church in Clutton, St Augustine of Hippo, had recently received new metal work and wooden screen work all suggested and approved by Anne herself.<sup>60</sup> This report also coincided with an honest comment on discontent with wages and working conditions, as “I think you will like to hear what is in the wind before it might reach his Lordship’s ear.”<sup>61</sup> It is unfortunate that the church seems to have been cleansed of its Victorian decorative work, making a thorough assessment impossible. It is remarkable that Anne’s aesthetic philanthropy was reaching far into the west of England. Symbolically though, this too might have been considered an aesthetic counterpart to her husband’s involvement with the business of this industrial site.

Anne had even gone through the trouble of using her royal connections to secure a loan of objects that would draw in the crowds “from Birmingham” and great distances. Writing to Sir Hervey Ponsonby, Queen Victoria’s private secretary, Anne had pleaded for the loan of some “interesting dolls dressed

<sup>58</sup> *Leamington Spa Courier*, 3 August 1884.

<sup>59</sup> A. F. Leach, *History of Warwick School*, London 1906, pp.230-31.

<sup>60</sup> CRO CR1886, Box 469 (loose), letter from John Henry Boudier to Lady Warwick, (The Rectory, Clutton, 6 May 1889).

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

by her Majesty” that had caused a sensation in the press<sup>62</sup> (FIGURE 5.6). Published in *The Strand Magazine* in September 1892, these dressed dolls, often in tableaux, fancy dress and likened to art works, were perceived as embodying the Queen’s virtues; “I would that every doll-lover, big and little, could get a glimpse of the charming play things which made happy the childhood of her who is endeared to her subjects as a good wife, a good mother and a wise and exemplary ruler.”<sup>63</sup> Having these on display at Warwick, a truly novel idea, must have been attractive to Anne’s conception of having aestheticist objects and artworks made not only by herself, top ranking nobility, but royalty also. Unfortunately, this plan did not come to fruition, yet it is remarkable considering the lengths she was prepared to go and networks she was willing to exploit to secure popular exhibits. The 1893 bazaar raised £600, with another small bazaar held in the Shakespeare Room after George’s death in 1894 raised another £230.<sup>64</sup>

It seems Anne was interested in the appearance of the chapel in the school. A detailed tracing of the stalls designed by architect W F Unsworth (1851-1912) of Westminster survives in her papers, alongside other notes relating to its appearance<sup>65</sup> (FIGURE 5.7). These particularly ornate neo-gothic stalls, similar to those found in Oxbridge colleges or in St Mary’s Church, Warwick, must have spoken to Anne’s aesthetic. Warwick Castle’s chapel too had undergone a brief renovation in these same years with work designed by Frederick G Cundall and commissioned directly by Anne.<sup>66</sup> Anne gifted £50 for a new pulpit for the chapel. Carved in oak, and relatively plain in terms of decoration and construction, the pulpit bears hers and her husband’s name in Latin, the only visual reminder that survives of her philanthropic works outside of documentary evidence (FIGURE 5.8).

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<sup>62</sup> WCRO CR1886, Box 468 (loose), draft letter from Lady Warwick to Sir Henry Ponsonby (nd.) [1892-3].

Dear Sir Hervey, I have hardly courage to trouble you but I believe the petition I am about to make has already been presented to you - & if you thought there was a possibility of laying it before her Majesty I shd be so very grateful. The high school in Warwick is a Royal Foundation & doing so much good. The Headmaster Mr Way being a first class teacher & the number of scholars increasing every year. To obtain funds for the restoration of the Chapel attached to the School they propose having a bazar in June & we have promised they may hold it in the grounds & if weather only favour us we expect people will come from Birmingham & great distances & that it will be a great success. Mr Way thinks & we think also that this success wd be assured & complete if the great privilege were granted to us of being allowed to exhibition some of those most interesting dolls dressed by her Majesty which the papers gave such a charming account last year. It is to benefit a Royal School that we plead & I need not assure you that if Her Majesty is so gracious as to grant our petition the very utmost care will be taken of the precious Loan Exhibition – I have had very anxious nursing of my husband for the last 2 or 3 months – but I am thankful to say he is no recovering & was yesterday able to sit up for a short time. I am sorry not to have seen Mary for so long for I am so little in London just now. Will you give her much love from me. I believe me dear Sir Hervey, A Warwick.

<sup>63</sup> *The Strand Magazine*, September 1892, p.238

<sup>64</sup> Op cit. Leach, p.231.

<sup>65</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 467 (loose). Tracing of the stalls of Warwick School Chapel.

<sup>66</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box (loose). Letter from Frederick G Cundall to Lady Warwick (5 October 1892).

## 5.5 Leamington School of Art

By far the most revealing example of Anne's position as a patroness and particularly *artistic* philanthropist, casting a different type of 'missionary aesthete', was her involvement in the Leamington School of Art. This was a philanthropic project that united her desires to bring Aestheticism to the local female population, a distinctive feature which has played a significant role in this chapter thus far. Her involvement in the institution might not have been too surprising for an aristocrat, especially as it seems that neighbouring Lord Leigh of Stoneleigh had initially been connected with it during the opening decades of its establishment.<sup>67</sup> It is also possible that Anne was interested in the founding of the Female School of Art in Bloomsbury London.<sup>68</sup> More significantly, Anne had embroiled herself publicly in one of the Leamington School of Art's greatest rows and scandals, a sign of her support for promoting the education of women artists. This row concerned the leadership of the school by headmistress Miss Emilie A Browne (1852-1939), who was publicly and humiliatingly ousted from her position after her extremely short tenure between 1886-1889.

The school's history, featuring a great deal of social history with a heavy emphasis on statistics, was produced in a thesis between 1969-70 by John Eldon Duce.<sup>69</sup> It is surprising how little Anne's involvement was commented on in this study. Established in 1866, by a Franco-German war correspondent Mr G R Robinson, the Leamington Spa School of Art was born out of developments from the artistic training arm of the South Kensington Museum, in establishing training courses which covered sixty-one sections by 1864.<sup>70</sup> Under the directorship of Sir Henry Cole (1808-1882), who championed arts education and the reappraisal of the decorative arts as a worthy subject for study, there had been an increased effort in establishing provincial schools based along the same lines of the South Kensington model.<sup>71</sup> Leamington Spa, in comparison to the historic yet more county-centric Warwick, was a relatively newly built prosperous spa town with a growing population focused in the middle classes. The popularity of these provincial schools is confirmed by the number of ninety-one

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<sup>67</sup> Lord Leigh was described as 'Patron' in *Leamington Spa Courier*, Saturday 29 January 1876.

<sup>68</sup> WCOR CR1886 Box 469 (loose).

<sup>69</sup> J. E. Duce, *A history of the Leamington School of Art from its original foundation in 1866 to the year 1914*, School of Art Education University of Birmingham, Advanced Diploma dissertation, 1969-70.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.* p. 25.

<sup>71</sup> See H. Cole, *The Duty of Governments towards Education, Science and Art*, London 1875.

provincial schools in existence by 1864, and the increased number of prizes made available by manufacturers and industry. Alongside classes specialising in painting, geometric drawing, perspective and model drawing, plasterwork and monochromatic drawing, the school regularly invited guest speakers to lecture on various subjects relating to art history. These provincial schools would require pupils to take their standardised tests. They would also be eligible for the loan of art works from the centralised museum for student study. This is relevant, as it has been suggested that the Leamington School's institution was brought up alongside a desire to establish a museum in the town, where none had existed before. Despite worries from the town's Literary and Philosophical societies regarding how the lesser intellectual pursuits of a drawing class might be perceived, the school's establishment was eventually assured once a retiring Headmaster Mr Charles Ryan of Halifax was found to drive it forward.

Although the school's founding principles are obscure, newspaper reports of the occasion specifically describe it as "the School of Art opened for young ladies...the necessary models and appliances have been obtained from the South Kensington Museum, half the cost being borne by the Government."<sup>72</sup> The continued popularity of a specific group in the school named the 'Ladies' Class' saw fees doubled, in order to help support the rest of the school.<sup>73</sup> It is likely to have consisted of the town's relatively wealthy middle-class women. Anne's interest in bringing art to this strata of women would have been mirrored by the publication of her friend Louise Jopling's *Hints to Students and Amateurs*, published in 1891, a book which directly encouraged the intellectual aspirations of middle-class women.<sup>74</sup> Once again, the perceptions of the decorative and perhaps 'lesser' nature of the work produced by female artists is embodied in the establishment in 1868 of an award for 'fan painting'.<sup>75</sup> Competition for this award was specifically restricted to female art students. Special considerations were even made for women who "have no leisure to attend the day classes", with an evening class especially established for such students.

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<sup>72</sup> Op cit. Duce p.40.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid. p.56.

<sup>74</sup> This point is made in Op cit. P. Montfort 2017, p.118.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid. p.56.

Financial problems, and the problems of increasing rents, continually plagued the school. Its future was supposed to be assured with the building of Leamington Spa's new Town Hall, which provided a formal space dedicated to the school. This typically historicist nineteenth-century building, executed in the neo-Jacobean style and wholly unsuited to the Regency grandeur of the town, was designed by locally born architect John Cundall (1830-1889)<sup>76</sup> (FIGURE 5.9). The school's increasing popularity, felt particularly after the 1870 Education Act, which was not met with enough money from local government, meant that these new rooms were already unsuitable to hold all the classes the school required.

Miss Emilie Browne's appointment to the headmistress of the Town Hall school in the winter of 1886 seems to have been due to another existential crisis. Duce argued that the threatening of the School's complete closure, due to financial mismanagements and increasing debts, was the main reason for Miss Browne's appointment.<sup>77</sup> Browne, who descended from a family of educators and already had private pupils under her tuition, seemed to have presented a solution to the school's lack of leadership.<sup>78</sup> Miss Browne's promotion also presented a solution to the problem of oversubscription, as she already had access to studios in nearby Warwick Street. This alternative location, which Browne seems to have already had the intention of expanding on her appointment, allowed her to establish a rival Art School after her dismissal in 1889.

A speech made by the Mayor of Leamington (Councillor John Fell – a former pupil at the school) at Browne's first prizegiving ceremony in 1887 had a remarkably intriguing set of references to the perceived role of women in art. Firstly, in that the primary role of the rising generation of female artists was perceived to be the decoration of the home, with special reference to their training allowing for the poorest homes to become artistic.<sup>79</sup> Considering Anne's involvement in the design of interiors

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<sup>76</sup> L. F. Cave, *Royal Leamington Spa: its history and development*, London 1988, Chapter Sixteen.

<sup>77</sup> Op cit. Duce. p.123.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid. p110.

<sup>79</sup> *Leamington Spa Courier*, Saturday 17 December 1887. "It was also necessary that the girls of the rising generation should develop their talents in this direction [art], because a very little money would then make the homes of the poorest artistic, and, if the wives of our workmen and middle-class men drew their attention to making their homes not only attractive in the ordinary sense, but to make them into small palaces of art, there would not be so many of our young men seeking attractions which were denied them in their own homes. (Applause)."

we can be sure she would have supported such a cause. A special case was also made for the exceptionalism of Browne, the school's first female headmistress.<sup>80</sup>

The opposition to her appointment, which seems to have remained controversial during her time as headmistress, was mostly due to her lack of formal qualifications and her being branded as merely being an 'artist'. A column in the *Warwick Advertiser* had made clear what sort of opposition and scepticism existed, as well featuring a tinge of misogyny. Although the project of provincial schools was to establish the importance of education in the arts as promoted by the metropolitan Henry Cole, it was still viewed with suspicion amongst some officials in provincial Warwickshire. Published in the *Warwick Advertiser* anonymously, the question of Browne's appointment and the future of the school was described as follows:

perhaps in no calling is there more quackery practised than in so call 'art teaching'...the great drawback to success in Leamington is that pedantry, not merit, rules the roost, that the would-be teachers need teaching and that 'certificates' are obtained where nothing but the grossest ignorance exists...if a school of art is to be re-established...let a good capable man be appointed...not because of his testimonials...but because he is a practical teacher trained for a school; and lastly it is a well known fact that artists are not best fitted to take charge of an Art School, neither are trained teachers artists...<sup>81</sup>

Duce had argued that Browne's downfall and eventually dismissal was related to the poor results gained by her pupils and not reaching the expectations of her fierce critics.<sup>82</sup> Although no thorough specific reasons are given by Duce, and the episode is dismissed as "of no direct concern here", the newspaper reports made in October 1889 make clear the "smouldering dissatisfaction amongst the officials, which has culminated in a certain aggressive action against the teaching staff of the School."<sup>83</sup> Browne's critics had made the case that her brief period had resulted in a slump in figures,

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<sup>80</sup> *Leamington Spa Courier*, Saturday 17 December 1887. "There were very few Schools of Art with ladies at the head of them; but he [the schools founder Mr Robinson] was quite sure it was a position which ladies could fill in many cases much better than men. He had often thought that if they had a perceptive faculty as clearly developed as the ladies had, with the reasoning powers they acquired with their wider practical experience, and which could only be developed in the struggle of daily life, they would be perfection. On the other hand if women possessed those reasoning powers which men gained in the battle of life, they might at the fireside raise discussions which would not tend to that harmony and good feeling which should always exist in their homes (Laughter and Applause).

<sup>81</sup> *Warwick Advertiser*, 7 November 1887.

<sup>82</sup> Op cit Duce. pp.113-4.

<sup>83</sup> *Leamington Spa Courier*, Saturday 12 October 1889.

statistics presented in what was described as “tabular analysis”, compared with previous results obtained by the school. Siding with Browne against what was seen as unfounded provincialism, newspaper reports had made clear Browne’s battles against the “petty local minds eaten up by petty local prejudices, who would fain set up their own narrow and uncultured judgement against that of more competent tribunals.”<sup>84</sup> Figures published in the local press, which were sought from the South Kensington Museum, vindicated Browne entirely.<sup>85</sup> Despite this, her resignation was sought and accepted.

We might also read into the fact that Browne’s immediate replacement, the local born William Robert Hewitt, received an unusually long list of qualifications in the press, which including the winning of various prizes.<sup>86</sup> This must have been intended to draw on Browne’s perceived shortcomings, as much as Hewitt’s strengths. The committee in charge of this appointment might well have taken heed of the *Warwick Advertiser’s* comment that “ a good capable man should be appointed...”, which supports the notion that disapproval of her sex must have played its own part. Another anonymous letter in the press too sided with Browne against the ignorance of town officials; “It may be some consolation to her [Miss Browne] that she is not the only sufferer from this species of persecution...From every town in the country complaints are constantly coming in from Arts Masters of the ignorant interference and senseless opposition against which they have to struggle.”<sup>87</sup>

It is here that we might consider Anne’s significant role in supporting both Browne’s work and her survival, both publicly and privately. After all, Anne’s wide-ranging contacts with the Victorian Art world and that in London would have made her an extremely useful ally against such provincial prejudices. It seems that Anne’s involvement with the school had begun by 1887 before the controversies had begun. The Countess had participated in local amateur art making since 1871, as she seems to have submitted works to the newly formed ‘Warwickshire Amateur Artist’s Club’ in Leamington Spa during that very year.<sup>88</sup> Although it is not clear exactly how the relationship with

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<sup>84</sup> *Leamington Spa Courier*, Saturday 12 October 1889.

<sup>85</sup> Figures found in Op cit. Duce. p.114

<sup>86</sup> Op cit. Duce. p.115. “Mr Hewitt is also qualified and able to teach building, construction, architecture designs etc...[and] is also qualified to receive all grants and payments made by the department.”

<sup>87</sup> Quotes sourced in Ibid. p.114

<sup>88</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 481. Letter from J R Young, Whitnash Rd, to Lady Warwick, dated 14 March 1871. A prospectus of the club is also included. It is not obvious how long her involvement lasted, as it may have ended after the 1871 fire.

Browne functioned, Anne made regular visits to the premises and corresponded with Browne. The soft and hidden power is worth exploring. She was intended to be the guest of honour at the School's prize giving ceremony held in December of 1887, but ill health had stopped her from attending. A letter that was published in the press suggested that her involvement was due to Miss Browne's personal invitation, suggesting that they may have met before this period.<sup>89</sup> Anne had distributed prizes in the following year in 1888, accompanied by her children, where it was celebrated that as many as 2,000 pupils had passed through its doors since the School's establishment<sup>90</sup> (FIGURE 5.10).

Speeches made in 1888 also expressed the highly symbolic significance of the union between Leamington and Warwick, which was embodied by the Countess's visit:

Compared with Warwick, with all its ancient beauty and majesty, they [Leamington Spa] had nothing, and yet it seemed to him that every encouragement was given to Leamington to do all in its power to foster art and beauty. The Countess of Warwick, had come from her own beautiful castle, and from Warwick, so full of ancient beauty, to Leamington, to help and encourage them in that work.<sup>91</sup>

This speech pointed to an intriguing distinction that must have existed at this period. Leamington Spa, after all, was a modern prosperous spa town compared to neighbouring historic Warwick. Its population would have plausibly reflected a different demographic to Warwick, whose social make-up would have reflected its status as capital of the county. This speech promoted the contemporary conception that Warwick, although smaller in population, was richer in history and beauty. The castle's role in Anne's artistic persona, acting as a natural home and a beacon for beauty, is once again encountered as a significant element. In this speech, therefore, the Countess and her patronage, is portrayed as a figurehead and embodiment of history and beauty. It is likely that Anne's patronage, was a very clever piece of public relations to promote herself as a guiding aesthete with whom art and beauty were integral and inherent.

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<sup>89</sup> *Leamington Spa Courier*, Saturday 17 December 1887.

<sup>90</sup> *Leamington Spa Courier*, Saturday 15 December 1888.

<sup>91</sup> *Leamington Spa Courier*, Saturday 15 December 1888.

Considering Browne's public and humiliating dismissal in 1889, Anne's continued loyalty and support for her break-away art school in Warwick Street must have made an impression. In the round, Anne must have approved of Browne's teaching methods. Although no evidence survives of the nature of their discussions, it is likely that they had shared ideas concerning art education for women. This had been a personal matter to her, as earlier in 1880 Anne had investigated sending her daughter Lady Eva to the Slade School of Art.<sup>92</sup>

Browne's unorthodox methods may well have been a contributing factor to her dismissal. This is explained by an analysis of how the Leamington School of Art was required to produce the results of its work. The South Kensington examinations, broken up into three grades of increasing difficulties, seem to have been the root of the controversy. Rather than dissuading students from taking exams far above their abilities, Browne explained publicly that she had encouraged students to take them despite their readiness for them.<sup>93</sup>

Browne believed that lessons could be learnt from failure when pitching too highly, and that the school was geared towards pushing middle ranking pupils to success. The press reported the students' failures. Press attention was received in December 1889 when a pupil, described as 'an assistant', received feedback on a third-grade examination which indicated that they should have never considered sitting for it at all.<sup>94</sup> It seems Browne's approach was in contrast to the methods of the time, which required teachers to be cautious rather than risk failure. It is frustrating that no direct evidence survives for its relation to the sex of the pupils. However, no female students were awarded any third-grade certificates in either 1887 (one male awarded with a third-grade prize) or 1888 (three males awarded with third-grade prizes). In contrast, the majority of pupils of the school and second-grade prizes were awarded to female students during both years. Might Browne's approach have been geared towards giving female students the opportunity to pitch at the difficult third grade, even if they

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<sup>92</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 468 (loose), Letter from Blanche Maynard to Lady Warwick, 24 April 1880.

<sup>93</sup> Quoted from *Leamington Spa Courier*, 12 October 1889, Op cit. Duce, p.130. "I prepare the pupils to pass each examination they sit for, but in the case of a first attempt at a third grade [the highest], I never expect them to be successful, nor do I lead them in any way to expect to pass..." "treat it as a test...of what you will have to do" is my advice, for these examinations are for teacher and advanced students, and are, of course very difficult...Again, second grade work will always be the bulk of the school, for the school is composed in great part of teachers who need to gain full second grade certificates to authorize them to teach in board schools."

<sup>94</sup> *Leamington Spa Courier*, Saturday 19 December 1889.

would not succeed? Although the evidence does not survive to prove this, it is possible that this tactic was aimed at encouraging female students to reach ever higher goals.

Furthermore, her insistence on teaching is worthy of note, she herself commenting that “Every true student of Art should be a teacher of Art and be able to teach up to the milestone he had passed until he arrived at the higher work of painting from still life, and painting from life, which was the highest of all work.”<sup>95</sup> This is suggestive that the hierarchy of the arts, perhaps with the decorative arts at the lower end of the scale, was maintained to lessen the pressure on students to become fully fledged ‘artists’ from the start. This system might have encouraged a pride in those students who might have been more content with artworks associated with the decorative arts. Anne too, as a fellow female artist, had followed with enthusiasm the Aesthetic Movement’s support of banishing the traditional hierarchy of the fine and decorative arts.

The Countess aligned herself with the ethos and methods promoted by Browne. Anne’s first public pledge of support was as guest of honour at the official opening of Browne’s new studios and breakaway school in Warwick Street in January 1890, only months after the teacher’s dismissal had become sensational local news. The continued existence of the Warwick Street School, which Browne had already established before her appointment in 1886, allowed for a particularly smooth transition into this rival institution. Although the comparison of this breakaway institution as a Warwickshire version of the *Salons des refusés* might be taking matters too far, it would be perhaps easy to underestimate the radical step away from the local establishment this represented.

Press reports made a great deal of Anne’s presence at the 1890 opening. A short but very revealing speech explained that her enthusiasm for the studios was born out of her experience as an artist and student of art, as much as anything else:

I have very great pleasure in coming here this evening to open this beautiful studio – a studio which seems to me so complete and so perfect in all its arrangements and details, that I cannot fancy anything more enjoyable than being a young student, working in a quiet corner, at one

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<sup>95</sup> *Leamington Spa Courier*, 28 March 1891.

of those charming easels, at the supervision of so excellent and able a teacher as Miss Browne. It would almost make one wish to be young again, and to have the privilege of working here.<sup>96</sup>

The last sentence, very touchingly, is remarkable for the case that it was not class or status that divided Anne from the pupils of the school, but age alone. As a sixty year old, one imagines Anne might have felt she belonged to the wrong generation whose opportunities for exploring art were in fact to some extent far greater than she experienced during her youth. Her speech continued to emphasise her personal support for Browne's methods and results, which was a clear rejection of the public and establishment criticisms the teacher and female artist had received in the press.<sup>97</sup>

Anne's critique of students' work is constantly referred to throughout her involvement with the school. This presents a curious mixture of aristocratic top-down criticism with an element of the sideways artist speaking to artist. Her own type of missionary Aestheticism was obviously more 'hands-on' rather than a passive money-giving exercise. Once more, the majority of exhibitors on display were women.

Furthermore, Anne was fulfilling a parallel role to the South Kensington Museum, whose remit also included loaning books and works of art for student study at provincial art schools. Lending her and her husband's own property for artistic inspiration and study shows how significant the castle's rich collection was in diffusing beauty into the provinces. Duce's research unveiled that the Leamington School of Art had been the recipient of around thirty paintings (unidentified) and a wide selection of books on subjects such as fan designs, mechanical students and drawings of Raphael.<sup>98</sup> The 1891 bazaar featured several artworks by students which sound as if they were copies of Old Masters in the castle's collection.<sup>99</sup> In listing evidence of Anne's support to her newly opened school, Miss Browne

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<sup>96</sup> *Leamington Spa Courier*, January 25, 1890.

<sup>97</sup> "In speaking of Miss Browne as a most able teacher, I am not expressing my own opinion, or the opinion of this or that person on her capability. I would appeal to facts, eloquent facts, which speak for themselves far better than I can do. For we have all heard the excellent results of the students' examinations, and of prizes and certificates almost as numerous as well could be. I have the pleasure of several times inspecting the students' work, with which I have been much delighted, as well as with their continued satisfactory progress. We all know how devoted they are to their enthusiastic teacher, and with students so earnest and assiduous, and intelligent, it seems to me that great success should be achieved, and that this should become one of the best schools in the country. Miss Browne is very fortunate in having so many kind friends to support her this evening – many whose opinion and judgement are so well worth having." *Leamington Spa Courier*, 25 January 1890.

<sup>98</sup> Op cit. Duce, p.102, 106.

<sup>99</sup> *Leamington Spa Courier*, Saturday 28 March 1891. 'A painting after Van Dyck by Mr Hyam'.

had published in the *Warwick Advertiser* that her generosity had extended to loaning out Warwick Castle's historic objects:

Lady Warwick had given them other substantial marks of her sympathy in this undertaking, by lending valuable books, by giving prizes, and by showing her interest in them all. She also lent that valuable old armour which figured in that delightful work by Miss White, which he was glad to see had won a notable prize in the exhibition.<sup>100</sup>

The loan of armour had been to none other than landscape painter John Brett (1831-1902), who had visited Warwick Castle in 1860 as part of a trip to paint a large historic work based on the building's ancient history<sup>101</sup> (FIGURE 5.11). Loaning such armour to the students of the Leamington School of Art must have been considered an important gesture extended not only to professional and significant painters, but female students like 'Miss White' also. The connection of prizes associated with her family is also of interest, as she instituted awards in the name of her two sons the Hon. Alwyn and Hon. Louis Greville too.<sup>102</sup>

The 1891 prizegiving ceremony, held in the gymnasium at the Warwick Street School, featured floral displays and decorated centrepiece inscribed "welcome to the Countess of Warwick, 1891".<sup>103</sup> Her speech, although brief, explained "I can assure them [the pupils] that this feeling is fully returned and nothing interests me more than a visit to the School to inspect their work. I wish I was a good speaker and could have the satisfaction of describing Miss Browne's excellent capabilities as a teacher, and the very encouraging progress made by the pupils, but I must leave that in able hands, and reserve to myself the great pleasure of distributing prizes."<sup>104</sup>

The importance of Warwick Castle as a place of artistic inspiration and a seat of taste for past as well as present was especially noted in a speech given at the 1891 ceremony; "They had that grand old Warwick Castle – a place to which, as they knew, great pilgrimages were made from all over the

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<sup>100</sup> *Warwick Advertiser*, Saturday 7 November 1891.

<sup>101</sup> C. Payne, *John Brett: Preraphaelite Landscape Painter*, New Haven 2010, pp.64-66.

<sup>102</sup> *Leamington Spa Courier*, Saturday 18 December 1890. One imagines that Anne had also picked the theme of her sons's prizes. Louis's was for "the best floral design for a book cover", which was awarded to a Miss Long "who chose as her subject the geranium", with six other mentions for female students. Alwyn Greville's prize for "the best crayon head from life" was awarded to "Miss Dawkins' 'Gipsy' (Juril)" and "'Blind Bardi' by Miss Dora Galton".

<sup>103</sup> *Leamington Spa Courier*, Saturday 28 March 1891.

<sup>104</sup> *Leamington Spa Courier*, Saturday 28 March 1891.

world, and which was itself a great museum of Art. Further, they had the noble and enlightened owners of that grand Castle, who were so able and willing to encourage all artistic and other good institutions in the neighbourhood.”<sup>105</sup> The ancient convention of traditional aristocratic patronage is what was clearly evoked here, showing once more the conservative aspects of Anne’s approach to missionary Aestheticism.

Yet at the same time, the speech also included direct references to Anne’s position as an equivalent struggling artist and student:

Surrounded as she was, in her own home, by the greatest masterpieces of artists, and a student herself, it was no wonder that Lady Warwick took pleasure in all that concerned it. She knew the difficulties that the students contended with, and how they must go on working and persevering, ever climbing round by round the ladder of success, the top of which those who truly and earnestly endeavoured could at last attain, or, if not, would have pleasure in looking, with a seeing eye and an understanding heart, at the beauties which surround them.<sup>106</sup>

This suggests that Anne’s personal involvement in the making of art must have been considered inspirational, and the pursuit of beauty something of a social equaliser.

The high point for the Countess’s support of the School came with the December 1891 bazaar, which raised a total of £204 14s 4d for the school. Held in the Shakespeare Room, the list of objects on display was as extravagant as ever. Much was made of the fact that “she had provided a large assortment of the latest and choicest London and Paris millinery, which proved a source of great attraction to the lady visitors.” Anne’s own stall, at the top of the hierarchy of displays, once again proved the focal point “the first stall, under the charge of the Countess of Warwick, presented a most attractive appearance, being loaded with artistic and decorative articles. Prominent among these were a painting in oils, and a beautifully painted writing table for a lady’s boudoir by Lady Warwick; a fine study of a female head, in oils, by Lady Eva Greville...” Amongst the artworks by students and tutors of the Leamington Art School, which were exhibited alongside existing artworks from the castle such

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<sup>105</sup> *Leamington Spa Courier*, Saturday 28 March 1891.

<sup>106</sup> *Leamington Spa Courier*, Saturday 28 March 1891.

as the Cooke & Sons Kenilworth Buffet, special mention was made of Miss Browne's portrait of the Earl of Warwick made in red chalk, which survives in the castle's collection to this day (FIGURE 5.12).

A speech explained the significance of Anne's support for the breakaway school:

Dear Lady Warwick, we beg you to accept our heartiest thanks for your great kindness to us as a School, and for your sympathy and interest in us individually. Your ladyship was our staunch friend in our exodus from the old room in the Parade. When we made our stand against the injustice of our late committee, you befriended us then, and opened for us the commodious studios in which we are now located. Your ladyship has all along encouraged our efforts to higher and better work by the prizes you have offered, and by your artistic criticisms of our drawings. We each of us feel we have a personal friend in your ladyship, and now, when we have been dispirited by the division of the Technical Grant, you again most generously came to our aid, not only in sincere sympathy to our teacher and ourselves, but also in practical help, of which this bazaar is the outcome. We do, indeed, feel grateful to your ladyship, and we can only show our gratitude by doing our best as Art students to do honour to our School, and, above all, to please our beloved patroness.<sup>107</sup>

This speech perhaps reveals Anne's distinctive approach as a philanthropic aesthete, who believed that the pursuit and education in the arts must be available for the girls and young people of Warwickshire, despite fierce criticism. The works of art produced by the school's students, the majority of whom were girls producing decorative works of art, were also promoted by Anne as entirely valid forms of artistic expression amongst aristocratic women such as herself and the middling classes attending the school. It is tempting to imagine that a small group of young artists in a surviving photographic album might depict such students from the Leamington School<sup>108</sup> (FIGURE 5.13).

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<sup>107</sup> *Leamington Spa Courier*, Saturday 19 December 1891.

<sup>108</sup> This photograph album, possibly belonging to Anne, remains in the Warwick Castle collection.

## 5.6 Legacy

It seems that Anne retired from much of her public philanthropy after the death of her husband in December 1893. Miss Browne's school continued into the twentieth century after the headmistress's retirement in 1904. It is difficult to ascertain what happened to many of the school's alumni. How many of the young women educated there became professional artists? Or how did this sort of artistic education affect the lives of students in ways that did not result in material form, but rather improved the quality of their lives in other ways? As previously mentioned, the single visual reminder to this day of Anne's philanthropic work is the humble pulpit in the chapel of Warwick School. Anne's own involvement in these institutions has been much passed over by local historians examining the Leamington School of Art, and the Warwick School, perhaps in the face of a more bottom-up focused view on history. Unlike Lady Waterford's school murals, Anne's efforts did not culminate in any single monumental and lasting work of art. Her efforts were found in more short term, yet highly symbolic projects. We might never know what came of the many Aesthetic Movement articles that were purchased and widely disseminated at her bazaars, however, it is clear that she had good intentions for them.

Neither can we assess the impact on Anne's servants, who received the close personal and creative patronage of this artistic Countess. Unlike royalty, who could pick from the daughters of the aristocracy to have as their close confidantes and ladies-in-waiting, aristocrats such as Anne had greater freedom to pick and choose exactly who they might consider employing as their servants. Documentary evidence suggests that Anne gave much consideration to picking out her female servants. Young women who were capable artists were of special concern to Anne, and she had received begging letters from female artists seeking employment in London.<sup>109</sup> She had sought out recommendations from the School of Art Needlework, and had received recommendations of unmarried women from known and respected patronesses of the arts. Lady Sibyl Eden (1867-1945), who became a significant patron to John Singer Sargent, made a recommendation of a Miss Fanshaw to come to work for Anne at Warwick Castle, adding that "She does not paint but she does repose

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<sup>109</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 467 (loose). Letter from Agnes Harris, 18 Hart Street, to Lady Warwick. (nd.)

leather work, writes a good hand & capable.”<sup>110</sup> Anne had also received recommendations of a female servant from Mrs Alfred Morrison of Fonthill (1847-1933), a significant collector of lace and art.<sup>111</sup> Long lists survive of young unmarried women’s names in Anne’s hand, often located in relatively deprived areas such as in South London, indicating that she was not averse to seeking out the right candidates from poorer backgrounds.<sup>112</sup> Anne’s guiding hand did not always transform the lives of the women she employed, as evidence shows.<sup>113</sup> More mysterious is a set of four private art studios she leased in South West London, whose purpose remains unknown.<sup>114</sup>

The lasting memory of Anne’s work with the poor has been vastly overshadowed by the philanthropic efforts of her daughter-in-law. Frances Evelyn Maynard (1861-1938), 5<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, ‘Daisy’, became a renowned philanthropist and socialist radical. Much of her philanthropic works focused on educational institutions geared towards practical study and agriculture. One comparative aesthetic project, perhaps, was the needlework school established in 1890 at Easton to help poor and disadvantaged girls from rural Essex.<sup>115</sup> In a most novel idea by the new Countess, a showroom selling the school’s wares was established in the highly fashionable New Bond Street. The change in approach is particularly noticeable when considering the shop front bearing the title ‘Countess of Warwick’ located only metres away from where the Grosvenor Gallery had been (FIGURE 5.14).

## 5.7 Conclusion

A study of Anne’s distinctively aesthetic philanthropy deepens our knowledge of how Aestheticism could be disseminated by aristocratic women. It also presents another type of Missionary Aesthete in

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<sup>110</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 467 (loose). Letter from L A O’Regan, School of Art Needlework, to Lady Warwick (15 October 1887)

<sup>111</sup> For a description of Mrs Morrison’s collection see M. Jourdain, “Lace in the collection of Mrs Morrison of Fonthill” in *The Burlington*, Vol 2, no. 4, (Jun 1903), pp.95-103; WCRO CR1886 Box 467 (loose). Letter from Mrs Morrison to Lady Warwick, 16 Carlton House Terrace, March nd.

<sup>112</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 467 (loose). List of names of unmarried ladies from London, one identified as ‘lacemaker’.

<sup>113</sup> A letter from an inn keeper in Cirencester survives requesting money to pay the outstanding bills of a destitute former servant, Mrs Wood, who had assisted Anne in painting a screen for the Duke of Albany and had been paid by Anne to paint fans with her. WCRO CR1886 Box 467 (loose), Letter from Mrs Chester Master to Lady Warwick (The Abbey Cirencester, nd.).

<sup>114</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 858 / 1 – Documents relating to the estate of the Dowager Countess of Warwick. Relating to four private art studios on the Grosvenor Road, SW London, named the ‘Riviera Studios’. Evidence for these only appear after Anne’s death in probate documents gathered by her son and heir. It is clear that this pursuit was entirely private, as her son was seemingly unaware of their existence until after his mother’s death. It is likely that these studios were intended to be low-cost premises for newly established artists, although, little evidence of their existence can be found in documentary evidence. One of the only names that are found to relate to the studios was the designer William Christian Symons (1845-1911), a friend of Whistler who executed vast mosaic works for Westminster Cathedral, see W. de L’Hopital, *Westminster Cathedral and its architect*, London 1942, p.248.

<sup>115</sup> S. Anand, *Daisy: The Life and Loves of the Countess of Warwick*, London 2008, pp.58-59.

Victorian Britain. This particular type utilized the traditional associations their aristocratic title and ancient home had as a key part of their philanthropic persona. Going into the deprived areas of cities was not the only way of bringing art to the masses. In contrast, aesthetes like Anne used their important and beautiful homes in provincial settings as beacons for Aestheticism. Existing structures such as the charitable bazaar could be harnessed to suit their personal aesthetic interests. Their roles here showed them as efficient agents of new trends and fashions. Money could be raised to support architectural and artistic projects that suited Anne's creative taste. In terms of materials, the bazaar allowed her to import into Warwickshire aestheticist trappings, a feature which moved Aestheticism away from the fashionable centres of London and into the homes of those aspiring middle classes who attended these large events. Bazaars could also provide a symbolic support for her fellow women artists, in allowing her works to be exhibited amongst those of young students and local women, all showcased in the setting filled with the masterpieces found in her family's art collection. Furthermore, through her support of the Leamington School of Art Anne could further play the role of aesthetic maiden within the existing spheres of traditional aristocratic patronage. It seems her personal support of the teaching methods of radical teachers such as Miss Browne aligned with her own reformist ideas of encouraging the decorative arts for women. Anne's active engagement with students, in lending works from her ancient home and giving criticism of students work, shows her keen interest in helping support less affluent women from the surroundings of her family's seat.

## Chapter 6 – The Countess of Warwick as a Creator of Art

### 6.1 Introduction

I lost my heart to my future mother-in-law, Anne, Countess of Warwick, an unusually clever and charming woman...She was a genuine artist, well-read and a good talker...Watts, the painter, used to say that Anne Warwick would have made her mark if she had devoted her life to painting...<sup>1</sup>

Frances Evelyn, 5th Countess of Warwick, 1929.

This extract is one of two short examples printed during the entire twentieth century that celebrated the creative talents of Anne, Countess of Warwick. Written in the autobiography of Anne's daughter-in-law, this brief tribute makes several distinctive points on which we might ruminate. Firstly, that the creative talent of an aristocratic female artist could be celebrated by as eminent and significant a painter as George Frederic Watts. Secondly, that such a celebrated artist would have found it conceivable for a woman to have had the opportunity to affect the Victorian Art World in some lasting sense. Thirdly, that in the eyes of Watts, Anne self-consciously chose not to make her mark or devote her life to painting.

The question of to what extent a female artist could pursue art in the late Victorian Art World is at the core of this chapter. Taking Anne as an example, whose unexplored documentary evidence poses several important historical questions, I will specifically analyse how her own personal efforts or titled status might have played into this question. Was it merely Anne's privileged position in society that helped to nurture and open the doors of the Victorian Art World to her, or was it due to her own personal efforts as a striving woman artist? Was it, at times, a mixture of the two? What were the

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<sup>1</sup> Frances Evelyn, Countess of Warwick, *Life's Ebb & Flow*, London 1929, p.35.

benefits of her status, and what were its drawbacks and limitations? How did she negotiate between these?

These opening thoughts play into a large scholarship re-examining the underappreciated role of women artists during the late Victorian period. This scholarship was revitalised as recently as the 1990s, with the work of Deborah Cherry and Clarissa Campbell Orr. Deborah Cherry's *Painting Women* (1996) might be considered to have been the first truly comprehensive study examining the multitudinous roles women played as artists, and particularly examining the many roles of women as worthy and interesting cultural producers in the Victorian art world. Questions of the role of class were approached, particularly with regard to the subject of 'working women' and the complex approach women artists had to these subjects in an age where more opportunities were becoming available to their sex in the realms of art. In the context of Cherry's writing, Anne's art falls into some interesting gaps, generally as the aristocracy was not required to think of industry and 'work' in the same manner, as they were generally free to pursue pleasure alone.<sup>2</sup> I argue in this chapter that we should not just see Anne as a wealthy dilettante who pursued art purely for pleasure, a criticism that might be made by certain realms of socialist-leaning scholarship. Bermingham's readdressing of the question of amateur and professional has shown how these terms were highly sexualized and deserve readdressing in light of new research into the experiences and output of women artists.<sup>3</sup> Anne's involvement in the creation of art was a serious endeavour for which she wanted to be known publicly and privately. After all, in the 1891 census of Warwick Castle her occupation had been listed as 'Artist – sculp', in contrast to her husband as 'Peer' and her son as 'Peer of Parliament', and contrasted to the female employees at the castle which included housekeepers, maids and nursery staff. This highly public document, and one of posterity, is suggestive that by 1891 she had no concerns about being associated with these specific types of women workers.

Writing in 1995, Orr acknowledged that the study of elite women, at the top of the social pyramid, had been little studied.<sup>4</sup> Orr identified this strand as a third type, in contrast to the private (domestic)

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<sup>2</sup> As argued in the introduction of this thesis.

<sup>3</sup> Op cit. Bermingham pp. 168-200.

<sup>4</sup> C. C. Orr (ed.), *Women in the Victorian art world*, Manchester 1995, p.10.

and public spheres (working women artists), which retained a particularly hard-to-define role in the Victorian art world. In particular, she noted that the titles and positions encountered in this section of society afforded women who inhabited it greater publicity than other women. Although watercolouring was encouraged amongst their class, Orr highlighted individuals such as Lady Waterford and her sister Lady Charlotte Canning as good examples of gifted individuals who were nonetheless denied the ranks of professional due to the shackles of their titles.<sup>5</sup> Orr also highlighted Waterford's wealth as a vital tool in helping her pursue art. Anne too undoubtedly suffered drawbacks, but were these created by society or natural choices these women took for themselves individually, as the anecdote by Watts at the start of this chapter insinuated. In the case of Lady Waterford, scholarship has often focused on her title being an important factor in her communications with top-tier figures in the art world, including her guide and critic, Ruskin.<sup>6</sup> The societal access and privilege that such titles afforded will also play a role in Anne's life, in helping her achieve some considerable public exposure as an artistic figure. It was not however, as I shall make clear, a golden ticket to become accepted by critics or the artistic community at large.

Despite Orr's assertion in 1995, that more work is needed, aristocratic women still often fail to receive recognition in exhibitions and literature. Riley's work is a particular exception to this. Drawing from a wide variety of women from privileged backgrounds, beginning in the seventeenth century, Riley has charted the success of many highly born women painters particularly in the spheres of watercolour and pastel.<sup>7</sup> Riley had even acknowledged that creativity with paints extended into the realms of ceramic painting, with several daughters of George IV being prime examples of those who were interested in such pursuits.<sup>8</sup> Despite this particular readdressing, traditions persist. Even within the most recent high-profile exhibition of women artists connected with the Pre-Raphaelite movement, *Pre-Raphaelite Sisters* held at the National Portrait Gallery in 2019, it is curious that not a single aristocratic or titled woman appeared amongst the twelve women artists exhibited. This is despite the correct assertion in the exhibition catalogue's introduction that women involved in the arts

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid. p. 10.a

<sup>6</sup> See R. Franklin, *Lady Waterford: Artist and Philanthropist*, London 2011.

<sup>7</sup> Op cit. Riley 2017, pp.263-299.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. pp. 307-312.

emerged from a large variety of backgrounds and professions; whilst being involved in a multiplicity of activities from models, inspiration, accountants and stitchers of clothing.<sup>9</sup> Women such as Anne do not fit into the romanticised mould encountered in individuals such as Fanny Cornforth, Elizabeth Siddal and Jane Morris.

The structure of this chapter will be as follows. Firstly, I shall outline the importance of Anne's aristocratic upbringing in aiding her natural interest in art. Interestingly, our lack of evidence about any formal training at art schools, adds a different slant to the professional networks and academic paths available to women from the 1860s and discussed widely by Jo Devereux.<sup>10</sup> I will then examine some artworks that draw together themes relating to her artistic persona in the form of images of the artist, and figure studies. This examination will be relatively brief, to help move onto more distinctive areas of Anne's work and artistic career.

Secondly, and the reoccurring theme, which binds each chapter of this thesis together, is the constant importance of Warwick Castle in Anne's artistic life. As a creator of art, it was clear that she was inspired by its historic collection of paintings and the decorative arts in her own artworks. I have argued in Chapters 2, 3 and 4 for the great importance these interiors played in her life as an artistic figure. Furthermore, the importance of this place as a beacon for attracting renowned artists is an element that she used and exploited for her own gains. This allowed her to converse with some significant artists of the nineteenth century, opportunities which evidence shows she relished in. This included G F Watts, John Brett, Gustave Doré, Thomas Kirkby and Alexander Fisher, with whom she was able to exchange ideas and techniques. Warwick Castle would be the stage and refuge for her artistic process. A stately home could serve a dual function as both a gallery of sorts, filled with artistic treasures and visited by the elite for such purposes, but could also act a highly domestic space for its female inhabitants. Unlike many of the professional female artists whose works sold at the Grosvenor Gallery, Anne's were displayed in her historic home and often intermingled with the existing collection or in Anne's case interiors redesigned by her. The grounds and buildings of

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<sup>9</sup> J. Marsh (ed.), *Pre-Raphaelite Sisters*, London 2019, p. 11.

<sup>10</sup>J. Devereux, *The making of Women artists in Victorian England*, North Carolina 2016, Chapter One, On Women Artists' Networks, pp. 25-47.

Warwick Castle would also be the safe setting for more light-hearted public exhibitions of art, most notably experienced in Chapter 5 during her charitable bazaars.

This will lead onto my third section, which outlines her involvement with the highly avant-garde 1877 Grosvenor Gallery exhibition, an example which shows that oil painting in the purest sense was simply not enough for Anne's creative expression. Is this what Watts meant by Anne not having dedicated her life to 'painting', in the strictest sense? Here, I will particularly focus on her role in painting on ceramics, a form of decorative art associated with the Aesthetic Movement and women artists in which Anne actively relished. This section broadly builds on scholarship of Talia Shaffer, who reasserted the importance and traced the line of craft and decorative works in the creative output of women makers and artists from the 1840s onwards.<sup>11</sup> The Countess of Warwick's appearance in such a high-profile exhibition, lending painted ceramic wares, is perhaps the clearest sign of all showing the high status she believed was due to this form of the decorative arts. If Shaffer was right in asserting that handicraft represented the moral and managerial values of the bourgeois, not the aristocratic classes, then Anne's public involvement with such ventures were not just attractive to the middling class, so often associated with rise of women artists of the later nineteenth century.<sup>12</sup> Anne's involvement in the growth of the decorative arts as an acceptable refuge for women artists, and appearing a distinctive 'celebrity' brought to light by the work of Anne Anderson, is a highly unusual and surprising role for a top-tier aristocratic woman to take and is worthy of thorough investigation. Although she was not the only titled Lady to take part in such ventures, it is clear that it was Anne who took the greatest personal risks in doing so, a sign perhaps of her genuine personal love of creating art. Although unable to sell her works of art for money, as a professional artist might be expected to do, her painted screens were given as gifts to friends and even royalty in order to curry favour for her children. What exactly did Anne have to gain by her open participation in such cultural ventures, and how did her position allow her to play a distinctive role in these opportunities to share her artworks with a wide audience?

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<sup>11</sup> T. Shaffer, "Women's work: the history of the Victorian domestic handicraft" in K. Hadjiafxendi, P. Zakreski (ed.) *Crafting the woman professional in the Long nineteenth century*, London 2013, pp.24-42.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* Shaffer, p. 27.

One of the difficulties in assessing the true extent of Anne as a creator of art is that relatively few of her artworks have survived. The reasons for this will be explained in the Conclusion of this thesis. However, with regard to the quality of her art, we might suggest that the praise received from Watts may be enough to warrant closer examination of them. We can be certain that many more did exist, as paintings and watercolours by Anne are mentioned in inventories and sales catalogues.<sup>13</sup> It is recorded that Anne showed her sketchbooks and collection of watercolours to visiting artists, and that this would have been part of her repartee with creative figures who visited Warwick Castle.<sup>14</sup> Her papers also attest to the large amounts she was spending on art supplies, both in London and in stationery shops in neighbouring Leamington Spa.<sup>15</sup> Most regrettably of all, several nineteenth-century folios of watercolours and drawings, many seemingly bearing Anne's monogram, were sold at Sotheby's as recently as 1997 and are untraceable.<sup>16</sup> In total, four paintings, eighty-nine works on paper, one work on fabric and one incomplete sketchbook survives.<sup>17</sup>

## 6.2 Youth and Training

The description of Anne's artistic achievements in *The Gentlewoman* was printed towards the end of her time as the Countess of Warwick, an age very different from the one in which she began her life.<sup>18</sup> Firstly, I wish to consider how her youth and training might have affected her interests in the arts. Anne was ideally placed in a position and family that supported the creation of art, an inheritance of the aristocratic amateur tradition of the late Georgian period brought to life in the scholarship of Kim Sloan and Anne Bermingham.<sup>19</sup> This earlier Georgian tradition of aristocratic amateur artists,

<sup>13</sup> Sold, London, Cadogan Rooms Knightsbridge, 10-12 December 1907. – Several artworks of Anne's, monogrammed AW, were sold in this sale of the contents of Anne's former home Warwick House.

<sup>14</sup> This is mentioned in a letter, explaining that Anne had shown her watercolours to artist John Ernest Breun (1862-1921): WCRO CR1886 (loose), Box 479, Letter from [?], Oakfield Leamington, to Lord Warwick, dated 23 Jan 1897.

<sup>15</sup> These are various. The two best examples perhaps being; WCRO CR1886 Box 469 (Loose), Bill from Frederick Whitehead, Leamington Spa, to Lady Warwick, for vast amounts of art supplies totalling £20.4.5 – between the years 1892-3; WCRO CR1886 469 (loose), Bill from Charles Robertson & Co to Lady Warwick, vast quantities of canvases, papers, shells, artist colours, £7-5-5. 1894.

<sup>16</sup> Sotheby's, Syon House, London, 14 – 16 May 1997, lots 230, 232, 234, 235.

<sup>17</sup> This discounts the many small sketches and pieces of paper in her archival papers, which are too numerous to count or include within this tally.

<sup>18</sup> *The Gentlewoman*, Saturday 19 December 1891, (No. 76, Vol.III), p.1. "It [the interiors she designed] are so pretty and artistic as only to have been "thought out" by the lady who, during the early years of her married life, gained the Crown Princess of Prussia's gold medal for amateur painting on porcelain, who exhibited a portrait of her daughter, Lady Eva Greville, at the Royal Academy, and who gained the first prize for painted tapestry. You will not have been long in Lady Warwick's society before you are impressed with two facts, namely that you are holding converse with a nature which is all kindness and gentleness, and, that you are in the presence of one possessed of a bel esprit which is especially enthusiastic on all matters artistic."

<sup>19</sup> Particularly in K. Sloan, *'A noble art' Amateur artists and drawing masters*, London 2000; A. Bermingham, *Learning to Draw*, New Haven 2000.

however, was largely confined to the home and immediate social circles, making a striking contrast to the highly public nature of Anne's artistic persona sixty years later in 1891.

Anne's generation of the Charteris family of Gosford House, the Earls of Wemyss and March, were all trained as artists and were artistically inclined. Little survives detailing her exact training as a youth. Her brother mentioned his family's artistic pretensions in his unpublished memoirs. Francis, Lord Elcho and later 10<sup>th</sup> Earl of Wemyss, was a noted art collector and had shared his own drawings with George Frederic Watts (to be discussed).<sup>20</sup> He described Anne as 'an artist to her finger ends, and a wonderful draughtswoman, so sure, so accurate...let me not forget to speak about her great artistic feeling, of her love of Art in every form...'<sup>21</sup> As well as describing Anne's talents he also praises those of his brother Frederick William (1833-1887), whose landscape watercolours he judged to be higher quality than those of Anne's.<sup>22</sup> The earliest drawing of Anne is a very accomplished portrait by Frederick which survives at Gosford (FIGURE 6.1), an image which channels the intimate pencil portraiture promulgated by fashionable Regency artists such as Lawrence at the beginning of the century. Anne's younger sister Louisa (1830-1920), who shared samples of fabric wall hangings with the Countess, was also described by her brother as being 'replete with artistic feeling'.<sup>23</sup> It seems both sisters married men interested in collecting art, as Louisa's husband William Wells (1818-1889) MP was also a noted collector of paintings by Ruysdael, Joshua Reynolds, Turner and Edwin Landseer.<sup>24</sup> Despite these intriguing references, no names of the family's drawing masters have survived.<sup>25</sup>

Art took hold of Anne at a young age. At ten years old she wrote her name and the date into a copy of *Conversations on Nature and Art* (London 1838), a book in the academic tradition specifically aimed at teaching young people the basic principles and key masterpieces in the canon of art history.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> The prime examples of his collection of Old Masters were exhibited National Gallery of Scotland, 1957. Catalogued in C. Thomson, *Pictures from Gosford House lent by the Earl of Wemyss and March. 10th August to 15th September 1957*, Edinburgh 1957.

<sup>21</sup> Francis Charteris, 10th Earl of Wemyss, *Memories*, Unpublished autobiography dated 1912, (National Records for Scotland - RH4/40/19), p. 898.

<sup>22</sup> Francis Charteris, 10th Earl of Wemyss, *Memories*, Unpublished autobiography dated 1912, p.256-7. (National Records for Scotland - RH4/40/19), p. 898.

<sup>23</sup> WCRO CR1886, Box 487 (loose), An envelope inscribed with 'Lady Louisa Wells' addressed to 23 Bruton Street London; Francis Charteris, 10th Earl of Wemyss, *Memories*, Unpublished autobiography dated 1912, p.256-7. (National Records for Scotland - RH4/40/19), p. 898.

<sup>24</sup> Francis Charteris, 10th Earl of Wemyss, *Memories*, Unpublished autobiography dated 1912, p.256-7. (National Records for Scotland - RH4/40/19), p. 898.

<sup>25</sup> The position of drawing master became popular for aristocratic families during the eighteenth century and is very likely to have existed during the Charteris children's youth at Gosford House, see K. Sloan, *'A noble art' Amateur artists and drawing masters*, London 2000.

<sup>26</sup> Published by John Murray, London, 1838. This copy survives in the private collection of the family, numbered 4530.

Various pieces of evidence suggest that Anne had an active interest in art history. Her later interest in the historical techniques of eighteenth-century painters and old masters had encouraged artist William Egley to send vast handwritten notes on such subjects (as encountered in Chapter 1). She was also an able guide of pictures as she is recorded as having taken Augustus Hare, and presumably his close friend Lady Waterford, around the paintings of Gosford House by candlelight in 1874.<sup>27</sup> She also had a knowledge of mid-nineteenth-century continental art, and had, in 1886, written in raptures encouraging her daughter to visit the International Exhibition in Edinburgh to study works by Corot, Rousseau, Jean Millet and Jozef Israels.<sup>28</sup>

Anne continued the tradition of copying existing artworks, a practice which started in the previous century. Sloan indicated that this was, in part, always as much about exhibiting taste and connoisseurship as it was about displaying technique and skill.<sup>29</sup> Within her surviving watercolours are several examples of this, including copies of Wemyss Regency portraits (FIGURE 6.2). Her sensitivity for historicist romantic scenes is also evident, particularly found in her copy of a romanticised 'Knight and a Lady' by George Cattermole (1800-1868) dating to the mid-nineteenth century (FIGURE 6.3). In this regard, she was also following in the footsteps of her husband's ancestors.

Anne was able to break away from being a mere copyist, signs of which exist from an early age. An early work on paper, signed 'AC [Anne Charteris] 15.' [perhaps indicating her age of fifteen] and completed in pencil and coloured chalks, illustrates her conventional training in studying and copying Old Masters whilst also mining them for her own independent compositions (FIGURE 6.4). This historical genre scene is clearly a romantic reimagining of Van Dyck's portrait of *Charles I on horseback with M. de St Antoine*.<sup>30</sup> It is possible Anne knew an engraved copy of this famous picture. Equally, Warwick Castle had its own studio copy of the painting which she would have known later. The clearest adaptation is in the narrative of the picture, which is turned from a powerful Baroque portrait into a romanticised vision of the past with alternative costumes.

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<sup>27</sup> A. Hare, *The Story of My Life*, IV, p. 267.

<sup>28</sup> WCRO CR1886, Box 467 (loose), Letter from Lady Warwick to Lady Eva Greville, 30 October 1886.

<sup>29</sup> Op cit. Sloan 2000, p. 213.

<sup>30</sup> The primary version of this painting is in the Royal Collection and a Studio copy survives at Warwick Castle.

Evidence shows Anne had attempted history paintings. In Chapter 1 I revealed how the Countess was encouraged by noteworthy artists, including William Egley (1798-1870) to produce a history painting worthy of the Royal Academy. Two loose sketches of Anne's show that she was prepared to entertain a history painting along the lines of Romanticist watercolourists such as the aforementioned Cattermole. One sheet, given the title 'Ripley Castle', shows a seventeenth-century interior with a sleeping Civil War era soldier watched by a well-dressed Lady (FIGURE 6.5). Costume and associated accessories were seemingly of great interest to Anne, and a sheet surviving at Warwick Castle attests to vast studies of oriental fashions seemingly captured for some uncompleted future project.<sup>31</sup> A comparison between the two sheets of Ripley Castle whilst examining the *pentimento*, shows the slight changes in composition and studies of the women's figure, demonstrating that it was an original work and not a mere copy. Similar are two sheets of scenes of the Venetian lagoon, occupied by seventeenth-century figures in historic costume that represents a mixture of visual influences from Canaletto with the illustrations of Joseph Nash and Venetian drawings of James Holland (FIGURE 6.6). The subtle changes in design show that these were not straightforward copies but include some experimentation. It is unknown if such designs flourished into larger finished works.

Although Anne's connections to Warwick Castle would play a significant part in her artistic identity and persona, larger questions regarding her nationalist sympathies played a part throughout her creative life. As the daughter of a leading Scottish peer, Anne's northern roots continually inspired her. Her allegiance to her Scottish Jacobite ancestry was summarised in an anecdote told by Anne's son of Queen Victoria's curiosity on seeing a Jacobite relic when on a visit to Warwick in 1858.<sup>32</sup> Scottish subjects appear regularly in Anne's watercolours. This included sentimental scenes of bagpipe players in tartan dress (FIGURE 6.7). She painted scenes of the Scottish landscape in watercolours and oil sketches in a conventional and clear method (FIGURES 6.8, 6.9, 6.10, 6.11). This ranged from remote and Romantic whitewashed houses set in bright scenery, to country houses sat in landscaped parkland. Her brother's memoir recounted an enormous five-foot sheet Anne

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<sup>31</sup> This sheet survives in the Warwick Castle collection, measuring roughly 21 x 29 cm.

<sup>32</sup> Anne's ancestor Lord Elcho had supported the Jacobite cause and was present at Culloden. When being shown a decorative shield supposed to have belonged to Bonnie Prince Charlie in the castle's collection, the Queen is said to have referred to him as "the pretender", to which the old house-keeper retorted "We don't call him that in our family, your majesty", Francis Greville, 5th Earl of Warwick, *Memories of sixty years*, London 1917, p. 2.

prepared of the view captured from the roof of Gosford House, Midlothian, requiring no rubbing out or alteration, describing “That is indeed a wondrous artistic performance, and may well be recorded in the family memories.”<sup>33</sup>

As I have presented, Anne’s background played a crucial role in encouraging the creation of art from an early age. Although this might have begun in an amateur capacity, following the Georgian tradition of amateur painting in aristocratic families, Anne was interested in pursuing artistic endeavours in a serious manner.

## 6.3 Portraits and Figures

### 6.3.1 Images of the Countess

In this section, I focus on several interesting themes relating to Anne’s figure studies. Firstly, in examining images of Anne, I shall show how careful she was in presenting her own image to the world in artistic and photographic form. Secondly, I wish to dwell on other figure studies she produced in introducing a few subjects that she explored.

The association between female artists and portraiture has been acknowledged by scholars for some time.<sup>34</sup> In Britain, seventeenth-century female artists such as Mary Beale and Joan Carlile excelled in the format and achieved some relative fame.<sup>35</sup> It was the late eighteenth century however that produced female portrait painters of the highest rank, including Angelica Kauffman, a founding member of the Royal Academy who produced portraits of the daughters of the Earls of Warwick.<sup>36</sup> It is therefore not surprising that portraiture would continue to be a great interest to Anne, as she created several portraits of her children in oils and watercolour (to be discussed).

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<sup>33</sup> Francis Charteris, 10th Earl of Wemyss, *Memories*, Unpublished autobiography dated 1912, p.256-7. (National Records for Scotland - RH4/40/19), not numbered.

<sup>34</sup>M. Meskimmon, *The Art of Reflection, Women Artist’s Self-portraiture in the Twentieth Century*, Columbia University Press 1996; L. Rideal, W. Chadwick, F. Borzello, *Mirror, mirror, self-portraits by women artists*, National Portrait Gallery London 2002; F. Borzello, *Seeing ourselves; Women’s Self-portraits*, Thames & Hudson 2016.

<sup>35</sup> See B. Grosvenor (ed.), *Bright Souls*, Lyon and Turnbull 2019.

<sup>36</sup> A portrait of a daughter of the Earl of Warwick, playing the role of Hebe, by Angelica Kauffman, was formerly in the collection of Warwick Castle (See Chapter 1).

Anne was rather self-aware of images of herself too. All of the surviving self-portraits and images of Anne in her adulthood were completed in profile and never face on. It is likely that this was a conscious decision of Anne's. How much of this was due to simple vanity, or something deeper and more related to her artistic inclinations, is an intriguing question. Questions along the lines of self-confidence and awareness has been a feature of scholarship on fellow female aristocratic artists. May this have been a parallel to the broad self-deprecation of Lady Waterford, who experienced this as a titled woman exhibiting and being involved with titans such as Ruskin, which scholars including Gerrish Nunn signalled as one of her defining features.<sup>37</sup> One doesn't feel any lack of confidence in Louise Jopling's 1875 self-portrait, showing her proudly with the tools of her trade, in a fine blue dress, in the act of painting looking entirely at ease.<sup>38</sup> May Anne have feared judgement of her looks? Coutts Lindsay, whose adoration for the physical Virginia Somers was not kept secret, referred to Anne in 1850 as "perfectly lovely" and appearing "high born" but "not at all like a Pattle".<sup>39</sup>

Alternatively, the profile portrait is a format that she particularly admired. The Classical associations of the format, with Classical medals, cameos and Italian fifteenth-century Renaissance portraits in paint and maiolica, may have been one of the reasons it had a visual appeal to her. Examining this phenomena in quattrocento portraiture, of which nearly all side-profile sitters are women, Patricia Simons asserted that "the averted gaze and face available to scrutiny suited the representation of an ordered chaste and decorous piece of property."<sup>40</sup> Linking this format to male dominated 'display culture' of the Italian renaissance suggests that these societal and political connotations must have lessened by the nineteenth century, especially considering its use here in a female self-portrait. Later nineteenth century portraits such as Rossetti's of the celebrated beauties Jane Morris, Annie Miller and Elizabeth Siddall shows the influence of the profile format of Italian Renaissance portraits. Furthermore, the particularly timeless image that a portrait in profile represents is a look that appealed to her.

