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**Sir William Burrell (1861-1958): the man and the collector**

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**Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the  
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

**School of Culture and Creative Arts**

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## Abstract

This thesis analyses the life and collecting career of the Glaswegian mercantile collector Sir William Burrell (1861-1958). It covers the period from 1882, his first recorded purchase, to 1983, the year that The Burrell Collection first opened in Pollok Country Park, Glasgow. This involves placing Burrell into the context of late nineteenth and early twentieth century middle-class collectors, who were distinct from their aristocratic predecessors through their support of modern and contemporary artists and art movements. Although Burrell's collecting interests were catholic, ranging from medieval tapestries and stained glass, to Persian carpets, Chinese ceramics and bronzes, historical furniture, modern European painting and much more, this thesis illustrates his engagement with his contemporary artistic context. Throughout his collecting career Burrell loaned his objects to public exhibitions and institutions, highlighting his belief in the public's access to art, something that ultimately led to his gift of the collection to Glasgow in 1944. Burrell's collection comprises of over 8,000 objects. Rather than examine individual areas of the collection, this thesis considers it as an object itself, one that has had varying forms and values over time but was ultimately brought together through the act of the gift. In light of this, four main themes are examined: public mindedness, relationships, identity and legacy. Within these themes overarching research questions are posed: how did Burrell collect, what drove his acquisitions, and what were his intentions for his collection. Through the use of a broad range of archival material, this thesis builds up an image of Burrell the collector through the lens of his contemporaries. It is a biographical analysis of both man and collection, and seeks to understand the collector through the objects that he acquired. It ultimately reveals that what unites Burrell's wide-ranging collection was his interest in artistry and craftsmanship, and his desire to learn through the objects that he collected. This not only affected what he bought but also who his closest associates were. This thesis reassesses Burrell, opening up new ways to consider him as a collector in the late nineteenth and twentieth century.

The main text is accompanied by three appendices as follows:

Appendix 1 is a transcription of the 1944 memorandum of agreement between Sir William Burrell, Lady Constance Burrell and the Glasgow Corporation.

Appendix 2 lists the loans of painting, works on paper and sculpture loaned by William Burrell to the 1901 Glasgow International Exhibition. Burrell also loaned a large number of art objects to the exhibition, however, because of the nature of the catalogue a large number of these are not easily identifiable and so have not been listed.

Appendix 3 lists the pictures put up for sale at Christie's, London, by William Burrell on 16th May and 14th June 1902.

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## Introduction: ‘Sir William Burrell (1861-1958): the man and the collector’

On the 30<sup>th</sup> March 1958 *The Scotsman* reported on Sir William Burrell’s (1861-1958) (See figure 1) death, “Scotland has lost an outstanding art collector, and a most generous benefactor by the death, [...] of Sir William Burrell, former Glasgow ship owner and magistrate.”<sup>1</sup> The order in which the author listed Burrell’s achievements suggests their perceived importance: he was first an art collector, secondly a philanthropist, next a businessman and finally a public servant. This assessment of Burrell is fitting. Although chronologically he was first a ship owner, collecting was a lifelong passion. Between the early-1880s and late-1950s he amassed a wide-ranging collection of over 8,000 works of art, which he both surrounded himself with in his various homes and loaned to public institutions. Fourteen years prior to his death, in 1944, he and his wife Constance Mary Lockhart Burrell (1875-1961) gifted their collection to the City of Glasgow. Following this gift William was awarded Freedom of the City, “the greatest tribute of respect that is in the power of the municipality to offer any person” (See figure 2).<sup>2</sup> The collection represents one of the largest worldwide to be amassed by an individual and to survive in the public domain today. Described in *The Scotsman* as a “princely collection” and valued in 1944 at £10 million, the Burrell Collection was a significant addition to Glasgow’s cultural scene, and remains so today.

The collection as a whole has been housed in a purpose-built pavilion in Glasgow’s Pollok Country Park since 1983 (See figure 3). Its importance is reflected in the current £66-million Burrell Renaissance project.<sup>3</sup> The project has received funding from Glasgow City Council, the UK government, the National Lottery Fund and over 100 private supporters towards a full refurbishment of the building and redisplay of the collection.<sup>4</sup> Despite these investments in the building, our knowledge of Burrell remains limited. Research on the subject of Burrell the collector by Richard Marks was published in conjunction with the opening of the museum in 1983.<sup>5</sup> Curators and researchers have undertaken research on specific areas of the collection since, but the overarching topic of Burrell the collector has not yet been reassessed. For the last 35 years Marks has been presented as our main source on Burrell. This thesis is therefore integral to a new understanding of Burrell as both man and collector.

Popular opinions on Burrell consider him to be a “millionaire magpie”.<sup>6</sup> His catholic

1 ‘Sir William Burrell: Outstanding art collector and generous benefactor’, *The Scotsman*, 30<sup>th</sup> March 1958.

2 Glasgow City Council, ‘Freedom of the City’, <https://www.glasgow.gov.uk/index.aspx?articleid=15961> (accessed 2.12.18).

3 Glasgow City Council, ‘The Provision of Works for Burrell Renaissance Project – Main Contract’, 18<sup>th</sup> January 2018, <https://www.glasgow.gov.uk/councillorsandcommittees/viewSelectedDocument.asp?c=P62AFQDN2UDNDN81NT> (accessed 31.07.18).

4 Museums & Heritage Advisor, ‘Burrell Collection announces summer start to construction of £66 million refurbishment’, 23<sup>rd</sup> January 2018, <http://advisor.museumsandheritage.com/news/burrell-collection-announces-summer-start-construction-66m-refurbishment/> (accessed 31.07.18).

5 Richard Marks, *Burrell: Portrait of a Collector* (Glasgow: Richard Drew Publishing, 1983).

6 ‘The Millionaire Magpie’, BBC Two England, 27<sup>th</sup> July 1976.



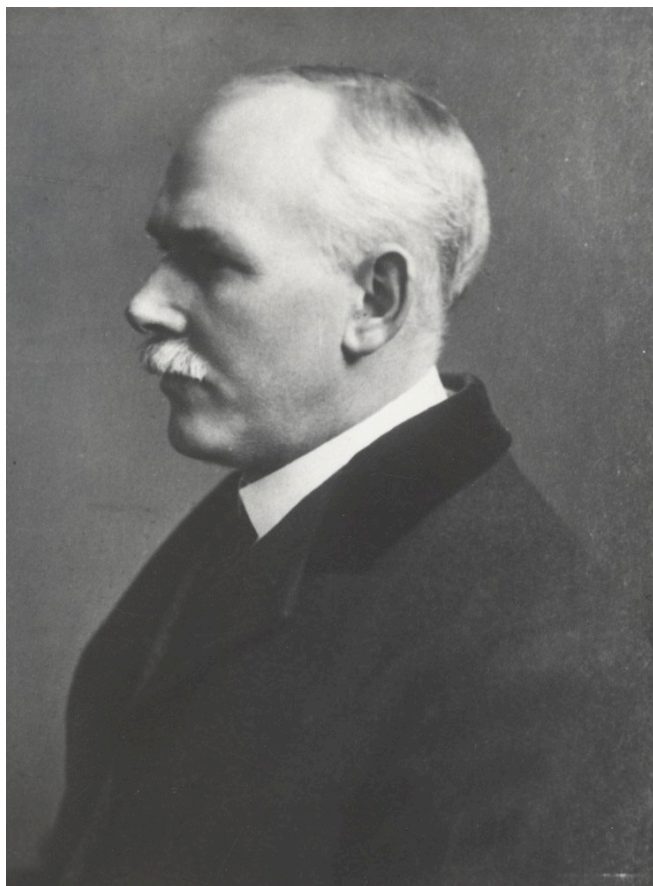


Figure 1: Sir William Burrell at the age of about 60 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums



Figure 2: Sir William signing Visitors' Book in presence of his wife Constance and Lord Provost Welsh, City Chambers in Glasgow on the occasion of receiving the Freedom of the City of Glasgow in 1944 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection



Figure 3: The Burrell Collection, Pollok Park, Glasgow, Barry Gasson Architects 1978-1983 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection





Figure 4: Hutton Castle, Berwickshire, c.1948 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection

taste has led to assumptions that his collecting practice was random. Within this thesis I follow Marks's rejection of these analyses. Although wide in its scope Burrell's collecting practice was considered. In support of Marks, who wrote on Burrell, "He was not simply an amasser; he was an aesthete", I argue that Burrell's collection was built on a love of craftsmanship and history.<sup>7</sup> The aesthetic of objects were important to him, but so too were their biographies: where they came from, who they were made for, who had previously owned them, and what their historical uses were.<sup>8</sup> An undeniable example of this are the 220 medieval stained glass panels that he had fitted into the window-frames of his home at Hutton Castle near Berwick-upon-Tweed (See figure 4). The act of resituating medieval panels in the window frames of a late-medieval castle allowed for the objects to retain a semblance of their original function. It is these nuances of Burrell the collector that I assess in the succeeding chapters.

Four main themes are addressed throughout this thesis: public mindedness, relationships, identity and legacy. These themes are overarching, but they also act to structure the four chapters. Chapter one begins with a brief biographical overview of Burrell's life. It discusses Burrell's role in Burrell and Son, his consular connections with Austro-Hungary, his knighthood, and his role as trustee for two national galleries. This section introduces the reader to key points in Burrell's biography. Moreover, it determines Burrell's status, and sets up the context for the chapter's discussion of Burrell's public mindedness. The main focus of the chapter is Burrell's work as a local councillor between 1899 and 1906. The chapter uses three case studies of Burrell's time as a councillor: his position towards the Free Libraries Act of 1899, work for the sub-committee 'On Uninhabitable Houses, Areas and Back Lands, and Underground Dwellings', and his involvement in the Fine Arts section of the 1901 Glasgow International Exhibition. The first two case studies demonstrate the breadth of activities that Burrell undertook as a councillor, as well as providing an insight into his early interests and opinions with regard to local politics. The third case study is significant as it allows for an understanding of Burrell's place within the Glasgow art scene in the early-1900s, as well as giving an indication of what was in his collection at this time. Not only was Burrell closely involved with the organisation of the exhibition, he was also the single largest lender to the fine arts and art objects sections. Before 1911 there are limited records in Burrell's own hand of his acquisitions. The catalogues for the exhibition thus provide an insight into where his artistic interests lay at this time.

Burrell's work as a councillor has not previously been considered in conjunction with his involvement in the 1901 exhibition. This chapter presents an opportunity to assess his wider activities at this time together, and to understand what drove his social conscience in the early twentieth century.

Chapter two addresses the theme of relationships, and analyses Burrell's interactions

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<sup>7</sup> Marks, *Portrait of a Collector*, 20.

<sup>8</sup> Here I am following Igor Kopytoff's biographical approach to objects from his essay, 'The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process', in (ed.) Arjun Appadurai, *The social life of things: commodities in cultural perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 64-95.

with eight key dealers and associates. The chapter takes the form of case studies. The first is the Edinburgh architect-designer Sir Robert Stodart Lorimer (1864-1929). Five are dealers: Alexander Reid (1854-1928), Alexander James McNeill Reid (c.1893), Wilfred Drake (1879-1948), Frank Partridge (1875-1953), and John Hunt (1900-1976). The final two are academics: Dr Betty Kurth (1878-1948) and Professor Walter Percival Yetts (1878-1957). These figures have been chosen because of the close nature of all of their relationships with Burrell, as well as their roles in association with the key areas of his collection. Lorimer was the architect that Burrell employed to renovate his Glaswegian townhouse at 8 Great Western Terrace in 1901. Alex Reid and his son A. J. McNeill Reid were both dealers of modern pictures, helping Burrell to develop his collection of Glasgow Boys and modern French painting. Wilfred Drake, a glazier by trade, was Burrell's key dealer for medieval stained glass. Frank Partridge was the dealer from whom Burrell bought the most objects throughout his collecting career, ranging from Chinese works of art to furniture and stained glass. John Hunt and his wife Gertrude Hunt were instrumental in Burrell's collection of late-medieval and Renaissance works. Burrell employed Yetts to value his Chinese bronze collection, and Kurth was in the process of creating a catalogue of Burrell's tapestries when she died in 1948. I argue that what attracted Burrell to these figures was their expertise and knowledge of their respective fields.

Consistent across the five dealer case studies is a concentration on Burrell's use of these figures as more than simply dealers. Ultimately I raise the question as to whether Burrell's interaction with his closest dealers presents an opportunity for a new categorisation of professionals used by mercantile collectors in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These figures acted above the traditional role of dealer. Burrell's desire was for a deeper knowledge of his collection and the objects he acquired and these figures could provide him with this. Indeed, he used Lorimer, Yetts and Kurth in the same pedagogical way. My inclusion of Yetts and Kurth is important as traditional opinion suggests that Burrell was not trusting of academics. It is true that he used more dealers throughout his career as a collector. However, I argue that his choice of close associates was determined by their expertise rather than their business-mind. Through its analysis the chapter highlights what Burrell valued most in his closest associates. An overarching theme of the chapter is Burrell's desire to self-educate and his use of experts to help him do so.

Chapter three concerns identity, and provides an assessment of Burrell's collection *at home*. Using theories of the significance of interior spaces for expressing identity, this chapter analyses the interiors of Burrell's homes, both imaginary and idealised, as a means of understanding more about him as a collector.<sup>9</sup> Three case studies are used within this chapter; Newark Castle, near St Monans in Fife, which Burrell attempted to purchase in the late-1890s but was unsuccessful; 8 Great Western Terrace, Glasgow, purchased in 1901; and

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<sup>9</sup> Theorists used within this chapter include Pierre Bordieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London: Routledge, 1986); Diana Fuss, *The Sense of an Interior: Four Writers and the Rooms that Shaped Them* (New York: Routledge, 2004); Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space* (Boston, Massachusetts: Beacon Press, 1994).

Hutton Castle, near Berwick-upon-Tweed, purchased in 1915. All three sites show Burrell's determination to follow a Gothic scheme of decoration, and suggest that from as early as 1898/9 Burrell had an idea of how he wanted his collection *at home* to be displayed.

The chapter builds on previous discussions of Burrell's interiors through its connection of the interior schemes with Burrell's identity. With regard to both Newark Castle and 8 Great Western Terrace I suggest that Burrell should be considered within his contemporary artistic context, namely that of the Arts and Crafts movement in Scotland. As is shown, Burrell's interest in the Gothic, as well as in suitable schemes for his objects suggests his faithfulness to the philosophies of the Arts and Crafts in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. My analysis of Hutton Castle illustrates how the foundations laid by Burrell and Lorimer at 8 Great Western Terrace were continued into this medieval castle. Although ultimately Burrell and Lorimer fell out over the castle's renovations, the collector's purpose at Hutton stayed consistent: to create a total exhibition space for his Gothic works of art. Within all of three settings a purpose is identified: to create suitable spaces for his collected pieces that expressed his status as a middle-class mercantile collector of taste.

The chapter assesses the interiors of the homes rather than the individual objects. This allows for an indication of the settings within which Burrell wanted his collection to be consumed. This in turn provides a platform to assess the stipulations for the gift, which are analysed in the final chapter of this thesis.

Chapter four takes the theme of legacy, and examines the development of the museum from a private collection to a public museum. Using the 1944 Deed of Gift as its main point of analysis the chapter considers the conditions of Sir William and Lady Burrell's gift, ultimately raising the question of how the collection as a museum developed out of the stipulations laid out by the couple in 1944. It is divided into two main theoretical frameworks: gift exchange theory and discussions of private and public display.<sup>10</sup> By dividing the chapter in this manner two research areas are explored: the intentions behind the gift, and how these intentions have been translated into a public context.

Marcel Mauss's *The Gift* is used to assess the purpose behind Sir William and Lady Burrell's gift to the City of Glasgow.<sup>11</sup> Mauss's text is a theoretical assessment of gift exchange as a two-sided transaction. Using his arguments this section questions what Sir William and Lady Burrell wanted in return for their gift, providing an examination of the couple's intentions for their collection when transferred into a public context. This assessment provides a starting point for both a discussion of the collection's development, as well as one of how the collection was redefined through the process of the gift.

Anne Higonnet's text *A Museum of One's Own* is then used to analyse the development

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<sup>10</sup> Marcel Mauss (trans.) W. D. Halls, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies* (New York; London: W. W. Norton, 1990); Anne Higonnet, *A Museum of One's Own: Private Collecting, Public Gift* (Pittsburgh & New York: Periscope Publishing, 2009).

<sup>11</sup> Mauss, *The Gift*.



of the collection museum from the agreement to exhibition space.<sup>12</sup> Throughout Higgonet's text is a concern with the individuality of collection museums; unlike encyclopaedic museums whose collections have been amassed by hundreds of individual collectors, collection museums are the product of a shared vision of art.<sup>13</sup> Within personal collections are, as she argues, signs of a collector's personal identity.<sup>14</sup> This final chapter questions how Burrell wanted his collection's identity to be translated into a public, purpose-built, museum space.

The thesis ultimately presents new observations on how we might consider Burrell and The Burrell Collection. By reconsidering Burrell I am following recent research on collectors, for example Lee Glazer and Amelia Meyer's, *Charles Lang Freer: A Cosmopolitan Life*.<sup>15</sup> Published in conjunction with the reopening of the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington DC in 2017, Glazer and Meyer's text covers three thematic areas of Freer's life: 'Capitalist', 'Connoisseur' and 'Public Benefactor'.<sup>16</sup> Research on Freer was previously executed by Thomas Lawton and Linda Merrill and published in 1993.<sup>17</sup>

Most valuable to my own research is a section in the second chapter of Glazer and Meyer's text entitled 'No Place Like Home', in which the authors assess Freer's placement of objects within his house at 71 East Ferry Avenue in Detroit.<sup>18</sup> The authors discuss Freer's "harmonious" interior scheme, noting how the collector worked closely with his architect, Wilson Eyre (1858-1944), and later with artists, craftsmen and decorators to perfect his domestic displays.<sup>19</sup> Just as Freer's house illustrated his "emerging aestheticism",<sup>20</sup> in chapter three I argue that Burrell's interior schemes at 8 Great Western Terrace, and later Hutton Castle, highlight his growing historicism. This is not to say that Lawton and Merrill's earlier book was not useful. Indeed, the structure of their fourth chapter, 'Colleagues and Dealers',<sup>21</sup> informed my third chapter on Burrell's relationships with his own colleagues. However, Glazer's more recent text builds on Lawton and Merrill's, and highlights the need for a constant reassessment of collectors through its showcase of new research.

As mentioned above, biographical research on Burrell has already been conducted by Richard Marks. Marks, a medievalist, is Professor in History of Art at the University of Cambridge. At the time of the book's publication he was the Keeper of The Burrell Collection. His biography of Burrell was accompanied by the parallel publication *The Burrell Collection: with an introduction by John Julius Norwich*,<sup>22</sup> and two years later by

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12 Higgonet, *A Museum of One's Own*.

13 See Anne Higgonet, 'Not a Museum in a Usual Sense', in Higgonet, *A Museum of One's Own*, 2-24.

14 Higgonet, *A Museum of One's Own*, 123.

15 Lee Glazer & Amelia Meyer, *Charles Lang Freer: A Cosmopolitan Life* (Washington DC: Freer Gallery of Art & Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian, 2017).

16 Glazer & Meyer, vi.

17 Thomas Lawton & Linda Merrill, *Freer: A Legacy of Art* (Washington DC: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian, 1993).

18 Glazer & Meyer, 'No Place like Home', in Glazer & Meyer, 47-50.

19 Glazer & Meyer, 'No Place like Home', 47.

20 Glazer & Meyer, 'No Place like Home', 50.

21 Lawton & Merrill, 'Colleagues and Dealers', 99-131.

22 (eds.) Richard Marks, Rosemary Scott, et al., *The Burrell Collection: with an introduction by John Julius Norwich* (London: Collins in association with Glasgow Museum and Art Galleries, 1984).

*The souvenir guide to the Burrell Collection*.<sup>23</sup> None of these publications are footnoted, and they only contain “selected bibliographies”, which suggests that their intended audience was the Burrell general visitor and an interested public, rather than an academic one.

Marks’s biography, split into six chapters, lays out the major aspects of Burrell’s collecting career: his mercantile roots in the family shipping firm Burrell and Son; the Glaswegian art scene in which he was collecting; his collecting practice before the advent of his Purchase Books in 1911; the history, and story, of the Burrell’s move to Hutton Castle near Berwick-upon-Tweed; his collecting practice between the wars; and finally his collecting practice in his twilight years which coincided with the gift of the collection to Glasgow in 1944.

Marks’s book successfully sets Glasgow’s collecting context beginning in the nineteenth century. He names Archibald McLellan (1797-1834) as the figure who laid the foundations for Burrell’s generation of collectors in Glasgow, at the time known as the Second City of the Empire.<sup>24</sup> Against this background chapter two, *The Glasgow Scene*, discusses contemporaries of Burrell’s such as T.G. Arthur, Arthur Kay, Sir Thomas Gibson-Carmichael, and William Allen Coats.<sup>25</sup> Marks also highlights four important dealers at this time: Daniel Cottier, Elbert Van Wisselingh, Craibe Angus, and Alexander Reid.<sup>26</sup> Whilst this context is useful, the author’s comments form a description of the Glasgow collecting scene, rather than an assessment of Burrell’s place within it. Marks does go on to place Burrell into this late nineteenth century narrative in chapter three, *Early Collecting*, however, this is brief and he quickly moves on to discussing Burrell’s early taste (from the 1890s).<sup>27</sup>

Building on Marks’s research, my thesis places Burrell within the context of the Glasgow art scene. Chapter one discusses Burrell’s involvement in the organisation of the 1901 Glasgow International Exhibition, an event that suggests the collector’s significance at the beginning of the twentieth century as a figure in the promotion of Glasgow’s culture. My analysis places Burrell alongside figures discussed by Marks such as Kay, Coats and Gibson-Carmichael because of their involvement in the 1901 exhibition. Rather than simply discuss Glasgow dealers and collectors, I analyse Burrell in conjunction with such figures.

Marks’s book provides an interesting discussion on the history of Hutton Castle, including details of Burrell’s acquisition of the building, and its transformation into his private house museum.<sup>28</sup> Here Marks’s main narrative focuses on Burrell’s falling-out with Lorimer. Marks then discusses Burrell’s employment of the dealers and decorators Acton Surgey Ltd in the architect’s place.<sup>29</sup> Marks’s comments highlight Burrell’s personality: his strict nature when it came to money and how he was not easily dissuaded from what he

<sup>23</sup> Richard Marks, *The souvenir guide to the Burrell Collection* (Glasgow: Richard Drew Publishing, 1985).

<sup>24</sup> Marks, *Portrait of a Collector*, 58.

<sup>25</sup> Marks, *Portrait of a Collector*, 59.

<sup>26</sup> Marks, *Portrait of a Collector*, 61.

<sup>27</sup> Robert A. Cage, *A Tramp Shipping Dynasty: Burrell & Son of Glasgow 1850-1939: A History of Ownership, Finance and Profit* (Westport, Connecticut & London: 1997), 71.

<sup>28</sup> Marks, *Portrait of a Collector*, 92-115.

<sup>29</sup> Marks, *Portrait of a Collector*, 95-102.

wanted. In chapter three I discuss Hutton Castle alongside Burrell's aspirations in the late-1890s to buy Newark Castle in Fife and his purchase and renovation of 8 Great Western Terrace in Glasgow. My analysis of these three sites is distinct from Marks's because of the manner in which I assess the interiors, either imagined as in the case of Newark, or realised. I use the settings within which Burrell chose to house his objects as a means of understanding the identity he chose to project within the domestic sphere. Bringing the three sites together I highlight recurring themes in their modes of display.

Although Marks's book is key as a general introduction to the subject of Burrell as a collector, his research needs updating in light of additional available evidence. My thesis seeks to do just that, collating more recent research and increased access to primary sources. In doing so, it traces the development of the collection and illustrates what was of significance to its collector. It does not reject Marks's research but instead provides a deeper analysis of themes touched on by the former Keeper.

Another book that deals with Burrell's biography is by Sue Stephens, goddaughter of Marion (later Sylvia) Burrell, Burrell's daughter.<sup>30</sup> As suggested by the title of the book, *Collector's Daughter: The Untold Burrell Story*, Stephens's subject is Marion. The book is a subjective account of Marion's life, but also includes anecdotal information on Burrell. On numerous occasions Stephens quotes from journals kept by Marion. Unfortunately the journals are not in the public domain and so the full contexts of the quotations are inaccessible. Stephens's book is a very personal account. There are no citations and she has included no bibliography. This is because of the nature of the book being for a general audience rather than an academic one. It offers a subjective glimpse into the personal life of the Burrell family, an area which I do not attempt to penetrate within this thesis.

Peter Savage's two articles in *Country Life* from 1977 mark the first publication of correspondence between Lorimer and his colleague Robert (Robin) Smith Dods (1868-1920).<sup>31</sup> This body of letters provides an insight into Burrell and Lorimer's friendship between 1898 and 1902. 'Through the Eyes of a Friend' and 'The Ship Owner Settles Down', discuss Burrell's relationship with Lorimer.<sup>32</sup> Using the Lorimer-Dods letters Savage offers early biographical information on Burrell. The articles are descriptive in their nature. Their date of publication, 1977, was five years after Barry Gasson architects were announced as winners of the architectural competition. This suggests that their purpose was to raise awareness of Burrell and the collection during the building process. Another article from the same publication and year by Frank Davis, 'Emerging into Public View – The Burrell Collection' supports this argument.<sup>33</sup> In his article Davis assesses Burrell's collecting practice through

30 Susan Mary Orr Stephens, *Collector's Daughter: The Untold Burrell Story* (Glasgow: Glasgow Museums, 2015).

31 R.J. Riddell, 'Dods, Robert Smith (Robin) (1868-1920)': *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/dods-robert-smith-robin-5991/text10227> (accessed 08.08.17).

32 Peter Savage, 'Through the Eyes of a Friend – William Burrell, Collector', *Country Life*, January 27<sup>th</sup> 1977; Peter Savage, 'The Ship Owner Settles Down – William Burrell, Collector', *Country Life*, February 3<sup>rd</sup> 1977.

33 Frank Davis, 'Emerging into Public View – The Burrell Collection', *Country Life*, April 21<sup>st</sup> 1977.

his art.<sup>34</sup> Davis also makes a connection between Burrell's collecting and business practices stating that in both Burrell was "canny".<sup>35</sup> Savage and Davis's articles are examples of research on the collection that predate Marks.

Further research on Burrell is specific to his business, or to particular areas of his collection. Robert A. Cage's research on Burrell and Son is an analysis of the history of the family's firm.<sup>36</sup> Cage is an Associate Professor in the Department of Economic History at the University of New England in Australia. He is also Honorary Research Consultant in the Department of Economics, University of Queensland. His research interests lie in the fields of business and economic history. Cage's research is rich in quantitative data, which suggests that it was written for shipping and economic historians as a means of tracing the significance of Burrell and Son within British shipping history. Cage divides his assessment of Burrell & Son into four main chapters: 'The Nature of Tramp Shipping', 'A Brief History of Burrell & Son', 'Ownership Patterns', 'The Financing of Tramp Ships', and 'The Profitability of Burrell & Son Operations'. With regard to Burrell the man, Cage's book helps us to understand more about Burrell's business acumen. However, with regard to my research, Cage's text is limited as it only provides one part of Burrell's story.

This is concurrent with an article spread out over four issues of *Sea Breezes* by David Burrell, a maritime historian (no relation to Burrell).<sup>37</sup> The article similarly discusses the history of Burrell and Son. It examines Burrell and his brother George's connection to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, as well as the company's global reputation.<sup>38</sup> As with Cage it records Burrell and Son's selling and purchase practice. David Burrell's research is instrumental to our understanding of Burrell and Son, but as with Cage is limiting for a wider consideration of Burrell the collector.

With regard to research on specific areas of The Burrell Collection, the parallel publications to Marks's 1983 biography (*The Burrell Collection, with introduction by John Julius Norwich* and *A Souvenir Guide to the Burrell Collection*) provide an insight into the individual areas of the collection, and their description of the layout of the gallery when it first opened in 1983.

Further research on specific areas of the collection has been undertaken since the 1980s. Most recently a comprehensive catalogue of Burrell's tapestry collection was published.<sup>39</sup> The catalogue includes four essays, three on the conservation, care and make up of tapestries, and one on Burrell's collecting practice and display of tapestries. The catalogue also includes five appendices on collectors, dealers, exhibitions, loans and a complete list of the tapestries including their museum accession numbers. The catalogue augments the

<sup>34</sup> Davis, 'Emerging into Public View', 1044.

<sup>35</sup> Davis, 1043.

<sup>36</sup> Cage, *A Tramp Shipping Dynasty*.

<sup>37</sup> David Burrell, 'Burrell's Straths (1)' & 'Burrell's Straths (2)', *Sea Breezes*, April-July 1975; David Burrell 'Burrell & Sons', *Scottish Art Review*, 1975, Vol. 14, Part 4.

<sup>38</sup> Burrell, 'Burrell's Straths (1)', 220.

<sup>39</sup> (eds.) Elizabeth Cleland and Lorraine Karafel, *Tapestries from the Burrell Collection* (London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 2017).



accessibility of the tapestry collection, acting simultaneously to reassess the collection and provide a resource for future research.

Most relevant to my research from the catalogue is Elizabeth Hancock's essay on Burrell's tapestry collecting and display modes. Hancock is an Honorary Senior Research Fellow at the University of Glasgow in the School of Culture and Creative Arts. From the point of view of Burrell's tapestry collection Hancock assesses Burrell's methods of display of the hangings within his homes, his practice of buying abroad, and his loans of tapestries to museums, galleries and cathedrals.<sup>40</sup> My assessment of Burrell's collection at home in chapter three builds on Hancock's research through its assessment of the display of other works as well as the tapestries. I similarly discuss Burrell's early practice of buying abroad, in relation to trips he took to Europe with Lorimer. As well as using these trips as a manner of highlighting how Burrell was self-educating in the late-1890s and early-1900s, I use them to assess the nature of Burrell and Lorimer's relationship at this time.

Hancock's essay 'Collecting and display in museums: vernacular furniture in Glasgow 1900-1950' discusses Burrell's interest in historic Scottish furniture.<sup>41</sup> Hancock notes not only how Burrell bought 170 items of furniture between 1925 and 1926, but also that he was purchasing furniture reference volumes by Percy Macquoid and Herbert Cescinsky through the dealer Robert Lauder. Hancock's essay highlights Burrell's hunger to self-educate within this particular area of his collection. Following Hancock I argue that self-education was a driving force for Burrell. I propose that he had a strong interest not only in the aesthetic quality of his bought objects but their histories too.

Another recent catalogue is of the exhibition of Burrell's collection of Degas paintings at the National Gallery in London, which ran between 20<sup>th</sup> September 2017 and 7<sup>th</sup> May 2018.<sup>42</sup> Vivien Hamilton is Research Manager for Art at Glasgow Museums, and is currently researching Burrell's collection of French nineteenth century oils, pastels and works on paper. Hamilton's essay within the catalogue provides new research on Burrell's appreciation of the artist, and documents the history of Burrell's Degas collection.<sup>43</sup> The catalogue also includes essays on Degas's progressive nature and his use of pastel as a medium.<sup>44</sup> Set amongst these two essays Hamilton's analysis of Burrell's Degas collection highlights its importance, and Burrell's own as a collector with a passion for the French artist's work.

An exhibition catalogue from the recent exhibition of modern French painting in The Burrell Collection at the *Musees de Marseilles* (2018), provides up-to-date research on this area of the collection.<sup>45</sup>

40 Elizabeth Hancock, 'William Burrell's Tapestries: Collecting and Display', in (eds.) Cleland and Karafel, *Tapestries from the Burrell Collection*, 1-27.

41 Elizabeth Hancock, 'Collecting and display in museums: vernacular furniture in Glasgow 1900-1950', *Vernacular Building* 30, 2006, 113-130.

42 Vivien Hamilton with Julien Domercq and Harriet K. Stratis, *Drawn in Colour: Degas from the Burrell Collection* (London: Yale University Press, 2018).

43 Hamilton, 'Burrell and Degas', in Hamilton with Domercq and Stratis, *Drawn in Colour*, 20-32.

44 Julien Domercq, 'Edgar Degas: Relentlessly Moving Ahead' & Harriet K. Stratis 'A Practiced Touch: Edgar Degas and the Art of Pastel', in Hamilton, Dianne Sachko Macleod, 10-20 & 32-44.

45 *Collection Burrell: Chefs-D'Oeuvre Realistes et Impressionnistes* (Paris: Lienart editions, 2018).

Hamilton's essay 'William and Impressionism' assesses Burrell's interest in modern French art and support of Impressionist painting.<sup>46</sup> Hamilton discusses the dealers Burrell used to purchase French works, and highlights which French artists Burrell was interested in. Hamilton argues that we cannot fully know Burrell's thoughts on the four key Impressionist artists (Alfred Sisley, Pierre-Auguste Renoir, Claude Monet and Camille Pissaro) but we can be sure of his love of Edouard Manet and Edgar Degas.<sup>47</sup> As with the Degas and Marseilles catalogues Hamilton's work is specific to Burrell's French painting collection.

Hamilton's research on the artist Joseph Crawhall (1861-1913) provides an in depth analysis of his work. Her fourth chapter entitled 'Exhibitions, Collectors and Dealers' sets Crawhall's work within a British artistic network; highlighting his early exhibitions at the Glasgow Institute of Fine Arts, his membership to The Scottish Society of Painters in Watercolour, and his involvement with the London-based International Society of Sculptors, Painters and Gravers.<sup>48</sup> Hamilton discusses the main buyers of Crawhall's work, naming T.G. Arthur, Leonard Gow and William Allen Coats among the Glaswegian collectors who were buying Crawhall's work at the same time as Burrell. She analyses the role Alex Reid played in supporting Crawhall as a dealer, but also recognises the importance of another dealer, W.B. Paterson (1859-1952), in promoting Crawhall's pictures.

In chapter two I use Alexander (Alex) Reid (1854-1928) as one of my seven case studies. Professor Frances Fowle's extensive research on Alex Reid gives an insight into taste in Scotland in the late nineteenth century as well as the life and career of Reid in Paris, Glasgow and London.<sup>49</sup> Fowle is Senior Curator of French Art at National Galleries of Scotland, Personal Chair of Nineteenth Century Art at Edinburgh College of Art, and a Senior Trustee of The Burrell Collection. Her analyses of the dealer paints a clear picture of his various dealings with collectors and artists. My research builds on both Fowle and Hamilton by concentrating specifically on Reid's relationship with Burrell in the 1890s when they first met. By examining Joseph Crawhall's one-man show in 1894, to which Burrell both loaned and purchased a number of works, I show that Reid and Burrell's support of local modern artists should be considered within the wider European context of progressive art movements.

With regard to Burrell's extensive Chinese art collection, the online AHRC-funded project 'Chinese Art – Research into Provenance' includes essays by Nicholas Pearce, Elizabeth Hancock and Dominic Jellinek. Pearce is Richmond Chair of Fine Arts whose research takes in provenance research in Chinese art and collectors and collecting practices in the West and in China. Jellinek worked for the Chinese art dealership Bluett & Sons

46 Vivien Hamilton, 'William Burrell and Impressionism', in Frances Fowle, *Impressionism & Scotland* (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland in association with Culture & Sport Glasgow, 2008), 109-117.

47 Hamilton, 'William Burrell and Impressionism', 114.

48 Vivien Hamilton, *Joseph Crawhall 1816-1913: one of the Glasgow Boys* (London: John Murray Publishers Ltd in association with Glasgow Museum and Art Gallery, 1990), 77-102.

49 Frances Fowle, *Van Gogh's Twin: The Scottish Art Dealer Alexander Reid 1854-1928* (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 2010); (unpublished) Frances Fowle, 'Alexander Reid in Context: Collecting and Dealing in Scotland in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries', PhD thesis, Edinburgh University, 1993.

between 1978 and 1993, a dealership that Burrell bought many of his Chinese objects from.<sup>50</sup> The essays assess Burrell's relationship with Chinese art dealers John Sparks (1854-1914), Bluett & Sons and Ton-Yin & Co. The database also includes an essay by Pearce on Burrell's collecting practice in relation to his Chinese art collection.

Two recent AHRC-funded Collaborative Doctoral Awards between the University of York and The Burrell Collection have been completed. Oliver Fearon examined heraldic stained glass within Burrell's collection,<sup>51</sup> and Marie Groll examined the stained glass firm Thomas and Drake and the transatlantic trade in stained glass between 1900 and 1950.<sup>52</sup> Groll's third chapter focuses on Burrell and the glazier Wilfred Drake's relationship. She highlighted Drake's alteration of glass panels for Burrell, the glazing of Hutton Castle and the formation of his stained glass collection as a whole. In chapter two I further Groll's assessment by concentrating on Burrell's requests to Drake for historical and heraldic information relevant to his medieval glass collection. By doing so I illustrate Burrell's interest in the history of the stained glass he bought, and show that this was strengthened by Drake's expertise and knowledge of medieval glass.

As the above examples have shown, Burrell and his collection has been the subject of research. However, my thesis expands on the existing literature through its holistic approach to Burrell's life and collection.

Burrell's representation in surveys of art collecting is minimal. William Wells's essay, 'Sir William Burrell's Purchase Books (1911-1957)', first published in the *Scottish Art Review* in 1963,<sup>53</sup> is included in Frank Herrmann's 1972 *The English as Collectors*.<sup>54</sup> Herrmann (1927-2017) was a publisher, author and history of collecting scholar. His chrestomathy was intended as an instructive survey on the history of collecting in England, beginning in the seventeenth century with Charles I (1600-1649) and ending with Burrell in the twentieth century. By including Burrell in his sourcebook Herrmann placed the collector into his canon of English collectors in "the grand manner".<sup>55</sup> Burrell comes into Herrmann's second categorisation of English collectors, "1824 and after", who were distinct from their forefathers because of their combination of patronage and collecting.<sup>56</sup> However, in this essay Herrmann does not mention Burrell by name, illustrating the relative lack of information available on Burrell at the time of Herrmann's publication.<sup>57</sup>

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50 Roy Davids & Dominic Jellinek, *Provenance: Collectors, Dealers & Scholars in the Field of Chinese Ceramics in Britain and America* (Oxon: Roy Davids, 2011).

51 (unpublished) Oliver Fearon, 'Banners, badges and beasts: Illuminating the art and craft of heraldic stained glass, c1250-1600', PhD thesis with the University of York.

52 (unpublished) Marie Groll, 'Thomas and Drake Limited (London), Wilfred Drake, and his Exceptional Relationship with William Burrell', in (unpublished) Marie Groll 'Thomas and Drake and the Transatlantic Trade in Stained Glass 1900-1950', PhD thesis with the University of York.

53 Wells, 'Sir William Burrell's Purchase Books', 19-23.

54 Wells, in (ed.) Frank Herrmann, *The English as Collectors: A Documentary Chrestomathy* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1972), 413-417.

55 Herrmann notes that his inclusion of Burrell in the text is because of his family's Northumberland heritage. See Herrmann, *The English as Collectors*, 413.

56 John Steegman, 'The Changing Taste of Collectors', in (ed.) Herrmann, *The English as Collectors*, 235.

57 Frank Herrmann, 'The Twentieth Century', in (ed.) Herrmann, *The English as Collectors*, 387-405.

In his text *Merchants of Art: 1880-1960, Eighty Years of Professional Collecting*, Germain Seligman (1893-1978) discusses his brief relationship with Burrell in the 1930s.<sup>58</sup> Seligman was an art dealer, collector and art historian, who ran the Paris and New York offices of Jacques Seligmann & Cie. He wrote of his initial impression of Burrell, “Burrell did not strike me as a collector or as having a collector’s potentialities, financially, or in taste.”<sup>59</sup> However, he then discussed how at Hutton Castle Burrell built up “one of the greatest collections of Gothic tapestries in Britain”, making sure to note that the collector had acquired a number from Seligman’s firm.<sup>60</sup> The author’s choice to include Burrell in his assessment of professional collecting presents an example of the collector’s inclusion in a survey of art collecting.

Building on previous Burrell literature, this thesis takes the form of an analytical biography of both collector and collection. It does not provide a detailed assessment of each object purchased by Burrell, but considers the collection as a whole. By concentrating on Burrell the man and the collector, I assess what Arjun Appadurai terms the “social life” of The Burrell Collection.<sup>61</sup> Appadurai argues that a thing’s meaning is inscribed in its forms, uses and trajectories.<sup>62</sup> He writes that whilst “from a *theoretical* point of view human actors encode things with significance [...] from a *methodological* point of view it is the things-in-motion that illuminate their human and social context.”<sup>63</sup> In other words Appadurai argues that although in theory it is man who gives objects their value, in practice it is the thing itself - how it is used and appreciated at a particular time - that illuminates its own significance within society. Ultimately this is what Appadurai means by the phrase “the social life of things”. Rather than simply analysing man’s use of a thing, Appadurai calls for the importance of preforming a specific assessment of the changing history of said thing through time.

Within this thesis the “thing” in question is The Burrell Collection. In 1944, the collection was located in 36 different locations across Britain. The majority of the collection was found at Hutton Castle (the Burrell family home purchased in late-1915), with other locations including art galleries, museums and cathedrals.<sup>64</sup> The 1944 Deed of Gift stipulated that the collection be brought together.<sup>65</sup> Whilst Burrell had given an earlier gift of pictures to Glasgow in 1925, as well as smaller gifts to Kirkaldy (1940), Berwick Museum (1949), the McLean Galleries in Greenock (1940) and the Perth Museum (1940-44), he was determined that what he bequeathed to Glasgow remained as a united whole.

58 Germain Seligmann, *Merchants of Art: 1880-1960, Eighty Years of Professional Collecting* (New York: Appleton Century-Crofts Inc., 1961), 200-203.

59 Seligman, *Merchants of Art*, 201.

60 Seligman, *Merchants of Art*, 202.

61 Appadurai, ‘Introduction: commodities and the politics of value’, in (ed.) Appadurai, *The Social Life of things*, 3.

62 Appadurai, ‘Introduction’, 5.

63 Appadurai, ‘Introduction’, 5.

64 For a list of these locations see ‘MEMORANDUM of AGREEMENT between SIR WILLIAM BURRELL and LADY CONSTANCE MAY LOCKHART BURRELL, his wife, of Hutton Castle, Berwick-on-Tweed (hereinafter referred to as “the Donors”) and the CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF GLASGOW’, 1944, GMRC, Burrell archive, 1944, 2-3. See Appendix 1.

65 Ninth condition, Memorandum, 1944, 7.

Anne Higonnet argues, “Collection means at once the activity of accumulating and the totality of the objects assembled”.<sup>66</sup> Following this definition of a collection as “the totality of the objects assembled”, I consider that the collection itself is a “thing”. It is an object that has been created over time, and one that over time has had varying uses, forms and values.

My use of Appadurai’s theory is an adaption. Rather than perform a chronological assessment of the collection, my evaluation of its social life is thematic. The four main themes of the thesis were chosen as they allow for a consideration of the collection in different forms. Appadurai’s theory is used as a basis of understanding the collection and its collector’s journey from its beginnings in the 1880s to the opening of the Burrell Collection building in Glasgow’s Pollok Country Park in 1983, 25 years after the collector’s death.