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<sup>37</sup>P. Gerrish Nun, *Victorian Women Artists*, London 1987, p. 174.

<sup>38</sup> This portrait was formerly with the dealer Richard Taylor Fine Art.

<sup>39</sup> V. Surtees, *Coutts Lindsay*, Norwich 1993, p. 62.

<sup>40</sup> P. Simons, "Women in frames: the gaze the eye in Renaissance portraiture" in *History Workshop Journal*, 25, (Spring 1988), p. 7.

Anne's photographic portrait was published alongside the 1891 *The Gentlewoman* article (FIGURE 6.12). This rather solemn image, chosen to feature alongside the single greatest and most public recognition of her work as an artist and artistic character, is interesting. If this was the image Anne had chosen for its predominately female audience, we must consider this choice as significant. It is important to compare this to what seems to be her single identified self-portrait of hers to have survived from this exact period (signed and dated 1890) (FIGURE 6.13). Completed in pencil and watercolour, it shows the bust of the Countess in profile set against a deep purple background. Anne's outfit, consisting of a tall bonnet and an extravagant fur collar, might be interpreted as particularly Bohemian for a top-tier aristocrat in her early sixties. Her strong features, including a long nose and intense stare, are set in a flattering and artistic way. The portrait was engraved and printed by Anne herself along with the date 1890 with her characteristic interlocking 'AW' monogram<sup>41</sup> (FIGURE 6.14).

Several photographs of her also survive. One, dating most likely to the 1860s, is a small format albumen print undertaken in a professional setting (FIGURE 6.15). Once again, it shows Anne in profile wearing an elaborate outfit. Great detail and care are taken on her hair accessories, decorated with dark lacework, and her flowing dress. This photograph has similarities with the atmosphere from a portrait photograph of actress Ellen Terry made by Julia Margaret Cameron, which was in the Warwick collection and that Anne is likely to have purchased (FIGURE 6.16). Notably, this photograph shows Ellen in her medieval-inspired wedding dress that was designed by Holman Hunt. A vague historicism reigns over a later full-length photograph of her dating to c.1880, showing her standing in front of the castle's staircase leading to the domestic wing on the southwestern side (FIGURE 6.17). The heavy folds of her dress, albeit very dark and black, imitate full-length old master portraits in the castle's collection, which evokes an air of artistry. However, the most obvious role in which Anne presented in photography is that of mother and matriarch. Appearing with her entire family in c.1890 (FIGURE 6.18). Anne sits in profile and holds her second grandchild whilst wearing what seems to be the same outfit as in her 1891 *The Gentlewoman* article. Although this

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<sup>41</sup> It seems that Anne did learn to engrave, as another monogrammed engraving of her daughter-in-law Lady Brooke, in fashionable attire with her dog, survives in the castle collection.

image appears as a rather conventional family photograph, so often seen in the family photographs of Queen Victoria and her family, we can see that Anne maintains her insistence on being seen side on. Likewise, her appearance at the very centre of a photograph alongside the Prince of Wales and Duke of York at Warwick Castle in 1892, sat in front of her husband with the rest of her family, further supports the matriarchal position she held (FIGURE 6.19).

It is notable that none of the mentioned portraits make any overt reference to the Countess as an artist. Yet, one surviving drawing of a woman artist, dressed in fashionable attire in front of her easel holding a palette, makes a bold and worthy statement (FIGURE 6.20). Although it would be tempting to identify this as a self-portrait, it is perhaps more likely to be of her daughter Lady Eva Greville c.1880. In mood, it mirrors many of the illustrated images of women artists such as those produced in illustrations found in *The Girl's Own Paper*, yet showing a strikingly purposeful, less frivolous air. Concentration and exactness are the mood of the figure, along with the careful execution of the drawing itself. The costume of the young woman too, seeming to display high fashion rather than less formal workers clothes, is perhaps how Anne had experienced fellow Lady amateurs in London art classes and elsewhere.

### **6.3.2 Figure Studies**

Amongst Anne's most original and intriguing works are figure studies set in the interiors of Warwick Castle. They present the versatility of her interests, ranging from the fashionable and glamorous aesthetic movement interiors to the genre paintings highlighting the work of women in the opposite levels of society.

Miscellaneous drawings and studies must have been of great interest to the Countess, as her papers are full of them. Her incoming letters often attest to the fact she sent drawings and watercolours to her family and friends. A handwritten note of rules for an amateur 'Pen & Ink Club' show that she might have entered into a friendly poetry and caption contest with other female friends of hers, although

only one or two examples of this survive<sup>42</sup> (FIGURE 6.21). She also attempted to have some of her drawings printed in *The Graphic* in 1890, yet was rejected by its editor for reasons unknown.<sup>43</sup>

One particular theme that emerges from several sheets is that of relaxation in the comfort of her ancient home, where interior and artwork had become one. In Chapters 2, 3 and 4 I have shown the importance of Warwick Castle's new interiors to Anne. The interconnectedness of all of these artforms is significant. In two examples, we are given images of women enjoying the new interiors that Anne had created after the 1871 fire (FIGURE 6.22). The first shows a young lady in full length, perhaps modelled on her daughter Lady Eva, walking through an ancient doorway into the anteroom of the domestic apartments. The detail lavished on each object, including the tables, watercolours, and ceramics shows a particular interest in the decorative elements of the scene as well as the room itself. Another, showing another young lady reclining in the Castle's new library, is similar in theme and execution. The details in pencil of the most minute objects sitting on tables, including candlesticks, photograph frames and ornate boxes, emphasises the decorative Aestheticism made fashionable in the 70s and 80s, where the design of rooms should imitate a picture. Indeed, the room frames the figures as much as anything else, showing their relationship with one another. The appearance of watercolours and painted ceramic vessels, which rarely warranted adequate descriptions in inventories of the period (possibly due to their perceived low value), show how her own works of art might have been displayed. In this case, the overall theme is that of comfort, showing this occupier of Anne's new library reclining with a book in hand and accompanied by her dog. Two other sheets survive in a much looser sketch format, showing two women reading, one wearing a white embroidered and particularly medieval inspired dress (FIGURES 6.23 & 6.24). These artworks must have been spontaneous scenes of what she was observing from the comfort of her newly designed rooms, which were a mixture of historicist and modern styles.

Her attention was not only lavished on capturing scenes from her own artistic life and interiors. Anne actively displayed an interest in painting scenes and figures that called to mind working women who

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<sup>42</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 467 (loose), Rules for the Pen & Ink Club, 18 August 1889. Unfortunately, the exact details of this amateur club has proven elusive.

<sup>43</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 468 (loose), Letter from the directors of the *Graphic*, 190 The Strand, to Lady Warwick, 19 April 1890.

occupied the lower classes. After all, as an employer and head of a vast family home with a variety of employees, such figures would have been readily available as subjects to inspire her art. This may have played into her interest in philanthropy and the plight of working women as a whole (discussed previously). One oil painting and two sketches survive indicating an interest in servants presumably employed by her and her husband at Warwick Castle. The first is a complete, gilt framed oil on canvas of a *Woman Peeling a Carrot* (FIGURE 6.25), showing what must have been an old cook pausing briefly from her work. Portraiture of servants has a long history in Britain that stretches back into the seventeenth century, and many examples of which have been highlighted as conveying aspects of loyalty, service, respect in breaking social boundaries through art.<sup>44</sup> It is perhaps surprising that Anne, a titled Lady who was not expected to work for a living, might have wanted to depict this example of a woman worker. The contrast between their lives, we might presume, could not have been greater. Overall, great dignity, respectability and empathy is given to the picture, free from the excesses of the figure studies presented in the previous paragraph. Although the atmosphere of such a work originated in Dutch seventeenth-century genre painting, the mood is one commonly found nineteenth-century interpretations, and possesses a reflective poetic air. It calls to mind the many genre pictures of needlewomen, a popular theme from the 1840s onwards which “aimed at calling attention to the trials and struggles of the poor and oppressed.”<sup>45</sup> The complex composition reveals a study of drapery, painted with a particularly dry texture, and still-life underneath. The chair on which she sits resembles a seventeenth-century example still found at the castle today, which may suggest that Anne devised the romanticised composition herself.<sup>46</sup> Watercolour still-lives, featuring relatively plain earthenware pots and fabrics, show that she was equally interested in an aesthetic that was at odds with the extravagance of her Louis XV boudoir (FIGURE 6.26). A contrast to the old servant is another quick study of a young girl sitting with her embroidery. This subject, however, might well intend to depict her daughter in a more informal setting, with her dog at her side (FIGURE 6.27). Comfort and pleasure are evident here. A highly painterly *Unfinished head sketch of a maid*, wearing the typical white headdress (FIGURE 6.28), is also telling of the interest she had in those women who

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<sup>44</sup> See G. Waterfield, A. French, M. Craske (eds.), *Below Stairs: 400 Years of Servants*, London 2003.

<sup>45</sup> S. Casteras, *Images of Victorian womanhood in English art*, London 1987, p.110.

<sup>46</sup> This chair is found in the so-called Dowager’s Landing in the domestic apartments of Warwick Castle.

worked for her. Such subjects were readily available to the Countess. A full-length yet unfinished watercolour of a rustic young lady in remarkably plain working dress, perhaps a maid or woman of working status, is further suggestive of her interest in women workers (FIGURE 6.29). Yet in this case, the full-length format and rocky background is suggestive of Baroque portraiture of the seventeenth century, an attempt perhaps to use aesthetic methods to elevate the class of this modest subject.

The gilt-framed painting of a *Woman Peeling a Carrot*, which must have been intended to hang at the Castle, presents an alternative side to Anne's interest in the fashionable fripperies of the Aesthetic Movement. It illustrates how this aristocratic female artist broadened her appreciation of the subject matters.

The lack of further surviving works encourages us to look elsewhere for further distinctive areas of Anne as a creator of art.

#### **6.4 Visiting Artists**

Anne's ancient home acted as a beacon of inspiration, support and patronage for significant artists of the second half of the nineteenth century. The Countess actively exploited and enjoyed the opportunities that this brought, and it made an impression on her artistic interests and abilities to create works alongside those of such painters. Once more, and as I have argued, Warwick Castle threaded together many different strands of her artistic career and interests. As her brother remarked as part of her artistic qualities; "As chatelaine of the grandest residence of the world, Warwick Castle, she found herself essentially in her right place, nature designed her for it..."<sup>47</sup>

This, we can be sure, was not entirely unique to her lifetime. Warwick Castle had been attracting significant artists since the mid-eighteenth century. Several key painters had been drawn to the building by the Greville family and the Earls of Warwick themselves, including the aforementioned

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<sup>47</sup> Francis Charteris, 10th Earl of Wemyss, *Memories*, Unpublished autobiography dated 1912, p.256-7. (National Records for Scotland - RH4/40/19), p. 898.

Canaletto. The watercolourist and landscape painter Paul Sandby later came to produce painted and engraved views of the Castle, which were widely published by Boydell in 1776. He was also a tutor to several members of the Greville family, as well as having bought the technique of aquatint from Charles Francis Greville (1749-1809), the 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Warwick's younger brother.<sup>48</sup>

However, such was the historic and aesthetic pull of Warwick Castle that many visiting artists produced several important views of the castle as speculative pieces seemingly never commissioned by or intended to be purchased by the family. Joseph Wright of Derby, who painted a view of Warwick Castle by Moonlight for the London surgeon, Mr Cutler in 1787, marked a decisive moment for the Castle becoming a place of romantic inspiration rather than pure topographical interest.<sup>49</sup> This gave way to the next generation of painters including Turner who made watercolour studies as a young man in 1794 during a trip to the Midlands.<sup>50</sup> The contrast between these careful studies and his later 1830 work, the original owned by John Ruskin and later etched, is indicative of both Turner's increased artistic skills in Romanticism and the castle's increased significance in the age of Sir Walter Scott (see Chapter 2). Constable too visited Warwick between 1830-31 and produced a significant watercolour and other sketches of the castle.<sup>51</sup>

#### 6.4.1 John Brett

The first significant artist recorded to have visited during Anne's period was John Brett (1831-1902) between July and October 1860<sup>52</sup> (FIGURE 6.30). A landscape painter associated with the fringes of the Pre-Raphaelite movement, Brett intended to use Warwick Castle as the setting of his most ambitious history painting to date measuring 39 x 49 inches. This even came to the attention of John Ruskin, who visited Warwick and painted the castle in 1847 and wrote in 1860 that Brett "was likely to paint a good picture of Warwick Castle this year."<sup>53</sup> Brett is recorded to have painted the castle and

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<sup>48</sup> M. Hopkinson, "Paul Sandby and the secrets of aquatint" in *Print Quarterly*, no. 4 (December 2003), pp. 380-382.

<sup>49</sup> For a history of this painting, which now resides in the Museum of Fine Arts in Montreal, see my blog post: <https://adamfineart.wordpress.com/2018/04/08/wright-of-derbys-view-of-warwick-castle-resurfaces/> [Accessed December 2019].

<sup>50</sup> Surviving the sketchbooks dated 1794 held in Tate Britain.

<sup>51</sup> The most significant of which Sold Christie's, London, 8 December 2009, lot 22.

<sup>52</sup> See C. Payne, *John Brett: Pre-Raphaelite Landscape Painter*, New Haven 2010, pp. 64-67.

<sup>53</sup> T. Hilton, *John Ruskin*, New Haven 2002, p.113.

environs *en plein air*, often using paint straight onto canvas. During October he made use of the castle's greenhouse as a studio to keep warm. The resulting picture was a medieval romance, showing a knight crossing under the Castle on a boat with his maiden waiting on the other side. Unfortunately, the resulting picture that was exhibited at the 1861 Royal Academy Exhibition seems to have been lost. In terms of subject matter, Payne has suggested that this increased interest in English legend showed Brett moving towards the second generation of Pre-Raphaelite artists, which included artists like Edward Burne-Jones, whom Brett had travelled to meet during his work on the Warwick painting.<sup>54</sup> More pertinently for this study, many detailed sketches and drawings have survived, showing the remarkable care that Brett went through to capture the Castle's many details.<sup>55</sup> This included detailed watercolours and studies of the river, trees and building itself. It also included studies of Anne's husband's horse (called Iron Grey), and a meticulous drawing of a sixteenth-century armour in the castle's collection used for the finished painting (FIGURE 6.31).

One surviving work of Anne's that exhibits the spirit of the playful historicism highlighted above is an oil on canvas *Portrait of Sidney Greville* c.1880 (FIGURE 6.32). This portrait of Anne's youngest son exhibits the fascination of historical details made from careful study mixed with fanciful fabrication. Set in Warwick Castle's Great Hall, with its characteristic red and white Italian marble floor and wainscot dado, it shows Sidney standing contrapposto holding one of Warwick Castle's most celebrated medieval relics. Guy's Sword, supposedly belonging to the celebrated pre-Saxon legend Guy of Warwick, had been on display at the Castle with other relics since at least the sixteenth century.<sup>56</sup> The sword's ancient associations with Warwick, locally as well as in national folklore, lends the portrait an air of history and association. The very precise brushstrokes, which capture the details in the still life such as the gleams on the shield and sword, are impressive when examining the canvas in person. Sidney's attire, a traditional kilt with a sporran, is a clear reference to Anne's own Scottish ancestral links but does not seem to reference the Wemyss or Charteris tartans. This melding

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<sup>54</sup> Op cit. Payne, p.66.

<sup>55</sup> These are in sketchbooks now kept at the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich. (John Brett Sketchbook No 06. 1859 Hedger).

<sup>56</sup> These relics were published in F. Grose, *The antiquities of England and Wales*, vol VI, London 1785, p. 20. They were also referenced in William Dugdale, *The antiquities of Warwickshire*, London 1656, p. 343.

of the past with the present is a good and modest example of Anne finding inspiration in narrative from the interiors, rather than exteriors, of her ancient home.

#### 6.4.2 Gustave Doré

Anne had also made a significant connection with the French artist and illustrator, Gustave Doré (1832-1883) during his visit to England in 1875-6. Unfortunately, it is not clear how this visit came about. Her interaction with this significant artist was captured in Blanche Roosevelt's biography of the artist written two years after his death and published in 1885. Roosevelt asserted that "If Doré had heretofore conceived a liking for England, English country homes, and country life, that liking became an affection at Warwick."<sup>57</sup> Indeed, the author insinuated that the artist had protracted his stay at Warwick due to the artistic and affectionate nature of Anne's hospitality:

He not only made some portraits, but played a new role at the castle – the position of artist being reversed by his charming and accomplished hostess, the Countess of Warwick, who made a portrait of the Alsatian painter. Doré was for the second time in his life a model, not an artist; we may presume that he was an obedient and attentive one, for the result was most felicitous. The highest compliment was paid to Lady Warwick's really splendid talent by Doré himself, who pronounced upon her work in a few words which said volumes of praise. On looking at it he exclaimed, "It is perfect, me myself!"

Blanche Roosevelt was sent the very same drawing by Anne to be reproduced in her biography, perhaps one of the most high-profile publications of the Countess's artworks during her lifetime<sup>58</sup> (FIGURE 6.33). It seems that the artist was also encouraged to witness examples of Anne's newly designed interiors, and appreciate her talents in this field. This included her recently constructed Kenilworth Bedroom (see Chapter 2.7). Doré's artistic explorations around the castle and its park

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<sup>57</sup> B. Roosevelt, *The life and reminiscences of Gustave Doré*, London 1885, p. 430.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid. p. 431. "Thanks to Lady Warwick's interest in Doré, and her pleasant recollection of him, I am able to give a reproduction of her original drawing, most kindly lent by herself for this occasion. No higher praise of the sketch may be given than was bestowed upon it by Doré, and we are indeed indebted to her ladyship's amiability for so choice a souvenir of the artist and his personal appearance during that memorable year. This picture also has another but sadder interest; it was one of the last likenesses or portraits ever made from life of Gustave Doré."

were also supported by Anne, who lent the artist her own Arab horses to undertake these excursions to sketch both the building and surrounding parkland.<sup>59</sup> Two engravings of Doré's, signed by the artist and dedicated to Anne, also survive at Warwick Castle to this day.<sup>60</sup> A folio version of the artist's illustrated *The Ancient Mariner* (1876) was also recorded in the Castle's collection.<sup>61</sup> The deep impression that Warwick Castle made on the artist is optimised by his inclusion of the building in his frontispiece to his illustrated edition of Tasso's *Orlando Furioso* (1879) (FIGURE 6.34). Despite the Italian setting of this epic poem, the poetic and evocative chivalric setting of Warwick Castle must have appealed to Doré greatly.

### 6.4.3 George Frederic Watts

The influence of George Frederic Watts on Anne's painting in particular raises several points on the relationship between leading professional artists and women artists. The connection between Watts and the Warwicks must have been established through two principal means. Firstly, it is attested that Anne's brother Francis Charteris (1818-1914), later 10<sup>th</sup> Earl of Wemyss and March, had been a lifelong supporter and friend of the artist beginning in the 1840s.<sup>62</sup> Francis had shared his own drawings with Watts who did not fear giving the Earl suggestions on achieving greater artistic qualities in his work.<sup>63</sup> Anne also shared her own work with the painter, as her brother did, which I will discuss.

However, it is also probable that Anne's connections with the painter developed through their mutual friends the Somers of Eastnor. As explored in previous chapters, especially in relation to interior design, both Anne and George drew heavily on the artistic connections of this family. Notably, it was Virginia's family, and the so-called *Pattledom* of Little Holland House, that promoted and nurtured the talents of the artist.<sup>64</sup> Virginia, Anne's confidant when it came to interior design (Chapter 4), had

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid. p. 431.

<sup>60</sup> These are now hung in the domestic apartment's anteroom (no longer accessible to the public).

<sup>61</sup> J. Richardson, *Gustave Doré: a biography*, London 1980, p.131.

<sup>62</sup> V. Gould, *G. F. Watts: the last great Victorian*, New Haven 2004, p. 13.

<sup>63</sup> Francis Charteris, 10th Earl of Wemyss, *Memories*, Unpublished autobiography dated 1912, p.256-7. (National Records for Scotland - RH4/40/19)

<sup>64</sup> The best description of the Pattledom of Little Holland House is B. Hill, *Julia Margaret Cameron: A Victorian family portrait*, London 1973.

famously been Watts's love interest before her marriage in 1850. Described as 'Beauty', in comparison to her sister's 'Dash' (Sara) and 'Talent' (Julia), Watts's earliest portraits of Virginia (the best of which remains at her home Eastnor Castle) capture her famed looks as much as her character. The painter's friend Henry Wyndham Phillips had even remarked that Watts "worshiped her in a way that Somers has never done."<sup>65</sup> There is no evidence to suggest that Anne ever entered into intimate relationships with any of the artists she befriended. The more bohemian inclined Pattle family made a stark contrast to Anne's upbringing as the eldest daughter of one of Scotland's most historic aristocratic houses.

Anne would have encountered Watts on almost equal terms at the inaugural 1877 Grosvenor Gallery exhibition, where both the artist and Countess exhibited works (discussed later in the chapter). It is well attested that the Grosvenor Gallery had "ushered in a new appreciation" of his largely unseen symbolist paintings.<sup>66</sup> Watts's *Love and Death* (1871-87) appeared as one of most outstanding works revealed at the gallery and had received critical applause. Famously, Oscar Wilde ranked it alongside the works of Michelangelo, to whom Watts's genius was often compared.<sup>67</sup> It is telling of her personal admiration for the work that an autotype print of this painting was sold from Anne's London home four years after her death.<sup>68</sup>

The name of Watts appears first in the Earl of Warwick's letters to Lord Somers as early as 1854.<sup>69</sup> These make reference to the frescoes completed for Somers's London Town House at No. 7 Carlton House Terrace, completed in 1854.<sup>70</sup> Entitled *The Elements*, these exuberant works were described by Gould as bearing typical Wattsian features including "flying Titianesque-figures, elegant Phidian style and monumental Michelangelesque groups, Greek Mythology, and ideas for his cosmic schemes."<sup>71</sup> Both Anne and George, who owned property a few steps away at No. 7 Carlton Gardens, would have presumably been some of the first to have seen the completed frescoes.

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<sup>65</sup>Quoted in O. W. Hewett, ...A selection from the diaries from 1851 to 1862 of Chichester Fortescue, Lord Carlingford, London 1958, p. 47.

<sup>66</sup> B. Bryant, "G F Watts at the Grosvenor Gallery "Poems Painted on Canvas" and the New Internationalist" in S. Casteras & C. Denney (ed.), *The Grosvenor Gallery A Palace of Art in Victorian England*, New Haven 1996, p. 109.

<sup>67</sup> Op cit. Gould 2004, p. 135.

<sup>68</sup> Sold, London, Cadogan Rooms Knightsbridge, 10-12 December 1907, Lot 334 (withdrawn).

<sup>69</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 628. Letter from Lord Somers to Lord Warwick, nd [1854].

<sup>70</sup> Op cit. Gould 2004, p. 38, 49.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid. p. 38.

We might be sure that the art of Watts would have appealed to both Anne and George. As members of the Somers and Lindsay circles they too shared a distinct interest in the high Renaissance of Italy which Watts relished. We have already noted in the previous chapters focusing on the rebuilding of Warwick Castle's new Library, that it was the elaborate and distinctly aristocratic form of the Italian Renaissance style that appealed to both Anne and George. Despite the impressive nature of these frescoes, it seems that neither George nor Anne ever approached Watts to engage in any grand scheme for them. It is obvious, perhaps, that Anne and George's aspirations for interiors revolved largely around employing historic fragments rather than commissioning new schemes of contemporary art. This was particularly the case at Warwick Castle, whose antiquarian credentials may not have supported the large-scale paintings by Watts that were produced for Eastnor Castle (most notably *Time and Oblivion* 1848).

Watts's most substantial interaction with Anne surrounded the creation of her husband's portrait, which was completed sometime after the frescoes of Carlton House Terrace<sup>72</sup> (FIGURE 6.35). It has not been possible to accurately date the sitting, but it is likely to have been completed in the 1880s. It shows the Earl in a particularly Rembrandtian tone, wearing a plain black coat with a bright white collar to help combat gloom. In the background lurks the shadow of Warwick Castle, another significant example of how inseparable this historic building and their historic title was to its owners. The painting is knowingly created in the vein of Old Master portraits, an effect often employed by the artist to blend his portraits alongside aristocratic collections containing such originals.<sup>73</sup>

The only surviving documentary evidence of Watts's relationship with the family remains in Anne's papers and not in George's. In a letter dated 1<sup>st</sup> January 1881, sent from Holland House, Watts writes specifically to Anne regarding an unfinished sketch of her husband started long ago.<sup>74</sup> The surviving portrait of George may not be the same as the sketch. The resemblance of the Earl suggests a sitting closer to the year 1881 than Watts's suggestion of 'long ago'. It is likely that Anne's visit to Watts's

<sup>72</sup> This portrait survives in the Earl of Warwick's private collection.

<sup>73</sup> For a good example of this see Blanche, Countess of Airlie's portrait by Watts, 1865-6, imitating a sixteenth century portrait by Paris Bordone, now in a private collection. This painting was reproduced and annotated in B. Bryant, *G F Watts Portraits: Fame & Beauty in Victorian Society*, National Portrait Gallery 2004, pp. 146-7, no. 50.

<sup>74</sup> WCRO CR1886, Box 467, Letter from G F Watts, Little Holland House, to Lady Warwick, dated 1st January 1881. "Will you do me the favour to come & see my gallery & look at this sketch, if it should be worth anything to you I will ask you to give me the pleasure of accepting it, but you had better come & look at it first as it may not be to you...this needs of a frame, if you should find that to be the case I shall not be mortified as it is a very fundamental production."

studio at Little Holland House prompted the commission of a new portrait of her husband (the surviving one we might assume). The revealing circumstances of this painting, in relation specifically to Anne's own creative talents, was captured in an anecdote written in the autobiography of her daughter-in-law. It is worth reproducing here in full:

Another great artist that I met was G. F. Watts when he was staying at Warwick Castle, before my father-in-law's death. He was a great friend of the family in those days.

I remember that old Lord Warwick sat to G. F. Watts, and while he was painting the portrait Lady Warwick, who was an artist of great attainment, took advantage of the occasion to paint her own portrait of her husband.

I know that she found it extraordinarily interesting to work at the same subject as the great painter, yet to maintain her own ideas and keep to her own method.

I do not pretend to be an art critic, but I cannot help feeling that my mother-in-law made the more convincing portrait. Hers was indeed a speaking likeness, and it hangs now at Easton where I write. The Watts portrait is at Warwick Castle.

I understand that Mr. Watts himself admired my mother-in-law's study of her husband.<sup>75</sup>

Unfortunately, Anne's portrait has not survived.<sup>76</sup> Although we are unable to compare their paintings directly, we are able to read into several interesting themes through this anecdotal story. Firstly, we might admire what an incredibly unique opportunity this must have been to effectively receive a masterclass from one Victorian Britain's leading grand manner portrait painters.

Although we should be cautious of the anecdotal nature of this story, which was presumably carefully selected to promote Anne's talents, these descriptive details are seductive. The remark regarding Anne's assertion of her own methods and 'ideas' is also indicative of her being tested in some way by the painter, perhaps to experiment or follow his instruction or example. Alternatively, we might read

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<sup>75</sup> Frances Evelyn, Countess of Warwick, *Afterthoughts*, London 1931, p.175.

<sup>76</sup> This is possibly due to the turbulent history of Easton Lodge, which descended out of the Warwick line after the death of Frances Evelyn Countess of Warwick in 1938. The building was eventually torn down during the 1950s.

this as an example of defiance and confidence in her abilities. Both readings imply what an unrivalled opportunity this must have been for Anne.

One of the surviving portraits of Anne's, makes clear the remarkably important influence that Watts had on her work. Depicting once again her youngest son the Hon. Sidney Greville (b.1866) (FIGURE 6.36), this portrait is reminiscent of Watts's mature style developed by the artist from the 1860s onwards. In terms of scale, this painting's size is slightly smaller than one would expect compared to the standard 30 x 20 inches bust length format which Watts would have used. The highly painterly textures, with much dry brushwork, is typical of the Wattsian approach from the 1860s onwards.

The half shadow of the face is not entirely successful. Painting the face front onwards in this manner was rarely attempted by Anne, especially in portraits of herself. A recent and particularly harsh cleaning of the portrait has accentuated the ground layer considerably, which has hindered our understanding of the subtle nature of the face in shadow. Equally, we might also compare this Rembrandtian approach that was employed by Reynolds in a painting found in the Warwick Castle collection<sup>77</sup> (FIGURE 6.37). The half-lit face in this picture is also particularly reminiscent of Anne's painting. Reynolds, who famously emulated the painterly technique of Old Masters, was of interest to Anne, and his technical details were transcribed for her by artist William Egley (Chapter 1). Sidney's costume, which maintains a painterly and loose flair, owes more Reynolds than it does to Watts.

The most noticeable Wattsian feature of the portrait is the dense background of laurel leaves. This is a feature that is found in Watts's portraiture from the 1860s onwards. Its precise origins in Watts's portraits have never been explained satisfactorily, despite their symbolic and decorative value. The laurel motif had strong Classical associations with the myth of Apollo and Daphne but also with poets, emperors, and sporting victors. These elevating associations were the obvious choice in Watts's mind when he surrounded the poet Tennyson with them in his c.1863 portrait at the National Portrait Gallery and his later 1890 portrait destined for Trinity College Cambridge.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> Sold Sotheby's, London, 9 July 2014, lot 22. (Sold by the 9th Earl of Warwick).

<sup>78</sup> Anne would have also had the chance to see other works by Watts using this device, including the celebrated portrait of Madeline Wyndham which was shown at the 1877 Grosvenor Gallery exhibition.

Finally, but not least, the painting's original frame is of the 'Watts-frame' type, consisting of gilded decoration separated by a plain compartment. In line with the Aesthetic Movement's interest in the visual hang of such pictures, these details must have mattered. Unfortunately, like most of Anne's artworks, this painting cannot be found in any of the inventories of Warwick Castle or her London home. It seems that many of her paintings or artworks were never listed properly in inventories, perhaps due to their low value, and may be those described as the '14 watercolours in gilded frames' listed in the Small Back Drawing Room of her London Home.<sup>79</sup>

It was within the safer realms of portraiture that Anne exhibited her work of art in public display. A crayon drawing of her daughter Lady Eva Greville was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1870.<sup>80</sup> Although this work has not survived, it is likely to relate to a surviving drawing that remains in Warwick Castle, although bearing the monogram 'LB' and quite possibly erroneously attributed to another nineteenth-century artist<sup>81</sup> (FIGURE 6.38).

### **6.5 Memorial Plaque – Alfred Gilbert & Alexander Fisher**

Until now, we have only considered works in oils and on paper. Yet, Anne blended the fine and decorative arts together in a multi-disciplinary approach. This shows a recognition of the prevailing fashions of the later nineteenth century, where Aestheticism spurred on the growing importance of the decorative arts. In this example, I show how her portraiture served a decorative function. In addition to this, her ambition seemingly had played an important part in the revival of portrait painting in enamel, an achievement through patronage which has not received much, if any, attention until now.

The final major collaboration that Anne undertook with a highly regarded Victorian artist was in designing an enamel memorial plaque after her husband's death in 1893. The Earl's ill health meant that his death was a long process lasting months with his final joys having been receiving antiquarian

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<sup>79</sup> WCRO CR1886 / CR3508/2.

<sup>80</sup> A. Graves (ed.), *The Royal Academy of Arts; a complete dictionary, of contributors...*, VIII, London 1905, p. 158, no. 825.

<sup>81</sup> The internal inventory of Warwick Castle has attributed this drawing, which bears the monogram 'LB', to Edmund Blair Leighton (1852-1922), without any plausible explanation.

books.<sup>82</sup> All surviving evidence shows that Anne commissioned the design of this work. The execution of this relatively modest artwork overlapped precisely with the more widely known Watts Chapel at Compton, designed by the artist's wife Mary Watts (1849-1938).<sup>83</sup> This building, and its extraordinary Arts & Crafts interior, is often celebrated as one of the most outstanding examples of a female artist's expression of memorialising her husband. Both interiors and exteriors, decorated with her own ceramic works, attest to her own highly personal pantheistic interpretation of her husband's significance, beliefs and aesthetic. It is perhaps noteworthy that an aristocratic Dowager, whom tradition dictated would quietly step aside out of the public light in favour of her heirs, would continue to pursue a worthy memorial.

The sculptor Alfred Gilbert (1854-1934) was initially sought out by Anne. Most pertinently, the artist had been creating the bronze memorial for the Duke of Clarence (began in 1892) during the years of the Earl of Warwick's death.<sup>84</sup> This naturalised effigy and tomb, bearing influence of the incoming Art Nouveau, was exhibited in design form at the Royal Academy in 1894.<sup>85</sup> The tragedy of the Duke's premature death would have been felt in the Greville family, as Anne's second eldest son Alwyne had been serving as the Prince's equerry.<sup>86</sup> A letter dated 4<sup>th</sup> December 1895 explains how Gilbert had visited Warwick Castle to discuss the commission with Anne. Gilbert wrote that he had returned to London with drawings she had made and photographs of the Earl.<sup>87</sup> Such a collaboration, and exchange of ideas with such a significant sculptor, must have been a rewarding experience. The location of Warwick Castle, rather than meeting in London, shows the continued influence her ancient home still played in Dowager's artistic persona. It is unclear as to why this commission did not progress. Yet considering the Grevilles' relative lack of means, and Gilbert's well-known desperation for funds and taking on too many projects, it is possible that financial reasons stopped this collaboration from maturing into a finished piece.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Several letters from Anne's daughter, Lady Eva Greville, describe these last few months, and can be found in WCRO CR1886 Box 467, Written in mid-September 1893.

<sup>83</sup> For a full description of this building see V. Gould, *Watts Chapel: an arts and crafts memorial*, London 1993.

<sup>84</sup> For a discussion of the significance of the tomb see M. Roskill, "Alfred Gilbert's Monument to the Duke of Clarence: A Study in the Sources of Later Victorian Sculpture" in *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol 110, No. 789, pp.699-704; R. Dorment, *Alfred Gilbert*, New Haven 1986, p. 228.

<sup>85</sup> A. Graves (ed.), *The Royal Academy of Arts; a complete dictionary, of contributors...*, III, London 1905, p. 233.

<sup>86</sup> There are many letters from Alwyne Greville to his mother and sister written during Prince Eddy's visit to India in 1889-90, found in WCRO CR1886 Boxes 467-9.

<sup>87</sup> WCRO CR1886, Box 467 (loose), Alfred Gilbert, 16 Maida Vale London, to Lady Warwick, 4th December 1895.

<sup>88</sup> For more on Gilbert's financial difficulties in this period see R. Dorment, *Alfred Gilbert*, New Haven 1985, pp.181-183.

Apart from such large scale memorials, Anne seems to have turned her patronage towards the enamel painter Alexander Fisher (1864-1936), one of the foremost workers in that medium during late Victorian Britain and writer of the seminal *The Art of Enamelling upon Metal*.<sup>89</sup> Anne commissioned Fisher to produce a grand memorial portrait of her husband the Earl, a significant commission which has been overlooked by scholars<sup>90</sup> (FIGURE 6.39). Surviving archival evidence shows the active role Anne took in this commission.<sup>91</sup>

The choice of an enamelled artwork to commemorate the Earl was a highly personal one. George had actively acquired a significant collection of enamels on copper mostly from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, some by the celebrated French masters including Leonard Limoson (fl. c.1550).<sup>92</sup> Fisher later remarked that it was Limoson's technique in particular that he imitated in enamel portraits, especially with using a blue ground.<sup>93</sup> Amongst the Warwick collection was one large set of enamel portraits of Roman emperors.<sup>94</sup> Prince Albert had specifically requested photographs of the enamel collection at Warwick Castle to be sent to him after his visit there in the summer of 1858.<sup>95</sup> The Earl's collection became more widely known during the *Special Loan Exhibition of Enamels on Metal held at the South Kensington Museum* held in 1874, with Lord Warwick contributing no fewer than forty exhibits.<sup>96</sup> Alongside serving on the exhibition committee, his collection was celebrated alongside those of the Duke of Marlborough, Sir Richard Wallace and Charles Magniac.<sup>97</sup>

The sale of this collection, made in 1896 and consisting of 33 lots, raised a staggering £10,508 8s.<sup>98</sup> The coinciding of Fisher's artwork, and the sale of the Earl's enamel collection by his largely uninterested son and heir, is a sign of the stark difference between these two generations.

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<sup>89</sup> A. Fisher, *The art of enamelling upon Metal*, London 1905.

<sup>90</sup> Notably, Anne's name is not found in Stephen Pudney's recent reassessment of Fisher as a pioneer see S. Pudney, "Alexander Fisher: pioneer of arts & crafts enamelling" in *The Journal of the Decorative Arts Society* (no. 23, 1999), pp.70-85.

<sup>91</sup> Scattered between WCRO CR1886 Boxes 467-9, mostly dating from Autumn 1895 to 1896.

<sup>92</sup> The highlights of the collection, consisting of 33 lots, was sold by George's son Francis, 5th Earl of Warwick, at Christie's, London, 17 July 1896. This included works by Pierre Courtyes (d.1602), Martial Courteys (d.1592), Jean de Court (1530-1584), Leonard Limoson (fl. c.1550), Pierre Reymond (1513-1584) and an inlaid stirrup by the Italian goldsmith Caradosso Foppa (1445-c.1527).

<sup>93</sup> *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, No. 2,891, Vol. LVI, (April 17 1908), p.578.

<sup>94</sup> Sold Christie's, London, 17 July 1896, Lot 17.

<sup>95</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 628 (loose). Letter from Sir Charles Phipps to Lord Warwick, dated 2 August 1858. Sent from Osborne House.

<sup>96</sup> Catalogue of the special loan exhibition of enamels on metal held at the South Kensington Museum in 1874, London 1875, Nos. 343, 645, 648, 744 – 781.

<sup>97</sup> Catalogue of the special loan exhibition of enamels on metal held at the South Kensington Museum in 1874, London 1875, p. XIV.

<sup>98</sup> *The Morning Post*, 18 July 1896, p. 2.

The resulting artwork was a large-scale enamelled medallion of the Earl, in profile, set into a decorated casing featuring the heraldic devices of the Earls of Warwick (FIGURE 6.39). We might presume that the portrait was set against a blue ground, imitating the technique used by the sixteenth-century Limoson. Stylistically, it is a curious mixture of both the French and Italian Renaissance styles, filtered through the transitional florid Arts Nouveau style. It is not a piece of studied antiquarianism but a mixture of new and old. This loosened manner of the Arts & Crafts interlaced with the Arts Nouveau, with which Fisher would become synonymous, is evidence that Anne was open to later fashions. We might assume that the choice of Gilbert would have been a conscious movement in this direction. After all, in the 1891 *The Gentlewoman* article Anne expressed her interest in the fashionable developments in the capital, explaining “and when in town she especially delights in that of the Arts and Crafts.”<sup>99</sup> Despite her increased years, the Anne was clearly aware of the changing tastes around her in the capital, although it is not certain whether she was aware of experiments at nearby places in the Midlands such as Wightwick Manor near Wolverhampton.<sup>100</sup>

The miniature’s elaborate frame is perhaps the most compelling aspect of the artwork’s appearance. It bears some resemblance to the highly decorative wooden and *pietra dura* frames that house sixteenth-century miniature painted portraits by artists such as Corneille de Lyon.<sup>101</sup> Inserted into the borders of the work are enamelled bands, featuring the medieval heraldic devices in the corners of Greville Swans and Warwick Bears and Ragged Staff. Interspersed are animals such as peacocks, the latter being particularly associated with the Aestheticism (See Chapter 4). Small roundels, cutting in between these bands, feature images of Warwick Castle. The top of the frame is crested with the coats of arms of both the Earls of Warwick coupled with Anne’s Charteris and Wemyss lions, a touching reminder of her own presence in the piece. At the base, a shrouded figure of death with sickle in hand weeps, completed in a particularly symbolist manner evoking the waifish figures of Burne Jones. It has not been possible to identify where the work was hung in the family’s homes.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> *The Gentlewoman*, Saturday 19 December 1891, (No. 76, Vol.III), p.1.

<sup>100</sup> A. Mander Lahr Cole, *Wightwick Manor*, London 1993.

<sup>101</sup> A nice example of this type was with art dealer Richard Green, painted by Corneille de Lyon showing a young gentleman against a green background housed in an elaborate ebony and pietre dure frame.

<sup>102</sup> Published in G. Eve, *Decorative Heraldry: a Practical Handbook of its Artistic Treatment*, London 1897, p. 269, no. 182. The location of the work is currently unaccounted for.

The Countess submitted sketches to the artist, which he worked on and returned to her for approval.<sup>103</sup> This included submitting her own portrait of her husband to be painted by the artist into enamel. The smaller details were also decided by Anne, including the images of the Castle and crests, as Fisher asked for her photographs to act as a guide.<sup>104</sup> A loose drawing of it, in Anne's hand, suggests the arrangement and architectural features may have been her own (FIGURES 6.40 & 6.41). The work was completed over the winter of 1895-6, with Anne making several visits to Fisher's studio in Berwick House, 139 Oxford Street.<sup>105</sup> Anne brought other friends along too.<sup>106</sup> This may have been due to the artist's interest in attracting affluent students, some Lady Amateurs were known for hosting enamelling parties in their homes with Fisher as the guest of honour.<sup>107</sup>

The significance of this piece as an example of contemporary work was recognised almost immediately. It was exhibited at the 1896 Royal Academy Exhibition alongside religious and mythological scenes by the artist.<sup>108</sup> The work was illustrated in full and praised in George Eve's publication on *Decorative Heraldry* (1897), the most extravagant example shown in the chapter on 'Modern Work'.<sup>109</sup> Fisher too recognised its significance years later. In March 1908 whilst chairing a meeting of the Royal Society of Arts focusing on the history of enamel portraits, Fisher said:

The first portrait he was asked to do was that of the late Earl of Warwick, the request coming from the Dowager Countess [Anne]; and he did that portrait in white enamel upon a blue ground, from little sketches; that were supplied to him. He found at the commencement that enamel was one of the most difficult mediums in which to do portraits, but, at all events, the Dowager Countess was very well satisfied with the result, and the portrait was he believed, the first thing of its kind that have been exhibited at the Academy for a considerable time, marking the revival of enamel portraiture in England.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> WCRO CR1886, Box 467 (loose), Alexander Fisher, 139 Oxford Street, to Lady Warwick, 3rd September 1895.

<sup>104</sup> WCRO CR1886, Box 468 (loose), Alexander Fisher, 139 Oxford Street, to Lady Warwick, 4th March 1896.

<sup>105</sup> WCRO CR1886, Box 469 (loose), Alexander Fisher, 139 Oxford Street, to Lady Warwick, 1 January 1896.

<sup>106</sup> This included 'Lady Dudley', presumably Lady Rachel Dudley (b.1868), grand-daughter of Sara Pattle and relative of Anne's close friend Virginia Somers WCRO CR1886, Box 468 (loose), Alexander Fisher, 139 Oxford Street, to Lady Warwick, 4th March 1896.

<sup>107</sup> S. Pudney, "Alexander Fisher: pioneer of arts & crafts enamelling" in *The Journal of the Decorative Arts Society*, no. 23, (1999), p. 79.

<sup>108</sup> A. Graves (ed.), *The Royal Academy of Arts; a complete dictionary, of contributors...*, III, London 1905, p. 113.

<sup>109</sup> Op cit. Eve 1897, p. 269, no. 182.

<sup>110</sup> *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, No. 2,891, Vol. LVI, (April 17 1908), p.578.

This quotation is a remarkable and public example showing that an artist as important as Fisher was happy to be seen to collaborate with a lady like Anne. This interaction of artists on equal terms is a prime example of how far the countess's artistic persona had developed.

Their correspondence also shows that Anne commissioned the enamelled portrait of her nephew's wife Lady Elcho, Mary Constance Wyndham, which survives at Gosford House<sup>111</sup> (FIGURE 6.42). In contrast to the Earl of Warwick's portrait, Lady Elcho's is a full-blown example of the Arts & Crafts style of the 1890s. The vibrant portrait of the sitter, depicting Mary in an orange dress against a sumptuous background of roses, is an evocative example of fashionable Aestheticism lacking the academic antiquarian referencing of the Earl's portrait. So too is the elaborate Arts & Crafts frame, constructed of hammered gilt effect metal, containing fluid interwoven raised bands and accentuated with blue enamelled flowers. Its prominent and oversized name plaque, executed in fashionable calligraphy, is in harmony with the spirit of the work. The reverse panel is decorated with an embossed peacock.<sup>112</sup> When it was illustrated in the 1898 Art Journal the portrait was housed in an elaborate stand, presumably to ensure the work could sit in a prominent position and be viewed in the round.<sup>113</sup> Scholar Stephen Pudney linked this miniature with Mary's mother Madeline Wyndham, who was an accomplished amateur enameller and pupil of Fisher's from 1896.<sup>114</sup> However, surviving documents suggest that it was actually linked to Anne's patronage and the portrait may have been based on her drawing.<sup>115</sup> Fisher had remarked that this second portrait "was a very great advance on the portrait of the late Earl of Warwick, because there he essayed to introduce colour into flesh."<sup>116</sup> It was exhibited at the Royal Academy the year following the exhibition of the Earl's portrait in 1897.<sup>117</sup> Lady Elcho's portrait was also displayed during the Royal Society of Arts March meeting alongside modern and historic examples of miniature portraits.

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<sup>111</sup> Illustrated in Op cit. Pudney 1999, p. 78, fig.11.

<sup>112</sup> The design of the peacocks found on the Earl of Warwick's frame are reminiscent of Burne Jones's 1886 Memorial Tablet found in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

<sup>113</sup> Reproduced in Op cit. Pudney 1999, p. 78, fig.11.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid. p. 79.

<sup>115</sup> WCRO 1886, Box 468 (loose), Alexander Fisher, 139 Oxford Street, to Lady Warwick, 27 Dec 1895 and 21 Feb 1896.

<sup>116</sup> *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, No. 2,891, Vol. LVI, (April 17 1908), p. 578.

<sup>117</sup> A. Graves (ed.), *The Royal Academy of Arts; a complete dictionary, of contributors...*, III, London 1905, p. 113.

## 6.6 Exhibitions of the Decorative Arts

### 6.6.1 The Grosvenor Gallery 1877

Despite Anne's abilities in the mediums of oil painting and watercolours, this was not enough to satisfy her artistic expression. This next section investigates how Anne chose to exhibit her art publicly, out of the domestic sphere and into one of the most public settings associated with the avant-garde in Victorian Britain. Although the term 'avant-garde' has been taken by art historians in its explicit relation to twentieth-century modernism, I use it here to emphasise the at times radical nature of works that the Grosvenor Gallery was exhibiting. Furthermore, it will also examine what role Anne's personal networks and friendships played in these choices. Questions of her distinctive role will also be examined, as she was both the foremost exhibitor of painted ceramics in both the Grosvenor Gallery setting, and in the less prominent yet highly interesting arena of the so-called 'The Royal Academy of China Painting' established by retailers Howell and James. In this age, where the decorative arts were increasingly becoming a refuge for women artists who did not wish to tackle serious history painting, it is interesting that a top-tier aristocratic woman would happily want to associate herself with these cultural movements associated with bohemianism and fashionable Aestheticism. Might the setting of the Grosvenor Gallery have in fact been ideal for Anne's art? The purest and most intriguing expression of this was the inclusion of two of Anne's painted ceramic plates in the augural 1877 Grosvenor Gallery exhibition, the only ceramic works of art exhibited. Studying Anne's inclusion in this important institution makes a compelling case for Anne's distinctive role in the Victorian Art world.

Firstly, it is necessary to explain the significance of this exhibition space and place Anne within existing scholarship. The significance of the Grosvenor Gallery's foundation as a venue for 'avant-garde' art, posing itself as an alternative venue to what was seen as the restrictive and firmly establishment-type Royal Academy, has been covered widely in recent scholarship.<sup>118</sup> Seen by many contemporaries as embodying the spirit of the Aesthetic Movement, the gallery's hangs gave artworks

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<sup>118</sup> The three most significant publications on the Grosvenor Gallery include: C. Newall, *The Grosvenor Gallery exhibitions, a change and continuity in the Victorian art world*, Cambridge 1995; S. Casteras, C. Denney (ed.), *The Grosvenor Gallery, a palace of art in Victorian England*, New Haven 1996; C. Denney, *At the temple of art, the Grosvenor Gallery, 1877-1890*, Cranbury 2000.

greater breathing space and were decorated with silks, ceramics and plants. It provided a refuge for the many artists whose increasingly symbolist works were gradually becoming at odds with the more traditional works encountered at the Royal Academy, although many artists continued to exhibit at both. The at-times radical spirit of the Gallery's inaugural exhibition held in the summer of 1877 culminated in perhaps one of the most controversial scandals in the Victorian Art world. John Ruskin's critique of the highly ambiguous *Nocturnes* submitted by James Abbot McNeill Whistler (1834-1903), and the fiery defamation case that followed it, embodied the gallery's role in facilitating a meeting place between art figures of the old world and the new.<sup>119</sup> Anne and her family were aware of Whistler's painterly experiments.<sup>120</sup> In contrast to establishment art-critics like Ruskin, the gallery helped to facilitate the career of modern critics including young reviewer, Oscar Wilde.

Anne's involvement with the Grosvenor Gallery also falls within a wider context for female artists who found a great deal of support at the gallery. This point was made most forcefully by the scholarship of Coleen Denney.<sup>121</sup> Anne was one of the ten female exhibitors who displayed works of art at this important inaugural 1877 exhibition.<sup>122</sup> Women represented ten out of the sixty total exhibitors of the exhibition, which compromised 16.6%. Using the statistics of female exhibitors, Denney had showed that over the lifespan of the Grosvenor Gallery women were represented roughly 24% of the artists shown, an incredibly high percentage even compared to Parisian Salon standards.<sup>123</sup> Unfortunately, no written evidence in Anne's papers illuminates her thoughts, feelings or how she came to exhibit at the inaugural 1877 exhibition and it was not even mentioned in Anne's artistic resume in *The Gentlewoman* article. Despite this, it is possible to reconstruct the significance of her involvement.

Anne's aristocratic and artistic networks enabled her to enter such a public and high-profile exhibition space. Denney has highlighted the importance of the Lindsays in personally and actively encouraging

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<sup>119</sup> This scandal was covered in L. Merrill, *A pot of paint, aesthetics on trial in Whistler v Ruskin*, Washington 1992; D. E. Sutherland, *Whistler a life for art's sake*, New Haven 2014, pp. 148-165.

<sup>120</sup> WCRO CR1886, Box 468 (loose), Letter from Louis Greville, Tokio Japan, to Lady Eva Greville 17 August 1883. – Joke refers to being inspired by the scenes of lanterns reflecting in the water – “Such a picture would send even Whistler raving”.

<sup>121</sup> C. Denney, *At the temple of art, the Grosvenor Gallery, 1877-1890*, Cranbury 2000, pp.127-160.

<sup>122</sup> The other exhibitors were Lady Lindsay; Miss Kate Carr; Miss Evelyn Pickering; Mrs Henrietta Munro; Mrs Louise Jopling; Mrs Helen Angell; Miss Margaret Gillies; Lady Louisa Charteris [a relative of Anne through the Gosford line]; Mrs M. Spartalli-Stillman.

<sup>123</sup> Op cit. Denney 2000, pp.128-9.

women artists in their new and highly avant-garde gallery.<sup>124</sup> Apart from their friendship spanning as far back as the 1850s, the Warwicks had been involved in business dealings with the Lindsays long before 1877 (see Chapter 3). It is likely that Anne's great involvement in the castle's restoration, including that of its interiors, would have been witnessed first-hand by Coutts and Blanche.

Surviving letters from Anne's papers are testament to the extremely personal and aesthetic friendship that the Countess and Blanche Lindsay maintained. Blanche's letters to Anne often made references to artworks and decorative objects she was engaged in making or had bought. They shared details regarding painting, including copying Italian primitives by Agnolo Gaddi.<sup>125</sup> They regularly exchanged flowers, ceramics, small paintings, sketches, and thoughts on the decoration of interiors.<sup>126</sup> As a descendant of the Rothschilds, Blanche's correspondence features intriguing mixtures of courtly gossip alongside many mentions of fashionable artists including descriptions of visits to see artists including Millais, Watts and the sculptor Carlo Marochetti.<sup>127</sup> Blanche's letters promote her as acting as a bridge between the aristocratic and artistic worlds. Furthermore, Blanche's personal "gifts as a hostess and entertainer" are also worthy of note in attracting an active female audience to the gallery, which included the establishment of a comfortable Ladies Room and Library.

Furthermore, letters from Blanche attest to the emotional bond she had with the Countess, as she wrote in June 1864 "[I never had a girl friend of any kind] No one but Annie Warwick...I have gone on loving her more & more and could not have another friend like her."<sup>128</sup>

Denney has specifically focused on the importance of Lady Blanche Lindsay in helping lessen the barriers for women artists in being accepted alongside their celebrated male counterparts. First and foremost, Blanche was an artist, one whom Denney asserts had 'struggled' to make her career on the difficult London art circuit and took the opportunity of the Grosvenor to exhibit no fewer than forty

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<sup>124</sup> Ibid. p. 127.

<sup>125</sup> WCRO CR1886, Box 482 (loose), Letter from Blanche Lindsay, Balcarres, to Lady Warwick, 28 December 1865. "There is so much feeling in the early ones & one seems to enter into the spirit of the painter so well."

<sup>126</sup> WCRO CR1886, Box 467 (loose), Letter from Blanche Lindsay to Lady Warwick, undated. In this letter Blanche thanks Anne for receiving flowers arranged by the Countess, and sends in return a painted picture of a bear (the symbol of the Earls of Warwick).; WCRO CR1886, Box 467 (loose), Letter from Blanche Lindsay, 6 Stanhope Terrace to Lady Warwick, undated. Dishes from the Countess are received by Blanche Lindsay. ; WCRO CR1886, Box 482 (loose), Letter from Blanche Lindsay, Balcarres, to Lady Warwick, 28 December 1865. Includes a description and thoughts of an interior decorated with ceramics.

<sup>127</sup> WCRO CR1886, Box 467 (loose), Letter from Blanche Lindsay, 42 Upper Grosvenor Street, to Lady Warwick, 5th June nd. [1864].

<sup>128</sup> WCRO CR1886, Box 467 (loose), Letter from Blanche Lindsay, 42 Upper Grosvenor Street, to Lady Warwick, 5th June nd. [1864].

works between 1877 and 1882.<sup>129</sup> Both Blanche and Coutts had taken the opportunity to exhibit their own works in their newly established gallery, and exhibited no fewer than seven works at the opening exhibition. Blanche may have been more prolific as a painter than Anne, whose multi-disciplinary approach is ever present.

Considering the above, Anne's involvement with the Grosvenor Gallery must have been at the personal invitation of Blanche and Coutts. Denney had already asserted that the success of the Grosvenor Gallery was assured by Coutts and Blanche's ability to rally their artist friends to support the gallery and supply works.<sup>130</sup> This personal approach, in opposition to the juries of the Royal Academy exhibitions, must have helped the confidence of exhibitors like Anne. Blanche obviously supported Anne's work, and is recorded having shown one of the Countess's paintings to Sir William Boxall, Director of the National Gallery from 1865-1874, who 'admired it so much'.<sup>131</sup> In relation to women artists, Denney marked out Louise Jopling as one of Blanche's closest friends who contributed handsomely to the gallery, and in turn used the gallery's exposure and wide-ranging connections to help make her career.<sup>132</sup>

Anne's appearance in the Grosvenor Gallery's 1877 exhibition is remarkable for several reasons. Although she was not the only aristocratic exhibitor, she was by far the highest ranking and the only one referred to in the exhibition catalogue purely by her title 'Countess of Warwick'.<sup>133</sup> It might be interpreted that the inclusion of Anne, who represented an ancient and top tier aristocratic house, may have paved the way for aristocrats such as Louisa Marchioness of Waterford [from 1878 to 1882] and HRH The Princess Louise Marchioness of Lorne, who exhibited a terracotta statue in 1879 and was also part of the Lindsays' social circle.<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> Op cit. Denney 2000, p. 129, 135.

<sup>130</sup> Op cit. Denney 2000, p. 130. – This also included the likes of Millais and Watts, whom Blanche had mentioned visiting often in letters to Anne.

<sup>131</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 482, Letter from Blanche Lindsay, 4 Cromwell Place, to Lady Warwick. 31 March [nd.] 'Did you send your picture? I explained as well as I could to Lord Warwick the necessity of writing its name on its back etc. Old W Boxall, the National Gallery man, admired it so much & Coutts admired it most thoroughly & truly. I am so glad to think that it will be at the R.A.' It has not been possible to track down the year of this letter, and it does not seem that Anne did ever exhibit it at the Royal Academy.

<sup>132</sup> Op cit. Denney 2000, p. 130.

<sup>133</sup> *The Grosvenor Gallery*, London 1877, p. 46.

<sup>134</sup> Op cit. Denney 2000, p. 138.

The most significant aristocrat was George Howard, future 9<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carlisle (1843-1911).<sup>135</sup> Despite his aristocratic background, none of his titles featured in the exhibition catalogue. In 1877, before he inherited the Earldom, Howard's artistic friendships lay predominately with the circle around Edward Burne Jones, William Morris, and Philip Webb, the later having designed his London town house, 1 Palace Green in 1870. A respected painter in oils, Howard's art represented a more academic approach to painting in comparison to Anne's aestheticist works. He later came to own Castle Howard in Yorkshire, where his additions were filtered through the Pre-Raphaelite Arts and Crafts manner. He had commissioned Lady Waterford to add frescoes to the walls of Castle Howard's chapel.<sup>136</sup> The stained-glass windows were designed by Burne Jones and executed by Morris & Co.<sup>137</sup> Although it is not possible to dwell on comparisons here, it is possible that Howard's inheritance of Castle Howard, which came tangentially and very late into his life, meant that his interpretation of his title was psychologically framed in a different way to Anne and George's.

What did Anne have to gain by participating in this inaugural exhibition? Was it purely to do with friendship to the Lindsays, and thus allied to her artistic interests and a wider part of forming a public persona based around art? In contrast to this approach, Clarissa Orr identified Blanche and Coutts's roles in the Grosvenor project as 'art dealers', a financial project veiled in high art.<sup>138</sup> Orr insists that it was the gradual unveiling of the gallery as a commercial space that led to its decline.<sup>139</sup> As an aristocrat, and thus socially unable to sell works for monetary gain, Anne's inclusion in this venture would not entirely make sense. Conforming to social norms, lady aristocrats would have hardly found it acceptable to be seen to earn money in the traditional manner of the middling or working classes. This might have caused some tension as to the fate of her works. Unfortunately, no evidence survives as to whether her two ceramic portraits were sold after the exhibition; indeed, no evidence survives to suggest that Anne ever sold any of her works of art during her lifetime. Both were ceramics catalogued as belonging to the artist, but one of them has remained in the collection of the sitter's

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<sup>135</sup> His life is summarised in V. Surtees, *The Artist and Autocrat*, Salisbury 1988.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 79-80.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.* p. 79.

<sup>138</sup> C. C. Orr (ed.), *Women in the victorian art world*, Manchester 1995, p. 21.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.* p. 21.

family.<sup>140</sup> Anne's letters attest to the fact that she gifted many sketches and works of art, perhaps the only acceptable way for her art to be disseminated into other households.

By far the most distinctive and interesting element of Anne's inclusion in the 1877 exhibition is that she had exhibited two ceramics, described as 'paintings on China', of *Lady Mackenzie of Gareloch* (no. 47) and *Mrs Bromley Davenport* (no. 48) (FIGURE 6.43). These were the only ceramic vessels in the entire exhibition.

The increased enthusiasm for ceramics was a key element of the Aesthetic Movement and important to nineteenth-century Britain as a whole. British manufacture of ceramics received high billing at the 1851 Great Exhibition and performed a vital role in the development of industry, commerce, and technology during the century. Much was made of in the Grosvenor Gallery's unique styling, which contained displays of incidental ceramics. A lavish description of the premises printed in *The Portfolio* emphasised the atmosphere of the gallery by detailing "Pottery and china, and groups of plants are disposed about the rooms, some to heighten the impression that this is not a public picture exhibition, but rather a patrician's private gallery shown by the courtesy of its owner..."<sup>141</sup> Wilde too described the many aesthetic accessories and furniture that adorned the gallery space, including tables "covered with Japanese china and the latest 'Minton'."<sup>142</sup> Ceramics, therefore, were seen as part of the progressive nature of the gallery, breaking away from the formalised atmosphere of the Academy and infused with fashionable aesthetic paraphernalia. In contrast to these miscellaneous decorative pieces, Anne's ceramics were at least displayed and catalogued as art works in their own right.

Anne nurtured a real love for ceramics for decades. Her notebooks of antiques, made during her visits to Paris in 1856 and 1867, show a serious interest in collecting contemporary ceramics and those from the eighteenth century<sup>143</sup> (FIGURE 6.44 & 6.45). However, none of these earlier examples dating to the 50s or 60s provide evidence that she was yet in fact painting ceramics herself.

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<sup>140</sup> The ceramic portrait of Mrs Bromley Davenport remains in the collection of Capesthorpe Hall.

<sup>141</sup> A. Atkington, "The Grosvenor Gallery", *Portfolio*, VIII, (1877), p. 98.

<sup>142</sup> O. Wilde, "The Grosvenor Gallery" in *The Dublin University Magazine*, 90, Dublin 1877, p. 118.

<sup>143</sup> See Chapters 2 and 4.

In this regard, Anne may have been following a growing trend experienced as part of the opening-up of the decorative arts for women in later decades. The increasing phenomenon of women china painters during the later 1870s and 80s was captured most recently in the scholarly work of Anne Anderson.<sup>144</sup> Anderson argued that China painting in this period was repositioned as a “suitable occupation for both amateur and professional women”, and that the increasing demand for such wares “provided a vehicle that allowed them to express their artistic potential as well as offering remunerative rewards.”<sup>145</sup> She focused particularly on the retailers Howells and James of Regent Street whose exhibitions earned the nick name ‘The Royal Academy of China Painting’. It is obvious that Anne took the painting of ceramics seriously in these regards and described it in her own words to her husband, “It is only now that it occurs to me what can I do with my dish. It is like an oil painting.”<sup>146</sup> This aligns with the notion that Anne too was self-consciously interested in raising the status of the art to that of oil painting. Anderson’s work fits into the larger scholarly attention given to women artists seeking refuge in the decorative arts and away from large-scale history paintings.