By thinking about the collection through an Appadurian lens, I shed new conclusions on Burrell as a collector. The Burrell Collection is an example of what Higonnet termed a “collection museum”, namely an art collection that has been amassed by an individual serving to “memorialise their personal taste in art”.<sup>67</sup> In this manner, the collection tells the story of its founder. As Jean Baudrillard argues “[...] it is invariably *oneself* that one collects”, suggesting that the collection is a reflection of its collector.<sup>68</sup> One cannot assess the collection without taking into consideration the collector, or indeed the collector without the collection. Therefore, my purpose within this thesis is to analyse the life and career of Burrell in constant conjunction with his collection. What and how did he collect? Why did he collect? How did he use his collection? And, what did he envisage for his collection’s future? These questions frame this thesis as a means of augmenting our understanding of both Burrell and of his collection.

Although archives are used throughout this thesis, Burrell did not leave an archive to support his collection as some collectors had, for example Charles Lang Freer in Washington DC. The “Burrell Archive” referenced is a more recent development. As part of the Burrell Renaissance Project an effort was made to enhance the Burrell-related holdings. Most of the material held is dated after 1944. However, because Burrell was a dedicated correspondent there are also a few letters between the collector and the Glasgow Museum and Art Gallery staff that predate the gift. Before the Renaissance Project the Glasgow Museums curatorial team had access to the material, however, the correspondence was not catalogued. Cataloguing of the documentation began in 2013. Fiona Cairns, the Burrell Project Collections Access Assistant, was appointed in May 2016. Her role is to increase access for both internal staff and external researchers through the categorisation of archival material held by Glasgow Museums.<sup>69</sup> At the time of my research the records were still undergoing arrangement and description, with a final catalogue to be completed in the second half of 2019.

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<sup>66</sup> Higonnet, *A Museum of One’s Own*, xiii.

<sup>67</sup> Higonnet, *A Museum of One’s Own*, xii-xiii.

<sup>68</sup> Jean Baudrillard, ‘The System of Collecting’, in (ed.) John Elsner & Roger Cardinal, *The Cultures of Collecting* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 1994), 12.

<sup>69</sup> Information on Burrell Archive provided by Fiona Cairns via email.





Figure 5: Cover of Purchase Book, 1911-1914 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection

1911			1911					
Date Bought	From whom Bought	Description	Price paid	Received		Issued		Note's as made
				Date	at	By	Amount	
29 May	5 Eniron B 48 Lains Mary Ape	1 Cap on Cal Boat with stand Kang-kai figures with stand God of Condemned	3 - -					
30/853 + 4 NY 156 + 107 or 38/855 + 6 NY 103 + 116 ?		2 Kang-kai flags 25 each Figures with stand	21 - - 2 - 10 - 0 8 - 10 - 0					
Sold - see p. 3A		Sung Tiao Cream ground Sung Tiao with Cal. Very large	3 - 15 - 0 24 - 5 - 0					
38/152 - 155 ? 38/865, 6		3 Han figures Pair Duck Nahu-pots with stand	12 3 - 15 - 0					
2 Aug 38/820	Do	Kuan Yin on Chinist stand Kang-kai God of Condemned Kang-kai	78 - 15 - 0 50 - -					
28 Nov 38/246	Do NY 468 ?	Sung Bon l. Dhuick (Dhuick-hu)	12 - 10 - 0					
8 Dec	Do	Carved stand for Sung Tiao	1 - 10 - 0 142 - 15 - 0					

Figure 6: Interior of Purchase Book, May to December 1911 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection

Beyond correspondence the archive holds Burrell's 28 Purchase Books dating from 1911. These books provide insight into Burrell's detailed methods of recording his acquisitions. For each acquisition dated 1911 onwards Burrell detailed: a date of payment, note of "from whom bought", description of the item, price of the item, date of receipt of said item, amount of insurance paid and a confirmation of "all in order" (See figures 5 and 6). These books were not part of Burrell's original gift. They were found after his death, and only then given over to the Corporation.<sup>70</sup> Burrell's personal library is also located in the archive. The books within the library suggest Burrell's interests both in art and in wider history and literature, providing a context within which to understand his collected objects. However, as with the Purchase Books the library was given over to Glasgow Corporation after Burrell's death.<sup>71</sup>

As a means of organising and recording his collection Burrell made a series of photograph albums, or "Photo Books" as referred to in the Deed of Gift. The 1944 Deed stated that Burrell's entire collection was to be gifted to Glasgow with the exception of modern articles of furniture, jewellery, personal items etc. "[...] and all items contained in Photo Book titled 'Hutton Castle Y' which the Donors do not consider suitable for the Collection".<sup>72</sup> The title of the book suggests that it was one of a series. The books were given to Glasgow Corporation, however, in the years succeeding the gift these albums were taken apart and the original images are now found in individual object files.

The fact that the Burrell Archive was not integral to the 1944 gift has presented a challenge to my research as I have had to use archives not at first obvious to build up my analyses. Archives I have consulted include: Glasgow Museums, Glasgow City Archives, Glasgow University Archive, Glasgow University Library Special Collections, Glasgow School of Art Archive, Edinburgh University Special Collections, Historic Environment Scotland, Tate Britain, Victoria and Albert Museum Archive, Berwick Record Office, Freer Gallery of Art Archive, National Library of Scotland, National Galleries of Scotland Archive, National Records of Scotland and Lady Lever Art Gallery Archive. Thinking laterally I have built up an image of Burrell through the lens of his contemporaries.

By the time of Burrell's death in March 1958 his collection comprised over 8,000 objects.<sup>73</sup> The 1983 collection-specific text edited by Marks divided the collection into five categories: Ancient Civilisations, Oriental Art, Medieval Europe, Decorative Arts and Paintings.<sup>74</sup> Ancient Civilisations included pieces from Iraq and Iran, Egypt, Greece and Italy. Oriental Art included Chinese and Japanese pieces as well as Near Eastern ceramics and carpets. Medieval Europe ranged from domestic arts and stained glass to tapestries, sculpture and church art. Decorative Arts took in silver, European ceramics, treen, glass,

<sup>70</sup> William Wells, 'Sir William Burrell's Purchase Books', *The Scottish Art Review*, 15th October 1963, Vol. IX, No. 2, 19-23.

<sup>71</sup> The library was given over to Glasgow Corporation after the death of Lady Burrell in 1961.

<sup>72</sup> Memorandum, 1944, 2.

<sup>73</sup> This figure is taken from 'Burrell Collection Classified Index', Glasgow University Archive, Lord Muirshiel Files, DC 371/7/16.

<sup>74</sup> (eds.) Marks, Scott, et al., *The Burrell Collection*.

needlework, furniture and arms and armour. And finally, paintings included early works, Dutch and British paintings, the Hague School works, French painting, prints, drawings and sculpture.

Arguably the most celebrated areas of Burrell's collection are modern European painting, medieval tapestries, medieval stained glass, and Chinese ceramics. In the area of French painting some highlights of the collection include 24 works by Edgar Degas (1834-1917), one by Paul Cezanne (1839-1906), and nine by Edouard Manet (1832-1883). The collection also has a significant holding of Hague School works. Burrell especially admired both Jacob (1837-1899) and Matthijs (1839-1917) Maris, showing his currency of taste with late nineteenth century Scottish collectors. Burrell also collected works by local Glasgow Boys, in particular the watercolours of Joseph Crawhall.

Burrell also had an interest in modern European bronze sculpture. His collection holds 14 works by Auguste Rodin (1840-1917), one by Charles van der Stappen (1843-1910), and one by Constantin Meunier (1831-1905).

Burrell's medieval tapestry collection is numbered at around 200 hangings. As Hancock explains, Burrell's major focus was tapestries from the late-medieval northern European workshops.<sup>75</sup> Burrell's tapestry collection is made up of both religious and secular subject matters, with all the major places of tapestry manufacture being represented: France, Southern Netherlands, Germany and England.<sup>76</sup> Burrell's medieval and Renaissance tapestry collection is of international significance, being one of the best worldwide.<sup>77</sup> Marks noted that Burrell saw his collection of tapestries as the most important area of his collection, and Seligman wrote that Burrell's Gothic section was "his first love".<sup>78</sup> Without a doubt it was late-Gothic and early-Renaissance works of art that he admired the most, as seen through his interior schemes at both 8 Great Western Terrace, Glasgow, and Hutton Castle near Berwick-upon-Tweed.<sup>79</sup>

Burrell's collection of medieval stained glass numbers over 600 panels.<sup>80</sup> Geographically Burrell's panels are from the Continent and England. Marks argued that the strongest areas of the glass collection are the fifteenth and early sixteenth century Northern European examples, although the collection ranges from as early as the twelfth up to the sixteenth centuries.<sup>81</sup> The collection of glass varies from small roundels to full windows.

Chinese ceramics make up the largest number of objects in the collection numbering at over 1,000 pieces.<sup>82</sup> From Burrell's Purchase Books we know that he collected Chinese

75 Hancock, 'William Burrell's Tapestries', 1.

76 Hancock, 'William Burrell's Tapestries', 1.

77 Duncan Dornan, 'Foreward', in (eds.) Cleland & Karafel, *Tapestries from the Burrell Collection*, vii.

78 (eds.) Marks, Scott, et al., *The Burrell Collection*, 101.

79 Richard Marks, 'Medieval Europe', in (eds.) Marks, Scott et al., *The Burrell Collection*, 87.

80 Marks, 'Stained Glass', in (eds.) Marks, Scott et al., *The Burrell Collection*, 110.

81 (eds.) Marks, Scott et al., *The Burrell Collection*, 110.

82 Unless individually noted all subsequent figures are taken from 'Table of Sir William Burrell's acquisitions between 1911 and 1957', in William Wells, *Treasures from the Burrell Collection' an exhibition at Hayward Gallery, London, 18<sup>th</sup> March – 4<sup>th</sup> May 1975* (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1975), 48.



porcelain for 38 of the 46 years that he recorded. Ceramics were evidently a material which Burrell admired as he also collected Persian, Continental and English examples. Of these he collected 187 examples of Persian pottery, 33 examples of Continental pottery, and 106 examples of English pottery.

As well as Chinese ceramics, his collection includes a collection of around 175 Chinese bronzes ranging from the Han Dynasty (206 BC – AD 220) to later dynasties such as the Song (AD 960-1279) and Ming (AD 1368-1644). Burrell also collected roughly 136 Chinese jades. Burrell's acquisition of these varying materials from China suggests his interest in the country's cultural history, rather than simply a fascination with their ceramic manufacturing.

As a collection museum, pieces within the collection held functional as well as historical and aesthetic qualities. Examples within the collection include: 41 Gothic doors Burrell bought for Hutton Castle, the 200 stained glass panels fitted into Hutton's windows, over 500 items of historical wooden furniture, and carpets used as floor coverings throughout the castle.<sup>83</sup> Burrell also purchased oak panelling, as well as Gothic fireplaces and lintels to be installed in the rooms of the castle. After 1944 Burrell began to acquire architectural fragments on an even greater scale. Burrell acquired these fragments, mainly purchased from the sale of the American newspaper magnate and art collector William Randolph Hearst's (1863-1951) collection between 1952 and 1954, with the future building for his collection in mind. Following Burrell's requests the fragments, which include stone portals, windows, doorways and niches, were incorporated into the fabric of the building as a means of mixing the historical with the modern.

These "functional" objects tell a story of how Burrell wanted parts of his collection to be used, and suggest that his was a passion for objects that went beyond object's aesthetic. Running through each chapter is the theme of self-education. I illustrate that within Burrell there was a hunger for education through experience, guidance and study. Taking into consideration his *use* of objects within the context of display, whether that was a domestic or an imagined public display, I argue that Burrell was greatly interested in the history of the objects that he acquired. This is supported by his record-keeping in the Purchase Books, where details of objects' histories were noted. His was an interest in their past, how they were used and consumed, not only their visual and tangible qualities.<sup>84</sup>

As the above overview of the collection suggests, Burrell collected widely yet carefully. If we consider a number of his contemporaries both in Scotland and further afield the individual nature of Burrell's collection can be gauged.

William Allen Coats (1853-1926), the director of a thread manufacturing company, J.

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<sup>83</sup> For more information see Philip Vaniker, 'Furniture', in (eds.) Marks, Scott et al., *The Burrell Collection*, 132-134.

<sup>84</sup> Igor Kopytoff discusses this notion of an objects history in his essay 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as process', in (ed.) Appadurai, *The Social Life of Things*, 64 – 91.

& P. Coats, collected nineteenth century French and Dutch art.<sup>85</sup> Coats came from a family of collectors. In comparison to Burrell his collecting was more focused. As well as an interest in modern European painting, Coats also collected a number of Old Master paintings by artists such as Vermeer, Rembrandt, Hals, Ruben, Velazquez and Fragonard.<sup>86</sup>

Leonard Gow (1859-1936) was a fellow shipowner and partner at the firm of Gow, Harrison & Co.<sup>87</sup> Gow had a slightly wider collection than Coats. He began collecting in the 1890s and his collection included Impressionist paintings, other works on paper, Old Master works and a collection of Chinese porcelain.<sup>88</sup> Gow bequeathed a set of etchings and drypoints by the Glaswegian artist Muirhead Bone (1876-1953) to the University of Glasgow in 1965. Beyond this his picture collection was sold at Christies, London in May 1937,<sup>89</sup> and his collection of Chinese porcelain was sold at Sotheby's in May 1943.<sup>90</sup> Burrell bought three pictures at the Christies sale: a Whistler pastel entitled *The Dancing Girl*, a Henri Fantin-Latour oil painting entitled *Three peaches on a plate* and a painting by Matthew Maris entitled *The Dreamer* (See figures 7 and 8).<sup>91</sup> At the 1943 Sotheby's sale, Burrell purchased eight *Kang-hsi* (*Kangxi*) Dynasty porcelain wares, one mid seventeenth century "pair of large blue & white jars and covers with ovoid bodies", a *Ch'ien Lung* (*Qianlong*) Dynasty "turquoise beaker of bronze form (Ku) with wide flared neck", and a *Ming* Dynasty "pair of yellow-ground bowls of deep shape" through Frank Partridge and Sons (See figures 9 and 10).<sup>92</sup> Gow's Chinese porcelain collection was celebrated. In 1931 R.L. Hobson (d.1941), Keeper of Department of Ceramics and Ethnography at the British Museum, published a *Catalogue of the Leonard Gow Collection of Chinese Porcelain*, a copy of which Burrell had in his personal library.<sup>93</sup>

Arthur Kay (1862-1939), also from a mercantile background, was an early buyer of Impressionist painting in Scotland and like many of his contemporaries bought works by artists of the Barbizon and Hague schools.<sup>94</sup> He also had an interest in early Dutch painting, collecting works by Rembrandt, Van Dyck and Saendredam.<sup>95</sup> Like Gow, Kay too bought beyond painting and had collections of English glass, Chinese bronzes and Japanese lacquer work.<sup>96</sup>

85 Vivien Hamilton, 'Appendix 3 – William Allen Coats (1853-1926)', in Vivien Hamilton, *Millet to Matisse: Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century French Painting from Kelvingrove Art Gallery, Glasgow* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press in assoc. with Glasgow Museums, 2003), 201.

86 Hamilton, *Millet to Matisse*, 201.

87 Hamilton, 'Appendix 3 – Leonard Gow (1859-1936)', in Hamilton, *Millet to Matisse*, 201.

88 Hamilton, *Millet to Matisse*, 201.

89 Hamilton, *Millet to Matisse*, 201.

90 'Leonard Gow, 1859-1936, Ship Owner, Philanthropist, and Collector of Chinese Art', Smithsonian, Freer Sackler, <https://archive.asia.si.edu/collections/downloads/Gow-Leonard.pdf> (accessed 2.10.18).

91 On 28<sup>th</sup> May 1937 Burrell noted in his purchase book that he bought the Whistler and Fantin Latour pictures at Leonard Gow's sale on that day at Christies Mason & Woods. On the same day Burrell bought *The Dreamer* through Lockett Thomson, noting that Lockett Thomson bought the painting on Burrell's behalf at the Gow sale. Sir William Burrell, Purchase Book, GMRC, Burrell Archive, 28<sup>th</sup> May 1937, 52.12.

92 Burrell, Purchase Book, 13<sup>th</sup> May 1943, 52.15, 50-55.

93 R. L. Hobson, *The Catalogue of The Leonard Gow Collection of Chinese Porcelain* (London: George W. Jones, 1931).

94 Hamilton, 'Appendix 3 – Arthur Kay (c.1862-1939)', in Hamilton, *Millet to Matisse*, 201.

95 Hamilton, *Millet to Matisse*, 201.

96 Hamilton, *Millet to Matisse*, 201.



Figure 7: James Abbott McNeil Whistler, *The Dancing Girl*, c. 1885, pencil and pastel on brown paper, The Burrell Collection, 35.641 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection



Figure 8: Matthijs Maris, *The Dreamer*, c. 1887-1892, oil on canvas, The Burrell Collection, 35.337 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection





Figure 9: *Qianlong* Dynasty turquoise beaker of bronze form (Ku) with wide flared neck, The Burrell Collection, 38.755 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection



Figure 10: Pair of yellow-ground porcelain beakers with double bulb, *Ming* Dynasty, The Burrell Collection, 38.692/38.693 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection

As these three examples suggest, Burrell's contemporary Glaswegian collectors shared a taste in nineteenth century European painting, Old Master paintings and objects from the Far East. Although Burrell also collected and admired modern-European painting, English glass, and Chinese porcelain and bronzes, his collection was much further reaching.

Other significant contemporary collectors outside of Glasgow include figures such as Sir Percival David (1892-1968), who was a collector and scholar of Chinese porcelain. George Salting (1835-1909) was a collector who, like Burrell, was catholic in his taste. Salting collected painting, Chinese porcelain, furniture and other decorative arts. However, unlike Burrell, at his death he bequeathed his collection to a number of London institutions: the Victoria and Albert Museum, the National Gallery and the British Museum.

In comparison with these British contemporaries Burrell's collection is unique. He did not only purchase masterpieces only, but also domestic items, furniture, needlework, jewellery, carpets, lace, tapestries and much more. His fascination with the work of Degas and Crawhall – both artists who used painterly brushwork and rich colour – demonstrates within his painting collection he also favoured pieces that demonstrated the mark of their maker. Considering the above, I argue that we should view Burrell's desire to buy such a variety of objects as indicative of his appreciation of good craftsmanship and history.

Burrell's desire to keep his collection together suggests his attempt to not only preserve the individual objects, but also the identity of the collection itself. He could have bequeathed his collection to various institutions as Salting had. However, this did not materialise. Instead, like the New York-based art collector Henry Clay Frick (1849-1919), who bequeathed his former residence on Fifth Avenue as well as his collection to the public, Burrell gifted his collection as a whole and so ensured that it retained its history.

At this point it is important to set the parameters of this thesis. My use of the phrase, Burrell's "collecting career", refers to between 1882 and 1957. The first record that I have found of Burrell purchasing a work of art comes from the sales book of the Royal Glasgow Institute of Fine Arts dated autumn 1882 to spring 1892. On 16<sup>th</sup> September 1882 Burrell is listed as having purchased a painting entitled *Scott. Volunteer Review* by Robert Walker Macbeth (1848-1910) for £5.5.<sup>97</sup> Macbeth was an artist specialising in pastoral landscapes and rustic genre paintings. The title of this work suggests that it was a painting depicting a military scene. This subject matter is unusual within the context of Burrell's taste. However, Burrell was only 21 when he bought the work so his "taste" was in its infancy. Marks discussed two accounts of Burrell's early ventures into picture buying: one as a school boy buying a Raeburn picture at a Glasgow auction, and the other of Burrell aged 18 buying a Romney portrait for £10.<sup>98</sup> We do not have any documentation to verify these accounts. As such I use Burrell's purchase of the Macbeth picture in 1882 as the starting date of his "collecting career". The last record of Burrell purchasing a work comes from his Purchase

<sup>97</sup> 'Autumn 1882 – Spring 1892 Sales Book', *Royal Glasgow Institute of Fine Arts*, Glasgow City Archives, Mitchell Library, TD1981/1/1/5/1, 3.

<sup>98</sup> Marks, *Portrait of a Collector*, 40.



Book the year before his death, in April 1957. The entry reads, “Ancient Persian Bronze Head of a bull from a Cauldron. Urartian, 7<sup>th</sup> Century B.C. Found at Toprak-Kale 4 1/2”.<sup>99</sup> Taking these two dates into consideration, Burrell’s collecting career spanned 75 years.

The end date of my research is 1983, more specifically the opening of the museum in Pollok Country Park. Although research on the continued history of the Burrell would provide a worthwhile discussion of the role of The Burrell Collection within Glasgow’s contemporary cultural scene, the relevance of it to a biographical analysis of Burrell is questionable. Between 1983 and the present day the Burrell Collection has undergone many changes, moving further away from Burrell’s original stipulations laid out in 1944. An example of this is the Private Bill introduced by Glasgow City Council in 2013 to relax the terms of Burrell’s gift and allow chosen objects to be loaned internationally.<sup>100</sup> In his Will, Burrell prohibited the Corporation from selling, donating or exchanging any object in the collection but noted it was not his intention,

[...] to prohibit the said Corporation from lending temporarily from time to time to responsible Bodies, such articles except pastels, tapestries, carpets, rugs, lace, needlework and all other textiles forming part of that collection as they may think proper for exhibition in any Public Gallery in Great Britain.<sup>101</sup>

Burrell’s concern was with the reliability of overseas transportation of his objects,<sup>102</sup> and so to safeguard against any potential risks he stipulated that they were to stay on mainland Britain. The reason behind Glasgow City Council’s desire to relax Burrell’s terms is understandable. Since October 2016 the collection has been closed for the Burrell Renaissance Project, and is due to remain closed until 2020. By allowing the objects to go on tour wider than the United Kingdom, Glasgow Museums hope to increase the collection’s public profile. However, this stage in the collection’s life is far removed from Burrell’s stipulations and as such is not further discussed within this thesis.

Burrell’s Will also noted,

[...] it is my wish that the collection should be called “The Burrell Collection” and be so described in all future reference to it: But inasmuch as I have had the benefit of my wife’s help in many ways including financial help and have received from her the greatest assistance and most wholehearted support in forming the collection, it is my desire that it be distinctly understood that the entire gift is from my wife and myself and that her name shall always be associated with mine and shall receive full

<sup>99</sup> Burrell, Purchase Book, 1957, 52.28, 39.

<sup>100</sup> ‘Burrell Collection tour backed by MSPs’, BBC News, 11<sup>th</sup> November 2013, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-glasgow-west-24870346> (accessed 28.06.18).

<sup>101</sup> Scottish Record Office ‘Extract Registered Trust Disposition and Settlement and Codicils of the late Sir William Burrell’, registered April 11<sup>th</sup> 1958, no. 3998, 455.

<sup>102</sup> ‘Burrell Collection tour backed by MSPs’, BBC News.

acknowledgment in all official literature relating to the collection.<sup>103</sup>

Burrell's term, "The Burrell Collection", indicates his desire that the collection was as much in Constance's name as his own. Within this thesis I do not attempt to write Constance into the story of the collection's creation. An unpublished report in the Burrell Archive assesses Constance's involvement with the collection.<sup>104</sup> The authors, Miles Kerr-Peterson and Sara Stradal, note Burrell's reference to his wife in relation to the donation of objects, her involvement in the choosing of a site for the collection, and her shared love and interest in art with William.<sup>105</sup>

It is undeniable that Constance shared an interest in objects with her husband. For example, a letter from Burrell to Wilfred Drake dated 15<sup>th</sup> February 1933 from a trip to Madeira reads,

My wife is buying a little linen – which is the chief industry of the Island – and has come across a design with the Coat of Arms of England encircled by the Motto of the Garter – are these properly combined or is it a forceful design?<sup>106</sup>

The letter illustrates that Constance was active in purchasing pieces. However, after describing the design to Drake Burrell continued,

But my wife thinks she cannot buy it as to use it in ones house say as a tea cloth or a tablecover she thinks would be like a commoner buying say a Countess's brooch with its several points at Christies and recarving it.<sup>107</sup>

This comment suggests that Constance's purpose for buying the linen was practical: something to use within the home rather than as a collectible piece. So, whilst this example does show her in the act of buying, it does not prove that she was buying with the wider collection in mind. Another example of her interests can be read in the fact that Thomas Rohan sent a copy of his book *Old Glass Beautiful* to Constance inscribed with the following: "To Lady Burrell, with the Author's warm regards, Thomas Rohan, Bournemouth May 1932".<sup>108</sup> Kerr-Peterson and Stradal note that the book holds extensive annotations by William although it

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<sup>103</sup> 'Extract Registered Trust Disposition and Settlement and Codicils of the late Sir William Burrell', 454.

<sup>104</sup> (unpublished) Miles Kerr-Peterson & Sara Oberg Stradal, "She would make a lot of cannonballs which Sir William would fire": Constance Burrell's Life, Roles and Voice within the Burrell Collection', October 2016, Report for the Burrell Project and Glasgow Life, GMRC, Burrell Archive.

<sup>105</sup> Kerr-Peterson & Stradal, 'Constance Burrell's Life, Roles and Voice', 5-6.

<sup>106</sup> Sir William Burrell to Wilfred Drake, 15<sup>th</sup> February 1933, GMRC, Burrell Archive, 52.56.99.

<sup>107</sup> Burrell to Drake, 15<sup>th</sup> February 1933.

<sup>108</sup> Thomas Rohan, *Old Glass Beautiful* (London: Mills and Boon, 1930), GMRC, Burrell Archive, GMA.2013.1.6.845.

was gifted to Constance, suggesting that this could indicate a shared interest.<sup>109</sup> Whilst this could be an explanation, the heavy annotations by William suggest that it was a book used more by Burrell than his wife.

Between 27<sup>th</sup> February and 22<sup>nd</sup> March 1917 a loan exhibition of “antique furniture, mediaeval tapestries, and allied domestic arts, also of lace and drawing” was held at the New Gallery in Edinburgh. The lace displays within the exhibition were arranged by The Lady Marjorie Mackenzie and assisted by: The Countess of Mansfield, Mrs Baird of Colstoun, Mrs Dent, Mrs Maconochie Welwood, and Mrs Monteith.<sup>110</sup> From the catalogue’s description of the lace exhibits, all of the loans were made by women, including Constance. The catalogue noted, “Mrs Burrell has also filled a case with exhibits of exquisite fineness and perfect workmanship.”<sup>111</sup> We cannot know whether she or William collected the examples of lace loaned to the New Gallery. The exhibition was a fundraising effort in aid of Edenhall Hostel, Kelso, for limbless sailors and soldiers. Between 1928 and 1941 Lady Burrell was one of seven vice-presidents of the Churnside Nursing Association, in 1928 she donated £10,000 to the Glasgow Royal Cancer Hospital to purchase radium, and in 1940 she was chairman of the Hutton branch of the Red Cross Society.<sup>112</sup> This suggests that her loan of lace to the New Gallery exhibition was as much for fundraising as an opportunity to display historic lace. Constance’s involvement in the exhibition highlights that she was undoubtedly a benefactor in her own right. It is also an example of her engagement with the collection.

There are no indicators within the Purchase Books of Constance’s direct involvement in the purchase of objects; Burrell’s initials “WB” sign off each entry. No credit notes or bank ledgers survive to my knowledge that might prove the extent of Constance’s agency. I am not negating Burrell’s statement in his Will with regard to Constance’s assistance and support towards the foundation of the collection. Neither am I denying her and William’s shared interest in art. However, without further documentation to trace her involvement, any conclusions I came to would be purely speculative. It is because of these limitations that I do not include Constance within this thesis.

Burrell is known to have been an extremely private individual. In a letter to Tom J. Honeyman (1891-1971), Director of Glasgow Art Galleries, dated January 1944 the collector wrote, “With regard to publicity my wife and I should prefer if there could be none at all [...]”.<sup>113</sup> Although biographical in its nature this thesis’s purpose is not to unearth personal details of Burrell’s life, rather it intends to better our knowledge of The Burrell Collection, its founder and its origins.

In *A Fortunate Man* the late art historian and writer John Berger (1926-2017) wrote,

<sup>109</sup> Kerr-Peterson & Stradal, ‘Constance Burrell’s Life, Roles and Voice’, 5.

<sup>110</sup> *Catalogue of a loan collection of antique furniture, mediaeval tapestries, and allied domestic arts, also of lace and drawings*, 27<sup>th</sup> February – 22<sup>nd</sup> March 1917, Edinburgh, New Gallery, 29.

<sup>111</sup> *Catalogue of a loan collection [...] also of lace and drawings*, 29.

<sup>112</sup> Kerr-Peterson & Stradal, ‘Hutton II: Living and Community’, in Kerr-peterson & Stradal, ‘Constance Burrell’s Life, Roles and Voice’, 9-13.

<sup>113</sup> Sir William Burrell to T. J. Honeyman, 26<sup>th</sup> January 1944, National Library of Scotland, Tom Honeyman Files, Acc. 9787/83, 3/19/7.

A man's death makes everything certain about him. Of course, secrets may die with him. And of course, a hundred years later somebody looking through some papers may discover a fact which throws a totally different light on his life and which all the people who attended his funeral were ignorant. Death changes the facts qualitatively but not quantitatively. One does not know more facts about a man because he is dead. But what one already knows hardens and becomes definite.<sup>114</sup>

This position taken by Berger is relevant to my assessment of Burrell's life and collecting career. The originality of this thesis is derived from the manner in which I assess Burrell's life. The same documents available to me have been in existence since Burrell's death. Some have been discovered and made available in the years since the museum's 1983 opening, but largely the material I work with is consistent to that used by researchers before me. It is my altered use and evaluation of these documents that acts to broaden our consideration of Burrell and shed new light on him as a collector.

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<sup>114</sup> John Berger, *A Fortunate Man: The Story of a Country Doctor* (Edinburgh: Canongate Books Ltd., 2016), 161.

## Chapter One - Burrell's public mindedness

### 1.1 Burrell the man: a biographical introduction

William Burrell was born on the 9<sup>th</sup> of July 1861 at 3 Scotia Street, Glasgow. He was the third child of William (1832-1885, now referred to as William Snr) and Isabella Guthrie Burrell (b.1834) (See figures 11 and 12).<sup>115</sup> The Burrell family business was the management of tramp shipping,<sup>116</sup> William Snr's father, George, established the business to take advantage of the Clyde's growing commercial prosperity. Initially the business was concentrated on the Forth and Clyde Canal, but expanded into international trade in 1862. Between 1873 and 1885 William Snr ran the firm, known as Burrell and Son, and after his death in 1885 his sons George and William took over.<sup>117</sup>

Before joining the family business, William boarded at Abbey Park School in St Andrews. In 1871 William and his two brothers, Adam and George, were listed as boarders at the school.<sup>118</sup> The private school was small, consisting of around 80 boys in the 1860s.<sup>119</sup> The majority of boys came from Glasgow, but boarders also came from London, Dublin, Edinburgh and Aberdeen. The standard of teaching at the school was not the highest, that honour went to Madras.<sup>120</sup> Although initially the school had five resident tutors and five masters, reliance was later put on university students.<sup>121</sup> In 1871 William was awarded first prizes in Geography, Arithmetic and Classics, as well as a second price in English.<sup>122</sup> In 1874 he was awarded an English price for "accuracy in repeating the shorter Catechism", and was awarded a special prize for his essay on the Book of Judges by the Reverend Dr Boyd.<sup>123</sup> William was also one of three boys singled out in the school's art exhibition for their illuminated texts and ornamental specimens, earning praise for their "artistic elegance of finish".<sup>124</sup>

The ruins of St Andrews's Cathedral and Archbishop's palace paired with the castles

<sup>115</sup> William and Isabella had nine children: George (1857-1927), Adam, (1859-1907) William (1861-1958), Elizabeth (b.1863), Henry (1866-1924), Janet (b.1868), Helen (b.1869), Isabella (b.1872), and Mary (1874-1964). See 'A Genealogy Report for William Burrell', 4<sup>th</sup> September 2011, MyHeritage.com Family Tree Builder.

<sup>116</sup> Tramp ships are those that have no regular port of call and so follow instead the patterns of trade. They can carry any legal and safe cargo and will travel anywhere to secure their freight. Tramps ships normally carry low-value cargo, for example raw materials. Owners of tramp ships are closely involved in the management of their ships and need to be aware of the world's markets; where there might be shortages, surpluses and unexpected world events such as wars or natural disasters. For more information see Robert A. Cage, 'The Nature of Tramp Shipping', in Cage, *A Tramp Shipping Dynasty*, 4-5.

<sup>117</sup> Cage, *A Tramp Shipping Dynasty*, 7.

<sup>118</sup> 1871 Census Record for St Andrews and St Leonards, National Records of Scotland, 1871/453/1, 1.

<sup>119</sup> 'Education in St Andrews 1861', [http://www-history.mcs.st-andrews.ac.uk/Extras/St\\_A\\_education\\_1861.html](http://www-history.mcs.st-andrews.ac.uk/Extras/St_A_education_1861.html) (accessed 15.10.18); *Westwood's Parochial Directory for the Counties of Fife and Kinross, containing the names and addresses of Gentry, and of Persons in Business, &c.* (Edinburgh: John Menzies, 1862).

<sup>120</sup> Madras College, or "Madras", is a Scottish secondary school located in St Andrews, Fife.

<sup>121</sup> 'Education in St Andrews 1861'.

<sup>122</sup> *Fife Herald*, 3<sup>rd</sup> August 1871.

<sup>123</sup> *Fife Herald*, 23<sup>rd</sup> July 1874.

<sup>124</sup> *Fife Herald*, 23<sup>rd</sup> July 1874.





Figure 11: William Burrell (1832-1885) © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection



Figure 12: George Henry, *Mrs Burrell*, 1903, oil on canvas, The Burrell Collection, 35.278  
© CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection

of the Fife peninsula may well have sparked Burrell's love of medieval art.<sup>125</sup> Marks notes that Burrell was only at school until he was 15 years old, and suggests that we should be careful of overemphasising this context.<sup>126</sup> Nevertheless, St Andrews was a contrast to Burrell's upbringing in Glasgow: first at Scotia Street in the East of the city, then 30 Willowbank Street in the West End, and finally Bowling outside of Glasgow's city limits where the family had moved to in 1872.<sup>127</sup> Whatever impact it had on his later interests, from his early school days in St Andrews, Burrell was exposed to a medieval context.

William left Abbey Park to enter the family firm in 1876, where he worked in the office and was trained in the financial and chartering side of the business.<sup>128</sup> His older brother George was trained in the technical aspects of shipping (See figure 13).<sup>129</sup> William and George were equal partners in the firm, with George in charge of technical matters and William in charge of commercial affairs. One of William's main roles was to travel overseas to build contacts and to keep tabs on the agents the firm relied on to secure cargo in foreign ports.<sup>130</sup>

Discussing collectors Seligman noted, "England's amateurs have seldom been limited in their tastes, a trait engendered perhaps by their international business interests."<sup>131</sup> Seligman's comment suggests the benefits of overseas connections for "English" collectors. Burrell is said to have inherited his taste for art from his mother Isabella.<sup>132</sup> Indeed, he seemed to come from a family of amateur collectors. George was also a collector. He is listed as a member of the Glasgow Art Club from 1891 to 1913,<sup>133</sup> and we know that he shared an interest with his brother in the art of Joseph Crawhall, one of the Glasgow Boys. George and two of their sisters also loaned worked to the Glasgow International Exhibition in 1901, suggesting that the family had a shared love of art.<sup>134</sup> However, Seligman's argument suggests that Burrell's hunger for collecting was augmented by his foreign business trips.

One of Burrell's strongest foreign connections was with the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In a letter to Marks, David Burrell stated,

The relationship of Sir William with Austro-Hungary was consistently close and I have copies of letters from the Austrian Foreign Office archives suggesting that he be given a very high Austrian award which was not open to foreigners, i.e. that the rule be waved for him. This was not done instead he was promoted to be Consul-

<sup>125</sup> Marks, *Portrait of a Collector*, 40.

<sup>126</sup> Marks, *Portrait of a Collector*, 40.

<sup>127</sup> Marks, *Portrait of a Collector*, 40.

<sup>128</sup> Cage, *A Tramp Shipping Dynasty*, 9.

<sup>129</sup> Cage, *A Tramp Shipping Dynasty*, 9.

<sup>130</sup> Cage, *A Tramp Shipping Dynasty*, 9.

<sup>131</sup> Seligman, *Merchants of Art*, 194; Seligman's use of "England's amateurs" here is referencing British amateur collectors. Within his text he includes Burrell as an example, illustrating that Scottish collectors were included within this category.

<sup>132</sup> Andrew Hannah quoted in Marks, *Portrait of a Collector*, 41.

<sup>133</sup> William Burrell was also listed as a member of the Glasgow Art Club in 1893.

<sup>134</sup> William Burrell to James Paton, 28<sup>th</sup> March 1901, GMRC, Burrell Archive, GMA.2013.1.2.10.13.



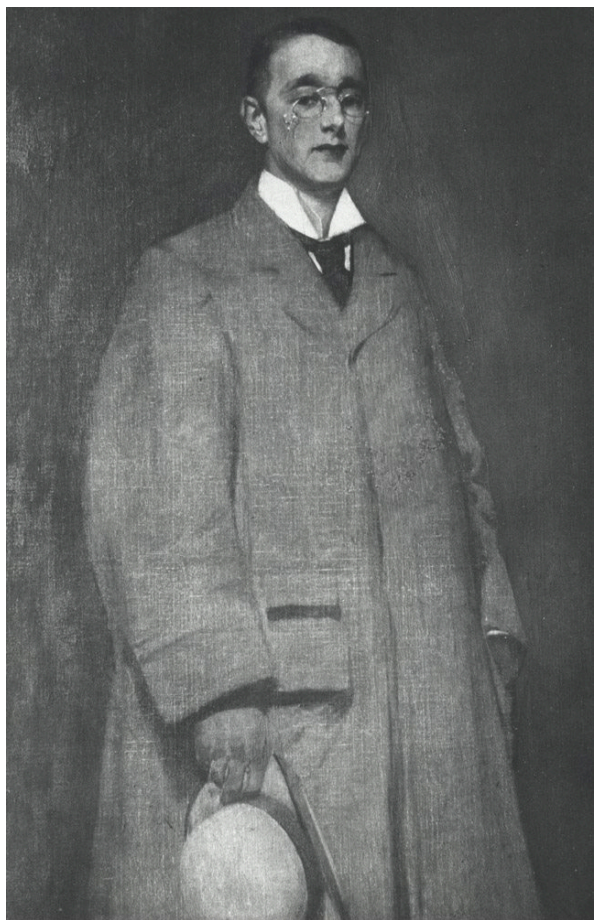


Figure 13: George Burrell (1857-1927) as a young man © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection

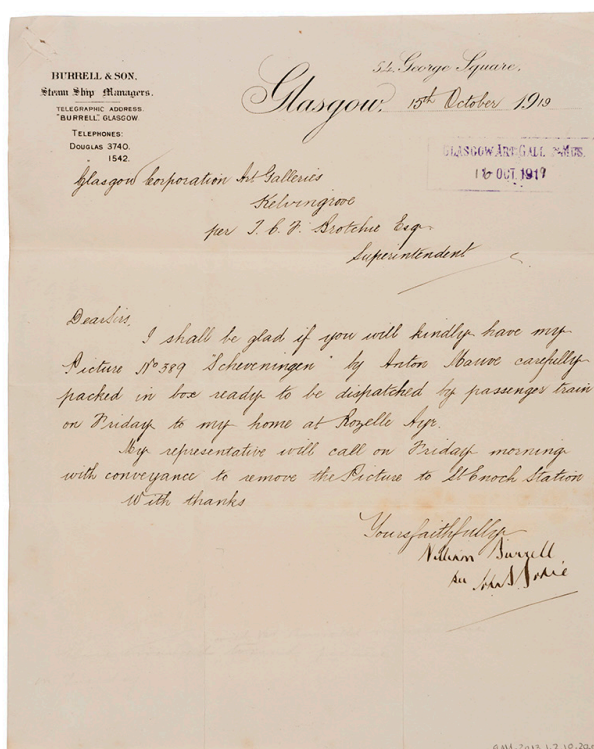


Figure 14: Letter showing letterhead of Burrell & Son shipping firm © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection

Burrell had been appointed Imperial and Royal vice-consul for the Austro-Hungary in 1888,<sup>136</sup> and in 1891 he was appointed consul.<sup>137</sup> He held this office until 1914 when the two countries went to war with each other. At this time he was promoted to consul-general for Hungary, and George was appointed consul for Austria, a position he held until his death in 1927.<sup>138</sup> Burrell remained consul-general until 1932. In that same year he was appointed the Hungarian Order of Merit, II Class, an award that recognised civil or military distinction.<sup>139</sup>

Burrell's relationship with Austro-Hungary was founded through shipping. The Hungarian government were encouraging services to and from its Adriatic coast, and Burrell and Son obtained a contract to run a steamer service between Fiume (now Rijeka), Glasgow and Leith.<sup>140</sup> In 1879 Burrell and Son formed the Adria Steamship Co, selling this a year later to the Hungarian Government.<sup>141</sup> Burrell also founded a shipping company called the Austro-Americana with the Austrian hauler Gottfried August Schenker (1842-1901) in 1890.<sup>142</sup> Whilst it is not known what Burrell's consular duties involved, this tie to the Austro-Hungarian Empire establishes his status in the shipping world in the late nineteenth century.

By 1885 Burrell and Son was considered one of Glasgow's most significant non-liner shipping firms, and with this the offices moved to 54 George Square, an important address for Glasgow's mercantile elite (See figure 14).<sup>143</sup> Here the firm grew from strength to strength. Between 1886 and 1894, when shipping rates were extremely low, the firm expanded the fleet and began to purchase larger ships. This practice illustrates William's shrewd business acumen. Lorimer described Burrell's business practice to Dods in 1902,

[...] his scheme is really the nimblest I've ever struck. He sells his fleet when there is a periodical boom on, then puts his money into 3 per c stock & 'lies back' until things are absolutely in the gutter – soup kitchen times – everyone starving for a job. He then goes in like a roaring lion, orders a dozen large steamers in a week gets them built at rock bottom price less than ½ what they'd have cost him last year – then by the time they're delivered to him things have begun to improve a little bit & here he is ready with a tip top fleet of brand new steamers & owing to the cheap rate he's had them built at, ready to carry cheaper than anybody! Sounds like a game any one

<sup>135</sup> David Burrell to Richard Marks, 24<sup>th</sup> August 1982, Richard Marks notes, GMRC, Burrell Archive, to be catalogued under the series GMA.2013.1.4.

<sup>136</sup> *Post Office Glasgow Directory for 1888-1889, arranged as General, Street, Commercial, and Suburban; with an Appendix Containing useful local and general information* (Glasgow: William MacKenzie, 1888), 166.

<sup>137</sup> *Post Office Glasgow Directory for 1891-1892*, 167.

<sup>138</sup> David Burrell, 'Burrell's Straths (1)', 220.

<sup>139</sup> Cage, *A Tramp Shipping Dynasty*, 10.

<sup>140</sup> Marks, *Portrait of a Collector*, 44.

<sup>141</sup> Burrell to Marks, 24<sup>th</sup> August 1982. After this date Burrell and Son had no financial connection to the Adria but they remained agents at Glasgow until 1914.

<sup>142</sup> Hannes Richter, 'Austro-Americana Line', *Austrian Embassy Washington*, <https://www.austria.org/austro-america/> (accessed 29.11.18).

<sup>143</sup> Cage, *A Tramp Shipping Dynasty*, 9.



could play at but none of them have the pluck to do it.<sup>144</sup>

Burrell and Son followed this practice twice. They sold their first expanded fleet in 1900 and then did not purchase any more ships for five years. In 1905 when prices were again in depression the brothers began to buy ships, this time buying thirty between 1905 and 1911 for a total of between £40,500 and £42,500.<sup>145</sup> With the outbreak of war in 1914 the allied forces were in need of ships, so Burrell and Son took this opportunity to sell their fleet. Out of the 30 bought, six were sunk during the war, 15 sold to other parties and 10 to the Australian Commonwealth Government Line at £145,000 a ship.<sup>146</sup> The 10 ships alone made a profit of £1,407,500. Burrell and Son owned about 27% of each ship, making them a profit of £380,025, equating to roughly £42 million in 2018 currency.<sup>147</sup> The firm's financial successes enabled William's growing interest in collecting. Leading up to, and after, George's sudden death in 1927 Burrell gradually spent more time building his collection. The last remaining ship was sold in 1930 and, after operating solely as agents and brokers for a few years, the Burrell and Son offices finally closed in 1939.<sup>148</sup>

In June 1927 Burrell was knighted for his services to art.<sup>149</sup> In that same year he was appointed trustee for two National Galleries: the National Galleries of Scotland and the National Gallery of British Art in London. Burrell sat as a trustee for the National Galleries of Scotland from March 1927 until March 1947.<sup>150</sup> When he joined the board consisted of six other men: Sir John R. Findlay (Chairman), The Hon. Hew H. Dalrymple, Sir John Stirling Maxwell, Sir William H. Raeburn, and John Warrack. The purpose of the board was to approve paintings purchased, bequeathed, offered in gift or offered on loan to the Scottish National Gallery or Scottish National Portrait Gallery. The board also dealt with additions to the buildings, and salaries and appointments of new staff. The board met four times a year: in January, March, June and October.

At a meeting held on 23<sup>rd</sup> October 1939, just over a month after the outbreak of World War Two, the board discussed the evacuation of pictures from the National Galleries, and the policy as to acquisitions during the war. On the latter the minutes read,

The Board decided to meet quarterly as usual to give consideration to works

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<sup>144</sup> Robert Lorimer to Robin Dods, 3<sup>rd</sup> January 1902, Sir Robert Lorimer Papers, Coll-27, University of Edinburgh Main Library, MS.2484.6.

<sup>145</sup> Cage, *A Tramp Shipping Dynasty*, 11.

<sup>146</sup> Cage, *A Tramp Shipping Dynasty*, 12

<sup>147</sup> This price is worked out using Cage's statistics on page 12 of *A Tramp Shipping Dynasty*. The price calculation uses the average inflation rate of 4.67% per year, making prices in 2017/18 10865.6% higher than those in 1914. <https://www.officialdata.org/1914-GBP-in-2017?amount=380025> (Accessed 29.06.18).

<sup>148</sup> Cage, *A Tramp Shipping Dynasty*, 12.

<sup>149</sup> Court Circular, *The Times*, June 23<sup>rd</sup> 1927, 17.

<sup>150</sup> 'The Board of Trustees for the National Galleries of Scotland', National Gallery, Edinburgh, 28<sup>th</sup> March 1923', National Galleries of Scotland archive, Minutes vol. iii, p. 178.; The last meeting that Burrell's name is mentioned in the Board of Trustee minutes is 31<sup>st</sup> March 1947. He was listed as absent. 'The Board of Trustees for The National Galleries of Scotland', 31<sup>st</sup> March 1947, Minutes vol. viii, 96.

bequeathed or gifted. They would also consider purchases if any opportunities for important acquisitions occurred, but otherwise the purchase funds would be allowed to accumulate.<sup>151</sup>

This minute highlights the role the board continued to play during wartime, their dedication to the preservation of the existing collection, as well as its continued growth despite the conflict.

A subject heading from the board meeting on 7<sup>th</sup> October 1946 was entitled “Gallery of Modern Art”. The minutes read,

It was agreed that steps should be taken to further the proposals for the provision of a Gallery of Modern Art by approaching the Secretary of State for Scotland and the Standing Commission on Museums and Galleries (a) for the approval of the project, (b) for the earmarking of the York Buildings site in Queen Street if considered suitable, (c) for preparation of sketch plans to show how the site might be developed, and (d) for the granting of a definite priority in Scotland for the scheme.<sup>152</sup>

Burrell was not alive to see the opening of the Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art at Inverleith House in 1960. However, he was present at this meeting in 1946. The minutes illustrate the integral nature that the trustees had in shaping the future of Scotland’s cultural landscape. As a trustee for twenty years, Burrell was closely involved in both the running of the Scottish National Galleries and in the growth of its collections. His place on the board acts to emphasise his status as a Scottish art collector, as well as his interest in public art institutions.

Burrell was appointed trustee of the National Gallery of British Art at Millbank on 14<sup>th</sup> September 1927. Stanley Baldwin (1867-1947), the Conservative Prime Minister, elected Burrell as a trustee along with: The Hon. Evan Charteris, K.C. and Mr. Samuel Courtauld for the period 1927 to 1934.<sup>153</sup> Burrell had an existing relationship with Millbank, having loaned pictures to the gallery since February 1924.<sup>154</sup> In the Director’s Report from April 3<sup>rd</sup> 1924, the Director, Charles Aitken (1869-1936), thanked Burrell for his loans because of the high number of visitors the pictures had attracted since March 1924.<sup>155</sup> Such thanks suggests the high esteem with which the gallery held both Burrell and his collection of modern European pictures in. I would propose that the history of his relationship with the gallery was one reason why he was chosen as a Trustee in 1927. The other was his knighthood. His raised

151 ‘The Board of Trustees for the National Galleries of Scotland’, 23<sup>rd</sup> October 1939, Minutes vol. vii, 36.

152 ‘The Board of Trustees for the National Galleries of Scotland’, 7<sup>th</sup> October 1946, Minutes vol. viii, 68.

153 Tate Gallery, Board Meeting Minutes, TAM 72/8, Sep. 1926 – Nov. 1928, 216.

154 Burrell’s original loan of pictures to the gallery had been for 12 months, the pictures were to be hung in Gallery III and a Private View of the works was scheduled for March 20<sup>th</sup> 1924. Tate Gallery, Board Meeting Minutes, TAM 72/7, Jun. 1923 – Sep. 1926, 100.

155 Tate Gallery, Board Meeting Minutes, TAM 72/7, 103.

status would have appealed to this national collection. On the whole Burrell's role as trustee at the London gallery was similar to that in Edinburgh.

In May 1934 the gallery's Director, James Bolivar Manson (1879-1945), noted that he was to prepare a book of Burrell's picture collection, with a contribution of £100 from Burrell.<sup>156</sup> Unfortunately I have found no evidence in Manson's collected papers relating to such a publication. By 1934 Burrell had loaned works to the gallery for a decade, and sat as a trustee for seven years. This highlights the collector's dedication to the gallery, and suggests why Manson was eager to produce a book on Burrell's painting collection. Burrell remained a trustee for the museum until the end of the year 1934.

Burrell's appointment as trustee for both National Galleries indicates his devotion to art in the public domain. Keeping this in mind, the following sections of this chapter return to Burrell's earlier public activities as a councillor for Glasgow Corporation between 1899 and 1906. They highlight Burrell's early public mindedness, something that ultimately led to the gift of his collection to Glasgow in 1944.

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<sup>156</sup> Tate Gallery, Board Meeting Minutes, TAM 72/11, Jan. 1933 – Dec. 1935, 495.

## 1.2 1896-1906: Burrell the councillor, his election and responsibilities

On 8<sup>th</sup> November 1899 Burrell, then aged 38, was elected as a representative of the Exchange Ward of Glasgow (See figure 15).<sup>157</sup> The Exchange Ward was at the centre of Glasgow's business and commercial activity. Its boundary from north to south was Bath and Cathedral Street to Clyde Street; and from east to west was Stockwell, Glassford, and John Street to Jamaica, Mitchell, and West Nile Street.<sup>158</sup> Within the area some of Glasgow's most prominent commercial addresses featured: George Square, the City Chambers, Bank of Scotland, the Custom House, to name but a few examples.<sup>159</sup> Burrell's own shipping firm, Burrell and Son, was found at the centre of the ward, 54 George Square, therefore making the shipowner a suitable figure to hold office in the central division.

Burrell's bid for election had been a last minute affair. The position had become available because of the death of the previous representative, Bailie Murdoch.<sup>160</sup> In his pre-election speech at Merchants' House on Wednesday, 1<sup>st</sup> November 1899 Burrell was quoted saying that "he had not intended to come forward, and it was not until he had been very much pressed on Saturday that he had consented to do so."<sup>161</sup> The next week the *Glasgow Herald* reported Burrell's success in the election. Of the 2,041 voters in the Exchange Ward 911 voted for Burrell, and 625 for his competitor Richard Hubbard Hunter.<sup>162</sup> An anonymous author in the *Glasgow Herald* that day celebrated Burrell's new position, writing, "William Burrell is decidedly the most welcome of all new members of the Corporation. He brings to the service of the city proved business ability and that large grasp of affairs which the majority perhaps only hope to acquire by sitting at the Council board."<sup>163</sup> This statement highlights Burrell's status within Glasgow in 1899. He was a known, successful, businessman whose experience in the mercantile world would be beneficial to the Corporation.

It is important to note that at the same time that he was a councillor, Burrell was

<sup>157</sup> The 'Exchange Ward' was formerly known as the 'Tenth Ward' of Glasgow. In 1896 Glasgow's municipal structure was reconstituted; the wards of the City were re-divided and each given an official local name. The city assessor James Henry in accordance with the City of Glasgow Act, 1891, had made a move for this in 1895. These new designations were intended to "preserve and perpetuate local names which themselves have a history, and which in a great growing town too readily are lost and forgotten." For more information on this history of Glasgow see Sir James Bell, Bart. & James Paton, F.L.S., *Glasgow, its Municipal Organisation and Administration* (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1896), 52-64.

<sup>158</sup> "X Ward. Exchange. That portion of the City and Royal Burgh comprehended within a line drawn from a point in the middle line of Victoria Bridge where the same intersects the middle line of the River Clyde, northwards along the middle of said bridge, Stockwell Street and Glassford Street to the middle of Ingram Street; thence northwards along the middle of John Street to a point where the middle line of Cathedral Street meets the middle line of Stirling Road; thence westwards along the middle of Cathedral Street and Bath Street to the middle of West Nile Street; thence southwards along the middle of West Nile Street and Mitchell Street to the middle of Argyle Street to a point opposite the middle of Jamaica Street; thence southwards along the middle line of Jamaica Street and Glasgow Bridge till the same intersects the middle line of the River Clyde; thence up the middle of the River Clyde to the point in the middle of Victoria Bridge first before described." Miscellaneous Town Clerk Records, Mitchell Library MP 27.697.

<sup>159</sup> Miscellaneous Town Clerk Records, Mitchell Library MP 27.687-697.

<sup>160</sup> 'Municipal Elections', *Glasgow Herald*, Wednesday, November 1, 1899; Issue 261, 4.

<sup>161</sup> 'Municipal Election Meetings', *Glasgow Herald*, Thursday, November 2, 1899; Issue 262, 9.

<sup>162</sup> 'Municipal Elections', *Glasgow Herald*, Wednesday, November 8, 1899; Issue 267, 9.

<sup>163</sup> 'Wednesday, November 8, 1899', *Glasgow Herald*, Wednesday, November 8, 1899; Issue 267, 6.



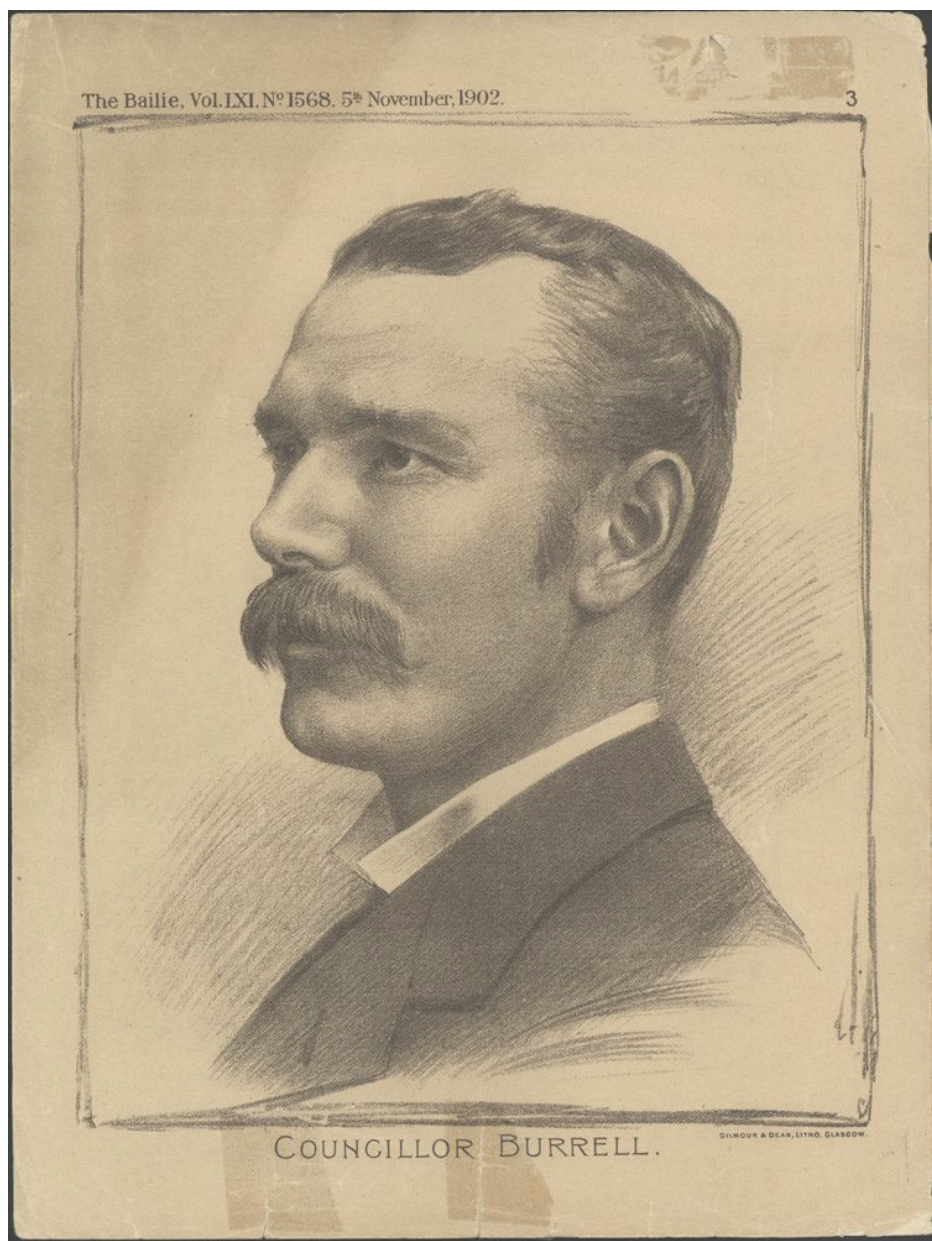


Figure 15: Councillor Burrell, *The Bailie*, 5<sup>th</sup> November 1902 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection



also a governor for Glasgow School of Art. He was appointed on 13<sup>th</sup> September 1904 as one of 15 members of the School Committee.<sup>164</sup> The committee was chaired by William Forrest Salmon. The other members were: Robert S. Allan, Professor Walter Raleigh, John J. Burnet, Archibald Campbell, John Henderson, David Barclay, John Keppie, Patrick S. Dunn, James Fleming, Professor John Glaister, Henry Bowie Fyfe and John S. Templeton.<sup>165</sup> From the Governors meeting minutes it appears that Burrell did not attend many meetings, and he is only listed as a Governor for two years in the annual reports.<sup>166</sup> However, in 1906 he was appointed a member of the committee for completion of the Mackintosh School of Art building.<sup>167</sup> This committee comprised of 13 men, many of which were governors at the same time as Burrell: Sir Frances Powell, Archibald Campbell, Bailie Thomas Dunlop, John James Burnet, William Forrest Salmon, Patrick S. Dunn, James Fleming, George Heriot, Henry Bowie Fyfe, David Barclay, Thomas McArly, Robert J. Dunlop and Hugh Reid.<sup>168</sup> As with the Governor's minutes, Burrell's name does not appear on the lists of those who attended the committee for completion. This was perhaps because of his travel commitments with Burrell and Son at the time. Although we cannot get a full picture of his activities either as a governor or a committee member for the Mackintosh building on Renfrew Street, these examples link Burrell directly to the art school. They suggest his support of the improved education for local artists and craftsmen, as well as his status within Glasgow's art scene in the early twentieth century.

If we consider the Glaswegian mercantile art collector Archibald McLellan, founder of the McLellan Galleries on Sauchiehall Street, as a forerunner to Burrell, similarities can be made with regard to their involvement in Glasgow Corporation (See figure 16). McLellan, a coachbuilder by trade, was made Magistrate of the city at the age of 25 and served as a town councillor for over 30 years.<sup>169</sup> In 1903, aged 42, Burrell was made Bailie and, although he did not serve nearly as long as McLellan, was a councillor for seven years.

In his 1895 study of Glasgow's municipal system Albert Shaw (1857-1947), an American journalist and academic, described the character of the city's councillors as, "[...] chiefly from the ranks of men of business, and are upright, respected, and successful citizens."<sup>170</sup> Bailies in Glasgow were councillors elected from their wards. Added to their regular councillor duties were magisterial roles, including trying police cases and sitting at licence courts.<sup>171</sup> Essentially their duty as councillors within their ward remained the

164 'Minutes of the Annual Ordinary General Meeting held in the School 167 Renfrew Street on Tuesday 13<sup>th</sup> September 1904 at 12:30 o'clock pm', Glasgow School of Art Archives, GSAA/GOV 2/5, 189.

165 'Minutes of the Annual Ordinary General Meeting', GSAA/GOV 2/5, 190.

166 Annual Report, 1879-80 to 1905-6, Glasgow School of Art Archives, GSAA/GOV 1/2.

167 'Minutes of Meeting of the Glasgow School of Art Extension Committee held in the School 167 Renfrew Street on Tuesday 2<sup>nd</sup> October 1906 at 2.30 o'clock pm', Glasgow School of Art Archives, GSAA/GOV/5/1/3, 1.

168 University of Glasgow, 'M134 Glasgow School of Art', *Mackintosh Architecture: Context Making and Meaning*, <https://www.mackintosh-architecture.gla.ac.uk/catalogue/pdf/M134.pdf> (accessed on 28.10.18).

169 'Archibald McLellan', The Glasgow Story, <https://www.theglasgowstory.com/image/?inum=TGSE00560> (accessed 16.10.18).

170 Albert Shaw, *Municipal Government in Great Britain* (New York: The Century Co., 1895), 77.

171 Shaw, *Municipal Government*, 76.



Figure 16: Robert Cree Crawford, *Archibald McLellan*, 1906, oil on canvas © CSG CIC  
Glasgow Museums Collection

same, but within these roles they were regarded as “persons of superior dignity.”<sup>172</sup> This suggests that within Glasgow Burrell was considered a reputable figure. Across Britain in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries councillors did not earn salaries, rather it was considered an honour to represent your ward.<sup>173</sup> Therefore, Burrell’s tenure as councillor clearly displays his devotion to Glasgow’s council.

In May 1944, Burrell wrote to Honeyman regarding McLellan’s gift. Honeyman responded, “The Corporation acquired the building and the collection in 1856 at a cost of £44,500, the collection representing £15,000. The Finance committee of the corp. at first turned down the proposal by a majority of five but later the Corporation overturned this decision and the collection was acquired.”<sup>174</sup> Whether McLellan’s gift to the city had had any direct agency over Burrell’s is unclear. However, this enquiry illustrates that Burrell showed interest in the manner in which McLellan’s collection had come into public hands. Added to this the similarity in their biographies – Glaswegian merchants with a love of art and commitment to public service – is undeniable.

In their 1896 text, *Glasgow, its Municipal Organisation and Administration*, Sir James Bell (1850-1929), Lord Provost of Glasgow between 1892 and 1896, and James Paton (1843-1921), Glasgow’s first Superintendent of Museums, described the process of Glasgow’s annual municipal elections. The day after the November elections (normally a Friday) the Council was summoned to meet to appoint the Magistracy and officials, elect representatives to Boards on which the Town Council has members, and once in every three years elect a Lord Provost. At a subsequent meeting the various committees of the Town Council, their convenors and sub-convenors were selected.<sup>175</sup> As suggested by Bell and Paton this was an arduous process:

In these days the Councillor is much more the servant than the master of the people, and without any sense of communism he is called on to discharge many duties, which the individual in days of yore performed for himself, or lived altogether without.<sup>176</sup>

Their statement indicates the substantial number of duties that the modern-day council was required to perform. Glasgow’s citizens of past were in command of their lighting (both domestic and public) and cleaning; their water supply came from personal wells or public pumps; the streets were not paved; and there were no drains, sewers or sewage purification. In contrast the modern city provided piped water and gas; telegraphy, telephony and electric lighting; trams, subways, railways, washhouses, museums, art galleries, public parks, and

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<sup>172</sup> Shaw, *Municipal Government*, 76.

<sup>173</sup> Shaw, *Municipal Government*, 77.

<sup>174</sup> T. J. Honeyman to Sir William Burrell, 18<sup>th</sup> May 1944, GMRC, Burrell Archive, GMA.2013.1.2.1.46.

<sup>175</sup> For more information on the process of annual elections see Bell & Paton, ‘The Constitution of the Council’, 65-75.

<sup>176</sup> Bell & Paton, *Glasgow*, 53.

more.<sup>177</sup> These services were made available by the council, suggesting the laborious nature of the annual assignment of council members to their committees.

Throughout his seven years as a councillor, Burrell sat on 22 different committees and special committees. These included general committees on: libraries, gas supply, electricity, and telephone service; as well as more specialised committees such as: the proposed friendly society, proposed fire insurance department, capital expenditure, purchase of estate for relief employment, and auditors. During his time as a councillor he was also closely involved in the organisation of the fine arts sections of the 1901 Glasgow International Exhibition.

A recognisable trend throughout Burrell's time as a Councillor was his seat on the financial sub-committees of the majority of these groups. Finance was something that Burrell understood; within Burrell and Son he was in charge of the office books, and as a collector he was constantly trying to achieve the best deal for his desired works of art. Returning to the anonymous writer from the *Glasgow Herald*, finance was Burrell's "proved business ability"; he brought his shrewd economic knowledge to the Council in an attempt to reduce the city's expenditure.

In Burrell's pre-election speech he argued,

The capital expenditure of the city had increased to a greater extent than the amount reserved annually by the various sinking funds. That was not a desirable state of affairs, and the time had arrived when we must call a halt, and give what had been done time to bear fruit.<sup>178</sup>

Burrell's statement demonstrates his worry for the rate at which Glasgow had been municipalised. Gas supply, electricity, and the telephone had all been in municipal ownership since the early twentieth century, and there was hope for further progress into a complete municipal model in the future. As Irene Maver notes, although some celebrated Glasgow Corporation as a leading example of municipal politics, others saw it as a form of social control leading to the Corporation being negatively dubbed "the oppressor of the West".<sup>179</sup> Burrell's worry over the city's expenditure illustrates his belief that the Council needed to wait for their former actions to materialise before jumping into new ventures. It suggests that he was wary of the city's drive for central power over the freedom of the individual, a view that suggests Conservatism in Burrell. As will be shown his speech and later actions within the Council illustrate his stand against Glasgow becoming a fully municipalised city.

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<sup>177</sup> Bell & Paton, *Glasgow*, 53.

<sup>178</sup> 'Municipal Election Meetings', *Glasgow Herald*, 9.

<sup>179</sup> Maver discusses Albert Shaw's overwhelmingly positive critique on Glasgow's "model municipality". Shaw, an American civic reformer and journalist travelled to Britain to research the British municipal system in 1895, and celebrated Glasgow within his investigation. Irene Maver, 'Glasgow, 1860-1914: Portrait of a City', in (ed.) Hamilton, *Millet to Matisse*, p. 20.; Shaw, *Municipal Government*, 77.

### 1.3 Burrell the councillor: The Free Libraries Act, 1899

In his pre-election speech Burrell stated that he opposed the adoption of the Free Libraries Act because it involved increased taxation on the occupants of business premises and “struggling shopkeepers”. Burrell believed that these people would receive no benefit from the Act.<sup>180</sup> Being a businessman himself, Burrell’s concern was naturally with men of trade and commerce. The Act gave authority to town councils to establish public libraries through a tax of one penny in the pound of assessed rental valuation.<sup>181</sup> The Act could only be passed if there was a majority vote in its favour from the ratepayers. A vote was held three times in Glasgow. In April 1888 out of 89,000 people who were eligible to vote, 13,500 were in favour, 23,000 were against the Act and 52,300 did not vote.<sup>182</sup> This statistic suggests an overriding lack of interest in the Act from Glasgow’s voters, who in 1888 were those who either owned or occupied property. Burrell’s opinion echoes the result of this vote and illustrates his belief that the libraries were not an essential municipal service for those paying for it. Stating this before his election illustrates that this was a key element of Burrell’s campaign for representative of the Exchange Ward, and a matter that he felt strongly about. Burrell only remained on the Committee on Libraries for two years. The Free Libraries Act was approved in April 1900 and the following year Burrell’s name does not appear on the committee’s list of members.

A meeting concerning the question of public libraries was held in December 1899. Bailie D. M. Stevenson expressed his support for the movement, arguing for the enforcement of Part III Libraries of the Glasgow Corporation (Tramways, Libraries, etc.) Act 1899.<sup>183</sup> Part III of the Act read as follows:

The Corporation may establish and maintain free public libraries within the city, and for that purpose may purchase or acquire such lands and property as may be necessary, and may erect, alter or extend buildings suitable for public libraries, and for those purposes may apply any funds authorised to be transferred to them or raised or borrowed under the powers of the Part of this Act.<sup>184</sup>

In other words, if the Act was approved the Corporation had the ability to: raise taxes, build or acquire property, or borrow money in order to establish a free public libraries service in the City. Burrell’s opposition to the Act at this meeting is more pronounced than that at his pre-election speech the previous month. His primary amendment at this meeting was that he did not believe the Corporation should force on the ratepayers something that they had

<sup>180</sup> ‘Municipal Election Meetings’, *Glasgow Herald*, 9.

<sup>181</sup> Shaw, *Municipal Government*, 137.

<sup>182</sup> Shaw, *Municipal Government*, 137.

<sup>183</sup> ‘Corporation of Glasgow’, *Glasgow Herald*, December 12<sup>th</sup>, 1899; Issue 296, 7.

<sup>184</sup> ‘Glasgow Corporation (Tramways, Libraries, &c.) Act, 1899’; Part III: Libraries; Glasgow City Archives, The Mitchell Library, GCF 352 GLA.



clearly expressed they did not want. He contended: “The wishes of the ratepayers had been taken on the subject on three occasions, and by a consistently increasing majority they had shown that they did not want libraries.” His argument was backed up by the ex-Lord Provost Sir David Richmond who stated that ratepayers should not be forced to pay additional taxes against their wish. This was largely because of the ratepayers’ tax increase occurring in the city. According to Burrell, between 1890 and 1898/99 there had been a tax increase of 20 per cent. If this were to continue, by the year 1904 the excess taxation of the city would have grown by £200,000 per year.<sup>185</sup> The shocking nature of these figures can be understood through Treasurer Murray’s response to Burrell in which Murray called Burrell’s calculated figures “wild and visionary”.<sup>186</sup> Although the taxation did not increase in quite as drastic a manner as Burrell envisaged there was a consistent increase in taxation between the late-1890s and 1904. In 1896-7 the total amount of municipal assessments levied was over £550,000 and by 1904-5 this total had risen to almost £950,000.<sup>187</sup>

From his given reasons it is evident that Burrell’s opposition was twofold. Firstly, his concern was with the Corporation unnecessarily raising Glasgow’s expenditure and thus damaging its financial position. Against this his opponents argued that regardless of the increased expenditure, libraries were beneficial for improving citizens’ minds and as such should be installed.<sup>188</sup> Whilst the pros and cons for this motion provide an intriguing insight into Council affairs at this time, my purpose is not to assess the outcome of the Act. Rather, it is to examine Burrell’s views, and determine what they can tell us about him as a man.

Burrell’s secondary concern was with the ratepayers’ decision. His reference to the three unsuccessful votes held regarding the act highlight that he was determined to listen to their opinion. Burrell’s respect of the ratepayer highlights both his public consciousness, and interest in the individual. In the December meeting, Treasurer Murray argued that Glasgow was behind other cities because of her lack of public libraries. He noted his shame when visiting Boston, which had a library of 700,000 volumes and provisions for free libraries throughout the city, when Glasgow had none. Closer to home, Edinburgh, Manchester and Liverpool all had public library facilities.<sup>189</sup> Murray’s sentiments suggest that to an extent the determination to support the Act was that of municipal competition. Murray’s thoughts appear to be allied with the status of the City of Glasgow rather than the opinion of its rate-paying citizens.

At the turn of the twentieth century Glasgow was recognised for its industrial and commercial prestige. It had always had a rich economic and industrial history; from tobacco in the mid-1770s, cotton textiles in the late eighteenth century, coal and iron supplies drove steam-driven textile production in the early nineteenth century.<sup>190</sup> By the last quarter of

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<sup>185</sup> ‘Corporation of Glasgow’, *Glasgow Herald*, December 12<sup>th</sup>, 1899, 7.

<sup>186</sup> ‘Corporation of Glasgow’, *Glasgow Herald*, December 12<sup>th</sup>, 1899, 7.

<sup>187</sup> The Corporation of the City of Glasgow, *Municipal Glasgow*, 325.

<sup>188</sup> ‘Corporation of Glasgow’, *Glasgow Herald*, April 24<sup>th</sup>, 1900; Issue 98, 7.

<sup>189</sup> ‘Corporation of Glasgow’, *Glasgow Herald*, December 12<sup>th</sup>, 1899, 7.

<sup>190</sup> Maver, ‘Glasgow: 1860-1914’, 10-11.

the nineteenth century Glasgow's industry and commercial success was linked directly to the river Clyde.<sup>191</sup> As Maver notes, at the turn of the twentieth century the term "Clyde-built" suggested a ship's durability and high quality.<sup>192</sup> Not only did the river provide manufacturing opportunities through shipbuilding, it also acted as Glasgow's link to the world, through its connection with routes to the Europe, the British Isles and further afield.<sup>193</sup> By establishing public libraries the Corporation sought to augment the city's cultural capital, and so demonstrate to other British and international cities its progressive nature.

In contrast to Murray, Burrell's concern was with the ratepayer. This is not to say that Burrell was not at all interested in Glasgow's cultural prestige at this time. His extensive loans to the 1901 Glasgow International Exhibition suggest that he was. However, unlike public libraries, his loans did not rely on rates.

In expressing his opinion for the rejection of the Free Libraries Act, Burrell aligned himself with Scottish Unionist principles, a political party that was closely associated with the English Conservatives. His concern for the additional tax burden on the ratepayers mirrors the Unionist principle,

that all schemes of social reform must be limited by the country's [or in this instance the City's] financial capacity at the time when it is attempting to pay for them. Taxation extended beyond a certain limit – however beneficial its intention – may adversely affect the whole economic well-being of the Country [City].<sup>194</sup>

By warning against the rise of Glasgow's capital expenditure, and calling a halt on further municipal progress, Burrell associated himself with this philosophy.<sup>195</sup> His concern for the people follows the third of Benjamin Disraeli's (1804-1881) guiding principles of the Unionist Party, "the improvement of the conditions of the people."<sup>196</sup> Unionists believed in serving the people, and in the importance of individual freedom. They supported the right to private property, and contended that ownership by the state was the property of none.<sup>197</sup> In this manner, Burrell's opinion of the Free Libraries Act – how it would increase the ratepayer's tax against their will, as well as hand over property to a municipal body – illustrates his Conservatism.

Although the Glasgow Corporation as a whole did not align itself with a specific political party, ward representatives were likely to be chosen because of the suitability of their political preferences to a particular ward.<sup>198</sup> In the Exchange Ward right-wing candidates

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<sup>191</sup> Maver, 'Glasgow: 1860-1914', 12.

<sup>192</sup> Maver, 'Glasgow: 1860-1914', 12.

<sup>193</sup> Maver, 'Glasgow: 1860-1914', 12.

<sup>194</sup> *The Choice: Unionist Principles v Socialism* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1936), Glasgow University Special Collections, Bissett Add. 62, 11.

<sup>195</sup> 'Municipal Election Meetings', *Glasgow Herald*, Thursday, November 2, 1899; Issue 262, 9.

<sup>196</sup> *The Choice*, 5.

<sup>197</sup> *The Choice*, 10.

<sup>198</sup> Bell & Paton, *Glasgow*, 66.

would have been preferred because of the Conservative belief in the importance of industry and enterprise, as well as their appreciation of Capitalism.<sup>199</sup>

On January 23rd 1900 the *Glasgow Herald* recorded the annual meeting of the Glasgow Conservative Association, and Burrell's name appeared among the members present.<sup>200</sup> The Association worked to service the British Conservative Party in Glasgow. As Sir John Stirling Maxwell (1866-1956) stated at this particular meeting, "the Glasgow Conservative Association desires to express continued and unwavering confidence in Her Majesty's Ministers, and record its appreciation of their able and efficient administration of the affairs of the Empire."<sup>201</sup> At this time Britain was under Conservative Government led by Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne-Cecil, 3<sup>rd</sup> Marquess of Salisbury (1830-1903). Burrell's attendance at this meeting confirms his affiliation with Unionist and Conservative philosophies. Added to this, Burrell was a member of London's Constitutional Club, a gentleman's club off Trafalgar Square, closely aligned to the Conservative Party. Taken together these factors explain his opinions towards finance and the municipalisation of Glasgow.

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<sup>199</sup> *The Choice*, 9.

<sup>200</sup> 'Glasgow Conservative Association', *Glasgow Herald*, January 23, 1900; Issue 20, 7.

<sup>201</sup> 'Glasgow Conservative Association', *Glasgow Herald*, 7.

#### 1.4 Burrell the councillor: ‘Uninhabitable Houses’

From January 1903 until November 1904 Burrell sat on similar committees to those he had been involved in since 1899: general finance, gas, electricity, capital expenditure, telephone, etc. However, in November 1904 Burrell’s name is listed as being the convenor for the sub-committee “On Uninhabitable Houses, Areas and Back Lands, and Underground Dwellings”.<sup>202</sup> This was the first and only convenor role Burrell held within the Corporation in his seven years of service.

In Burrell’s obituary from the *Glasgow Herald* March 31<sup>st</sup>, 1958, the Lord Provost of Glasgow, Andrew Hood (b.1887), quoted Burrell’s own reason for standing for election to the Corporation:

he recalled to me the fact that he had become so much impressed by the necessity of doing something about Glasgow’s very serious housing problem that he decided to sell all his ships.<sup>203</sup>

Whilst it is true that between 1898 and 1900 Burrell and Son sold their fleet, George Manzor disagrees with this statement.<sup>204</sup> He argues instead that Burrell’s “candidature was pure happenstance” as there was nothing in his pre-election speech that showed an interest in solving Glasgow’s slum problem.<sup>205</sup> I agree with Manzor that one should be wary of Hood’s recollection; Burrell did not express any indication of such a desire in his 1899 speech, and there are no known surviving documents that prove his interest in Glasgow’s slums before his election. Yet, it is important to consider the likelihood of Burrell including his position on slums in his pre-election speech. As the Exchange Ward was Glasgow’s business and commerce centre, it is not surprising that Burrell chose to focus on financial and business orientated matters in his speech. These were concerns that the ratepayer of the ward would have shared. Indeed, Mr John Wilson put forward an amendment to Burrell’s candidacy in 1899 stating, “Not a word had been said by Mr Burrell on his behalf that could not be said on behalf of Mr Hunter.”<sup>206</sup> By highlighting that Burrell mirrored Hunter’s arguments behind his candidacy Wilson’s comment proves that Burrell’s pre-election speech was concerned with addressing issues that specifically affected the Exchange Ward. One should thus raise the question as to whether Burrell tailored his 1899 speech so as to represent the priorities of the Ward, rather than to address his interest in the wider social issues plaguing Glasgow at this time.

202 ‘Minutes of the Corporation of Glasgow November 1904-April 1905’ November 4<sup>th</sup>, 1904; Glasgow City Archives, The Mitchell Library, CI 3.32, 51.

203 ‘Death of Sir William Burrell – Art Donor and Benefactor’, *Glasgow Herald*, Monday, March 31<sup>st</sup>, 1958; Issue 55, 7.

204 George Manzor, ‘Glasgow’s Benefactors’, <https://glasgowbenefactors.com/> (accessed 10.09.2018).

205 Manzor, ‘Sir William Burrell: Glasgow Corporation Councillor 1899-1906’.

206 ‘Municipal Election Meetings’, *Glasgow Herald*, Thursday, November 2, 1899; Issue 262, 9.

Burrell had a personal connection to the slum crisis. His paternal grandfather, George Burrell (1800-1881), had moved to Glasgow with his second wife, Janet Houston, in 1856.<sup>207</sup> They lived, with their family of 11 children, in a tenement at 72 New City Road, near Port Dundas. Glasgow's slums in the nineteenth century were some of the worst in Britain. The successful enlargement of the River Clyde to a "great ocean highway" in the mid nineteenth century had augmented the city's industries, and with this its urban population.<sup>208</sup> The staggering rise of the City's population from 77,000 in 1801 to 762,000 in 1901 was not matched by increased housing or enlarged city boundaries. By 1914 Glasgow was one of the most densely populated cities in Europe.<sup>209</sup> This in turn led to serious overcrowding of working class dwellings in urban areas. The nineteenth century saw a growth of "backland" building, where the space behind existing buildings was developed into further housing to increase the number of people per property (See figures 17 and 18).<sup>210</sup> Disease rampaged through Glasgow's narrow, dirty streets; class divide was prevalent, and the population was in turn demoralised.<sup>211</sup>

A lack of sanitation and overcrowding were the foremost causes of disease in the city. Between the 1830s and 1850s cholera and typhus epidemics were rife, and as late as 1900 there was an outbreak of the bubonic plague.<sup>212</sup> The extent of the hardship felt by Burrell's grandparents was evident through the loss of at least five of their children to disease in childhood.<sup>213</sup> These circumstances suggest that Burrell may have had a personal objective for wanting to solve Glasgow's slum problem well before his election in 1899. Whether this was the driving factor behind Burrell's bid for election may never be known, but it is clear that within Burrell there was a social conscience regarding the on-going problem of housing in Glasgow.

In 1897, two years prior to Burrell's election to the Exchange Ward, the Public Health (Scotland) Act was passed. Under this act the construction of houses was controlled. At the first meeting of the Uninhabitable Houses sub-committee it was declared that their purpose was, "in all respects to execute the provisions of Sections 74, 75, and 76 inclusive of the [Public Health (Scotland) Act, 1897]".<sup>214</sup> The three sections of the Act outlined the stand against "underground dwelling" in Glasgow. They stated that to let out a room without at least one of its external sides entirely above street level was not allowed.<sup>215</sup> The penalty for

<sup>207</sup> George Burrell is first listed in the Post Office Directory for 1856-57: "Burrell, George, ship & forwarding agt., Grangemouth & Alloa wharf, Port-Dundas; ho. 72 New City rd.", *Post Office Directory for 1856, 1857. Arranged in three divisions, general, street, and commercial; to which is added, a suburban directory, with an appendix containing general and local information* (Glasgow: William MacKenzie, 1856), 77.

<sup>208</sup> Shaw, *Municipal Government*, 98.

<sup>209</sup> Maver, 'Glasgow: 1860-1914', 11.

<sup>210</sup> Maver, 'Glasgow: 1860-1914', 13.

<sup>211</sup> For more information on Glasgow's slum problem in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries see, Enid Gaudie, *Cruel Habitations: A History of Working-Class Housing, 1780-1918* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1974); Ian H. Adams, *The Making of Urban Scotland* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978).

<sup>212</sup> Maver, 'Glasgow: 1860-1914', 14.

<sup>213</sup> Stephen, *Collector's Daughter*, 48.

<sup>214</sup> 'Minutes of the Corporation of Glasgow November 1904-April 1905' November 4<sup>th</sup>, 1904, 185.

<sup>215</sup> Public Health (Scotland) Act, 1897, Glasgow City Archive, The Mitchell Library, Part III, Section 74, 97.



continuing to let such rooms after 1897 was up to “twenty shillings for every day” for the first offence.”<sup>216</sup> If a person were to hold two convictions against this Act the sub-committee had power to recommend the closure of the premises to the Sheriff for as long as he saw fit.<sup>217</sup>

It was also the responsibility of the sub-committee to enforce Section 30 of the Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890. This Section related to houses that appeared to be so dangerous as to be unfit for human habitation, be that because of structural, sanitary, or overcrowding factors. In the case of finding such a dwelling the sub-committee recommended a closing or demolition order to be passed through the Corporation.<sup>218</sup> In 1904, when Burrell was convenor, the sub-committee prohibited the letting of seven underground dwellings. On top of this, the “uninhabitable” status of 121 houses falling under Section 30 of the Houses of the Working Class Act were assessed.<sup>219</sup>

Burrell only remained on this sub-committee for one year. In fact, he retired completely from public service in November 1906. Hood stated in Burrell’s obituary that he “became so disappointed over his inability to realise his ambition that, in his own words, he ‘bought back his ships and became a millionaire ship owner again’.”<sup>220</sup> If Hood’s statement is taken as truth, Burrell’s disappointment in his efforts is quite severe. The philosophy present at this time with regard to the slum crisis was to demolish so as to prevent disease. The construction of new buildings in the place of those destructed was not fully endorsed.<sup>221</sup> This in turn only increased the overcrowding in cities, and so it was not until after World War Two that living conditions were drastically improved throughout Scotland.<sup>222</sup> In 1905 Burrell and Son started a period of rapid expansion at a time where rates were at rock bottom because of the aftermath of the South African War. This shows that Burrell invested in his fleet before he got frustrated with housing, and highlights that he was running the business at the same time as being a councillor. In 1905 he decided to retire from the council to concentrate on the running of the business.

One month after his retirement from the council, in December 1906, Burrell gave a paper to the Glasgow Civic Society at the Students’ Union of Glasgow University. His address, entitled “Back Lands in relation to the Housing Problem” covered his own opinions and worries on the subject of Glasgow’s slums.<sup>223</sup>

The Glasgow Civic Society was founded in 1896 “to promote at its own meetings the better understanding of social subjects”.<sup>224</sup> In the inaugural address for the Society, Edward

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216 Public Health (Scotland) Act, 1897, 98.

217 Public Health (Scotland) Act, 1897, 98.

218 ‘Minutes of the Corporation of Glasgow November 1904-April 1905’ November 4<sup>th</sup>, 1904, CI 3.32, 36.

219 ‘Minutes of the Corporation of Glasgow November 1904-April 1905’ November 4<sup>th</sup>, 1904, CI 3.32, 36.

220 ‘Death of Sir William Burrell – Art Donor and Benefactor’, *Glasgow Herald*, 7.

221 Gauldie, *Cruel Habitations*, 141.

222 W. W. Knox, ‘A History of the Scottish People: Urban Housing in Scotland, 1840-1940’, [http://www.scran.ac.uk/scotland/pdf/SP2\\_4Housing.pdf](http://www.scran.ac.uk/scotland/pdf/SP2_4Housing.pdf) (accessed 23.8.16), 2.

223 ‘Glasgow’s Back Lands: Their Relation to the Housing Problem’, *Glasgow Herald*, Friday December 7<sup>th</sup>, 1906; Issue 293, 13.

224 ‘Draft Constitution’, *Civic Society of Glasgow*, 1896, Glasgow University Special Collection, MS Gen.1342, 6.