It is in this intriguing scholarly context that Anne appears as a distinctive figure. Firstly, Anne was a top-tier aristocrat who was actively pursuing an art form associated with female amateurs, and budding professionals, who were painting to earn money. Secondly, she was encouraged by connoisseurs, such as the Lindsays, to exhibit her painted ceramics in a high profile setting alongside the works of such renowned artists such as Millais, Watts, Burne Jones, and Whistler.

The positioning of Anne’s ceramics in the ‘Watercolour Gallery’ is also revealing. Denney had singled out this space, positioned in a smaller area adjacent to the main galleries through from Sculpture, as providing an intimate and subtly lit setting for the works of women.<sup>147</sup> In the 1877 exhibition women represented over 38% of the exhibitors featured within this sub section of the gallery.<sup>148</sup> Overall, Denny also argued that the Lindsays specifically attempted to use this room to raise the significance of watercolour painting.<sup>149</sup> In this context the inclusion of painted ceramics, the

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<sup>144</sup> A. Anderson, “The China painter: amateur celebrities and professional stars at Howell and James’s ‘Royal Academy of China Painting’” in K. Hadjiafxendi, P. Zakreski (ed.), *Crafting the woman professional in the long nineteenth century*, London 2013, pp. 123-144.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid. p.123.

<sup>146</sup> WCRO CR1886, Box 637 (loose), Short letter from Lady Warwick to Lord Warwick. Nd. (Very brief scribbled note).

<sup>147</sup> Op cit. Denney 2000, p.127.

<sup>148</sup> Out of the eighteen exhibitors in the Watercolour Gallery, seven were women.

<sup>149</sup> Op cit. Denney 2000, p.43.

only works in the medium exhibited as art works, may have been an attempt to elevate this field too. We can only speculate whether this might have been the Lindsays' or Anne's idea. The notion of old friends encouraging their artistic friend, who happened to be a Countess, might have been an attractive idea to the Lindsays.

Reviews took no notice of the inclusion of these painted vessels. Wilde described the watercolours, and probably the contents of the room, as "mediocre".<sup>150</sup> Failing to single out any women artists he ended his description with "the tout-ensemble is poor."<sup>151</sup> It seems that all of Anne's ceramics were completely ignored by the press.<sup>152</sup>

Returning to the works, both ceramics Anne submitted to the Grosvenor Gallery were portraits. Both sitters, Eila Frederica Campbell (d.1923) and Augusta Elizabeth Campbell (d.1916), were sisters and distant relatives of Anne.<sup>153</sup> It is likely that they were also aesthetic allies. A surviving letter from Augusta indicates that Anne had given her advice for decorations in her Jacobean-styled home Capesthrone in Cheshire.<sup>154</sup> This familiar and aesthetic friendship supports Cherry's notion that such friendships were often expressed in portraiture by fellow women artists, as signs of the importance such relationships and allegiances played in their artistic output.<sup>155</sup> Unfortunately, only Lady Augusta's portrait survives.<sup>156</sup> It shows the red headed subject, whose hair is curled and pinned up in an extravagant manner, dressed in faux Renaissance dress sporting a lace collar. Her figure is set against a blue turquoise sky, decorated with branches of laurel and cherry blossom. The composition evokes two separate precedents. Firstly, the work draws influence from profile portraits found in sixteenth-century Italian maiolica, often set off against decorated rims with foliage (FIGURE 6.46). Secondly, and more profoundly considering its connections to the Grosvenor Gallery, is referencing the highly contemporary and fashionable *Japonisme*. The soft cherry blossom is evocative of Louise

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<sup>150</sup> Op cit. Wilde 1877 p.126.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid. p. 126.

<sup>152</sup> Her name was not included within William Michael Rossetti's long list of contributors published in the *The Academy* or within his brief description of the watercolour room. See W. M. Rossetti, "The Grosvenor Gallery, *The Academy and Literature*, London, 5 May 1877, pp. 396-7; W. M. Rossetti, "The Grosvenor Gallery, *The Academy and Literature*, London, 26 May 1877, p 468. "Of the watercolour room we must say very little."

<sup>153</sup> The father of both sisters, Walter Frederick Campbell, 5th of Islay and Woodhall, was married Lady Eleanor Charteris, Anne's paternal aunt, who married again after her premature death.

<sup>154</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 482, Letter from Augusta Bromley Davenport, Capesthrone, to Lady Warwick, Sunday 5 nd.

<sup>155</sup> D. Cherry, "Women artists and the politics of feminism 1850-1900", in C. Campbell Orr (ed.), *Women in the Victorian Art World*, Manchester 1995, pp.62-63.

<sup>156</sup> By descent, Capesthrone, Congleton.

Jopling's *Phyllis* (Exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery in 1883) (FIGURE 6.47). Denney had singled out *Phyllis*, sentimental in subject matter as well as composition, as typical of Jopling's fancy portraits with which she made her fame.<sup>157</sup> In this context, it is intriguing that Anne already displayed such compositional devices at the Grosvenor six years earlier, albeit in a portrait rather than a subject picture.

These two portraits were typical of the Aesthetic Movement ceramics produced and promoted by Minton and Company's Art Pottery Studios in South Kensington<sup>158</sup> (FIGURE 6.48). This London branch of the famous ceramic works was established in 1871 with the purpose of encouraging artists and 'especially ladies' to paint on ceramic vessels.<sup>159</sup> To date, no scholarship has explored the fact that the studios had attracted aristocratic women as participators, rather than the more conventional arms-length titled supporters. The studio's specific purpose to encourage the education of ceramic painters has been linked by scholars directly to Henry Cole and the establishment of the South Kensington Museum, to which the studios were closely situated.<sup>160</sup> The particularly florid works and designs of the studio's director, William Stephen Coleman (1829-1904) exhibit the most enthusiastic adoption of Aestheticist taste, so too did his commissioning of Christopher Dresser, Henry Stacy Marks and William de Morgan for designs for the studios.<sup>161</sup> It is likely that it was here that Anne had first had the opportunity to be involved in the making of ceramics, although we can be sure that ceramics had interested her decades before and from at least the 1850s (see Chapter 2). It seems that Anne continued to practise in the vein of the Art Pottery Studios, especially after their destruction by fire in 1875 marking the end of this extremely short venture.

Evidence shows that Anne practised painting ceramics away from London and had begun to paint them in the comfort of Warwick Castle. Despite Anne's portraits clearly showing the continued influence of Coleman, none are exact copies of his designs. In producing her own ceramics, Anne sought out and collaborated with another of the most significant ceramic painters in Victorian Britain.

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<sup>157</sup> Op cit. Denney 2000, pp.130-31.

<sup>158</sup> The most comprehensive survey is found in J. Jones, *Minton the first two hundred years of design & production*, Shrewsbury 1993, pp. 215 – 236.

<sup>159</sup>E. Aslin, *The aesthetic movement*, London 1969, pp.141-2.

<sup>160</sup> Op cit. Jones 1993, pp. 215-16.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid. p.222.

She corresponded with Thomas Kirkby of Trentham (1824-1890), principal painter at Minton's, in letters written between 1876-1883.<sup>162</sup> Kirkby, who began working with the company from 1841 onwards, was involved in some of Minton's most high-profile artworks. Famously, he was involved in painting the figures and flowers featured in the Sèvres inspired Minton Desert Service, later known as the Victoria Pierced Service, produced for the 1851 Great Exhibition.<sup>163</sup> It was one of Kirkby's painted plates that Queen Victoria admired and purchased.<sup>164</sup> Kirkby later recounted that Mr Minton himself afterwards told him, "Kirkby, do you know that you are a painter to the Queen?".<sup>165</sup> This quote proves the confidence in the quality of work the company was producing to sit alongside oil painting. Kirkby also recounted that Sir Henry Cole, the great promoter of the revival of the decorative arts in Britain, had expressed after witnessing the 1851 service that "Young man, I congratulate you on having painted that which we consider to be the best piece of flesh painting on our side of the exhibition."<sup>166</sup>

As the possessor of a Castle with a collection of ceramics, it is likely that this painter's credentials as a historicist attracted Anne. Kirkby was not only capable of imitating Sèvres but was also skilled in copying sixteenth-century maiolica tin-glazed earthen wares. Fine examples of his work can be found in the Victoria & Albert Museum, and an impressive folio of Kirkby's Italianate designs in watercolour survive in the Minton archives (FIGURE 6.49). Long after the 1877 exhibition, Kirkby was involved in producing a new foot for an 'Old Maiolica Vase' at the Castle, as directed by Anne herself who agreed and approved several traces of designs.<sup>167</sup> Anne's invitation to Kirkby to attend her son's high society marriage at Westminster Abbey in 1881 suggests a great mutual respect.<sup>168</sup>

Anne actively used the opportunity to collaborate with this significant ceramic painter. Primarily, Kirkby's letters concern ceramic plates and plaques that Anne was painting at Warwick Castle and then sending on to Kirkby in Stoke on Trent in crates to be fired under his supervision.<sup>169</sup> His letters indicate he visited Warwick Castle, supporting reference by Geoffrey Godden that he did so to

<sup>162</sup> These letters are spread between WCRO CR1886, Boxes 467-9, 482.

<sup>163</sup> J. Marsden (ed.), *Victoria & Albert: art and love*, London 2010, p. 304.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.* p. 304.

<sup>165</sup> (Ms.) Recollections of H. Minton, Esq, by T. Kirby, painter, Mintons Archive, SD 1705/MS115. p.20.

<sup>166</sup> (Ms.) Recollections of H. Minton, Esq, by T. Kirby, painter, Mintons Archive, SD 1705/MS115p.22.

<sup>167</sup> WCRO CR1886, Box 468 (loose), Letter from Thomas Kirkby, Trentham, to Lady Warwick, 18 January 1883.

<sup>168</sup> WCRO CR1886, Box 468 (loose), Letter from Thomas Kirkby, Trentham, to Lady Warwick, 27 September 1881.

<sup>169</sup> WCRO CR1886, Box 468 (loose), Letter from Thomas Kirkby, Trentham, to Lady Warwick, 26 April 1878.

instruct the Countess in her art.<sup>170</sup> Kirkby provided detailed technical assistance to the Countess, especially in terms of the use of colouring and pigments. A short handwritten guide for ‘preparing the colours for painting on china’ in her papers might also be attributed to him.<sup>171</sup> Pre-fired wares and pigments were sent to her. Curiously, Holt & Sons, the decorators of Warwick Castle’s new library, supplied Anne with vast lists and colour charts of ‘Enamel colours for painting’<sup>172</sup> (FIGURE 6.50). Not every painting of hers was a success, with Kirkby explaining that some of her colours blistered and were thus unusable.<sup>173</sup> Anne’s portrait plaque of Lady Augusta also exhibits an attempt at painting with thick impasto, a technique alien in Coleman’s photographically smoother work. This painterly impasto on the surviving plate, another risk too far perhaps, has deteriorated.

Several examples of tracing paper, used in transferring designs onto ceramics, have survived in Anne’s papers and at Warwick Castle. These suggest that Anne was more prolific with painted ceramics than the very few surviving examples attest. They also show a greater variety of subject material other than portraiture. One example shows a fifteenth-century inspired plate of the mythological subject ‘Penelope’ (FIGURE 6.51), whose headdress is more reminiscent of Flemish primitives than Italian renaissance sources. Other examples exist of tracing papers of flowers, including ornate magnolias and lilies, and would have been highly resonant with the aestheticist wares produced by the South Kensington Art Studios (FIGURE 6.52). It seems this tracing paper technique was also used for decorative bookbinding and gilding, which *The Gentlewoman* article had explained she employed on her husband’s collection of ancient books for his Shakespeare Library.<sup>174</sup>

It is due to Anne’s experimentation that a plate by Kirkby, dated 1876, remains in the collection of Warwick Castle (FIGURE 6.53). It may be his only signed plate executed in this style. On the reverse an inscription explains that it was painted for the Hon. Sidney Greville, Anne’s youngest son who would have been ten years old in 1876. It depicts Evelyn Charteris (1849-1939), Viscountess de Vesci, Anne’s niece. The format, showing Evelyn in a red dress with a white laced collar, is identical

<sup>170</sup> G. Godden, “Thomas Kirkby: Victorian ceramic artist” in *Apollo*, 72, (September 1960), p. 66. – Godden gives no reference for this piece of information.

<sup>171</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 482 (loose), ‘Directions for progressing the colors for painting on china’.

<sup>172</sup> WCO CR1886, Box 482 (loose), Enamel Colours for Painting [n.d.].

<sup>173</sup> WCO CR1886, Box 469 (loose), Letter from Thomas Kirkby, Trentham, to Lady Warwick, 22 April 1881.; WCRO CR1886, Box 467 (loose), Letter from Thomas Kirkby, Trentham, to Lady Warwick, 10 September 1877.

<sup>174</sup> *The Gentlewoman*, Saturday 19 December 1891, p.1. Sadly, the loss of the Shakespeare Library puts a study of her book binding skills out of the realms of this thesis.

to the one found in the Bromley Davenport portrait. The overall quality, however, is noticeably inferior to Anne's. Perhaps Kirkby had felt compelled to paint a copy of an original produced by Anne, which may have perished in the firing process. Significantly, this work of art seems to be found photographed in Anne's boudoir for the 1891 *The Gentlewoman* article (FIGURE 6.54). It appears mounted into a screen and framed in wood. It is curious to imagine the effect this Aesthetic Movement ceramic portrait might have had in a wildly eighteenth-century painted room. Its position within the photograph is undoubtedly intentional.

We are left to speculate as to why Anne never exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery again. It is possible that Anne was saddened at being completely ignored by the press and any coverage of the exhibition. Whistler's ambiguous *Nocturnes* attracted all the attention of contemporaries and later scholars away from Anne's works. Did she judge her attempts to raise ceramic painting to the level of oil painting a failure? Was it for this reason that her inclusion in the Grosvenor Gallery was missed off from her artistic resume in *The Gentlewoman* article? It is possible she may have wanted to distance herself from the gallery entirely, especially after the departure and divorce of her friend Blanche Lindsay by the mid-1880s. Certainly the poor criticism of the Watercolour Room by Wilde and others cannot have helped. It is likely that she continued to attend exhibitions at the gallery, as she maintained a reader's card to the library there.

### 6.6.2 Howell and James

However, this would be by no means the last time Anne exhibited her artworks on a public stage. In the following year she exhibited again at the 1878 Paris *Exposition Universelle*, as part of the retailer Howell and James of Regent Street's stand.<sup>175</sup> Anderson asserted that this company were at the forefront of promoting painting on china as an acceptable craft from the professional and amateur

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<sup>175</sup> *Reports of the United States Commissioners to the Paris Universal Exposition, 1878*. Published Under Direction of the Secretary of State by Authority of Congress, Volume 1 p.147.

female artist.<sup>176</sup> C. Monkhouse in 1878 *The Academy and Literature* journal described the firm's venture as benefitting women artists the most.<sup>177</sup>

Their prolific annual exhibitions, which were dubbed the 'Royal Academy of China Painting', would have provided Anne's work a more accepting, less discriminating, and critical audience than the Grosvenor Gallery. Despite this, having her work exhibited as part of the large 1878 Paris Exhibition would have provided her work significant exposure. Previous to this, she may have sent a painting to the 1876 Centennial Exhibition held in Philadelphia, a venture which remains elusive.<sup>178</sup> The firm were a commercially successful retailer who supplied stores like Liberty & Co. It is within this context that the appearance of a top-tier aristocrat like Anne, comfortable exhibiting wares alongside professional women, seems unexpected. Howell and James's exhibitions were split into two categories, between 'Amateur' and 'Professional'. Anne's work appeared in the 'Amateur' category, alongside other titled women. In contrast, the professional class contained mostly unmarried women and a few male painters.

It seems that Anne's support was part of a growing trend for the company to attract aristocratic patronage. There are no fewer than nine royals in their 1879 exhibition catalogue (the first year where a catalogue survives).<sup>179</sup> By the company's 1881 exhibition of Tapestry Painting (explained later), their exhibition attracted over forty-eight aristocratic patrons, topped by Anne's philanthropic friend HRH Mary Adelaide, Duchess of Teck.<sup>180</sup>

The competitive element of Howell and James's venture was established with annual prizes for amateurs and professionals respectively, which received the approval of Royal and Noble patronage in the form of prizes. Indeed, Anne won at least two prizes presented by royal patrons. In the 1878 Paris exhibition, Anne won HRH The Crown Princess of Germany's [Victoria, Princess Royal] Gold Medal Prize for painting by a Lady Amateur, with her painted ceramic of her daughter Lady Eva

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<sup>176</sup> Op cit. Anderson 2013, p.123.

<sup>177</sup> C. Monkhouse, "Paintings on China", *The Academy*, (June 22 1878), p. 565. "The employment of women in this branch of art not only opens up to a number of them a pleasant and profitable career, but it is a benefit to the whole sex by revealing its capacity to produce original and beautiful work of a class which was formerly thought to be outside, not only their province, but their power."

<sup>178</sup> WCRO CR1886 630 Box Joseph Jopling, 8 Clareville Grove, South Kensington, to Lord Warwick dated 25 May 1877. "Lady Warwick's picture has at length arrived from Philadelphia, and is at Mrs Gillespie's in Jermyn Street". The letter also mentions that it will be inspected by Mr Trendell, secretary to the commissioners of the exhibition.

<sup>179</sup> *The fourth annual exhibition of paintings on china by lady amateurs and artists, Messrs Howell & James*, London 1879.

<sup>180</sup> *The third annual exhibition of tapestry paintings by lady amateurs and artists, on view at Messrs Howell & James*, London 1881.

Greville against a sky-blue background with apple blossom<sup>181</sup> (FIGURE 6.55). Her work received special mention, including from an anonymous writer in *The Academy and Literature* that “The drawing and colour are alike good, and the general effect delightful.”<sup>182</sup> The work was described as “excellent” in *The Magazine of Art* and given a large illustration.<sup>183</sup> The Royal Society of Artists magazine praised her technical skill yet complained “if the accessories had been more subdued the effect would have been greatly enhanced.”<sup>184</sup> It is surprising that it was so widely accepted, without question or apprehension, that a Countess was receiving a prize from someone of her own class.

Anne’s prizes may well have been a ploy to attract attention to the perceived success of the exhibitions. This suggests that Anne inhabited the territory of ‘Celebrity Amateur’, an aspirational figure which Anderson identified in her study. It is notable that the work of the ‘professionals’, in comparison to high-profile amateurs like Anne, were treated to some similar exposure in subsequent pages. Howell and James made a particular splash of Anne’s prize-winning work in their printed materials, featuring her work at the front of their booklets. Anne’s plate was illustrated in the opening pages of their 1879 exhibition catalogue along with an illustration of the medal she had won.<sup>185</sup> After all, Anne’s historic title must have seemed attractive and unusual.

Anne also took the opportunity to support amateur ceramic artists at these exhibitions as a patron and purchaser of works, alongside being an exhibitor. Her purchasing of a screen, made by a lady amateur, ornamented with “four tiles emblematic of the four seasons” destined for her historic home made it into printed reports of the exhibition.<sup>186</sup> The latest addition to the Warwick collection seems to have been sensational enough to have warranted a mention in printed material.

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<sup>181</sup> C. Monkhouse, “Paintings on China”, *The Academy*, (June 22 1878), p. 565; *Reports of the United States Commissioners to the Paris Universal Exposition*, 1878. Published Under Direction of the Secretary of State by Authority of Congress, Volume 1 p. 147.

<sup>182</sup> C. Monkhouse, “Paintings on China”, *The Academy*, June 22, 1878. p. 565; *The British Architect: A Journal of Architecture and the Accessory Arts*, Volume 10, p. 126. – Where her portrait received ‘Special Mention’.

<sup>183</sup> *The Magazine of Art*, 1, 1877, pp.176-77.

<sup>184</sup> *Artisan Reports on the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1878*, Royal Society of Arts. London 1879, p. 7.

<sup>185</sup> *The fourth annual exhibition of paintings on china by lady amateurs and artists, Messrs Howell & James*, London 1879, p. 2, 5.

<sup>186</sup> *Reports of the United States Commissioners to the Paris Universal Exposition*, 1878. Published Under Direction of the Secretary of State by Authority of Congress, Volume 1, p.147.

### 6.6.3 Painted Screens

By 1881 Anne began exhibiting and winning awards for her painted screens, described as ‘tapestry painting’, another decorative art form connected widely with both women decorative painters and the Aesthetic Movement. The technique of painting oils onto canvases that would instantly absorb the colour was made particularly famous by Lewis F. Day.<sup>187</sup> Whistler, most famously, had in 1872 painted a screen for his celebrated Peacock Room (now in the Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery, Glasgow), evidence that this particularly decorative artform had been taken on by some serious artists in this very era.<sup>188</sup> Once more exhibitors were split between ‘amateurs’ and ‘professionals’. The introductory note to the exhibition catalogues explained that painting on tapestry gave:

... scope to the highest artistic power... It is a revival of a forgotten Art practised during the XVth and XVIth centuries, and offers a wide field for the artistic employment of ladies in their own homes, being unattended by any drawback in the way of elaborate preparation, or disagreeable pigments.

Tapestry painting lends itself to nearly every description of decorative Art-work, including panels for walls, screens, doors, dados, friezes, cabinets, pianos etc...<sup>189</sup>

All these elements must have appealed to Anne. Firstly, the emphasis on the decorative nature of such work suitable for ‘the artistic employment of ladies’ would have placed it in the realms of acceptability for her sex. Secondly, the pseudo-ancient associations of the art form, being flaunted in this passage, would have placed it within an historic framework which may well have appealed to this artistic Countess holding an ancient title.

Compared with the ceramic exhibitions, even fewer titled women took part as exhibitors. In contrast to Anne’s significant title of ‘Countess of Warwick’, the winners of the other eight prizes were unmarried women, entitled ‘Miss’. Most of the participators of the 232 exhibits were by unmarried women. Anne was not the only titled lady who exhibited, but she was by far the most senior. Others

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<sup>187</sup> L. F. Day, *Tapestry Painting*, London 1880.

<sup>188</sup> R. Spencer, *The aesthetic movement theory and practice*, London 1972, pp. 75-77.

<sup>189</sup> *The exhibition of tapestry painting by lady amateurs and artists*, Howell and James, London 1881, p. i.

included Countess Laveaucoupet, Countess Varangville and Countess Dalmaine. Their histories have remained even more obscure than Anne's.

The Countess's aristocratic and artistic network continued to play an important part in her success. The 1881 exhibition attracted two of the most distinguished judges imaginable, in the form of Sir Coutts Lindsay and George Frederic Watts. It is surprising, but not inconceivable, that both of these titans of the Victorian art world would have engaged themselves with such an enterprise. The seriousness of the exhibition is also suggested by their appearance. Furthermore, the fact that two significant painters would be so publicly associated with this strand of the decorative arts is significant. Anne, as presented, was well known to Lindsay and Watts in both settings of aristocratic friend and patron. Although we have no evidence to suggest that she was involved with their appointment as judges, the coincidence is noteworthy.

Considering the above, it might be slightly suspicious that in the 1881 exhibition Anne had won 'The Princess Mary Prize' of an enamelled badge 'graciously presented by HRH The Princess Mary Adelaide, Duchess of Teck', the leading prize for amateurs.<sup>190</sup> This prize was given for her 'Tapestry fire-screen, with monogram and flowers', which an annotated copy of the exhibition catalogue described as 'Quiet and nice in colour, design fair, idea good'.<sup>191</sup> Surviving drawings in Anne's papers indicate how this might have looked, and are reminiscent of her monograms found in her new Library (See Chapter 3) (FIGURE 6.56).

One panel of painted silk, bearing Anne's monogram, survives at Warwick Castle (FIGURE 6.57). Painted onto yellowed silk are cuttings or roses and periwinkles arranged in a natural and asymmetrical composition. The delicacy of her work is praiseworthy. They are more naturalistic than other more typical stylised Aesthetic Movement renderings of flowers, as encountered in her library.

These 'tapestry paintings' related strongly to another interest of Anne - still lifes with flowers. Twelve sheets of watercolours survive showing Anne's interest in botanical still lifes (FIGURE 6.58, 6.59, 6.60, 6.61, 6.62, 6.63). Typically, still-life paintings were considered an entirely appropriate genre for

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<sup>190</sup> *The exhibition of tapestry painting by lady amateurs and artists*, Howell and James, London 1881, p.8.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.* No.115, p. 29. (Annotated copy held by the Victoria and Albert Museum Library).

women since the eighteenth century, beginning with the founding member of the Royal Academy, Mary Moser (1744-1819). Bermingham's work has shown in particular that flower painting did in fact legitimate women's artistic endeavours, allowing for a greater kind of cultural agency and authority.<sup>192</sup> Anne's surviving watercolours take less of the scientific botanical approach and are infused with touches of Aestheticism in the decorative settings and exaggerated colouring. This is most obviously the case in an unfinished watercolour of some pink flowers displayed in a blue vase in front of a Japanese fan. These details call to mind *Japonisme*. Others, however, reflect other trends of the Aesthetic Movement with artistically arranged coloured plants, dull green painted drapery as backdrops, and ornate plant pots and containers formed of brass and ceramic. Surviving designs for flowers in circular plates and squared plaques indicate that she was painting flowers onto ceramics also.

## 6.7 Royal Gifts

More importantly, and interesting for arguing for Anne's uniqueness, is that her painted screens supported her children's careers and friendships. Evidence shows she had gifted them to the Royal Family. Anne made three screens as gifts for Prince Leopold, Duke of Albany, in 1880, Princess Helena, Duchess of Albany, in 1882, and then to Princess Mary of Teck in 1890.<sup>193</sup> She also made a gift of a writing desk to Prince Albert Victor, Duke of Clarence, at an unknown date.<sup>194</sup> Coincidentally, she made gifts to other cultural figures she admired, including making a gift of a pencil case to the Viennese conductor Eduard Strauss (1835-1916) in 1895.<sup>195</sup> We can be sure that Anne had decorated these herself, rather than bought them. Prince Leopold wrote in thanks for receiving the screen explaining that "I have always been anxious to possess some work of yours", and that it was placed within his sitting room at Buckingham Palace.<sup>196</sup> These screens were intended to be

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<sup>192</sup> Op cit. Bermingham 2000, pp. 202-217.

<sup>193</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 468 (loose), Letter from Prince Leopold, to Lady Warwick. 30 December 1880; WCRO CR1886 Box 467 (loose), Letter from Prince Leopold, Claremont, to Lady Warwick. 31 October 1882; WCRO C1886 Box 467 (loose), Letter from Princess Mary, White Lodge, to Lady Warwick. 2 March 1890.

<sup>194</sup> WCRO CR1886, Box 468 (loose), Letter from Prince Albert Victor, Marlborough House, to Lady Warwick. nd. 'Friday'.

<sup>195</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 468 (loose). Draft letter, nd. "the Dowager Countess of Warwick presents her compliments to Herr Eduard Strauss & would be very pleased if he would kindly accept the little pencil case which accompanies this letter as a very small acknowledgement of the great pleasure which his Concerts have given her."

<sup>196</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 467 (loose), Letter from Prince Leopold, Claremont, to Lady Warwick. 31 October 1882.

symbolic gifts to curry favour for her three children who were serving as equerries and companions to the princes and princesses. All three Warwick children, and the three royals, nurtured an active interest in art and it is possible their mutual interests may have helped their friendships flourish. Leopold, whose equerry was Anne's eldest son and fellow Christchurch Oxford attendee Francis, Lord Brooke, has long been known for his artistic sensibilities. He maintained correspondence with Ruskin, met Gustave Doré at Windsor, and purchased works of art at the 1881 Grosvenor Gallery.<sup>197</sup> Princess Mary affectionately called Anne's daughter Lady Eva her 'Little Bird', as she had served as a chief lady-in-waiting and as a Lady of the Bedchamber after her marriage to Frank Dugdale in 1895.<sup>198</sup> Eva is recorded to have aided the 1910 refurbishment of the rooms at Buckingham Palace directed by Mary, now Queen Consort.<sup>199</sup>

Finally, but not least, Anne's second oldest son Alwyne Greville had acted as equerry to Prince Albert Victor, known affectionately as 'Prince Eddy'.<sup>200</sup> Unfortunately, the royal careers of her two sons ended with the premature death of both princes in 1884 and 1892 respectively. This must have been a blow to the position of the family within aristocratic society.

Victoria and Albert had encouraged the production of art amongst their children and in their family. It is likely that Anne knew this, and thus placed her family's creation of art in line with that of the princes and princesses. Anne's children received lessons in art and painting, and the subject of finding tutors appear in her correspondence with them.<sup>201</sup> Her second oldest son, Alwyne, received lessons in art from the notable local Warwickshire artist, Frederick Whitehead (1853-1938).<sup>202</sup> He was also an exhibiting sculptor, with a bust of his eldest brother the 5<sup>th</sup> Earl of Warwick surviving at Warwick Castle.<sup>203</sup> (FIGURE 6.64) For a while, Anne considered sending her daughter to the newly established Slade School of Art, which produced some of Britain's most important artists at the turn of the

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<sup>197</sup> C. Zeevat, *Queen Victoria's youngest son the untold story of Prince Leopold*, London 2013 (originally printed in 1998), pp.224-5.

<sup>198</sup> J. Pope-Hennessy, *Queen Mary*, London 1959, pp.292-294.

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid.* p.433-4.

<sup>200</sup> Several letters survive across Anne's boxes, including WCRO CR1886 Box 467, describing Alwyne Greville's trip to India with Prince Eddy in 1875-6.

<sup>201</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 468 (loose), Letter from Alwyne Greville, Denmark, to Lady Warwick, 23 Sept nd. – This letter details Alwyne's search for suitable art tutors.

<sup>202</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 469 (loose), Bill from Frederick Whitehead to Lady Warwick, 30 June 1886.

<sup>203</sup> Alwyne Greville is recorded to have exhibited a bust of 'Miss Bramall' at The Spring Exhibition of The International Society of Sculptors, Painters and Gravers (Twenty-fifth London Exhibition), 1919.

century.<sup>204</sup> Such serious forms of artistic education would have undoubtedly made art a key component of their lives. It is also surprising that Anne would have been so willing to gift artworks so connected with Aestheticism, a movement which may have been conceived as more contemporary with her children's generation than her own.

Surviving letters also show that Anne sought out the assistance of her maidservants in helping her create artworks. This included preparing screens for painting. Anne had been helped by a maid in preparing Leopold's screen, along with painting a fan for herself.<sup>205</sup> This relationship had shades of master and studio assistant in the workshop of a famous painter.

In contrast to her screens as exhibition prizewinning art works and royal gifts, were their inclusion and exhibition in vast quantities in her charitable bazaars at Warwick Castle. The appearance of her painting fire screens in the 1893 bazaar (Chapter 5) was ostensibly the last time her artworks were admired by the public.

## **6.8 Conclusion**

This chapter has shown how deeply embedded Anne's creation of art was in the wider Victorian art world. It is difficult to separate the two in any discussion of her work. I have shown that her efforts in the creation of art shows that she was not a mere dabbler or dilettante. In contrast, the eclecticism of her work and experimentation illustrates a profound and energetic engagement with the ideals of Aestheticism. Her surviving archival papers also make the case for her seriousness in approach. This was particularly felt in her contribution in the realms of ceramics and screens, which she exhibited in a serious manner in important London galleries whilst simultaneously bringing new ideas into the provinces at her bazaars. Although she often exhibited as an 'amateur', it seems that this classification did not frustrate her efforts to get involved within a wide variety of artistic forms and social spheres. Her connection and patronage of significant artists, through her title, allowed her to converse and

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<sup>204</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 468 (loose), Letter from Blanche Maynard to Lady Warwick, 24 April 1880.

<sup>205</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 467 (loose), Letter from Mrs Chester Master, They Abbey, Cirencester, to Lady Warwick. Nd. – The letter is regarding a Mr & Mrs TJ Wood who were unable to pay their bill.

work alongside them on an equal level. Her class provided her with innumerable benefits, the restraints of which do not seem to have shown any signs of bothering her. It is clear that for Anne, the creation of art was not linked towards freedom away from her class and family, but strengthened her position within her family and amongst her friends. Her distinctive persona as an artist and creative soul seems to have been respected amongst her peers. This was a persona which she had successfully fit around the existing beauty of her ancient home, a place and collection which greatly inspired her work as an artist.

### **Conclusion – VIX EA NOSTRA VOCO (We scarcely call these things our own)**

The ‘Stately Homes of England’ have had their selfish day. Nothing could be better than that they should make atonement, in emptiness and disrepair, in the hope that a nobler future awaits them.<sup>1</sup>

*Afterthoughts*, 1931.

Francis Evelyn Maynard Greville, 5<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick.

Over the past six chapters I have presented evidence to show that our profile of the female aesthete should be expanded beyond aspirational middle-class women and those targeted by new consumer society. The aristocratic female aesthete represents a different variant to the ones promoted in scholarship to date. Through my extensive archival work, I have demonstrated that our understanding of the broad appeal of Aestheticism amongst Victorian women should be deepened. Rather than being a movement that appealed exclusively to the aspirational middle and lower classes, for whom art represented possibilities in the realms of work, it also attracted serious artistic women from the aristocracy who did not necessarily share the exact same motivations as their more widely known counterparts.

Aristocratic women could present themselves as a different kind of aesthete. They did this in a wide variety of ways and in different places. Their efforts were not only restricted to the exhibition halls of London, but occurred inside their homes and within their friendship circles and family lives. I have shown that women such as Anne were not interested in using art to show their independence in societal and family life. In contrast, their art works, interest in interiors and aesthetic education enforced their conservative and traditional family values rather than subverted them. They negotiated a particularly unique reformist vision, which did not break with the ties of conservative institutions, places and figures.

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<sup>1</sup> Frances Evelyn, Countess of Warwick, *Afterthoughts*, London 1931, p. 246.

A study of Anne's archival material shows that top-tier aristocratic women with significant historic homes and titles were actively interested in the new opportunities that this broad movement presented for women. The freedoms the aristocracy provided allowed women to gain enormously from the eclecticism the movement promoted. This includes having the financial means to be involved in a diverse range of mediums, from ceramic painting to book binding, from photography to interior design. Experimentation seems to have resulted in some surprising creative interests not usually associated with high-ranking women. Aristocracy also provided opportunities for women such as Anne to converse with significant artists and to be taken seriously as artists themselves. This was particularly the case when artists visiting her ancient Castle afforded her the opportunities to interact with such figures on an almost equal stage. In contrast to these figures and individuals, their philanthropic work allowed aristocratic women to contribute towards the promotion of artistic education for women from less advantaged backgrounds. Through their charitable works, and providing a link between London and the provinces, aristocratic women could be remarkably efficient agents of Aestheticism.

Aristocratic connections placed women such as Anne within refined circles, with families like the Lindsays, Eastnors and Holfords. These friendships with highly cultivated and wealthy connoisseurs were advantageous, from affording access to the most innovative art exhibitions to the building of the most extravagant collections of Italian art and Neo-Renaissance interiors. The integrated nature of the Victorian art world helped Aestheticism spread upwards through the highest ranks of society, a feature I have argued throughout the thesis.

In contrast, I have argued that the more negative side effects of aristocracy, namely the inability to make a living from work as an artist, did not prove to be a particularly debilitating for Anne. Considering the various roles art played in her life, both socially and domestically, there is little to suggest that she was particularly discontent or frustrated. Neither did her efforts grate against her elevated status in society. She seemingly gladly exhibited in the 'Amateur' categories of exhibitions, and continued to submit artworks to such ventures into her 50s and 60s. Her more modest quieter revolution as a female aesthete was seemingly in keeping with her fellow aristocrats to never cause

any open scandal or contempt. On the contrary, it was art which provided the social currency for her children in attempting to gain friendships amongst the children and grandchildren of Queen Victoria. It seems that Anne's association with art amongst fellow aristocrats was admired, rather than frowned upon.

The overarching value of place is a significant element of my research. Anne was in effect ideally placed into a family and historic home where art was highly valued. Buildings and locations such as Warwick Castle with their historic collections are unlikely yet are also ideal locations for a complete immersion into beauty. Aestheticism, and the wider interest in the historicist aesthetic, was easily transferred into a building such as Warwick Castle. Furthermore, Anne personally used this setting to great effect. It would become her canvas for her interests in interior design. The unique event of the 1871 fire allowed her to explore her interests to the full, an unrivalled opportunity to make her mark on a significant building under the eyes of the nation and its aesthetic arbiters. This included the use of highly eclectic fashionable Japanese, Italian Renaissance, French Rococo styles, the aesthetic and details of which she had a great personal interest. Warwick was the stage for her philanthropic work, which promoted the values of the aesthetic movement into the provinces. This not only took place within the castle's walls, but outside them too. Public and often controversial support of local artistic institutions, which directly promoted a new generation of independent women artists, was possible for a Countess by the 1880s and 90s. Indeed, I have shown that Aestheticism could find a place of refuge and act as beacon in the English stately home, even one as ancient and significant as Warwick Castle. The eclecticism of ages represented in the castle and its collection directly aided Anne in this. Her interest in the diversity the Aesthetic Movement offered may not have been so readily received in a sober Palladian country house. This surprising location for the dissemination of Aestheticism encourages us to look further away from the fashionable enclaves of West London and into the provinces for the effect this movement had on architecture and interiors.

The primacy of the archive in helping form our understanding of the movements reach has also been a significant part of my argument. Documents in the Warwick Castle archive have not only added detail to a forgotten individual, but have presented a wider and relatively unexplored scope from which I

have drawn my conclusions. I have presented evidence which encourages us to rethink some of the previous assumptions of the movement. The rich collection of documentation begs other questions about what material has not survived in relation to the lives of other female aesthetes. Materials show that art was not just the dabbling of a dilettante, but was a serious occupation in which vast deals of time and energy were sunken into. Such evidence cannot be easily dismissed, as has often been the case with the efforts of other female artists from wealthy backgrounds. The examination of an enormously wide and at times eclectic variety of correspondence, bills, receipts, notebooks and sketchbooks has unveiled a new side of enquiry into our understanding of the movement. Although the archive forms itself around one person, it shows how many important connections existed within a wide network of fellow female enthusiasts from a variety of different backgrounds. Lesser-known aristocrats are highlighted, whose archives have not survived, as figures who would benefit from scholarly research. The importance of these networks in the Victorian art world proved vital for Anne's connections as an exhibitor, patron and collector. Equally, the archive explains the minute details that aristocratic women kept on both the larger questions of art in their homes, alongside the more widely known ephemeral trappings and accessories associated with the movement.

It is clear that Anne was not entirely unique. There were other more obscure aristocratic and titled women with whom she exhibited ceramics and screens. The profile and motivations submitted above provide opportunities to find other aristocratic women who led similar lives.

Although I have made a case for Anne's importance at Warwick in particular, why was she so quickly forgotten? I wish to dedicate some discussion as to what the short-lived legacy of Anne might add to our understanding. Was the fleeting memory of her down to internal or external conditions? What part did the downfall of the British aristocracy around the turn of the century have on the legacy of women like Anne? What role does the later twentieth century and current age to play in this? What role does that stately home archive have in preserving the legacy of the aristocratic female aesthete?

Anne's legacy as an artist did not survive much beyond her lifetime. Unlike many of her contemporaries, and even her close friend Blanche Lindsay, her artworks have not been put on display

in exhibitions or elsewhere. This, I argue, was almost certainly due to the unique nature of her art being so intrinsically linked to her stately home. There are two main factors that played a part. Firstly, that the next generation of Warwick Castle's owners were actively uninterested in the arts. This lack of interest was fatally combined with the second large factor of the enormous loss of wealth the aristocratic classes felt as a result of the First World War, and like many aristocratic families of the early twentieth century Anne's son and heir was faced with bankruptcy by 1918.<sup>2</sup> Anne and her husband were perhaps the last owners of Warwick Castle to bask in the glory of the Castle's collection from a position of strength and security.

The downfall of the Warwick Castle and the Greville family's position falls into a much larger historical context. According to David Cannadine, whose scholarly work on the fall of the British aristocracy is most pertinent here, the tipping point came in the 1880s with reforms passed by Liberal Governments that lessened the grip of the landed classes in England.<sup>3</sup> The Third Reform Act in 1884-5 ushered in an age of popular power, overturning the stronghold of patrician polity. This was further augmented by the impact of World War I, where the effect on the nobility was particularly felt. Cannadine placed the decline of the stately home, and its vast artistic contents, into his analysis of the great dispersal of territorial wealth.<sup>4</sup> Facing the growing costs of staff, and depreciation in land prices, aristocrats were looking increasingly to their walls for assets that tempt ready buyers at a high price. This disconnection of the importance of art within the stately home must have had an effect on the perceptions of remaining collections within such places. Cannadine was right to point out that the effect of disposal of patrician collections created the modern art market, where high prices gathered the most attention. The National Gallery, in the mid-1880s, acquired the most valuable Van Dyck and Raphael from the Duke of Marlborough's collection out of the twenty-five on offer.<sup>5</sup> It is therefore understandable in such a context that more family orientated artworks, of the previous generation like Anne's, were more easily neglected due to their perceived low worth. Although it has been more readily acknowledged that this loss of such art treasures from the country houses of England during

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<sup>2</sup> M. Blunden, *The Countess of Warwick; a Biography*, London 1967, p. 243.

<sup>3</sup> D. Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, New Haven 1990.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 112-125.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 113; Anne's son Francis, later 5th Earl of Warwick, commented in his memoir that the sale of pictures from Blenheim was 'unfortunate'. Francis Greville, Earl of Warwick, *Memories of sixty years*, London 1917, p. 20.

this period was lamentable, the overall impact this had on the other lesser valuable artworks is rarely ever brought into scholarly debate. I want to reassert this loss.

Evidence shows that the family's financial decline was beginning straight after the death of Anne's husband. The sale of many of her husband's Old Master paintings, drawings and enamels in 1896 must have come as a shock to Anne, especially as this news was kept from her as her letters show. In a letter from Francis, her son and heir written in 1894, he explained the sale to his questioning mother in both financial and lifestyle choice terms; "I admit that I am not an old man yet and why should I starve at Warwick with this burden [mortgage] round my neck...Perhaps you will say that I ought to keep [the collection] them for Guy [grandson], but under this new law he will have to pay 8 per cent on them..."<sup>6</sup> However, there was also an overtone that it wasn't just money matters to consider. To Francis, it was the pursuit of his father's generation in which art played a defining an aristocrat. In opposition, his letter suggests it was the chase of pleasure and society which interested him and Daisy. This was already the case in 1883, when Anne received news from her husband of the London gossip regarding the enormous sums of money being spent by the couple.<sup>7</sup> The majority of the 5<sup>th</sup> Earl of Warwick's 320-page memoir, published in 1917, gives more detail on his pursuits of hunting and fishing than anything cultural.<sup>8</sup> Compared with spending money on art works, it is clear this new age of frivolity produced little to show for it.

There is much evidence to show that Anne struggled in her final years to face the changing tides. Surviving letters show that she was dismayed at the thought of her son removing her from their London home in St James's Palace. Afterall, this was her city refuge in which she had dedicated decades to improving and filling with furniture and art. This fear prompted her to write a most desperate letter to Princess Mary Adelaide of Teck, asking for any assistance in decreasing the ground rent.<sup>9</sup> This, we might assume, must have been a humiliating experience.

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<sup>6</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 468 (loose), Letter from Francis, 5th Earl of Warwick, to the Dowager Countess of Warwick, 7 December 1894.

<sup>7</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 476 (loose), Letter from George Greville, 4th Earl of Warwick, Hamburg, to Lady Warwick, 11 Aug 1883.

<sup>8</sup> Francis Greville, Earl of Warwick, *Memories of sixty years*, London 1917.

<sup>9</sup> WCRO CR1886 Box 467 (loose), Draft letter from Anne Warwick to Princess Mary Adelaide of Teck, 14 Jan nd. [1895?]. 'I feel very desolate & as if all interests in life had broken off & could not be taken up again - & that the only comfort wd be to go away & rest for a time & think on the past. - but within the last fortnight I have had to go through the terribly wrench of leaving my dear Warwick House of forty years - & now on coming here find that this which I have known almost as long is slipping away from me also -....'

External financial pressures were not the only factor. The primacy of the Castle's position and collection was also attacked from within the family. The next Countess of Warwick was neither particularly interested in art or artistic matters. 'Daisy' Frances Evelyn Maynard (1861-1938), 5<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, made her mark in history for becoming the mistress of Edward Prince of Wales and later reinventing herself as a social activist during the early twentieth century. Only one out of her five children were believed to have been fathered by her husband.<sup>10</sup> She dedicated her life after 1900 to disadvantaged children and ambitious philanthropic pursuits.<sup>11</sup> In the post-welfare state Britain of the twenty first century, it is these themes that have arguably become the most celebrated in society and popular history.

In contrast to her growing activism, and as a figure of great contradiction, it is clear that the flamboyant society portrait still had appeal for Daisy. Great artists were sought for this. She was captured in a flattering and decadent full-length portrait by Carolus Duran in Paris c.1897 (FIGURE 7.1). Although her socialist views had matured by the opening years of the twentieth century, as she joined the newly formed Labour Party in the opening years of the decade, it was in this moment that she was captured by John Singer Sargent in 1905 (FIGURE 7.2). This painting, which must have been conceived as a worthy painting to be hung alongside the castle's Van Dycks, was sold less than ten years after it was painted.<sup>12</sup> The painting graced the State Apartments for much of this time (FIGURE 7.3). She was sculpted by Rodin, but his resulting bust was never paid for and thus remained unfinished (FIGURE 7.4). Although her actions speak of art as a tool of celebrity and self-promotion, her 1920s memoirs contained many anecdotes relating to the various artists she had known personally, including the aforementioned Sargent and Rodin. In contrast, Anne left no great society portrait hanging in the walls of her Castle. Indeed, there is no single portrait of her listed in any of her homes either in Warwick or London. In contrast to Daisy's extravagant full-length portraits, serving perhaps as the perfect model, Anne's own legacy might be compared for its extreme modesty. G F Watts's portrait of Anne's husband the Earl too strikes a particularly sombre mood compared with those of his decadent heirs. Although the Sargent portrait might be considered a very worthy work of art, its

<sup>10</sup> S. Anand, *Daisy, The Life and Loves of the Countess of Warwick*, London 2008, pp. 82-83.

<sup>11</sup> For the most recent biography of Daisy's life see *ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> The painting is now owned by the Worcester Art Museum in Massachusetts.

model sitter was hardly the worthy connoisseur. In Daisy's case, historicism was for powder balls, not for the construction of interiors and collections (FIGURE 7.5).

Specific to her husband's inherited historic collection, her memoirs also attacked the collecting habits that guided her mother and father-in-law's lives. She felt no shame in openly attacking the aesthetic of the castle's exteriors and its historic collection:

I could never understand why anybody should wish to live in Warwick Castle rather than in any other museum or picture-gallery. It bears a certain depressing likeness to another castle in Holloway. [Holloway Prison] ... I never heard the owners of Chatsworth, Mentmore, Trentham, or Belvoir speak of their great possession in terms of satisfaction.<sup>13</sup>

This distinctively negative view on the role the collection played in the beauty of the place is a strong example of the massive shift that had occurred in a few decades after Anne's death. The above quotation makes it clear that homes should perhaps be for utility and comfort above all else, rather than expressions of the owners' interests and aspirations. The burden too of these places on their owners, exemplified in the scholarship of Cannadine, is also present. If Warwick Castle's great fire would have happened in 1910, would it have been rebuilt with the dedication it was during the 1870s and 80s? It is unlikely that it would have been rebuilt at all. Although these questions may seem rather extreme, they are relevant in this discussion. Anne and her husband George seem to represent the last great custodians of their ancient home in a form their Georgian ancestors would have recognised. No significant or artistically important additions to Warwick Castle's structure or interiors with any lasting interest have been made after their ownership.

Anne's successor played a vocal part in calling for the dismantling of these historic buildings and institutions. She had been critical of the aristocracy for some time, even heralding the Russian Revolution in 1917 by claiming it to be "one of the great good that has come to the world so far from nearly three years of heart-breaking war..."<sup>14</sup> By the 1920s Daisy actively encouraged the downfall of stately homes, the homes in which ironically, she was brought up. Her 1931 autobiography made

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<sup>13</sup> Frances Evelyn, Countess of Warwick, *Afterthoughts*, London 1931, p. 241.

<sup>14</sup> Quoted in op. cit. Anand, p. 230.

specific reference to it (as quoted at the beginning of the conclusion).<sup>15</sup> Such views clearly fall into Peter Mandler's identification with this period as an age where the stately home was increasingly viewed as a 'White Elephant', devoid of any true purpose in an ever-changing world where technology, science and industry would prove the dominant forces.<sup>16</sup> Some scholars had even placed this financial downfall for the aristocracy beginning as early as the 1870s and 80s.<sup>17</sup> But Daisy's deeply political views also resulted in some particularly unique proposals for the future of Warwick Castle and Easton Lodge. Attempts were even made to hand over the castle and her Essex home to the Labour Party and TUC, to serve as what was then termed as 'Labour's Chequers', as part of her commitment to socialism in the 1920s.<sup>18</sup>

Daisy would also later criticise the guiding principles of her mother-in-law's collecting habits, and the Aesthetic Movement as a whole, writing "I think I must have been born without any sense of possession. I constantly come across people who make a fetish of something – furniture, pictures, china...I never want to hoard anything."<sup>19</sup> By the 1920s, and due to her politics, Daisy viewed the worship of art and beauty as a quasi-immoral act linked perhaps to the 'selfish' nature of their inhabitants.

The next Countess of Warwick's philanthropic pursuits show a sharp divide with those promoted by Anne. Although Anne dedicated herself to artistic and aesthetic projects in the realms of local philanthropy in Warwickshire, the next Countess had her sights set on wider social projects. In Warwick she opened a Cripples' Home, alongside which she was proudly photographed<sup>20</sup> (FIGURE 7.6). A school for the poor agricultural neighbourhoods of Dunmow in Essex was also opened in 1897. In neighbouring Studley, Warwickshire, she established an Agricultural College for Girls in 1903. On its opening she was quoted as saying "I am now in a position to prove, that, with sufficient training, a woman can make as good a competence on the land as in the crowded city, with the inestimable advantage of living in fresh air and enjoying the simple pleasures and pursuits of the

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<sup>15</sup> Frances Evelyn, Countess of Warwick, *Afterthoughts*, London 1931, p. 246.

<sup>16</sup> See P. Mandler, *The fall and rise of stately homes*, New Haven 1997, pp. 225-253.

<sup>17</sup> D. Cannadine, *Aspects of aristocracy: grandeur and decline in modern Britain*, New Haven 1994, pp.52-53.

<sup>18</sup> Frances Evelyn, Countess of Warwick, *Life's ebb and flow*, London 1929, p. 196.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* 1929, p. 196.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.* 1929, pp. 212-213 (Printed Image).

country that make for health and happiness.”<sup>21</sup> The simple fallback to nature worship, in the tradition of Rousseau inspired socialist utopianism, seemingly had little or no place for the creation of art. The contrast to Anne’s own version of missionary Aestheticism, which encouraged women to pursue careers in art and for their families’ homes, is rather clear. In this light, the interpretation of Anne and George’s lifetime’s worth of collection as ‘hoarding’ and a ‘fetish’ may well have set to the tone for the disregard of the Warwick collection for decades after. To this Countess it seems that manmade beauty had little part to play in improving peoples’ lives.

The financial decline of the family in the opening decades of the twentieth century was significant. This was exacerbated by several poor investments in a fledgling socialist newspaper (which failed) and other philanthropic enterprises which collapsed.<sup>22</sup> The Castle’s symbolic significance to the family itself was placed into doubt just ten years after Anne’s death. By 1914 the entire building and residual collection was loaned by the Earl to the American Marsh family to regain some rental income.<sup>23</sup> Daisy’s debts and apparent disinterest for the arts may have also affected her direct heirs. Her heir Guy Leopold Greville (1882-1928), 6<sup>th</sup> Earl of Warwick died prematurely after a particularly harrowing experience during the First World War. His own son and heir, Charles Fulke Greville (1911-1986), later 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Warwick, eventually left Warwick to seek a career in Hollywood during the 1930s to improve his finances. This failed effort led to further problems within the family, culminating in the estrangement from his son David Robin Greville (1934-1996), Lord Brooke and later 8<sup>th</sup> Earl of Warwick. It was Brooke who eventually sold the castle and its remaining collection in 1978 after years of financial struggles, pressures of taxation and threats of an incoming Labour Government.

The first major sales of the Warwick Castle collection began in 1896, and continued in 1936, speeding up c.1968 and 1978 just before the sale at the Castle itself in that year by David Lord Brooke.<sup>24</sup> The major works lost from the Castle’s collection were all arguably those which were their dearest. The views of Warwick Castle by Canaletto were sold in the late 1970s, with two acquired by the

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid. p.249.

<sup>22</sup> Op cit. Anand, pp. 176-178.

<sup>23</sup> *The Universal Leader*, vol. 28, New York 1925, p.15.

<sup>24</sup> Apart from the 1936 Sotheby’s sale, most of the sales were conducted by the auction house Christie’s.

Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery. The eventual loss of the Warwick Vase, whose export to the US was barred with the object eventually joining the Burrell Collection, may be considered symbolic of the lowest point in the Castle's history (FIGURE 7.7). The lofty notions of the Greville family motto VIX EA NOSTRA VOCO (We scarcely call these things our own) were finally realised.

The effect this had on family-made art too has never been acknowledged. In the 1936 Sotheby's sale of eight parcels of uncatalogued drawings, watercolours and other artworks, many of them made by the Grevilles, were sold.<sup>25</sup> This dramatic reversal in fortunes of the Castle's collection meant it was no longer the safe haven it had once been for Anne's works of art. Unlike the canvases of many of her female contemporaries like Jopling, De Morgan and others, Anne's works of art were not widely distributed in private collections external to the castle. Furniture such as painted screens and fragile ceramics would have been particularly vulnerable to damage and changing fashions and could have been easily discarded. The disposable nature of furniture such as screens too may have contributed to this loss. In 1907 Anne's works of art were so disregarded by the family that they appeared in the auction of the effects of the family's London home, Warwick House, without reserve.<sup>26</sup> This must have contributed to the lack of surviving artworks into the present day. This tragic set of circumstances undoubtedly relegated the importance of Anne's artworks, many of which may have been seen as relatively worthless and consigned to storage where neglect and damage would presumably warrant their disposal.

It would be wrong to suggest that the downfall of Warwick Castle was unique in this regard. The large loss of stately homes to dereliction and the wrecking ball during the pre- and post-war periods was a catastrophic loss to the architectural stock of Britain.<sup>27</sup> In this context, we might consider how the legacy of other aristocratic women might too have been lost in the same way. Depending on the survival of interiors, artworks and archival information, there may be others too to be found and placed within a similar profile of female aesthete as described above.

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<sup>25</sup> Sotheby's, London, 17th June 1936, lots 157-164.

<sup>26</sup> Sold, London, Cadogan Rooms Knightsbridge, 10-12 December 1907. – Several artworks of Anne's, monogrammed AW, were sold in this sale of the contents of Anne's former home Warwick House.

<sup>27</sup> See J. M. Robinson, *Felling the ancient oaks; how Britain lost its Great Country Estates*, Aurum Press 2012.

The history of the later twentieth century has also added to the whitewashing of Anne's contributions to Warwick Castle's aesthetic. Most of these developments were initiated by the new theme park owners of the castle, whose greater emphasis on the entertainment value of the building had sometimes been placed at odds with the legacy of its former owners. During the 1980s, the ownership of the castle under the Tussauds Group saw the redevelopment of the site. Since their acquisition of the building in 1978, the domestic apartments of the castle, now without a family to live in them, were ripe for redevelopment. Anne's schemes post-fire, including the magnificent library, boudoir, reception rooms and bedrooms are remarkably preserved. Management described the rooms as "beautifully refurbished after a tragic fire in 1871..." but simultaneously decided that "the solid Victorian feel of the rooms limited the choices" with regards to what exactly to do with them.<sup>28</sup> Although these rooms remained largely as Anne had left them after the 1880s, it was decided that the space should be dedicated to a waxwork exhibition showing the generation after her restoration. An Edwardian weekend party based in the year 1898 was picked as the focus of the scheme, capturing the social life of Daisy, 5<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick and Anne's successor. (FIGURE 7.8, 7.9, 7.10, 7.11, 7.12) It was opened to the public in April 1982. Her scandalous relationship with the Prince of Wales, and their many high-society friends including the Devonshires, Marlboroughs and Churchills in wax form would become the focus of the scheme because "many of the guests would be known to the visiting public."<sup>29</sup> Twenty-nine waxworks of attendees were made, including one of Anne as Dowager Countess of Warwick appearing as a quiet elderly figure wearing a solemn black dress (FIGURE 7.13). With Anne's rooms creating the backdrop for these scenes, the contrast between Anne's passionate dedication to the arts and family life with her daughter-in-law's hedonistic decadence during the 1890s is ironic.

The newly displayed rooms became extremely popular, much to the delight of its new owners:

[It, the new attraction] was an instant success because it literally doubled the 'entertainment value' of a visit at one stroke. Subsequently several national awards were received and a referral from enthusiastic patrons and an extensive advertising campaign on television and in

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<sup>28</sup> M. Westwood, "Warwick Castle, preparing for the future by building on the past" in *Tourism Management*, (September 1989), p.236.

<sup>29</sup> M. Westwood, "Warwick Castle, preparing for the future by building on the past" in *Tourism Management*, (September 1989), p.236.

other media resulted in a dramatic upsurge in visitorship over the next three years with the results that in 1984 Warwick Castle became the most visited stately home in the country...<sup>30</sup>

The novel value of placing renowned Tussauds waxworks in a stately home was unique to Warwick during this period. Its popularity and success is commendable. The draw of a scandalous story in history remains the subject of many historical dramas in popular television.

However, this would come at some cost. The exhibition, which survives to this day, had in all intents and purposes almost completely distracted attentions from the history of the rooms themselves.

Instead of placing focus on the interiors, scandalous narratives and decadent lifestyles pervades. As a substitute for focusing on ornate details found in the new Italian Renaissance Library, and the Seven Sages of Greece frieze which decorates it, visitors are encouraged to draw their attention to lifelike waxworks of Winston Churchill in conversation with Lord George Curzon, then Viceroy of India. An explanation of the decoration of these rooms remains missing from any official guide produced in the last fifteen years. In regards to the listed status of these rooms, they largely remain designated as Grade II status, compared with the Scheduled Ancient Monument Status of the Towers and Walls, and the Grade I listing of the exteriors and historic portions of the State Apartments.<sup>31</sup> Their details are not recorded in the official listing of the building.<sup>32</sup> Ancient medieval structures, quite understandably, take greater precedence in listed building designations and planning law often leaving nineteenth-century work vulnerable. Returning to the internal features, the various watercolours of Anne's that remained framed in these rooms, behind ropes, do not feature in any interpretation or published descriptions<sup>33</sup> (FIGURE 7.14).

Recent interventions in the past ten years made by the Merlin Entertainments Group have also diluted Anne's aesthetic achievements (FIGURE 7.15). This is despite, we might suggest, the increasing interest in the work of women artists during the past two decades of scholarship. The continued fervour for 'entertainment value' has seemingly only increased with time. More recently, the castle

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid. p.237.

<sup>31</sup> This information is contained within a private architectural report conducted by architects Rodney Melville for Merlin Entertainments in 2012.

<sup>32</sup> <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1364805> [Accessed Autumn 2020].

<sup>33</sup> Warwick Castle have in Summer 2021 redisplayed a selection of watercolours that were recently 'rediscovered' in storage. The timing of their rediscovery has not allowed for them to be included within this thesis, however, they will be the subject of a future article on the Countess's artworks.

has managed to increase visitor capacity to around 800,000 a year. In 2015, a high-quality recreation of Anne's Rose Garden, designed to her specifications by gardener Robert Marnock between 1868-9, was torn out in favour of a modern themed maze (FIGURE 7.16). This recreation of 1986, designed under the auspices of gardener Paul Edwards, had been incredibly faithful to the surviving plans rediscovered in the castle's archives, albeit without further researching the context of Anne's patronage (FIGURE 7.17, 7.18). This work may be hailed as one of the greatest achievements of the Tussauds ownership. The garden's restoration was so well-regarded that its description was included in the Grade I listing of Grounds and Parkland of the Castle.<sup>34</sup> Since the acquisition of Tussauds by the Merlin Entertainments Group in May 2007 further emphasis has been placed on modern interventions in favour of family attractions. It was subsequently discovered in 2018 that planning permission was not sought for the installation of a 'Viking Longboat' in the Rose Garden by the new owners (FIGURE 7.19). Retrospective planning permission was eventually disapproved by the Warwick District Council Planning Committee. As planting is not protected by planning law, the authorities could not direct the current owners to reinstate the designs. In defending their ripping out of the garden, the regional director reasserted their interests in creating a "successful additional attraction for many castle visitors, especially children".<sup>35</sup> Beautiful Victorian rose gardens, it seems, fall outside of this scope.

This more direct disregard for Victorian schemes has been coupled by more recent sales from the castle's historic collection. In 2015, Merlin disposed of portraits by Van Dyck and Holbein's workshop at Sotheby's, works which had been in the castle's collection for two hundred years.<sup>36</sup> Two *pietra dura* tables, purchased in Venice during the 1820s, were also sold and went on to make record prices.<sup>37</sup> Suites of French nineteenth-century furniture, purchased by Anne in Paris and described in Chapter 2, were also disposed at auction as recently as 2018. These examples are highlighted to suggest that the sad history of the twentieth-century disposals by the Greville family is still being

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<sup>34</sup> <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1000386> [Accessed Autumn 2020].

<sup>35</sup> <https://www.warwickcourier.co.uk/news/warwick-castle-team-have-their-say-rejected-maze-plans-829222> [Accessed Autumn 2020].

<sup>36</sup> Portraits of Henry VIII (Workshop of Hans Holbein) and Queen Henrietta Maria (Van Dyck), both purchased by George Greville, 2nd Earl of Warwick, were sold by the present owners of Warwick Castle, Merlin Entertainments, (anonymously), Sotheby's, December 9 2015, lots 8, 28.

<sup>37</sup> The Grimani Tables, Sold (anonymously), Sotheby's, London, 10 December 2015, lots 201 & 202. Both tables, originally made for the Grimani Palace, Venice, realised a total of £5,134,000 (inc. fees).

continued into the present day representing the steady disintegration of one of the greatest collections in an English stately home. Furthermore, the Castle's lack of a formal relationship with the archive in recent decades also contributes to a disconnection between place and source material. Warwick Castle is not alone in this regard. The National Trust proposals in 2020 to strike off its specialist curatorial departments may be seen as a corresponding phenomenon in the wider heritage sector.<sup>38</sup> In the face of popular tourism, promoting fun family days out and the economic benefits of this, art and culture are quickly overlooked, or even threatened, their value perhaps less obvious.

Anne's legacy is fragile. So much of her artwork has been dispersed, lost, forgotten, and what remains is still threatened by a lack of understanding, appreciation, and attribution. Perhaps her most substantial legacy is to interiors of the Castle, the decoration and details into which she poured herself. Before now, this work had not been placed in context of the long history of Warwick Castle and the Countess's distinctive role in their creation was unknown. But these, seemingly more robust survivals, are also at risk from development of the interior by the current owners.

Alongside the scholarly aspects of this thesis, and the conclusions we can draw regarding the nature of the Aesthetic Movement, I hope that its influence might be felt in Warwick itself. That it might serve as a record for posterity. That it might lead to recognition of Anne's long, personal commitment to this place, and her duty as its steward. Perhaps, it may even inspire a change of direction in the historic interpretation at the Castle before it is too late.

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<sup>38</sup> <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/national-trust-to-scrap-its-experts-hdmzlbhd> [Accessed Autumn 2020].

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**The Countess's Palette**  
**Anne Countess of Warwick**  
**(1829-1903)**

Two Volumes: Volume 2

Illustrations

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A thesis submitted in part fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

University of Warwick, Department of Art History

June 2021

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**Figure 7.9:** Waxworks of the Duchess of Sutherland and companion in Anne's French Boudoir of the Domestic Apartments.

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90 Warwick Castle—The Kenilworth Buffet

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**Figure 1.5:** Detail of *The Rous Roll*, illustrating Anne Neville and King Richard III. Manuscript, c.1480. British Museum, London.

When Sir John the second day came into the feld he was to fly the warre  
 after the way day he was close a shaples on his breast and a cuppe of spere  
 fathers alight he was trapped w<sup>th</sup> his armour of haustage full of barres of yron  
 and then met w<sup>th</sup> him the black knyght and they had to fyght and the  
 Sir John fust w<sup>th</sup> his wyf thence a while he bestowed and other knyghts all  
 his apparell fild and so w<sup>th</sup> the victory and began still to be dremed / and to his  
 godhead praye and sent to the black knyght p<sup>r</sup> long taryng a good  
 counseil.



**Figure 1.6:** Detail of *The Beauchamp Pageant*, c.1480. The British Library, London.



**Figure 1.7:** The Tombs of Robert and Ambrose Dudley, dating to the late sixteenth century, in the Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick.

At the Lady Katherine Crooke Dowager Guardian to my son  
Francis Sir Brooke having examined the Receipts payements  
and charges of the Count of Chynges Dos allors and appoynts  
of the same In witness whereof I have hereunto sett my  
hand.

Wm: Brooke

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**Figure 1.12:** Giovanni Antonio Canaletto, *The South Front of Warwick Castle*, 1748-9, oil on canvas, 72 x 119cm. Yale Center for British Art.



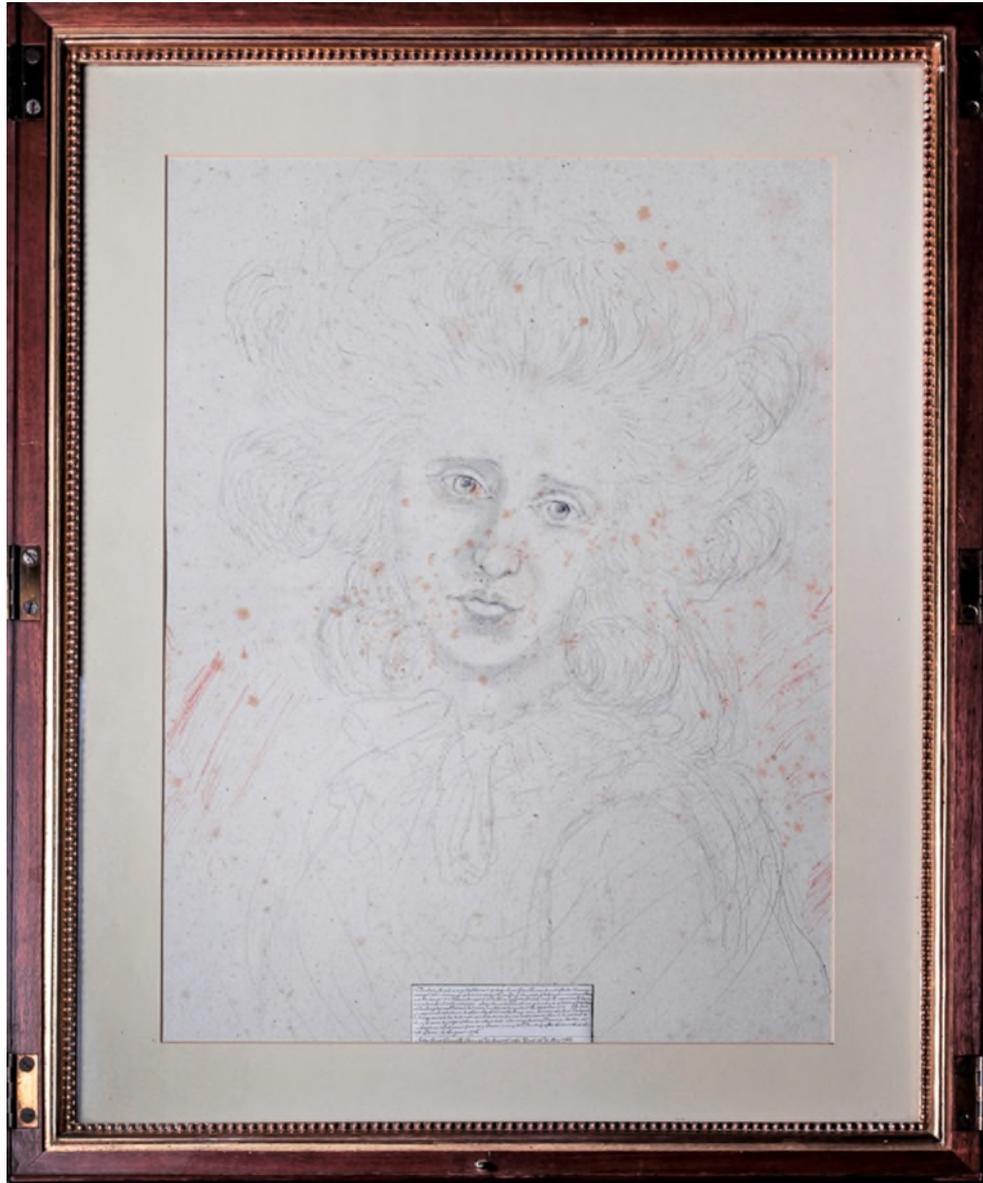
**Figure 1.13:** Lady Augusta Greville, *View of Warwick Castle from the Priory Park in 1757*, etching. British Museum, London.



**Figure 1.14:** Angelica Kaufmann, *Portrait of Louisa Augusta Greville as Hebe*, date and size unknown. Whereabouts currently unknown.



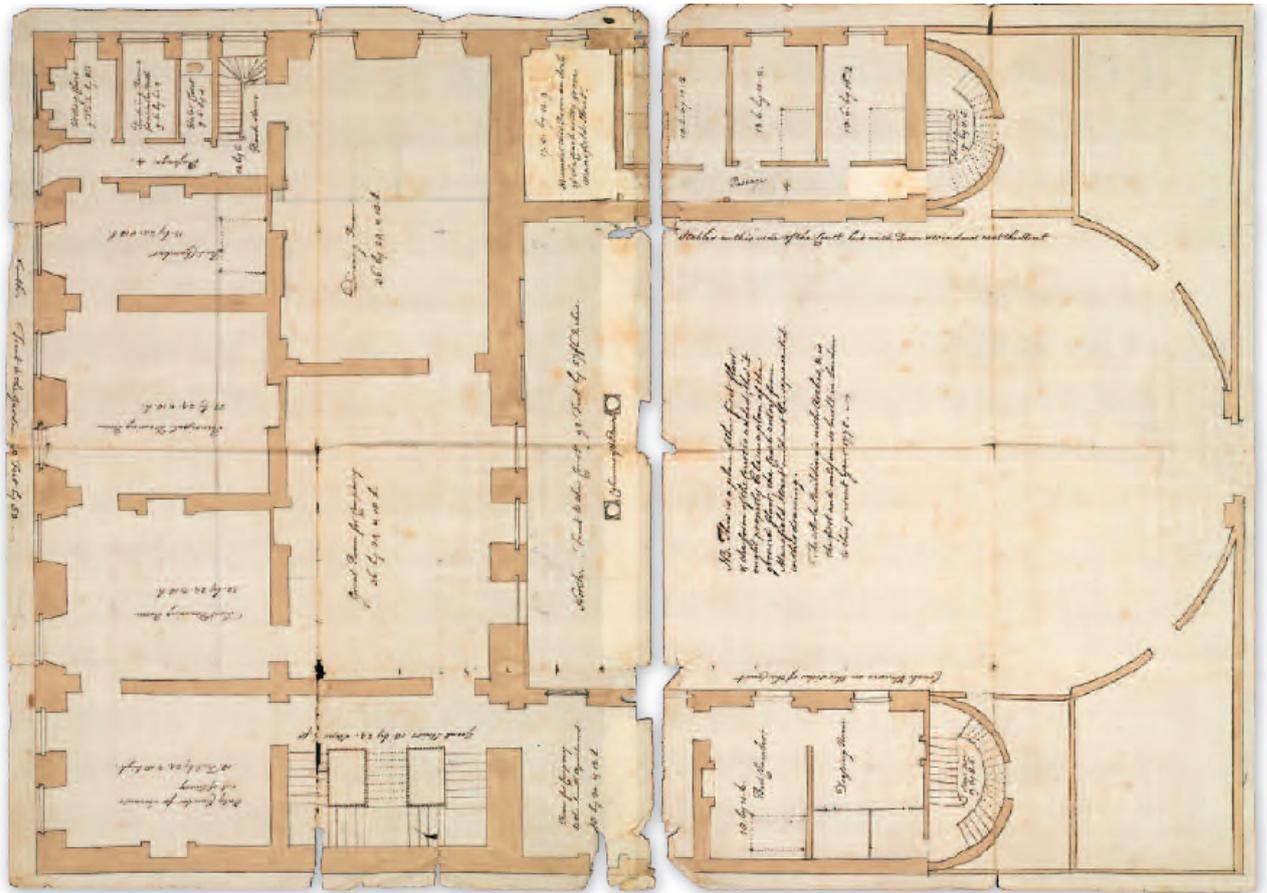
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**Figure 1.17:** Jean-Marc Nattier, *Elizabeth Hamilton, 1<sup>st</sup> Countess of Warwick*, 1754, oil on canvas 81 x 65cm. The Frick Collection, New York.



**Figure 1.18:** *Floor plan of Clerk House*, apparently drawn in the hand of Elizabeth Greville, 1<sup>st</sup> Countess of Warwick. University of Manchester, Hamilton Papers, GB133 HAM/1/5/4/1.



**Figure 1.19:** *The Red Drawing Room of Warwick Castle.* Photograph, late nineteenth century. Warwick Castle Collection.



**Figure 1.20:** *The Green Drawing Room of Warwick Castle.* Photograph, late nineteenth century. Warwick Castle Collection.



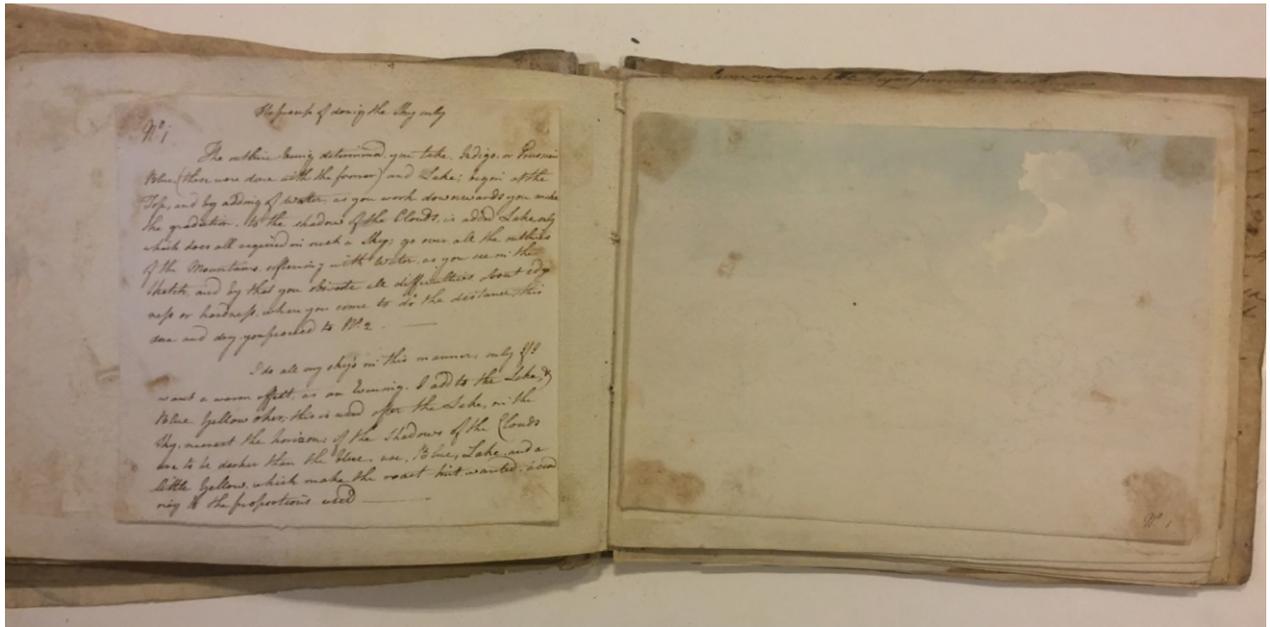
**Figure 1.21:** *The Cedar Drawing Room of Warwick Castle. Engraving, c.1840.*



**Figure 1.22:** *The Warwick Vase*, located within the Conservatory of Warwick Castle. Photograph, late nineteenth century. Private Collection.



**Figure 1.23:** George Romney, *Lady Warwick with her Children*, c.1787, oil on canvas. Frick Collection, New York.



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**Figure 1.26:** *Photograph Postcard of Frescoes at Gatton Park by Joseph Severn. Private Collection.*

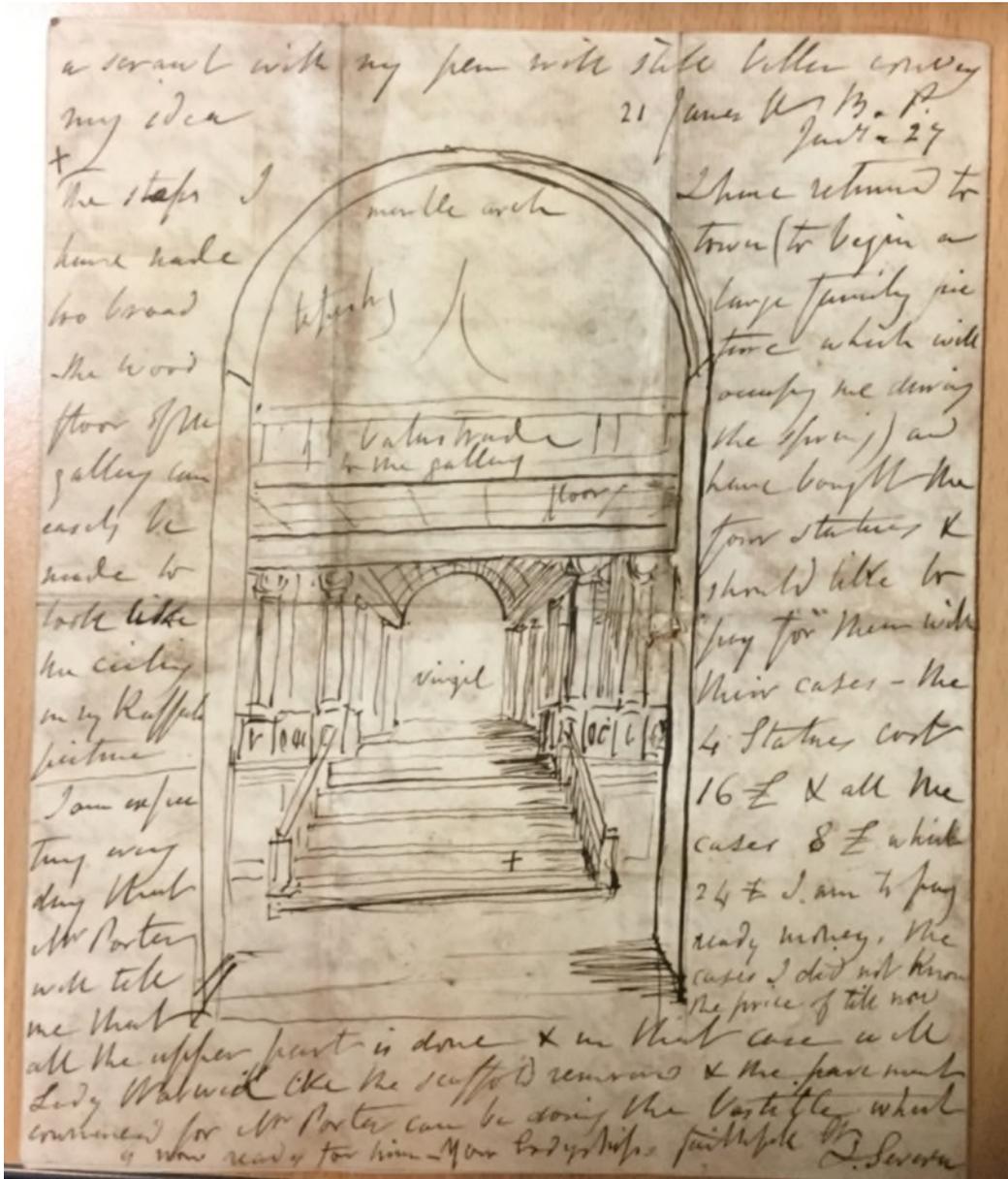


Figure 1.27: Details from a letter from Joseph Severn to Sarah Greville, 3<sup>rd</sup> Countess of Warwick. WCRO CR1886 Box 620 (loose).

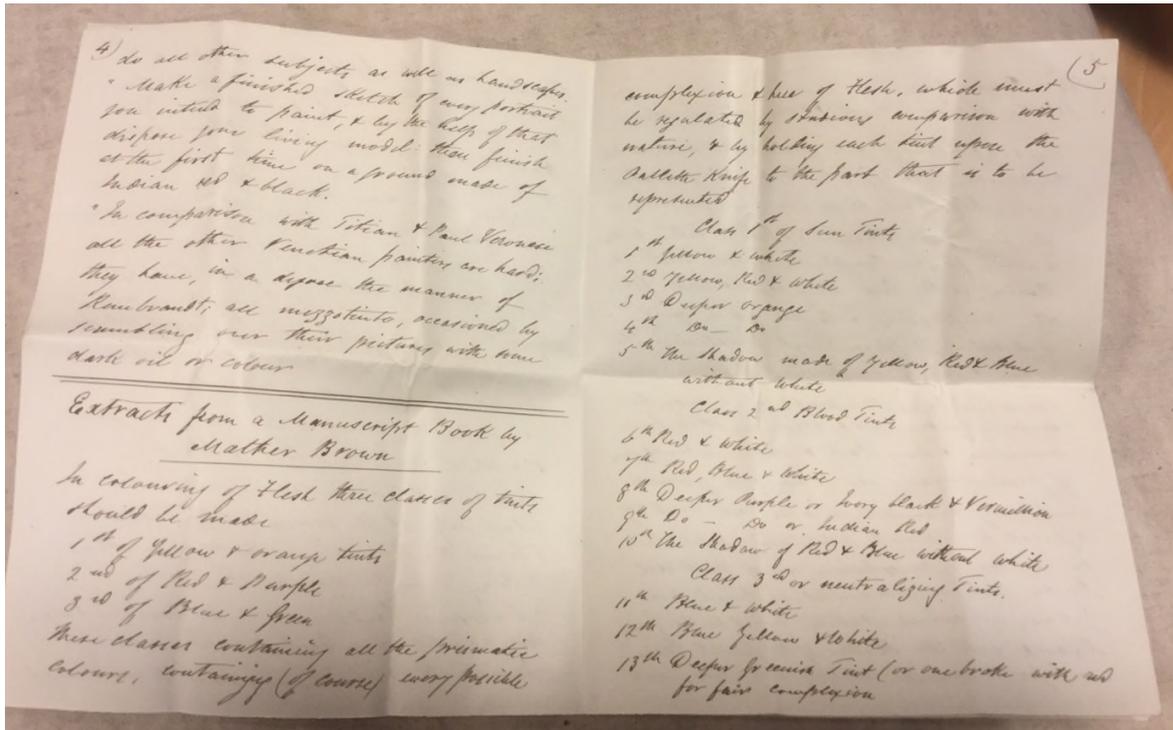


Figure 1.28: Detail of *Extracts from a Manuscript Book* by Mather Brown written by William Egley to Anne Greville, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick. Warwickshire County Record Office, CR1886 Box 468.



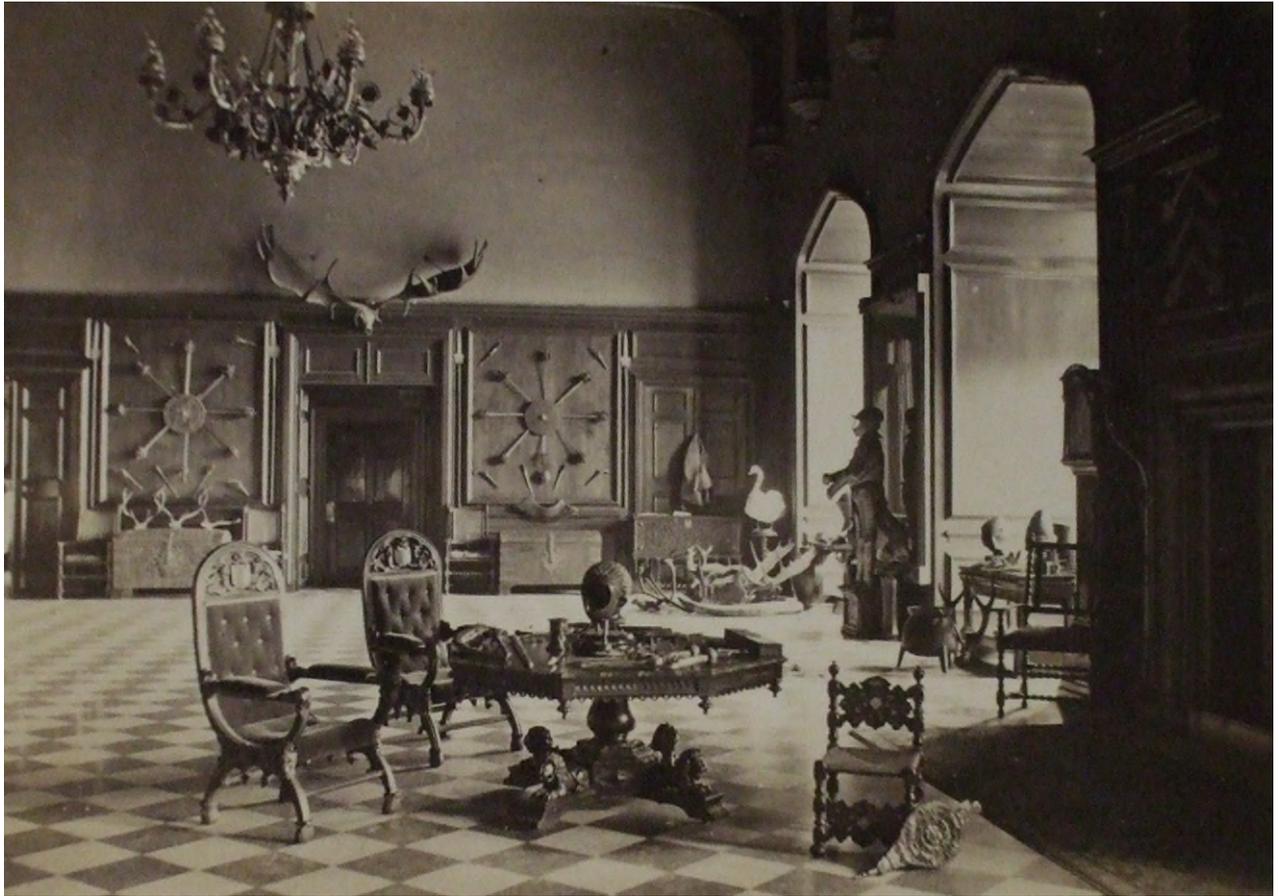
**Figure 1.29:** Sir Joshua Reynolds, *A boy holding a portfolio*, oil on canvas. Sold Sotheby's, London, June 2014.



**Figure 1.30:** Anne Greville, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Portrait of Sidney Greville*, oil on canvas, c.60 x 50cm. Warwick Castle Collection.



**Figure 1.31:** George Romney, *Portrait of Edward Wortley Montague*, 1775, oil on canvas. Formerly in Warwick Castle, sold by Lord Warwick, Sotheby's, London, 2014.



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**Figure 1.33:** *Photograph of an armoured horse in Warwick Castle's Great Hall, c.1890. Warwick Castle Collection.*



**Figure 1.34:** Marcus Stone, *Edward II and his favourite Piers Gaveston*, 1872, oil on canvas, size unknown. Sold Sotheby's 1998.



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**Figure 2.1:** Illustration from *The Sketch*, December 1871.

Supplement to THE BOOKMAN,  
October, 1908.



J Ruskin

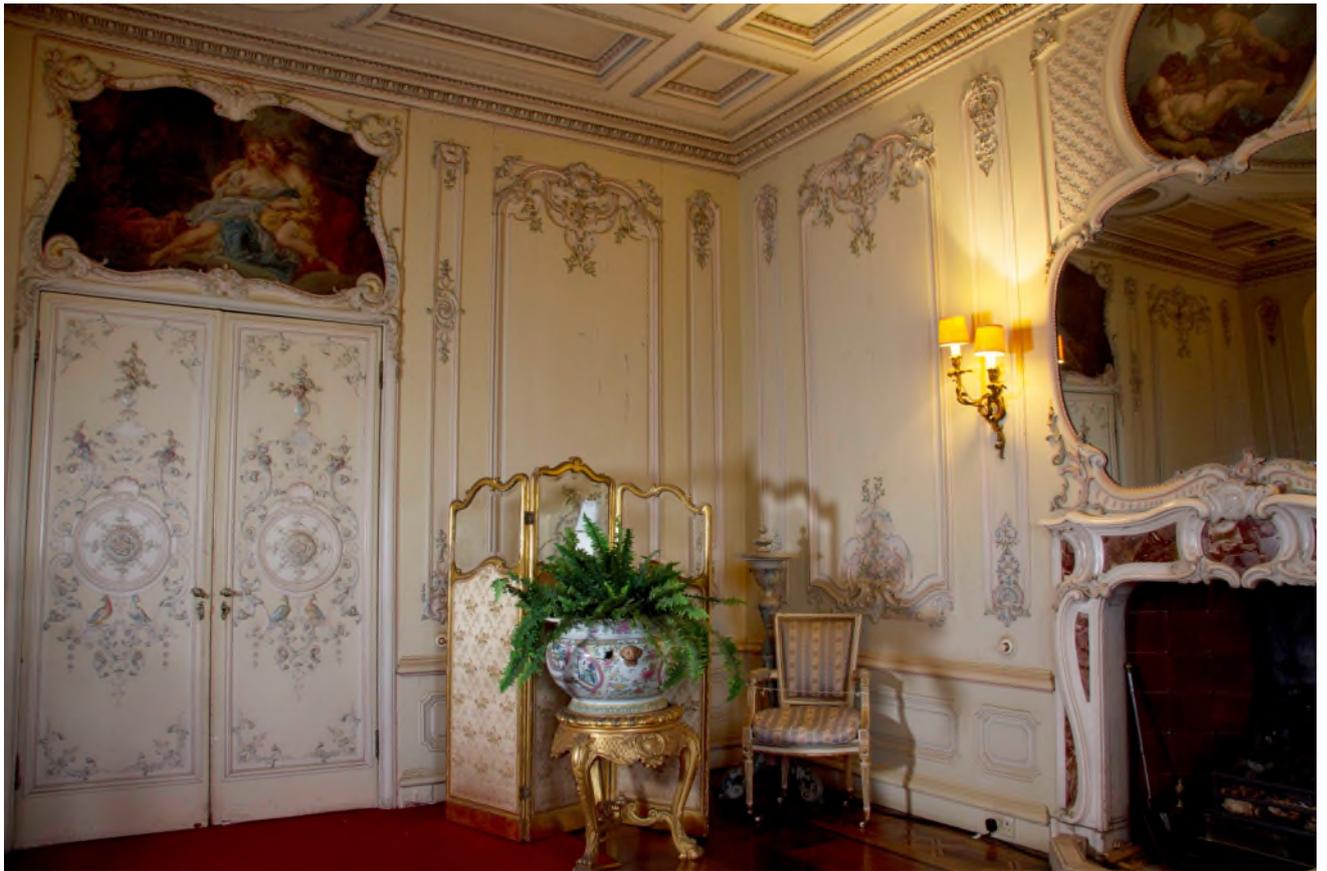
### Warwick Castle (1847)

From the drawing in the collection of B. B. Macgeorge, Esq.

**Figure 2.2:** John Ruskin, *Warwick Castle*, 1847, watercolour. Published in *The Bookman* 1908. Current whereabouts unknown.



**Figure 2.3:** J.M.W. Turner, *Warwick Castle*, 1830-1. Watercolour on paper. Whitworth Gallery, Manchester.



**Figure 2.4:** Anne, Countess of Warwick's Boudoir, Warwick Castle, dated to c.1858, with later adaptations post 1871.



**Figure 2.5:** Anne, Countess of Warwick's Boudoir, Warwick Castle, dated to c.1858, with later adaptations post 1871.



**Figure 2.6:** Photograph of details of the two overmantles containing paintings after Francois Boucher.



**Figure 2.7:** Photograph of details of the two overmantles containing paintings after Francois Boucher.



**Figure 2.8:** Anthony Salvin (?), *Drawing of panels used for Anne's Boudoir*. WCRO CR1886.

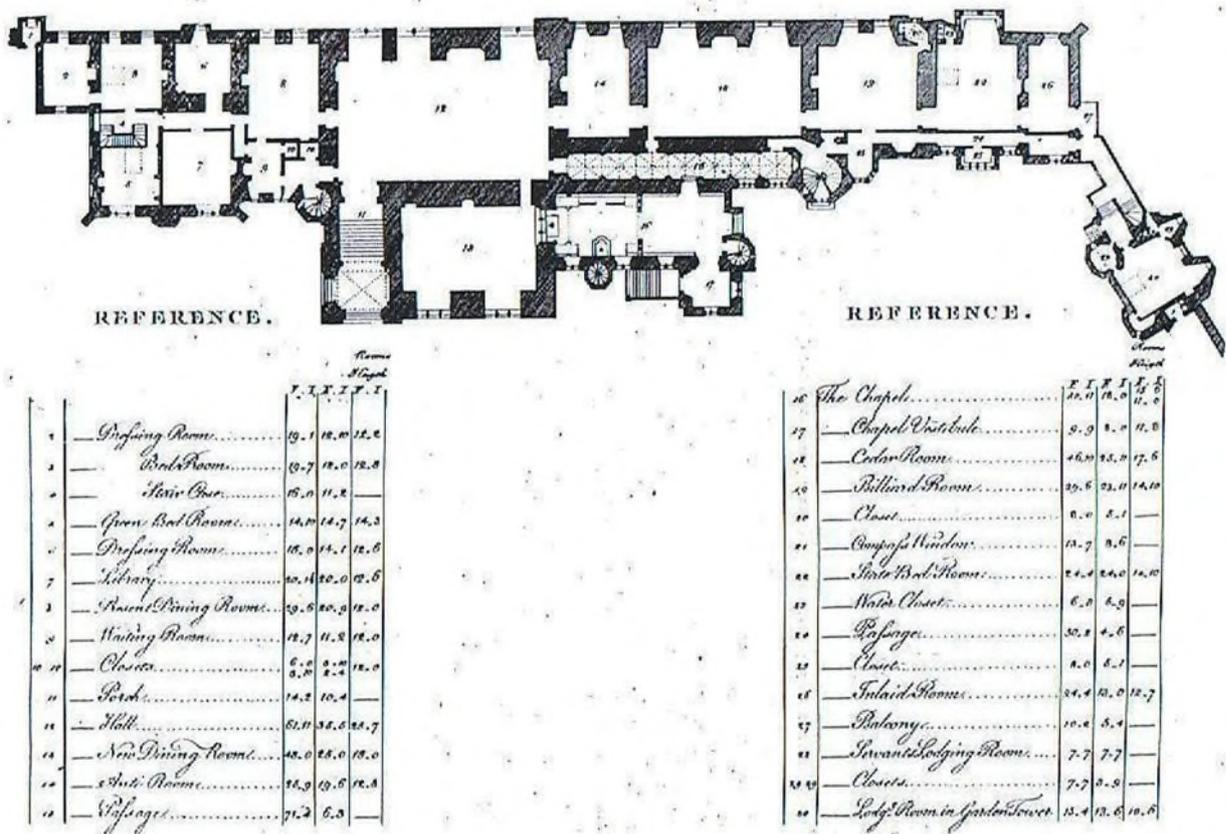
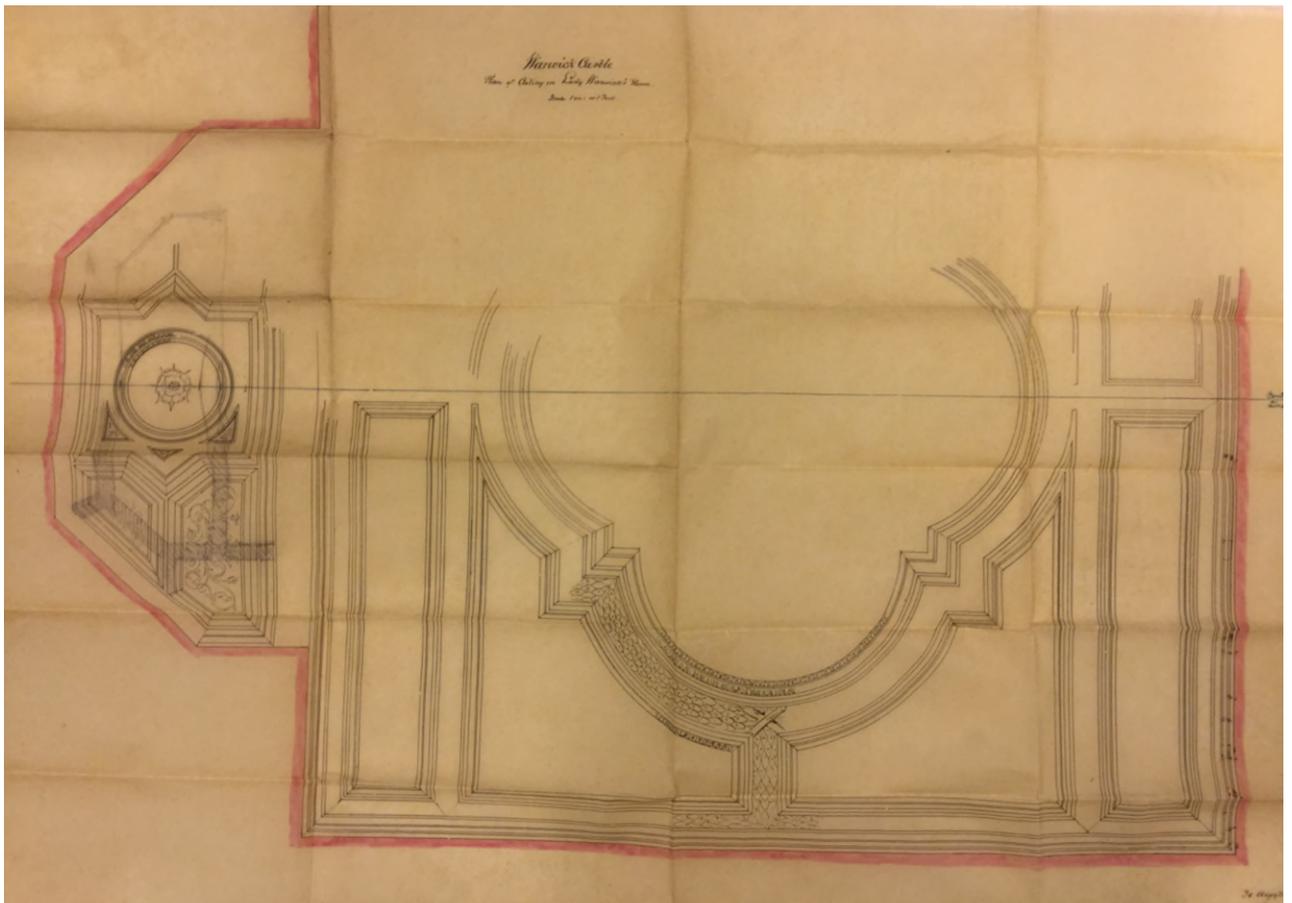


Figure 2.9: Ground floor map of Warwick Castle, c.1800.



**Figure 2.10:** Anthony Salvin, *Design for the ceiling of Lady Warwick's Room*. WCRO CR1886.

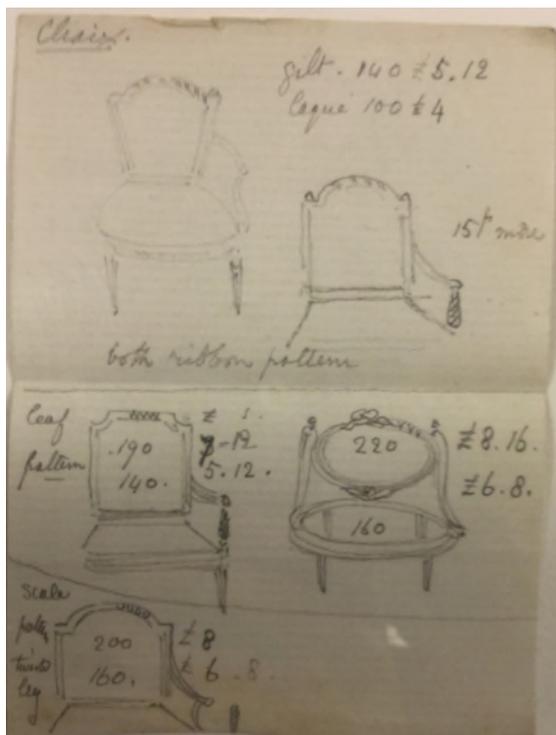


**Figure 2.11:** Jacob de Wit, *The Rape of Ganymede*, oil on canvas, size unknown. Italian Bedroom (c.1880), Warwick Castle.



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**Figure 2.14:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Drawing of chairs and furniture seen in Paris between 1856-67.* WCRO CR1886.

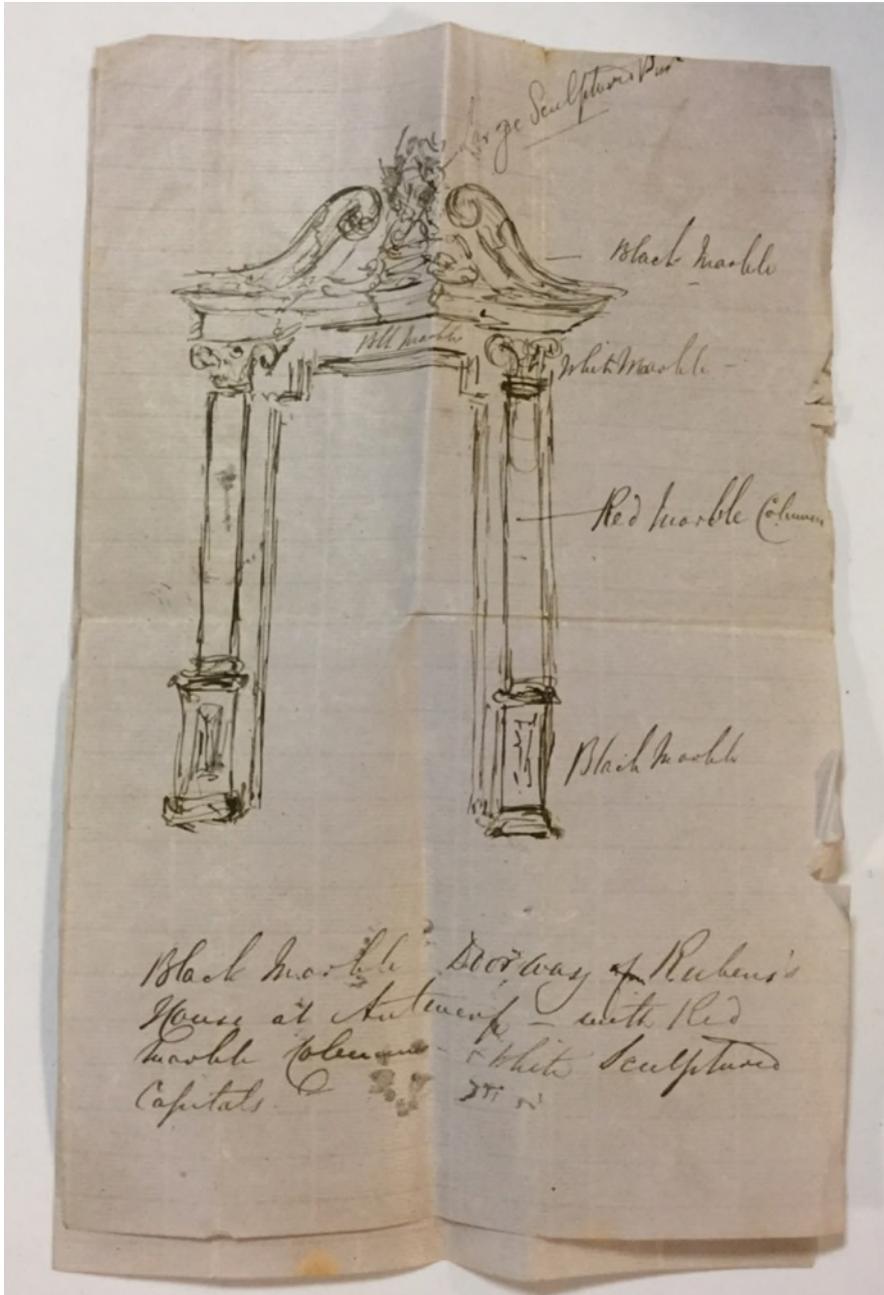


**Figure 2.15:** A suit of Louis XVI style chairs, French, c.1860. Formerly at Warwick Castle, Sold Sotheby's, London, 17 January 2018, lot 46-7.

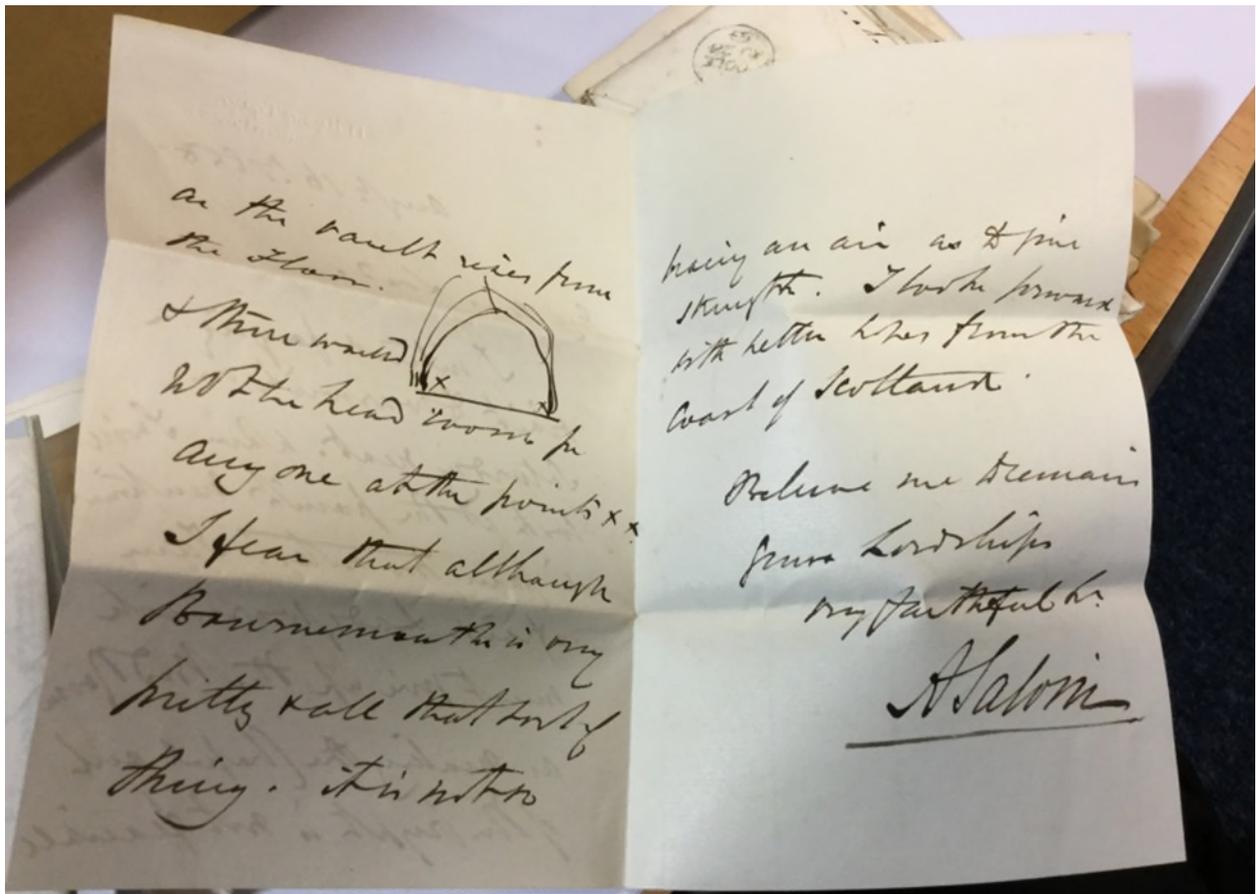


**Figure 2.16:** *A photograph of the Green Drawing Room, c.1869. Warwick Castle collection.*





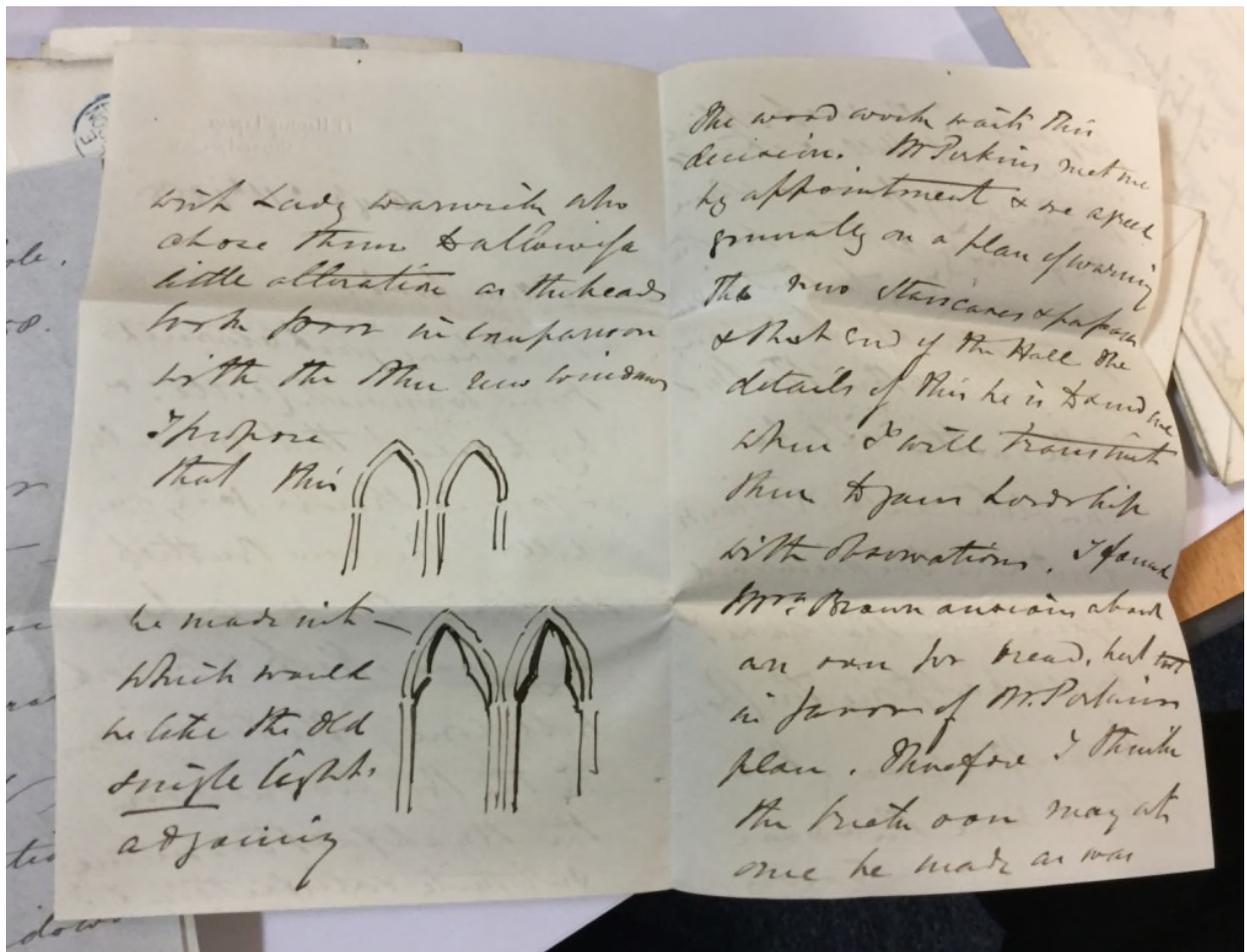
**Figure 2.17:** Samuel Luke Pratt, *A door surround from Rubens's House, Antwerp*, sold to Lord Warwick in September 1864. WCRO CR1886.



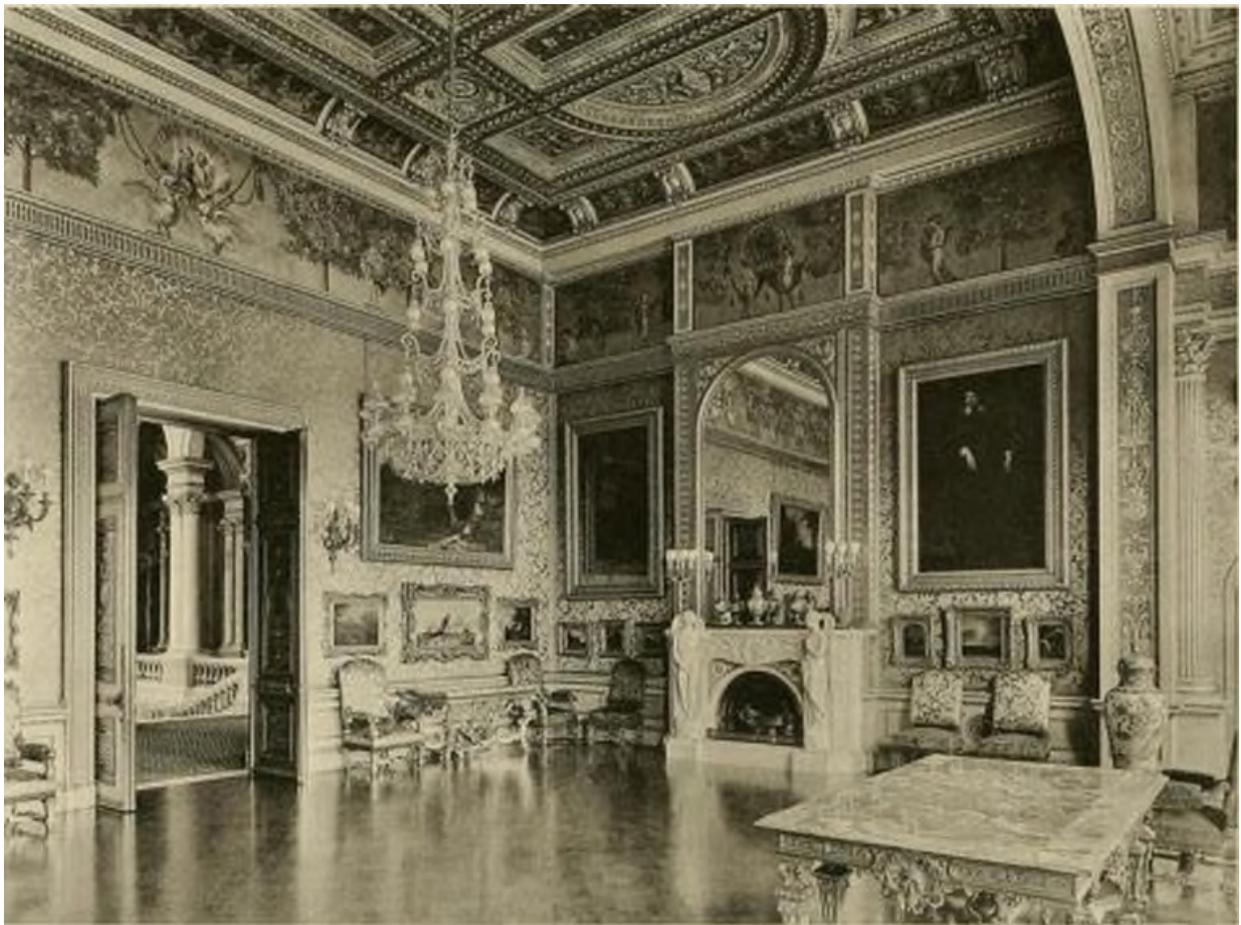
**Figure 2.18:** Letter from Anthony Salvin to Lord Warwick, dated 16 Aug 1856, detailing impossibility of new Chapel located in medieval arched basement chamber. WCRO CR1886.



**Figure 2.19:** *The Kenilworth Bedroom*, c.1863. Warwick Castle.



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**Figure 3.5:** George Edward Fox, *Design for a rococo ceiling*, 1868. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



**Figure 3.6:** *Photograph of the destroyed Great Hall at Warwick Castle, after the 1871 fire. Warwick Castle collection.*



**Figure 3.7:** *The Great Hall, Warwick Castle, in 1814, engraved by J Coney.*



**Figure 3.8:** Ambrose Poynter, *Design for the Great Hall of Warwick Castle*, c.1829. WCRO CR1886.



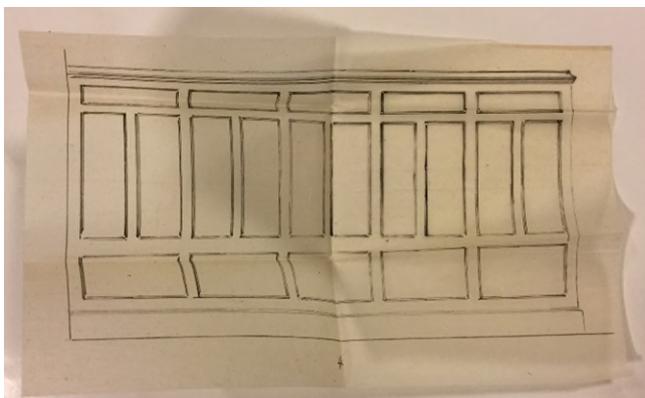
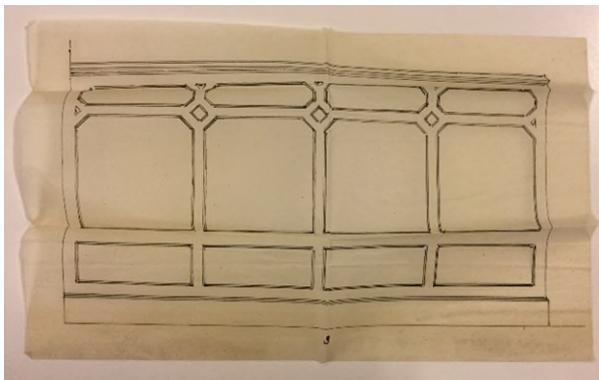
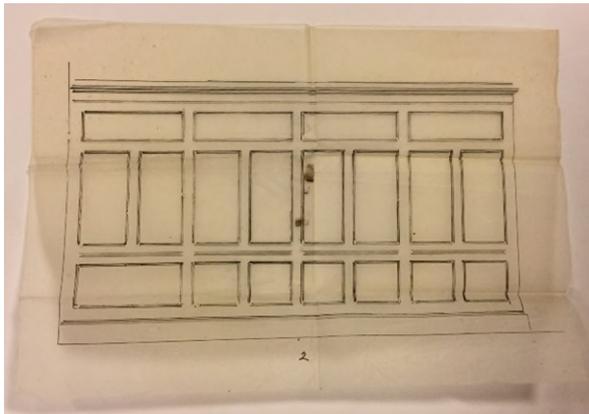
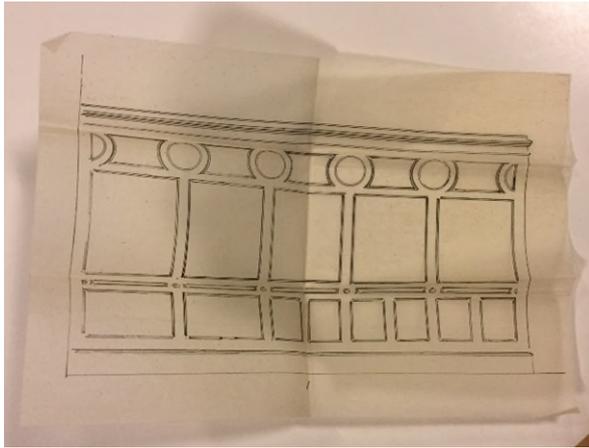
**Figure 3.9:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *A design for the Great Hall of Warwick Castle*, WCRO CR1886.



**Figure 3.10:** Photograph of *The Great Hall of Eastnor Castle*, designed by George Edward Fox, late 1860s.



**Figure 3.11:** Photograph of *The Great Hall of Warwick Castle*, designed by Anthony Salvin, 1870-8. Warwick Castle Collection.



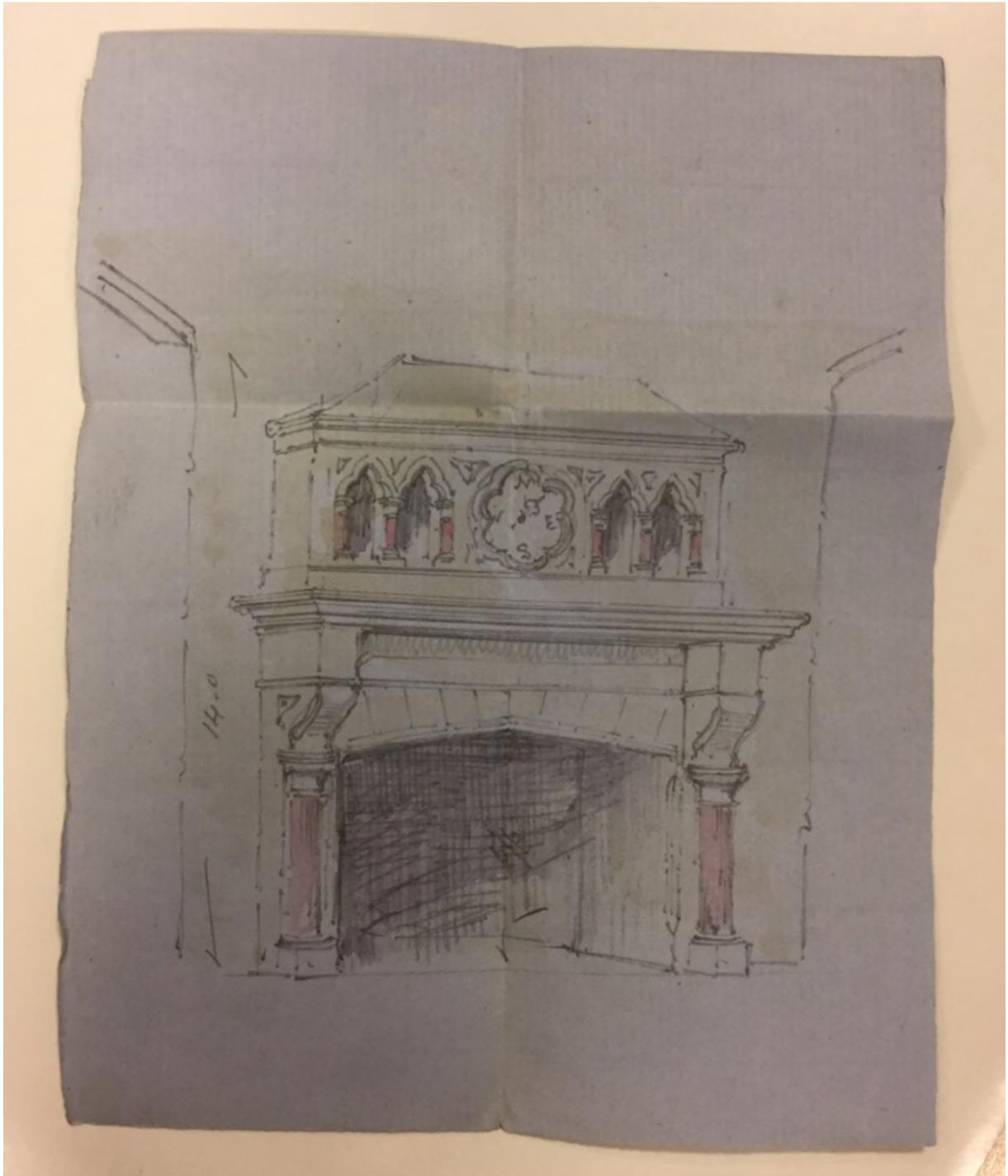
**Figure 3.12:** Anthony Salvin, *Designs (From 1 – 4) for the panelling for the Great Hall of Warwick Castle*, WCRO CR1886.