Figure 17: Thomas Annan, Plate No. 10, *Close, No. 101 High Street*, c.1872, by permission of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections





Figure 18: Thomas Annan, Plate No. 13, *Close, No. 80, High Street*, c. 1872, by permission of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections

Caird, Master of Balliol College, Oxford, stated,

A Civic Society may therefore do a great deal to help the development of sound and comprehensive ideas on social subjects, if it brings together men whose points of view are essentially different and enables them to understand each other. But if they persist, each of them resolving fully and frankly to speak his own mind, and at the same time to tolerate and encourage the expression of opinions and arguments opposed to his own, however unsound he may think them, the gain may be great.<sup>225</sup>

Caird's comment suggests the purpose of the society was to present a variety of opinions on social questions, such as Glasgow's backlands, as a means of bringing opposing opinions into conversation with one another. The society met for lectures in the months of October, December and February and these lectures were open to the public on payment of a sum.<sup>226</sup> Burrell's paper was one such lecture. In February 1906 Medical Officer of Health and society member, Dr A. K. Chalmers, invited him to open a discussion on the subject of the backlands later that year.<sup>227</sup> The report of Burrell's lecture from December 1906 recorded that four members took part in the discussion following the paper: Mr Harrison, Dr Chalmers, Bailie Bruce Murray & Mr Dallas.<sup>228</sup> Burrell was then given the opportunity to respond to their comments.

Burrell covered three areas within his paper: "clearing away the slums", "effect on health", and "corporation and housing".<sup>229</sup> In the first he spoke of the origins of the slums, and criticised the Dean of Guild Court for only concerning itself with ensuring that the front tenements were built in line, and ignoring the mass of overcrowded buildings that lay behind them until 1888. He then described the part that the Back Lands Committee (referred to above as sub-committee on Uninhabitable Houses) played in the clearing of these most affected areas of Glasgow. When questioned where those dispossessed were to live, Burrell applauded the work of Dr Chalmers who ensured these people were given better homes. Whilst the cost of these were around £1 more per year, Burrell stated that "in nineteen out of twenty cases that simply means £1 less to spend on drink", an opinion that the audience shared.

<sup>225</sup> Edward Caird, *Individualism and Socialism: inaugural address to the Civic Society of Glasgow* (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1897), 6.

<sup>226</sup> 'Bye-laws of the Civic Society of Glasgow', *Civic Society of Glasgow*, 1896, 9.

<sup>227</sup> "Dr Chalmers to request Wm Burrell to open a discussion on 'Backlands in Glasgow'", February 1906, *Civic Society of Glasgow*, 1896.

<sup>228</sup> "The Society met in the Students Union, Dr McVail presiding. A discussion was opened by Bailie Wm Burrell on 'Backlands in relation to the housing question' Mr Harrison, Dr Chalmers, Bailie Bruce Murray & Mr Dallas took part in the discussion; Burrell Bailie replied to the various points raised." 6<sup>th</sup> December 1906, *Civic Society of Glasgow*, Glasgow University Special Collection, MS Gen.1342.; The bye-laws of the society gave 30 minutes for the opener of the discussion to lay down his points and then 10 minutes for each member taking part in the discussion, the opener (Burrell) was then given 10 minutes to reply after which the Chairman would give an impartial review of the discussion. See 'Bye-laws of the Civic Society of Glasgow', *Civic Society of Glasgow*, 1896, 9.

<sup>229</sup> The following information, unless otherwise stated, is taken from 'Glasgow's Back Lands: Their Relation to the Housing Problem', *Glasgow Herald*, 13.

Burrell then continued to discuss the slums' effect on the health of Glasgow's poorest classes, and to relay the progress that had been made since the formation of the Back Lands Committee in 1901. He cited that between 1901 and 1905, 211 properties, including 2000 apartments, had been taken down or agreed to be demolished. Moreover, the death rate of Glasgow in the same period had fallen from 21.1 to 17.5 per 1000 people. In the Brownfield district, which had been the worst affected in Glasgow, the death rate between these years fell from 42 to 21 per 1000. At its worst this district had seen a death rate of 50 per 1000 and an infant mortality rate of 250 per 1000.

Finally, Burrell discussed the issue of new housing. When asked whether a solution for the problem was to build houses for the poor, Burrell replied,

The houses owned by the Corporation of Glasgow [...] were to the extent of three-fourths tenanted by well-to-do tradesmen, tramway servants, policemen, small shopkeepers, etc., while the remaining fourth were occupied, not by the 'poorest classes' but by the 'respectable poor'. They began with the best intentions – to cure the evil which existed in the slums – but they finished by building houses for quite another class.<sup>230</sup>

This statement suggests Burrell's frustration in the Corporation's dealing with the housing problem. He believed that rather than build new houses the Corporation "should clean up the town so that it would be impossible for any man, woman, or child to live in a house that was not fit for human habitation." Only then, he argued, could the problem be solved with "business-like methods" which would "involve the ratepayers in neither expenditure nor taxation".<sup>231</sup>

This paper given by Burrell provides a unique insight into his mind at this time. It demonstrates that his concern for the housing problem extended beyond his years of public service. The frustration Burrell expressed in his address with regard to the houses built by the Corporation also suggests another reason for his retirement from the council. His call for the housing problem to be eventually solved using "business-like methods", and not from the pockets of the ratepayers, supports the argument that Burrell was Conservative in his political philosophies. Hood's statement that Burrell retired because he "became so disappointed over his inability to realise his ambition" raises the question as to what his "ambition" was. Throughout his career as a councillor Burrell supported motions to stabilise Glasgow's expenditure and promote an individual's right to private property. His was a concern with the individual not the prestige of the Corporation as a municipal organisation. Can we then come to the conclusion that Burrell's failed "ambition", rather than to solve Glasgow's housing problem (a problem that had been prevalent for the better part of the century), was to slow down the rate of municipalisation in Glasgow, and allow instead for

230 'Glasgow's Back Lands: Their Relation to the Housing Problem', *Glasgow Herald*, 13.

231 'Glasgow's Back Lands: Their Relation to the Housing Problem', *Glasgow Herald*, 13.



the freedom of the individual and private enterprise. Certainly his position as an affluent businessman supports such an ambition.

## 1.5 Burrell and the 1901 Glasgow International Exhibition

As well as the various committees Burrell sat on during his time as councillor he was also closely involved in the organisation of the fine arts section of the 1901 Glasgow International Exhibition. The exhibition, which ran from May 2<sup>nd</sup> until November 4<sup>th</sup> 1901, was the second exhibition of its kind to be held in Glasgow. It presented an opportunity for Glasgow to demonstrate its growing cultural status and industrial strength on a world stage.<sup>232</sup> Great impetus was put on the idea of the exhibition's international status, and as such exhibitors from foreign countries played an important role in the structure of the exhibition. France, Russia, the United States of America, Morocco, Persia, the Governments of Queensland, Canada, India, and Japan were among the countries that were officially represented at the exhibition (See figures 19-21).

By holding such an exhibition Glasgow promoted its industry and commerce, attracted tourism, educated visitors, projected the city's identity, and enhanced its prestige.<sup>233</sup> As such, the exhibition fed into the Victorian desire for self-improvement, and highlighted Glasgow's place within the rapid march of progress present in the world at this time.<sup>234</sup> As well as industrial and mechanical inventions, the exhibition included a variety of activities from a shooting range to a Switchback Railway (See figure 22). The new Palace of Art held the extensive fine arts, art objects and Scottish history and archaeology exhibitions (See figure 23).

The exhibition was central to the lives of Glasgow's citizens, as illustrated through James Hamilton Muir's publication, *Glasgow in 1901*.<sup>235</sup> "Muir" was a collective of three Glaswegian men in their twenties: Muirhead Bone, James Bone and Archibald Hamilton Charteries. In the section on the exhibition the authors wrote,

Ten years after their last Exhibition the people of Glasgow began to turn uneasily in their heavy sleep of the provinces, and dreamed of enjoying life in the open air, of spending summer evenings in amusements less monotonous than listening to volunteer bands.<sup>236</sup>

To these three young men - Muirhead Bone a Glaswegian artist, James Bone a journalist for the North British Daily Mail and later editor for the Manchester Guardian, and Charteries a lawyer with literary sympathies - the desired purpose of the 1901 Glasgow International Exhibition was to bring "charm and grace" back to Glasgow's parks: to awaken her

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<sup>232</sup> Perilla Kinchin and Juliet Kinchin, *Glasgow's Great Exhibitions: 1888, 1901, 1911, 1938, 1988* (Wedlebury: White Cockade Publishing, 1988), 18.

<sup>233</sup> Kinchin & Kinchin, *Glasgow's Great Exhibitions*, 13.

<sup>234</sup> Kinchin & Kinchin, *Glasgow's Great Exhibitions*, 11.

<sup>235</sup> James Hamilton Muir, *Glasgow in 1901* (Glasgow and Edinburgh: William Hodge & Company, 1901).

<sup>236</sup> Muir, *Glasgow in 1901*, 229.



Figure 19: The Russian Pavilion, Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901, University of Glasgow Archives & Special Collections, Glasgow International Exhibitions collection, GB 248 DC 061



Figure 20: The Canadian Pavilion, Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901, University of Glasgow Archives & Special Collections, Glasgow International Exhibitions collection, GB 248 DC 061





Figure 21: The Japanese Pavilion, Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901, University of Glasgow Archives & Special Collections, Glasgow International Exhibitions collection, GB 248 DC 061



Figure 22: 'The Switchback Railway' Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901, *A Pictorial Souvenir of the Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901*, by permission of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections





Figure 23: 'Palace of Art (exterior)', Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901, *A Pictorial Souvenir of the Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901*, by permission of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collection



citizens from the “heavy sleep of the provinces”.<sup>237</sup> “Muir’s” text likens this awakening of Glaswegian’s lives by the exhibition to roses blossoming in a desert place.<sup>238</sup> After the buzz and life brought to the city from the 1888 exhibition, it is not surprising that Glasgow felt deserted and its park empty. The text illustrates the importance of the exhibition to the city, thus further emphasising the significance of Burrell’s involvement in its organisation.

In October 1898 Burrell wrote to James Paton regarding the latter’s request of Burrell’s involvement in the exhibition: “I shall be glad to do what I can in connection with the sub-committees of the Fine Art Section although my time is much taken up. I am a good deal from home.”<sup>239</sup> Burrell’s comment that he was “a good deal from home” was presumably a reference to his business trips, suggesting that Burrell and Son was still in operation while he was a councillor. Regardless, the collector did indeed get involved. He sat on three of the fine arts sub-committees, and was a sub-convenor for the exhibition’s royal reception rooms. As well as this he loaned over 220 objects to the fine arts section, making him the single largest lender of art objects. Little is known about Burrell’s collecting practise before 1911 when he started recording acquisitions in his Purchase Books. Therefore his loans to, and his involvement in, the 1901 exhibition are indicators of his collecting habits and taste at this time.

The *Glasgow International Exhibition View Book* described the 1901 exhibition as “an epitome of the world’s progress. [...] The gaudy palaces are but the city of a day, but their imprint upon the mind of the intelligent observer will be permanent.”<sup>240</sup> This suggests that the exhibition’s purpose was one of education. The displays were intended to instruct their audience, exemplifying the developments of the nineteenth century at the dawn of the twentieth. This educative ideal was expressed in the catalogue for the pictorial section of the fine arts exhibitions,

The beginning of the twentieth century will afford an appropriate occasion for reviewing the Art of the preceding hundred years, and it has accordingly been determined [...] that Loan Collections of Pictorial Works shall be formed with the view of illustrating the progress of Art during the nineteenth century.<sup>241</sup>

This statement is revealing in two respects. Firstly, it demonstrates that the picture exhibitions held a similar purpose as their industrial counterparts: a display of nineteenth century progress. Secondly, it confirms the exhibition’s desire for instruction through review. The

<sup>237</sup> Muir, *Glasgow in 1901*, 230; 229.

<sup>238</sup> Muir, *Glasgow in 1901*, 230.

<sup>239</sup> William Burrell to James Paton, 21<sup>st</sup> October 1898, GMRC, Burrell Archive, GMA.2013.1.2.10.10.

<sup>240</sup> *Glasgow International Exhibition View Book* (Glasgow Evening News: 1901), Glasgow University Special Collections Bh11-x.7.

<sup>241</sup> ‘General Prospectus’, in *The Official Catalogue of the Fine Arts Section* (Charles P. Watson: 33 Gordon St., Glasgow, 1901), GU Special Collections, Bh11-c.36.

exhibition provided an international showcase of nineteenth century achievement, which was intended to inspire its audience entering the new century. This principal objective was firmly established in the *Exhibition View Book*: “The Exhibition is but a resting place – a place where the pioneers may consult and compare notes, and thereby be enabled to start afresh on the long unknown journey with new hopes, new courage, new inspiration.”<sup>242</sup>

The Palace of Art was the only permanent exhibition space built for the 1901 exhibition. The building, designed by Sir John W. Simpson (1858-1933) and E. J. Milner Allen (1859-1912),<sup>243</sup> was built using the funds from the 1888 Exhibition. Indeed, the 1888 Exhibition had been organised with the specific purpose of generating funds to build a new city art gallery. The object was clearly defined by the Museum Committee’s annual report for 1886: “[...] the Exhibition might prove a financial success, and leave at the close a large balance of profit which could be most fittingly disposed of by being devoted towards providing permanent buildings for the Municipal collections of Science and Art.”<sup>244</sup>

The achievement of the earlier exhibition is gauged through its attendance figures: a total of 5,750,000 in comparison to Manchester’s (1857) 4,760,000 and London’s (1851) 5,550,000.<sup>245</sup> An unofficial aim of Glasgow’s 1888 exhibition had been to surpass the efforts of previous international exhibitions held in other British cities, and especially to match the Edinburgh International Exhibition held two years previously.<sup>246</sup> Here, as was argued with the Free Libraries Act of 1899, Glasgow was in competition with other major British cities. This civic contest was clearly expressed in *The Bailie* in June 1888,

Weel, boys, I think I’m daein’ first-rate wi’ the Exhibition. I’ve a season ticket, so I gang at Gray Street, an’ oot at Sandyford Street, then back an’ oot an’ back an’ oot half-a-dizzen times a nicht. That’s the way to bring up the attendance. Every oot an’ ‘in coonts, ye ken. If a’ the season ticket dae like me wid sune bring Glasca abune Manchester, aye, or London either.<sup>247</sup>

Just as with the 1899 Free Libraries Act, this competitive nature stemmed from the municipal nature of Glasgow at this time. Without question, Glasgow had industrial strength.<sup>248</sup> By organising an International Exhibition with the purpose of facilitating permanent buildings

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<sup>242</sup> *Glasgow International Exhibition View Book*.

<sup>243</sup> Simpson and Allen were the winners of an open architectural competition launched in 1891. For more information on the history of Kelvingrove Museum and Art Gallery see Muriel Gray, *Kelvingrove Museum and Art Gallery: Glasgow’s Portal to the World* (Glasgow: Glasgow Museums, 2006).

<sup>244</sup> Museum Committee annual report 1886, quoted in James Paton, ‘Introductory Address by Mr. James Paton, F.L.S., President’, in (eds.) E Howarth & H. M. Platnauer, *Museum Association – Report of Proceedings with the papers read at the seventh annual general meeting held in Glasgow – July 21 to 25, 1896* (London: Dolau & Co., 1896), 35.

<sup>245</sup> ‘General Prospectus’, in *The Official Catalogue of the Fine Arts Section*.

<sup>246</sup> Kinchin & Kinchin, *Glasgow’s Great Exhibitions*, 20.

<sup>247</sup> *The Bailie*, 27<sup>th</sup> June 1888, Exhibition Supplement, 4.

<sup>248</sup> Industries in Glasgow included: shipbuilding, textiles, publishing, beer, whisky, pottery & earthenware, leather, paper, tobacco, chemicals, rubber, paint, biscuits and confectionary. Clyde shipbuilding was one of the strongest of these industries; by the end of the nineteenth century Glasgow was the third largest British port next to Liverpool and London. See Charles Allen Oakley, *The Second City* (Blackie: 1967), 73 & 170.

for the city's municipal collections Glasgow was highlighting its cultural strength as well. The surplus profits from the 1888 Exhibition (£43,000), as well as voluntary subscription funds (£120,000) were used to design the Palace of Art.<sup>249</sup> The 1901 exhibition was organised to celebrate its completion, and to raise funds for a purchase fund to add new items to the collection.

The 1901 fine arts catalogue stated that, "The inauguration of the Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum will form an epoch in the Art History of Glasgow [...]. While the permanent structure will form an integral part of the Exhibition Buildings, it will be entirely isolated from all temporary erections."<sup>250</sup> This comment illustrates the integral nature that the fine arts section had within the exhibition. It also suggests that whilst the Glasgow Corporation wanted this section to be consolidated within the Exhibition, it was intended to stand out as a prestigious cultural exhibition in its own right.

An 'Exhibition Notice' from 1901 described the fine arts, art objects and Scottish history exhibitions held in the Palace of Art as "the greatest art collection ever gathered under one roof", and "one of the most important features of the 1901 exhibition of Glasgow."<sup>251</sup> Whilst this notice is undoubtedly subjective in nature, it is still of value as it suggests the esteem that the City of Glasgow held in this exhibition. The notice's acknowledgement of the prestige of Glasgow's amassed art and history collections illustrates the city's success in fulfilling its desire to surpass the previous exhibitions held in Britain. It also suggests that Glasgow wanted to better itself. Collectively the 1888 exhibition was successful, but the arts section had lacked focus. In 1888 Glasgow's fine arts section had exhibited everything without much thought for purpose or direction.<sup>252</sup> In contrast, the 1901 fine arts section had a clearly defined purpose: "illustrating the progress of Art during the nineteenth century".<sup>253</sup> This formed a more comprehensive exhibition, in turn giving equal prestige to Glasgow's cultural endeavours as to its industrial and commercial ones.

The importance placed upon the fine arts, art objects and Scottish history exhibitions by the "Exhibition Notice" highlights the importance of culture to the mercantile middle classes in the second half of the nineteenth century. Martin Wiener suggests a "counterrevolution of values" in Britain between 1850 and 1900 where social desire for stability overtook the drive for progress.<sup>254</sup> The outlook of the middle class shifted from one of industrial initiative to cultural reflection.<sup>255</sup> Men of the 1860s and 70s progressed from their financially driven

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249 'General Prospectus', in *The Official Catalogue of the Fine Arts Section*.

250 'General Prospectus', in *The Official Catalogue of the Fine Arts Section*.

251 'Exhibition Notices: Fine Art and Scottish History and Archaeology Section', in *Scrap and Newspaper Cuttings Book*, GU Special Collections, Mu25-b.18.

252 Kinchin & Kinchin, *Glasgow's Great Exhibitions*, 25.

253 'General Prospectus', in *The Official Catalogue of the Fine Arts Section*.

254 Martin Wiener, *English Culture and the decline of the industrial spirit, 1850-1980*, 2nd Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 27.

255 In 1988 Simon Gunn highlighted the historical gaps in Wiener's argument. He addressed the need for an alternative account of middle class formation in order to gauge a fuller understanding of class habits at this time. Despite Gunn's valid arguments, Wiener's assessment of the "counterrevolution" holds value in its recognition of the growing importance of culture to the mercantile middle class of the late-nineteenth century. See Simon Gunn, 'The 'failure' of the Victorian middle class: a critique', in (ed.) Janet Wolff & John Seed, *The Culture of Capital: art, power and the nineteenth-century middle class* (Manchester: Manchester

forefathers, and became aware of social opinion surrounding the morality of industrial capitalism.<sup>256</sup> Culture and art played a significant role in the departure from a financially focused society. It offered a “morale rationale” to middle class businessmen’s personal wealth.<sup>257</sup>

In his 1875 treatise *Thrift* Samuel Smiles posited the educative qualities of art, writing: “Any picture, print, or engraving that represents a noble thought, that depicts a heroic act, or that brings a bit of nature from the fields or the streets into our room, is a teacher, a means of education, and a help to self-culture.”<sup>258</sup> For Smiles, an appreciation of art was essential to man’s success: it fell into what he termed “the art of living”.<sup>259</sup> Importantly, it was not the price of art that gave it its value but rather its instructive nature, something that Smiles argued bettered man.<sup>260</sup> Within this wider context, the fact that Glasgow held the 1888 exhibition as a means to provide “permanent buildings for the Municipal collections of Science and Art” can be read as the city’s promotion of a cultural consciousness.<sup>261</sup> It is because of this that the fine arts section is considered among the most important of the 1901 exhibition. The Palace of Art acted as a visual expression of the success of the 1888 exhibition. The galleries within it performed a dual function: educating their audiences, as well as highlighting the social consciousness of those who loaned objects to the Exhibition.

This notion of a social consciousness would have appealed to Presbyterian religious attitudes that were prevalent in Glasgow since the early nineteenth century.<sup>262</sup> Evangelical Presbyterianism promotes a strong dedication to public service. In the context of the Glasgow International Exhibition it suggests that those who were loaning works to the exhibition were doing so as a means of justifying their collections. The works loaned made up a part of an educational exhibition and so through their loans collectors were benefitting the audiences who came to view them. We know that Burrell was a Presbyterian because of a letter that he wrote to the glazier Wilfred Drake, in which he stated, “a Scottish Presbyterian like myself”.<sup>263</sup> Whilst Burrell’s gift of his collection to Glasgow in 1944 presents the extent of his devotion to the public’s access to his collection, his generous loans to the 1901 exhibition demonstrate that from the beginning of his collecting career he had a desire to share his collection with a public audience. This continued throughout his career with loans of art works to various art galleries, museums and cathedrals across Britain.

The fine art, art objects and Scottish history exhibition in the Palace of Art was divided into seven sections. These were: oil paintings of the nineteenth century, watercolour

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University Press, 1988), 21-39.

256 Weiner, *English Culture*, 30.

257 Dianne Sachko Macleod, *Art and the Victorian Middle Class: Money and the making of cultural identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 212.

258 Samuel Smiles, *Thrift* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1876), pg. 397. Sourced archive.org, <https://archive.org/stream/thrift1876smil#page/396/mode/2up/search/picture> (last accessed 07.03.16).

259 Smiles, *Thrift*, 376.

260 Smiles, *Thrift*, 398.

261 Paton, ‘Introductory Address’, 35.

262 Maver, ‘Glasgow 1860-1914’, 20.

263 Sir William Burrell to Wilfred Drake, 22<sup>nd</sup> November 1938, GMRC, Burrell Archive, 52.56.189.

paintings and pastels of the nineteenth century and miniatures, sculpture and architecture, works in black and white, photography, art objects, Scottish archaeology and history. Burrell loaned works to all but two of these categories: photography and Scottish archaeology and history. He also sat on three of the seven sub-committees – watercolours, black and white, and art objects – and was the sub-convenor for the royal reception rooms. These sub-committees were appointed on 2<sup>nd</sup> November 1898 to manage the great task of curating a comprehensive exhibition of the art of the nineteenth century. Paton illustrated the extent of the task faced by the sub-committees in his report of the Exhibition,

They had to determine the scope and classification of the collections to be sought, and to allocate the space to be devoted to each sub-section. They had to discover in every corner of the kingdom the owners of works of art of the highest importance, to use every art and influence to obtain desirable loans, and to exercise care and discrimination in dealing with the many offers of loans which were brought under their notice.<sup>264</sup>

Paton's comment highlights the significance not only of the sub-committees, but also of the loan collection itself. The fine arts, art objects and Scottish history section sought to bring together work from across the United Kingdom of the highest quality and esteem. The sub-committees took charge of what they collected, and from whom they sourced their works. Paton's comment regarding how those on the sub-committees were "to use every art and influence to obtain desirable loans" highlights that those chosen were recognised as having weight in their respective areas of art or history.

Within the watercolour section there was a further classification of members.<sup>265</sup> A chosen group of committee-members was given responsibility for the final selection of pictures. Burrell was selected to act in this role with five other committee men: R. H. Brechin, A. K. Brown, J. Paterson, W. Young, and J. H. Downes.<sup>266</sup> They had the arduous task of confirming the specific art works to be collected from their owners for the exhibition. Importantly the watercolour committee approved the chosen men. Burrell's interest in watercolour painting is likely to have been the reason for his choice.

Paton confirmed the responsibility placed on the sub-committees, writing: "Large powers had necessarily to be entrusted to individuals acting only under general instructions, and the prudence of such delegation is to be measured by the success of those who voluntarily undertook the duties allotted to them."<sup>267</sup> Paton's statement suggests that the sub-committees' individual and collective efforts were what gave the fine arts section its success.

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<sup>264</sup> James Paton, *Report by the General Committee on the Fine Art and Scottish History Section*. Minutes of Glasgow International Exhibition (GIE) Association No. 28, Glasgow City Archives, D-TC11/4 (Box 1).

<sup>265</sup> There was also this further classification of members for the oil painting section. However, Burrell was not chosen for the role.

<sup>266</sup> Sub-committee meeting for 'Oil Paintings' and 'Water Colours'. Minutes of GIE Association No. 21 (14<sup>th</sup> November 1900), Glasgow City Archives, D-TC11/4 (Box 1), 367.

<sup>267</sup> Paton, *Report by the General Committee on the Fine Art and Scottish History Section*.



In May 1901 Alexander M’Gibbon of the *Art Journal* exclaimed, “It can hardly be claimed that those who initiated the Glasgow Exhibition of 1901, had any motive more noble or disinterested than that of giving delight to the citizen; and possibly earn a surplus to be afterwards expended on augmenting the art treasures of the city.”<sup>268</sup> M’Gibbon’s comment outlines the success of the exhibition, noting that it both gave joy to those who attended it and that its financial successes would be used to further the cultural excellence of the city. The final attendance figures for the 1901 exhibition was 11.5 million, and it made a profit of £39,000 which became the new municipal purchase fund, a fund that is still active today.<sup>269</sup> Burrell’s involvement in three of the fine arts sub-committees illustrates his dedication to the exhibition. Set within the context of his career at this time, his contributions to the exhibition provide a picture of Burrell’s early cultural activities.

At this point it is useful to consider Burrell’s contributions alongside those of other private collectors who loaned works in 1901. A few names that stand out as reputable collectors of the time include: Sir William Arrol (1839-1913), Sir Thomas Gibson-Carmichael (1859-1926), Sir John Stirling Maxwell, William Allen Coats, and Arthur Kay. Arrol loaned nine pictures to the exhibition, the majority of these falling into the category of “Deceased British Artists”.<sup>270</sup> Gibson-Carmichael loaned 72 objects to the art objects section.<sup>271</sup> Stirling Maxwell was on the art objects’ sub-committee with Burrell, and loaned one picture and 23 objects to the exhibition.<sup>272</sup> Coats loaned 14 works to the foreign oil paintings section, including pieces by Adolphe T. J. Monticelli (1824-1880), Jean Francois Millet (1814-1875) and Jean-Baptist-Camille Corot (1796-1875) amongst others.<sup>273</sup> Arthur Kay, who was on the sub-committee for oil painting, also loaned 14 works on paper to the exhibition; a large number of these being in the black and white, or drawing, category. Set within the context of these other collectors it is clear that Burrell was already a well-established collector in Glasgow by 1901. However, it was the generosity of Burrell’s loans, as well as his affiliation with varying sub-committees, that single him out amongst his contemporaries.

In Paton’s report Burrell’s contributions received special mention in the oil painting, watercolour, black and white, and art objects sub-sections.<sup>274</sup> In his review of the sculpture section, although no specific collectors were referenced, Paton acknowledged the work of August Rodin and Charles Van der Stappen as two of the exhibition’s examples of “eminent continental [...] sculptors”.<sup>275</sup> Burrell loaned works by both of these artists to the sculpture section: *La Glaneuse*, *Maternity*, and *Un Vieux* by Van der Stappen (See figure 24), as well as *Maternal Love* by Rodin (See figure 25). In comparison, Gibson-Carmichael and Stirling

<sup>268</sup> Alexander M’Gibbon, ‘The Glasgow Exhibition, 1901’, *Art Journal*, May 1901, 129.

<sup>269</sup> Hugh Stevenson with Rosemary Watt, ‘A Short History of Kelvingrove and its Collections of French Art’, in (ed.) Hamilton, *Millet to Matisse*, 25.; Before this date the Corporation purchased works for the municipal collections out of rates. Paton, ‘Introductory Address’, 31.

<sup>270</sup> International Exhibition Glasgow 1901, *The Official Catalogue of the Fine Arts Section*.

<sup>271</sup> International Exhibition Glasgow 1901, *The Official Catalogue of the Fine Arts Section*.

<sup>272</sup> International Exhibition Glasgow 1901, *The Official Catalogue of the Fine Arts Section*.

<sup>273</sup> International Exhibition Glasgow 1901, *The Official Catalogue of the Fine Arts Section*.

<sup>274</sup> Paton, *Report by the General Committee on the Fine Art and Scottish History Section*.

<sup>275</sup> Paton, *Report by the General Committee on the Fine Art and Scottish History Section*.



Figure 24: Charles Van der Stappen, *La Glaneuse*, 1891, bronze, The Burrell Collection, 7.20 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection



Figure 25: Auguste Rodin, *Fleeting Love* (*L'Amour qui passe*), c.1885, bronze, The Burrell Collection, 7.11 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection



Maxwell were only mentioned in the art objects sub-section,<sup>276</sup> Paton mentioned Coats with regard to oil painting, and Kay did not receive any special mention at all. This comparison demonstrates the great extent of Burrell's involvement in the exhibition. It contextualises his participation and highlights that already in 1901 the impressive nature of Burrell as a collector was found in his catholic taste.

Burrell lent 39 paintings and works on paper to the 1901 exhibition: three British oil paintings, five British watercolours, five foreign watercolours, 13 foreign oil paintings, and 12 black and white works. These works were by Joseph Crawhall, Henry Muhrmann (1854-1916), John Lavery (1856-1941), James Abbott McNeill Whistler (1834-1903), Jacob Maris (1837-1899), Matthijs Maris (1839-1917), Adolphe Monticelli, Théodore Géricault (1791-1824), Théodule Ribot (1823-1891), Thomas Couture (1815-1879), Honoré Daumier (1808-1879), Johan Jongkind (1819-1891), Edouard Manet (1832-1883), and one painting attributed at the time to Diego Velázquez (1559-1660). Significantly, a number of the artists within this category were living, or had only recently died. This suggests Burrell's interest in modern European artists. All of the British artists listed were living, confirming Burrell's status as a middle class mercantile collector. As discussed above, art played a decisive role in the formation of middle class identity. In an effort to move away from collecting as an aristocratic, and leisurely, pastime middle class amateur collectors rejected traditional academic art and invested in living artists whose work reflected modern life.<sup>277</sup>

Perhaps the best example of Burrell's patronage of contemporary artists was his support of the Glasgow Boys.<sup>278</sup> In 1888 *The Art Journal* exclaimed: "there is in Scotland, notably in Glasgow, a band of young painters who have broken from the traditions of the past and boldly struck into the road that is marked with the footprints of Bastien-Lepage."<sup>279</sup> *The Art Journal's* comment was in reference to the display of the Glasgow Boys' art at the 1888 exhibition. The works on display on display such as James Guthrie's (1859-1930) *To Pastures New* illustrated a move into a more modern style of painting. Guthrie's painting celebrated the mundane subject of a young girl shepherding geese. His subject is treated in a realistic manner, with loose brushwork and a distinct lack of finish. Guthrie's work moved away from High Art traditions and projected an image of rural ordinariness as promoted by French artists such as Jules Bastien-Lepage (1848-1884).

Although Burrell did not loan any works to the 1888 exhibition, in 1901 he loaned the work of two Glasgow Boys. The first of these was John Lavery's *Portrait of Miss Mary Burrell* (See figures 26 and 27), which Burrell had commissioned from the artist in 1895. It was Lavery who requested Burrell loaned this work to the exhibition. An undated letter from Burrell to Paton reads,

<sup>276</sup> Although Gibson-Carmichael was only mentioned here, he did receive a special mention for the quality of the objects that he loaned to the Exhibition, as well as his help in organising the Section. See Paton, *Report by the General Committee on the Fine Art and Scottish History Section*.

<sup>277</sup> Sachko Macleod, *Art and the Victorian Middle Class*, 1.

<sup>278</sup> For more information on the Glasgow Boys see Roger Billcliffe, Kenneth McConkey & Mark O'Neill, *Pioneering Painters: The Glasgow Boys* (Glasgow: Glasgow Museums Publishing, 2010).

<sup>279</sup> *The Art Journal*, 1888, 276.



Figure 26: John Lavery, *Portrait of Miss Mary Burrell*, 1894, oil on canvas, The Burrell Collection, 35.297 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection





Figure 27: John Lavery painting Mary Burrell's portrait © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection

I have yours of 11<sup>th</sup> inst. and note Mr Lavery would like to have his portrait of my sister for the Glasgow Exhibition.

I am quite willing that the picture should in exhibited but I wish it entered as 'The Portrait of a Lady' instead of as 'Miss Mary Burrell' and have fitted up a fresh schedule accordingly.<sup>280</sup>

The letter suggests the artist's pride in his painting of Mary Burrell through his desire for it to be exhibited in an international forum. It also highlights Burrell's private nature, as he did not wish for his sister's name to be printed in the catalogue.

Lavery, one of the younger generation of Glasgow Boys, had gained status as a portraitist of note in 1890 because of his work *State Visit of Her Majesty, Queen Victoria to the Glasgow International Exhibition, 1888* (See figure 28). As the title suggests the painting commemorated the visit of Queen Victoria to Glasgow's 1888 International Exhibition. Although Burrell had not loaned anything to the exhibition, he is depicted as one of the crowd of over 200. In the catalogue for this painting Robert Walker described Lavery as, "alive with individuality – an impressionist by nature, and yet able, as this picture shews, to work out impressions with care and detail."<sup>281</sup> Walker's reference to Lavery's impressionistic nature situates him clearly amongst the young French-style painters that the *Art Journal* described. The reference to Lavery's care and detail within his portrait of Queen Victoria is reflected in the individual detailed portrait studies of the crowd, and illustrates the techniques that gave him fame as a portrait painter.

Through this patronage, Burrell highlighted his affiliation with Lavery as both a member of the Glasgow School and a notable society painter. The portrait of Mary Burrell by Lavery was not the only work by the artist owned by Burrell at this time. Listed in the Christie's sale catalogue of 14<sup>th</sup> June 1902 are 20 works on paper "property of William Burrell, Esq.", lot number twelve of this sale was "J. Lavery *Dear Lady Disdain*" (See figure 29).<sup>282</sup> The painting is a portrait of a young woman wearing a turquoise gown in side profile against a black background. The portrait demonstrates the impressionist nature of Lavery's work as described by Walker through the artist's loose brushwork and painterly depiction of Lady Disdain's gown. Not all of the works in the 1902 sale sold. *Dear Lady Disdain* remained in Burrell's collection until 1949 when he gifted it to the Berwick Museum.

Burrell also loaned work by Joseph Crawhall to the 1901 exhibition. Lavery described

<sup>280</sup> William Burrell to James Paton, undated, GMRC, Burrell archive, to be catalogued under the series GMA.2013.1.2.10.

<sup>281</sup> Robert Walker, 'Mr. Lavery', in *Catalogue; The State Visit of Her Majesty the Queen to the Glasgow International Exhibition, 1888 – painted by John Lavery For the Executive Council with an introduction and biographical notes of the artist by Robert. Walker* (Glasgow, 1888), 7.

<sup>282</sup> *Important Modern Pictures & Drawings of the Continental Schools; and also Fine Early English Pictures and a few works by Old Masters – The property of William Burrell, Esq.; Robert Ryrie Esq., deceased Miss Squire, deceased* (London: Christie, Mason & Woods, 1902) Sale at Christie's London, 14<sup>th</sup> June 1902, 5.



Figure 28: John Lavery, *State Visit of Her Majesty, Queen Victoria to the Glasgow International Exhibition 1888*, 1890, oil on canvas, Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum  
© CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection

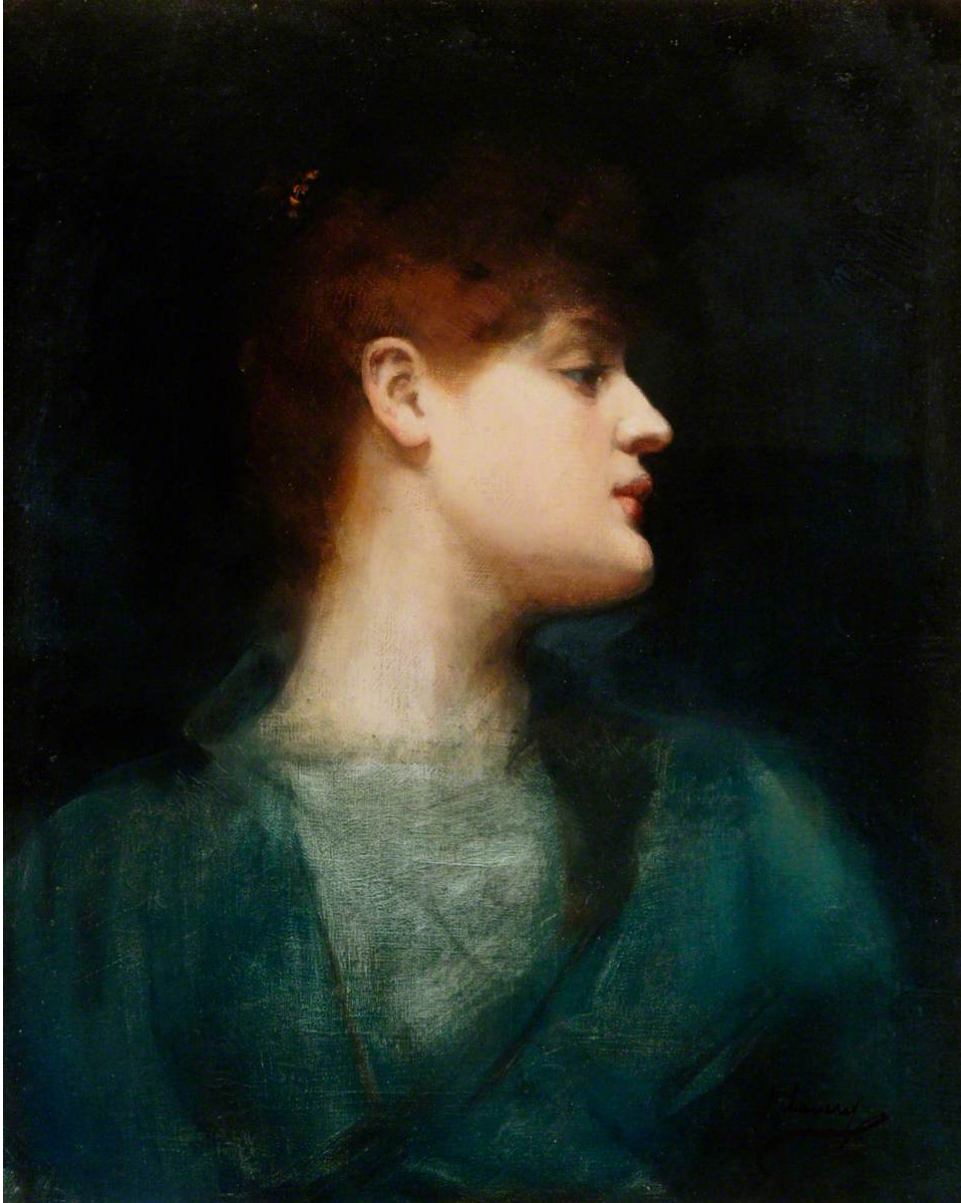


Figure 29: John Lavery, *Dear Lady Disdain*, 1890, oil on canvas, Berwick Museum & Art Gallery



Crawhall as “the artist to whom the Glasgow School owed its great distinction.”<sup>283</sup> This tribute to Crawhall’s work suggests the importance of the artist’s oeuvre within the Glasgow art scene at this time. Burrell loaned three Crawhall watercolours - *The Black Cock*, *The Cockatoo*, and *The Pigeon* (See figures 30-32) - to the exhibition. Throughout his lifetime he acquired 140 of the 400 known examples of Crawhall’s work.<sup>284</sup> By loaning these works by Crawhall and the Lavery portrait of Mary Burrell to the exhibition Burrell confirmed his support for local contemporary artists, in turn displaying his appreciation of modern painting.

Another revealing aspect of Burrell’s pictorial loans to the exhibition was the *Portrait of Infanta Maria Theresa*, attributed at this time to Diego Velázquez and situated in the east Royal Reception Room. These rooms were quite different from the rest of the pictorial exhibitions, as they were concerned with Old Masters rather than nineteenth century artists. The catalogue of the paintings from the rooms described them as being “gathered together at the eleventh hour, being the outcome of a strong desire on the part of a few to show pictures other than those of the nineteenth century.”<sup>285</sup> Burrell was the sub-convenor of the royal reception rooms, suggesting that he was one of these “few” who were eager to show older pictures. This indicates that although Burrell was interested in progressive artists such as Crawhall and Lavery, he still maintained a taste in the Old Masters. Other paintings within this section included: Sir Anthony Van Dyck’s *Portrait of Van Dyck’s Wife and Child*, Frans Hals’s *Portrait of Michael de Waal*, Lucas Cranach’s *Venus and Cupid, the Honey Thief*, four portraits by Rembrandt, and three other Velázquez portraits.

Burrell purchased Cranach’s *Venus and Cupid* in 1902 (See figure 33), and shortly after hung it in the entrance hall of his home at 8 Great Western Terrace, Glasgow (See figure 34). Gibson-Carmichael had loaned the painting to the 1901 exhibition. On the 1<sup>st</sup> May 1902 Burrell wrote to Paton regarding the sale of Carmichael’s collection at Christie’s London on 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> of the same month:

As you are aware Sir Thos. Gibson Carmichael’s treasures require unfortunately to be sold. I know the collection well and to my mind it is without exception the finest private collection in Scotland. I understand that [...] everything is to be sold without any reserve and I think that it is a great opportunity for the council to acquire beautiful works of art at very moderate prices which will be far below what they cost.<sup>286</sup>

On the same day Burrell wrote a similar letter to another council member, Bailie Shearer,

283 Sir John Lavery, *Life of a Painter* (London: Cassell, 1940), 79.

284 Hamilton, *Joseph Crawhall*, 77.

285 *Old Masters at the Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901* (Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons, 1902).

286 William Burrell to James Paton, 1<sup>st</sup> May 1902, GMRC, Burrell archive, GMA.2013.1.2.10.11. Emphasis is original to Burrell’s letter.