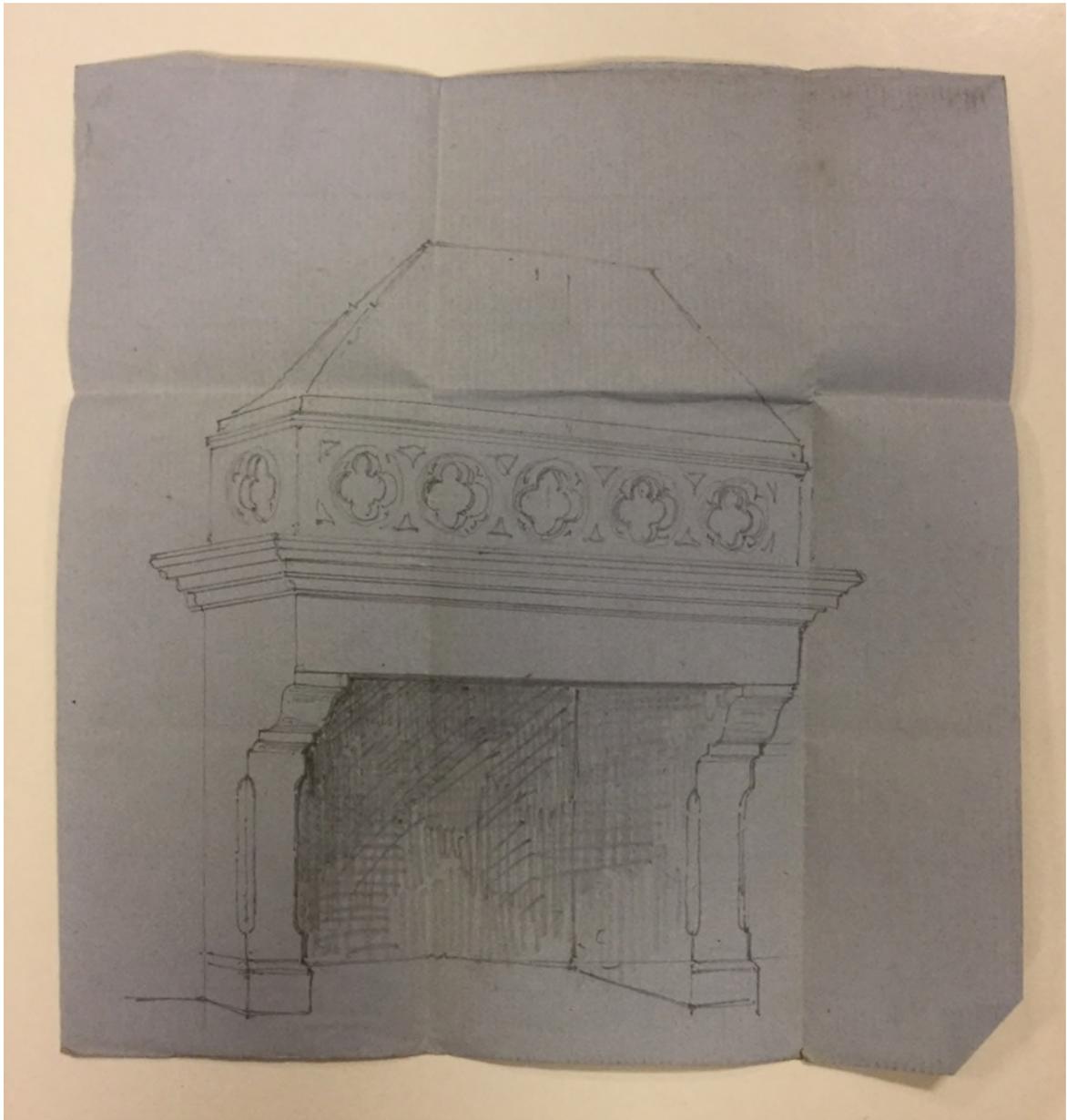
**Figure 3.13:** Photograph of *The Great Hall of Warwick Castle*, designed by Anthony Salvin, 1870-8. Warwick Castle Archive.



**Figure 3.14:** Anthony Salvin, *Design for a chimney place*, c.1874. WCRO CR1886.



**Figure 3.15:** Anthony Salvin, *Design for a chimney place*, c.1874. WCRO CR1886.



**Figure 3.16:** Anthony Salvin, *Design for a chimney place*, c.1874. WCRO CR1886.



**Figure 3.17:** Anthony Salvin, *Design for a chimney place*, c.1874. WCRO CR1886.



**Figure 3.18:** Photograph of *The Great Hall Fireplace*, Warwick Castle, designed by George Edward Fox (?). Warwick Castle Archive.



**Figure 3.19:** Photograph of *The New Library*, Warwick Castle, designed by George Edward Fox, 1879-81.

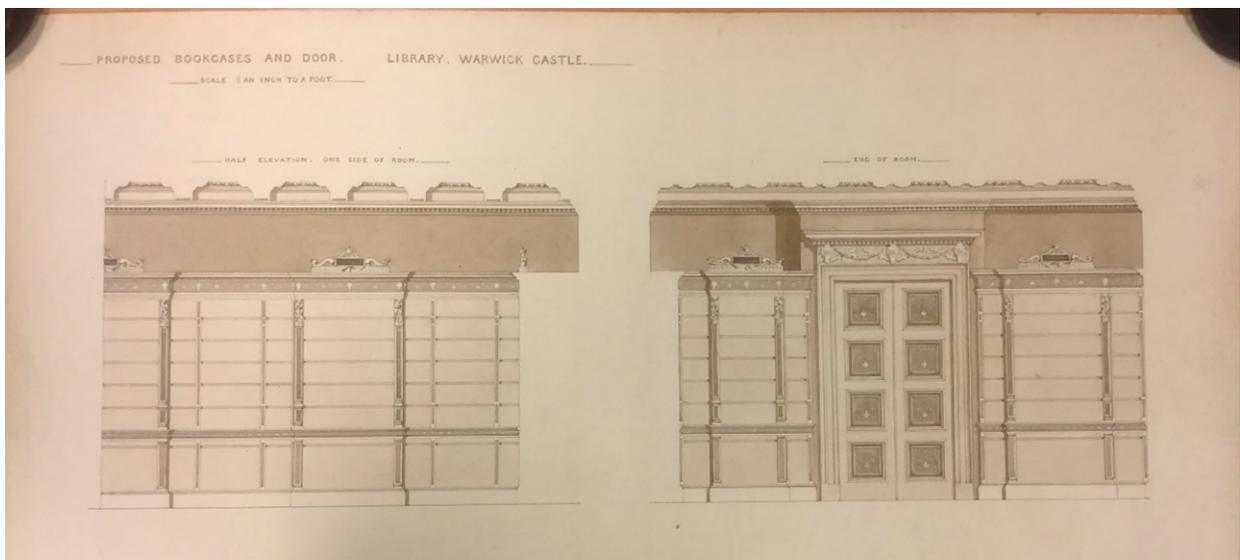




**Figure 3.20:** *Intended Facade of the Grosvenor Gallery, New Bond Street.* Illustration for *The Builder*, 5 May 1877.



**Figure 3.21:** George Edward Fox, *Design for the northern side of the new library, Warwick Castle*, dated 1874. WCRO CR1886.



**Figure 3.22:** George Edward Fox, *Design for the western side of the new library, Warwick Castle*, dated 1874. WCRO CR1886.



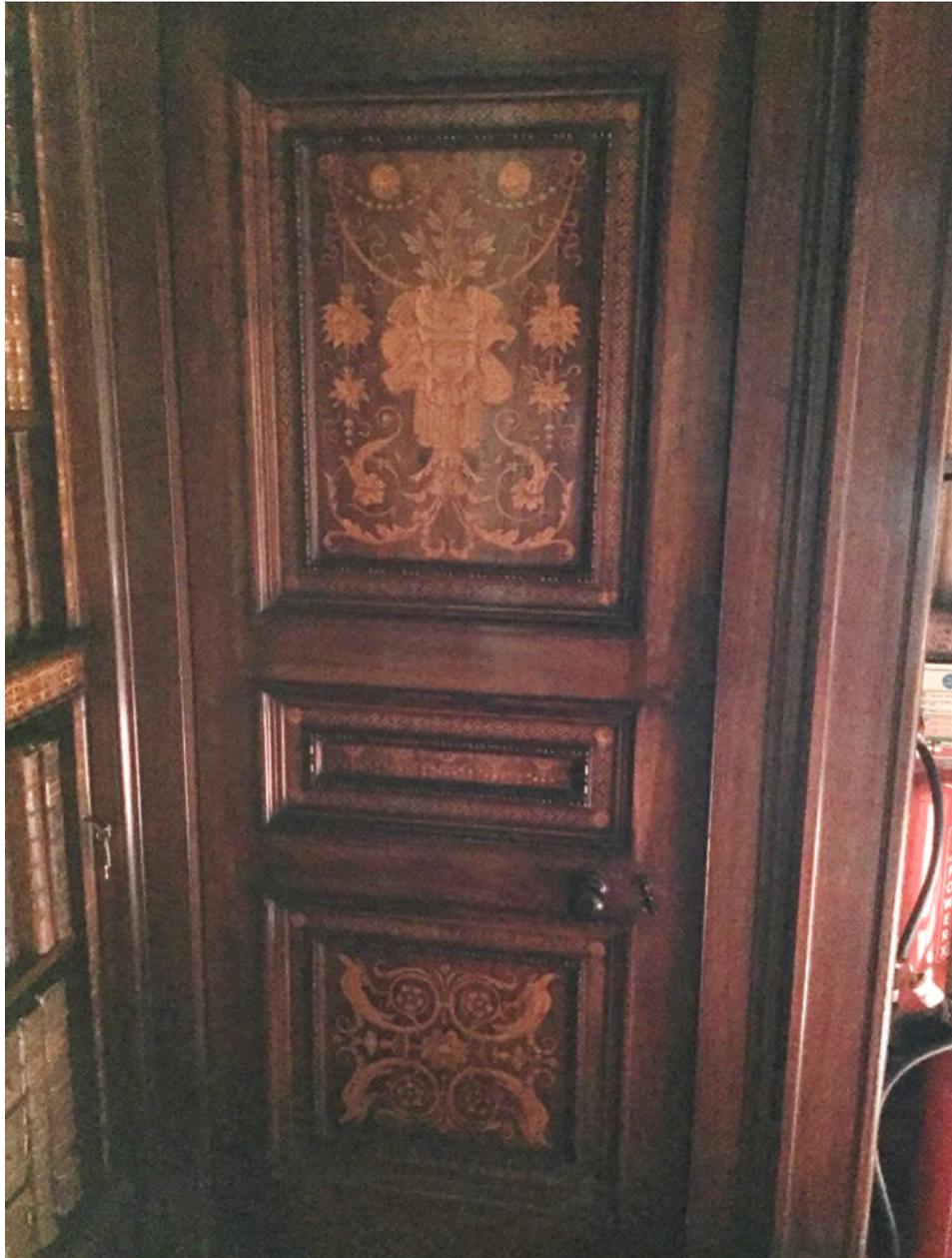
**Figure 3.23:** Photograph of *The Library*, Eastnor Castle, designed by George Edward Fox, c.1868.



**Figure 3.24:** Photograph of *The Library*, Longleat, designed by George Edward Fox (?) in association with JD Crace, c.1860s.



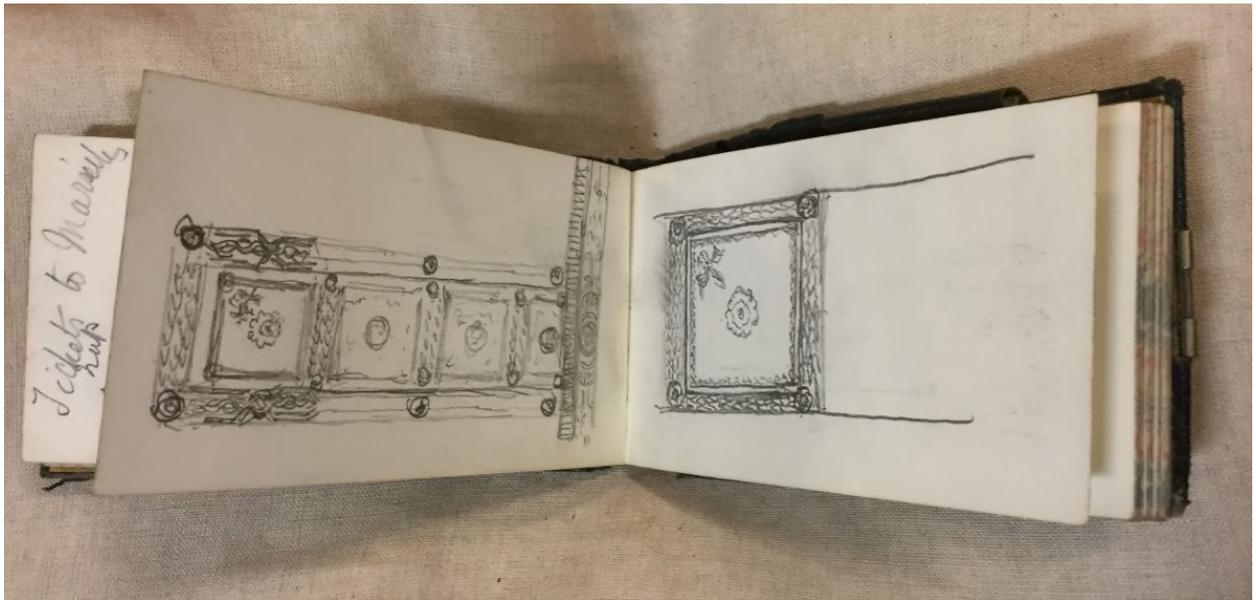
**Figure 3.25:** Photograph of a Window Shutter, Eastnor Castle Library, designed by George Edward Fox, c.1868.



**Figure 3.26:** Photograph of a Door, inlaid marquetry, Eastnor Castle Library, designed by George Edward Fox, c.1868.



**Figure 3.27:** George Edward Fox, *Ceiling design for the new library at Warwick Castle*, dated 1874. WCRO CR1886.



**Figure 3.28:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Sketch of an Italian ceiling* in the Countess of Warwick's Italian notebook, 1860s. WCRO CR1886.



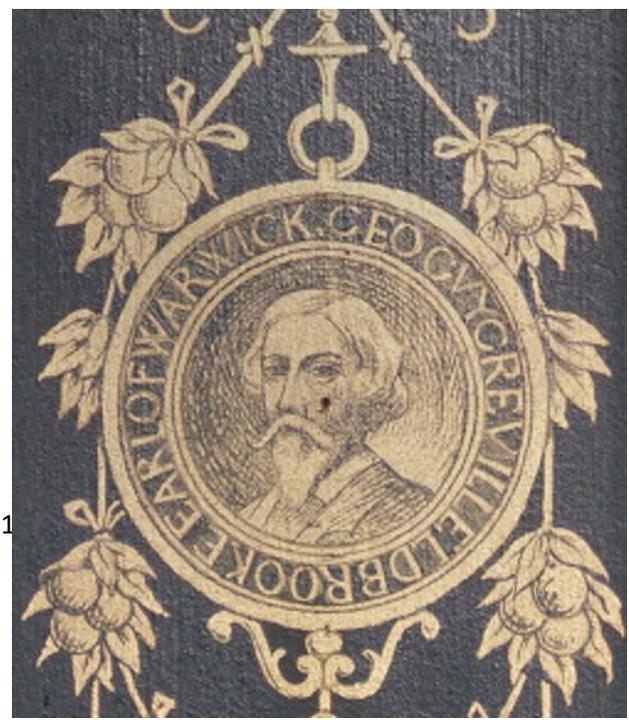
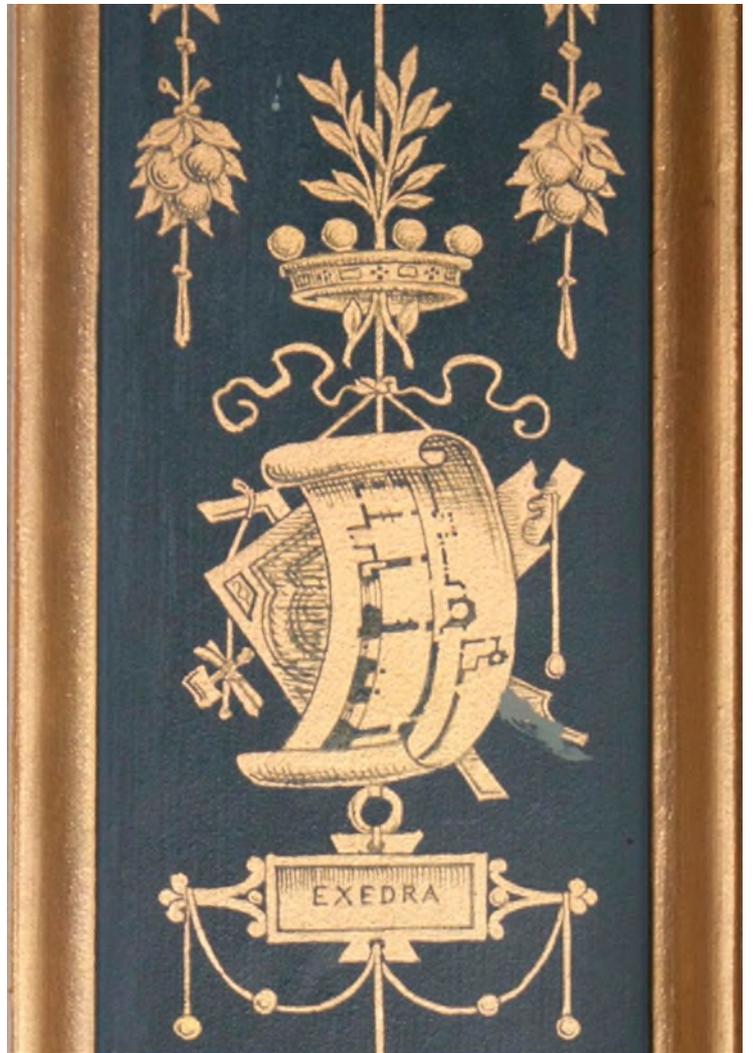
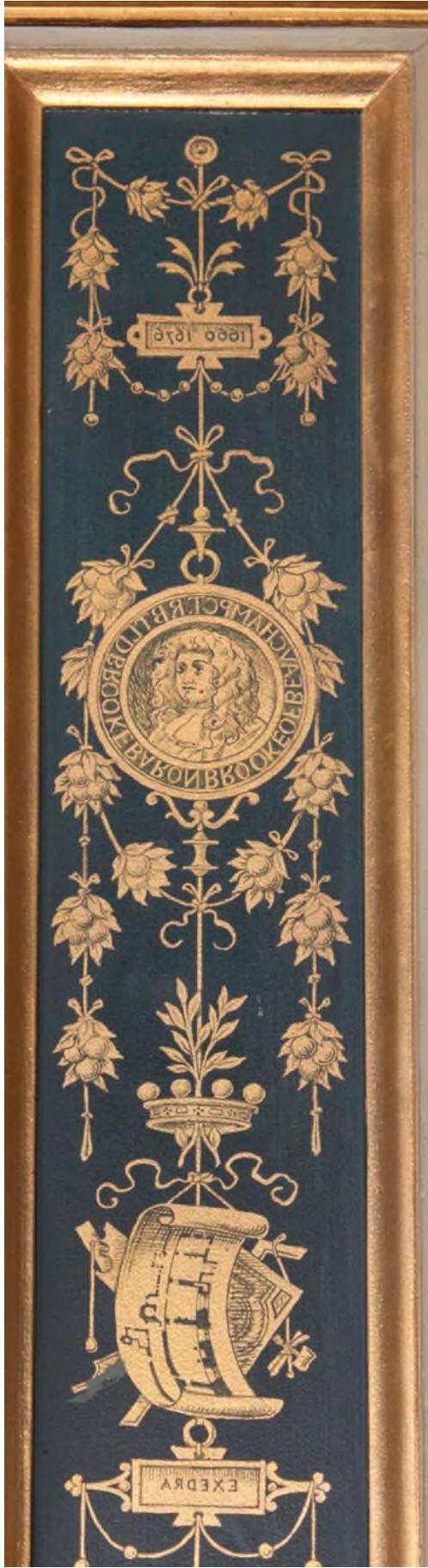
**Figure 3.29:** Photograph of *The Ceiling for the new library at Warwick Castle*, designed by George Edward Fox, 1879-81.

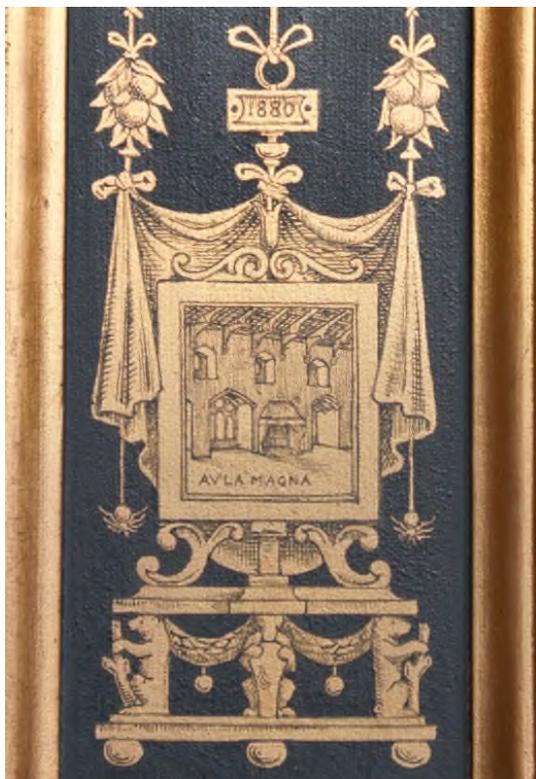
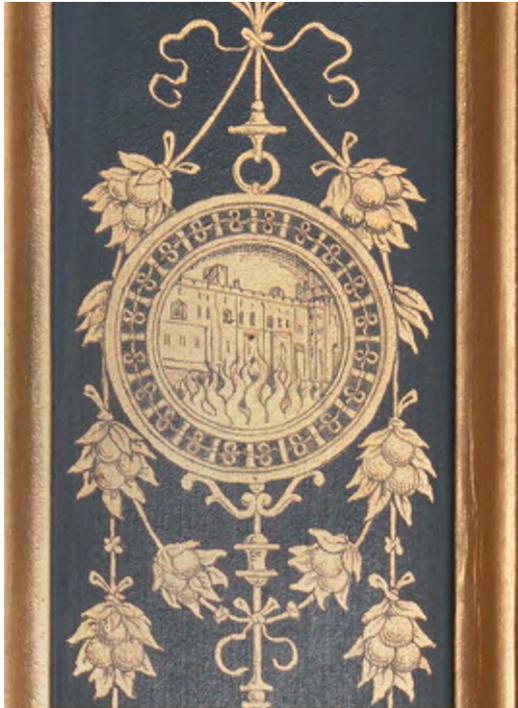


**Figure 3.30:** Photograph of the *Corner of the Library*, showing the frieze, designed by George Edward Fox, 1879-81. Warwick Castle, Warwickshire.



**Figure 3.31:** Photograph of *Designs for the columns of the bookcases*, designed by George Edward Fox, dated 1874. Warwick Castle, Warwickshire.

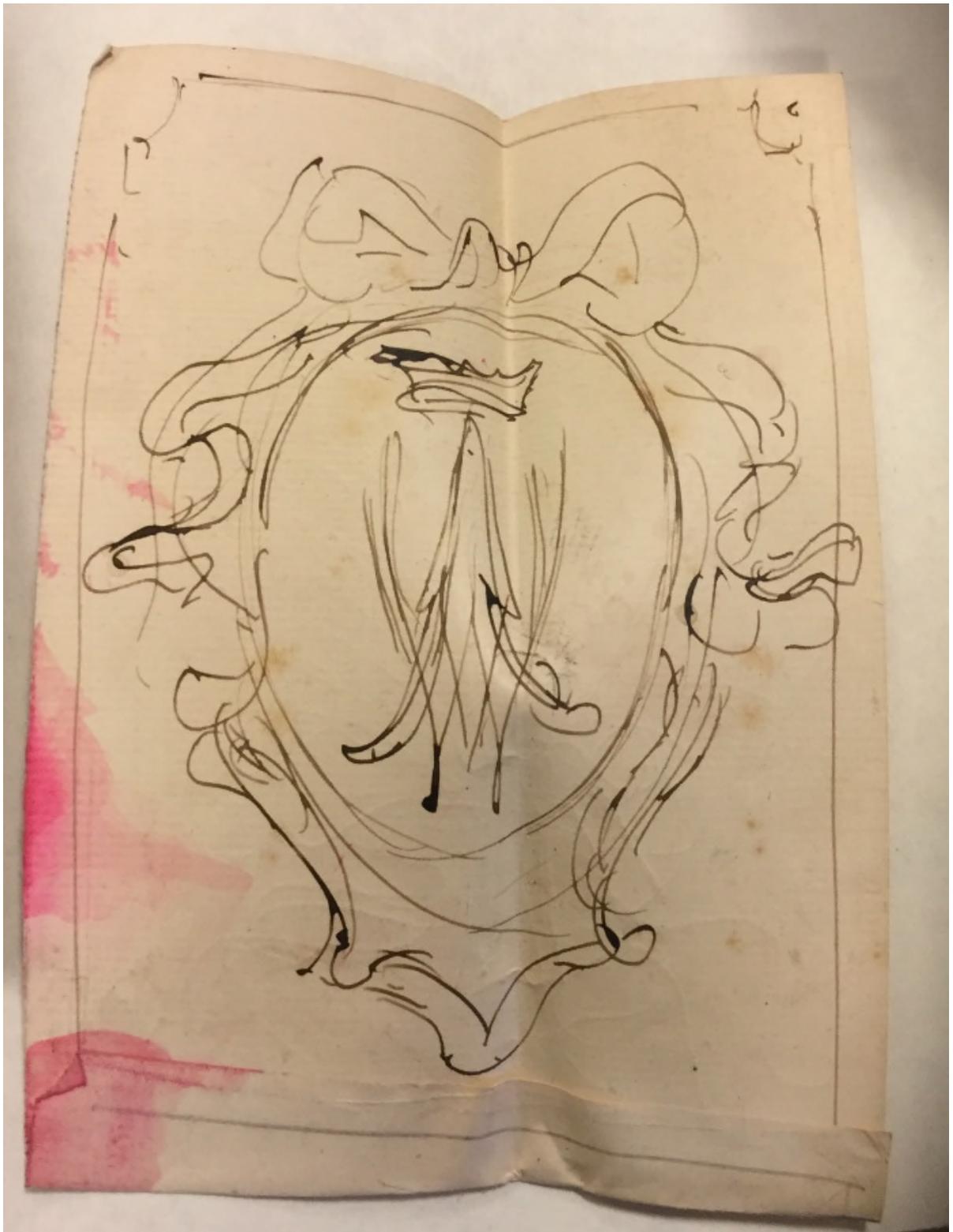




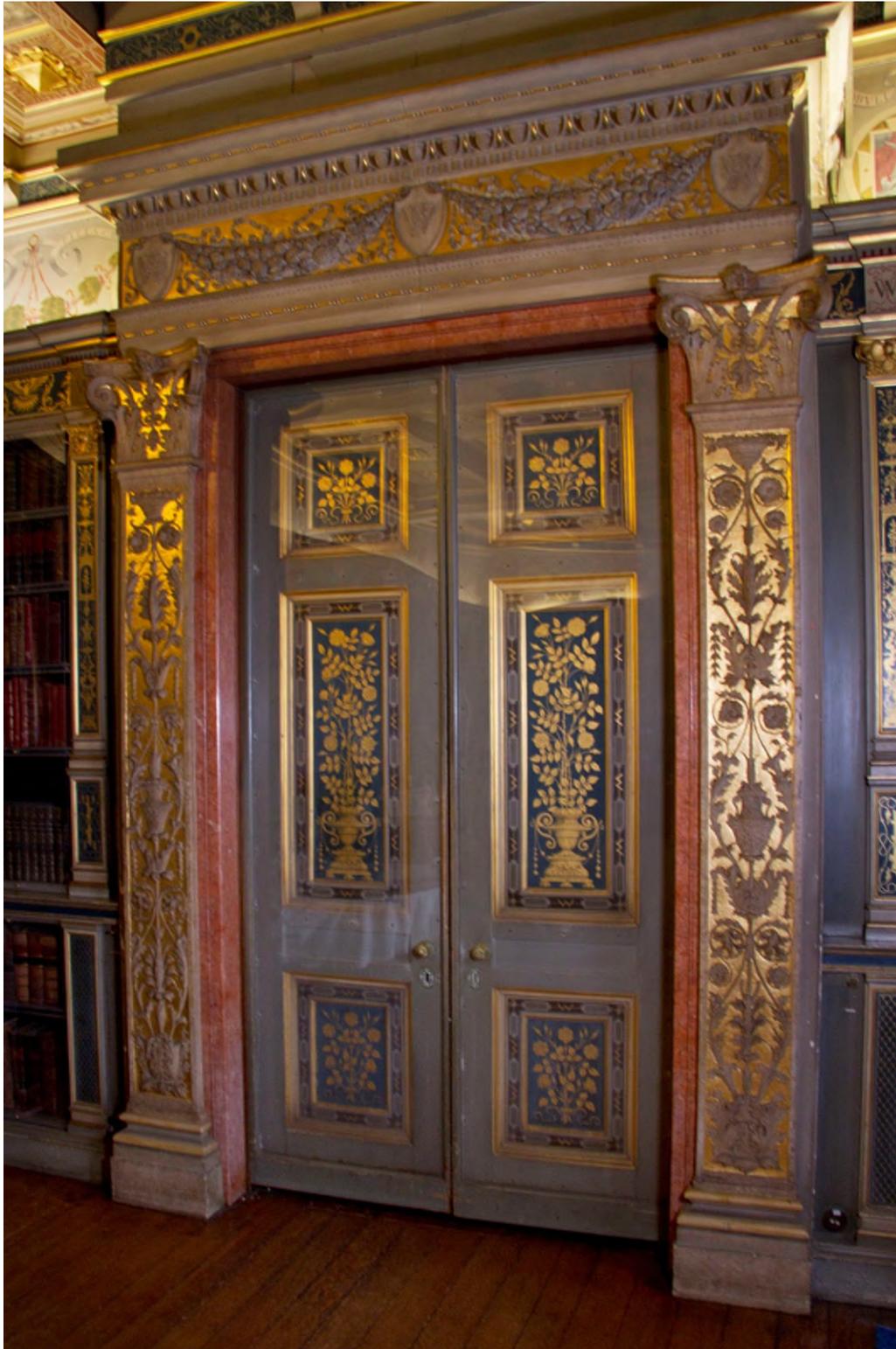
**Figure 3.32:** George Edward Fox and Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick (?), *Gilded designs for the columns of the bookcases for the new library. Warwick Castle, Warwickshire.*



**Figure 3.33:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Portrait of George, 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Warwick, in a decorative setting.* WCRO CR1886.



**Figure 3.34:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Monogram design for Anne, Countess of Warwick.* WCRO CR1886.



**Figure 3.35:** Photograph of the *Doorcase of the Library at Warwick Castle*, designed by George Edward Fox. Warwick Castle, Warwickshire.



**Figure 3.36:** Photograph of the *Window Shutters of the New Library*, Warwick Castle, designed by George Edward Fox. Warwick Castle, Warwickshire.



**Figure 3.37:** Detail of the gilded bouquets of flowers on the doors of the Library at Warwick Castle.



**Figure 3.38:** Fragment of wallpaper, 'Rose', designed in 1877 by Morris & Co. The Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



**Figure 3.39:** Photograph of *The Chimney Piece*, Library at Warwick Castle.



**Figure 3.40:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Lady sitting in the New Library at Warwick Castle*, pencil and watercolour. Warwick Castle Collection.



**Figure 3.41:** *Photograph of the Library of Warwick Castle, c.1900. Getty Images.*



# The Gentlewoman.

The Illustrated Weekly Journal for Gentlemen.

No. 76.—Vol. III.

Saturday, December 19, 1891.

Price Sixpence.

## The Idyll of the Hour.

### The Christmas House Party.

I SUPPOSE I am getting old. At any rate I am somewhat of a matured syren. I do not mind even being a wall-flower. Wall-flowers are very sweet, if homely plants. And though they sit on a wall, it is not a very high one. So that, like Humpty-Dumpty—pardon, Sir Augustus, for that hero happens to be the subject of your pantomime—I do not fear a fall. On rout seat I sit—and sit a-thynkyng—a-thynkyng of days long ago. A kind of Sir Walter Scott's Aunt Margaret. How many dances I have whirled through when my heart was lighter, even as my feet were. How many flower shows where kindly friends said I was not the least attractive blossom in the garden of girls. But now, an elderly chaperone, I sit a-thynkyng—a thynkyng.

And why this? Well, I call to mind some years ago reading a set of articles in *The Cornhill* styled "Chapters on Talk." In these, the science of "Society," with a big sibilant, was well and carefully studied. And they led me to think of something else. We do not study, sometimes, how to make ourselves—well, as "comfortable" as we can. Christmas is coming on. It—like the old serpent said of the Great Napoleon—is in the air. We can tell that easily enough. Dear me, how civil the railway porters have suddenly grown. How thoughtful is my good woman, Parkies—no twisting roughly of the nose nor too luxuriant locks. Oh, dear no! Pandora's box—I mean Christmas. Well, the Christmas-box time is coming near. Well, we are all looking forward to Christmas time, whether with an eye to gain or otherwise. May we all have a Merry Christmas party—for, after all, we need not be too cynical on the subject.

And how to make a really nice Christmas party. In the country, too, of course. For I can't say that I like those folk who have recently made it a special fashion to spend the happy season at a South Coast watering place. In the country! "Oh, yes!" you say, "old Tudor house, old country company, old usual-boring process of poor cousins and stupid young cousins from Aldershot, or Carragh, or elsewhere. Christmas is always a bore!" Now I do not think so. Still, we might take the trouble to bore ourselves a little less. And the best way to prevent this, after all, is to have some definite programme of amusement.

By the way, *à propos des boites*, have you ever read "Coningsby"—to me the very best of my Lord Beaconsfield, as there is not too much cynical feeling in it, and the milk of human kindness flows so very much more freely than in "Vivian Grey." Do you remember that chapter on a well-kept up Christmas? Nothing, I tell you, like reviving some good old English customs. The other day I tried through a very pretty part rendering of "God bless you, Merry Gentlemen." Why not, then, practise a pretty carol? At any rate it would serve to pass away the time. And very nice, I am quite sure, you, my younger sisters, would look, when you came in from the fresh, crisp air outside the house. "Pshaw!" you say, "why, my poor little nose would be tinted like a saliflor rose. Well the rose on those rounded cheeks would help to balance that. And then, next, why not have a procession with the Bear's Head, and sing merrily, "The Bear's Head is, I understand, the rarest dish in all the land; The steward hath produced this in honour of the King of bliss."

"Perhaps"—"here some lady, I suppose, turning up her pretty nose," as Thackeray had it—perhaps you would like us to play at snapdragon, and have the villagers in the hall. Well, why, well—well.

"Throw on more logs, the wind is chill. Come, let it whistle as it will. We'll keep our Christmas merry still."

A little, so to speak, "ceremonious fun" always gives entertainment. So only ask those folk who are like to be good, cheery, Christmas spirits to join in with it. Remember old acquaintances, old friends, perhaps half-forgotten friends. In making up your House Party for Christmas, think only of those you like and love the best.

## Gentlewomen "At Home."

### No. LXXVI.—The Countess of Warwick at Warwick Castle.

EVERY visitor to Warwick Castle will readily subscribe to Dugdale's opinion that the Castle, built on a rocky height of forty feet perpendicular overhanging the brawling Avon, with its noble architecture, "is the most princely seat within these midland parts of the realm." The original foundation of this "most precious of baronial castles" is pre-historic, for its first inception goes back into an early period of the Christian era. Even before the Conquest Lady Ethelfleda, the daughter of King Alfred, is said to have repaired it; and of the present



The Countess of Warwick.

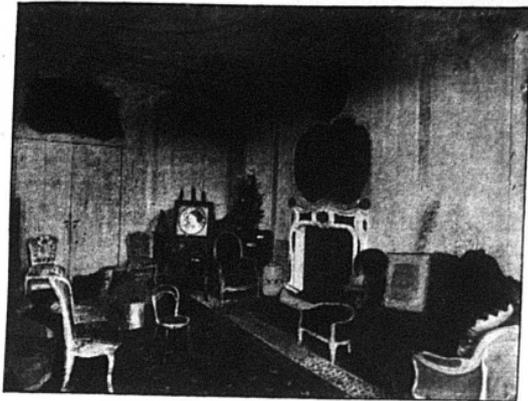
structure a part was erected by Edward the Confessor. Few inhabited castles, indeed, in England can boast of such antiquity. There have been several lines of Earls of Warwick, fresh creations of the title having followed on failure of heirs or forfeiture of estates. Henry de Newburgh was the first Earl of Warwick, created by William I., and so important was this stronghold of the midland parts of England considered that we read that Margery, sister and heiress of Thomas, the sixth Earl, was not permitted to marry without the Royal assent. To the Newburghs succeeded the Beauchamps, of whom one, Anne, married Richard Neville, who assumed the title of Earl of Warwick, and who is well-known in history as the King-maker, of whom, and of the great state in which he lived, the late Lord Lytton, in "The Last of the Barons," gives a fine word picture. After Richard Neville's death his daughter married the Duke of Clarence, who was crowned Earl of Warwick by Edward IV., but on the forfeiture of this nobleman's estates, the Castle went to the family of

Dudley. Then when that line failed James I. conferred the Warwick title on Robert Rich, the property being at that time in the hands of Sir Fulke Greville (Lord Brooke), descended from the Beauchamps, in whose family it has since remained, the title being successively raised to Earl Brooke and Earl of Warwick. The castle was magnificently restored by this first Lord Brooke. Unfortunately the comparatively recent fire in 1851 destroyed the whole of the private apartments, together with the hall, but these have been completely restored by the present owner.

It must have been with sensations of most appreciative pleasure that Lady Anne, a daughter of the late Earl of Wemyss, contemplated the imposing edifice as she approached the great gateway, flanked on either side by Caesar's Tower and Guy's Tower, a happy bride nearly forty years ago. One so keenly alive to artistic effect, and so appreciative of antiquity as coming herself of an ancient Scottish race, the young Countess of Warwick must have felt thoroughly in tune with the sentiment of her new home. And that feeling has gone on increasing with ripened association, so that Lady Warwick pardonably thinks there is no place like the Castle.

As this article can only attempt a description, and that a cursory one, of the private living rooms of the family, we must be excused from dilating on the State apartments in the west wing of the Castle which escaped the fire, or on the celebrated great parridge pot or camp kettle of Charles I.'s time, with the shield, helmet, and sword of the valiant Guy, Earl of Warwick, who slew the mythic cow of Dunsmore, the bones of which are still preserved.

Where you will probably find the Countess is in her charming boudoir, the octagon bow window of which overlooks the river, which here breaks into a babbling waterfall, and the room is so high up as to be on a level with the crows' nests in the trees on the island opposite. From this exquisite boudoir you look on one side upon the quaint old street of brick and timber houses leading to the ruined mill at the foot of the castle; and on the other, you view the river flowing past the grand old cedars on the lawn to a vista of blue distance, denoting the borderlands of Warwickshire and Gloucestershire. The view is so beautiful that Lady Warwick has painted it several times. The room is quite unique. It is panelled with old French carvings painted white, with the flowers of the carved wood painted in their natural colours, giving the effect of Dresden china. Formerly, the coved ceiling had a central painting by De Witt, but the fire destroyed this work of art, though here, happily, sparing all else. The furniture is old cream brocade, set in grey plush. It is so pretty and artistic as only to have been "thought out" by the lady who, during the early years of her married life, gained the Crown Princess of Prussia's gold medal for amateur painting on porcelain; who exhibited a portrait of her daughter, Lady Eva Greville, at the Royal Academy; and who gained the first prize for painted tapestry. You will not have been long in Lady Warwick's society before you are impressed with two facts, namely, that you are holding converse with a nature which is all kindness and gentleness, and, that you are in the presence of one possessed of a *bel esprit* which is especially enthusiastic on all matters artistic. Lady Warwick is much engrossed just now with an exhibition of art subjects and fancy bazaar, which will most probably raise the School of Art of Leamington to a height of considerable importance in the county. And you are promised that you shall presently see some of the preparations for the show before you leave. Lady Warwick is much enamoured of art exhibitions, and when in town she especially delights in that of the Arts and Crafts. The exhibits there particularly appeal to her catholic tastes in art designs. Book-binding is a favourite study and an art which she successfully practices, having, too, as models for her endeavours, the exquisite bindings of the rare volumes which Lord Warwick counts amongst his greatest treasures. And Lady Warwick can show you curious cabinet with the facing of its drawers ornamented with quaint book covers, picked up at The Hague. Then the imitation of old hammered brasswork at the New Gallery recall many ancient examples at the Castle, and while discussing this subject Lady Warwick is reminded to tell you of how, during the disastrous fire at Warwick Castle, much of the historic armour was thrown



The Sitting Room.

out of the windows into the river when the flames were raging in the hall, and how it was all recovered and put into the hands of an old armourer, who worked for two years at the Castle, "looking himself, like a bit of an old Dutch picture while cleaning off the rust and beating out the crumpled breast-plates almost to their pristine beauty before they were restored to their former positions on the walls."

Near to Lady Warwick's boudoir is Lady Eva's sitting-room, also overlooking the river, in which a doorway and a very pretty arched recess were discovered when the panelling was burnt away; and, grievous as the great fire was, there resulted from it some advantages. In the great hall four or five windows were disclosed which had been bricked up behind the plaster—which, by the way, has now been replaced by stone—and three beautiful old arches have been thus opened up. One of the arches is now used as a door into the breakfast room, which has a charming balcony overlooking the river, and on its walls are five paintings by Canaletti, one a fine view of Venice (the Marriage of the Adriatic by the Doge), while the other four are of the Castle—depicting the outer and inner courts, with the quaint hooped dresses of his time—and one of the Avon in which, from love of Venice, probably, he has painted a rich crimson and gold gondola. These pictures are particularly interesting as Canaletti seldom, if ever, painted views of country houses in England, though, of course, "bits" of old England from his brush are not so rare.

The library is 30 feet long, with delicate decorations in blue and gold, and it has a very fine Italian mantelpiece, but its greatest attraction to the student and the bibliophile are, of course, its book-lined walls. The dining-room and the cedar drawing-room are also on the river side of the Castle. The suite of dwelling rooms is 130 feet in extent. One little room must not be omitted, however, as it is so charmingly decorated with paintings of the Kingfishers which breed by the river, and of the stock-doves which are among the cedars.

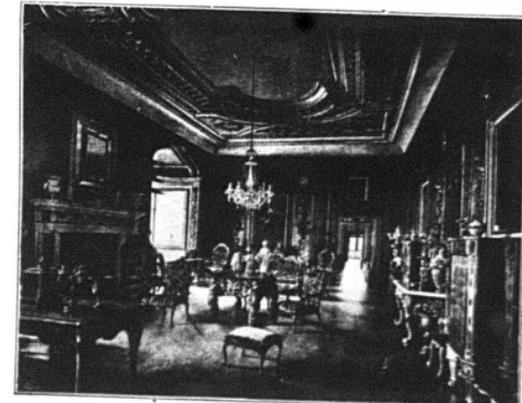


The Armoury Corridor.

In her love of the beautiful, Lady Warwick has somewhat shocked the severe taste of antiquarians by introducing terraced walks and lovely parterres in close proximity to the ancient walls, but the beauty of the gardens, with their wealth of flowering shrubs, makes ample amends for any violation of the canon of austerity with respect to ancient castles. And while you are in the gardens you will probably pay a visit to one of the conservatories, where you may view the famous Warwick

vase found in Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli, and presented to a former Lord Brooke by Sir William Hamilton, his uncle. After enjoying the hospitalities of the table in the company of the kindest of hostesses and the members of her family, Lady Warwick introduces you to the local of the looked for Art Exhibition and Bazaar.

It is being held in the Shakespeare room, formerly the site of the brew-house and laundry, but now a magnificent apartment fully 60 feet in length. It lies detached between Caesar's Tower and the lodge. It may be said to represent the middle point of all England, for its panelled walls are lined with the wood cut from a tree which is supposed to have stood in the very centre of this island. This hall is peopled with the worthies of the Elizabethan period, who will regard from their places on the walls many estimable and highly-born subjects of our Most Gracious Queen Victoria, for all the county



The Cedar Drawing Room.

doubtless flock to this Art Exhibition. A curious old arched oven has been converted into a quaint little room now dubbed "The Home of Mystery." Antiquarians will probably stand aghast when they hear that Caesar's Tower has been relegated to the fripperies of military, while American drinks—but there, we will spare their feelings. It is not the dry-as-dust antiquarians, but youth and beauty, with bright looks and rippling laughter, well able to hold their own, who are wandering in and out the Castle gates during the days of the Great Bazaar.

And no one will probably look happier than the kindly children from whose lips no word ever issues more sweetly nor more sincerely than that of "Welcome."

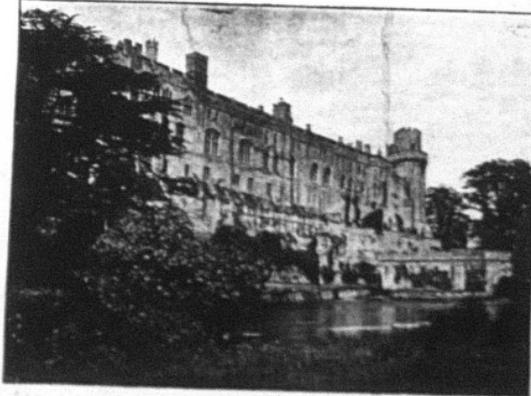
**The Children's Salon.**—The draw itself for the Fine and Comely Hall, for the purpose of exhibiting it in the Victoria Hospital for Children, on the 15th and 16th of January. Those who desire to see the Competition, should do so at once!

### A Birthday Greeting

from The Gentlewoman 101—

THE LADY ALICE BILGH .....	Thursday, Dec. 17
THE LADY ROSAMOND LANGHAM .....	" "
THE HON. KATHERINE NOTTON .....	" "
THE HON. GEORGINA PELLEW .....	" "
THE HON. WINIFRED IRBY .....	Friday, Dec. 18
THE LADY EMILY HART-DYKE .....	" "
THE HON. MRS. HAYWOOD .....	" "
THE COUNTESS FEODORE GLEICHEN .....	Saturday, Dec. 19
THE LADY GRISELDA OGILLY .....	" "
THE HON. SYBIL DRUMMOND .....	" "
THE HON. EMILY OLIPHANT MURRAY .....	" "
THE HON. MRS. KINGSCOTE .....	" "
THE LADY VICTORIA MANNERS .....	" "
THE COUNTESS DOWAGER OF PORTSMOUTH .....	Sunday, Dec. 20
THE LADY MARY PIERREPONT .....	" "
THE LADY PENANCE .....	Monday, Dec. 21
THE LADY DOROTHY HOPE .....	" "
THE HON. GERTRUDE FORBES SEMPELL .....	" "
H.R.H. PRINCESS CLOTLILDE OF SAXE-COBURG-GOTHA .....	Tuesday, Dec. 22
THE LADY LILLA EZZERTON .....	" "
THE LADY HENRIETTA GRADWELL .....	" "
THE HON. LILIAS SCOTT .....	" "
THE HON. MARGARET CURZON .....	" "
THE HON. BRATTLE O'BRIEN .....	" "
THE COUNTESS OF COVENTRY .....	Wednesday, Dec. 23
THE LADY MARGARET SACKVILLE .....	" "
THE HON. HILDA DOUGLAS PENNANT .....	" "

A DESERVING CHARITY.—Every one of our readers will peruse with the most keen interest the particulars which are given on the last page of this week's number regarding the work carried on by the Rev. F. Given Wilson in one of the most destitute parishes in the East-end. The account there set forth of the misery and poverty reigning amidst the lowest class of society in that most wretched neighbourhood will, in spite of the various clamorous cries set up from time to time, cause as an eye-opener to many who are themselves living in a world of their own, surrounded by all that luxury and wealth can afford. There can be no more suitable time to bring this painful state of circumstances to the notice of those who are well off, than when everyone is thinking of how to make merry preparations for the most festive English season. It is, therefore, with pleasure that we call attention to the praiseworthy efforts which are being made by Mr. Wilson to raise his people from the state in which they are at present, and let in, if possible, a ray of sunshine at this time of year to brighten their lives. These efforts take the form of penny dinners for starving children, homes for children, a cottage hospital, the completion of the half-built church, and clothing for all of which help is urgently needed. How is it to be obtained? This is the question which has been puzzling the minds of those who have the charge of the parish, and who, seeing such absolute suffering and want from day to day, and coming in personal contact with it, have set themselves to inquire how it could be diminished. Among other ideas which were hit upon was one which will, we hope, meet with a response such as it deserves—namely, to tell the readers of THE GENTLEWOMAN.



Warwick Castle.

Figure 4.1: The Gentlewoman, December 1891, no. 76, vol. III.

Theory & Practice of Design  
700 Klus: - Lessons on  
Decorative Design by Frank  
Jackson - (Chapman & Hall)

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Dated Book Plates - by  
Walter Hamilton - (A. C. Black)

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"La Tenture Moderne" -  
par E. Pignot  
(Editeur C. Claeu)

Imprimerie de Ch. Claeu  
à Paris.

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Fensterdecorationen Portieren & so  
von A. L. Steutenfeldt  
Berlin - Editeur - Claeu

Figure 4.2: Handwritten list of art books in WCRO CR1886 Box 476 (loose).



Figure 4.3: The Ladies' Room, Grosvenor Club, (1891).

Laticia Miller has put upon  
 perfect. I can see that  
 it matches exactly the  
 mulberry in of beautiful  
 old Damascus. It does  
 very well with the old  
 silk I sent. If I were  
 you I would not put  
 the old Louis XV  
 sofa, or any like it,  
 in the Louis XV bed  
 room. where nothing  
 must interfere with  
 absolute comfort  
 combined with grace

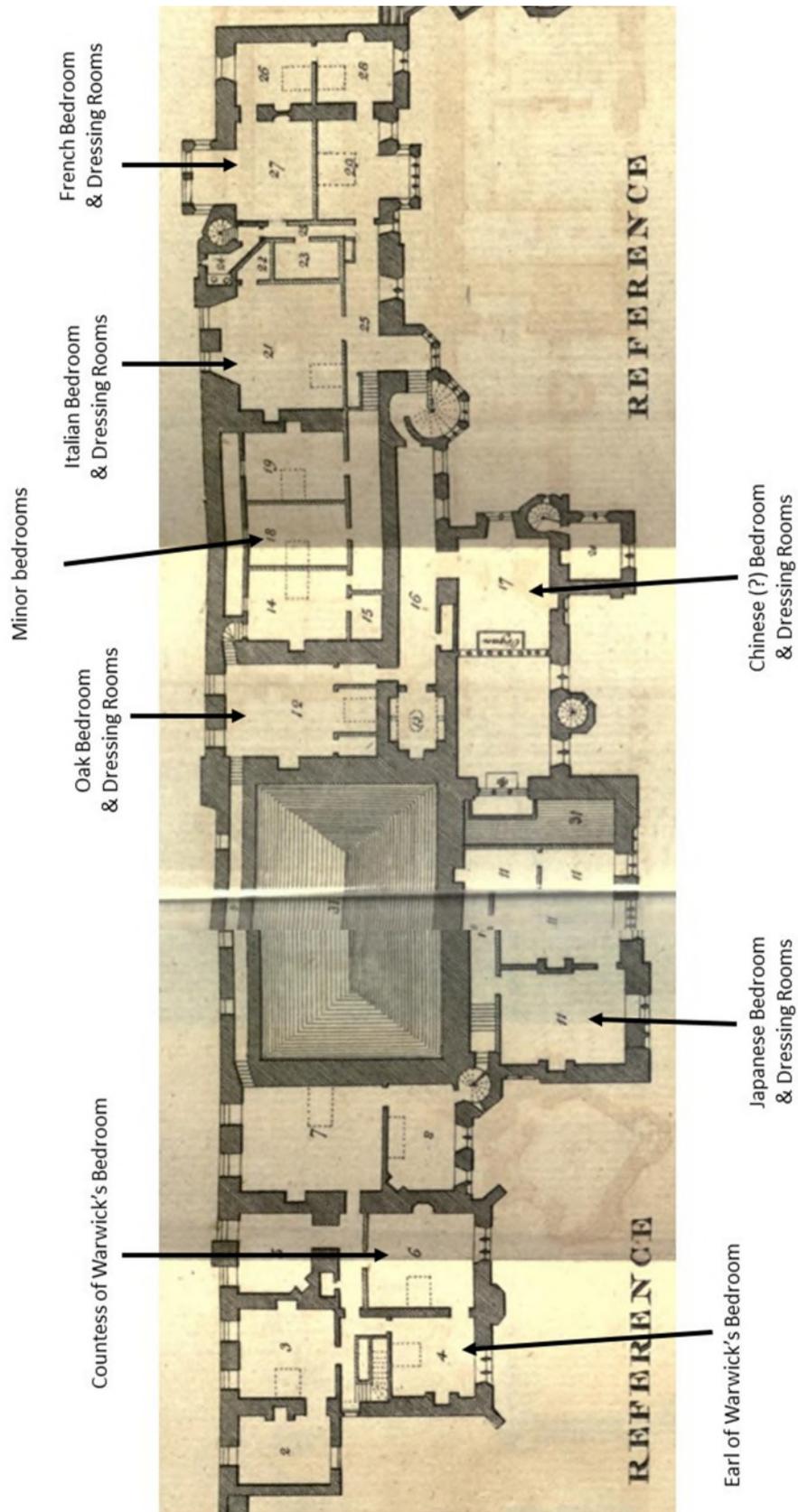
amount of beauty. the pretty  
 old Louis XV, of beautifully  
 sketched will do Boudoir  
 for the Louis XV Boudoir. I think  
 or for your Boudoir. I think  
 if I were you I would put  
 it in the Boudoir with  
 under the looking glass &  
 transfer the large one  
 that is now there to  
 the new drawing room  
 which you wish to put  
 about & make livable -  
 or I wd put it in the  
 Louis XV Boudoir -  
 The little sofa in the  
 corner of Boudoir is  
 not at all the thing,  
 I know, a copy of an  
 old Louis XV one at

Figure 4.4: Letter from Virginia Somers, May 1881, to Lady Warwick. WCRO CR1886 Box 469 (loose).

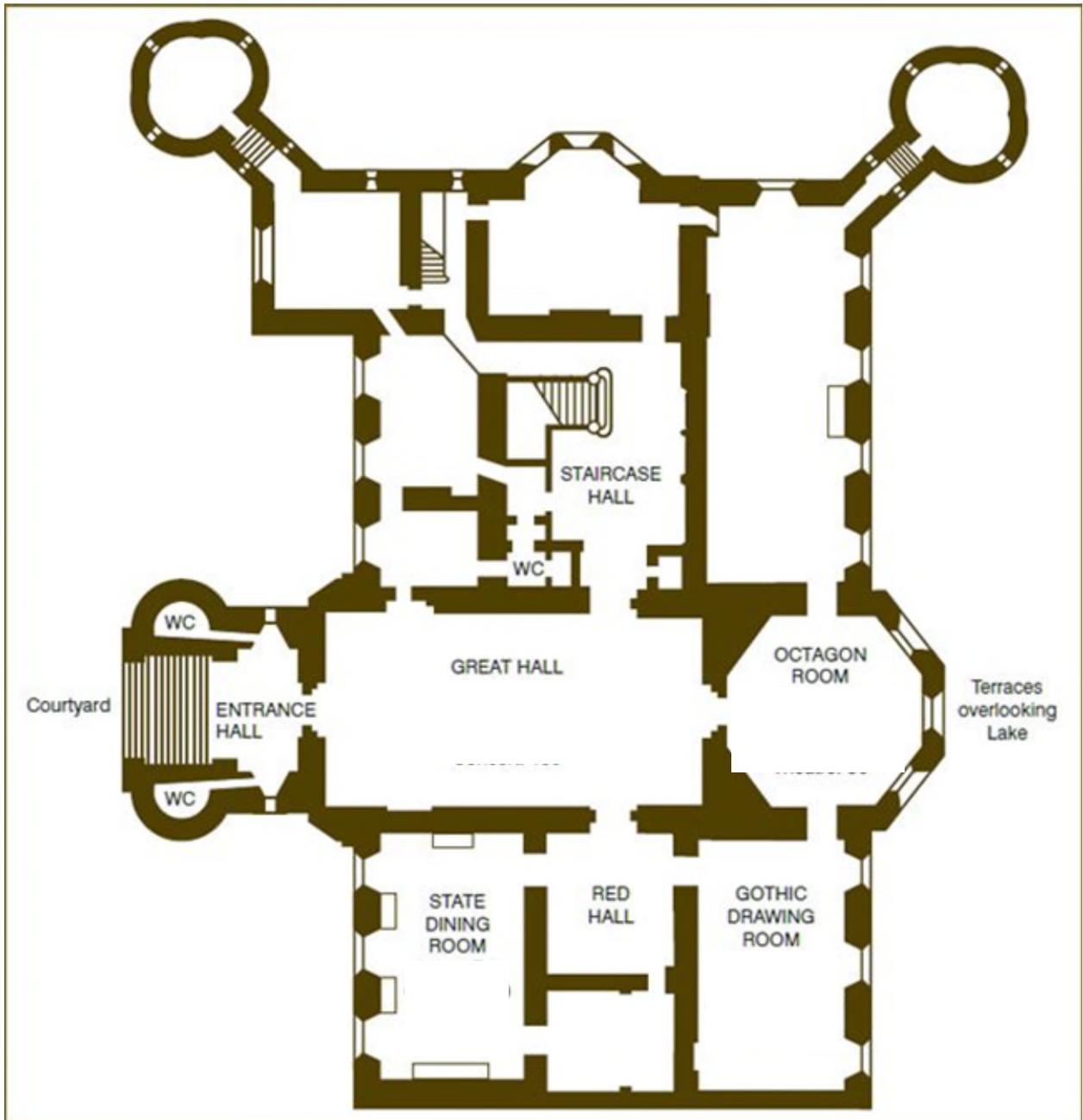
Watson a touch of  
 red will be wanted  
 in the room I don't  
 quite see where - in  
 a rug perhaps -  
 but perhaps it will  
 not be wanted -  
 perhaps a pale rose  
 color on the chair  
 or sofa will be pretty  
 the chair that  
 comes against the  
 plum wardrobe -  
 if Mullins would do  
 up his he will help  
 you on the spot for  
 the force of habit in

finishing - perhaps  
 the ribbon framing  
 2 rows of the applique  
 on the leaves of the  
 wardrobe will be pretty  
 in pink satin (cut  
 out) and painted pretty  
 in the shadows in  
 deeper tints of red -  
 you will think over  
 my random suggestions  
 will set you thinking.  
 I had a dear  
 little note from  
 her today and she  
 for me & give her  
 a word from me

Figure 4.5: Letter from Virginia Somers, May 1881, to Lady Warwick. WCRO CR1886 Box 469 (loose).



**Figure 4.6:** Plan of the Bedrooms of Warwick Castle (identified by room), using plan in Edmonsons's History of the Greville Family.



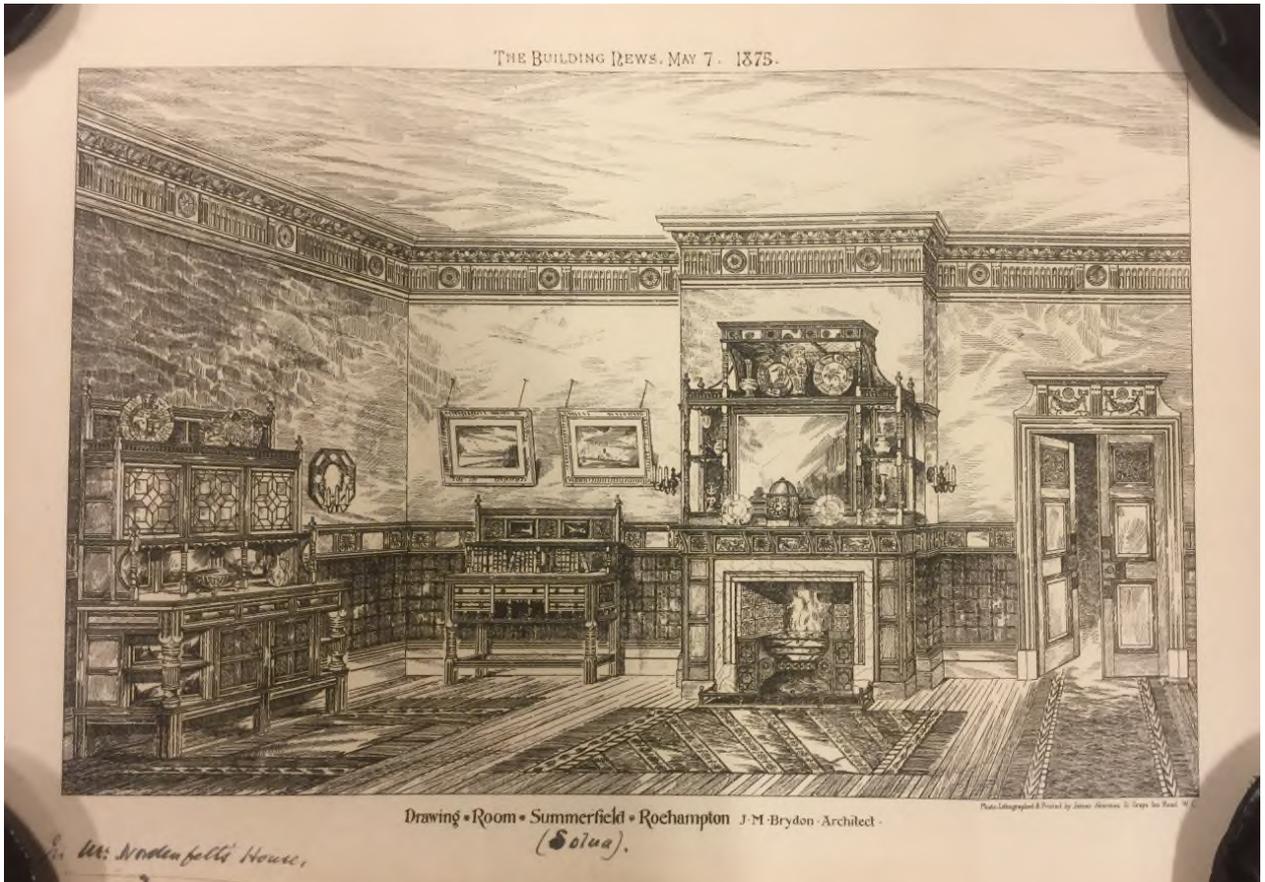
**Figure 4.7:** *Groundfloor plan of Eastnor Castle, designed by Smirke 1812-20.*



**Figure 4.8:** Queen Anne armoire, formerly from Warwick Castle, sold Selkirk Auctions, USA, 24 Sept 2016, lot 256.



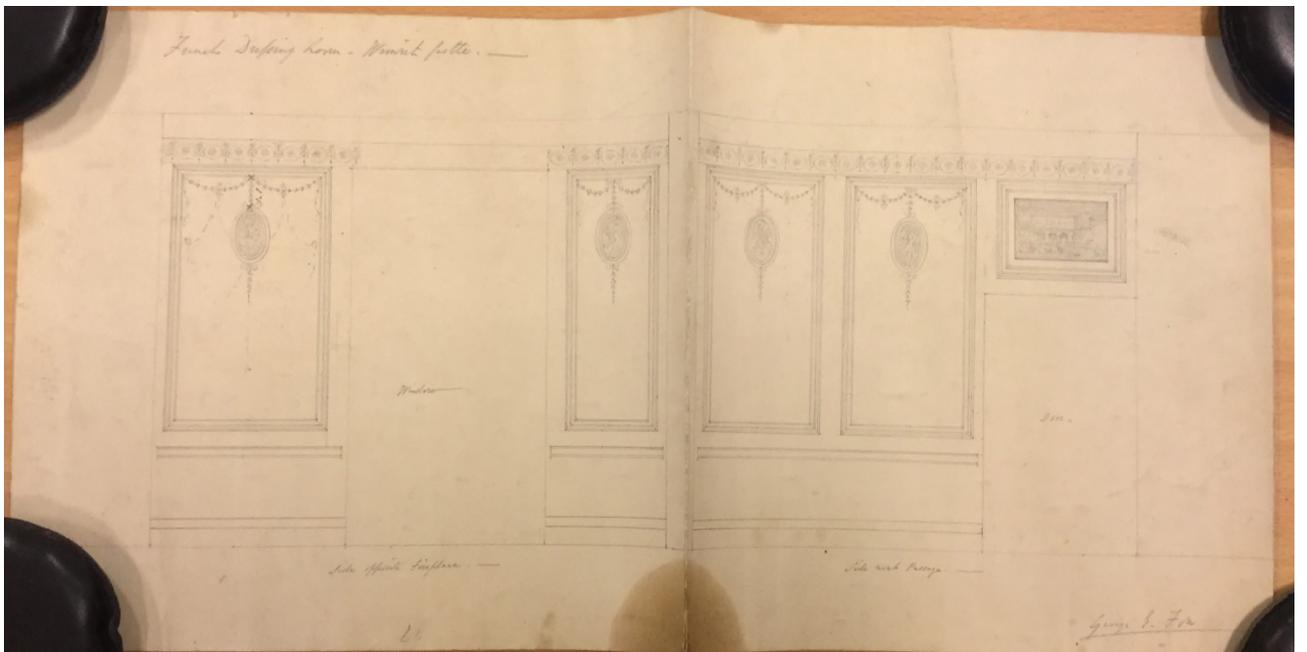
**Figure 4.9:** Queen Anne tile backed washstand, sold Selkirk Auctions, USA, 24 Sept 2016, lot 255.



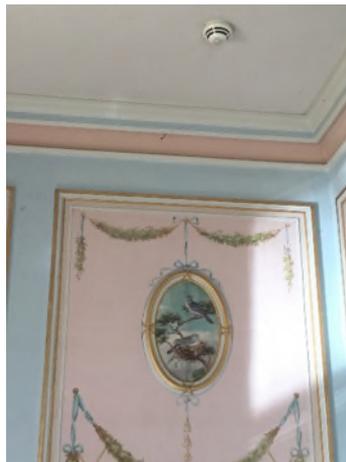
**Figure 4.10:** J M Brydon, *View of a drawing room*, found in WCRO CR1886 M83.



**Figure 4.11:** J M Brydon, *Studio for James Tissot*, found in WCRO CR1886 M83.



**Figure 4.12:** George Edward Fox, *Drawing of the walls of the Louis XVI Bedroom*, in WCRO CR1886 M83.



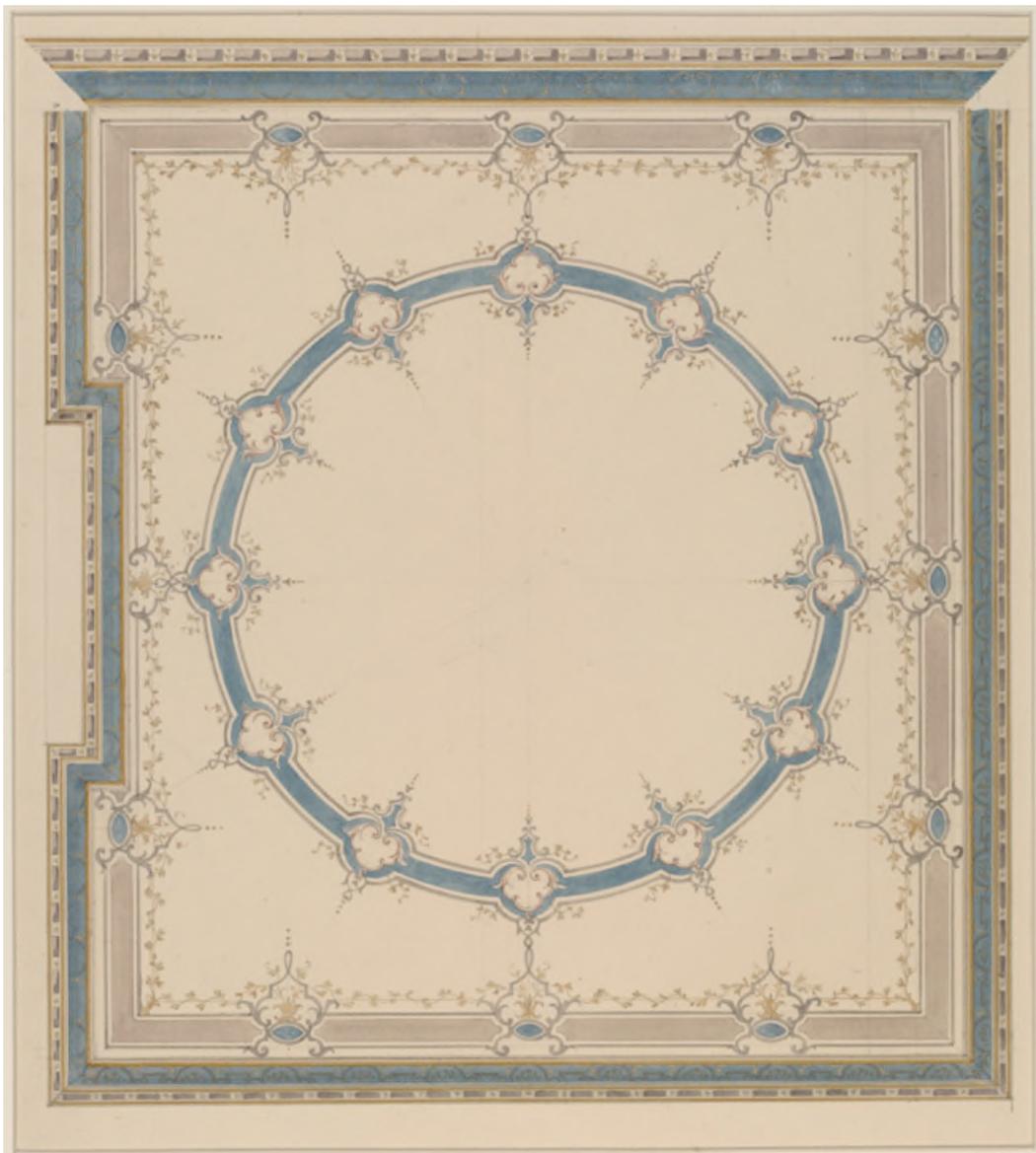
**Figure 4.13:** Photograph of *The Louis XVI Bedroom*, as it appears today, Warwick Castle.



**Figure 4.14:** Photography of *The Louis XVI Bedroom*, as it appears today, Warwick Castle.



**Figure 4.15:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Drawing of a painting for boisserie in the manner of Jean-Antoine Watteau.* WCRO CR1886.



**Figure 4.16:** George Edward Fox, *Drawing of a French ceiling for Canford Manor*. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



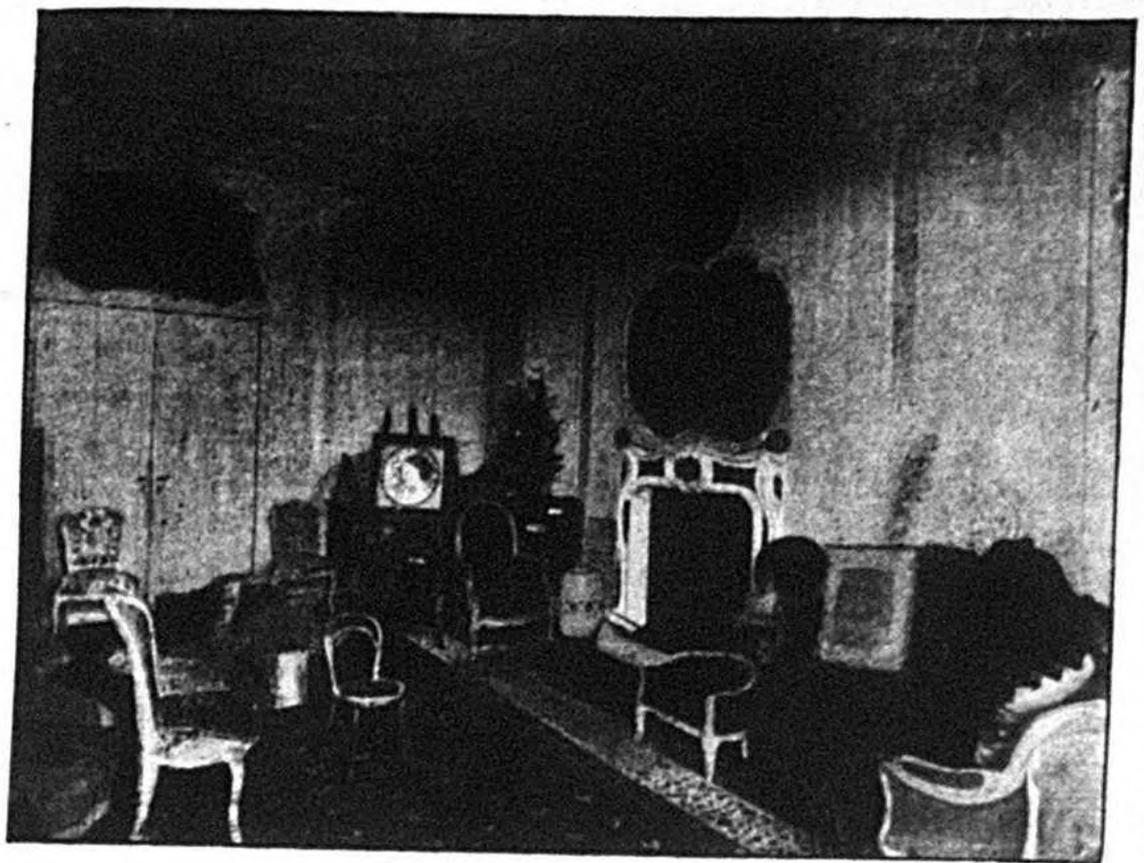
**Figure 4.17:** Photograph of *The French Drawing Room* in Canford Manor, Poole, Dorset, c.1900.



**Figure 4.18:** Photography of *Lady Warwick's Boudoir*, as it appears today after being remodelled after the 1871 fire.



Figure 4.19: Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Watercolour of a Sevres Cup*. WCRO CR1886.



The Sitting Room.

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Figure 4.20: Detail of Anne's Boudoir which appears in *The Gentlewoman* article, Dec 1891.



**Figure 4.21:** W Quatremain, *Lady Warwick's Boudoir*, c.1900, watercolour. Private Collection.





**Figure 4.22:** Photograph of the French Louis XVI carved bed, in a bedroom of Warwick Castle.



**Figure 4.23:** Photograph of the ceiling of the Italian Bedroom in Warwick Castle, as it appears today.



**Figure 4.24:** *The Italian Bedroom, Warwick Castle, as published in Country Life 1914.*



**Figure 4.25:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *A watercolour of a 'Baroque' room.* WCRO CR1886.



**Figure 4.26:** Photograph of a detail of the ceiling painting by Jacob de Wit in the Italian Bedroom, Warwick Castle.



**Figure 4.27:** *The Chinese Room*, c.1807, Temple Newsam, Leeds.



**Figure 4.28:** *The Japanese Bedroom*, c.1890 (?), Warwick Castle.



**Figure 4.29:** *The Japanese Bedroom*, c.1890 (?), Warwick Castle.



**Figure 4.30:** *The Wolsey Bed*, c.1800, Indo-Portugese carved ebony. Sold by the Greville family at Sotheby's, Syon House, May 1997.



**Figure 4.31:** Photograph of the Fireplace in the Japanese Bedroom at Warwick Castle, c.1890 (?)



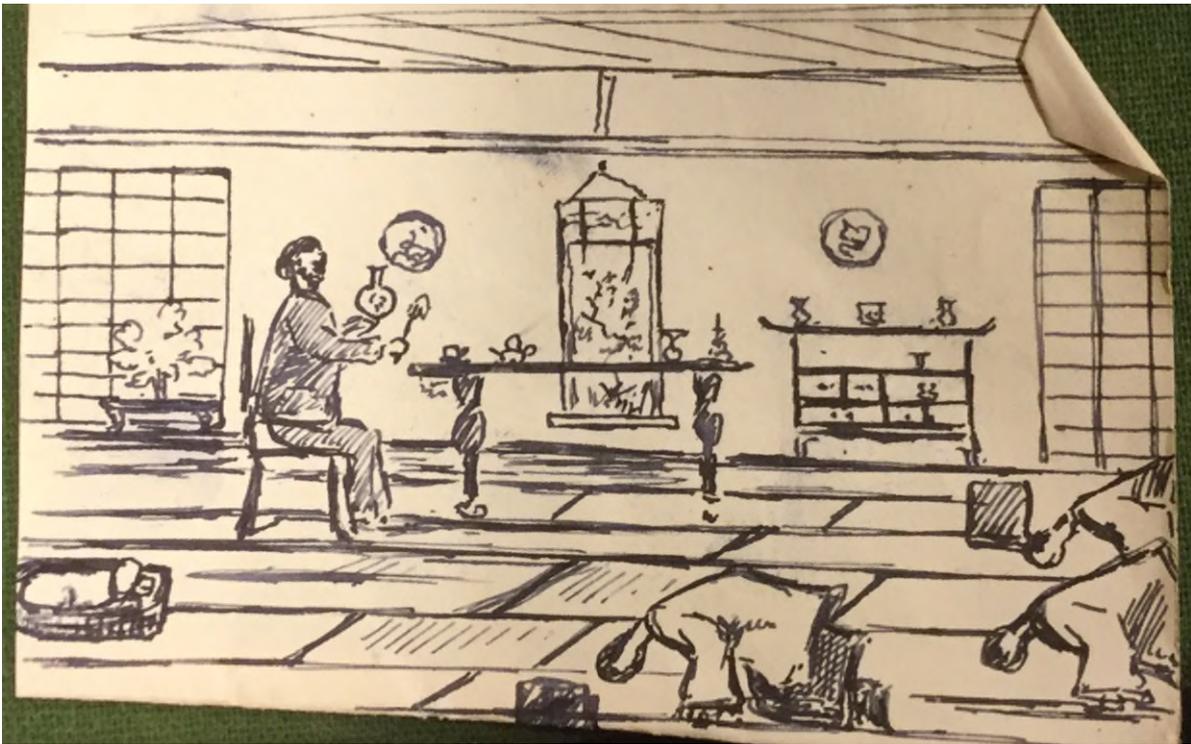
**Figure 4.32:** A cherrywood bedstead in the Japanese style, c.1880. Sold by the Greville family at Sotheby's, Syon House, 14-17 May 1997, lot 196.



**Figure 4.33:** *A Cabinet* by Edouard Lieve, c.1880, Private Collection.



**Figure 4.34:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Portrait of Lady Bromley-Davenport*, c.1877, painted ceramic, roughly 40 cm diameter. Capesthorne Hall, Cheshire.



**Figure 4.35:** Louis Greville, *Two drawings of Japanese Interiors*, c.1883. WCRO CR1886.



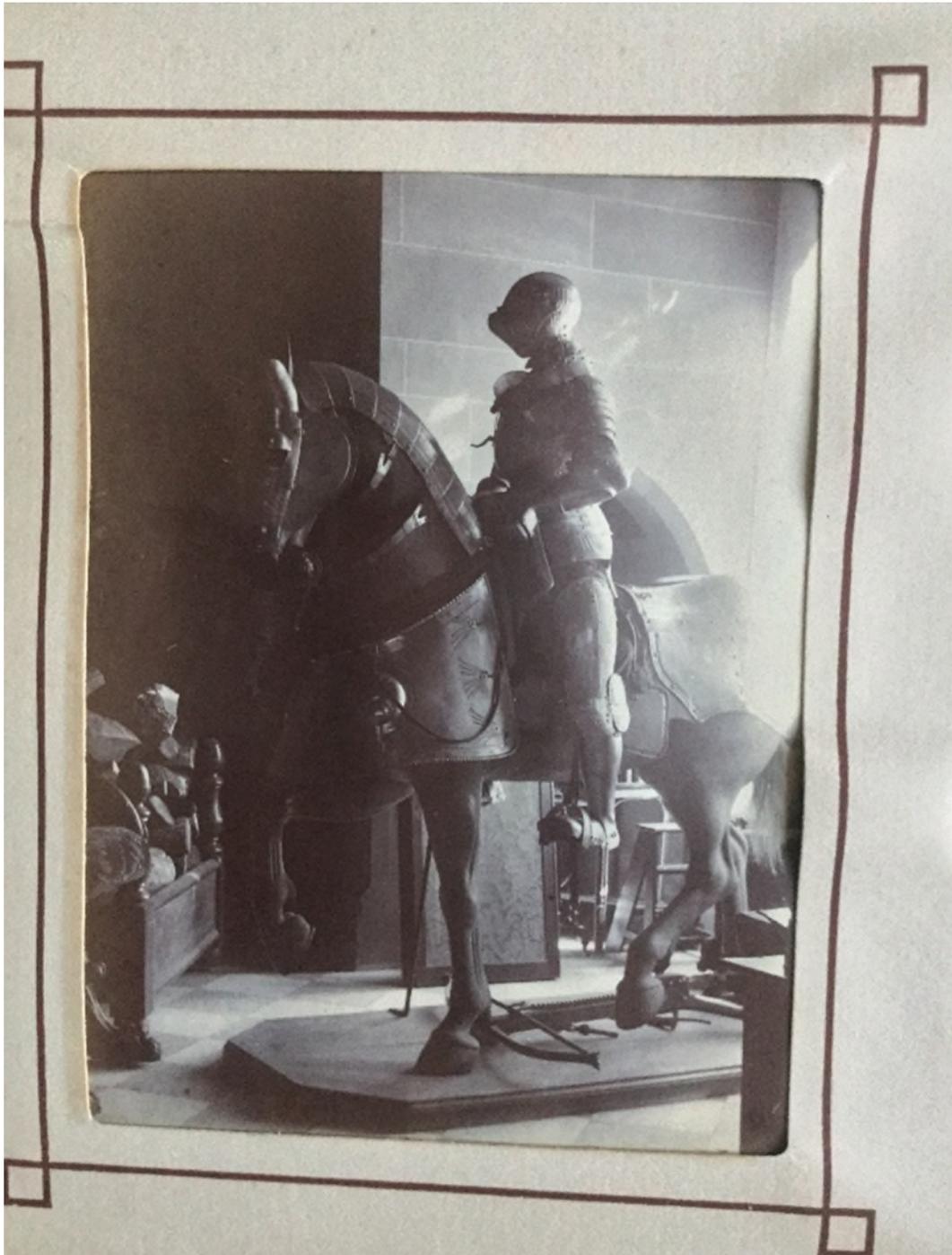
**Figure 4.36:** *A Drawing room from an unidentified House in Liverpool*, c.1880. Museum of Liverpool.



**Figure 4.37:** *View of the room identified as 'Lady Eva Greville's sitting room'. Warwick Castle collection.*



**Figure 4.38:** View of a corner of *The Cedar Drawing Room*. Warwick Castle collection..



**Figure 4.39:** *Photograph of the Armour display in Great Hall of Warwick Castle.* Warwick Castle collection.



**Figure 4.40:** Francis Bedford, *View of the East Front of Warwick Castle*, c.1863. Warwick Castle collection.



**Figure 4.41:** Francis Bedford (?), *The Great Hall of Warwick Castle*, c.1890. Warwick Castle Collection.



**Figure 4.42:** View of *The Breakfast Room in the Domestic Apartments of Warwick Castle*. Warwick Castle Collection.



**Figure 4.43:** Photo album view of the mantle display in *The Breakfast Room of Warwick Castle*. Warwick Castle Collection.



**Figure 4.44:** Photo album view of *The Breakfast Room of Warwick Castle* through the door of *Lady Eva's Sitting Room*. Warwick Castle Collection.



**Figure 4.45:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Watercolour of a lady in the domestic apartments of Warwick Castle*. Warwick Castle Collection.



**Figure 4.46:** *Sixteenth Century Room of Hertford House, c.1880. Wallace Collection.*



**Figure 4.47:** Photograph of *The Red Drawing Room of Warwick Castle*, c.1863. Warwick Castle Collection.



**Figure 5.1:** Photograph of the Fresco cycle in Lady Waterford Hall (1861-1883), Ford, Berwick-upon-Tweed by Louisa Anne Beresford, Lady Waterford.



**Figure 5.2:** *The Warwick Vase* located in the Conservatory of Warwick Castle. Late nineteenth century. Private Collection.



**Figure 5.3:** Photograph of *The nave of Saint Mary's Collegiate Church, Warwick, c.1880, before the galleries were removed.* WCRO PH1035/B3378.

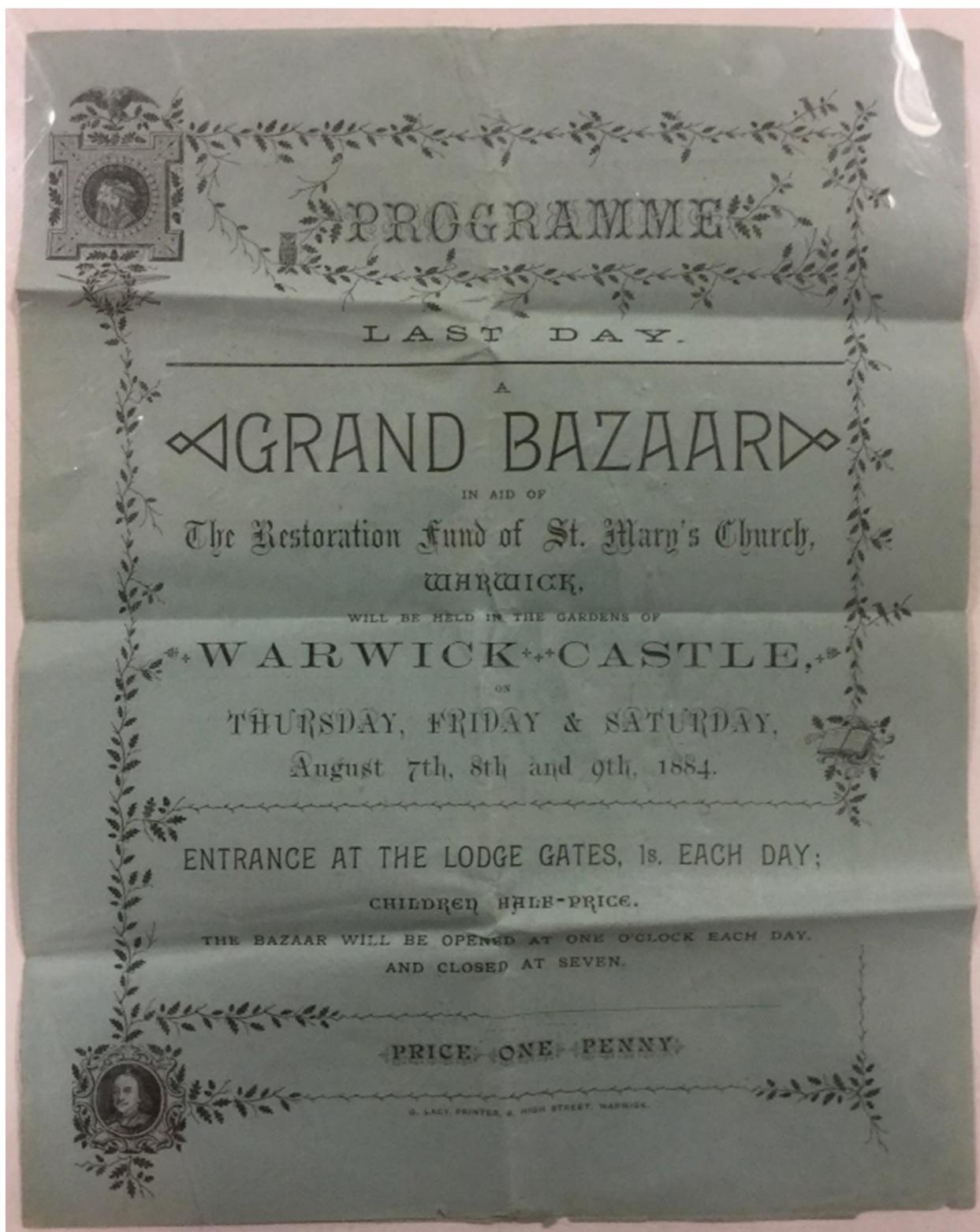


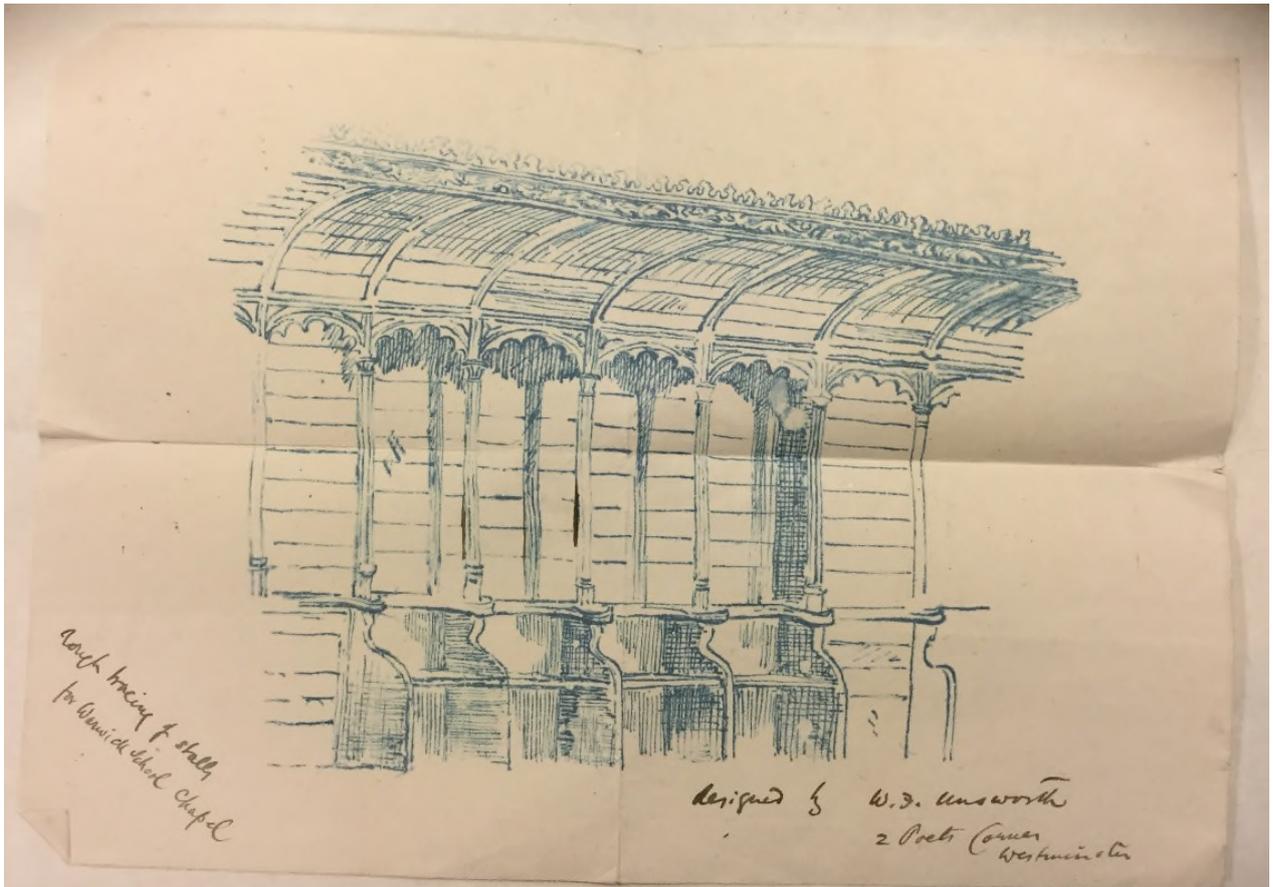
Figure 5.4: Programme for the 1884 Bazaar at Warwick Castle. WCRO CR1886.



**Figure 5.5:** *The Chapel of Warwick School.* Photograph dated to 1903. Warwick School Collection.



**Figure 5.6:** *The Doll of the Countess of Leicester*, from Kenilworth, 1831, made by Queen Victoria. Royal Collection Trust.



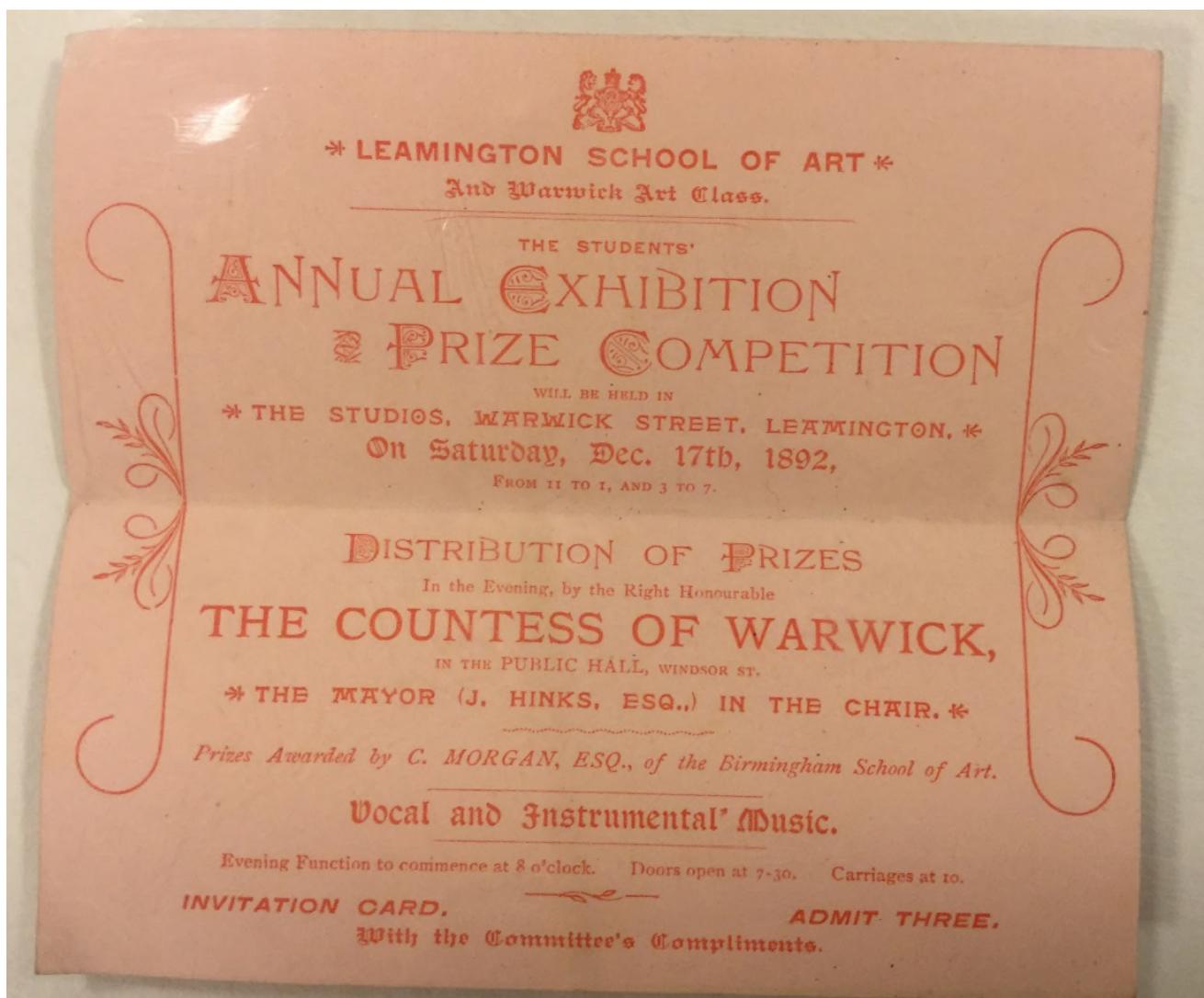
**Figure 5.7:** W. F. Unsworth, *Designs for the choir of Warwick School Chapel*. WCRO CR1886.



**Figure 5.8:** Warwick School Pulpit, with added detail of inscription.



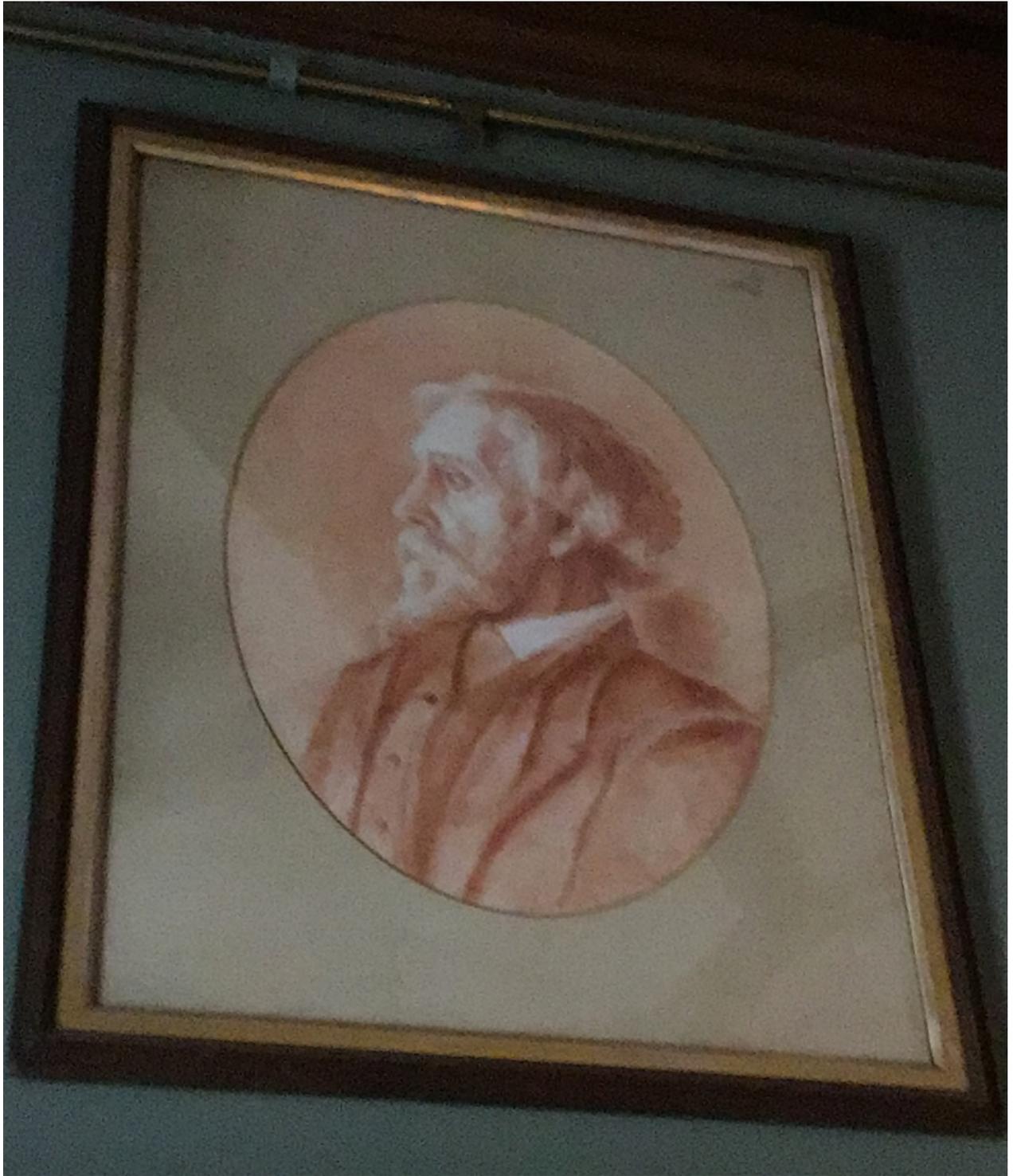
**Figure 5.9:** John Cundall, *The Town Hall, Leamington Spa*, 1882-1884.



**Figure 5.10:** A surviving invitation found in Anne's papers for the Annual Exhibition at Prize Competition at the Leamington School of Art, dated to 17<sup>th</sup> December 1892. WCRO CR1886 Box 468 (loose).



**Figure 5.11:** John Brett, *Study of Maximilian armour*, 1860, watercolour gouache on paper, 25 x 34 cm. British Museum, London.



**Figure 5.12:** Miss Emilie Brown, *Portrait of George Greville, 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Warwick*, red chalk on paper, size unknown. Warwick Castle Collection.



**Figure 5.13:** *A group of young artists*, perhaps students of the Leamington School of Art. Photograph, late nineteenth century. Warwick Castle Collection.



**Figure 5.14:** Photograph of *The Countess of Warwick's Needlework shop in Bond Street*. Warwick Castle Collection.



**Figure 6.1:** Frank Charteris, *Portrait of Lady Anne Charteris*, pencil and white heightening on paper, size unknown. Gosford House.



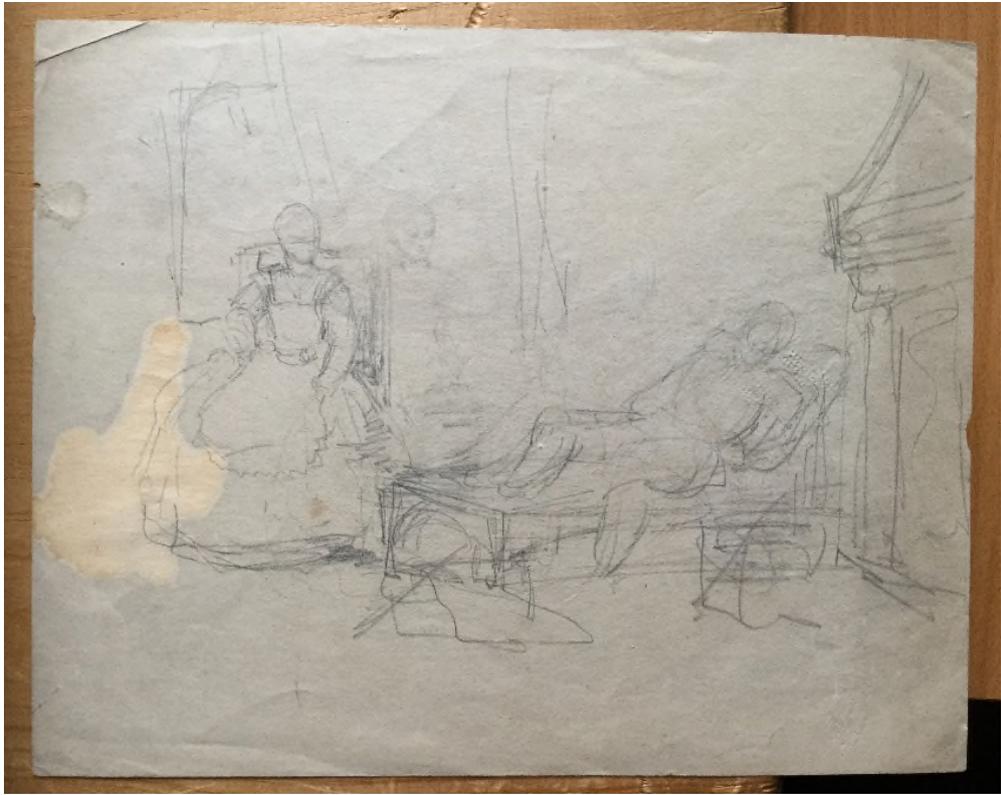
**Figure 6.2:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Two oil sketches: One study of an unknown scene, and one copy of a Wemyss family portrait*, oil on paper, roughly 21 x 29 cm. Warwick Castle collection.



**Figure 6.3:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Knight and maiden embracing*, after George Cattermole, pencil on paper, roughly 21 x 29 cm. Warwick Castle collection.



**Figure 6.4:** Anne Charteris, *Seventeenth century hawking party*, pencil and chinks on paper, 19 x 25 cm. Warwick Castle collection.



**Figure 6.5:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Ripley Castle*, two sheets, roughly 21 x 29 cm. Warwick Castle collection.



**Figure 6.6:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Two venetian genre scenes*, pencil and watercolour on paper, roughly 21 x 29 cm. Warwick Castle collection.



**Figure 6.7:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Bag pipe player*, pencil and watercolour on paper, roughly 10 x 15 cm. Warwick Castle collection.



**Figure 6.8:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Scottish landscape with house*, pencil and watercolour on paper, roughly 21 x 29 cm. Warwick Castle collection.



**Figure 6.9:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Landscape*, watercolour on paper, roughly 17 x 25 cm. Warwick Castle collection.



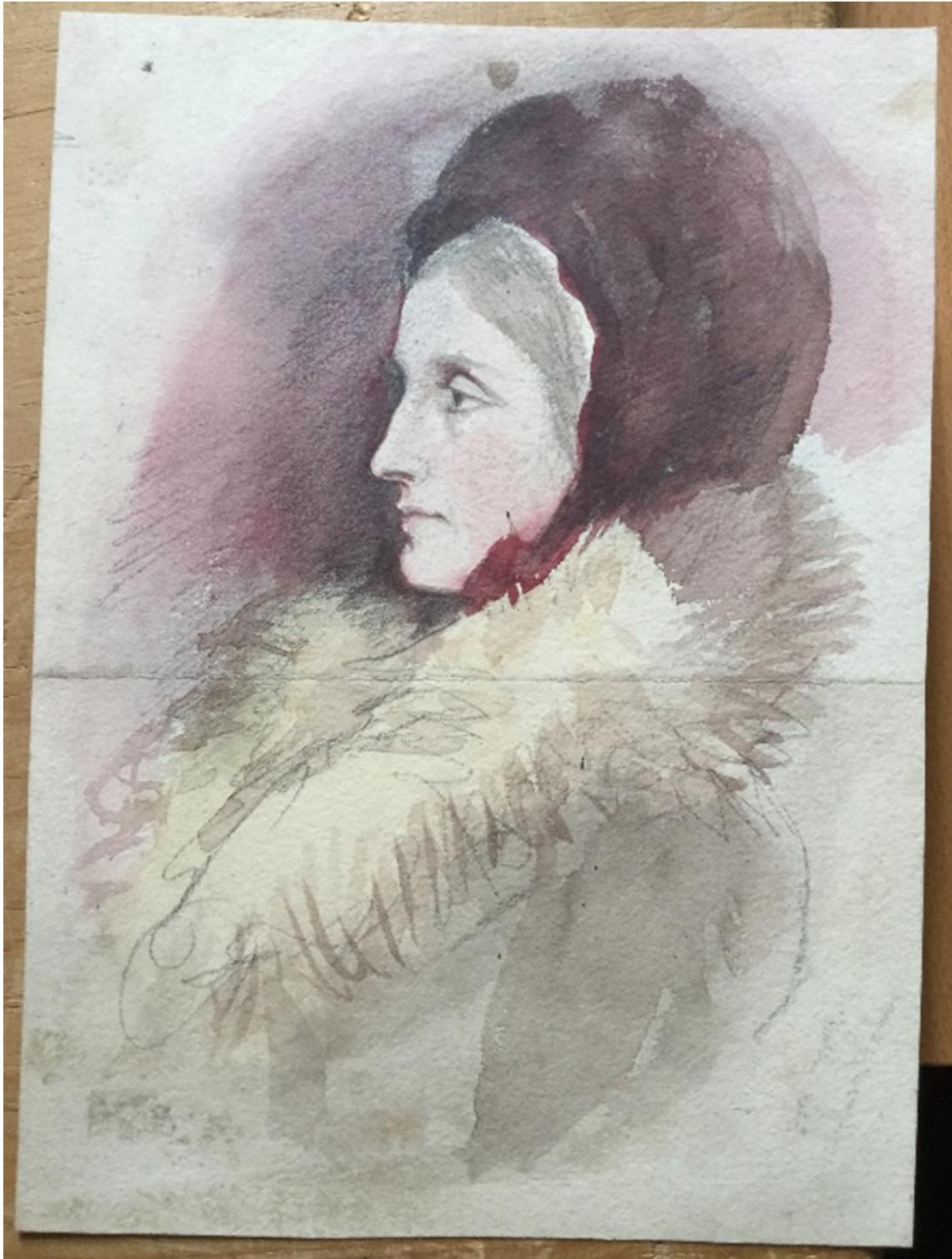
**Figure 6.10:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Scottish oil sketches of landscapes and figures*, oil on paper, roughly 21 x 29 cm. Warwick Castle collection.



**Figure 6.11:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Scottish castle (unidentified, perhaps Drumlanrig Castle?)*, watercolour on paper, roughly 10 x 15 cm. Warwick Castle collection.



**Figure 6.12:** Photograph *Portrait of Anne Countess of Warwick*, published in *The Gentlewoman*, 1891.



**Figure 6.13:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Self-portrait*, c.1890, pencil and watercolour on paper, roughly 21 x 29 cm. Warwick Castle collection.



**Figure 6.14:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Self-portrait*, signed and dated 1890, engraving, roughly 21 x 29 cm. Warwick Castle collection.



**Figure 6.15:** Photograph of Anne Countess of Warwick, c.1860, albumen print. WCRO CR1886.



**Figure 6.16:** Julia Margaret Cameron, *Nelly Terry*, 1864, albumen print. Private Collection.



**Figure 6.17:** *Portrait of Anne Countess of Warwick*, c.1880, unknown photographer, unknown size. Warwick Castle collection.



**Figure 6.18:** *Family of George Greville, 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Warwick, c.1890, unknown photographer, unknown size. Warwick Castle collection.*

THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS, JULY 2, 1892.—8

Captain Greville. Hon. Sidney Greville. Marynia of Hertford. Hon. C. R. Dibbs.  
Hon. Mrs. A. Greville. H.R.H. Prince of Wales. Earl of Warwick. Duke of York. Lady Eva Greville.



Lord Brooke. Prince Christian. Hon. Marjorie Greville. Lady Brooke. Hon. Guy Greville. Countess of Warwick. Lady A. Lennox. Lord Leigh. Lord Faversham.

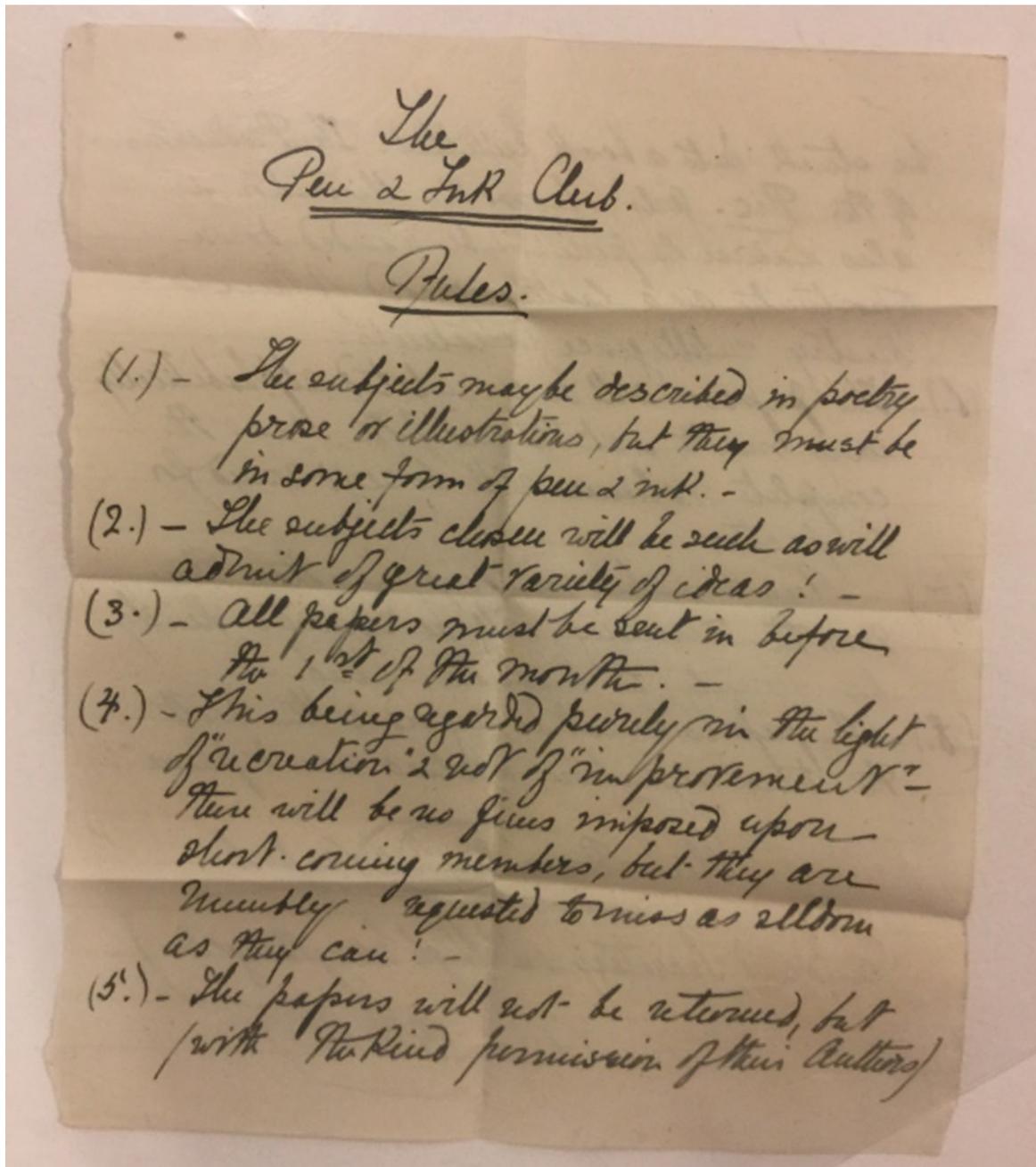
THE ROYAL PARTY AND OTHER GUESTS AT WARWICK CASTLE.

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY R. L. GRAHAM, LEAMINGTON SPA.

**Figure 6.19:** *The Royal Party and other guests at Warwick Castle, July 1892. Published by The London Illustrated News.*



**Figure 6.20:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Study of a female artist*, pencil on paper, roughly 15 x 27 cm. Warwick Castle collection.



**Figure 6.21:** Rules for the Pen & Ink Club, WCRO CR1886.



**Figure 6.22:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Two studies of women inhabiting the interiors of Warwick Castle*, pencil and watercolour on paper, roughly 21 x 29 cm. Warwick Castle collection.



**Figure 6.23:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Study of a lady in an interior*, pencil and watercolour on paper, roughly 10 x 15 cm. Warwick Castle collection.



**Figure 6.24:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Study of a lady in an interior*, pencil and watercolour on paper, roughly 10 x 15 cm. Warwick Castle collection.



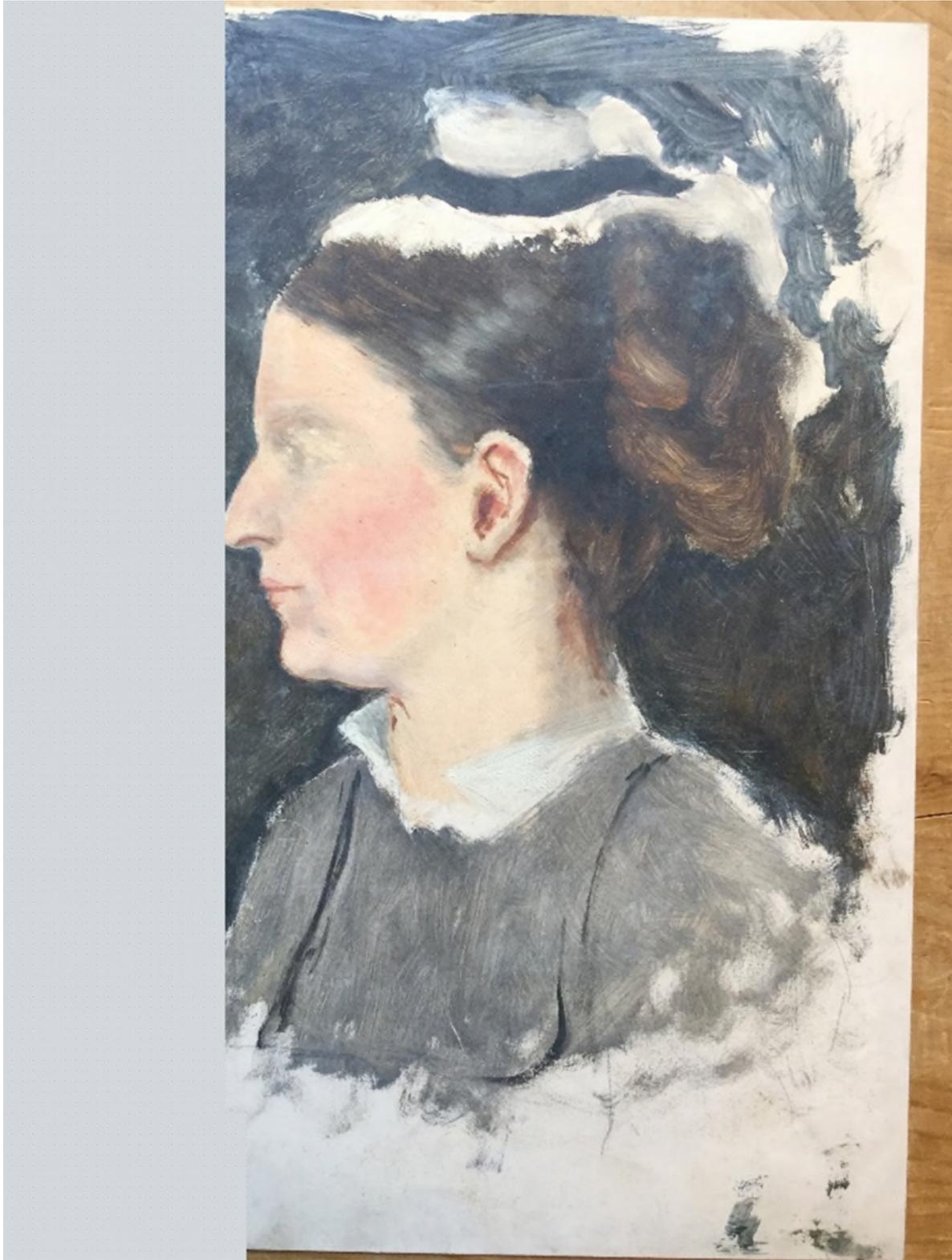
**Figure 6.25:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Woman peeling a carrot*, oil on canvas, 25 x 32 cm. Warwick Castle collection.



**Figure 6.26:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Still life*, watercolour on paper, roughly 10 x 15 cm. Warwick Castle collection.



**Figure 6.27:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Young lady practising embroidery*, watercolour on paper, roughly 15 x 23 cm. Warwick Castle collection.



**Figure 6.28:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Oil sketch of a maidservant*, oil on paper, roughly 10 x 15 cm. Warwick Castle collection.



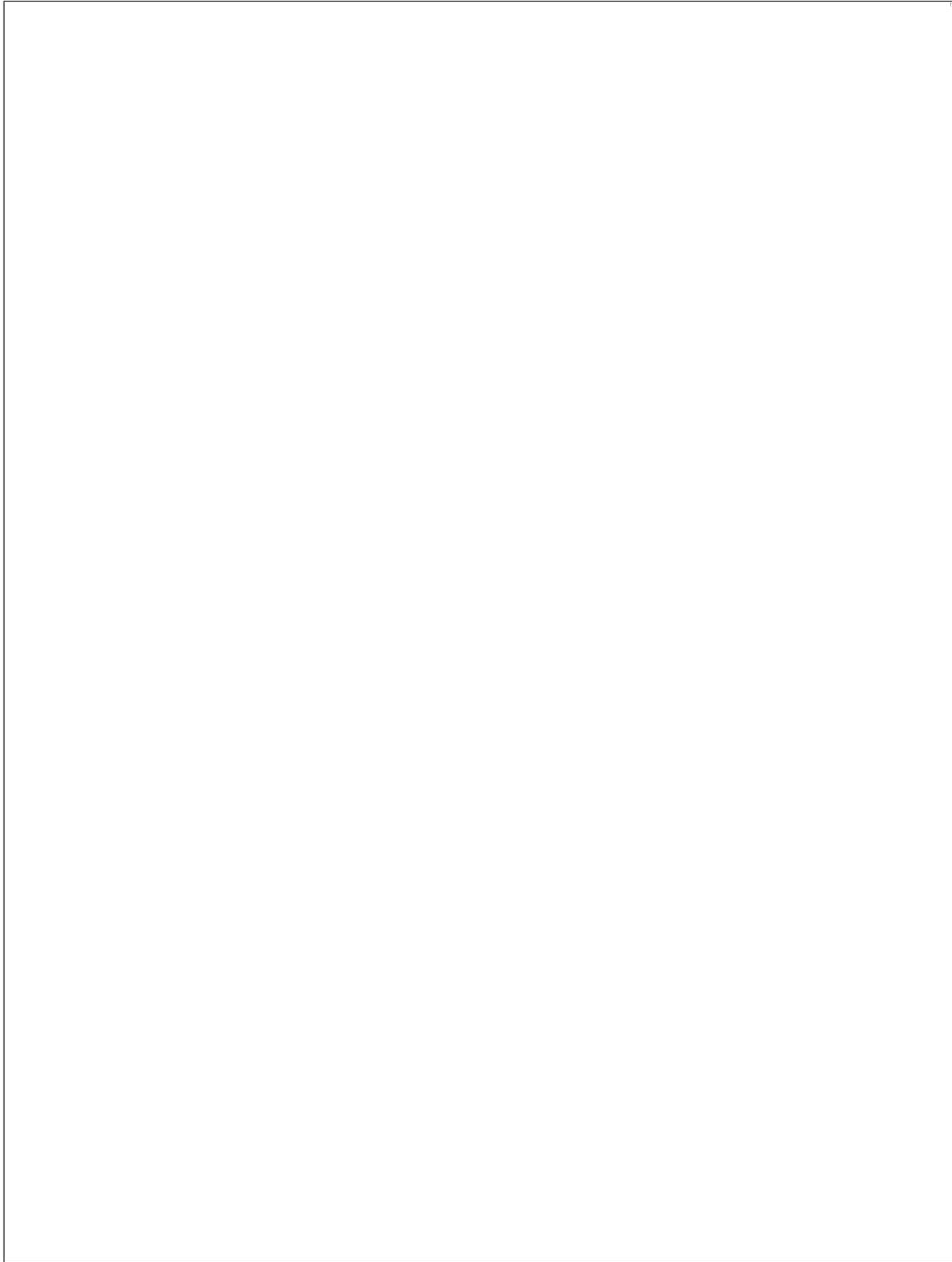
**Figure 6.29:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Unfinished study of a young lady*, pencil and watercolour on paper, roughly 21 x 29 cm. Warwick Castle collection.