Figure 30: Joseph Crawhall, *The Black Cock*, 1894, painting – gouache on linen, The Burrell Collection, 35.82 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection





Figure 31: Joseph Crawhall, *The Aviary – Clifton*, 1888, painting – watercolour and gouache, The Burrell Collection, 35.77 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection



Figure 32: Joseph Crawhall, *Pigeon*, 1894, painting – gouache on linen, The Burrell Collection, 35.172 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection



His collection is the finest private one I have ever seen anywhere and it is a great pity that such a collection should require to be dispersed. I hope that your committee may see its way to have works of art inspected by me or two of the number with a view to making some purchases. There has certainly not been as great an opportunity for many years.<sup>287</sup>

Both letters suggest the great admiration that Burrell had for Gibson-Carmichael's collection. His suggestion that the Corporation purchase objects from Gibson-Carmichael's collection, presumably through the city's new purchase fund, illustrates his interest in the city's collection. The sale included, "early ivories, bronzes, enamels, ecclesiastical and other silver work, terra-cotta; also fine old Chinese porcelain and French decorative furniture of the eighteenth century; and a few fine old Italian pictures".<sup>288</sup> Burrell visited the preview of the sale with Lorimer on the 10<sup>th</sup> May 1902 as noted by Lorimer in a letter, "Met Burrell there on the Saturday morning [...] & we had a most interesting time going round the things [...]".<sup>289</sup> A few lines later Lorimer continued, "Then he had asked two old blokes who were up from the Glasgow Corporation to make purchases to dine [...]".<sup>290</sup> Lorimer's comment illustrates that Paton and Bailie Shearer had taken Burrell's advice into consideration, sending agents to London to purchase on behalf of the city. Burrell purchased the Cranach picture from the sale, lot number 267 in the catalogue, sold to a "Laurie" for £57.15.<sup>291</sup> Laurie was likely an agent acting on behalf of Burrell. The dealer could have been a representative from the firm Thomas Lawrie & Son, which, although based in London from 1892, was founded in Glasgow before 1850.<sup>292</sup>

Burrell also purchased a fifteenth century Flemish tapestry that Carmichael had loaned to the 1901 exhibition, entitled *Charity Overcoming Envy* (See figure 35). The tapestry was not included in Carmichael's sale catalogue, which suggests that Burrell either bought this through a dealer's stock or from Carmichael himself. As with the painting the tapestry was prominently displayed at Great Western Terrace: on the first floor landing (See figure 36). Burrell's enthusiasm regarding the quality of Carmichael's collection indicated that he viewed these objects as showpieces, placing them in public areas of his home accordingly.<sup>293</sup>

In his personal library was a copy of the catalogue for Carmichael's 1902 sale. The title page holds a dedication from Carmichael's wife, "with Lady Gibson Carmichael's

<sup>287</sup> William Burrell to Bailie Shearer, 1<sup>st</sup> May 1902, GMRC, Burrell Archive, item number not assigned yet.

<sup>288</sup> *Catalogue of the well-known collection of works of art of the Classical, Medieval and Renaissance times, formed by Sir Thomas Gibson-Carmichael, Bart. Of Castle Craig, N. B.*, 12<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> May 1902 (London: W. Clowes and Sons Ltd., 1902), <https://archive.org/stream/cawellk00chri#page/n7> (accessed 25.07.18).

<sup>289</sup> Robert Lorimer to Robin Dods, 3<sup>rd</sup> June 1902, Sir Robert Lorimer Papers, Coll-27, University of Edinburgh Main Library, MS 2484.7.

<sup>290</sup> Lorimer to Dods, 3<sup>rd</sup> June 1902.

<sup>291</sup> *Catalogue of the well-known collection of works of art [...] formed by Sir Thomas Gibson-Carmichael, Bart. Of Castle Craig, N. B.*, 62.

<sup>292</sup> Thomas Lawrie & Son was founded at 126 Union Street before 1850. In 1892 the London art gallery opened at St James' Mansions, Piccadilly, moving to Old Bond Street in 1893. The Glasgow and London businesses both closed down at the end of 1904. For full information see 'Thomas Lawrie & Son', Appendix 4 – Biographies: Dealers, in (ed.) Hamilton, *Millet to Matisse*, 205.

<sup>293</sup> A further analysis of Burrell's interiors at Great Western Terrace is conducted in chapter 4.



Figure 33: Lucas Cranach the elder (studio of), *Venus and Cupid the Honey Thief*, 1584, oil on panel, The Burrell Collection, 35.74 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection



Figure 34: View of hallway at 8 Great Western Terrace showing *Venus and Cupid the Honey Thief*, c. 1901 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection





Figure 35: *Charity overcoming Envy*, tapestry, Flemish, fifteenth-century, The Burrell Collection, 46.95 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection





Figure 36: First Floor Landing showing display of *Charity overcoming Envy*, 8 Great Western Terrace, Glasgow © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection

compliments”.<sup>294</sup> Burrell had heavily annotated the catalogue. From his notes, it appears that he was matching up items in the Carmichael sale to those found in the 1901 art objects exhibition. He also made a note of who bought certain objects. For example, by lot number 11, listed as “A circular plaque, Flemish, 15<sup>th</sup> century, exhibited at the V&A Museum”, Burrell wrote, “1901 p. 4, no. 14” “Bought by V&A for £160”.<sup>295</sup> Clearly Burrell was an ardent admirer of Gibson-Carmichael’s collection.

Although the title page of the catalogue held a dedication by Lady Gibson-Carmichael, there is no documentation that proves Burrell knew Gibson-Carmichael personally. Lady Gibson-Carmichael may have sent out a number of catalogues to known collectors of the time. On the 28<sup>th</sup> March 1901 wrote to Paton, “I am sorry I have been so long in having the lists of Art Objects for the Exhibition made up but I now enclose my own lists as well as lists from Mrs. Burrell, my sister, & Mrs. Ralston Mitchell.”<sup>296</sup> Gibson-Carmichael loaned 72 objects in total to the art objects section. It could therefore be argued that Burrell’s familiarity and admiration for the Baronet’s collection was augmented by his place on the sub-committee on art objects and his general involvement in the 1901 exhibition.

It was not only Gibson-Carmichael’s collection that Burrell had his eye on at the 1901 exhibition. He also purchased two modern French paintings shortly after the exhibition: Eugene Boudin’s *La Jetée de Trouville* (See figure 37) and Edouard Manet’s *Un Café, Palace du Théâtre Français* (See figure 38). In her essay on Burrell and Impressionism Hamilton describes this Boudin as one of the artist’s most important works, which had appeared in the Paris Salon of 1867.<sup>297</sup> Major William Thornburn of Peebles loaned the work to the 1901 exhibition, and this is where Burrell would have most likely first become aware of the painting. He eventually bought the painting from Alexander Reid in 1919 for £730.<sup>298</sup>

Similarly, Arthur Kay loaned Manet’s *Un Café* to the 1901 exhibition. He had purchased the pastel in Paris from Vollard in the 1890s.<sup>299</sup> It is likely that Burrell had his eye on this painting as he bought it at the earliest possibility. The Cranach, Boudin and Manet all remain in the Burrell Collection today.<sup>300</sup> All three examples illustrate Burrell’s use of the exhibition as an opportunity to educate himself on the works within the collections of his contemporaries.

By discussing Burrell’s public roles within Glasgow between the years 1899 and 1906 this chapter has highlighted the collector’s public mindedness. Although he would not gift a part his collection to the city of Glasgow until 1925, the seven-year period analysed suggests that from at least the beginning of the twentieth century Burrell was concerned with

<sup>294</sup> *Catalogue of the Well-Known Collection of Works of Art [...] formed by Sir T. Gibson Carmichael, Bart. Of Castle Craig, sold by auction Monday, May 12, 1902*, GMRC, Burrell Archive, GMA.2013.1.6.88.

<sup>295</sup> *Catalogue of the Well-Known Collection of Works of Art [...] formed by Sir T. Gibson Carmichael, Bart. Of Castle Craig, sold by auction Monday, May 12, 1902*, 5.

<sup>296</sup> Burrell to Paton, 28<sup>th</sup> March 1901.

<sup>297</sup> Hamilton, ‘William Burrell and Impressionism’, 113.

<sup>298</sup> Hamilton, ‘William Burrell and Impressionism’, 113.

<sup>299</sup> Hamilton, ‘William Burrell and Impressionism’, 114.

<sup>300</sup> Hamilton, ‘William Burrell and Impressionism’, 114.

public duty. Considering Burrell's gift of his collection to Glasgow it might seem strange that in 1899 the collector attempted to block the Free Libraries Act. However, Burrell's grievances towards the Act were to do with the rising rate of taxation that ratepayers were liable to pay, rather to an outright stance against free access to reading materials. The above analysis on Burrell's concern for the slum crisis in Glasgow emphasised that his was a focus on the plight of the individual rather than that of the improvement of Glasgow's municipal system.

In the 1944 Deed of Gift, with regard to the future building for the collection, Burrell stipulated,

Such site shall be provided by and the title taken in the name of the Donees at their expense and the whole expense of and costs incidental to the care and upkeep of the Collection [...] in all time coming including keeper, officials, days and night attendants, the supply of plate glass for the tapestries and the costs of transporting the various articles of the Collection from different Galleries et cetera, shall be borne by the Donees.<sup>301</sup>

This condition clearly stated that it was the role of the Corporation to fund the building and all upkeep of the collection, a cost that would have, like the Free Libraries Act, fallen on the ratepayers of Glasgow. This poses the question: what was it that made Burrell change his mind in the 45 years between the Free Libraries Act and his own gift? It is evident from his loans to the 1901 exhibition that he believed in public access to art. However, the 1901 was a loan exhibition and the funds had been generated from the 1888 exhibition and subscription funds, rather than from ratepayers' pockets. The objects bought by Glasgow Corporation from Gisbon-Carmichael's collection in 1902, would have similarly come out of the purchase fund, rather than rates. In 1899 Burrell's passion for collecting was in its infancy, and over the next 45 years it accelerated greatly. I would suggest that over this period of nearly half a century Burrell's attitudes towards public funding of the arts shifted. After his 1944 gift Burrell donated a further £450,000 to the City of Glasgow to go towards the building of a new, purpose-built gallery for his collection.<sup>302</sup> This further philanthropic act suggests that although his sentiments had developed since his time as a councillor, he was still conscious of the extent of public funding that would be needed for such a project.

The 1901 Glasgow International Exhibition marked Burrell's first major public exhibition of objects from his collection, and the final section of this chapter analysed both his involvement in its organisation as well as the pictures that he loaned to the exhibition's fine arts section. By assessing this within the context of his public duty at this time, a unique insight into Burrell the man has been achieved. From this analysis, I have deduced that Burrell's politics were Conservative, that he held a strong concern for the welfare of

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<sup>301</sup> Memorandum, 1944, 6.

<sup>302</sup> Honeyman, *Art and Audacity*, 135.



Figure 37: Eugène Boudin, *La Jetée de Trouville*, 1869, oil on canvas, The Burrell Collection, 35.43 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection





Figure 38: Edouard Manet, *Un Café, Palace du Théâtre Français*, c.1876-1878, pastel and some gouache/oil on primed linen canvas, The Burrell Collection, 35.306 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection

Glasgow's citizens and ratepayers both in their living conditions and their voluntary access to culture, and finally that he used the 1901 exhibition as an educative tool to enhance his knowledge about his contemporary collectors' collections. This final theme of self-education is picked up in the next chapter in which I analyse Burrell's relationships with eight of his closest advisors, and through these associations highlight his on-going thirst for knowledge.

## Chapter Two - Burrell and the “commercial expert”

### 2.1 The “commercial expert”

Central to the formation of most mercantile middle-class art collections like Burrell’s was the art dealer. By the late nineteenth century the commercial dealer had taken over from the traditional methods of patronage (for example the commissioning of works directly from the artist). The dealer played a key role in the new age of art buying and selling, for the most part removing the direct relationship between artist and patron. Anne Helmreich argues that by the end of the nineteenth century the art dealer was “professional expert, retail operator, publisher, and importer/exporter.”<sup>303</sup> As she suggests, they held various roles, all of which allowed them to cultivate the art market, which was now dominated by the upper-middle classes rather than the aristocracy.<sup>304</sup>

Burrell’s associations with dealers were by no means different from those outlined by Helmreich. Throughout his career as a collector he used roughly 350 individual dealers.<sup>305</sup> The catholic nature of his collection meant that he had contact with dealers of wide-ranging specialisms, from: glassware to Chinese porcelain, needlework, painting, lace, furniture, arms, armour and more. Some of these dealers Burrell only ever purchased one object from, others he returned to, buying hundreds of pieces for his growing collection. A discussion of all of these dealers within the parameters of this chapter is impossible; as such I discuss what I term Burrell’s “core dealers”, those with whom he generated long-lasting and intimate relationships.

Within this chapter I use five dealers as my main case studies: Alexander Reid and, after his death, his son Alexander James MacNeill Reid, Wilfred Drake, Frank Partridge and John Hunt.<sup>306</sup> These five men have been chosen as my case studies as their areas of interest and expertise represent the most celebrated areas of Burrell’s collection, namely: modern-French painting, medieval stained glass, Chinese art and objects and medieval art. Rather than a survey of what Burrell bought from these figures I assess the variety of services that these dealers rendered for the collector, and show that across the board these figures acted as personal advisers, or “professional experts” as termed by Helmreich, educating

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303 Anne Helmreich, ‘Traversing Objects: The London Art Market at the Turn of the Twentieth Century’, in (ed.) Charlotte Gould and Sophie Mesplède, *Marketing Art in the British Isles, 1700 to the present: a cultural history* (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2012), 137.

304 Helmreich, ‘Traversing Objects’, 137.

305 Approximate figure of dealers taken from ‘Index of Dealers and Collectors’, GMRC, Burrell Archive, to be catalogued under the series GMA.2013.1.4.

306 I intended to discuss John Sparks in this chapter. However, the John Sparks archive located in the Percival David Foundation at SOAS, London, has been being catalogued this year and only just opened for access in November 2018. Moreover, detailed research on Sparks has been done recently both by Liz Hancock for CARP and by Ching-Yi Huang. See Elizabeth Hancock, ‘John Sparks, sea captain and dealer in Japanese and Chinese art’, 2003, Chinese Art- Research into Provenance, <https://carp.arts.gla.ac.uk/essay1.php?enum=1370358740> (accessed 13.11.18). See also (unpublished) Ching-Yi Huang, ‘John Sparks, the Art Dealer and Chinese Art in England, 1902-1936’, PhD thesis, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London (2012).

Burrell on areas of his collection, advising him on suitable objects to acquire from sales and stock, storing objects, creating inventories, arranging restoration, moving objects between locations, as well as altering medieval stained glass panels to be fitted into the windows of his homes. The specialist services provided by these core dealers secured them Burrell's trust, and ensured his continued loyalty as a client. Throughout this chapter I question what it was that Burrell valued most in his relationships with these figures, as a means of generating a better understanding of the roles that they played in the formation of The Burrell Collection as we know it today.

It is important to remember that the figures discussed within this chapter are only five of over 350 individuals or firms that Burrell had business with during his collecting career. The high number of dealers used by Burrell suggests that he was a collector who knew his own mind; he was not reliant on individuals to shape his taste, rather it was he who sought out dealers who had the objects that he desired. Of the areas of the collection discussed in this chapter Burrell had a range of other dealers he used to acquire objects. For example: another important picture dealer was David Croal Thomson (d.1930) from whom Burrell acquired many works by similar artists as he did through Reid: the Maris brothers, Auguste Rodin, Jean-François Millet and Honoré Daumier to name a few. French dealers could also have been discussed, Paul Rosenberg (1881-1958) being an example. In the area of medieval stained glass, this chapter concentrates on Wilfred Drake but does not discuss Roy Grosvenor Thomas or Thomas and Drake Ltd., the firm ran by Thomas and Drake. Within the area of Chinese art dealers such as John Sparks, T. G. Larkin and Bluett & Sons were instrumental in helping Burrell to grow his significant Chinese art collection. With regard to medieval art Robert Lauder, Arnold Seligmann and Jacques Seligmann could also have been analysed. My choice of dealers is not intended to discount the others who Burrell had dealings with throughout his 75 year career as a collector. Rather the purpose of this chapter is to give a snapshot of his relationship with a few of his closest associates. In this manner, an image of Burrell's activity as a collector can be deduced; how he interacted with these core dealers, what he expected from them, and what he valued in them. These questions are the subject of my analysis.

Ultimately, my assessment suggests that the manner in which Burrell used these core dealers presents the need for a new categorisation. Consistent through Burrell's relationship with the figures discussed was their situation somewhere between dealer and connoisseur.<sup>307</sup> They were not simply buying and selling on behalf of the collector, nor were they directly informing his taste. Their pedagogical role was an essential part of their professional association with Burrell. Indeed, my introductory discussion of Burrell's relationship with the Lorimer highlights Burrell's early desire to learn from his associates, and my concluding analysis of his relationship with two academics, Professor Yetts and Dr Betty Kurth, acts to further this argument. I propose to build upon Helmreich's use of the term "professional

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<sup>307</sup> Here I am using the definitions of "dealer" and "connoisseur" from the Oxford English Dictionary. A dealer is defined as "A person who buys and sells goods." A connoisseur is defined as "An expert judge in matters of taste." <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/> (accessed 17.10.18).



expert” in relation to the role of a dealer, creating a categorisation of the *commercial expert*. Considering the role of a commercial expert within the narrative of the middle-class mercantile collector of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century; collectors who, like Burrell, had left formal education early so as to work in the family business or industry; new discourses surrounding the needs of such collectors can be opened up. As I argue through my case studies, evident in Burrell was a confidence in his taste but an uncertainty of his own knowledge. Those he was closest to from a collecting perspective were specialists in their field, acting within a commercial role. These figures shared with him their knowledge and through that helped Burrell to bolster his confidence in his own. With their help Burrell built a collection that was founded simultaneously in contemporary artistic trends and history.

## 2.2 Burrell and self-education

Because Burrell left school in 1876 he had no formal tertiary education. His knowledge of collecting was acquired through self-education, experience and study. His desire to self-educate can be seen through his personal library. The extant library, now housed in the Burrell archive, holds 1,081 titles in 1,546 volumes.<sup>308</sup> If we compare Burrell's library to Charles Lang Freer's, which held 4,187 titles, Burrell's seems relatively small.<sup>309</sup> Freer's library held art reference books, as well as a number of books on Asian culture. Although not as large as Freer's, Burrell's library was well formed. Miles Kerr-Peterson divided the library into three sections: "the pleasure library", "the collection library" and "the reference library".<sup>310</sup> The first of these he describes as works of literature and entertainment; the second, books with historic and artistic value; and the third, books used to inform collecting and wider interests.<sup>311</sup> Kerr-Peterson warns of the limited nature of the library because of Burrell's own self-censorship, the discrepancies between the library and Burrell's inventories and the fact that we cannot be sure whether certain books belonged to Burrell, his wife Constance or his daughter Marion.<sup>312</sup> A large number of the books hold annotations in Burrell's hand, suggesting that this was in fact his library, and that he was engaging with what he was reading.

Within his library 246 books hold annotations, titles include: R. L. Hobson, *Chinese Pottery and Porcelain vols. 1 and 2*; George Savage, *Ceramics for the Collector: An Introduction to Pottery and Porcelain*; A G I Christie, *English Medieval Embroidery*; Percy MacQuoid, *A History of English Furniture: The Age of Oak*; Hugh Arnold and Lawrence B. Saint, *Stained Glass of the Middle Ages in England and France*; Bernard Rackman, *A Guide to the Collections of Stained Glass*; D. S. MacColl, *Nineteenth Century Art*; and Albert Skira and E. Teriade, *Masterpieces of French Painting*.<sup>313</sup> Added to this is the presence of a number of annotated school text books: *Nelson's School Series*, *Our Country*, *A History of Scotland for the Young*, *A History of the British Empire*; *Student Specimens of English Literature* and *Smaller Classical Mythology*, all of which indicate Burrell's continued interest in education after 1876.<sup>314</sup> The extent of Burrell's engagement with these books is clearly seen through Wilfred Drake's *A Dictionary of Glass Painters and Glaziers of the tenth to eighteenth centuries* (1955), within this book Burrell has created a table of notes entitled "early glaziers", divided by century, name and notes on each glazier (See figure 39).<sup>315</sup> Another interesting

308 (unpublished) Miles Kerr-Peterson, 'The Personal Library of Sir William and Lady Constance Mary Lockhart Burrell', Report for Glasgow Life, April 2016, GMRC, Burrell Archive; Miles Kerr-Peterson, 'Sir William Burrell Library Catalogue', GMRC, Burrell Archive, GMA.2013.1.2.6.

309 'Inventory of Charles Lang Freer's library', undated, [http://collections.si.edu/search/detail/edanmdm:siris\\_arc\\_381357?q=url%3Aedanmdm%3Asiris\\_arc\\_381357&record=1&hlterm=url%3Aedanmdm%3Asiris\\_arc\\_381357&inline=true](http://collections.si.edu/search/detail/edanmdm:siris_arc_381357?q=url%3Aedanmdm%3Asiris_arc_381357&record=1&hlterm=url%3Aedanmdm%3Asiris_arc_381357&inline=true) (accessed 9.12.18).

310 Kerr-Peterson, 'The Personal Library of Sir William and Lady Constance Mary Lockhart Burrell', 3.

311 Kerr-Peterson, 'The Personal Library of Sir William and Lady Constance Mary Lockhart Burrell', 3.

312 Kerr-Peterson, 'The Personal Library of Sir William and Lady Constance Mary Lockhart Burrell', 2.

313 Miles Kerr-Peterson, 'Catalogue of Annotated Books', GMRC, Burrell Archive.

314 Kerr-Peterson, 'The Personal Library of Sir William and Lady Constance Mary Lockhart Burrell', 15.

315 Kerr-Peterson, 'Catalogue of Annotated Books', GMRC, Burrell Archive; Wilfred Drake, *A Dictionary of*

Early Galsyers			Early Galsyers		
Century	Name		Century	Name	
9 <sup>th</sup>	Baldene - Junc	Named in a charter of Charles II. Baldene 903	13 <sup>th</sup>	Hortyle William de	England. Worked for Edward II at Westminster 1307
	Ragenuffe Junc	Do Do		Kent William de	England. Stays at the King at Windsor 1397
	Shackelford Swithun	A monk of St Paul		Lille Pierre de Glendun	Worked at Tournai 1375 at abbey of St Martin
10 <sup>th</sup>	Nil			Pierre de Lille	
11 <sup>th</sup>	Berno - Berning	Church of Alderbury 1029-1100		Ryppewell England	Lay brother of Cistercian Order at Poynon
	Regin of Rhims	Monk 1060-1070 Painted window in church in the Bay of Oudenewp		Salskeli, Pierre	France Employed on the windows of Montpelier Cathedral in 1348
12 <sup>th</sup>	Simon Flandre	Worked at Harbled		Theridon, Robert de	Glendun. Worked on Cathedral window at Jumièges Montmor 1337
	Vernon Jordan de	England Worked at Oxford 14 named in Books		Vernon - Adam de	England. Worked 1379
	Forster Thumarch	Died 1344-1351 Brother of Jordan de Vernon Worked in Oxford		Vernon Edward de	Made Stays at Windsor (Henry III) Painted the great window for the Kings Chamber at Westminster 1236 and is known to have painted windows at the Chapel of St John at the Tower of London in 1242
13 <sup>th</sup>	Anders Fra Shaly	Died 1336 A monk. Worked in Paris 1227		Vernon Geoffrey de	Oxford 1250 - the house was in "Magister" house
	Borer England	Worked in Westminster Abbey 1253		Vernon - Guy de	County of Essex 22 June 1268
	John Priest England	Worked for Edward I in 1290 in Westminster Abbey		Vernon - John de	Westminster Abbey 1287-1288
	Clomond of Charles	Worked at Charles, Rouen & Angers		Vernon - John de	England 1285 - (Henry III)
	Colquhoun Andred - France	Worked at Lyon Painted glass in Cathedral 1240		Vernon - John de	Supplied 3 windows for Westminster Cathedral 1291
	Cuthing - Nicholas de	England Worked at Southwark 1292 and at Southwark Castle		Vernon - Jordan de	Worked at Norwich and Kings Lynn
	Edmund Berning	Worked at Northwark Chapel of St John		Vernon Laurence de	Worked at Westminster Abbey 1233
	Geoffrey Berning	Painted a window at Kippinburg		Vernon Nicholas de	In Gipping
	Gosun Flandre	Worked at Lige		Vernon Peter de	Supplied windows at Marlborough Castle 1237
				Vernon Richard de	Supplied windows Westminster Palace

Figure 39: Burrell table of notes on "early galsyers" from Wilfred Drake's *A Dictionary of Glass Painters and Glayers of the tenth to eighteenth centuries* (1955) © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection

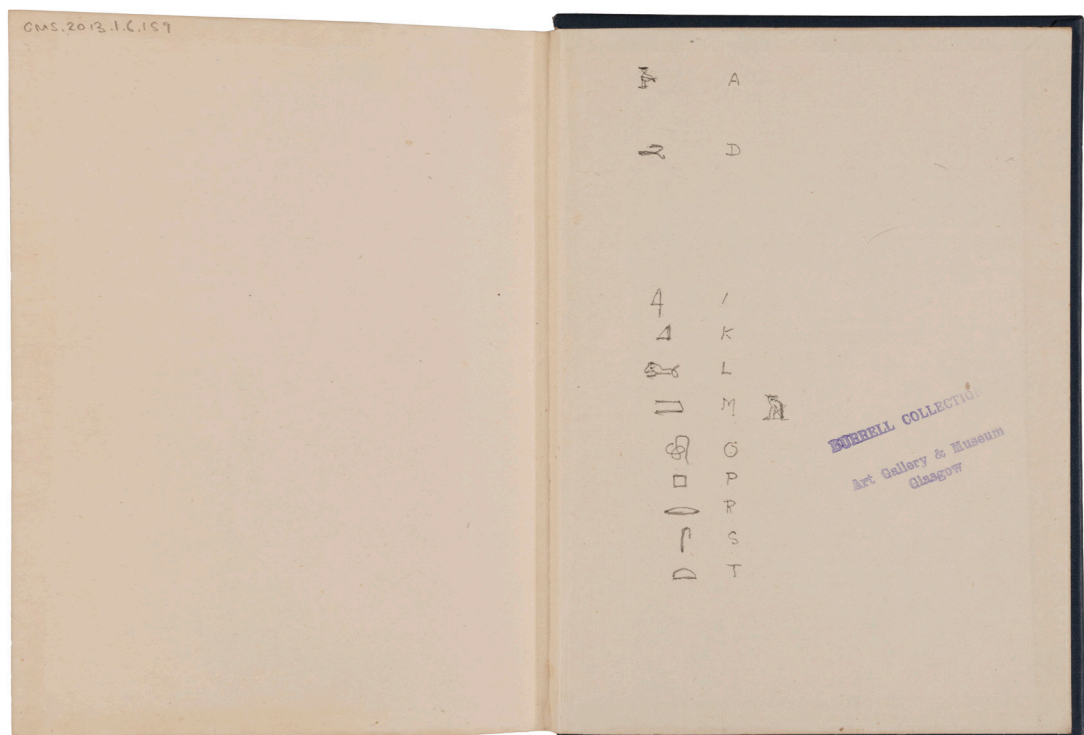


Figure 40: Burrell conversion of hieroglyphs from Alexandre Moret's *The Nile and Egyptian Civilisation* © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection

example is found in Alexandre Moret's *The Nile and Egyptian Civilisation* (1927) in which Burrell has created a conversion of hieroglyphs, demonstrating the collector's desire to not only learn about Egyptian history but also its language (See figure 40).<sup>316</sup>

For the purposes of this discussion the value of the library as a source lies in its existence. The presence of a library, which included general literature and history titles as well as books relating to the collection, suggests an interest by Burrell in the history of objects, as well as a love of their aesthetic beauty. This chapter therefore considers Burrell's relationship with his core dealers in conjunction with themes of self-education and history. By examining extant dealer-correspondence, Burrell's 28 Purchase Books and the library catalogue I argue that Burrell's relationship with his associates and core dealers was more than a means of physically growing his collection. These figures enhanced Burrell's purchasing ability through their knowledge of their specific fields. Because of this he was able to create a collection that was as much historically engaged as it was aesthetically pleasing.

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*Glass Painters and Glaziers of the tenth to eighteenth centuries* (New York, 1955).

<sup>316</sup> Kerr-Peterson, 'Catalogue of Annotated Books', GMRC, Burrell Archive; Alexandre Moret, *The Nile and Egyptian Civilisation* (London, 1927).



### 2.3 (Sir) Robert Stodart Lorimer (1864-1929): architect-designer and “professional adviser”<sup>317</sup>

By way of introduction I assess Burrell’s relationship with Robert Stodart Lorimer, the architect from Edinburgh with whom Burrell had a close relationship in the late-1890s and first decade of the twentieth century. Lorimer was not a dealer. However, an analysis of the two men’s acquaintance in these years provides a foundation to understand the way in which Burrell fostered professional relationships.

Lorimer and Burrell met in 1897 at Earls Hall in Fife, the holiday home of R.W. MacKenzie, a collector of tapestries and furniture.<sup>318</sup> Lorimer’s letters to his friend and fellow architect Robin Dods record his budding friendship with Burrell, and provide a unique insight into trips he took to Europe with the Burrell family in the late-1890s, when Burrell’s passion for collecting medieval art was in its infancy.

Lorimer went on three trips to Europe with the Burrells, the first in September 1898, the second in October 1899, and the third in September 1900 (See figure 41). Referring to his first trip with the Burrells Lorimer wrote to Dods,

The party consisted of Burrell, my Glasgow client, his mother, a fine old Trojan of 64, his two sisters, and a friend of B’s called Mitchell [...]. First of all it was to be simply B and me then B wanted to take Mitchell to get him inoculated with an appreciation of things.<sup>319</sup>

It is worth mentioning that Mitchell referred to by Lorimer was James Mitchell (b.1866), Constance’s brother, who would marry Burrell’s sister Mary in 1900. The fact that Burrell invited Mitchell to “get him inoculated with an appreciation of things” suggests that James was not as into art as the Burrells were. As a potential suitor to his sister, perhaps Burrell thought this needed to be remedied.

Lorimer’s description of Burrell as “my Glasgow client” suggests that the architect was accompanying the Burrells on the trip in a professional capacity. As the letter notes, the party was originally meant to include only Burrell and Lorimer. Moreover, Lorimer’s comment that the purpose of the trip was a chance for the party to be “inoculated with an appreciation of things”, confirms that the trips held an educative purpose.<sup>320</sup> In another undated letter Lorimer wrote, “I rather hope B will definitely ask me to accompany him as

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<sup>317</sup> Robert Lorimer to Robin Dods, 1899, Sir Robert Lorimer Papers, Coll-27, University of Edinburgh Main Library, MS 2484.4.

<sup>318</sup> Marks, *Portrait of a Collector*, 50.

<sup>319</sup> Robert Lorimer to Robin Dods, 17<sup>th</sup> September 1898, Sir Robert Lorimer Papers, Coll-27, University of Edinburgh Main Library, MS 2484.3.

<sup>320</sup> Lorimer to Dods, 1899.



Figure 41: Burrell family on 1898 trip to Holland. Burrell and Robert Lorimer are in the centre of the picture, Burrell's mother on the far right © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection

a professional advisor”.<sup>321</sup> Considering these two letters together it is clear that for this first trip Burrell and Lorimer’s relationship was a professional one.

It is important to consider in what manner Lorimer accompanied Burrell as an “adviser”. Three of Lorimer’s sketchbooks from these European trips survive. They are filled with photographs of buildings and drawings detailing furniture, windows, roofs, niches and mouldings.<sup>322</sup> In 1898 Burrell expressed his interest to Lorimer of purchasing and renovating Newark Castle near St Monans in Fife (See figure 42).<sup>323</sup> The castle was a ruin, so he employed Lorimer to draw up provisional plans to renovate it into a home fit to live in. It can therefore be argued that the drawings and photographs found in the three European sketchbooks were related to Newark, suggesting that Burrell had employed the architect to gather ideas for the castle’s renovation whilst on their travels to the continent.

Although Burrell never purchased Newark, Lorimer went on a further two trips with the Burrells to Europe. It is clear from Lorimer’s letters to Dods that his professional relationship with Burrell quickly developed into a friendship. In a letter from July 1900, Lorimer cited one that he had received from Burrell, “on the homeward voyage I struck one of the finest antiquity shops in the world & will lead you to the spot – we are only beginning to learn something about this game”.<sup>324</sup> Burrell’s excited comment suggests that by 1900 the two men had formed a close relationship; one that was nurtured by their trips to the continent, as well as by their shared interest in collecting antiques.

The first two trips Lorimer took with the Burrells in 1898 and 1899 were to Holland, where they took in: The Hague, Antwerp, Amsterdam, Haarlem, Marken, Kampen, Dodrecht, Meppel and Utrecht.<sup>325</sup> With regard to their first trip Lorimer wrote,

It was very interesting going round all the shops with Burrell [...] I didn’t go in very deep – spent about £17 to £18 for which I think I’d have paid getting on for double over here or more. This was all thanks to Burrell, the man’s a perfect nailer, A.1. taste [...]. To see him tackling some of these Jew picture dealers was a treat & in many ways I learnt a lot from him & I think I taught him something to[o]. There is one shop at Amsterdam that I think is the most delightful I have ever been in, & such nice people – a father & several daughters – nothing but Dutch stuff, but all of the finest – the severe really fine Dutch, not a piece of ‘marquetry’ in the place.<sup>326</sup>

Lorimer’s comment demonstrates the reciprocal nature of his and Burrell’s relationship; not only was Burrell learning from Lorimer, but Lorimer was also learning from his client.

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321 Robert Lorimer to Robin Dods, undated, Sir Robert Lorimer Papers, Coll-27, University of Edinburgh Main Library, MS 2484.4.

322 Historic Environment Scotland, Edinburgh, SK21/17-19.

323 Robert Lorimer to Robin Dods, 12<sup>th</sup> February 1898, Sir Robert Lorimer Papers, Coll-27, University of Edinburgh Main Library, MS 2484.3. Burrell’s desire to purchase Newark Castle is further analysed in the next chapter of this thesis.

324 Robert Lorimer to Robin Dods, July 1900, Sir Robert Lorimer Papers, Coll-27, University of Edinburgh Main Library, MS 2484.5. Emphasis original to Lorimer’s letter.

325 Robert Lorimer to Robin Dods, 17<sup>th</sup> September 1898; Robert Lorimer to Robin Dods, 29<sup>th</sup> October 1899, Edinburgh University Archive MS 2484.4.

326 Lorimer to Dods, 17<sup>th</sup> September 1898.



Figure 42: Newark Castle, near St Monans, Fife © Historic Environment Scotland



It is clear from Lorimer's letter that one of Burrell's strengths lay in his ability to haggle with dealers, something that Marks connected to the collector's business acumen.<sup>327</sup> Lorimer also makes a direct reference to Burrell's taste, "A.1. taste", illustrating the two men's similar interests. In another letter Lorimer wrote, "of course I'm quite out of sympathy with the kind of pictures he buys but we're in sympathy about a great deal."<sup>328</sup> This comment suggests that Burrell and Lorimer shared an interest in domestic objects over painting. Lorimer considered Dutch objects "A.1.", and commented specifically on the finest of Dutch furniture being plain in decoration, and holding no marquetry.

In September 1898 Lorimer described a trip to the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam,

[...] the finest place I have been in next to S.K. [South Kensington Museum, London, now the Victoria and Albert Museum] & it has the additional interest of being almost purely Dutch. There is a great range of rooms devoted to furniture & hangings, brass work, every kind of domestic object & A.1. in almost every department.<sup>329</sup>

From the range of objects Burrell loaned to the 1901 Glasgow International Exhibition it is clear that he had a similar fascination with what Lorimer terms "domestic" objects. Of the 224 objects he loaned to the exhibition, only 52 of them were pictures, the remaining 172 of them were objects. These objects ranged from tapestries, Persian carpets, brass wares, stained glass, mirrors, furniture, and glass wares. After the exhibition many of the objects found a home in Burrell's newly acquired townhouse at 8 Great Western Terrace, Glasgow. That same year Burrell employed Lorimer to renovate the interiors of this neo-classical building designed and built by Alexander "Greek" Thomson (c.1869) (See figure 43). A detailed analysis of Lorimer's work on the interiors of Great Western Terrace is conducted in the following chapter, analysing Lorimer's sombre Gothic-style scheme of oak linenfold panelling running through the majority of the home. The fittings Burrell commissioned from Lorimer for his townhouse were plain, and considerate of the objects that they surrounded. The scheme suggests an influence of the "finest" "Dutch stuff" that the party had seen on their trips. The interior fittings of Great Western Terrace pay homage to Northern Europe, thus reconfirming the importance of the trips that Burrell and Lorimer took to Europe at the turn of the twentieth century. These trips ultimately informed Burrell's early taste and illustrate how he was learning and buying through experience, a practice that he continued to follow throughout his life.

In his letters Lorimer also makes numerous remarks on Burrell's extensive knowledge of European antiques shops and sales. For example, when referencing Burrell's pearl collection in November 1898 Lorimer wrote, "I did covet but then he'd been through every

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<sup>327</sup> Marks, *Portrait of a Collector*, 51.

<sup>328</sup> Lorimer to Dods, 1899.

<sup>329</sup> Lorimer to Dods, 17<sup>th</sup> September 1898.



Figure 43: 8 Great Western Terrace, Glasgow, c.1869, Alexander “Greek” Thomson © CSG  
CIC Glasgow Museums Collection

shop in Paris, Rouen, Havre, God knows where else.”<sup>330</sup> And with regard to visiting sales, a letter from 1899 stated, “There’s to be a great sale at a chateau in Holland early in July and the people have all died off. B was in the place a year ago and says its crammed with fine stuff, the accumulation of 300 years – wants me to go with him.”<sup>331</sup> These two examples demonstrate that Burrell was keen to buy abroad, and illustrate that his knowledge of European sales was current. Even when Burrell was away on his honeymoon with Constance in September 1901 he asked Lorimer to attend a sale of antiques and religious art near Hertogenbosch, in the Southern Netherlands.<sup>332</sup> The catalogue for the sale detailed the collection held in the Chateau de Heeswijk, among which items such as “*des meubles antiques et des vieux vitraux peints*” (antique furniture and old painted stained glass windows) would have appealed greatly to Burrell.<sup>333</sup> Lorimer’s letter of 24<sup>th</sup> October 1901 lists some items that he bought at this sale: a Gothic ivory, a Gothic tapestry cushion of David harping in a field of tulips, a little engraved glass bottle, and some brass.<sup>334</sup> It is not clear whether these items were ones that Burrell had requested, or whether they were items that Lorimer had bought for his own collection. Regardless, Burrell’s request for Lorimer to attend the Baron van der Boggerde’s sale on his behalf highlights the collector’s knowledge of the European collecting scene at this relatively early stage in his career. It also indicates that Lorimer was buying for Burrell as well as advising him.

The Lorimer-Dods correspondence also illustrates the way in which Burrell was learning through experience. In his letters Lorimer regularly alluded to the educational nature of the trips. Of the second trip the group took to Holland in 1899 Lorimer wrote, “we went over the same ground again but struck some fresh ground also – to go back to the same place two years running does one far more good than rushing off to a lot of work of a totally different type”.<sup>335</sup> Here Lorimer is referring to the party returning to the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. He stated that the second trip “really got the contents into my head, that is as far as they were meant for me”.<sup>336</sup> Although this comment is specific to Lorimer’s own learning, one can assume that revisiting old ground had a similar effect on Burrell. Such a desire to return to places visited the previous year demonstrates an effort to consolidate existing knowledge rather than simply generate new.

Of the third trip with the Burrell family, which took in Belgium and Germany, Lorimer wrote to Dods, “WB is a rare guide and dead keen on the fine things both in the shops *and in the museums and galleries*.”<sup>337</sup> The fact that these trips took in museums, galleries and

330 Robert Lorimer to Robin Dods, 5<sup>th</sup> November 1898, Sir Robert Lorimer Papers, Coll-27, University of Edinburgh Main Library, MS 2484.3.

331 Lorimer to Dods, 1899.

332 Robert Lorimer to Robin Dods, 24<sup>th</sup> October 1901, Sir Robert Lorimer Papers, Coll-27, University of Edinburgh Main Library, MS 2484.6.

333 Frederik Muller & Cie., *Collections d’antiquités au chateau de Heeswijk, Musée Baron van den Bogaerde, pt. IV. Religious Art*, 24 - 26 September 1901. Translation after by author.

334 Lorimer to Dods, 24<sup>th</sup> October 1901.

335 Robert Lorimer to Robin Dods, 29<sup>th</sup> October 1899, Sir Robert Lorimer Papers, Coll-27, University of Edinburgh Main Library, MS 2484.4.

336 Lorimer to Dods, 29<sup>th</sup> October 1899.

337 Lorimer to Dods, July 1900. Emphasis is my own.

exhibitions as well as shops demonstrates the collector's interest in an art historical context to his acquisitions. Writing about the 1899 trip to Holland Lorimer noted that they "went straight on in the afternoon to Antwerp, where we were last year as the B's wanted to see the Vandyke exhibition".<sup>338</sup> The exhibition referred to was the tercentenary exhibition of Anthony Van Dyck's (1599-1641) birth held at the Museum Van Schoone Kunsten in Antwerp from the 15<sup>th</sup> August until 15<sup>th</sup> October 1899. The exhibition included 103 paintings by the Dutch artist sourced from European museums and private collections.<sup>339</sup> Just as with the revisiting of the Rijksmuseum in 1899, the visit to the Van Dyck exhibition illustrates a desire by the group to establish a comprehensive understanding of Dutch art history and indicates that the Burrells's European visits were more than simply buying trips: they were educational.

By examining Burrell's relationship with Lorimer on these continental trips a picture of the collector's future relationships with his advisors can be formed. It can be argued that Lorimer and Burrell's relationship grew out of Lorimer's knowledge of architecture and design. In the late nineteenth century Lorimer's name as an architect was gaining significance. The two men met at Earlshall, a site that had greatly augmented Lorimer's fame in the renovation of historic Scottish houses. One key trend that is picked up on throughout this chapter is that the dealers and other associates closest to Burrell were all experts in their field of interest; suggesting that this is what attracted Burrell to them, as from them he could augment his own knowledge and, in turn, better his collection.

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<sup>338</sup> Lorimer to Dods, 29<sup>th</sup> October 1899.

<sup>339</sup> Van Dyck tentoonstelling, Antwerpen, 1899 ter gelegenheid der 300e, <https://archive.org/details/vandijcktentoon00belgoog> (accessed on 09.09.17).



## 2.4 Alexander Reid (1854-1928), Alexander James McNeill Reid (b.1893) and Alexander Reid and Lefevre, London

Alex Reid was the dealer to whom Burrell owed his success as a collector of modern French painting (See figure 44). Reid's career in picture dealing stemmed from his father's company Kay and Reid. Founded in 1865 by James Gardiner Reid (1828-1907) and Thomas Kay, the firm at first specialised in furnishing ships, making figureheads, and were also plate glass merchants. They then moved into manufacturing mirrors and picture frames, and after 1872 they began selling prints.<sup>340</sup> Five years later, in 1877, the firm began dealing in pictures.<sup>341</sup> Frances Fowle argued that it was Alex Reid, James's eldest son who had been working in his father's business since the age of fifteen, who developed this side of the business.<sup>342</sup> In 1886 Reid travelled to Paris where he soon took up a position of employment with the art dealers Boussod & Valadon.<sup>343</sup> Reid returned in 1889 and set up his own dealership named *La Société des Beaux-Arts*.<sup>344</sup>

Burrell first met Reid in the early-1890s when *La Société des Beaux-Arts*, was located at 227 West George Street in Glasgow. Reid had arrived back to Glasgow from Paris three years previously, making Burrell one of his earliest clients. In fact Burrell claimed that he was Reid's first Glaswegian customer, referring to two James Guthrie (1859-1930) pastels he bought from the dealer in 1892.<sup>345</sup> As Reid had been back in Glasgow for three years at this point Burrell's claim is likely to be incorrect. Nevertheless the collector's boasting demonstrates the high regard in which he held the dealer, and his desire to hold monopoly over Reid's early days in Glasgow. Reid and Burrell's relationship remained constant until Reid's death in 1928. After this his son, A. J. McNeill Reid (b.1893), took over the running of the Glasgow and London branches of his father's firm.<sup>346</sup> Burrell retained a close association with the Reid name for the remainder of his life.

My concern in this section is not to tell the story of Burrell's dealings with Alex and later McNeill Reid. Rather it is to highlight the esteem with which Burrell held the Reid name and business throughout his career as a collector, something that influenced his decision to leave his collection to Glasgow in 1944. At this time Dr Tom J. Honeyman (1891-1971) was Director of Glasgow Art Galleries (See figure 45). Honeyman and Burrell had met each other when Honeyman worked for Reid & Lefevre in the 1930s. Burrell's confidence in Honeyman to oversee the successful transfer of his collection from the private to the public realm was founded in the trust generated through their shared history, and

<sup>340</sup> Hamilton, 'Kay & Reid', Appendix 4, Biographies: Dealers, in Hamilton, *Millet to Matisse*, 204.

<sup>341</sup> Hamilton, *Millet to Matisse*, 204.

<sup>342</sup> Fowle, *Van Gogh's Twin*, 15.

<sup>343</sup> Fowle, *Van Gogh's Twin*, 15.

<sup>344</sup> Hamilton, 'Alex Reid – *La Société des Beaux Arts*', in Hamilton, *Millet to Matisse*, 205.

<sup>345</sup> Sir William Burrell to A.J. McNeill Reid, 14<sup>th</sup> January 1946, NLS, A.J. McNeill Reid Papers, Acc.6925/II N.

<sup>346</sup> For more details on Alex Reid's firms see, Appendix II: Art Dealers, in Fowle, *Impressionism & Scotland*, 139-140 & 141.



Figure 44: Vincent Van Gogh, *Portrait of Alex Reid*, 1887, oil on pastelboard, Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection





Figure 45: George Leslie Hunter, *Dr T. J. Honeyman, Director of Glasgow Art Galleries (1939-1954)*, c. 1930, oil on canvas, Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection

Honeyman's association with the Reid family name and business.

Writing to McNeill Reid in 1946 Burrell exclaimed, "His [Reid's] influence was very great. He did more than any other man has ever done to introduce fine pictures to Scotland and to create a love of art."<sup>347</sup> In the same letter the collector wrote that Reid had "a marvellous flair for French 19<sup>th</sup> Century art" and that "not even in Paris was there a better judge, and few his equal."<sup>348</sup> Burrell's high praise of the dealer is justified, as Reid was without doubt one of the most celebrated Scottish dealers of modern European painting in the late nineteenth century.

Writing on his father and Burrell's early years of association, McNeill Reid stated,

During the next few years [after 1892] he [Burrell] bought a few more Guthries, and considerable number of Crawhalls, and some of the lesser French Barbizon Group, such as Ribot, Bonvin and Vollon, and a few pictures by the Maris brothers, & some Whistler drawings but he did not launch into Whistler's oils until about 1897 or 1898.<sup>349</sup>

Considering McNeill Reid's statement alongside the catalogue of the fine arts section of the 1901 Glasgow International Exhibition, it is clear that at this time Reid was one of Burrell's main dealers in pictures. Of the artists listed by McNeill Reid Burrell loaned: three works by Crawhall, two works by Théodule Ribot, two by Matthjis Maris, three by his brother Jacob Maris and two oils by James Abbott McNeill Whistler.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, in 1902 Burrell put up for sale two lots of pictures at Christie's in London. The first lot in May 1902 included works by Henry Murhman (1854-1916), François Bonvin (1817-1887), Thomas Couture (1815-1879), Honoré Daumier (1808-1879), Narcisse Virgilio Diaz (1807-1876), Edouard Manet (1832-1883), Matthjis Maris, Jacob Maris and Ribot.<sup>350</sup> And the second sale in June 1902 included works by Edgar Degas, Adolphe Hervier (1818-1879), Edward Atkinson Hornel (1864-1933), John Lavery, Jean-François Millet (1814-1875), as well as Murhmann, Bonvin, Daumier, Whistler and Matthjis Maris.<sup>351</sup> These two sales are valuable indicators of what Burrell had in his painting collection in the early-1900s. Considered alongside the fine art catalogue for the 1901 exhibition a picture of Burrell's early painting collection can be created. In the three documents modern-French artists and Glasgow Boys like Lavery, Hornel and Crawhall are represented: all artists that Reid would have had in his stock. This is not to say that Reid sold all of these works to Burrell, however, it does suggest that Burrell's taste was aligned with

<sup>347</sup> Burrell to McNeill Reid, 14<sup>th</sup> January 1946.

<sup>348</sup> Burrell to McNeill Reid, 14<sup>th</sup> January 1946.

<sup>349</sup> Burrell to McNeill Reid, 14<sup>th</sup> January 1946.

<sup>350</sup> 'Modern Pictures – Pictures & Drawings – The Property of a Gentleman; and from Numerous private collections and Different Sources' (London: Christie, Mason & Woods, 1902) Sale at Christie's London, 16<sup>th</sup> May 1902.

<sup>351</sup> *Important Modern Pictures & Drawings [...]*, Sale at Christie's London, 14<sup>th</sup> June 1902.



Reid's.

It is also important to note that Burrell did not collect all of the artists represented by Reid, for example Burrell never bought any work by Claude Monet (1840-1926). Burrell never had a strong preference for landscape paintings, perhaps explaining his disinterest in works by Monet. Whatever the reason, this suggests that he had his own mind as a collector, and that what attracted him to Reid was their shared aesthetic and admiration of the quality of artists. Reid provided validation, but did not determine Burrell's taste.

With regard to the work of Crawhall, discussed below, Burrell's purchase of the artist's works was not uniquely through Reid, he also purchased works through other dealers and exhibitions. For example Burrell bought *A White Horse* from an exhibition at the Scottish Society of Painters in Watercolour in 1886, and in 1927 Burrell bought three works by the artist through the dealer W. B. Paterson.<sup>352</sup> This furthers the argument that Burrell's taste was his own. He was buying works by artists he admired wherever he could. Unlike the purchase of pictures through exhibitions, as a dealer Reid could offer Burrell personal touches. For example after the 1894 exhibition, which Reid organised to celebrate the move of his gallery to the new premises on St Vincent Street, the dealer invited Burrell to dinner. In attendance were some of the Glasgow Boys: Guthrie, Lavery, George Henry (1858-1943), William Kennedy (1859-1918), Robert Macaulay Stevenson (1854-1952) and Edward Arthur Walton (1860-1922).<sup>353</sup> A few years after the dinner Burrell is said to have recalled the occasion and proudly announced that he had been the only non-artist invited.<sup>354</sup> Burrell's pronouncement leads me to question why this was the case. Burrell was not the only collector to loan or purchase works from the 1894 exhibition, so what was unique about his and Reid's relationship that he was invited to this dinner over other patrons?

If we consider Reid and Burrell's relationship within a wider European context it is possible that in the 1890s the two men were responding to Secessionist art movements across Europe through their support of the Glasgow Boys. Writing on the Berlin Secession, Peter Paret argued,

Secessions are social and institutional processes, sometimes caused by aesthetic considerations, and always accompanied and affected by them. In the nineteenth century they were basically incidents in the struggle over the control of major exhibitions, which had come to assume a crucial role in the life of the European artist.<sup>355</sup>

In other words secessionist movements were defined by a group of artists breaking away

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<sup>352</sup> Hamilton, *Joseph Crawhall*, 85; These works were from the 1927 W. A. Coats sale at Christie's, London. See Ibid., 98.

<sup>353</sup> Marks, *Portrait of a Collector*, 72.

<sup>354</sup> Ibid.

<sup>355</sup> Peter Paret, *The Berlin Secession: Modernism and its Enemies in Imperial Germany* (Cambridge, Massachusetts & London: Harvard University Press, 1980), 35.

from art academies. These institutions followed traditional teaching practices, and limited artists' subject matter and style. Artists who reacted against these bodies began changing what and how they were painting. The Glasgow Boys followed this pattern, breaking away from Edinburgh and the Royal Scottish Academy.

In the mid nineteenth century Edinburgh was the artistic capital of Scotland.<sup>356</sup> The Royal Scottish Academy was the main teaching institution for artists; it supported traditional academic genres of painting: Old Master works and portraiture. Archibald McLellan had left Glasgow with a major collection of Old Master Italian works, but within the city a need was felt for the regular exhibition of the works of contemporary art.<sup>357</sup> This led to the founding of the Glasgow Institute of Fine Arts on the 29<sup>th</sup> May 1861, by a group of artists and businessmen. One of the main aims of the Institute was, "To diffuse among the classes a taste for art generally, and more especially for contemporary Art, to further the diffusion of Artistic and Aesthetic knowledge, and to aid the study, advancement, of art in its applications."<sup>358</sup> A further rule of the Institute was, "Exhibition of all Works of Art to be established and encouraged."<sup>359</sup> Importantly the Glasgow Institute of Fine Arts was an exhibiting body, not a teaching body. The Institute thus moved away from the constraints of the Royal Scottish Academy; starting in 1861 its exhibitions included paintings by modern and contemporary local and foreign artists.

The practice of inviting foreign artists to exhibit was taken up by other new bodies at the end of the nineteenth century. The International Society for Sculptors, Painters and Gravers established in 1897 by a group of artists including Whistler (the first President of the society), Guthrie, and George Walton (1867-1933) is a leading example of this. The society's prospectus read,

[...] a society for the promotion of Exhibitions of International Art has been formed, the aim of the organisers being to hold exhibitions of the finest art of the day [...] a feature of the exhibitions will be the non-recognition of nationality in art [...].<sup>360</sup>

The society, which came to be known as "the International", did not hold a specific artistic ideology, but was instead united against the Royal Academy of Arts allowing it to be

<sup>356</sup> Roger Billcliffe, 'A Brush with Europe: visual art in Glasgow 1890-1990', *RSA Journal*, Vol. 139, No. 5417 (April 1991), pp. 330-342, 330.

<sup>357</sup> Roger Billcliffe, 'The History of the Royal Glasgow Institute of Fine Arts', <https://theroyalglasgowinstituteofthefinearts.co.uk/01-test/> (accessed 20.10.18).

<sup>358</sup> 'The Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts', *Mapping the Practice and Profession of Sculpture in Britain and Ireland 1851-1951*, University of Glasgow History of Art and HATII, online database 2011, [https://sculpture.gla.ac.uk/view/organization.php?id=msib6\\_1220372775](https://sculpture.gla.ac.uk/view/organization.php?id=msib6_1220372775) (accessed 20.10.18).

<sup>359</sup> 'The Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts', *Mapping the Practice and Profession of Sculpture in Britain and Ireland 1851-1951*, University of Glasgow History of Art and HATII, online database 2011, [https://sculpture.gla.ac.uk/view/organization.php?id=msib6\\_1220372775](https://sculpture.gla.ac.uk/view/organization.php?id=msib6_1220372775) (accessed 20.10.18).

<sup>360</sup> Prospectus for the International Society of Sculptors, Painters and Gravers from the *Morning Post* 1898, quoted in Philip Athill, 'The International Society of Sculptors, Painters and Gravers', *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 127, No. 989 (Jan., 1985), 21-29&33, 21.

considered within a European context of the 1890s.<sup>361</sup> Although the Glasgow Institute was not formed directly in response to the Royal Scottish Academy, as with the International its purpose was to promote all art, with a particular concentration on contemporary art. This is what drove the formation of the Institute and what united its exhibitions, allowing it too to be considered within a late nineteenth century European Secessionist context.

Philip Athill argues that the success of the Secessions of Munich (1892), Vienna (1897), and Berlin (1898) developed in a similar manner to the International, but their successes were due to official assistance from their respective States who saw the movements as healthy artistic developments.<sup>362</sup> He notes that the International received no hope of such support. In contrast the Glasgow Institute received royal support. From its first exhibition in 1861 the Institute's success was immediate. The exhibition drew an audience of 40,000, and the following two years these numbers grew to 45,000 and then 53,000. In 1896 Queen Victoria, in recognition of the Institute's achievements, granted it a Royal Charter.<sup>363</sup>

The Glasgow Boys had responded to the exhibitions held at the Institute, and its early patronage of the Barbizon School and other French artists such as Jules Bastien-Lepage. The Institute's "Exhibition of all Works of Art" had given the artists the freedom, not offered by the Royal Scottish Academy, to broaden their subject matter and style. After their success at the 1888 International Exhibition in Glasgow, the Boys began to gain international recognition. In 1890 they exhibited at London's Grosvenor Gallery, where two members of the Munich Fine Art Association saw their work and invited them to exhibit in Munich later that year.<sup>364</sup> After Munich the Boys received offers from exhibition centres across Europe.

My purpose here is not to re-visit the history of the Glasgow Boys, as there is enough rich material on this to date,<sup>365</sup> rather it is to suggest a correlation between Burrell and Reid's support of these artists and other European patrons' support of similar artists. If Burrell and Reid are considered alongside Paul Cassirer (1871-1926) and his cousin Bruno (1872-1941), whose support for the Berlin Secession was instrumental to its success, similarities can be found. The Cassirer cousins were art dealers, and to the Berlin Secession they brought influence and financial support. They were members of a prominent Jewish family from Breslau whose wealth had been gained through the timber trade, and in the engineering and manufacture of copper and steel cables.<sup>366</sup> In 1898 they opened a gallery and publishing firm in Viktoriastrasse that filled a need within the Berlin art world, exhibiting modern foreign and German artists.<sup>367</sup> The opening exhibition for the gallery showed works by Edgar Degas, Constantin Meunier (1831-1905) and Max Liebermann (1847-1935).<sup>368</sup> Placing all of these artists - one French, one Belgian and one German - together in the same exhibition allowed

361 Here I am paraphrasing Athill in Athill, 'The International Society [...]', 22.

362 Athill, 'The International Society [...]', 22.

363 Billcliffe, 'The History of the Royal Glasgow Institute of Fine Arts', <https://theroyalglasgowinstituteoffinearts.co.uk/01-test/> (accessed 20.10.18).

364 Billcliffe, 'A Brush with Europe', p. 333.

365 For example Billcliffe, McConkey & O'Neill, *Pioneering Painters: The Glasgow Boys*.

366 Paret, *The Berlin Secession*, 69.

367 Paret, *The Berlin Secession*, 70.

368 Paret, *The Berlin Secession*, 70.

for visitors to draw comparisons between their oeuvres and to situate Liebermann's work as a German artist within a context of contemporary art in Europe. Their organisation of exhibitions was considered, and through their shows they drew connections between artists and schools, laying a foundation for art history in Germany through the format of the exhibition.<sup>369</sup> I would suggest that Reid followed a similar practice in Glasgow, through his careful consideration of the artists he exhibited, but also the naming of his gallery and the format of his exhibitions.

Having worked for Bousson, Valadon & Cie for in their modern pictures department under Theo van Gogh (1857-1891) between 1886 and 1889 Reid was instrumental in bringing French painting to Scotland.<sup>370</sup> Indeed, by naming his gallery *La Société des Beaux-Arts* he made a clear message to potential clientele that his purpose was to promote French art.<sup>371</sup> The naming of a gallery was significant for dealers in the late nineteenth century; while the most common practice was for dealers to name their shop after themselves, the second most common was to give the gallery an international identification, a practice followed by Reid in Glasgow.<sup>372</sup> This gave the gallery a cosmopolitan appeal, calling to the attention of clients the international nature of the objects on display and the dealer's connection to international art markets.<sup>373</sup> It can be argued that Reid's choice of name was linked to the French *La Société Nationale des Beaux Arts*, a salon set up in 1861 by a group of independent artists as a stand against the official Paris Salon.<sup>374</sup> Having lived in Paris Reid would have been aware of the society, and his patronage of Impressionist artists only further suggests his allegiance to such a progressive institution. The naming of Reid's gallery should thus be seen as more than simply a desire to showcase his French connections, but also a statement of his support for progressive artists both on the continent and locally in Glasgow. Just as with the Cassirer's gallery in Berlin, this gave Reid's gallery a specialism that was unique in Glasgow, allowing the dealer to distinguish himself from the cultural norms present in the city at this time.

One artist that Reid and Burrell shared a deep admiration for was Joseph Crawhall. In a letter to McNeill Reid, Burrell wrote, "As you well know, he [Reid] looked upon Crawhall as a genius, which he was."<sup>375</sup> As noted above, Burrell was an avid collector of Crawhall's work, buying 140 of his 400 known works.<sup>376</sup> Fowle argues that Crawhall was alike, in his skill of capturing figures in motion, to the French artist Edgar Degas.<sup>377</sup> Moreover, she writes that in his work there is an "economy of line" suggestive of an interest in Oriental art.<sup>378</sup>

<sup>369</sup> Paret, *The Berlin Secession*, 71.

<sup>370</sup> Fowle, 'Alexander Reid in Context', 47.

<sup>371</sup> Fowle, 'Alexander Reid in Context', 78.

<sup>372</sup> Pamela Fletcher, 'Shopping for art: the rise of the commercial art gallery, 1850s-60s', in (eds.) Pamel Fletcher & Anne Helmreich, *The rise of the modern art market in London, 1850-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), 60.

<sup>373</sup> Fletcher, 'Shopping for art', 60.

<sup>374</sup> 'Historique', La Société Nationale des Beaux Arts, <http://www.salondesbeauxarts.com/histoire-snba/> (accessed 18.05.18).

<sup>375</sup> Burrell to McNeill Reid, 14<sup>th</sup> January 1946.

<sup>376</sup> Hamilton, *Joseph Crawhall*, 77.

<sup>377</sup> Fowle, 'Alexander Reid in Context', 100.

<sup>378</sup> Fowle, 'Alexander Reid in Context', 100; Fowle, 'The Painters of Modern Life', in Fowle, *Impressionism*



She assigns both of these qualities of Crawhall's as being the main reason why Reid was so drawn to the artist. The same could be said for Burrell.

Reid stocked Degas's work from as early as 1892,<sup>379</sup> and two years prior to this, in November 1890, Dowdeswell's staged an exhibition of painting at T. R. Annan's gallery in Glasgow in which works by Degas were included.<sup>380</sup> In the 1890s Degas's work was therefore available to both see and buy in Glasgow. Degas was favoured over other French Impressionist artists such as Monet because of his more traditional use of figurative subjects.<sup>381</sup> Burrell was clearly much impressed by the artist as he purchased 23 drawings, pastels and oils by Degas from a number of dealers not only in Glasgow but also in London, Paris and Switzerland over forty years.<sup>382</sup>

The 1901 Glasgow International Exhibition catalogue does not list any Degas works loaned by Burrell. Burrell collected the majority of his Degas pictures between 1917 and 1937, and it is difficult to know if he owned any examples before the advent of his purchase books in 1911. Vivien Hamilton questions whether Burrell owned Degas's *Première Danseuse (The Encore)* at the time of Reid's 1891 exhibition 'A Small Collection of Pictures by Degas and Others', as the *Art Journal* of 1894 credited the picture to the collection of William Burrell of Glasgow.<sup>383</sup> If he did own the work, then he had either returned it to Reid by 1901 or chosen not to include it in his loans to the exhibition. The first Degas picture we know for certain to be in Burrell's collection by 1902 is *Woman looking through Field Glasses* (See figure 46).<sup>384</sup> Although not sold, the picture was listed as one of the pictures up for sale at the second Christies sale on 14<sup>th</sup> June 1902.<sup>385</sup>

Burrell did not loans any works by Degas to the 1901 exhibition, however, the catalogue does list an oil painting by Manet entitled *Girl's Head*. The painting, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, is a portrait of Victorine Meurent (c.1862) (See figure 47). The picture is realistic in its approach to the subject, showing Meurent against a dark background. Manet's visible brushstrokes indicate his break from academic painting techniques, and a move into what would become the Impressionist style in France. Burrell's purchase of the painting could be linked to the subject matter, the manner in which Manet was painting, and the fact that Manet was a recently deceased artist. The presence of the Manet in the 1901 exhibition demonstrates Burrell's appreciation of modern French painting: a taste undoubtedly shared and promoted by Reid.

As detailed in the previous chapter, the catalogue for the 1901 exhibition shows that by this date Burrell owned at least three watercolour pictures by Crawhall: *The Pigeon*, *The*

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& *Scotland*, 46.

379 Fowle, 'Alexander Reid in Context', 101.

380 Fowle, *Van Gogh's Twin*, 42.

381 Fowle, *Van Gogh's Twin*, 41.

382 Hamilton, 'Burrell and Degas', 25.

383 Hamilton, 'Burrell and Degas', 27.

384 Hamilton, 'Burrell and Degas', 27.

385 "DEGAS, 'A Girl Looking Through Opera Glasses'", in *Important Modern Pictures & Drawings [...]*. Sale at Christie's London, 14<sup>th</sup> June 1902.



Figure 46: Edgar Degas, *Woman looking through Field Glasses*, c. 1869, pencil and oil (essence) on paper, The Burrell Collection, 35.239 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums





Figure 47: Edouard Manet, *Victorine Meurent*, c. 1862, oil on canvas, Museum of Fine Arts Boston, [www.mfa.org](http://www.mfa.org) (accessed 12.12.18)

*Black Cock* and *The Cockatoo* (See figures 30-32).<sup>386</sup> The presence of Crawhall works but no Degas works could suggest that the collector was apprehensive to exhibit works by the French artist. Degas's painting *Dans un Café: l'Absinthe* caused quite a stir in Scotland after its purchase by fellow collector Arthur Kay in 1892, causing Kay to return the work only days after purchasing it from Reid.<sup>387</sup> The subject matter of a man and a woman sitting together yet seemingly isolated from one-another, drinking absinthe, was seen as degrading.<sup>388</sup> This may have made Burrell wary of showing his support of the Frenchman's work in 1901 and might also explain why Burrell attempted to sell *Girl with Field Glasses* in 1902.

In 1894 Reid organised Crawhall's first one-man show. The dealer's use of this exhibition format demonstrates his adherence to picture dealing practices popular in Britain and Europe in the nineteenth century.<sup>389</sup> Art in the nineteenth century was a recognised commodity; something that was produced within a network that included artists, dealers, auctioneers, critics and buyers.<sup>390</sup> The dealer understood the importance of improving the aesthetic value of their stock, and the solo-show did just that.<sup>391</sup> Through this exhibition format the dealer offered three things to clients: a social space, a context within which they could acquire art historical knowledge, and commodity capital through the exchange of art for currency.<sup>392</sup> Solo-exhibitions and the contract of an individual artist in return offered the dealer security as it gave them the first-choice of works produced by the artist.<sup>393</sup> Through the one-man show the artist and the collector benefitted as well as the dealer; Crawhall gained recognition as an artist, Burrell as a collector of taste, whilst Reid had agency over both the artist and collector.

Reid used the Crawhall show as an opportunity to create a space both for education and commerce at his new premises on St Vincent Street. The show allowed its audience to learn more about Crawhall as an artist, as well as generating cultural competition between collectors. The show, which displayed 80 works by Crawhall, was made up of Reid's stock as well as works lent to Reid from prominent collections, "in order to make the show as impressive as possible".<sup>394</sup> The collectors whose works appeared in the exhibition were credited in the catalogue, they were: "Miss Croad, T. G. Arthur, George Burrell, William Burrell, James Cox Cox, James Gardiner, James Garroway, John Keppie, A. J., Laurence

<sup>386</sup> Although Burrell owned at least three Crawhall's in 1901 Burrell bought the bulk of the Northumbrian's pictures later, between 1916 and 1952. See Fowle, 'Alexander Reid in Context', 104.

<sup>387</sup> Hamilton, 'Burrell and Degas', 27.

<sup>388</sup> "[...]A man and woman, both of the most degraded type [...]" See Anonymous [J. S. Spender], *Westminster Gazette*, 17th February 1893.

<sup>389</sup> The advent of the "one-man" show occurred in London in the 1860s and 70s with dealers searching for further exhibition models to the traditional annual exhibition, held in Spring and Summer in conjunction with the Royal Academy. The model was at first exhibitions of single pictures but in time this changed to one-person shows. By the 1890s the one-man show was commonplace in London. Reid's use of the model shows him adapting this London-based model for a Glaswegian cultural audience. See Fletcher, 'Shopping for art', 53.

<sup>390</sup> Sheridan Ford, *Art a Commodity* (1888), in Helmreich 'Traversing Objects', 136.

<sup>391</sup> Helmreich, 'Traversing Objects', 138.

<sup>392</sup> Here I am paraphrasing Helmreich's argument in 'Traversing Objects', 138.

<sup>393</sup> Fowle, 'Alexander Reid in context', 67.

<sup>394</sup> A.J. McNeill Reid, 'Notes on purchases made by Sir William Burrell', NLS, A.J. McNeill Reid Papers, Acc.6925/II N.



Pullar, J. J. Spencer.<sup>395</sup> From this acknowledgement we know that Burrell and his brother George both loaned works to the exhibition.

Exhibition catalogues were an important tool in the marketing of exhibitions and galleries since the 1850s. Beginning as small pamphlets that accompanied the exhibition, by the 1870s the catalogue was a more substantial booklet complete with a cover.<sup>396</sup> By the mid-1880s and 1890s these catalogues included single-authored explanatory prefaces, which informed the viewer on the works on display.<sup>397</sup> Reid's catalogue for Crawhall's show was no exception. His introduction to the catalogue listed biographical information about the artist; described Crawhall's style and iconographical preferences; discussed him in conjunction with other Glasgow Boys such as James Guthrie, John Lavery and Edward Arthur Walton; and suggested that as an artist he created a style.<sup>398</sup> Reid's high praise of the artist continued to note the qualities of his style, namely "[...] the marvellous precision and absolutely invaluable quality of each touch that calls that design into being! [...] For these qualities we venture to say he has no living equal."<sup>399</sup> This information was intended to instruct the attendee on Crawhall's merit as an artist.

Reid also noted that collectors who invested in Crawhall's work were "among those who may truly be called men of taste."<sup>400</sup> Reid used the catalogue as a means of securing purchasers. It also became a source of information for those visiting the exhibition. Just as Paul and Bruno Cassirer had done in Berlin with their carefully constructed exhibitions in which they linked artist to style, Reid situated Crawhall within an art historical narrative that was local to Glasgow. By bringing in names of other contemporary artists Reid alluded to a school, or at least an association between Crawhall and those listed. His praise of Crawhall's style situated the artist at the forefront of contemporary artists in Glasgow and placing the collector's names next to his high praise for the artist secured them as exemplars of taste. Here Reid used his position as a dealer to help promote both local modern artists and boost the confidence of the collectors.

It can be argued that through the 1894 exhibition Reid was generating a local art historical discipline, one that was intrinsically linked to his experiences in Paris. By exhibiting local artists in a gallery with a French name which exhibited modern French painting, Reid drew connections between the Glasgow Boys and their European contemporaries. Considering Burrell's invitation to Reid's dinner following the opening of *La Société des Beaux-Arts* alongside the above assessment of Burrell and Reid's shared interests in both modern French and local Glaswegian artists, it can be argued that their relationship was more than that of a typical dealer and collector. Of course Burrell bought paintings through Reid, but together they were patrons of contemporary art. Whilst Reid brought stock over

395 McNeill Reid, 'Notes on purchases made by Sir William Burrell'.

396 Fletcher, 'Shopping for art', 57-58.

397 Fletcher, 'Shopping for art', 58.

398 Alexander Reid, 'Introduction to the catalogue of an exhibition of pictures by Joseph Crawhall', *La Société des Beaux-Arts*, April 1894, in Fowle, 'Alexander Reid in Context', Appendix 5, No. 2, 434-436.

399 Alexander Reid, 'Introduction to the catalogue of an exhibition of pictures by Joseph Crawhall', 435.

400 Fletcher, 'Shopping for art', 58.

from the continent and exhibited it alongside local Glaswegian artists, Burrell purchased and loaned works to Reid's exhibitions as a means of elevating local artists and their European inspirations.

Another admirer of Crawhall was William Allen Coats. Although Coats was not listed as a lender to the 1894 exhibition, he and Burrell together bought a large number of the artist's works.<sup>401</sup> Almost 40 years after the one-man show, in March 1935, Burrell wrote to McNeill Reid regarding an upcoming sale of Coats's collection at Christie's,

I have received the catalogue of the Coats sale & shall be glad if you will bid for me for the Crawhalls. As, until I see them, I can't say which ones I should like to bid for I shall be glad if you will not take any commission for any of them until I see you.<sup>402</sup>

Coats had 42 Crawhall works in his collection, 27 were on sale at Christies.<sup>403</sup> Of those in the sale Burrell acquired 11. Burrell's letter to McNeill Reid shows both his continued interest in Crawhall's *oeuvre*, as well as his desire to own works from Coats's collection. As Coats and Burrell had both been buyers of works by Crawhall since the mid-1890s it is likely that Burrell respected his fellow collector's taste. Because of this he was willing to bid on all of the Crawhall works in the sale so as to be able to get the best pick of the collection. If we compare Burrell's letter from March 1935 to one written to McNeill Reid in the previous year, "I don't wish to buy a Crawhall unless it is in a high level", Burrell's eagerness to acquire Coats's Crawhall pictures in particular is clear.<sup>404</sup> Evidently Burrell believed Coats's Crawhalls to be of "a high level" without having seen them first.

Like Burrell, Coats was a loyal client of Reid's. Indeed, McNeill Reid later commented on the nature of Burrell's and Coats's relationships with his father,

I had tended to assume that William Burrell was my father's most important client but, when I went into the names that appeared in such records as still exist, it would seem that W. A. Coats bought more pictures than Burrell did.<sup>405</sup>

McNeill Reid's comment is interesting in two respects. Firstly, it suggests that even though Coats bought more paintings from Reid than Burrell, McNeill Reid had always considered

401 Fowle, 'Alexander Reid in Context', 102.

402 Sir William Burrell to Alexander Reid & Lefevre, 15<sup>th</sup> March 1935, Tate Gallery, Reid & Lefevre Archive Tate Gallery, TGA 200211. Emphasis original to letter.

403 Fowle, 'The Painters of Modern Life', 46.; Burrell also bought three Crawhall works from Coats's collection through the dealer W. B. Paterson in June 1927 at Christies. See Hamilton, *Joseph Crawhall*, 98.; Frances Fowle, 'Souvenirs and Fêtes Champêtres: William Allen Coats's Collection of Nineteenth-Century French Paintings', *Journal of the Scottish Society of Art History*, vol 14, pp 63-70.

404 Sir William Burrell to Alexander Reid & Lefevre, 18<sup>th</sup> July 1934, Tate Gallery, Reid & Lefevre Archive Tate Gallery, TGA 200211.

405 A.J. McNeill Reid, 'Life of Alex Reid', A.J. McNeill Reid Papers, NLS, Ac.6925/II A, 9.

that Burrell was his father's most important client. This strengthens my argument that Burrell's support for Reid was through more than the purchase of paintings. Secondly, it proposes that Burrell's desire to buy the Crawhall pictures from the 1935 Coats sale was deeper than simply a wish to own his competitor's collection. Coats had a relationship with Reid that was of a similar nature to his own. By purchasing works from Coats's sale, Burrell was collecting objects from the specific social microcosm of Glasgow before Reid's death in 1928, highlighting the uniqueness of the cultural experience he shared with Coats; their individual relationships with Reid, and through this their shared admiration for Crawhall.

Coats was not the only Glaswegian collector from whom Burrell acquired objects from. Burrell also bought objects from the sales of: Sir Thomas Gibson-Carmichael in 1902, Leonard Gow in 1937 and 1943, and N. S. Brown in 1942 and 1947. The Glaswegian provenance of the objects appears to have appealed to Burrell. This is especially evident in Leonard Gow's 1943 Sotheby's sale where Burrell bought a number of *Kang-hsi* (*Kangxi*) Dynasty porcelain wares, and a pair of large mid seventeenth century blue and white jars and covers.<sup>406</sup> Burrell already had examples of these types of porcelain within his collection, suggesting that it was the fact that Gow had collected the pieces that appealed to him. It is likely that Burrell acquired works from other Glaswegian collectors because this provenance validated the objects to him.

Reid's early dealings with Burrell discussed thus far were central to their long-standing relationship. However, even after Reid's death Burrell maintained a relationship with Reid's London-based firm Alexander Reid & Lefevre, established in 1926 by Reid and Ernest Lefevre. The correspondence between the London firm and Burrell from 1934 onwards gives us a good idea of the manner of their interactions, and suggests the trust Burrell had in Reid's legacy. Services rendered to Burrell by the firm included: the buying and selling of paintings, providing information on paintings acquired, requests for loans of Burrell's paintings and the transportation of pictures to London galleries.

By the 1930s Burrell was trying to refine his collection, perhaps in anticipation of his public gift, selling off works that he did not want to be included. An example of the refinement of his picture collection comes from a letter written from Burrell to McNeill in September 1937, "Referring to your letter of 12<sup>th</sup> February in which you mention that you might get a prospective buyer for the 'Brown Crock' [by S.J. Peploe] I shall be glad if you will get in touch with him and let him know that I am prepared to sell the picture."<sup>407</sup> The letter demonstrates that selling pictures back through Reid & Lefevre was an option for the collector. Indeed, Burrell's reference to a letter from over half a year before his own to the firm illustrates that Reid & Lefevre were acting as Burrell's "middlemen", forwarding interest in pieces from his collection, and performing the necessary transactions on behalf of Burrell.

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<sup>406</sup> Burrell, Purchase Book, 13<sup>th</sup> May 1943, 52.15, 50-55.

<sup>407</sup> Sir William Burrell to A.J. McNeill Reid, 6<sup>th</sup> September 1937, Alexander Reid & Lefevre Gallery, Tate Archive, TGA 200211.

Another instance of Reid & Lefèvre acting as middlemen is seen through Burrell's requests to the firm to deliver his pictures to various London galleries. In June 1937 Burrell wrote, "The National Gallery are keeping the Degas on loan but do not require the little Manet as Manet is already very well represented in the room. I shall feel obliged if you will get back the Manet and send it to the Tate Gallery [...]." <sup>408</sup> In 1937 Burrell was living at Hutton Castle near Berwick-upon-Tweed. As is illustrated in the next chapter, the castle housed a specific area of Burrell's collection, mainly Gothic works of art. Only a few paintings were listed on the surviving inventories of the castle. Burrell loaned the objects not housed within the castle to various locations across the country including museums, galleries, cathedrals and libraries. His request for Reid & Lefèvre to transport a painting from the National Gallery to the Tate demonstrates that not only the firm was instrumental in overseeing the handling of his picture collection loaned out to the London museums, but also that Burrell trusted them to do so.

Another service that Reid & Lefèvre provided was information on paintings bought from them by Burrell. For example with regard to his purchase of Paul Cézanne's *Le Chateau de Medan* (See figure 48) in 1937 Burrell wrote to Duncan Macdonald, manager of the London branch of Reid & Lefèvre, "You mentioned when I bought the Cézanne that it was referred to in several of the books on Cézanne's work [...] I should be greatly obliged if you will kindly send one or two of them and I shall return them after perusal." <sup>409</sup> And of Manet's *La Dame à la Toque* (See figure 49), which the collector also bought in 1937, he wrote, "I shall feel obliged if you will kindly send the full history of the Manet portrait which I recently bought." <sup>410</sup> These two requests by Burrell demonstrate his interest in the history of his paintings, and his expectation that dealers should provide such information.

From these examples it is clear that even after Alex Reid's death Burrell remained loyal to the dealer's firm. One member of Reid & Lefèvre that Burrell was in correspondence with after Reid's death was T. J. Honeyman. Honeyman, a surgeon by training, abandoned medicine for art dealing in September 1929 when McNeill Reid invited him to join Macdonald and himself in the running of Reid & Lefèvre. <sup>411</sup> Although Honeyman never knew McNeill Reid's father well, his connection to Alex Reid through his son and the firm is significant. In 1939 he left the firm taking up the post of Director of Glasgow Art Galleries, a position he held for 15 years. Burrell and Constance's gift of their collection in 1944 coincided with Honeyman's Directorship. In May 1946 upon hearing the news of Honeyman's sudden departure from his role, Burrell wrote to Glasgow Corporation,

I read with the greatest regret that Dr. Honeyman may cease to be the Director of the

<sup>408</sup> Sir William Burrell to Alex Reid & Lefevre, 16<sup>th</sup> June 1937, Alexander Reid & Lefevre Gallery, Tate Archive, TGA 200211.

<sup>409</sup> Sir William Burrell to Duncan McDonald, 8<sup>th</sup> June 1937, Alexander Reid & Lefevre Gallery, Tate Archive, TGA 200211.

<sup>410</sup> Sir William Burrell to McNeill Reid, 19<sup>th</sup> August 1937, Alexander Reid & Lefevre Gallery, Tate Archive, TGA 200211.

<sup>411</sup> Honeyman, *Art and Audacity*, 14.



Glasgow Art Galleries. I have known him for many years and his great knowledge of art was one of the principal factors which decided my wife and myself to offer our Collection to Glasgow. I have always looked forward to his putting the Collection in order. He has already done so to a considerable extent but a great deal has still to be done and I feel that if he leaves the service of the Corporation, it will be nothing short of a misfortune. I sincerely hope that any difficulties will be overcome and that we shall have the benefit of his knowledge and advice for years to come.<sup>412</sup>

Burrell's letter to the Corporation suggests the extent to which he admired Honeyman, and the faith that he put in the gallery director. Considering Burrell's long-term association with Reid and his businesses both in Glasgow and in London I suggest that Burrell's confidence in Honeyman to oversee the successful establishment of his collection in Glasgow was in part derived from the director's association with Reid & Lefèvre, and the trust that Burrell held in Reid's name and all those who had worked under it.

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<sup>412</sup> Sir William Burrell to Baillie Burnett, Glasgow Corporation, 12<sup>th</sup> May 1946, Tom Honeyman Files, NLS, Acc. 9787/83, 3/19/70.



Figure 48: Paul Cézanne, *Le Château de Médan*, c.1879-1880, oil on canvas, The Burrell Collection, 35.53 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection





Figure 49: Edouard Manet, *Portrait of a Woman*, c.1882-1883, pastel, The Burrell Collection, 35.311 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection

## 2.5 Wilfred Drake (1879-1948): glazier, medieval glass dealer and adviser

Wilfred Drake was born in Teignmouth, Devon in 1879. His father, Frederick Drake, was in the business of glass painting. At a young age Wilfred was apprenticed to his father at the Three Gables in Cathedral close in Exeter.<sup>413</sup> Here, with his brother Maurice, Drake's love for medieval glass grew alongside his interest in the continuation of the art of traditional glass painting.<sup>414</sup> Drake was a founding member of the British Society of Master Glass Painters. He had a workshop and studio at 1 Holland Park Road, London, in which he adapted stained glass, as well as sold and commissioned pieces for clients.<sup>415</sup>

In early January 1947 Burrell wrote to Wilfred Drake, with whom he had a relationship of over 20 years; "It is I who have to thank you, and not you me, for, without you, I would not have had so much good glass as you have enabled me to get."<sup>416</sup> As a dealer Drake provided many services for Burrell. He acted as a "middle-man", bidding on behalf of the collector at sales. In July 1928 Burrell wrote to Drake, "I arrived at Sothebys at 1:15 to find that the glass had been sold in one lot at £2700. I think it is a wonderful piece much beyond its real value. Many thanks for your kindness in being willing to bid for me."<sup>417</sup> Drake took commission of 10% on such transactions. In August 1938 Burrell wrote to Drake regarding his purchase of glass from the collection of the American newspaper magnate and collector William Randolph Hearst (1863-1951), "I enclose cheque for £102 in payment of your commission on the Hearst Glass I bought and as much obliged to you for all your kindness in advising me with regard to it. I paid £1020 which was too much."<sup>418</sup> These communications are typical of those between the dealer and collector.

Drake also fixed and altered panels for Burrell. In her thesis Groll writes,

[...] Wilfred's handling of Thomas and Drake's stained glass went beyond simply fixing panels; his alterations were often the result of deliberate aesthetic choices, sometimes drastically changing the shapes and sizes of panels [...]. [...] Almost all of the small medallion panels installed in the dining room, hall, and drawing room at Hutton Castle, as well as further panels elsewhere in the property, are actually composite panels made to look aesthetically similar by Wilfred.<sup>419</sup>

413 'Obituary – Wilfred Drake', *Journal of the British Society of Master Glass-Painters*, 1949 vol. 10 no. 2, 105.

414 'Obituary – Wilfred Drake', *Journal of the British Society of Master Glass-Painters*, 105.

415 (unpublished) Groll, 'Thomas and Drake', 176.

416 Sir William Burrell to Wilfred Drake, 3<sup>rd</sup> January 1947, GMRC, Burrell Archive, 52.56.672.

417 Sir William Burrell to Wilfred Drake, 12<sup>th</sup> July 1928, GMRC, Burrell Archive, 52.56.23.

418 Sir William Burrell to Wilfred Drake, 2<sup>nd</sup> August 1938, GMRC, Burrell Archive, 52.56.132; It is hard to positively identify which glass panels Burrell was referring to in this letter. However, it is likely that the glass was a purchase made by Burrell of three panels in 1938 from the Hearst collection that got stuck in New York at the outbreak of World War Two. In a letter to Andrew Hannah dated 12<sup>th</sup> July 1948 Burrell writes of the safe return of these panels to him. In the letter he describes the panels as: "Window, 1<sup>st</sup> Jan 1940", "Panel of St. Nicasius of Rheims" and "Panel of St Clement of Rome", Sir William Burrell to Andrew Hannah, 12<sup>th</sup> July 1948, GMRC, Burrell Archive, GMA.2013.1.2.4.159.

419 (unpublished) Groll, 'Thomas and Drake', 190-191.



Groll's discussion illustrates the important role that Drake had to play in the display of Burrell's glass collection within his home. In 1932 Drake created an inventory of all of the medieval stained glass panels at Hutton Castle.<sup>420</sup> This suggests that Burrell had full trust in Drake's taste, skills and knowledge as both dealer and glazier. From Groll's assessment it is evident that the pair had a distinctive relationship, one that went beyond buying and selling.

Drake's knowledge of heraldry and the history of medieval stained glass was extensive. Burrell often wrote to Drake requesting information about the heraldic motifs found on his panels as well as the historical context of the pieces. The first evidence of Burrell's interest in the historical associations of medieval panels is from October 1928:

[...] returning the lecture by the Dean of Wells of the St John the Divine windows. I have read it with the greatest interest and am much indebted to the Dean and you for its perusal and I am now enclosing it along with his letter to you. It makes the glass very much more interesting to me when I know something about it.<sup>421</sup>

Burrell's last sentence confirms his consideration of more than the aesthetic quality of his stained glass panels, stating that an understanding of the history of medieval glass significantly augmented his enjoyment.

On 13<sup>th</sup> December 1929 Burrell wrote to Drake regarding a specific piece of glass within his collection. The glass in question was bought at Sotheby's on the 16<sup>th</sup> November 1928. Burrell's description of the acquisition in his purchase book reads as follows: "Two panels stained glass, diamond shaped. 9 ½" x 11 ½" each made up from quarries including a badge of a hawthorn bush fruited and crowned, for Henry VII a crowned Tudor rose. R Crowned an a *fleur de lis* crowned between E-R."<sup>422</sup> (See figures 50 and 51) A quarry is a small, usually diamond-shaped, pane of glass. The fact that Burrell wrote to Drake a year after the purchase of the panels requesting information on their details highlights the collector's desire to further his knowledge on the glass he acquired. The following exchanges between the collector and dealer are quoted in length because of their value to this discussion.

I should be very grateful if you would kindly let me know what the following quarries represent. There are several quarries like this in the little lot of glass got at Sothebys last year. What does H.B. stand for? Also an R crowned? What is R for? Also a hawthorn Bush fruited and crowned. Is this Henry VII's badge? Also a crowned Tudor Rose. What is the white lion of March like? If you don't happen to know some of them please don't worry but I like to understand what I have if I can.<sup>423</sup>

<sup>420</sup> Wilfred Drake, draft copy List of Ancient Stained Glass at Hutton Castle, 1932, GMRC, Burrell Archive, GMA.2013.1.4.