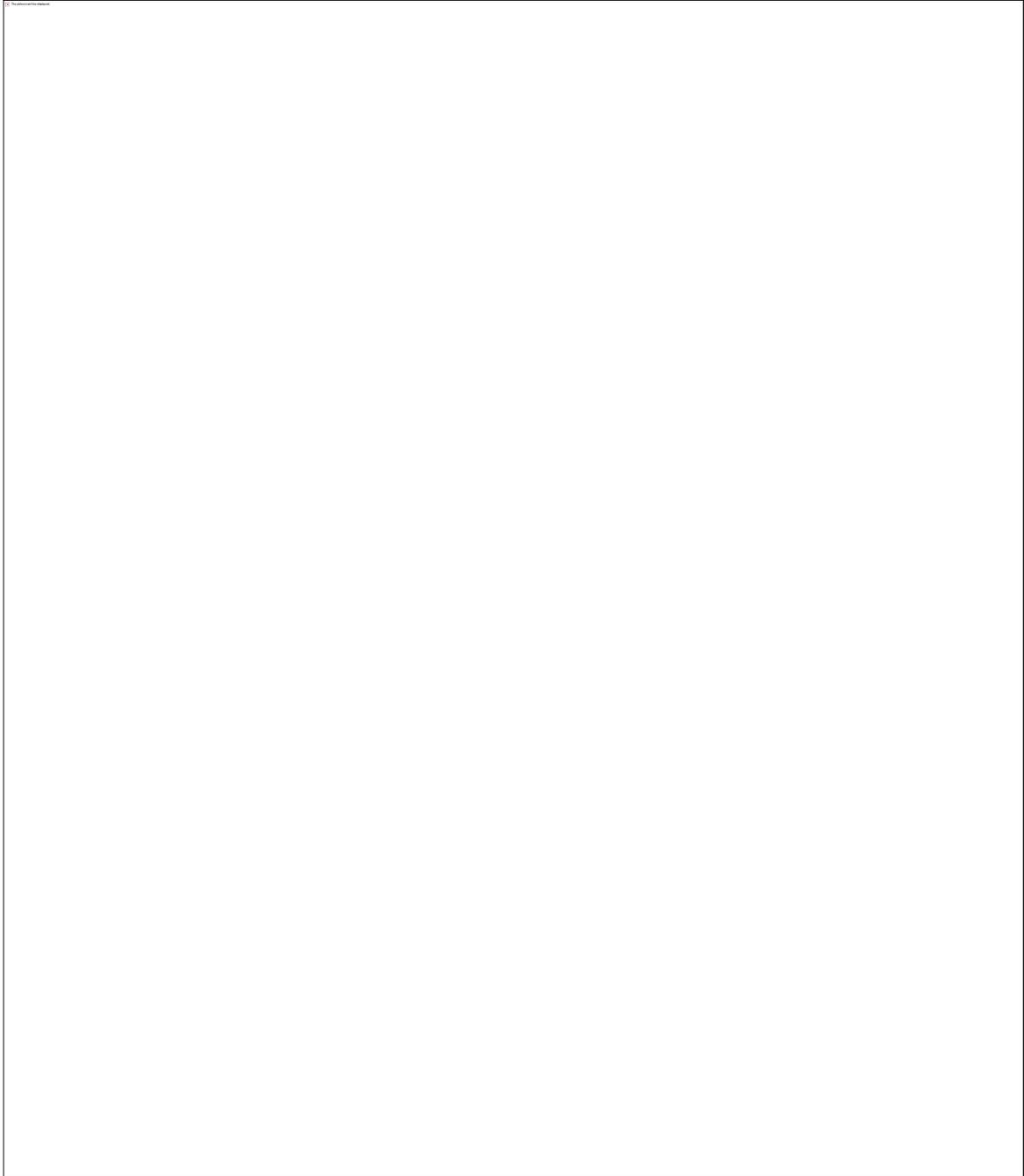
**Figure 6.30:** John Brett, *View of Warwick Castle*, 1860, watercolour and pencil on paper, 25 x 35 cm. Barber Institute, Birmingham.



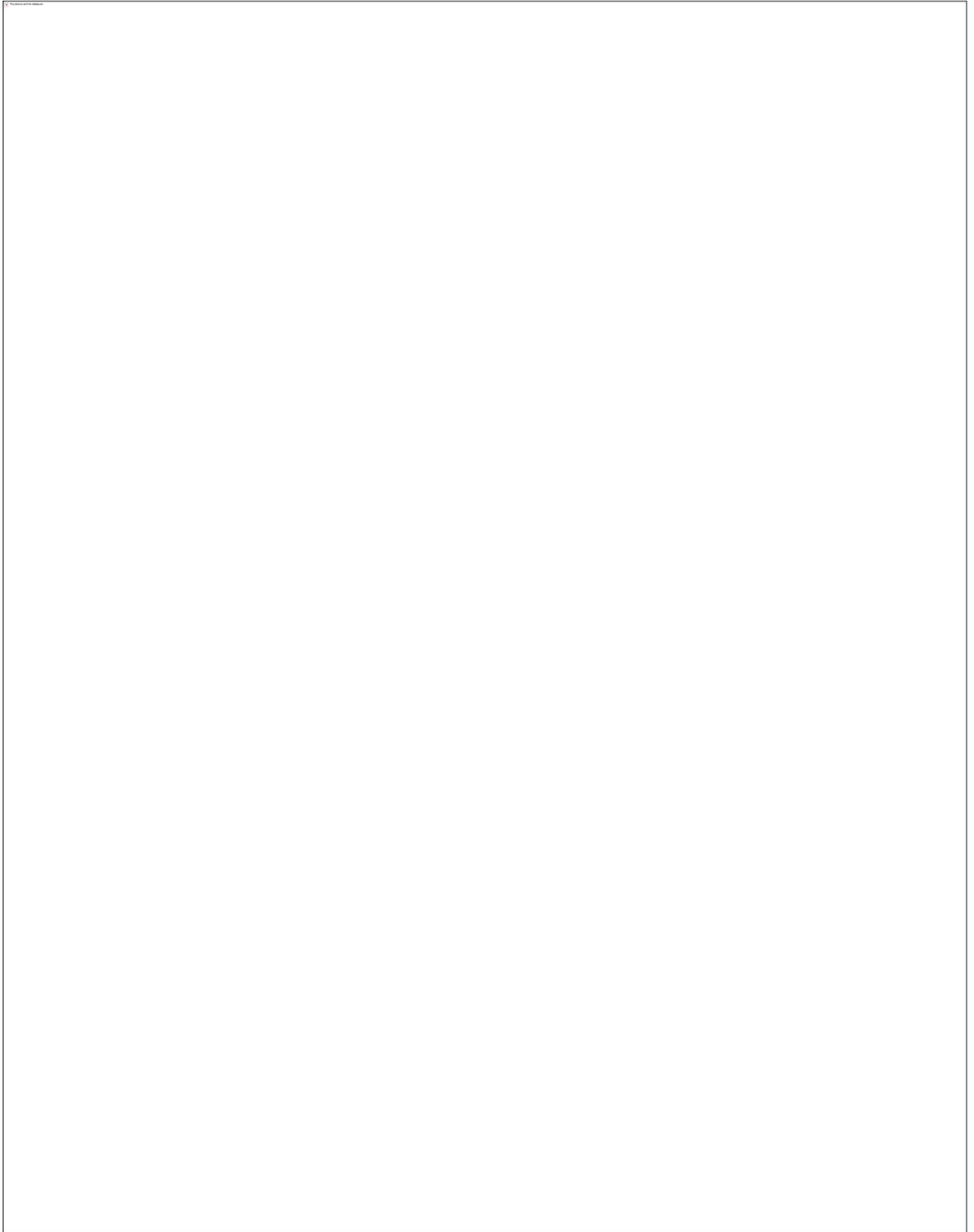
**Figure 6.31:** John Brett, *Study of Maximilian armour*, 1860, watercolour gouache on paper, 25 x 34 cm. British Museum, London.



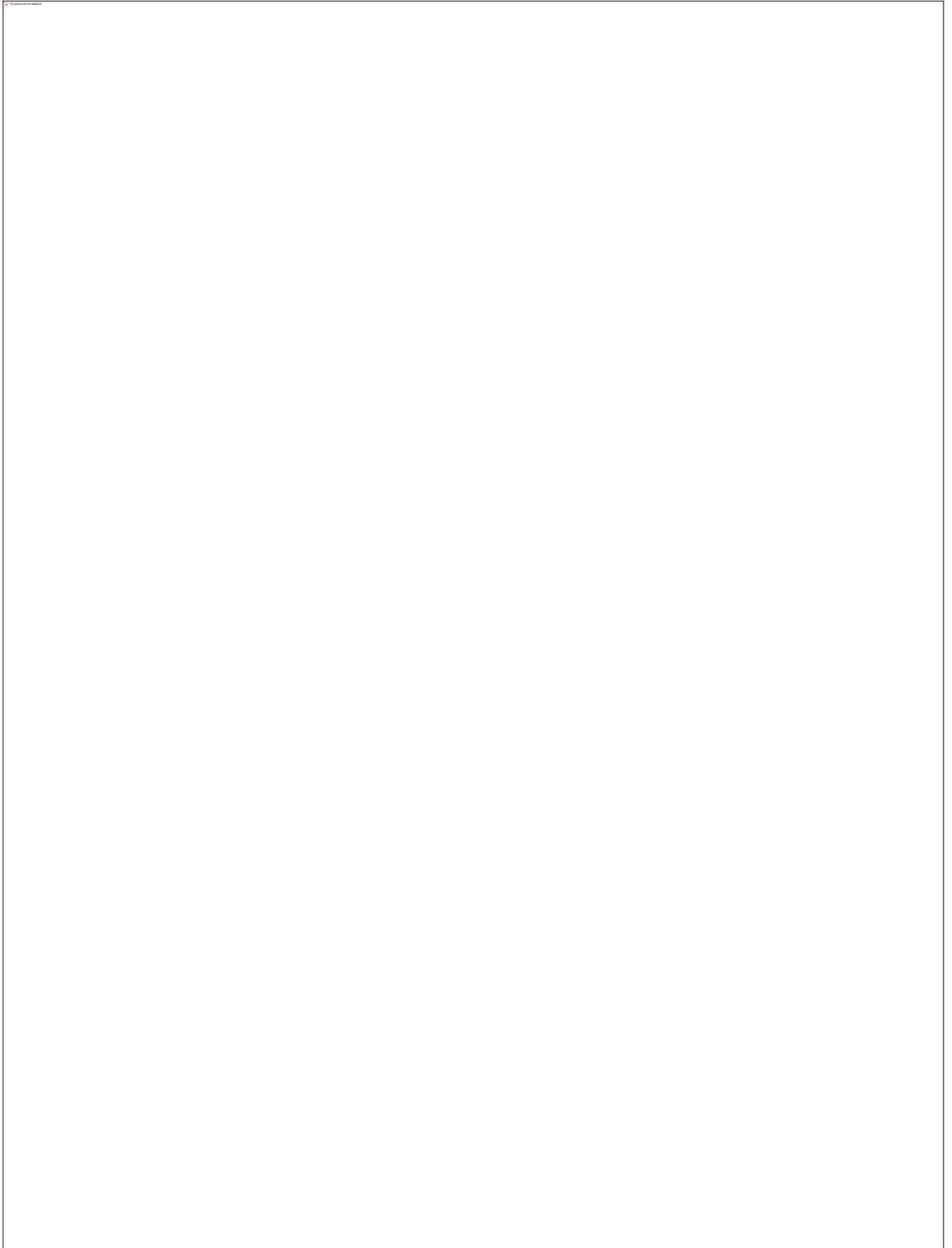
**Figure 6.32:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Portrait of Sidney Greville with Guy of Warwick's Sword*, oil on canvas, roughly 25 x 35 cm. Warwick Castle collection.



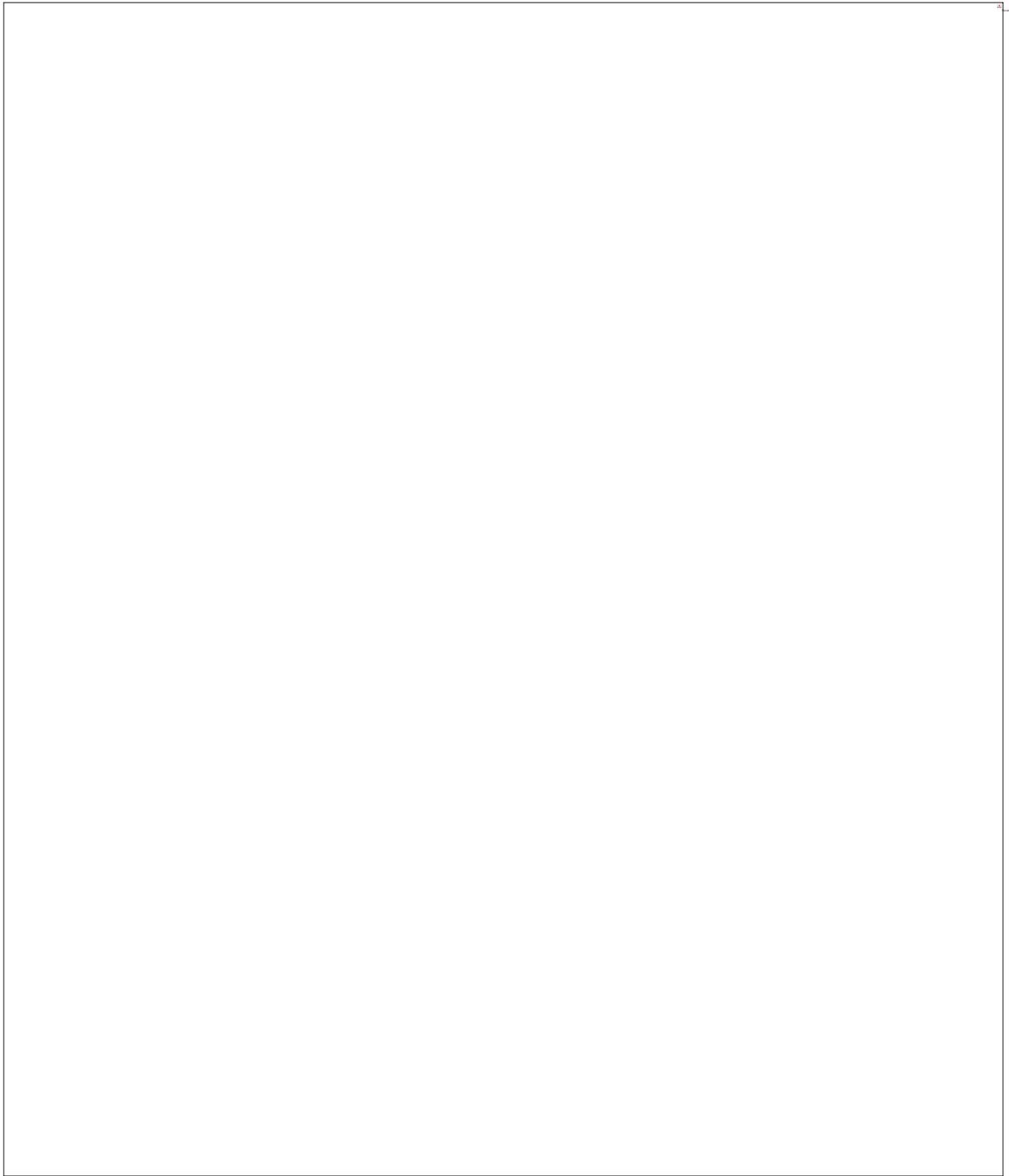
**Figure 6.33:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Portrait of Gustave Dore*, published by Blanche Roosevelt in 1885.



**Figure 6.34:** Gustave Dore, *Frontispiece of Orlando Furioso*, printed 1879.



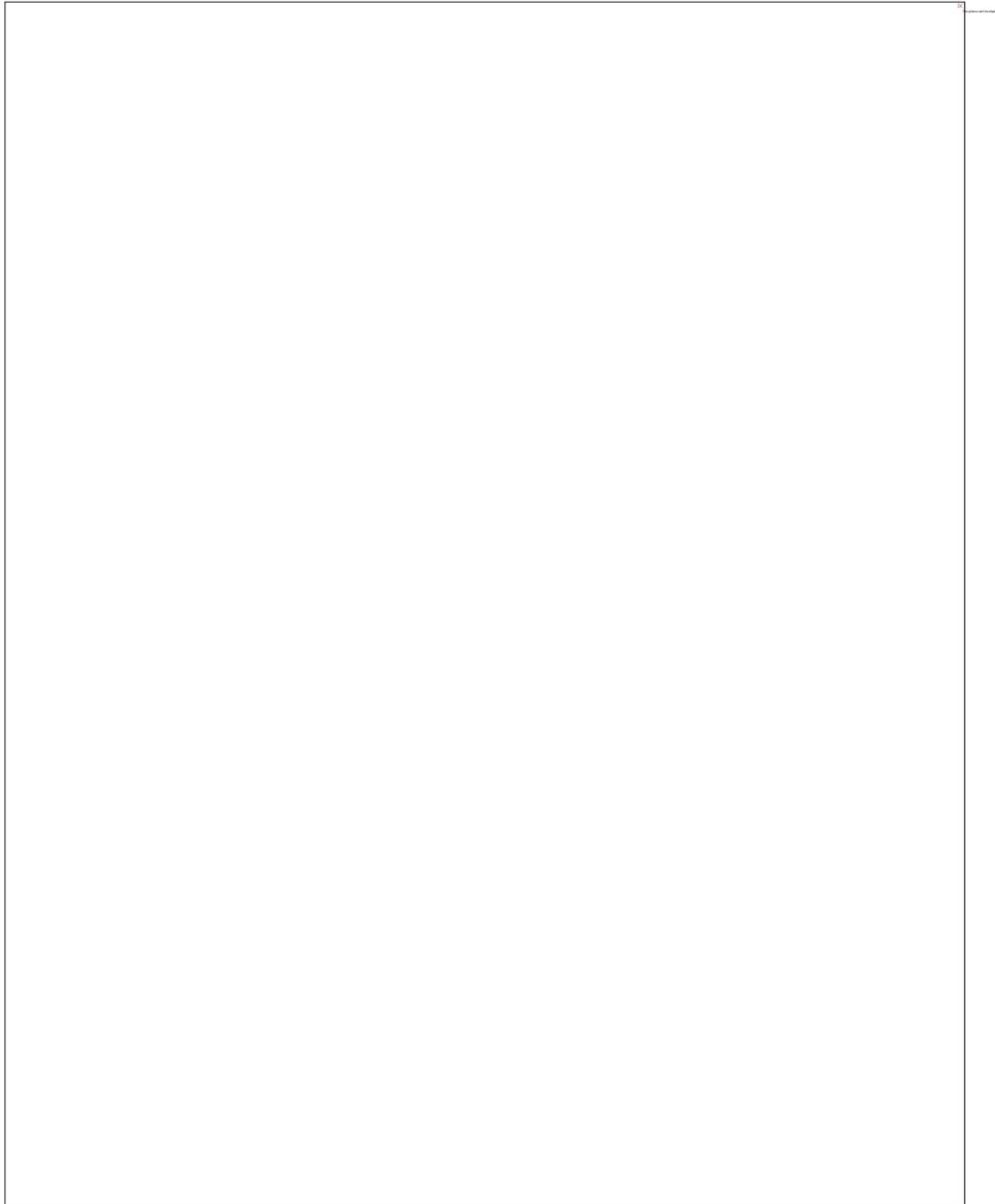
**Figure 6.35:** George Frederic Watts, *Portrait of George Greville, 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Warwick*, oil on canvas roughly 20 x 30 inches. Private Collection.



**Figure 6.36:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Portrait of Sidney Greville*, oil on canvas, roughly 35 x 45 cm. Warwick Castle Collection.



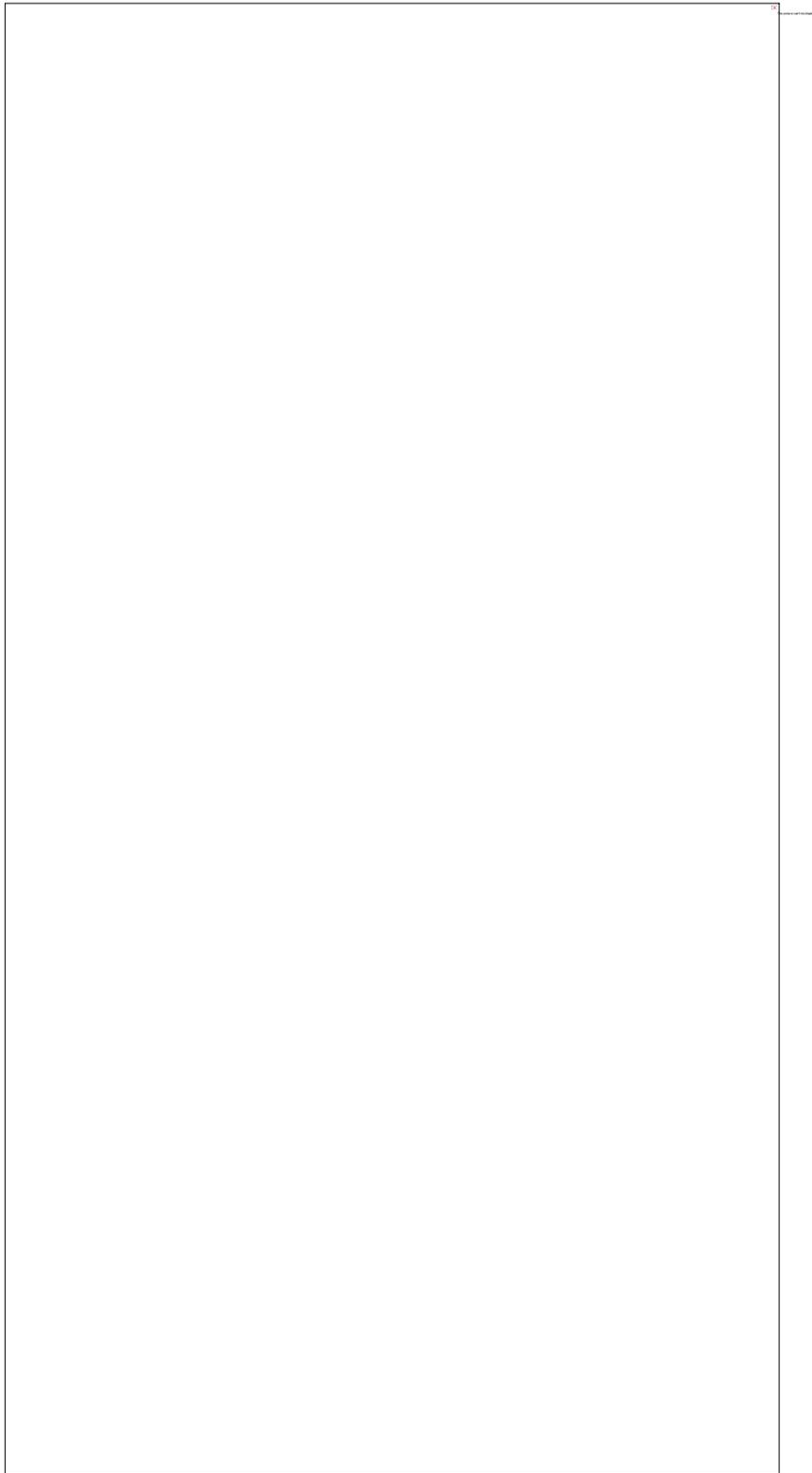
**Figure 6.37:** Sir Joshua Reynolds, *A boy holding a portfolio*, oil on canvas, roughly 30 x 40 inches. Sold Sotheby's, London, June 2014, formerly from the Warwick Castle Collection.



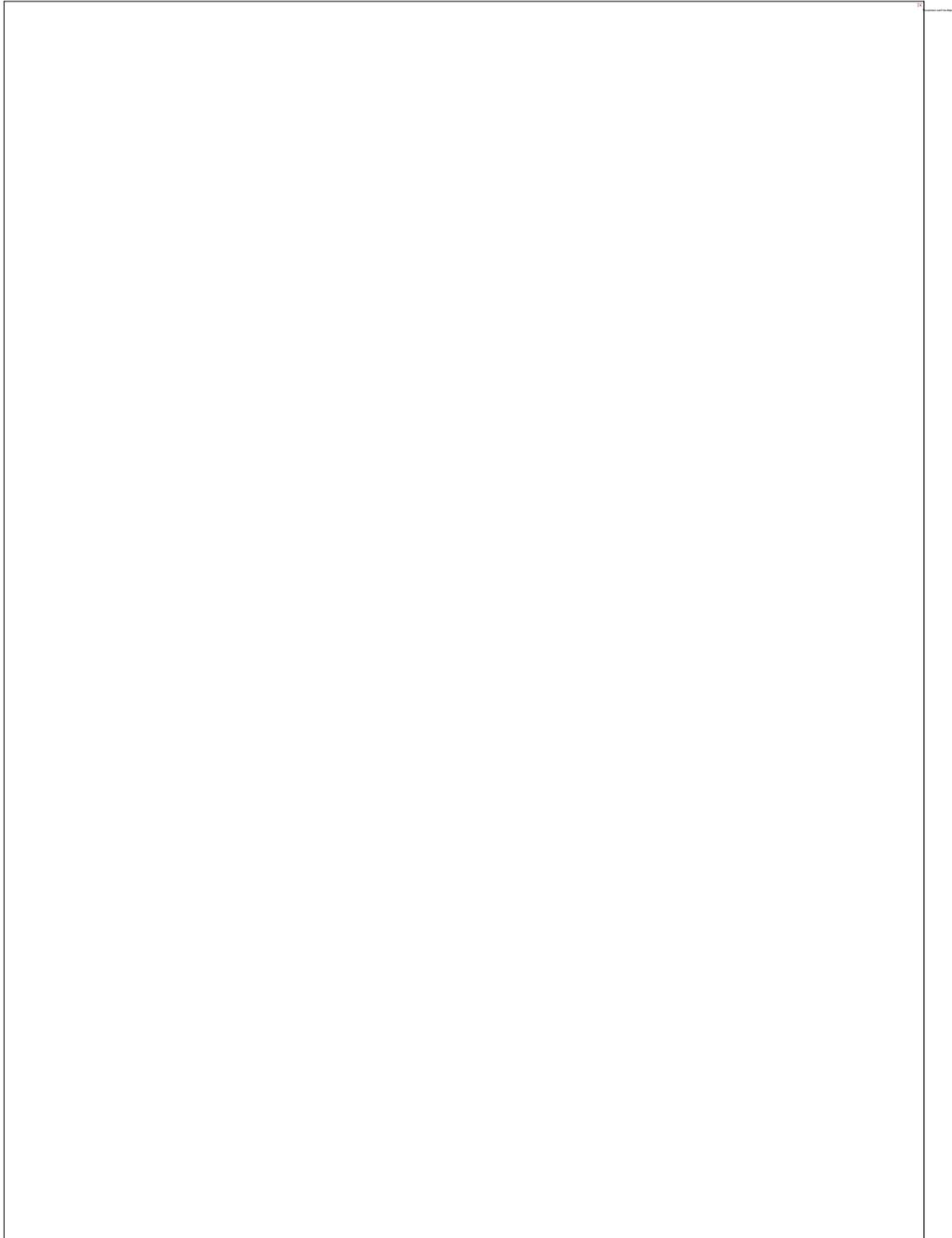
**Figure 6.38:** LB (?), *Drawing of a girl*, inscribed LB (?), pencil on blue paper, roughly 23 x 26 cm. Warwick Castle collection.



**Figure 6.39:** Alexander Fisher, *Memorial plaque dedicated to George Greville, 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Warwick*, c.1895, enamel on metal, size unknown. Current location unknown.



**Figure 6.40:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Sketch of memorial plaque*, pencil on paper, roughly 10 x 15 cm. WCRO CR1886.



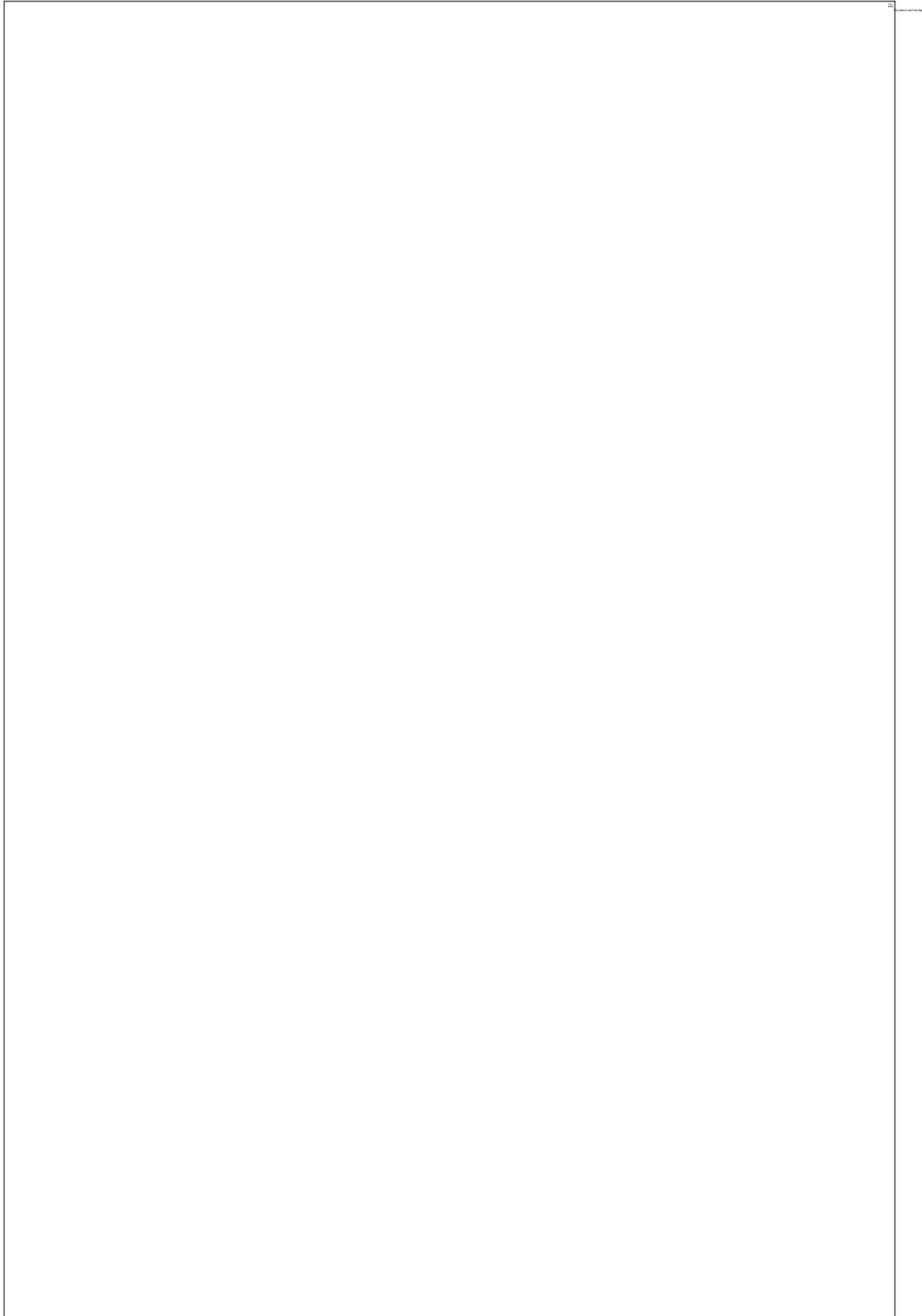
**Figure 6.41:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Design for memorial plaque*, pencil and pen on paper, roughly 10 x 15 cm. WCRO CR1886.



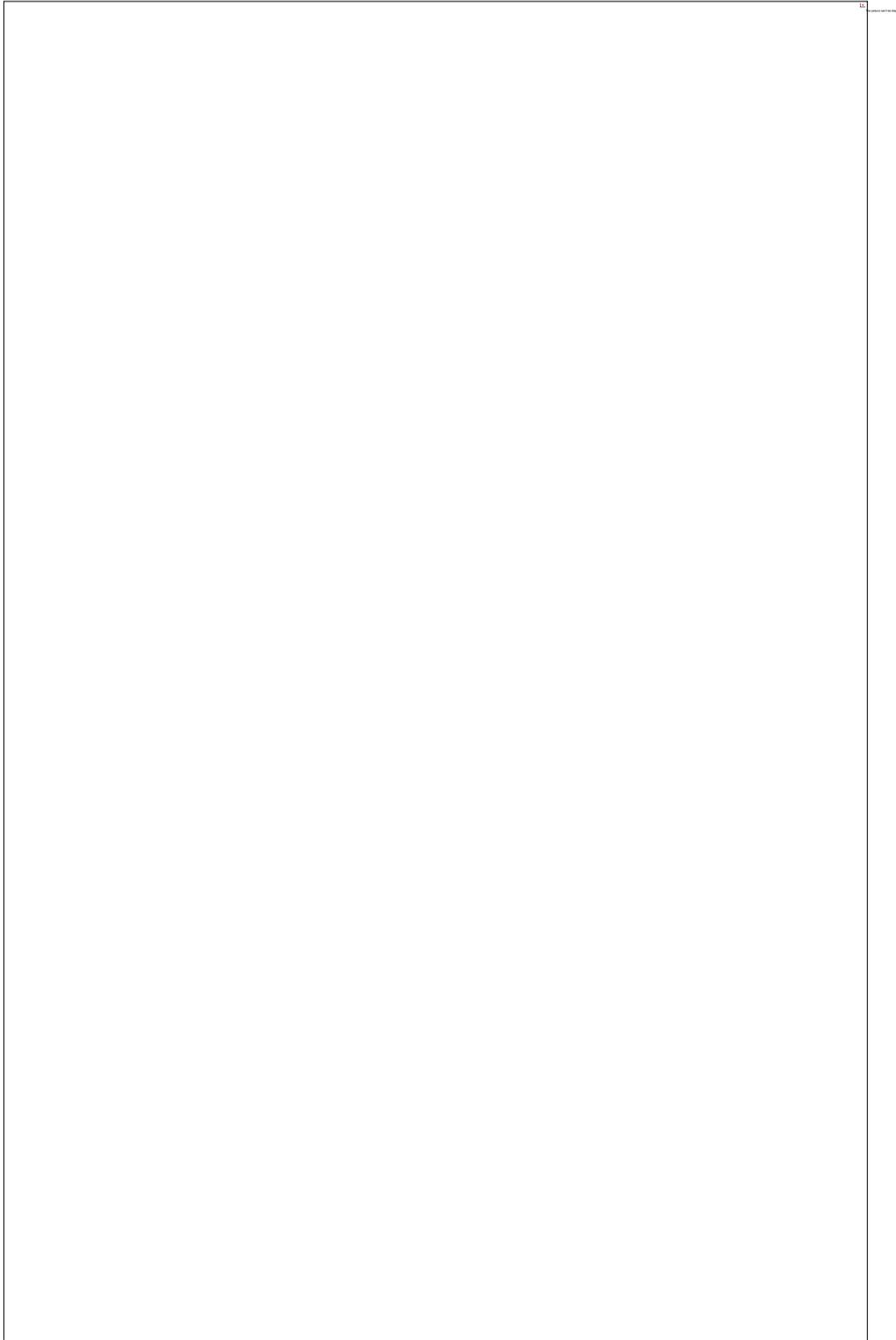
**Figure 6.42:** Alexander Fisher, *Portrait of Lady Elcho*, c.1895, enamel on metal, roughly 40 x 55 cm. Gosford House.



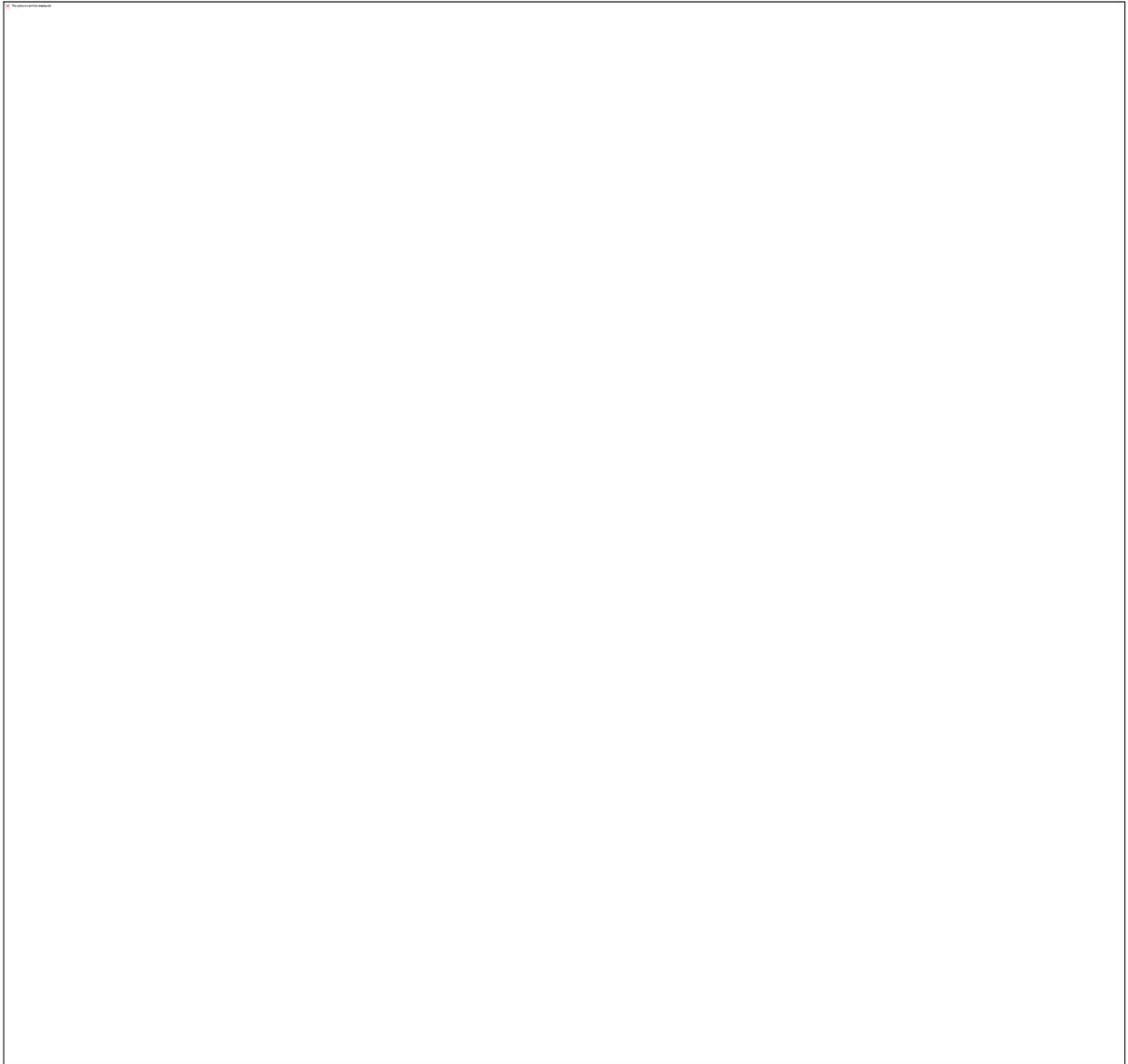
**Figure 6.43:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Portrait of Lady Bromley-Davenport*, painted ceramic, roughly 40 cm diameter. Capesthorne Hall, Cheshire.



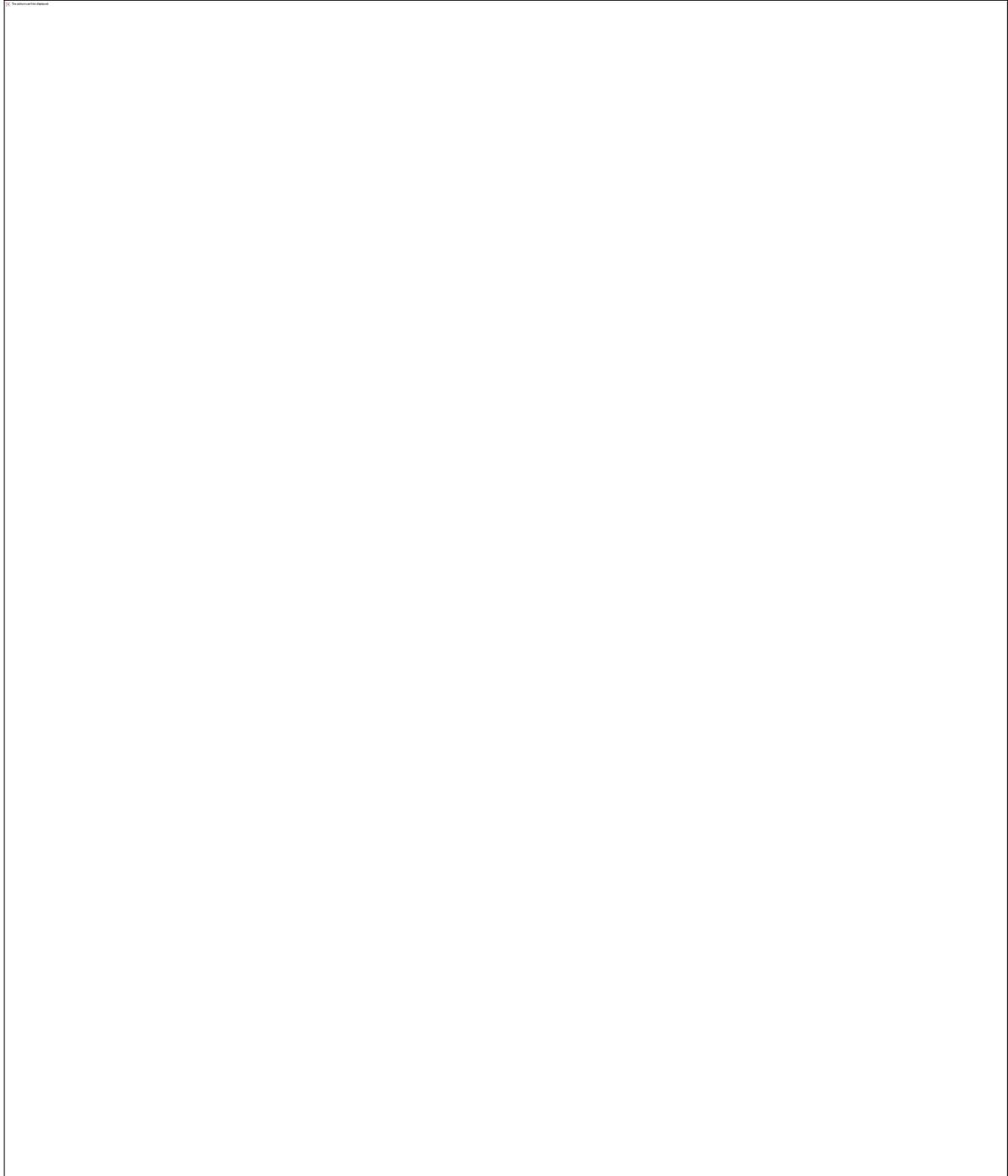
**Figure 6.44:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Designs of an eighteenth-century style Sevres cup*, pencil and watercolour on paper, roughly 10 x 20 cm. WCRO CR1886.



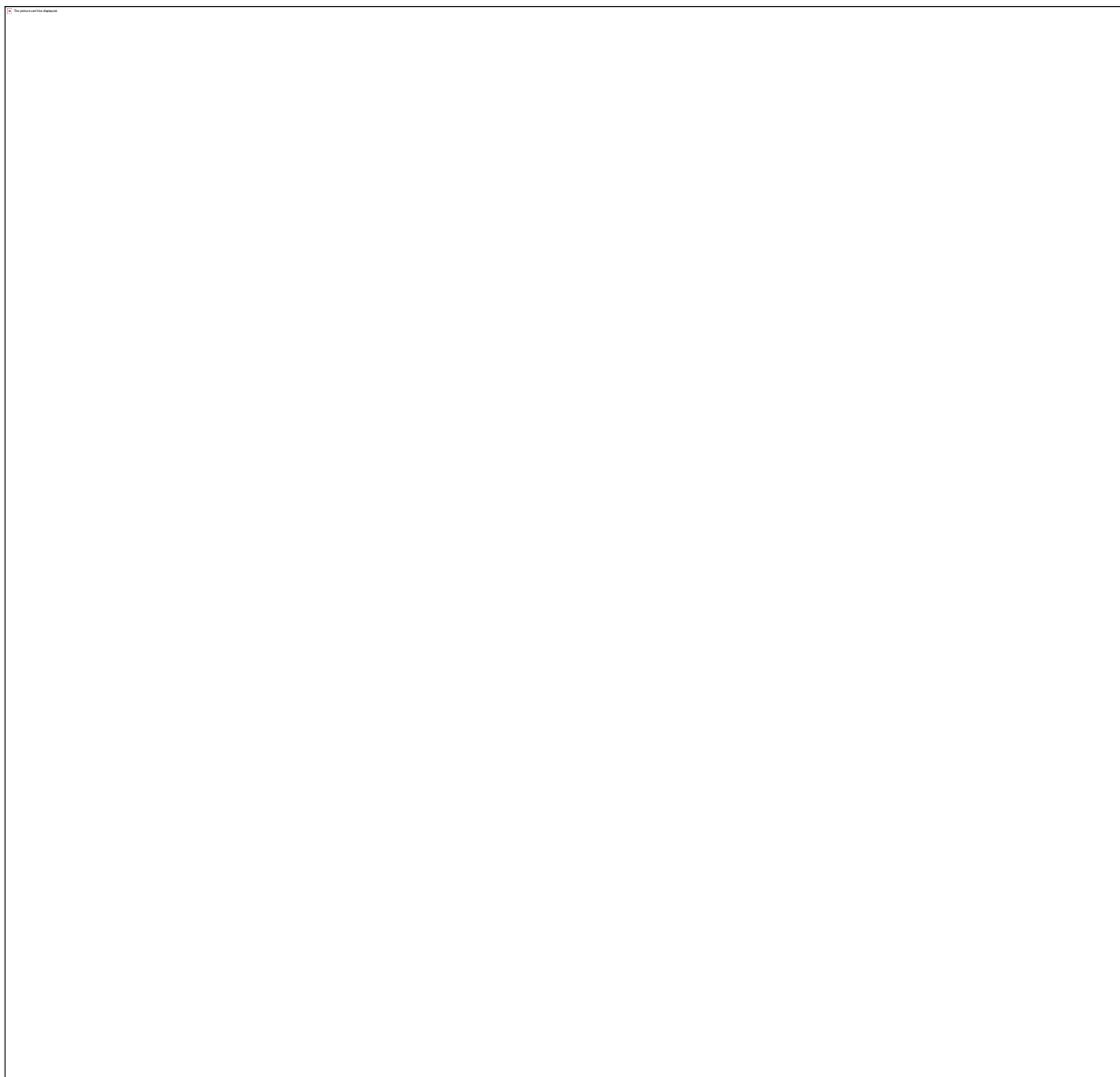
**Figure 6.45:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Designs of an eighteenth-century style Sevres cup*, pencil and watercolour on paper, roughly 10 x 20 cm. WCRO CR1886.



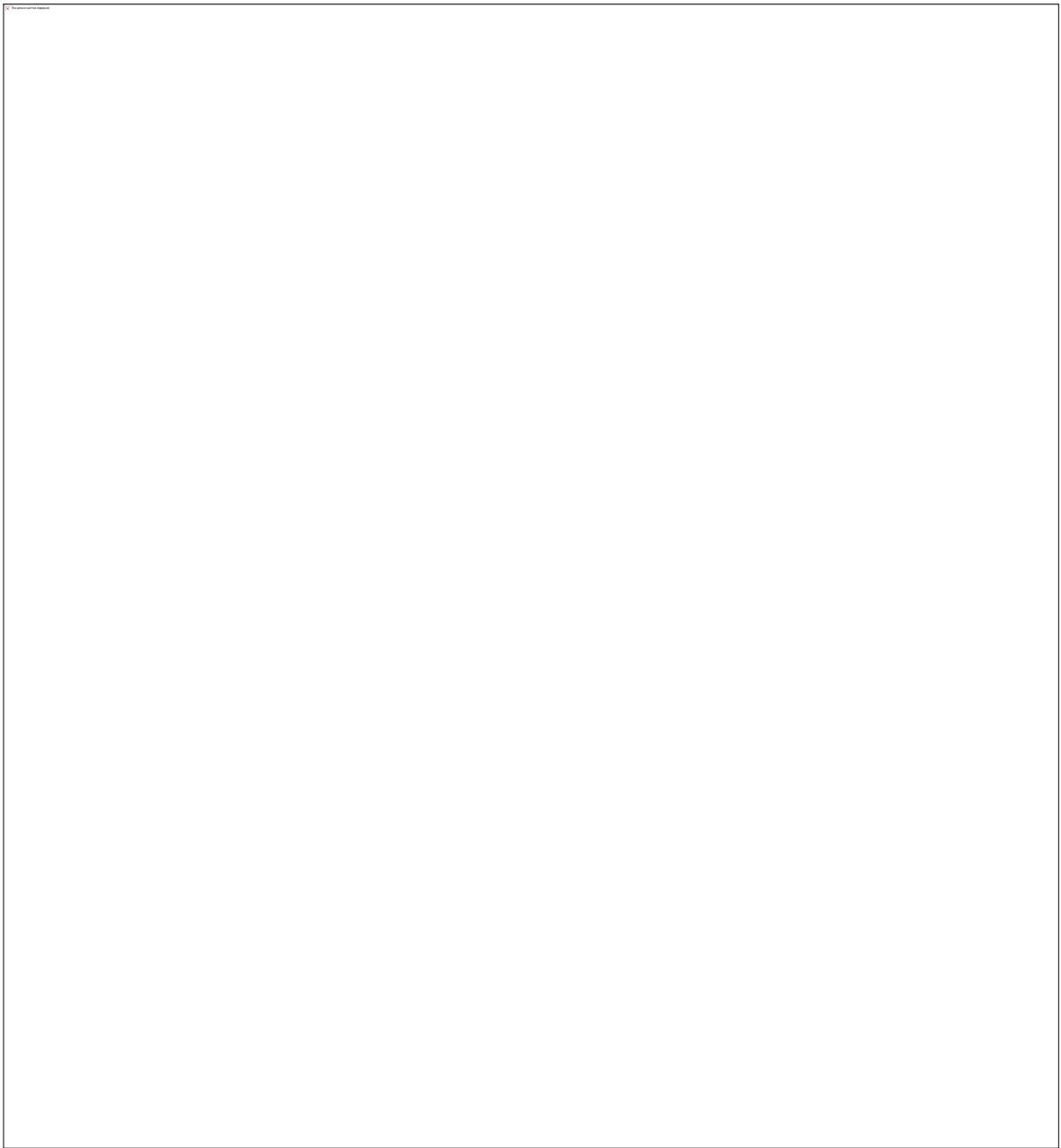
**Figure 6.46:** *Bella Dona dish*, Deruta, c.1520, tin glazed earthen ware, 40.5 cm diameter. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



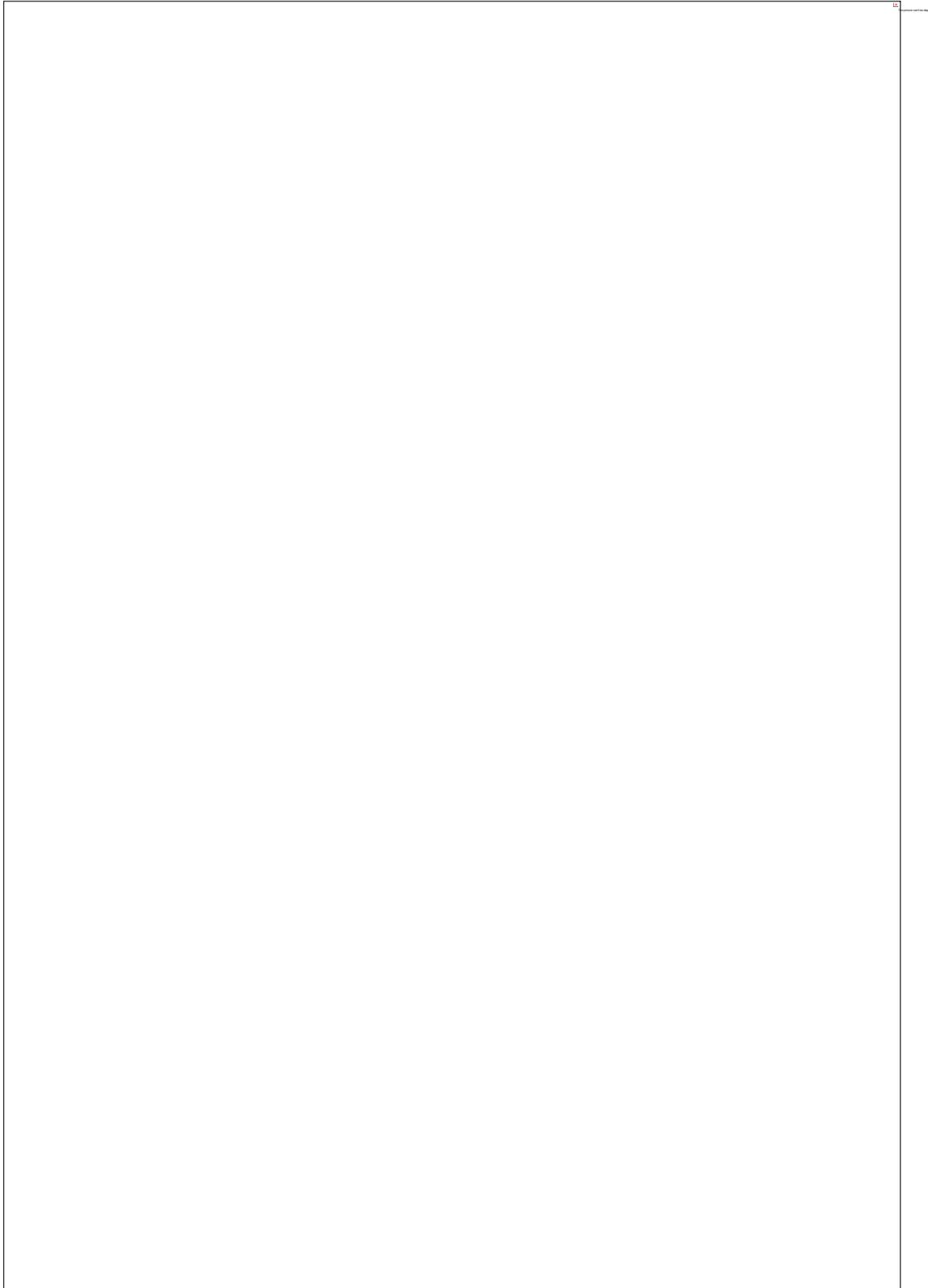
**Figure 6.47:** Louise Jopling, *Phyliss*, 1883, oil on canvas, 52 x 44 cm. Russell Cotes Museum and Art Gallery, Dorset.



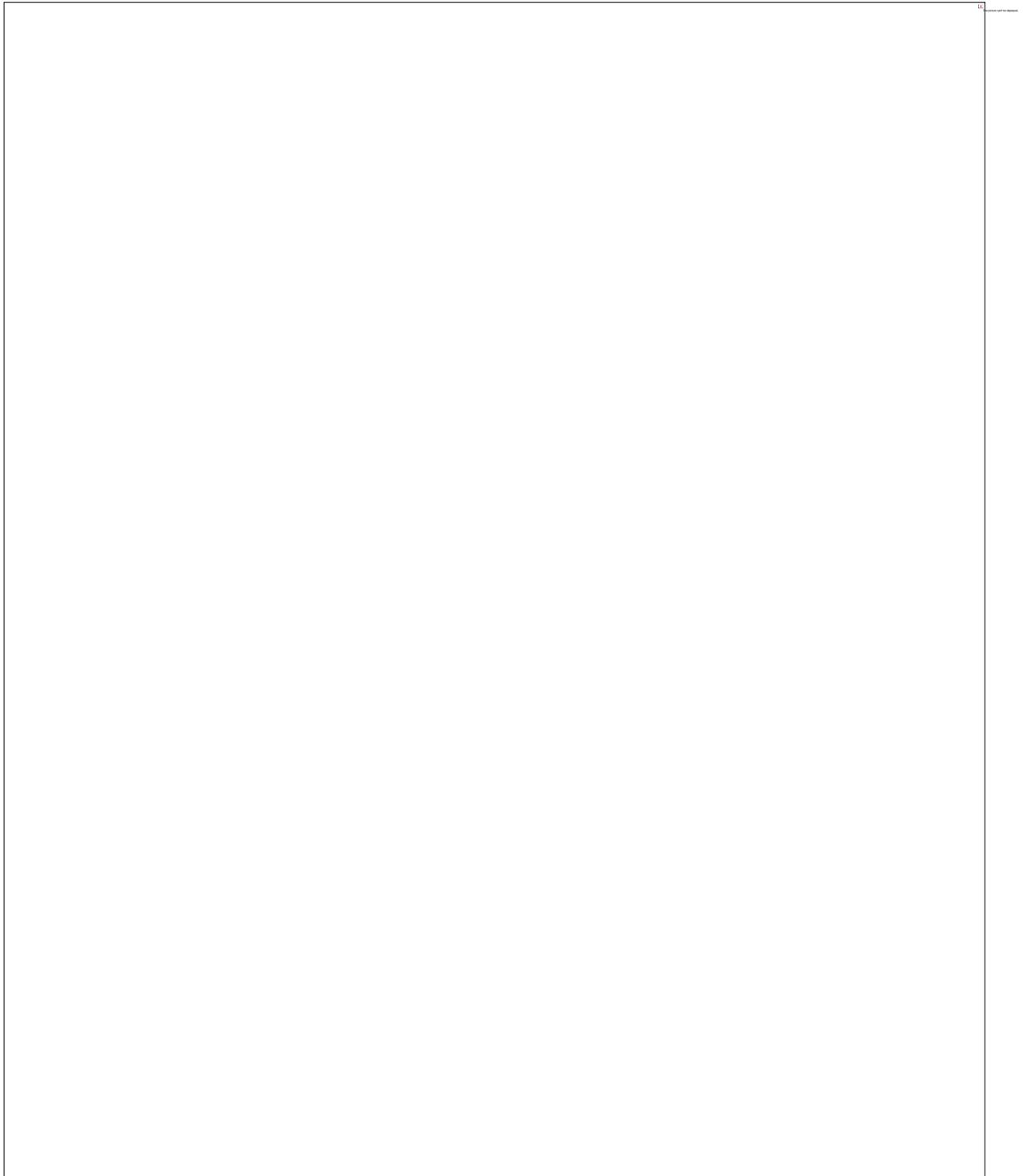
**Figure 6.48:** E Welby, *Portrait*, Art Studios South Kensington, c.1875, painted ceramic, size unknown. Sold Reenman Dansie, Colchester, 10-11 April 2018, lot.115.



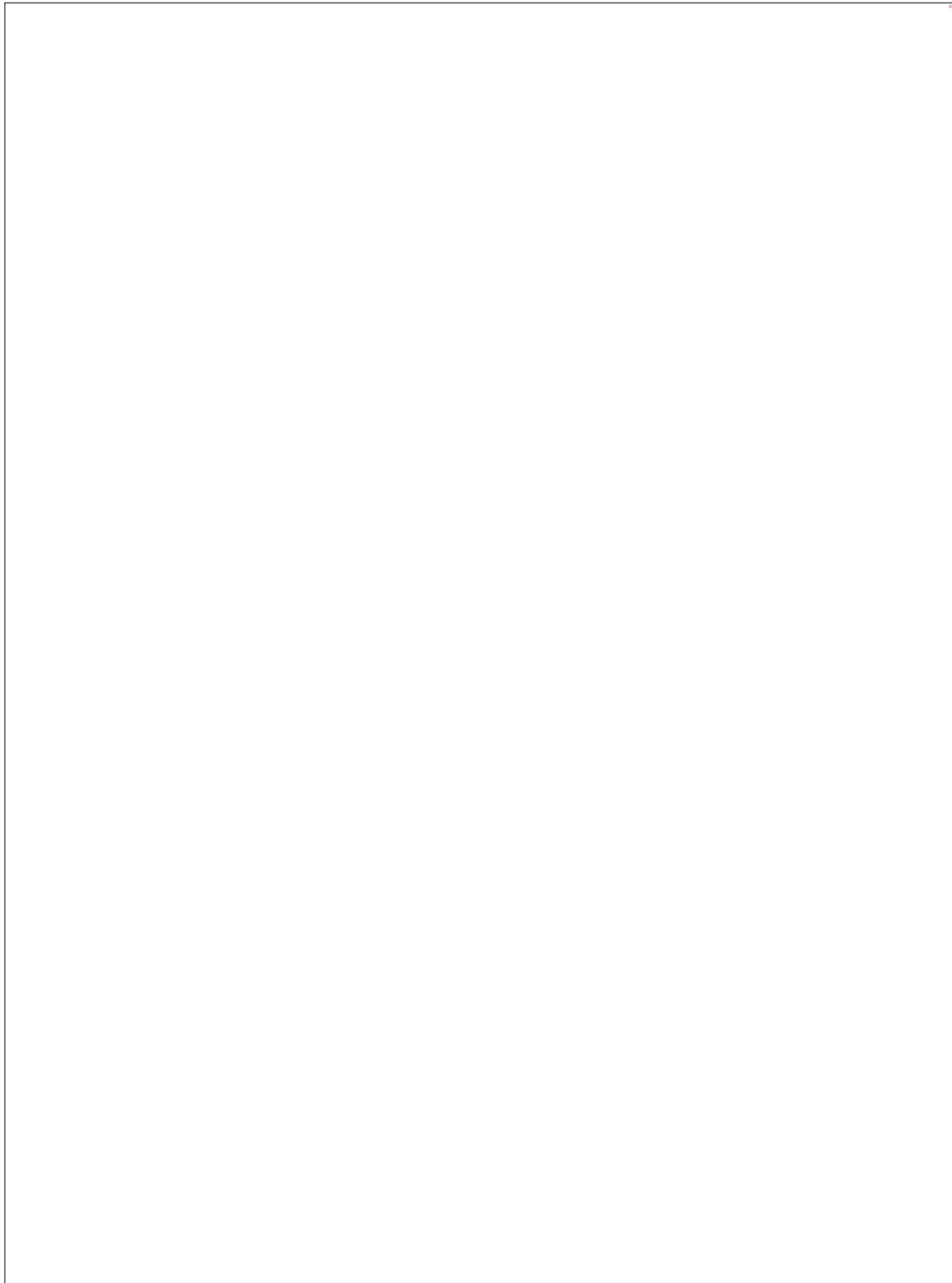
**Figure 6.49:** Thomas Kirkby, *Watercolour designs for round dishes*, c.1860, size unknown. Minton Archives, Staffordshire.