<sup>421</sup> Sir William Burrell to Wilfred Dreake, 30<sup>th</sup> October 1928, GMRC, Burrell Archive, 52.56.29. Underlining original to Burrell's letter.

<sup>422</sup> Burrell, Purchase Book, 1928, 52.7, 24.

<sup>423</sup> Sir William Burrell to Wilfred Drake, 13<sup>th</sup> December 1929, GMRC, Burrell Archive, 52.56.25.



Figure 50: Large stained glass heraldic quarry comprising of four smaller quarries, yellow stain, The Burrell Collection, 45.221 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection



Figure 51: Large stained glass heraldic quarry comprising of four smaller quarries, yellow stain, The Burrell Collection, 45.220 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection

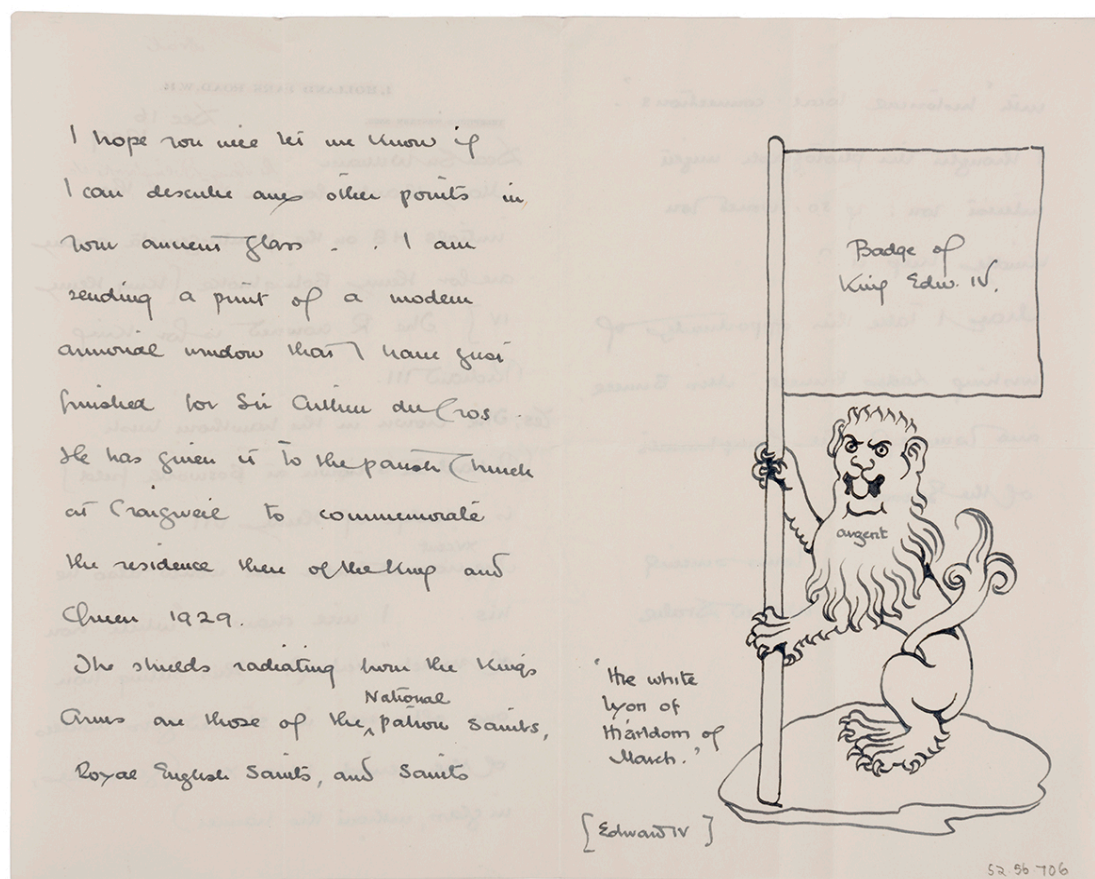


Figure 52: Wilfred Drake drawing of a "white lion of March" from letter to Burrell 16<sup>th</sup> December 1929, 52.56.706 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection

Drake responded,

The initials H.B. on the planta-genista quarry are for Henry Bolingbroke [King Henry IV] the R crowned is for King Richard III. Yes, the crown in the hawthorn bush [Richard III's crown at Bosworth field] is a badge of Henry VII. The XV cent crowned Tudor rose would also be his. I will draw a 'white lion of March' overleaf. His sitting lion one often sees in stained glass borders of the period 1460-70. (Generally, in glass, without the hammer.) I hope you will let me know if I can describe any other points in your ancient glass.<sup>424</sup> (See Figure 52)

This exchange between Burrell and Drake shows the collector's use of the dealer as a heraldic adviser. Evidently Burrell trusted Drake's knowledge of English royal history and heraldry. Through his relationship with Drake the collector hoped to learn more about the objects within his collection, indicated by his line "I like to understand what I have if I can".

Burrell's reliance on Drake's knowledge is further determined by a letter dated 21<sup>st</sup> August 1932, in which he wrote "I turn to you when I am in historical difficulty [...]".<sup>425</sup> The reference books in Burrell's library provided him with general history, for example: F. Harrison and W. Foxley Norris, *The Painted Glass of York* (1927), Hugh Arnold's *Stained Glass of the Middle Ages in England and France* (1925) and Charles Hitchcock Sherril, *Stained Glass Tours in Germany, Austria and the Rhine Lands* (1927).<sup>426</sup> Drake, on the other hand, had knowledge specific to the panels within Burrell's collection. The above exchange proves the pedagogical nature of Burrell and Drake's relationship.

Another example of Burrell seeking Drake's historical knowledge is seen in relation to the 1932 catalogue that Drake put together of Burrell's medieval glass displayed in Hutton Castle. Burrell wrote to Drake,

I am still studying the Catalogue and find it most interesting. [...] There are one or two things I don't understand and I should be glad if you would kindly enlighten me.

1<sup>st</sup> One round panel in the Hall is Queen Elizabeth's Coat of Arms. What distinction is there between hers and Henry VIII's? How does one know one from the other? 2<sup>nd</sup> One shield in the Dining Room is Henry VIII's Coat of Arms and one Edward IV's. What is the distinction here?

I somehow thought the Bishop panel in my daughters room was English but I see it is Swiss.<sup>427</sup> (See figures 53-57)

<sup>424</sup> Wilfred Drake to Sir William Burrell, 16<sup>th</sup> December 1929, GMRC, Burrell Archive, 52.56.706.

<sup>425</sup> Sir William Burrell to Wilfred Drake, 21<sup>st</sup> August 1932, GMRC, Burrell Archive, 52.56.75.

<sup>426</sup> Kerr-Peterson, 'Catalogue of Annotated Books', GMRC, Burrell Archive; F Harrison & W Foxley Norris, *The Painted Glass of York, an account of the medieval glass of the minster and the parish churches* (London, 1927); Hugh Arnold, *Stained Glass of the Middle Ages in England and France* (London, 1925); Charles Hitchcock Sherril, *Stained Glass Tours in Germany, Austria and the Rhine Lands* (London, 1927).

<sup>427</sup> Sir William Burrell to Wilfred Drake, 5<sup>th</sup> September 1932, GMRC, Burrell Archive, 52.56.79.



In response Drake wrote in length,

With regard to your queries: my 'Essex' note is badly worded. It should be 'Walter, Earl of Essex poisoned' etc. 'At his deathbed a Clergyman exclaimed – 'by the Mass my Lord you are poisoned' – The report spread like wildfire. As Leicester was known to be his enemy and strongly suspected of an intrigue with his [Essex's] wife; the friends of Essex pointed at him as the contriver of his death.' (1576)

His son Robert [Early of Essex, executed at the Tower] was ten years of age when his father died.

The Royal Heraldry is rather difficult to explain in a letter. Although the 'arms', I mean the bearings and colour of the shields – of Henry IV – Henry V – Henry VI, Edward IV, Richard III and the Tudors are identical, the techniques of the craftsmen [and as you know, the shape of the shield] vary, in several of the reigns.

For instance, up to about the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> Century the three fleurs-de-lis were 'cut and leaded', [with connecting leads] so a 15<sup>th</sup> Century shield shape made in this fashion can be correctly ascribed to Henry VI whose reign covered most of the first half of the Century. I think Henry IV and V shields would be slightly longer in shape.

During the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> Century the skilled craftsmen drilled holes in the blue quartering in which he inset the fleurs-de-lis.

This practice was continued as you know into the Tudor period, but a 15th century shaped shield with drilled holes may be ascribed to Edward IV whose reign lasted 21 years in the latter half of the Century. I think the shield at the end of the Century became more square – before Taking on the curved Renaissance forms.

The Lions of Henry VIII's shield were 'cut and leaded'.

The forms of Elizabeth's shield were (generally) abraded. Abrasion became popular during the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century – when a red quartering would be cut in one pane (of red glass) and the Lions abraded [ie: erased – ground away] from the red surface of the glass.

An abraded Royal Arms can therefore be attributed to Elizabeth.

IN the succeeding reigns the enamel – painting method became more general when the quarterings were painted in red (and blue) enamel paint, which was fired on to a pane of white glass. James I Charles I etc.

The yellow stain was used through all these periods. I trust this description is not too confusing.<sup>428</sup>

Drake's response provided Burrell with a rich historical and artistic context of the four panels subject to his inquiry. The dealer's description is highly detailed, informing the collector of the techniques used by heraldic craftsmen during Henry IV, V, VI, Edward IV, Richard III, and Elizabeth I's reigns. Such a letter would have taken time to write, illustrating the importance of Burrell as a client to Drake. In a letter to the glazier Burrell described Drake's

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428 Wilfred Drake to Sir William Burrell, 6<sup>th</sup> September 1932, GMRC, Burrell Archive, 52.56.80.



Figure 53: Stained glass panel, Royal Arms, English, sixteenth century, The Burrell Collection, 45.186 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection



Figure 54: Stained glass panel, Arms of Henry VIII, English, sixteenth century, The Burrell Collection, 45.187 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection





Figure 55: Stained glass panel, Royal Arms of England, English, sixteenth century, The Burrell Collection, 45.142 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection



Figure 56: Stained glass panel, Royal Arms of England, English, sixteenth century, The Burrell Collection, 45.144 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection

historical knowledge as “sharp” in comparison to his own which he termed “blunt”.<sup>429</sup> Drake would have recognised the importance of sharing such information with Burrell as a means of securing the collector’s trust and his business.

Burrell’s inquiries to Drake regarding: the history of the panels, the details of initials, heraldic motifs, and the relevant historical techniques of glazing, suggest that the collector was insecure about his own knowledge of his glass collection. With regard to a coat of arms he wrote to Drake, “I am glad you confirm that the Coat of Arms on the Chair is that of the Bull family. It is always very interesting to know as sooner or later someone is sure to ask. I feel very stupid when I am not able to tell them.”<sup>430</sup> The chair in question was a walnut English Elbow chair (c.1725-35); the arms of the Bull family are inlaid on the back splat (See figure 58). This indicates Burrell’s need to verify his knowledge against Drake’s. Through his expertise Drake improved Burrell’s confidence in the history of his stained glass, helping to augment the collector’s knowledge and through this also the quality of his glass collection. In 1941 Drake went so far as to call Burrell “a connoisseur of Gothic glass”.<sup>431</sup> Drake’s comment illustrates that by the 1940s Burrell’s knowledge and taste in medieval glass was sophisticated. Returning to Burrell’s thanks to Drake for his central role in the formation of his stained glass collection cited at the beginning of this section, I would argue that this thanks was as much for the knowledge the collector had amassed over the last two decades relating to Gothic glass panels as for the physical pieces of glass themselves.

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<sup>429</sup> Sir William Burrell to Wilfred Drake, 19<sup>th</sup> September 1932, GMRC, Burrell Archive, 52.56.82.

<sup>430</sup> Sir William Burrell to Wilfred Drake, 14<sup>th</sup> July 1933, GMRC, Burrell Archive, 52.56.104.

<sup>431</sup> Wilfred Drake to Sir William Burrell, 17<sup>th</sup> February 1941, GMRC, Burrell Archive, 52.56.383.





Figure 57: Rectangular stained glass panel showing St Clement of Rome enthroned in a yellow niche against a diapered blue ground, The Burrell Collection, 45.496 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection



Figure 58: English Elbow chair, shield of Bull family, walnut, needlework seat, c.1725-35, The Burrell Collection, 14.96 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection

## 2.6 Frank Partridge (1875-1953) & Frank Partridge & Sons: antiques dealer and Chinese art adviser

Frank Partridge was born into a mercantile family: his father was a boot-maker from Hertford.<sup>432</sup> Partridge himself was educated at the London Orphan's Academy at Watford until he was 14, leaving because of his desire for practical over theoretical knowledge.<sup>433</sup> Partridge's eldest brother, Robert, married Doris Cohen, the daughter of London dealers, and worked in the Cohen's shop until he and Doris were married, after which they set up their own shop at Great Portland Street, London.<sup>434</sup> It is likely that this is where Partridge's own interest in art dealing was founded, however, the young Frank did not go directly into the picture dealing trade. Under his mother's instructions his first apprenticeship was in drapery, where he trained for three years.<sup>435</sup> At the age of seventeen Partridge began to work for his brother Robert, and so began his true experience of the antiques dealing world.<sup>436</sup> Partridge worked with his brother, bar a brief sojourn to America, until he opened his own shop at 4 King Street, London in 1902.

Burrell met Frank Partridge at his shop on King Street. The collector is said to have entered the shop announcing to Partridge, "I'm just a Scotsman down for the day and I would like to look around."<sup>437</sup> Marks's account of this meeting describes how the collector wrote down five items of furniture and needlework, all of which he intended to buy.<sup>438</sup> As the first recorded purchase from Partridge in Burrell's purchase books, dated 1916, includes none of these items Marks suggests that this meeting between Burrell and Partridge took place before 1911.<sup>439</sup> Partridge and Burrell's relationship, beginning in the second decade of the twentieth century lasted until Partridge's death in 1953. As with Reid, Burrell's association with Partridge's firm continued after the dealer's death. Burrell's last recorded purchase from Partridge's firm dated from May 1955.<sup>440</sup>

The amount of extant correspondence between Partridge and Burrell is limited as the letters located in the Burrell Archive in Glasgow only date from 1942. A lack of primary material from Burrell's early collecting career is consistent throughout the Burrell archive material. Most of the correspondence is dated from the 1940s onwards, around the time of the gift of the collection to the City of Glasgow (1944). It is not known for certain what Burrell did with his correspondences. It is possible that they were destroyed because of his wish for personal privacy. The Drake correspondence assessed above is comprised of over 700 letters, which suggests that Burrell was a very active letter writer. Indeed,

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<sup>432</sup> Frank Partridge, *Memoirs of the Late Frank Partridge* (Essex: G. B. Spencer, 1961), 8.

<sup>433</sup> Partridge, *Memoirs*, 12.

<sup>434</sup> Partridge, *Memoirs*, 13.

<sup>435</sup> Partridge, *Memoirs*, 14.

<sup>436</sup> Partridge, *Memoirs*, 18.

<sup>437</sup> Marks, *Portrait of a Collector*, 132.

<sup>438</sup> Marks, *Portrait of a Collector*, 132.

<sup>439</sup> Marks, *Portrait of a Collector*, 132.

<sup>440</sup> Burrell, Purchase Book, 1955, 52.27, 10-12.

in a letter from Murray Adams-Acton (1886-1971), a historian of art and architecture and interior designer with whom Burrell had a close relationship, to Andrew Hannah (Keeper of Burrell Collection from 1947) dated January 1955 Adams-Acton wrote, "I have heard little of Sir William recently (my 'boyfriend', as my wife used to call him when ever she tossed one of his letters across the breakfast table)."<sup>441</sup> Adams-Acton's wife's apparent teasing of her husband over his letters from Burrell suggests that, as with Drake, the two men were in constant communication at one stage of Burrell's life. Anecdotes such as this allow us to conclude that Burrell was a passionate correspondent and is likely to have written numerous letters daily, as was common for this point in history.

Regardless of this dearth of correspondence between Burrell and Partridge, other sources allow us to build up an image of the two men's relationship. Sales records from Partridge & Sons in London dating between 1925 and 1955 can be matched up with Burrell's own purchase books, and lists of tradesmen, repairs and other services rendered by the firm for Burrell between the same dates can help demonstrate the extent of Burrell's association with Partridge's firm.<sup>442</sup>

Partridge's firm, Frank Partridge & Sons, was established in 1902 and quickly became a leading firm in the dealing of antiques.<sup>443</sup> Their success was international, with the firm having premises both in London and New York. Burrell's association with Partridge's is reflective of their success. Throughout his collecting career Burrell acquired more works through Partridge & Sons than through any other dealer.<sup>444</sup> Between February 1916 and May 1955 Burrell bought around 730 objects through Partridge.<sup>445</sup> The range of objects Burrell bought from Partridge was wide, and included Chinese art works, tapestries, furniture and painting.

As a dealer Partridge is perhaps best known for his long-running relationship with William Hesketh Lever (1851-1925) the first Lord Leverhulme and founder of the Lady Lever Art Gallery in Port Sunlight near Liverpool. Yupin Chung's research on the relationship between Partridge and Lever offers a useful comparison with Partridge and Burrell's association. She writes,

Partridge was not from a privileged background which had a source of private wealth as a form of income. He seldom made direct acquisitions of art but operated on a commission basis between collectors, and dutifully acted as Lever's 'personal

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<sup>441</sup> Murray Adams-Acton to Andrew Hannah, 4<sup>th</sup> January 1955, GMRC, Burrell Archive, GMA.2013.1.2.8.377.

<sup>442</sup> Frank Partridge & Sons Ltd. Sales Books transcriptions. Sales relating to Sir William Burrell, 1925-55, GMRC, Burrell Archive, GMA.2013.1.4.4.1.

<sup>443</sup> Nick Pearce, 'From Collector to Connoisseur: Sir William Burrell and Chinese Art, 1911-57', CARP, <https://carp.arts.gla.ac.uk/essay1.php?enum=1097070125> (accessed 19.10.18); Frank Partridge & Sons, 'Antique Dealers: the British Antique Trade in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century', University of Leeds, <https://antiquetrade.leeds.ac.uk/dealerships/34011> (accessed 01.05.18).

<sup>444</sup> Marks, *Portrait of a Collector*, 132.

<sup>445</sup> This number has been collated from both Burrell Purchase Books 1916-1955 and Partridge & Sons sales books. Burrell, Purchase Books, 1916-1955, 52.2 – 52.28.

advisor' who supplemented Lever's own taste. With the money he used to 'recruit' Partridge, Lever gained cultural competence.<sup>446</sup>

Chung's analysis of Lever and Partridge suggests that their relationship was symbiotic in nature.

In his memoir Partridge writes of his and Lever's first meeting at his shop on King Street, St James'.<sup>447</sup> When Partridge opened his shop he had to put in examples of his own furniture as a means of making it appear full.<sup>448</sup> Lever took an interest in Partridge from their first meeting at the dealer's shop and offered to help him at an upcoming sale. Following Lever's advice Partridge bought £1,500 of goods, all of which the collector admired so much that he bought the lot. This was the start of a very significant relationship for both men.<sup>449</sup> Lever could comfortably support Partridge financially and in return Partridge enriched Lever's collection and knowledge of antiques. Chung argues that Partridge helped to create a vision of Lever as a celebrity collector of Chinese art.<sup>450</sup>

It is likely that Burrell and Partridge's relationship was similar to that of Lever and Partridge's, even if on a smaller scale. Like Lever, Burrell could provide Partridge with financial security and in return Partridge could share his knowledge with the collector and help build his collection. As has already been mentioned Partridge was the individual from whom Burrell bought the highest number of objects throughout his collecting career.<sup>451</sup> Burrell, like Lever, chose his closest dealers because of their expertise as a means of enhancing his own cultural capability, and so it is with Lever and Partridge's relationship in mind that I proceed to analyse Burrell and Partridge's own.

The first recorded purchases made by Burrell from Partridge are listed on February 25<sup>th</sup> 1916. There are two entries in Burrell's purchase book, the first lists: a Chippendale mahogany polescreen, Queen Anne needlework hanging, eighteenth century petit point needlework picture and a *Kang-hsi (Kangxi)* Chinese *famille verte* bowl.<sup>452</sup> No auction house is listed next to this entry, suggesting that these objects were acquired from Partridge's stock. The second entry from the same date differs in that Partridge acquired the objects on behalf of Burrell at a sale at Christie's London on the 24<sup>th</sup> February 1916. The objects were nine Chinese porcelain bowls and a panel of tapestry depicting Judith with the head of Holofernes, woven in England, probably Barcheston or Bordesley, between 1561 and 1613 (See figure 59).<sup>453</sup> These two entries suggest that Burrell used Partridge in the traditional manner of a dealer, purchasing objects both from his shop's stock and through

446 Yupin Chung, 'Frank Partridge and William Hesketh Lever', Liverpool Museums, <https://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/ladlever/collections/chinese/partridgeessay/partridge.pdf> (accessed 01.05.18), 9.

447 Partridge, *Memoirs*, 29.

448 Partridge, *Memoirs*, 29.

449 Partridge, *Memoirs*, 30-31.

450 Chung, 'Frank Partridge and William Hesketh Lever', 7.

451 Marks, *Burrell: Portrait of a Collector*, 132.

452 Burrell, Purchase Book, 1916, 52.4, 4.

453 Cleland and Karafel, *Tapestries from The Burrell Collection*, 363.





Figure 59: *Judith with head of Holofernes*, English, woven in Barcheston or Bordesley, between 1561-1613, The Burrell Collection, 47.23 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection

Partridge at sales.

From surviving correspondence it is clear that for Burrell, as for Lever, Partridge held the role of an adviser. In a letter to Burrell dated 23<sup>rd</sup> February 1942 Partridge wrote,

The only things I could recommend you to buy in your friend's sale are the pair of *famille verte* plates which are very beautiful and very unusual in their composition. One has a slight crack of about half an inch which has been caused by a blow as it has the tiniest nick out of the edge which leads to the crack. These are a pair of dishes which would have fetched £170 to £180 and I do not believe they will go much under £100 today.

The Barye Bronzes are not genuine. As you probably know, there were a lot of these Baryes made, and these are a pair of that description. Barye, as you also probably know, was one of the very best Bronze makers and his patina was of a very beautiful colour and his moulding fine and when you have once tasted and handled these things you could never buy a pair such as your friend has.<sup>454</sup>

The friend's sale Partridge was referring to was the Andrew T. Reid (1863-1940) Collection, held at Christies on 26<sup>th</sup> February 1942. From both Partridge's sale books and Burrell's purchase books we know that Burrell did buy the pair of *famille verte* dishes as per Partridge's recommendation. In Burrell's purchase book from 1942 his entry reads, "A pair of *famille verte* dishes brilliantly enamelled with Kingfishers, with landscapes on the backs. 13'4" diameter. *Kang-hsi (Kang Xi)*. From the Andrew T. Reid Collection."<sup>455</sup> Burrell paid £35.14.0 for the pair and Partridge received a 5% commission for this sale amounting to £1.16.0 (See figures 60 and 61).<sup>456</sup>

Partridge's tone in the letter is familiar, advising Burrell on the quality of the objects in Reid's sale. With regard to the Barye bronzes Partridge was careful not to assume ignorance on Burrell's behalf, writing more than once "as you probably know". Antoine-Louis Barye (1795-1875) was a French Romantic sculptor, most famous for his depiction of animals. Through Partridge's rejection of the bronzes' authenticity, he ensured that Burrell did not purchase them. This letter suggests that Partridge and Burrell had a close relationship, one that was based on the dealer's knowledge and advice.

Partridge's advice was not strictly for business. A letter dated 3<sup>rd</sup> March 1942 illustrates a desire by Partridge to further Burrell's knowledge of Chinese artefacts,

I am sending you a little Chun [Jun] Bowl. This is a piece of this quality that you only

<sup>454</sup> Frank Partridge to Sir William Burrell, 23<sup>rd</sup> February 1942, GMRC, Burrell Archive, GMA.2013.1.2.20.376.

<sup>455</sup> Burrell, Purchase Book, 1942, 52.15, 2.

<sup>456</sup> Burrell, Purchase Book, 1942, 52.15, 2.





Figure 60: Image showing front of “Pair of *famille verte* dishes brilliantly embellished with Kingfishers, with landscapes on the back”, The Burrell Collection, 38.966 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection



Figure 61: Image showing back of “Pair of *famille verte* dishes brilliantly embellished with Kingfishers, with landscapes on the back”, The Burrell Collection, 38.967 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection

come across a very few times in a lifetime and it is one of the gems of this period.

I know you will say it has got a little defect inside; this was done in the firing and although of course it would be better without it, it is such an outstanding piece that no collector could resist.

I cannot take less than £140 for it and if you do not like it I should be grateful if you would let me have it back as early as possible.

In any case, if you do not buy it I know you will have learnt something through handling it.<sup>457</sup>

There is no doubt that by sending the bowl to Burrell, Partridge was hoping for a sale. However, the gesture might also be read as an example of the dealer educating Burrell in the field in which he was collecting, in this case Chinese porcelain. His note that Burrell “will have learnt something through handling” the Chun Bowl illustrates the dealer and collector having a shared activity through the handling of the piece. Neither the Partridge sales books nor Burrell’s 1942 purchase book record the sale or purchase of the Chun Bowl, suggesting that Burrell took advantage of Partridge’s offer to learn something about the bowl, but did not wish to add it to his collection.

The letter also highlights Partridge’s love for objects. In Partridge’s memoir Spencer writes of Partridge’s views on being an antique dealer,

Yet in one characteristic we are all alike and that is, a love of beauty and of beautiful things. No dealer who deals in antiques for the profit he makes out of them alone, is a real antique dealer; the real dealer is he who has grown to love the beauty in the antique for itself alone [...].<sup>458</sup>

Considered together with Partridge’s letter to Burrell, Spencer’s memoir illustrates that what was significant to the dealer was an appreciation of the beauty found in antiques. By sending Burrell the Chun Bowl to handle and admire Partridge was undoubtedly marketing the quality of objects he had to sell, but he was also sharing with Burrell his love of the “beauty in the antique for itself alone”.

In a letter to Burrell regarding the sale of J. P. Morgan’s (1837-1913) ‘Furniture and objects of art’<sup>459</sup> in 1944 Partridge wrote, “The cataloguing and description show ignorance, but then you cannot expect auctioneers to know what dealers, who are always putting their own money down and buying their own experience, know.”<sup>460</sup> By the 1940s Partridge & Sons was a successful art and antiques dealership and Partridge did not need the financial

<sup>457</sup> Frank Partridge to Sir William Burrell, 3<sup>rd</sup> March 1942, GMRC, Burrell Archive, GMA.2013.1.2.20.380.

<sup>458</sup> Spencer, 63.

<sup>459</sup> J. P. Morgan & Parke-Bernet Galleries, ‘Furniture and objects of art [...]: property of the estate of the late J.P. Morgan [...] public auction sale [...] Parke-Bernet Galleries, Inc.’, 1944.

<sup>460</sup> Frank Partridge to Sir William Burrell, 20<sup>th</sup> March 1944, GMRC, Burrell Archive, GMA.2013.1.2.20.414.



backing that he had once required from collectors. His comment suggests his belief that a dealer was trustworthy because of the fact that they invested in their knowledge; they were willing to put their expertise on the line through their acquisition of objects. This was a sentiment that Burrell shared. In relation to a publication by a Professor Ernst Weidner entitled '*Archiv fur Orientforschung*' which discussed Burrell's Egyptian and Near-Eastern acquisitions, Burrell wrote to Andrew Hannah, "My experience is that a good dealer is more accurate as a rule than a Professor and that is because the dealer, if he makes a mistakes to pay but the Professor has not and is less accurate".<sup>461</sup> This comment suggests that Burrell believed good dealers to be more reliable than academics because of the fact that they risked loosing money if they were wrong. This theme of reliability is analysed further at the end of this chapter, for now it is significant to note that Partridge's thinking would have appealed to Burrell's business mind. If Partridge, a successful, well-respected and knowledgeable dealer was willing to invest in an object, then so was he.

From the list of tradesmen, repairs and other services provided by Partridge's for Burrell, it is clear that Partridge offered a wide range of services to his client. Services rendered for Burrell included: repairing objects, making suitable additions to objects where original pieces were missing, reconditioning upholstery, photographing objects, framing paintings and fitting keys to cabinets.<sup>462</sup> Partridge & Sons had a range of tradesmen on their books to provide such services for clients; this in turn would have made their firm attractive to Burrell as they provided an all-inclusive service.

By the 1940s, if not before, Burrell had informed Partridge of his plans to gift his collection in its entirety to the nation. At this time Burrell was in talks with Sir Kenneth Clark (1903-1983), Director of the National Gallery in London between 1934 and 1945, and the London County Council to try and secure his collection's permanent home in London. Partridge's letters from the forties demonstrate a further role that the dealer took on as result of this. In 1942 he wrote to Burrell,

Anything you buy from us we will, of course, store for you free of charge and I know this will appeal to you. This will give you some idea of the activity we have had in this business and I should think we have about two million pounds of goods to look after for various people. At four of these country places we have a lot of goods of the Royal Family stored.<sup>463</sup>

Not only was Partridge purchasing on behalf of the collector and advising him on aspects of his collection, he was also now storing Burrell's purchases. It is important to note the date of this offer for storage, during the height of the Second World War (1939-1945), making

<sup>461</sup> Sir William Burrell to Andrew Hannah, 16<sup>th</sup> April 1953, GMRC, Burrell Archive, GMA.2013.1.2.2.116.

<sup>462</sup> Frank Partridge & Sons Ltd., 'Tradesmen, repairs & other services provided by Partridges for Sir William Burrell 1925-55', GMRC, Burrell Archive, GMA.2013.1.4.4.2.

<sup>463</sup> Frank Partridge to Sir William Burrell, 23<sup>rd</sup> February 1942, GMRC, Burrell Archive, GMA.2013.1.2.20.376.

it unsurprising that Partridge was offering to store and secure Burrell's objects. The storage that he offered was in the countryside, and therefore less likely to be targeted in air raids.

As made clear by Partridge in a subsequent letter, Partridge & Sons did not offer this service to all of their clients,

When I told you I had got all these places I did not want to leave the impression that we are doing all these things for our Clients for nothing otherwise we should go bust, but knowing you so long and what you are doing for the country is the reason why I offered to do this for you [...].<sup>464</sup>

It was precisely because of their long-standing relationship, and because Burrell was gifting his collection to the public, that Partridge was willing to offer storage for the objects Burrell bought through him. Partridge's reference to the goods that the company stored for the royal family indicates that the dealer only offered to store goods for the most exclusive of clients. Making a connection between Burrell's collection and the royal family's would have been very attractive to the collector.

This is not to say that Burrell was the only one in the relationship who benefitted from such a connection. In a letter from February 1942 Partridge wrote,

I am so glad I have had such success on your behalf. I certainly have bought some very cheap things for you lately. However, you deserve them and as the things are going to the Nation, I feel I am doing a good job for both you and the country.<sup>465</sup>

This letter suggests that Partridge believed that his hand in helping Burrell acquire objects was an act of patriotism. In this manner the exchange provides further evidence of the reciprocal nature of Partridge and Burrell's relationship as dealer and collector. From Partridge Burrell was receiving recognition of the significance of his collection and his gift to the nation, whilst Partridge gained the association to yet another collection destined for the public domain.<sup>466</sup>

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<sup>464</sup> Frank Partridge to Sir William Burrell, 27<sup>th</sup> February 1942, GMRC, Burrell Archive, GMA. 2013.1.2.20.378.

<sup>465</sup> Frank Partridge to Sir William Burrell, 10<sup>th</sup> February 1943, GMRC, Burrell Archive, GMA.2013.1.2.20.397.

<sup>466</sup> The first being the collection of Lord Leverhulme which was opened as the Lady Lever Art Gallery in 1922.

## 2.7 John Hunt (1900-1976) and Burrell, 1933-1939

John Hunt, known to his close friends as Jack, was Burrell's dealer of late-medieval and Renaissance art works. Hunt attended boarding school at King's School in Canterbury, a prestigious public school situated in the precincts of Canterbury Cathedral, one of the earliest examples of English Gothic architecture; a setting that Brian O'Connell, author of a recent biography on Hunt, argues had an impact on the young scholar.<sup>467</sup> Hunt's training in art and antiques was through his work for White Allom, and later Acton Surgey Ltd, both firms that specialised in antique furnishings and interiors.<sup>468</sup> After working for Acton Surgey for a number of years Hunt went into business on his own in London, setting up a shop in 1934 at 30c Bury Street in St James's, London, where he worked until he and his wife Gertrude, also known as "Putzel", moved to Ireland in 1940. Hunt and Putzel were successful collectors in their own right as evidenced through the Hunt Museum in Limerick, a collection of over 2,000 works of art and artefacts. In the 1997 the museum was officially opened in the eighteenth century former Customs House in Limerick, now its permanent home.<sup>469</sup>

As O'Connell notes in the final chapter of his book, 'Hunting High and Low', there have been multiple claims against John and Gertrude for having links to Nazi looted art.<sup>470</sup> Ultimately the various accusations made were disproven through the Lynn Nicholas report, set up to investigate into the Hunts' dealings and the Hunt Museum in Limerick.<sup>471</sup> As with most other dealers Hunt protected his sources, making it impossible to know with full certainty that all of his objects' provenances were clean.

No correspondence exists between Burrell and Hunt that might explain where Hunt acquired the objects that Burrell bought from him. Burrell also does not record all of the pieces' provenances in his Purchase Book entries. This does not mean that all of the objects have tainted provenance. However, in the case of the Budge tapestry it does. The Swiss early sixteenth century tapestry was bought by Burrell through Hunt on the 8<sup>th</sup> August 1938 (See figure 62).<sup>472</sup> Emma Ranette Budge was a Hamburg-born Jewish art collector. She lived in the United States with her husband in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>473</sup> Following her death in 1937 her executors sent her collection to Berlin for auction, going against Budge's advise to not sell the collection in Germany.<sup>474</sup> The money generated from

<sup>467</sup> Brian O'Connell, *John Hunt: the man, the medievalist, the connoisseur* (Dublin: O'Brien Press, 2013), 18.

<sup>468</sup> O'Connell, *John Hunt*, 23.

<sup>469</sup> 'History', The Hunt Museum, <http://www.huntmuseum.com/about-us/> (accessed 23.05.18).

<sup>470</sup> O'Connell, 'Hunting High and Low', in O'Connell, *John Hunt*, 267-292.

<sup>471</sup> O'Connell, 'Hunting High and Low', 292.

<sup>472</sup> Burrell, Purchase Book, 1938, 52.13,42.

<sup>473</sup> The Honourable Sir Donnell Deeny, 'Report of the Spoilation Advisory Panel in Respect of a Tapestry Fragment in the Possession of Glasgow City Council as part of The Burrell Collection', 24<sup>th</sup> November 2014, [https://www.lootedart.com/web\\_images/pdf2014/44198\\_HC\\_776\\_print%20Burrell%2026.11.14.pdf](https://www.lootedart.com/web_images/pdf2014/44198_HC_776_print%20Burrell%2026.11.14.pdf) (accessed 26.10.18), 4.

<sup>474</sup> The Honourable Sir Donnell Deeny, 'Report of the Spoilation Advisory Panel', 4.





Figure 62: *The Visitation*, Alsace, c. 1510-20, 46.45 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection



the two sales at the Aryanised Jewish auction house, Paul Graupe, in October and December 1937 went to a bank account in M. M. Warburg, formerly Jewish but then controlled by Nazi supporters.<sup>475</sup> Budge's heirs did not have access to this account, nor did they ever receive any proceeds from the sales. The report of the 2014 Spoliation Advisory Panel ordered by the House of Commons concluded that these two sales were forced, and as such the Budge tapestry's provenance is tainted. In 1937 the tapestry somehow came into Hunt's possession. Burrell's Purchase Book entry is the only known documentary evidence of the transaction. It does not list any provenance. Burrell wrote,

A small Gothic Tapestry in brilliant colours depicting the Visitation i.e. the meeting of the Virgin and Elizabeth. The two figures stand in a landscape surrounded by rocks and flowers and various buds & beasts. The lower corners have been cut to make the Tapestry into a cope hood. South German or Swiss circa 1500.<sup>476</sup>

Taking into consideration both the Claimant and the inhibiting terms of Burrell's 1944 Memorandum of Agreement, the advisory panel ordered that the City of Glasgow make an *ex gratia* payment to Budge's Estate that reflected the current market value of the tapestry.<sup>477</sup> It also ordered that the Estate, in consideration of the payment, released any claim over the Tapestry, but that, when exhibited, a notice was fixed to the Tapestry recording the circumstances of its acquisition.<sup>478</sup>

The Budge tapestry case highlights the importance of recording provenance. The diverse nature of Burrell's collection, as well as the period in which he was acquiring objects, makes it impossible to know the provenance of each work. As such this is a question to bear in mind when researching the objects that make up the collection. For the purposes of this case study Hunt's credibility is not in question. Rather my purpose, as with the other figures assessed, is to analyse how and why Burrell chose Hunt to be one of his closest advisors.

Burrell met Hunt in 1932, when the dealer was working as a buyer for Acton Surgey Ltd, the firm employed by the collector to renovate Hutton Castle.<sup>479</sup> O'Connell discusses the two men's relationship, arguing that between 1933 and 1939 Burrell was Hunt's most important client.<sup>480</sup> Building on O'Connell's general analysis of their relationship, in this section I assess specific purchases by Burrell from Hunt. Limited correspondence survives between the collector and dealer before 1944, so my assessment is of Burrell's purchase book entries from 1933 to 1939. By considering not just what Burrell bought through Hunt, but also what he noted about the purchases in his books a picture of the two men's dealings can be created. Taking into account what has been discussed above with regard to Burrell's

<sup>475</sup> The Honourable Sir Donnell Deeny, 'Report of the Spoliation Advisory Panel', 7.

<sup>476</sup> Burrell, Purchase Book, 1938, 52.13, 42.

<sup>477</sup> The Honourable Sir Donnell Deeny, 'Report of the Spoliation Advisory Panel', 4.

<sup>478</sup> The Honourable Sir Donnell Deeny, 'Report of the Spoliation Advisory Panel', 4.

<sup>479</sup> O'Connell, *John Hunt*, 44; Marks, *Portrait of a Collector*, 132.

<sup>480</sup> O'Connell, *John Hunt*, 44.

desire to learn more about his collection, the detailed descriptions of objects' histories allude to Hunt's pedagogical role as dealer. Through Hunt, Burrell was purchasing objects with historical significance, suggesting that with Hunt he was trying to augment his medieval collection.

Between 1933 and 1939 Burrell bought roughly 178 objects through Hunt, spending over £35,500 on purchases, commissions and other services.<sup>481</sup> Except for one unusual acquisition of a Crawhall watercolour,<sup>482</sup> Hunt was Burrell's main dealer of medieval art from 1933. Objects that Burrell purchased ranged from tapestries, furniture, religious objects, candlesticks and stained glass panels. The majority of these acquisitions were delivered to Hutton Castle, but some of them went on loan to various museums across the country including: Perth Art Gallery, the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, Christchurch Mansion in Ipswich, Luton Public Museum and the Royal Scottish Museum in Edinburgh. One object, an early sixteenth century English oak cupboard from Norfolk was loaned to the Tower of London in 1939.<sup>483</sup>

Burrell's entries for his acquired objects vary in length and detail. Some simply list a brief description of the object, for example on the 14<sup>th</sup> December 1934,

Christies per J Hunt – A fragment of a Hunting carpet woven in colour with fabulous and grotesque animals hunting, on a red field inset with flower strays 8 ft 7. Square Indo Persian 15<sup>th</sup> Century. From the Imperial Collection, Vienna. Purchased from the Admiration of the Hapsburg Trust.<sup>484</sup> (See figure 63)

This entry gives physical descriptive details of the carpet fragment as well as listing its provenance and place of purchase. The fact that Burrell notes the provenance of the fragment suggests that this was of some importance to him. The connection of the fragment with the Imperial Collection in Vienna is interesting because of Burrell's consular connections to Austria. This suggests that his purchase of this fragment may have been as much for its connection to the Imperial Collection as it was for its individual merit as an object.

Other entries were written in more detail than this, giving historical information about the objects as well as a physical description and note of their provenance. An example of this comes from 16<sup>th</sup> October 1935, the entry begins,

A red velvet chasuble of 'Opus Anglicanum' the cherry coloured ground embroidered

<sup>481</sup> Information collected from Burrell, Purchase Book, 1933-1939, 52.9-52.12.

<sup>482</sup> On 15<sup>th</sup> November 1938 Burrell purchased *A Calf* by Crawhall for £15. The watercolour is listed as having been acquired by Hunt on behalf of Burrell at Christies. Because of the unusual nature of this acquisition by Hunt, it is likely that this purchase was done as a favour to Burrell by Hunt rather than considering it as part of their regular dealings. For information on the acquisition see Burrell, Purchase Book, 15<sup>th</sup> November 1938, 52.13, 63.

<sup>483</sup> Burrell, Purchase Book, 4<sup>th</sup> August 1939, 52.12, 35-6.

<sup>484</sup> Burrell, Purchase Book, 14<sup>th</sup> December 1934, 52.10, 38.



Figure 63: "A fragment of a Hunting carpet woven in colour with fabulous and grotesque animals hunting", 9.1 The Burrell Collection © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection



with conventional sprays of lilies and other flowers: the orphreys of blue velvet embroidered with saints in canopied wings holding inscribed scrolls. English late 15<sup>th</sup> Century. (See figure 64)

This section of the entry is similar to that of the carpet fragment quoted above, however, Burrell goes on to write,

The chasuble is typical of the English embroideries of the Third Period. The flower powdered ground was introduced about 1450-60 and is one of the most attractive types of needlework ever executed. It is peculiar to England during this period, no other country producing such fine work of this type. Embroidered velvet grounds are found in Spanish ecclesiastical needlework but at a later date. The velvet orphreys are an unusual feature and the colour of the velvet ground on the chasuble is very rare. In the South Kensington museum there is no example of this coloured velvet on view in their collection of English needlework and they do not appear to have an embroidered orphrey of just this type.<sup>485</sup>

The second half of the entry is much more analytical in its tone. Burrell noted the significance of the chasuble both in England and wider in the late fifteenth century, stating that the embroidery and material is unusual for the chasuble's date. Just as argued above with regard to his modern painting collection, here Burrell was placing the chasuble within a wider European context of needlework. He then noted that the V&A in London did not have an example of this type of English needlework on display. This shows Burrell's determination to compare his collection to other highly regarded, national, collections. By highlighting the presence of such a chasuble in his collection in comparison to the lack of one displayed at the V&A, Burrell reconfirms the importance of his acquisition and through that his collection.

As there is a lack of correspondence between Hunt and Burrell from these six years, it is impossible to know the extent to which Hunt was responsible for Burrell's knowledge of the historical details listed in his entry for the chasuble. However, O'Connell notes that Burrell began working with Hunt in 1932 because he was impressed by the dealer's abilities and his specialist expertise of the late-Gothic period, so much so that Burrell tracked Hunt down after the dealer left Acton Surgey in order to go out on his own.<sup>486</sup> As with Reid, Drake, and Partridge Burrell employed Hunt precisely because of his expertise, suggesting that Hunt was instrumental in improving Burrell's own knowledge on the items he acquired through the dealer.