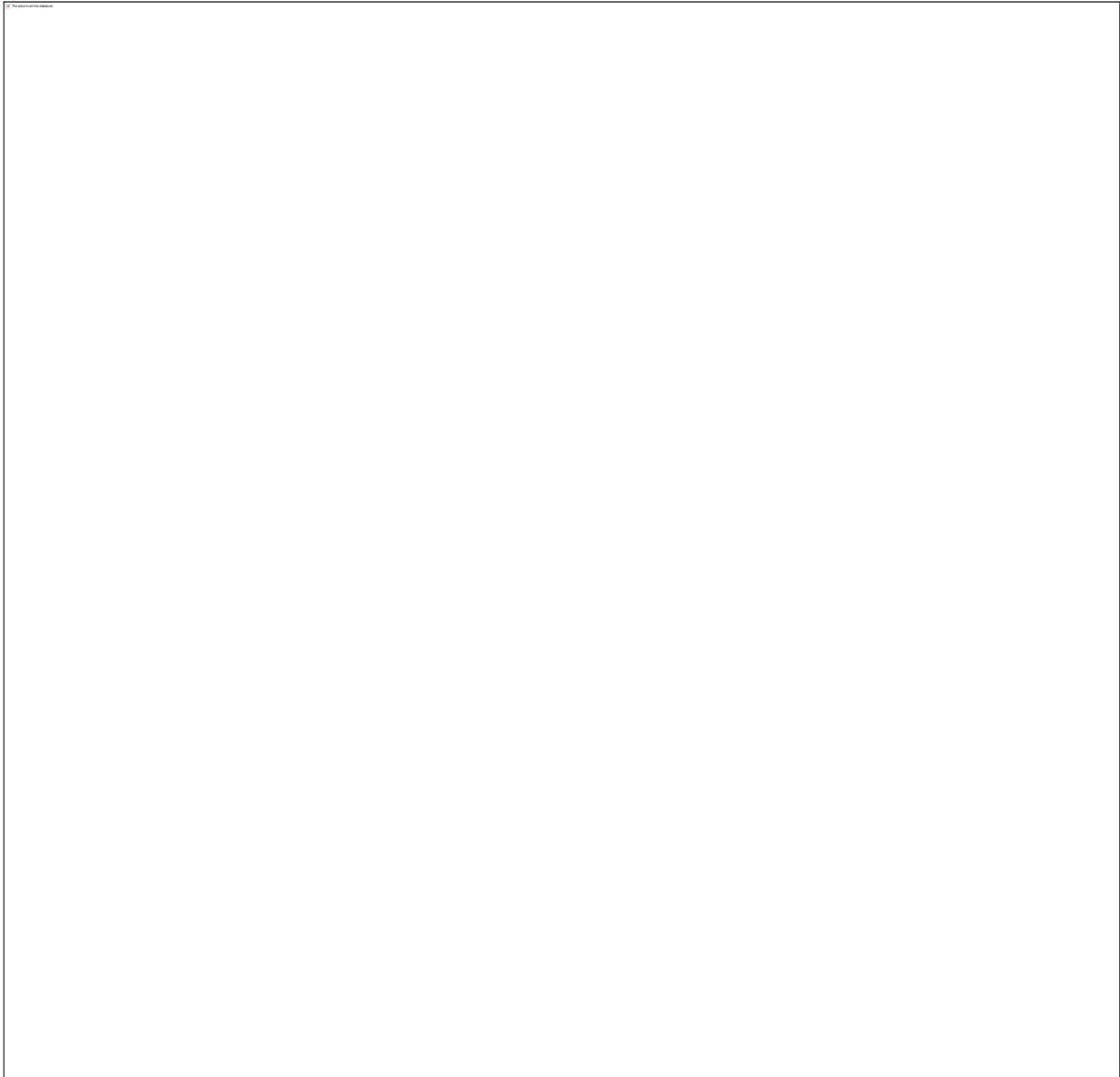
**Figure 6.50:** Enamel colours for painting (sample sheet), prepared by Holt & Sons for the Countess of Warwick. WCRO CR1886.



**Figure 6.51:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Penelope*, pencil on tracing paper, roughly 21 x 29 cm. Warwick Castle collection.



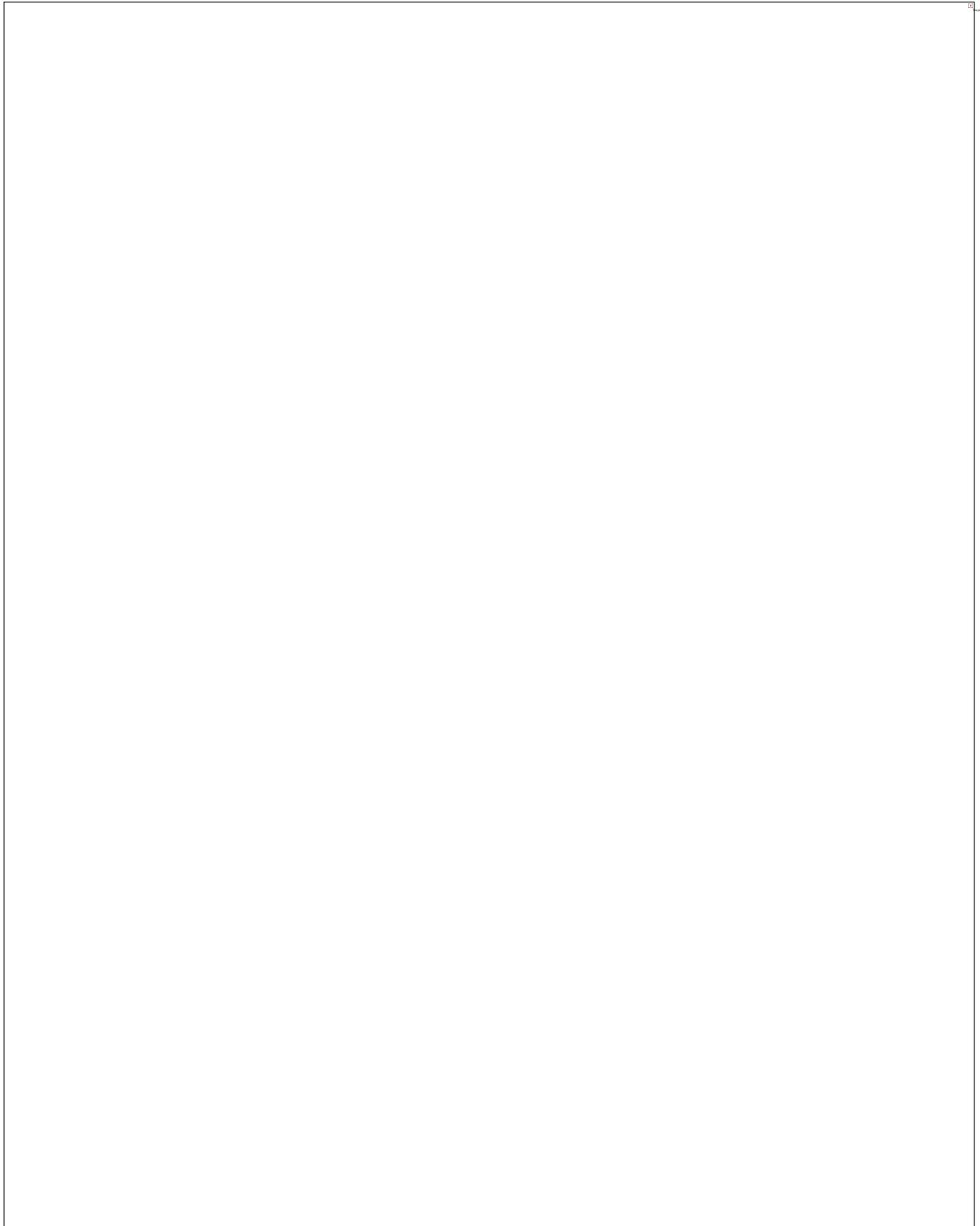
**Figure 6.52:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Design for a still life*, pencil on tracing paper, roughly 15 x 23 cm. WCRO CR1886.



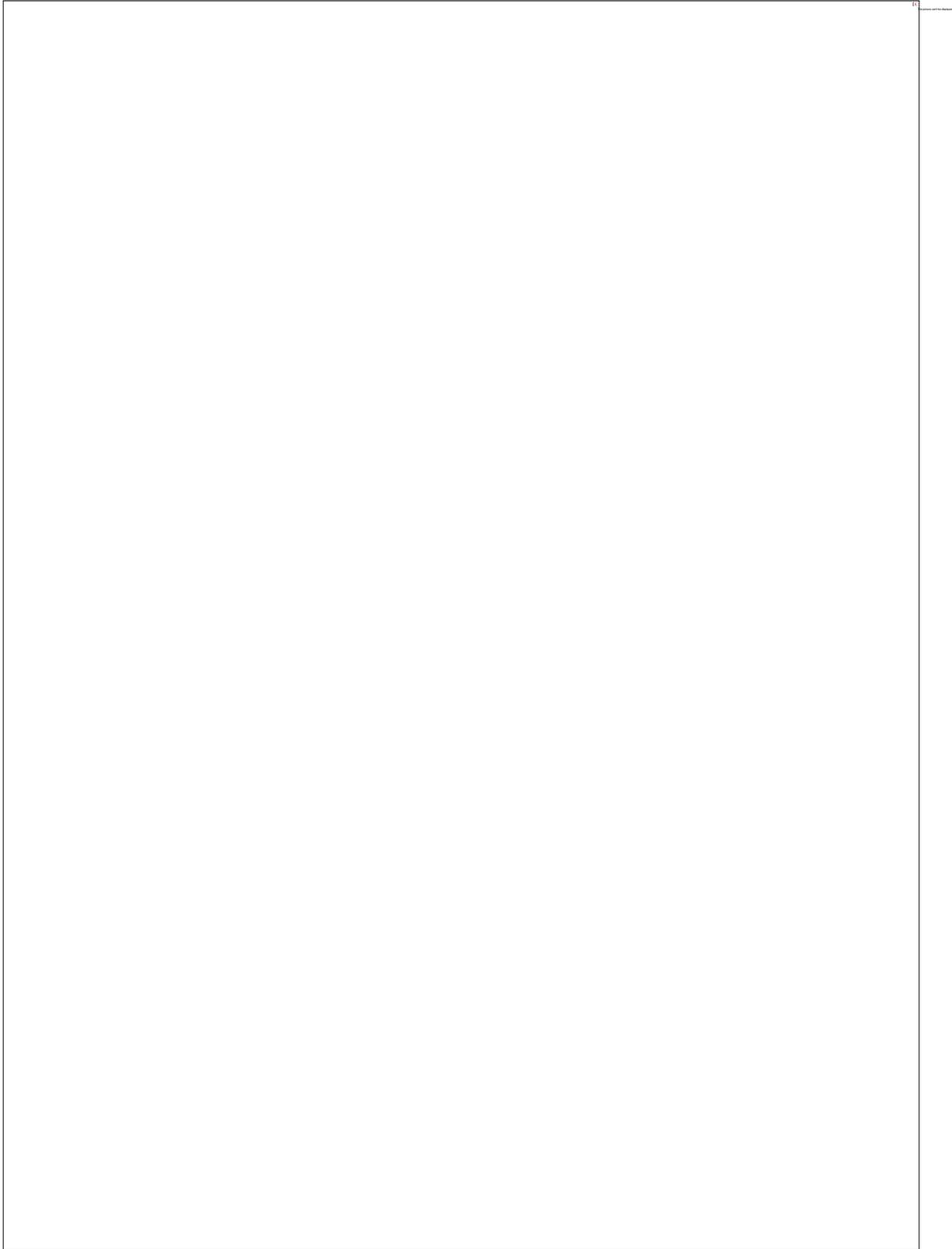
**Figure 6.53:** Thomas Kirkby, *Portrait of Evelyn Charteris*, 1876, painting on ceramic, 40 cm diameter. Warwick Castle collection.



**Figure 6.54:** View of Anne Countess of Warwick's Boudoir, printed in *The Gentlewoman* 1891.



**Figure 6.55:** *After Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, Portrait of Lady Eva Greville*, printed by Howell & James 1879 (exhibition catalogue).



**Figure 6.56:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Design for monogram of the Countess of Warwick*, pen on paper, roughly 10 x 15 cm. WCRO CR1886.



**Figure 6.57:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Bouquet of Flowers*, oil on yellow silk, roughly 30 x 44 cm. Warwick Castle collection.



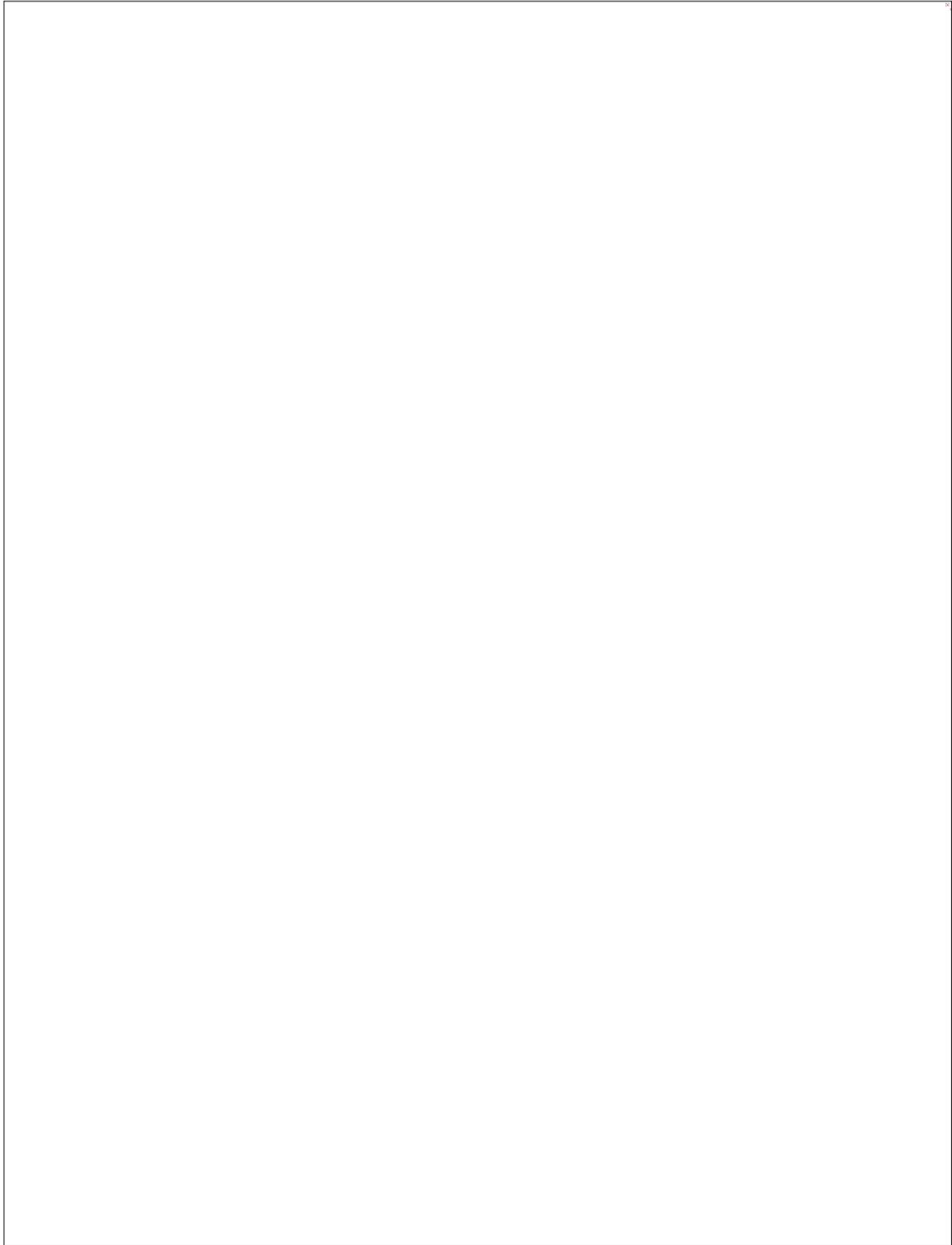
**Figure 6.58:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Still life of flowers in a vase*, watercolour on paper, roughly 20 x 29 cm. Warwick Castle collection.



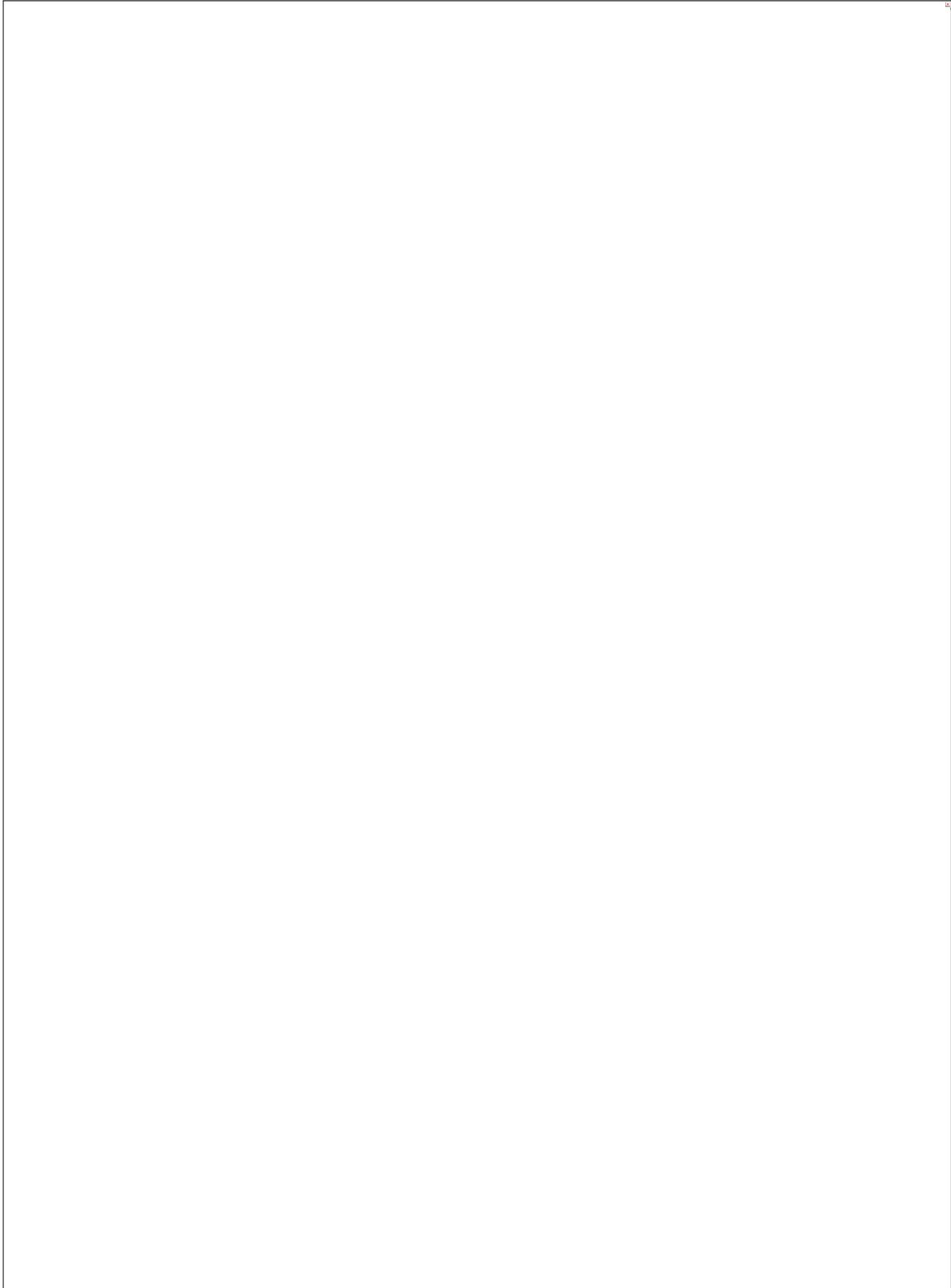
**Figure 6.59:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Still life of flowers in a vase*, watercolour on paper, roughly 20 x 29 cm. Warwick Castle collection.



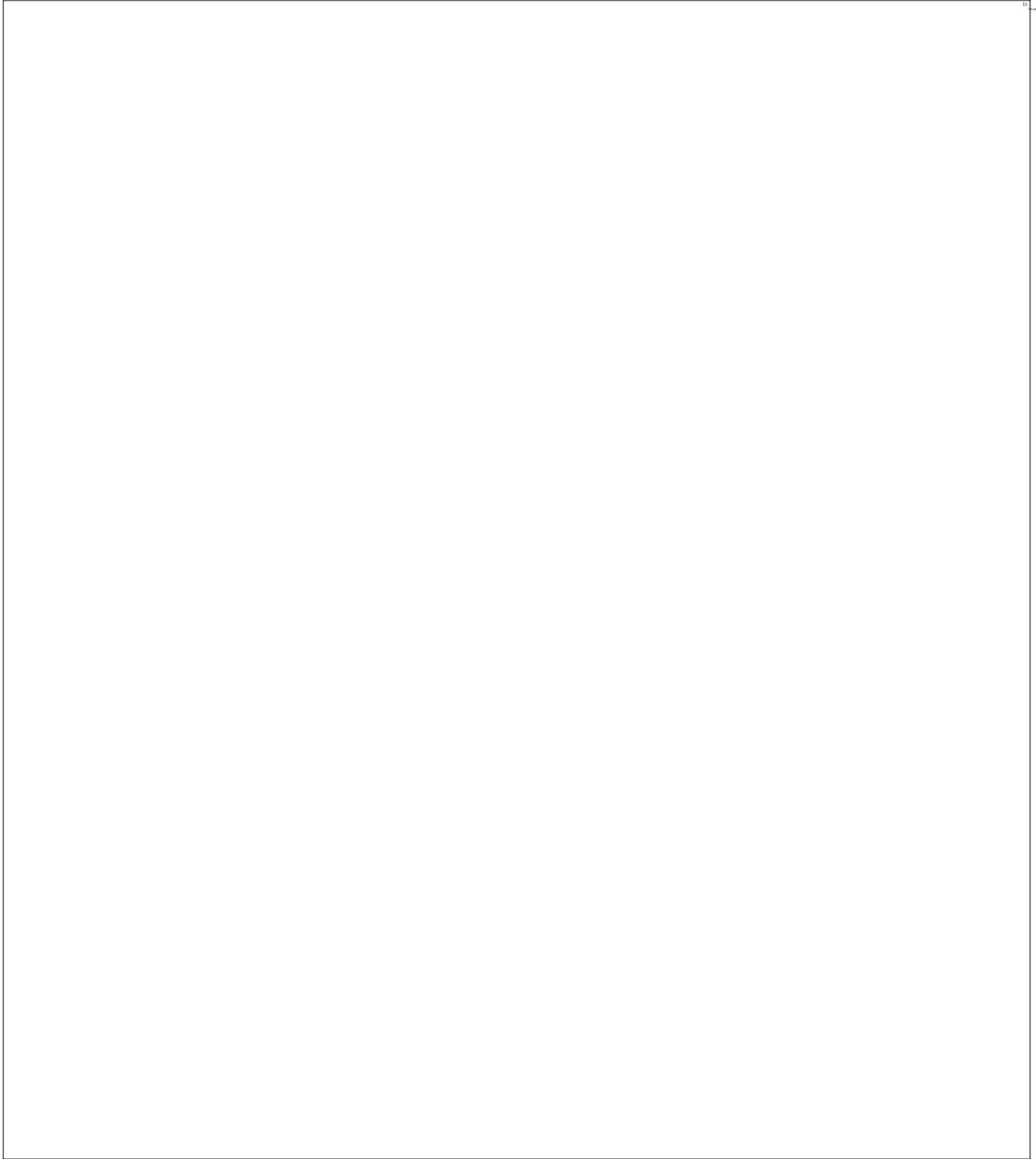
**Figure 6.60:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Still life of flowers in a glass vase*, watercolour on paper, roughly 20 x 29 cm. Warwick Castle collection.



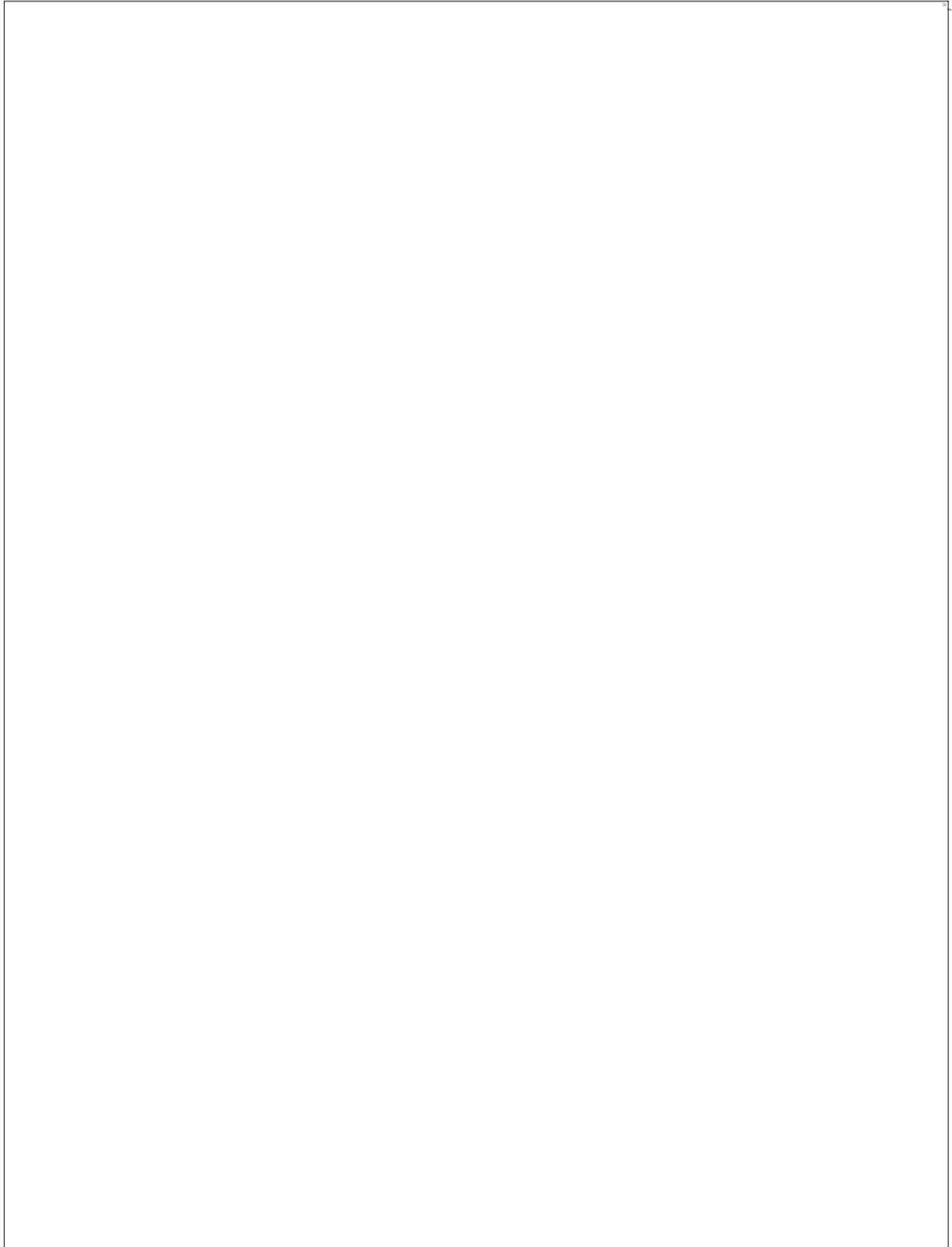
**Figure 6.61:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Still life of blooming bulb flowers in a tub*, watercolour on paper, roughly 20 x 29 cm. Warwick Castle collection.



**Figure 6.62:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Still life of flowers in a vase and a fan*, pencil and watercolour on paper, roughly 20 x 29 cm. Warwick Castle collection.



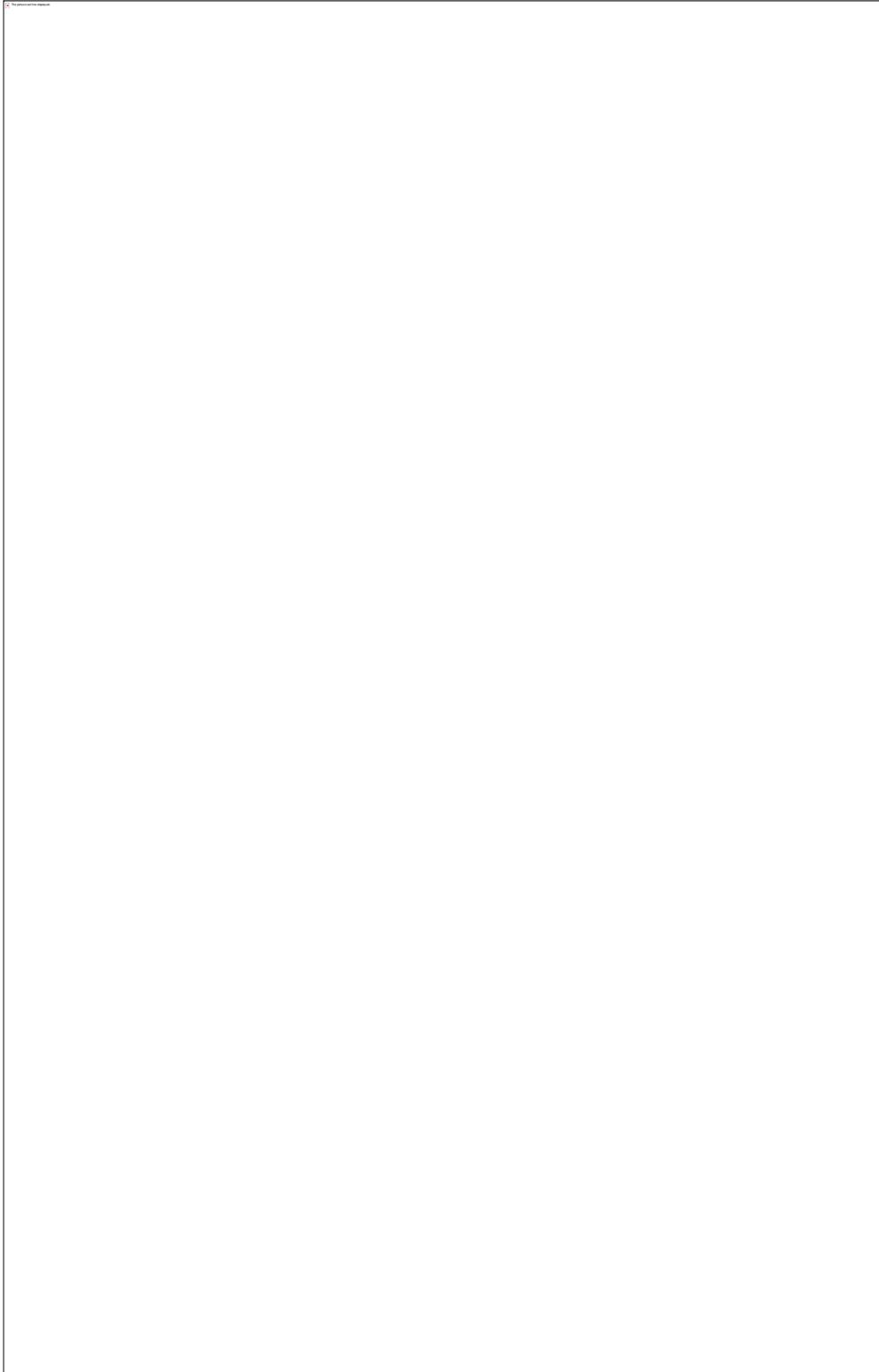
**Figure 6.63:** Anne, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, *Study of blooming magnolia (?)*, pencil on paper, roughly 17 x 25 cm. Warwick Castle collection.



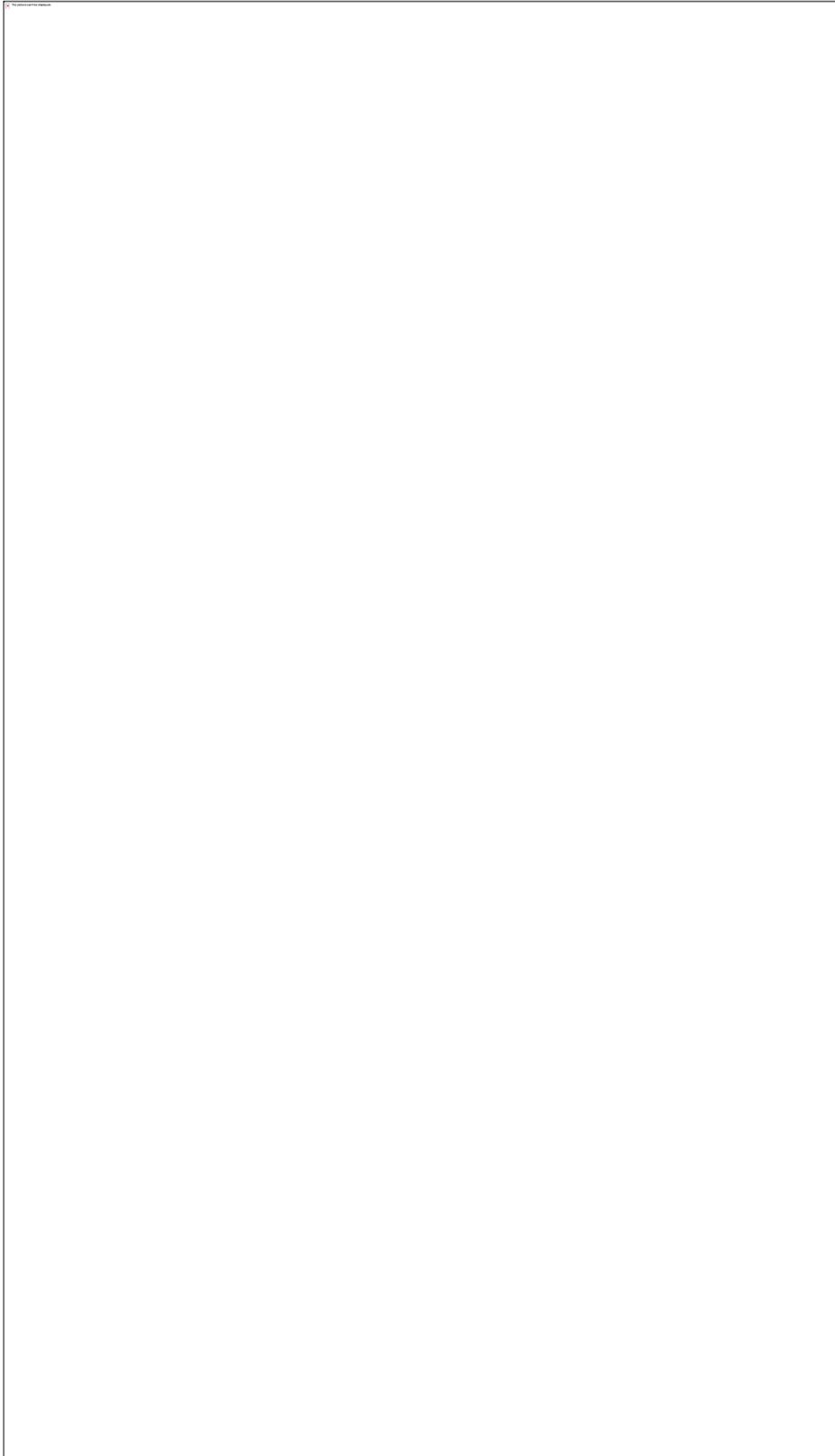
**Figure 6.64:** Alwyne Greville, *Bust of Francis, 5<sup>th</sup> Earl of Warwick*, 1923. Bronze. Warwick Castle collection.



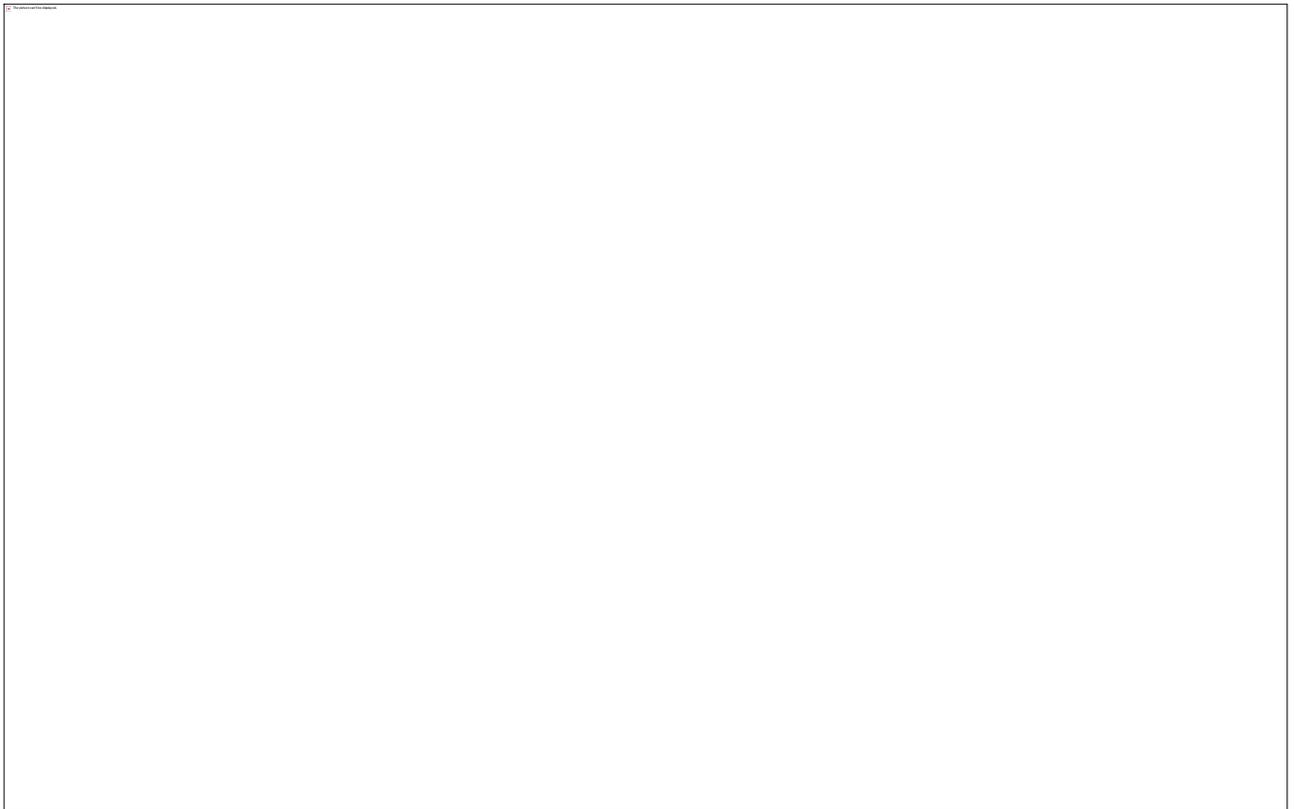
**Figure 6.65:** *The Warwick Vase* in the Greenhouse of Warwick Castle, c.1900, photograph. Warwick Castle collection.



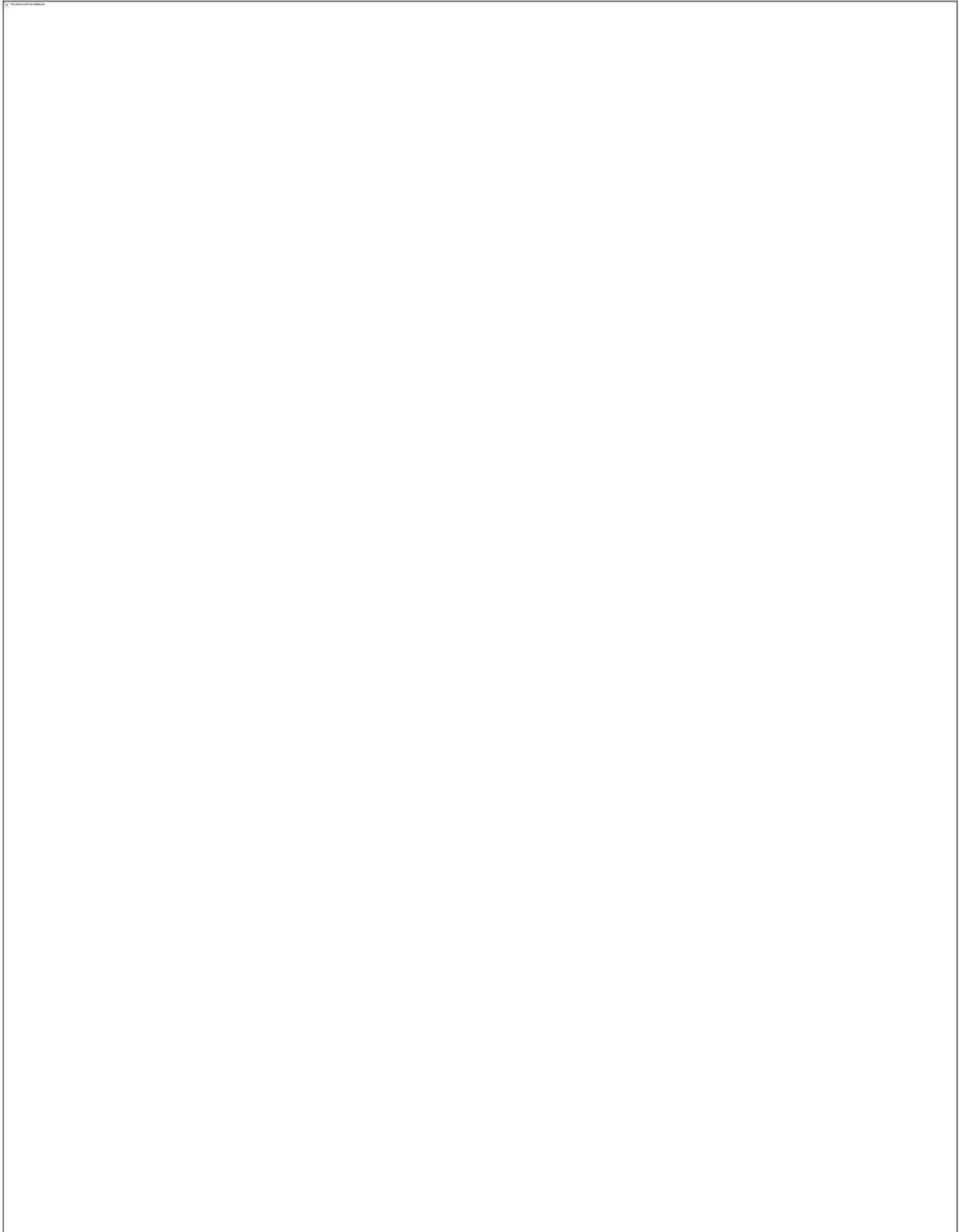
**Figure 7.1:** Photograph of the *Portrait of Daisy Countess of Warwick* by Carlos Duran c.1897, in the Red Drawing Room of Warwick Castle. Private Collection.



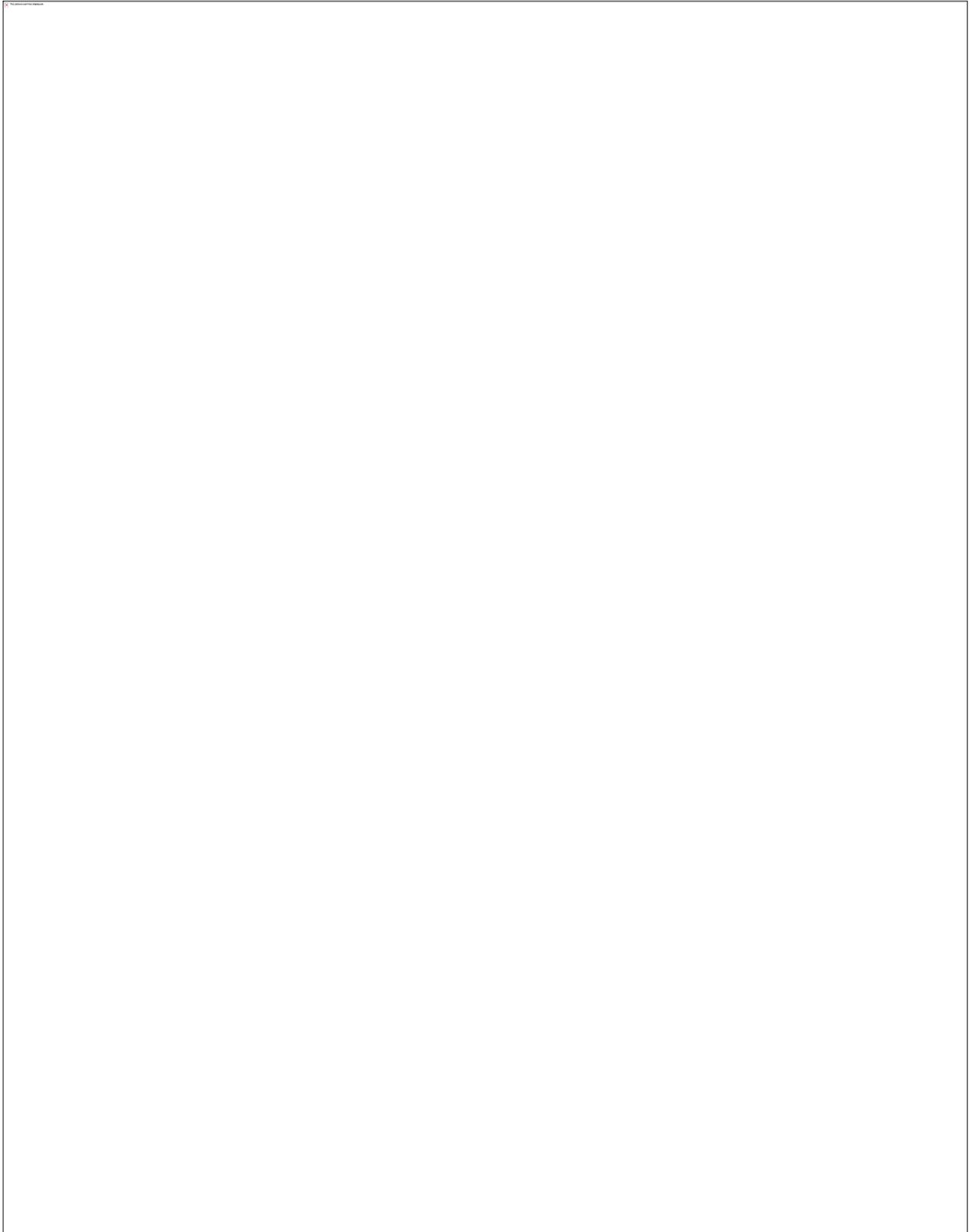
**Figure 7.2:** John Singer Sargent, *Frances Evelyn Maynard, 5<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick*, 1905. Oil on canvas, 270 x 153 cm. Worcester Art Gallery and Museum, Massachusetts.



**Figure 7.3:** W. Quatremain, *The Cedar Drawing Room*, c.1905, watercolour on paper, size unknown. Private Collection.



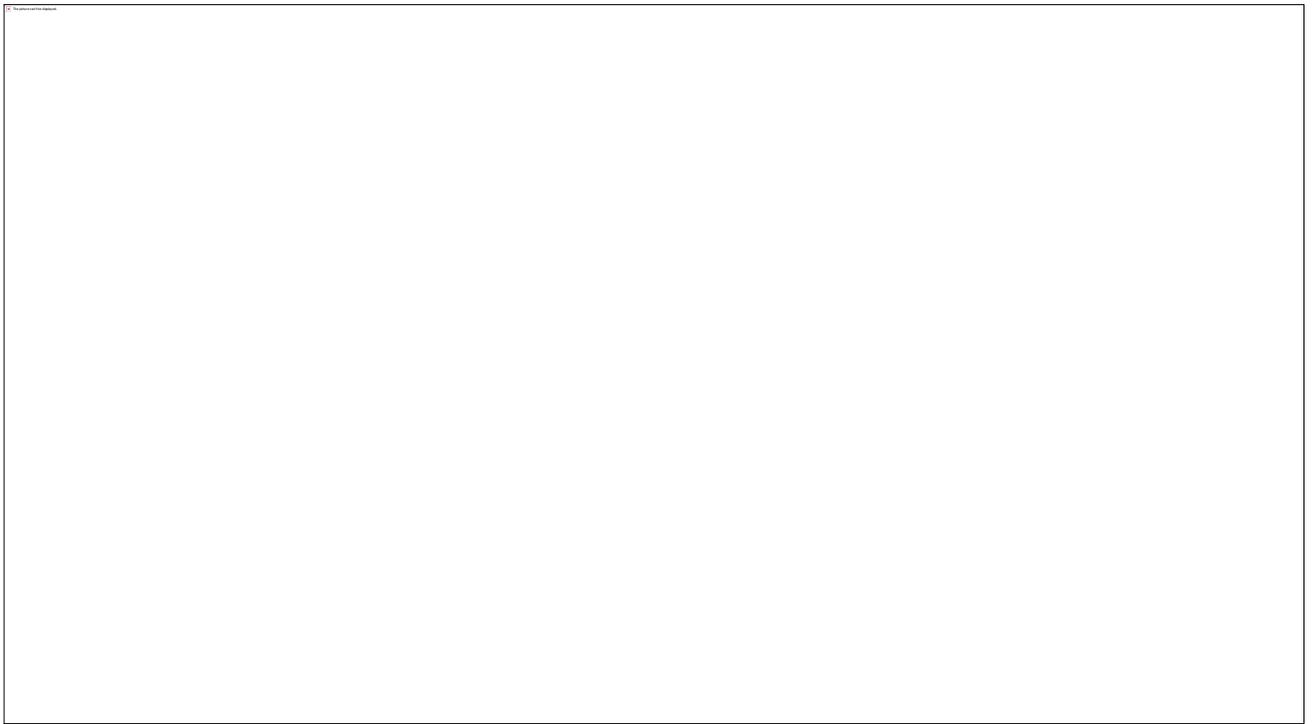
**Figure 7.4:** Auguste Rodin, *Unfinished bust of Frances Evelyn Maynard, 5<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick*, 1909, marble. Musee Rodin, Paris.



**Figure 7.5:** Photograph of Frances Evelyn Maynard, 5<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick at the Warwick Powder Ball, 1898. Warwick Castle Collection.



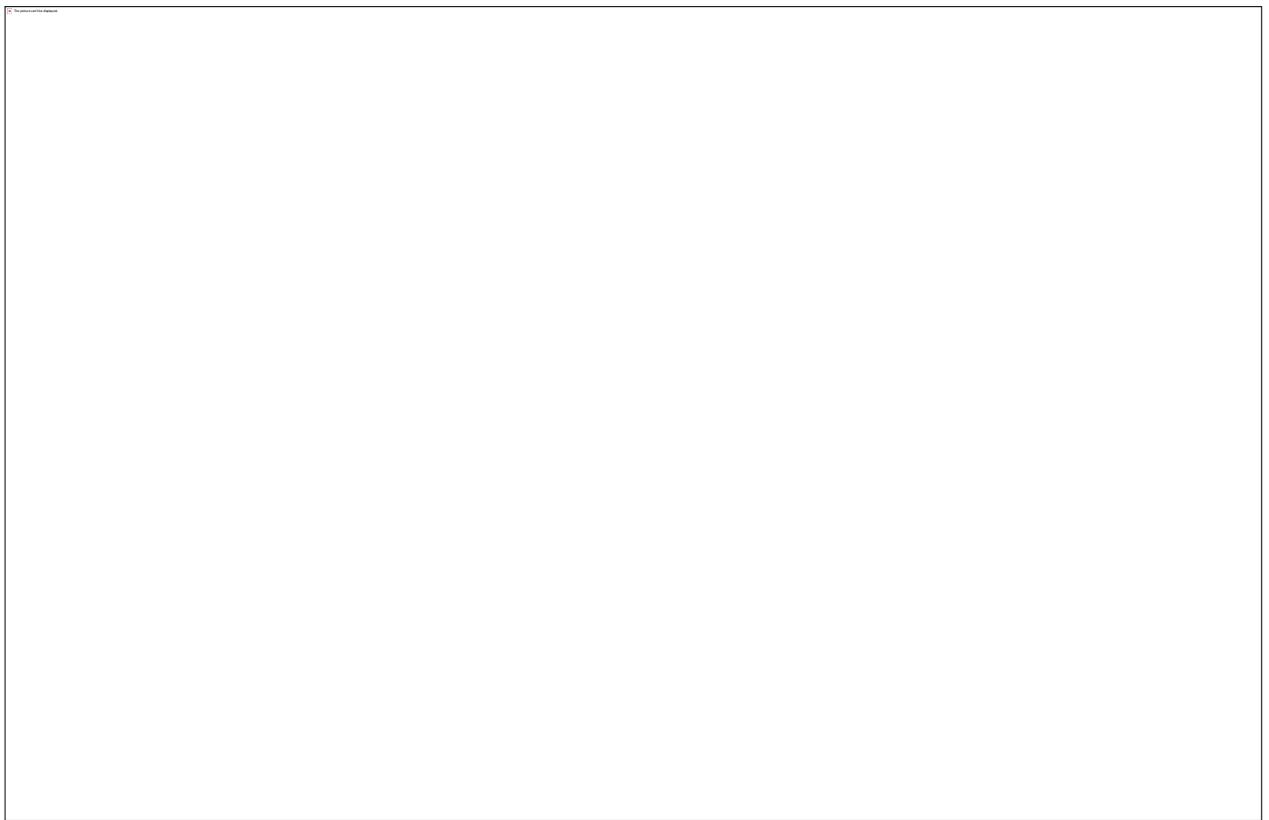
**Figure 7.6:** Photograph of *The new Cripples' Home in Warwick*. c.1900. Published in *Life's Ebb and Flow* (1929).



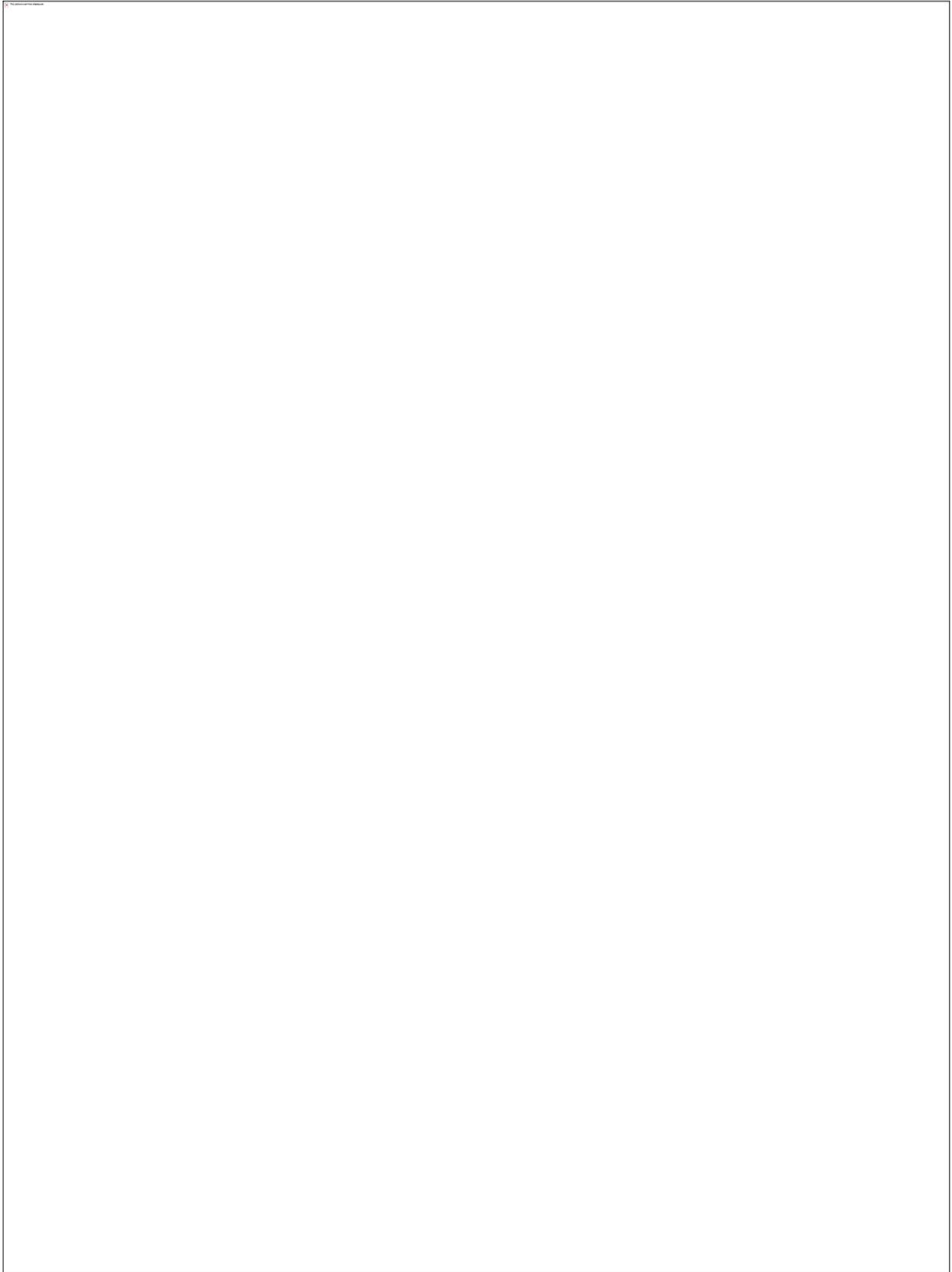
**Figure 7.7:** Illustration from *The Birmingham Press*, c.1978. Source Unknown.



**Figure 7.8:** Waxwork of Daisy, 5th Countess of Warwick installed in the Italian Library.



**Figure 7.9:** Waxworks of the Duchess of Sutherland and companion in Anne's French Boudoir of the Domestic Apartments.



**Figure 7.10:** Waxwork of Daisy, 5<sup>th</sup> Countess of Warwick, being tended to by a maid.



**Figure 7.11:** Waxwork of the Albert Edward, Prince of Wales in the Kenilworth Bedroom.



**Figure 7.12:** Waxwork of George, Duke of York and the Duke of Marlborough in the Smoking Room.



**Figure 7.13:** Waxwork of Anne, Dowager Countess of Warwick.



**Figure 7.14:** Bedroom of Warwick Castle, showing drawings and watercolours by Anne Countess of Warwick.



**Figure 7.15:** Warwick Castle's marketing branding under the ownership of Merlin Entertainments.



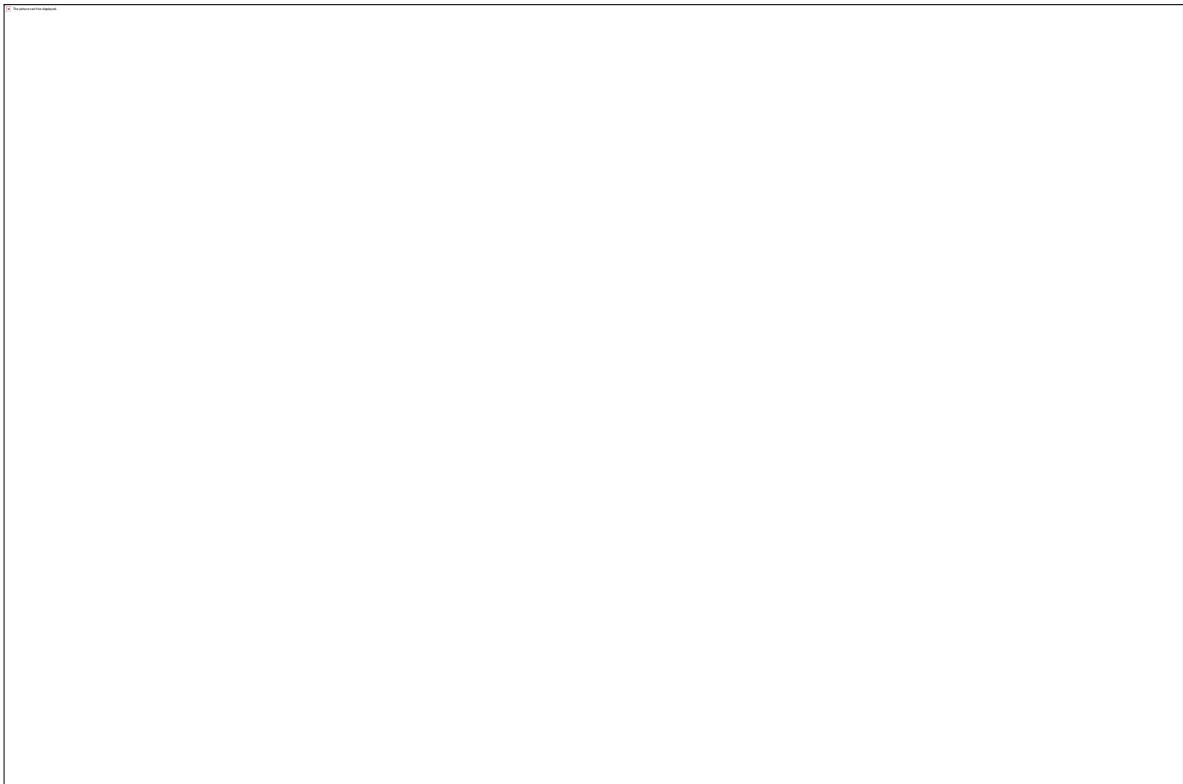
**Figure 7.16:** Warwick Castle's 2015 Horrible Histories Maze.



**Figure 7.17:** Reconstructed Rose Garden at Warwick Castle, c.1984.



**Figure 7.18:** Robert Marnock's Plans for *The Rose Garden of Warwick Castle*, 1868-9. WCRO CR1886 M626.



**Figure 7.19:** Viking Long Boat in the Horrible Histories Maze of Warwick Castle, 2015.