Perhaps the lengthiest entry of an object Burrell acquired through Hunt comes from the 25<sup>th</sup> November 1938. The description of the object goes over five pages of Burrell's thirteenth Purchase Book. The entry begins by describing the physical features of the object,

<sup>485</sup> Burrell, Purchase Book, 16<sup>th</sup> October 1935, 52.10, 72.

<sup>486</sup> O'Connell, *John Hunt*, 44 & 106.





Figure 64: Red velvet chasuble with blue velvet orphreys, English, late fifteenth century, The Burrell Collection, 29.7 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection



The head of a bed, of oak. This is formed of three panels, flanked by supporting figures and separated by columns. The dexter panel bears the royal motto: 'Dieu et mon Droit' on a shaped reserve surrounded by Renaissance scrolls of gold and blue. The central panel is similarly decorated and is inscribed on a shaped reserve 'Henri by the Grace of God, King of England and of France, Lord of Ireland and under God chief and supreme ruler of the Church of all England. Anno Domini 1539. The sinister panel also treated in the same manner, bears on a reserve the initials H and A intertwined with true lovers knots.<sup>487</sup>

The object in question is a fragment from a bed, possibly commemorating the marriage of Henry VIII and Anne of Cleves in 1539 (See figure 65). Recent research on the bed-back questions whether this object was actually used by Henry VIII and his fourth wife. Because of the uncertainties surrounding its use, it should be referred to as "Tudor" rather than specifically "Henry VIII's" bed head. However, my analysis uses Burrell and Hunt's identification of the object in question, and as such the following discussion considers the bed head as Burrell would have in 1938. Burrell's entry continues on in a similar descriptive manner, detailing the presence of the original Henry VIII polychrome colouring and the details of its decoration.<sup>488</sup> As with the chasuble, Burrell's description then incorporates an historical analysis of the piece,

This is a highly important piece of furniture. [...] It is known that Holbein was designing furniture for his royal master at this period and the design of the capitals to the columns can be matched on some of his existing drawings from silver cups etc. as also can be the gold decoration on the surrounds to the inscription. These floriated Renaissance designs occur almost line for line in sever of his drawings – There also exists a design for a Jewel of intertwined initials decorated with leafage, which is so similar to the intertwined initials H and A on the bed back that it leaves very little doubt that Holbein himself was responsible for the design of this.<sup>489</sup>

Burrell's description of the bed head connects its date and style to the work of Hans Holbein the Younger, court painter to Henry VIII. Through his detailed entry Burrell signals the importance of the bed head as a piece of Tudor history, clearly identifying it as an object with national significance. Indeed, Burrell lent the piece to Birmingham Museum in 1939, furthering his belief that the object's proper place was in the public rather than private domain. As with the chasuble, Burrell compares the bed head to similar pieces in other collections, "It can only be compared in quality with the stalls at Kings College Cambridge".<sup>490</sup> Again placing his collection firmly beside well-known public collections and institutions.

487 Burrell, *Purchase Book*, 25<sup>th</sup> November 1938, 52.13, 69-70.

488 Burrell, *Purchase Book*, 25<sup>th</sup> November 1938, 52.13, 69.

489 Burrell, *Purchase Book*, 25<sup>th</sup> November 1938, 52.13, 71-72.

490 Burrell, *Purchase Book*, 25<sup>th</sup> November 1938, 52.13, 73.



Figure 65: Tudor bed head, oak with carved and painted decoration, English, 1539, The Burrell Collection, 14.236 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection



Although we cannot know the intimate details of Hunt and Burrell's dealings with regard to the purchase of the bead head, the fact that Hunt facilitated Burrell's acquisition of such an object is significant. It is likely that Burrell's knowledge of the piece came from Hunt. Just as Burrell used Drake to further his knowledge of specific pieces in his collection, I argue that he used Hunt in the same way. Interestingly in the full five pages of Burrell's purchase book entry there is no mention of the provenance of the piece. It is unlikely that something with such significance would have just turned up on the market out of nowhere. Rather than consider this as suspicious, this could suggest that Burrell was more interested in the royal provenance of the work than its previous owners.

As well as acquisitions, the Purchase Books indicate that Hunt offered a variety of other services to the collector. One such is noted on 11<sup>th</sup> April 1936 Burrell, "Making 2 stands for Limoges crosses covered in antique velvet."<sup>491</sup> This indicates that Hunt provided alteration services for objects. Just as Drake and Partridge offered the service of alterations to the pieces they sold to Burrell, Hunt too provided fixtures to enhance the display of Burrell's purchased objects.

Another service Hunt offered was the selling on of Burrell's objects. An entry from 3<sup>rd</sup> November 1937 reads, "Today when Mr and Mrs Hunt were here I gave them a silver Tazza date 1696 by Sam Hood. [...] It cost me £300 see 1925 Book page 7 and was bought from Basil Dighton – Mr Hunt is to sell it at £300 net to me ie he has to add to the £300 his profit or commission."<sup>492</sup> Added to this entry is written, "This Tazza was sold by J Hunt and credited to me – see 1938 page 9".<sup>493</sup> This indicates that Hunt acted for Burrell in a traditional "middleman" role.

This entry is also interesting because it records John and Gertrude's visit to Hutton Castle, suggesting an intimacy of the collector's relationship with the couple. An entry from Burrell's 1954 purchase book furthers this argument; "A length of XV Century brownish red Gothic velvet with cut design of pomegranates etc. [...] Note. This was given to me by Mr Hunt on my 93<sup>rd</sup> birthday" (See figure 66).<sup>494</sup> In Barrie Gavin's 1983 BBC documentary on Burrell, Gertrude described her and her husband's relationship with Burrell and the confidence that the collector had in them.<sup>495</sup> The few snippets that we have of Burrell's dealings with Hunt illustrate that this was a dealer for whom he had the utmost respect. Discussing Burrell's collecting practice, Gertrude stated that when Burrell did something he did it with all his heart, mind and intelligence.<sup>496</sup> This confidence in collecting was nurtured by his relationship with these commercial experts, and just as with Burrell's other closest associates Hunt provided a platform from which the collector could improve his collection

<sup>491</sup> Burrell, Purchase Book, 11<sup>th</sup> April 1936, 52.11, 18.

<sup>492</sup> Burrell, Purchase Book, 3<sup>rd</sup> November 1937, 52.12, 56.

<sup>493</sup> Burrell, Purchase Book, 3<sup>rd</sup> November 1937, 52.12, 56.; Burrell is referring to Burrell, Purchase Books, 25<sup>th</sup> March 1938, 52.13, 9.

<sup>494</sup> Burrell, Purchase Book, 14<sup>th</sup> July 1954, 52.27.

<sup>495</sup> Barrie Gavin, 'Sir William in search of Xanadu', BBC Documentary, 1983.

<sup>496</sup> Here I am paraphrasing Gertrude Hunt in Barrie Gavin, 'Sir William in search of Xanadu', BBC Documentary, 1983.



in its size but more importantly its quality.



Figure 66: Length of fifteenth century red Gothic velvet given to Burrell by John Hunt on his 93rd birthday, The Burrell Collection, 29.14 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection

## 2.8 Burrell and academics: Dr Betty Kurth (1878-1948) and Professor Walter Perceval Yetts (1878-1957)

In February 1944, Dr Betty Kurth, a medieval art historian with a specialism in painting, tapestry and iconography,<sup>497</sup> wrote to Burrell,

I am going to ask a favour of you. I have read in the papers about your marvellous gift to the Glasgow Corporation. It occurred to me that it would be a wonderful work to write a catalogue of your tapestries with reproductions of all of them and thorough descriptions and explanations. It should be a monument for your connoisseurship and knowledge. It is well understood that such a great publication cannot be published before the end of the war, but I could make preliminary studies and prepare the text provided that I get the order.<sup>498</sup>

Kurth's request was passed on to Honeyman by Burrell, who later wrote to Kurth on behalf of the Corporation stating that Burrell's recommendation of her "will carry overwhelming weight with my Committee."<sup>499</sup> The Committee Honeyman referred to was the Committee on Art Galleries and Museums for Glasgow Corporation, a sub-committee of which was overseeing the handling of The Burrell Collection. The Committee approved Kurth's request and she was to be paid a fee of £400 to complete the catalogue in 18 months.<sup>500</sup> Kurth died in 1948 before completing the catalogue, however, her drafts of the over 90 entries that she did complete survive in the Burrell archive today.<sup>501</sup>

The purpose of incorporating Kurth's catalogue within this chapter is to dispel the notion that Burrell did not trust academics. As has been highlighted throughout this chapter, Burrell had a hunger to learn about the history of the objects within his collection. Through the examples of Burrell's employment of Kurth and another academic, Professor Walter Percival Yetts, I argue that the collector did indeed have faith in some scholars.

In the above analysis of Partridge and Burrell's relationship I cited a letter between Burrell and Hannah in which the collector stated that a good dealer was more accurate than an academic. Such a comment could be read as Burrell's complete mistrust of academics. However, his comment was in relation to a specific context. On 15<sup>th</sup> April 1953 Hannah wrote to Burrell regarding questions and suggested alterations that Professor Weidner had in relation to Burrell's Egyptian and Near-Eastern collection:

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<sup>497</sup> Dr. Betty Kurth to T. J. Honeyman, 6<sup>th</sup> March 1944, GMRC, Burrell Archive, GMA.2013.1.2.23.5.

<sup>498</sup> Dr. Betty Kurth to Sir William Burrell, 16<sup>th</sup> February 1944, GMRC, Burrell Archive, GMA.2013.1.2.23.3.

<sup>499</sup> T. J. Honeyman to Dr. Betty Kurth, 9<sup>th</sup> March 1944, GMRC, Burrell Archive, GMA.2013.1.2.23.6.

<sup>500</sup> 'Burrell Collection – Report by special sub-committee approved', 16<sup>th</sup> May 1944, Glasgow Corporation Minutes, Apr. 1944-Nov. 1944, C1/3/110, p. 945.

<sup>501</sup> 'Betty Kurth Tapestry catalogue documents (originals)', GMRC, Burrell Archive, to be catalogued under the series GMA.2013.1.4.

[...] he corrects our description of the two items purchased from Hunt (1) Assyrian relief showing a King in a pointed helmet with earflaps, and (2) Fragment of an Assyrian plaque with head of a King holding a bow; which he says represent soldiers and not Kings, and should be dated 7<sup>th</sup> Century in both cases. Hunt gives the first as 8<sup>th</sup> Century, B.C. and the other as 9<sup>th</sup> Century B.C.<sup>502</sup>

Burrell's responded, "His suggested alterations seem very unimportant and may be right or may be wrong."<sup>503</sup> He then continued to make his comment about "good dealers" versus academics.<sup>504</sup> The dealer in question was John Hunt, one of Burrell's closest associates. Rather than see Burrell's attitude toward Weidner as indicative of his attitude towards all academics, I suggest that the letter instead shows Burrell's faith in Hunt's judgement.

In February 1944 Burrell wrote to Honeyman regarding the Corporation's decision to approve Kurth's request to write a tapestry catalogue,

I [...] am very pleased that you approve of getting Dr. Kurth to catalogue the tapestries as [...] no one else could do it. No one else can give you anything like the accurate explanations & information about each tapestry. She has been engaged on the subject all her life and her knowledge is marvellous. It will be the finest tapestry catalogue in any Museum.<sup>505</sup>

Burrell's glowing praise of Kurth's abilities illustrates the level of trust he had in the academic. Kurth had been engaged researching the tapestries from Burrell's collection for a number of years, and had published three articles on the subject.<sup>506</sup> Burrell expressed the extent of her knowledge of his tapestry collection to Honeyman, writing: "She knows nearly all of them intimately".<sup>507</sup>

Burrell did not write about his own collection, likely stemming from a lack of confidence in his own academic ability. To Burrell his tapestry collection was one of his most treasured areas of the collection. In a letter to Honeyman Burrell wrote, "The Stained Glass catalogue which I have is splendid & with the Tapestry catalogue done by Dr Kurth you would have 2 catalogues of 2 of the most important items – each of which would be of the highest order."<sup>508</sup> The stained glass catalogue Burrell referred to was written by Wilfred

502 Andrew Hannah to Sir William Burrell, 15<sup>th</sup> April 1953, GMRC, Burrell Archive, GMA.2013.1.2.2.115.

503 Sir William Burrell to Andrew Hannah, 16<sup>th</sup> May 1953, GMRC, Burrell Archive, GMA.2013.1.2.2.116.

504 Burrell to Hannah, 16<sup>th</sup> May 1953.

505 Sir William Burrell to T. J. Honeyman, 26<sup>th</sup> February 1944, GMRC, Burrell Archive, GMA.2013.1.2.1.7.

506 "Eine unbekante Basler Bildwirkerei des 15. Jahrhunderts. Anzeiger für Schweizer Altertumskunde. N.F. Bd. XL.2.p.146; A Middle Rhenish Bible-Tapestry. *The Burlington Magazine*. 1939. November p.120; Mediaeval Romances in Renaissance Tapestries. (A Tapestry with the Death of Hercules at Hamton Court Palace and its Counterpart) *Journal of the Warburg and Courthauld Institutes* Vol. V. 1942. P. 237. Pl 52.)" quoted from Dr Kurth to T. J. Honeyman, 6<sup>th</sup> March 1944, GMRC, Burrell archive, GMA.2013.1.2.23.5.

507 Sir William Burrell to T. J. Honeyman, 26<sup>th</sup> February 1944, GMRC, Burrell Archive, GMA.2013.1.2.1.7.

508 Burrell to Honeyman, 26<sup>th</sup> February 1944.



Drake, a figure, as has been noted above, who shared a close relationship with Burrell based on his expertise in medieval stained glass. Burrell later wrote to Honeyman,

As I told you Mr. Wilfred Drake made a catalogue of all the stained glass. It is really not a catalogue but an inventory and I think it would be well worth while getting him to make a catalogue [...]. He can do all that it would turn the bare inventory into a catalogue like Dr Kurth's & make it so much more interesting & informative. And Mr Drake is the greatest connoisseur of glass living.<sup>509</sup>

Burrell's letter suggests that he saw comparisons between Drake and Kurth, suggested by his reference to Kurth's knowledge as "marvellous" and Drake as the "greatest connoisseur of glass living". Unlike Drake Kurth was not involved in the buying or selling of tapestries, her realm was purely research. However, he trusted both figures with catalogues on two of the most important areas of his collection. This suggests that what was of most significance to Burrell was an individual's knowledge, not whether they had a background in business or academia.

Another example of Burrell's trust in an academic was his employment of Professor Walter Perceval Yetts to conduct a report on the Chinese Bronzes in his collection. Yetts was a British surgeon turned Sinologist. He was appointed the first lecturer in Chinese art and archaeology at the School of Oriental Studies at London University in 1930, becoming Professor only two years later.<sup>510</sup> In a letter to Hannah from September 1948 Burrell stated that Yetts was "the greatest authority on Chinese bronzes".<sup>511</sup> One month later, Yetts completed his 'Notes on the Chinese Bronzes in the Burrell Collection, visited on 12<sup>th</sup> October 1948'.<sup>512</sup> Within this document Yetts analysed Burrell's Chinese bronze collection, numbering 158 pieces. The report categorised the bronze collection into four distinct groups: First Phase, Third Phase, Post-Chou periods and Archaistic.<sup>513</sup> These were chronological divisions, as Yetts explained in the report:

It may be as well to say exactly what is meant by the classification into three phrases. A definition of these divisions was published by me in the Burlington Magazine of January 1936 (p.22) and repeated in the Preface of The Cull Chinese Bronzes (1939). It is as follows: 'The First Phase includes bronzes displaying the standards established in the *Shang-Yin* period, and it lasted from earliest times to the tenth century B.C. The Second Phase includes the style distinctive of *Chou* culture, and it

<sup>509</sup> Sir William Burrell to T. J. Honeyman, 27<sup>th</sup> April 1944, GMRC, Burrell Archive, GMA.2013.1.2.1.36.

<sup>510</sup> Nick Pearce, *Through Peking with a camera: Photographs of Peking, China 1861-1908, an Inventory and Description of the Yetts Collection at the University of Durham* (Lewiston, Queenston, Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2005), 14-15.

<sup>511</sup> Sir William Burrell to Andrew Hannah, 25<sup>th</sup> September 1948, GMRC, Burrell Archive, GMA.2013.1.2.4.240.

<sup>512</sup> Walter Perceval Yetts, 'Notes on the Chinese Bronzes in the Burrell Collection, visited on 12<sup>th</sup> October 1948', 30<sup>th</sup> October 1948, GMRC, Burrell Archive, to be catalogued under the series GMA.2013.1.4.

<sup>513</sup> Yetts, 'Notes on the Chinese Bronzes in the Burrell Collection', 1.

lasted from the tenth century to dates which varied in different parts of the country. The Third Phase corresponds generally to what is known as the *Ch'in (Qin)* or *Huai Style*.<sup>514</sup> The archaic period of Chinese bronzes ended (and with it the Third Phase) in 221 B.C., when feudalism was abolished.<sup>514</sup>

Yetts then went on to suggest display modes for the bronzes within the future museum:

When the bronzes are being arranged for exhibition, I suggest the following guiding principles: (1) Usage; (2) Chronological sequence; (3) Class-names. Perhaps (1) might be made the primary division, because it is the one most likely to arouse interest in an uninstructed public. The main categories might be Food, Wine, Water, Municipal Instruments, Weapons and Miscellaneous. Under Food the subheadings might be Cooking & Receptacles; Wine might be sub-divided under Drinking and Receptacles. Musical Instruments (which for your purpose might be shortened to Bells) might be subdivided into Hand Bells, Hanging Bells (with clappers or without), and Jingles. I strongly advise that each group should be placed in chronological sequence, each object being marked with its Phase and Class-name.<sup>515</sup>

These excerpts from Yetts's notes on the Chinese bronze collection suggest that, like with Kurth, Burrell employed the Professor because of his specialism in the subject area. In 1929 Yetts authored 'The George Eumorfopolous Collection Catalogue of the Chinese and Corean Bronzes'.<sup>516</sup> George Eumorfopolous (1863-1939) was a London-based collector of Chinese antiquities, as well as co-founder of the Oriental Ceramic Society.<sup>517</sup> After the 1934 depression he sold a large portion of his collection to the British Museum and the V&A. Burrell bought objects from Eumorfopolous's collection at the 1940 Sotheby's sale through the dealer John Sparks.<sup>518</sup> Eumorfopolous's status in the world of Chinese antiquity collectors, and the presence of his collection in two national museums, makes it likely that Burrell would have wanted to make comparisons between his own and Eumorfopolous's collections. It could be argued that his employment of Yetts was to make such a link.

As well as conducting a report on Burrell's bronze collection, Yetts also gave Burrell advice with regard to necessity of taking inked-squeezes of inscriptions on bronzes. In December 1947 Yetts wrote to Burrell,

Any inscription on a bronze is an essential part of it – often it provides the sole clue to

<sup>514</sup> Yetts, 'Notes on the Chinese Bronzes in the Burrell Collection', 1-2.

<sup>515</sup> Yetts, 'Notes on the Chinese Bronzes in the Burrell Collection', 2-3.

<sup>516</sup> Yetts, 'Notes on the Chinese Bronzes in the Burrell Collection', 3; Walter Percival Yetts, *The George Eumorfopolous Collection: Catalogue of the Chinese and Corean Bronzes, Sculptures, Jades, Jewellery and Miscellaneous Objects* (London: Ernest Benn, 1932).

<sup>517</sup> 'George Eumorfopolous (Biographical details)', The British Museum, [www.britishmuseum.org/research/search\\_the\\_collection\\_database/term\\_details.aspx?bioid=141049](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?bioid=141049) (accessed 24.07.18).

<sup>518</sup> Elizabeth Hancock, 'John sparks: sea captain and dealer in Japanese and Chinese art', CARP, <https://carp.arts.gla.ac.uk/essay1.php?enum=1370358740> (accessed 19.10.18).

the archaeological setting. That is why I feel I am not the cause of putting the Curator to unnecessary trouble. Every bronze in a gallery should have alongside it an inked-squeeze of the inscription it bears (if any).<sup>519</sup>

Yetts included in his letter a description of how to make inked-squeezes of bronzes, and some Chinese paper for Burrell to pass along to the curator at Glasgow.<sup>520</sup> The level of assistance given to Burrell by Yetts suggests his faith in the collector and his Chinese bronze collection. With regard to the inked-squeezes Yetts concluded his letter stating, “It is very good of you to take so much interest in this matter.”<sup>521</sup> This illustrates that Burrell was taking Yetts’s advice on board, and so suggests the collector’s trust of the academic’s expertise. It also demonstrates Burrell’s desire to learn from Yetts.

Considering these two examples of Burrell’s interactions with academics, it is clear that what Burrell was interested in was an individual’s expertise and how that might benefit his collection. Undoubtedly he used more dealers than academics throughout his collecting career. Burrell’s associations with Kurth and Yetts both post-date his gift of the collection to Glasgow, suggesting that his preferred advisors were dealers rather than academics. Returning to Burrell’s letter to Hannah in April 1953, this was because of the business-sided nature of art dealing. However, the manner in which Burrell used his core dealers went beyond the typical agent duties of buying and selling. Those he was closest to could offer their knowledge in a similar way that both Kurth and Yetts could. In this manner they acted as commercial experts; they were figures whose expertise and business acumen were integral to their close relationships with Burrell.

The purpose of this chapter has been to assess the role of the dealer with regard to Burrell’s collection. Taking five of the collector’s core dealers as case studies, similarities in their roles have been drawn. As a point of conclusion three questions will now be asked. What similarities and differences can be traced between these relationships; what can these tell us about the role the dealers played in the formation of the Burrell Collection as we know it today; and what was important to Burrell with regard to these relationships?

Running as a theme throughout Burrell’s dealings with these men is the collector’s desire to improve his knowledge on his collection. All of the dealers provided Burrell with traditional services: the purchase of works from auction and their galleries, middlemen for queries regarding Burrell’s collection, suggesting objects for purchase and informing Burrell on upcoming sales. Beyond this all of the figures discussed played a pedagogical role. The eclecticism of Burrell’s collection allows for unfair judgements to be made with regard to the extent of the collector’s knowledge on individual areas of his collection. However, the lengthy annotations found in books in Burrell’s library paired with the questions he asked

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<sup>519</sup> William Percival Yetts to Sir William Burrell, 11<sup>th</sup> December 1947, GMRC, Burrell Archive, GMA.2013.1.2.17.

<sup>520</sup> Yetts to Burrell, 11<sup>th</sup> December 1947.

<sup>521</sup> Yetts to Burrell, 11<sup>th</sup> December 1947.

of dealers suggest that Burrell wanted to learn. I propose that for Burrell his collecting was as much about understanding an object's place in history as it was about creating an aesthetic. This is not to deny the aesthetic quality of his collection, but rather to suggest that there was historical depth to it too. Returning to Gertrude Hunt's interview in Gavin's 1983 documentary, she commented that from the beginning of Burrell's career he had a longing to learn.<sup>522</sup> The relationships Burrell had with his key colleagues confirm Gertrude's assessment of the collector. His was a desire to learn through the practice of collecting, and he fostered associations with commercial experts who could help him achieve this.

Of all of the dealers, Partridge had the longest-standing relationship with Burrell, lasting for over 40 years. Reid, Hunt and Drake's relationships with Burrell were more short-lived; Reid's lasting about 20 years, but it was ultimately extended through Burrell's association with his son and successor McNeill Reid; Drake's also lasted about 20 years as he was only employed by Burrell from the 1920s; and Hunt's was the shortest-lived, lasting about six years because of his move to Ireland at the beginning of the Second World War.<sup>523</sup> Regardless of the length of their relationships, this chapter has highlighted each individual's significance to Burrell, which lay as much in their differences as in their similarities. What drew them to Burrell was their expertise, but these areas of expertise were wide-ranging. From Partridge Burrell acquired the widest variety of objects: from Chinese porcelain wares to furniture and painting. Hunt specialised in the late medieval period, but he was also a collector in his own right as the Hunt Museum in Limerick attests to. Drake, a glazier perhaps first before being a dealer, was instrumental not only in aiding Burrell's acquisition of medieval stained glass but also in how to display these panels within Hutton Castle. Reid and McNeill Reid, picture specialists, shared Burrell's taste in modern painting both Continental and more locally in Scotland. Considered together in this way these figures could not be more different; yet it is when they are assessed with regard to what Burrell valued most in his relationships that their similarities are found.

Each man played a pivotal role in the formation of The Burrell Collection as we know it today. Those discussed were experts in the key areas of Burrell's collection: modern French painting, Chinese art, medieval art and medieval stained glass. Of course the interest in these areas stemmed from Burrell's own taste, but Reid, McNeill Reid, Partridge, Drake, and Hunt supported this taste. Beyond their individual specialisms what each man shared was their profession, and through this they helped Burrell to physically create a collection of fine quality. For Burrell it appears that his continued loyalty as a client lay in a mutual understanding: one that was founded on shared business acumen but also on a real love of objects and their history. In July 1900 Lorimer wrote to Dods citing Burrell's excited

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522 Here I am paraphrasing Gertrude Hunt in Barrie Gavin, 'Sir William in search of Xanadu', BBC Documentary, 1983.

523 Burrell did purchase a few objects after the Hunts's move to Ireland. For example, a Tapestry entitled 'Exploration of the Indies: The Camel Caravan' in October 1937 and the Durham Table in March 1952. These were both from the Hunts's own collection. However, the majority of Burrell's purchases through Hunt occurred in the six year period discussed. For more on Burrell's acquisition of the Durham Table see Elizabeth Hancock, 'A Curious Table from Durham Cathedral', *Regional Furniture*, Vol. 31, 2017, 24.



declaration “we are only beginning to learn something about this game”.<sup>524</sup> From the offset of his collecting career learning was what drove Burrell’s passion, and through his relationships with these commercial experts his hunger for knowledge only grew.

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<sup>524</sup> Lorimer to Dods, July 1900. Emphasis original to Lorimer’s letter.

## Chapter Three – From Townhouse to Castle: the Burrell Collection at home

### 3.1 The collection *at home*

“Every interior expresses, in its own language, the present and even the past state of its occupants [...]”.<sup>525</sup> – Pierre Bourdieu, 1986

With Burrell’s gift in 1944 came strict stipulations, one of which stated that his collection was to be displayed, as far as possible, as if it were in a private home rather than in a museum.<sup>526</sup> In the next chapter I assess this condition and demonstrate the extent to which the original architects of The Burrell Collection museum (b.1978-83) created a purpose-built pavilion, which followed Burrell’s desire for a domestic over a museum display. For the purposes of this chapter Burrell’s condition illustrates his belief in the importance of the home as a space of display.

During Burrell’s lifetime his collection was not housed together under one roof. Instead it was found in various locations, including: his own homes, art galleries, national museums, libraries and cathedrals. This chapter focuses on two of these settings: 8 Great Western Terrace, Glasgow, and Hutton Castle, Berwickshire. These were the Burrell family’s homes, the former bought by Burrell in 1901 and the latter in 1915 but inhabited from 1927. By means of introduction I also discuss Burrell’s earlier ambition to purchase Newark Castle near St Monans in Fife. I argue that his desire to renovate a historical building in the late-1890s demonstrates that from this time Burrell had a notion of how he wanted his collection to be experienced. Although the acquisition of the ruined castle did not materialise, Burrell’s interest in owning Newark allows continuity to be traced throughout his career as a collector.

Considering the collection *at home*, this chapter questions the significance of Burrell’s choice of interior settings for his objects. Although two opposing building types – Great Western Terrace is a neo-classical style building designed by Alexander Greek Thomson (1817-1875) c.1869 and Hutton Castle is a fifteenth century medieval tower with sixteenth century additions – I will show that both buildings’ interior designs hold strong similarities. Through my comparative analysis of these interiors I demonstrate what these schemes can tell us about the way that Burrell wanted his collection to be consumed, and, indeed, himself to be perceived.

The notion of consumption and identity seems contrary to Burrell’s private nature. However, it was his private life that he did not want shared with the public, not his collection. In his autobiography Honeyman quoted a phrase of Burrell’s, “The collection [...] not the

<sup>525</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London: Routledge, 1986), 77.

<sup>526</sup> Eighth condition, Memorandum, 1944, 6.

collector, is the important thing.”<sup>527</sup> Burrell shared his collection with public audiences long before his gift to Glasgow in 1944. As well as the loans of objects to public galleries, museums and cathedrals, Burrell also showed visitors around his collection at Hutton. The most significant of these was a royal visit: Queen Mary (1867-1953) visited Hutton Castle on the 4<sup>th</sup> of September 1930.<sup>528</sup> Besides being the wife of King George V, Queen Mary was an avid art collector in her own right. Her visit would have greatly appealed to Burrell as it highlighted the status of his collection. Other recorded visitors to Hutton Castle include the son of a Norwegian shipbuilder, discussed in more detail at the end of this chapter.

In May 1931 a representative from the V&A, Harold Clifford Smith (1876-1960) travelled to Hutton Castle to inspect Burrell’s collection. The report read,

I had heard various reports concerning the tapestries, carpets, needlework, stained glass, sculpture, armour, furniture, and other words of art which Sir William Burrell had for many years been gathering together; but what I saw far exceeded my expectations.

Some of the stained glass and a number of the tapestries are already known to the Museum; but I found not only quantities of these objects, but a great deal of English Gothic and Tudor oak furniture of the highest quality and importance – comprising Gothic cupboards, chairs, panelling, and carvings, Elizabethan “refectory” tables, buffets and sideboards, and elaborately carved bedsteads and armchairs.<sup>529</sup>

Clifford Smith was a furniture historian and curator of furniture at the V&A, writing the first two volumes of the 1930 *V&A Catalogue of English Furniture & Woodwork*.<sup>530</sup> In the early-1930s Burrell was in discussion with the V&A about the possibility of gifting the Museum his collection. Clifford Smith’s trip to Hutton had the purpose of analysing the collection’s quality. As is suggested from his report Clifford Smith was impressed by the range and class of objects found at Hutton. These examples of visitors to Hutton illustrate that a select public audience consumed Burrell’s collection at home. Although Burrell was a private individual his display of objects at Hutton was important, it projected his identity to those invited to experience his collection at home. Unfortunately there are no records of visitors to Great Western Terrace. However, it is likely that visitors were admitted to the house in a similar fashion to Hutton.

In his essay on Edmond de Goncourt’s (1822-1896) house at Auteuil, Andrew McClellan discusses the notion of Goncourt’s “knowledgeable arrangement” of his collection within the domestic space.<sup>531</sup> McClellan argues that through his interior displays Goncourt

<sup>527</sup> Honeyman, *Art and Audacity*, 141.

<sup>528</sup> ‘Court Circular’, *The Times*, 5<sup>th</sup> September 1930, p. 15, Issue 45610.

<sup>529</sup> ‘Mr Clifford’, 1<sup>st</sup> May 1831, Minute paper 31/3384, V&A Archive, Sir William Burrell Part 1, 1920-33/34, MA/1/B3568.

<sup>530</sup> Harold Clifford Smith, *Catalogue of English Furniture & Woodwork*, Vols. 1 & 2 (London: Board of Education, 1930).

<sup>531</sup> Andrew McClellan, ‘Vive l’amateur! The Goncourt house revisited’, in (eds.) Melissa Hyde & Katie

was reacting against the rise of the public museum in eighteenth century France by using a “resonant” exhibition model. Stephen Greenblatt defines this model as “[...] the power of the displayed object to reach out beyond its formal boundaries to a larger world, to evoke in the viewer the complex, dynamic cultural forces from which it has emerged and for which it may be taken by a viewer to stand.”<sup>532</sup> In other words, the resonant exhibition model created a suitable context for the display of objects, one that was specific to the object’s history.

For Goncourt, the tactile quality of his collection was central to its excellence: within his home objects were available to scrutinize and touch rather than to simply look at.<sup>533</sup> The tactile nature of the exhibition mode was augmented by Goncourt’s text *La Maison d’un artiste* (1880), in which he guided the reader through the rooms of Auteuil.<sup>534</sup> Burrell did not write any descriptions of his home, or of his collection.<sup>535</sup> However, both this and the next chapter suggest Burrell’s desire to create a resonant exhibition space within his home, one that, in 1944, he stipulated should be recreated within the collection’s future building.

Diana Fuss argues, “Every house is, in reality, an outer embodiment of the inner life of its occupant.”<sup>536</sup> Following on from this she writes specifically of interiors, “The interior, defined in the early modern period as a public space, becomes in the nineteenth century a locus of privacy, a home theatre for the production of a new inward-looking subject.”<sup>537</sup> In other words, Fuss contends that the home is a reflection of its owner and, starting in the nineteenth century, this reflection is a conscious attempt at self-definition within the private sphere. Using Fuss’s argument, I ultimately suggest that both Great Western Terrace and Hutton Castle were spaces in which Burrell created his desired identity: projecting this not only through the objects he chose to surround himself with but also the spaces in which he displayed these objects.

In *A Museum of One’s Own* Higonnet analyses the house-museum, assessing collections comparable in variety to Burrell’s. Most useful to my analysis is Higonnet’s argument concerning collectors’ assimilation of historical motifs within the context of the home. She contends that although on appearance it might seem that collectors were fanatical about certain periods or styles, really the manipulation of these mediums and historical contexts were signifiers of class, and especially the difference between “pre-modern rank and class”.<sup>538</sup> Higonnet’s suggestion is that that late nineteenth and twentieth century mercantile collectors collected and displayed objects from aristocratic and royal histories within their

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Scott, *Rococo Echo: Art, History and Historiography from Cochin to Coppola* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2014), 89.

<sup>532</sup> This Greenblatt marks as in opposition to a “wonder” exhibition model, common in modern museum display, in which an object is seen in isolation and highlighted for its individual merit. See Stephen Greenblatt, ‘Resonance and wonder’, in (eds.) Ivan Karp & Steven D. Lavine, *The Poetics & Politics of Modern Display* (Washington & London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 42.

<sup>533</sup> McClellan, *Vive l’amateur!*, 102.

<sup>534</sup> McClellan, *Vive l’amateur!*, 98; Edmond de Goncourt, *La maison d’un artiste* (Paris: Bibliothèque Charpentier, 1898), <https://archive.org/details/lamaisondunarti04goncgoog> (accessed 19.07.18).

<sup>535</sup> The closest we have to Burrell’s writings relating to his collection come from correspondence or his 28 Purchase Books.

<sup>536</sup> Fuss, *The Sense of an Interior*, 3.

<sup>537</sup> Fuss, *The Sense of an Interior*, 9.

<sup>538</sup> Higonnet, *A Museum of One’s Own*, 98.



homes as a means to define themselves, in contrast to their patrician predecessors, as middle-class, culturally aware patrons of taste.

This chapter demonstrates that the interior schemes of Great Western Terrace and Hutton Castle presented opportunities of self-identification. However, following Higonnet's argument, I propose that Burrell's collection and display of medieval works of art within both of his homes signified more than his attempt to augment his social standing or to create a tangible Gothic space. Rather by situating historical objects within suitable contexts of display, Burrell demonstrated his understanding of the objects within his collection, simultaneously expressing his knowledge and worth as a collector.

### 3.2 1898-99: Newark Castle, Fife (near St. Monans)

In February 1898 Lorimer wrote to Dods about Burrell's desire to purchase another property. At the time Burrell was living with his mother, Isabella Guthrie Burrell, and three siblings Mary, Isabella, and Henry, at 4 Devonshire Gardens in Glasgow's West End. In the letter Lorimer wrote, "He's [Burrell] dying to get hold of an old castle, & would turn me loose in one tomorrow if I could find one".<sup>539</sup> The "old castle" that the pair set their sights on was Newark Castle, near St Monans in Fife (See figure 43). The castle at the time stood in ruins, but the remnants were of a fifteenth century structure with a north-extension built in the late sixteenth century, including a round tower and courtyard on the west side of the building. With regard to his plans for the ruin Lorimer wrote,

Do you remember an old ruin hanging right over the sea near St Monans called Newark Castle. Burrell has been wanting it for years but I've always dissuaded him, but when he was staying here [Kellie Castle, Fife, the Lorimer family summer home] we went down to see it & I came to see that it could be made a place of so I roughly measured it up & made sketch plans [...] & after doing this & seeing that it was feasible – we approached the owner Baird of Elie to try and get a feu of it [...].<sup>540</sup>

This section from the letter demonstrates the extent to which Burrell and the architect entered into discussion regarding the ruined castle. Indeed, Lorimer made up provisional plans for the restoration of Newark. The ground floor was to include: a cloak room, wine cellar, boot room, servants' hall and kitchen; the first floor: a smoking room, vestibule, hall, dining room, drawing room and pantry; and the second floor would have been the living quarters, incorporating: six bedrooms, dressing rooms and bathrooms (See figures 67-69). From the sketches of the exterior it is clear that Lorimer planned to renovate the ruin in an appropriate Baronial-style (See figure 70).<sup>541</sup>

Lorimer's initial reticence to take on the project is most likely linked to his belief, in line with William Morris (d.1896), that the total restoration of Gothic buildings was impossible.<sup>542</sup> In a lecture he gave in 1897 he stated, "You can mend it, you can keep it in repair and prevent it from falling down, but to restore it is and always will be absolutely impossible."<sup>543</sup> However, Burrell's desire was not to *restore* Newark. Instead, as suggested by the plans, it was to renovate the ruin into a home fit for his family to live in. Here Burrell was following what Clive Aslet termed "Castles of Comfort" (1982), namely, the purchase

<sup>539</sup> Robert Lorimer to Robin Dods, 12<sup>th</sup> February 1898, Sir Robert Lorimer Papers, Coll-27, University of Edinburgh Main Library, MS 2484.3.

<sup>540</sup> Robert Lorimer to Robin Dods, 29<sup>th</sup> October 1899, Sir Robert Lorimer Papers, Coll-27, University of Edinburgh Main Library, MS 2484.4.

<sup>541</sup> Peter Savage, *Lorimer and the Edinburgh Craft Designers* (Edinburgh: Paul Harris Publishing, 1980), 22.

<sup>542</sup> Harriet Richardson, 'Lorimer's Castle Restorations', *Architectural Heritage*, Vol. 3, Issue 1, November 1992, 69.

<sup>543</sup> Robert Lorimer quoted in Richardson, 'Lorimer's Castle Restorations', 69.

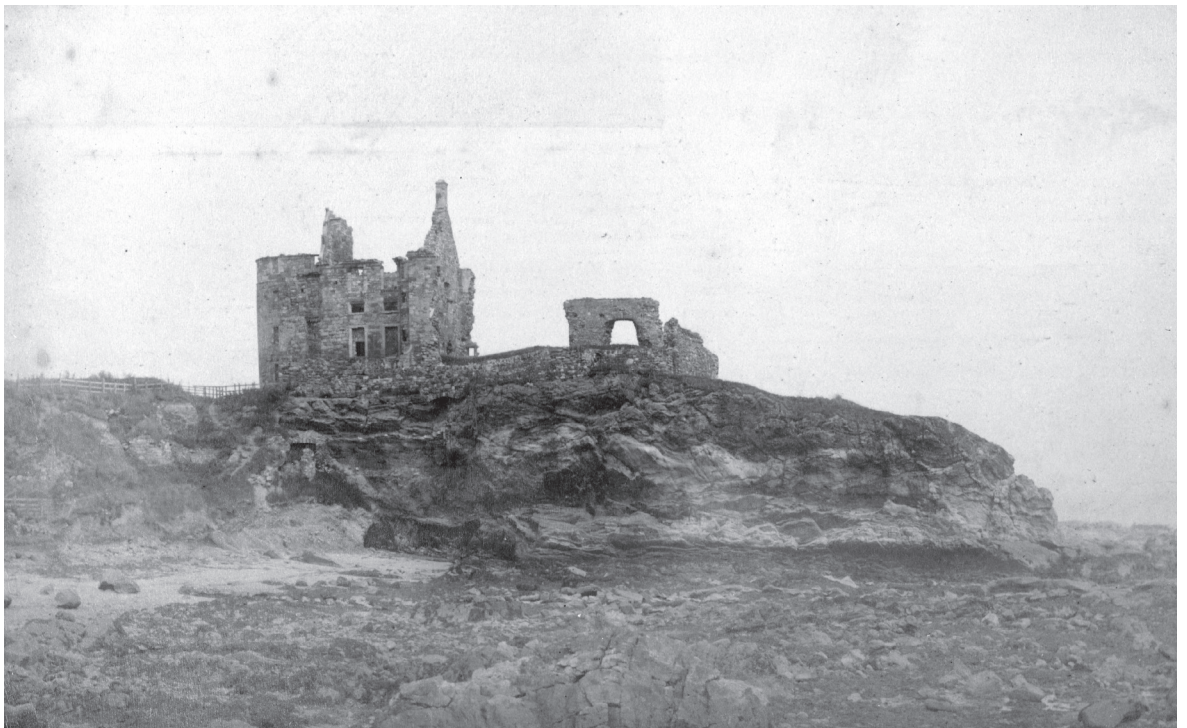


Figure 43: Newark Castle, near St Monans, Fife © Historic Environment Scotland



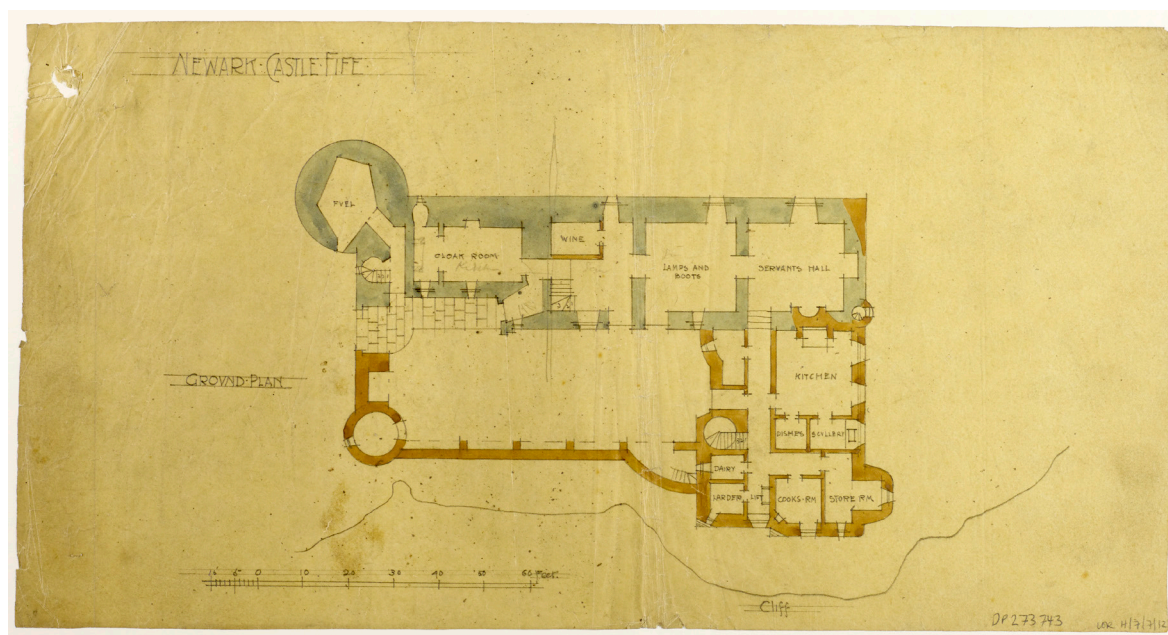


Figure 67: Robert Stoddart Lorimer, Provisional plan ground floor, Newark Castle, near St Monans, Fife, (not executed) 1899 © Historic Environment Scotland

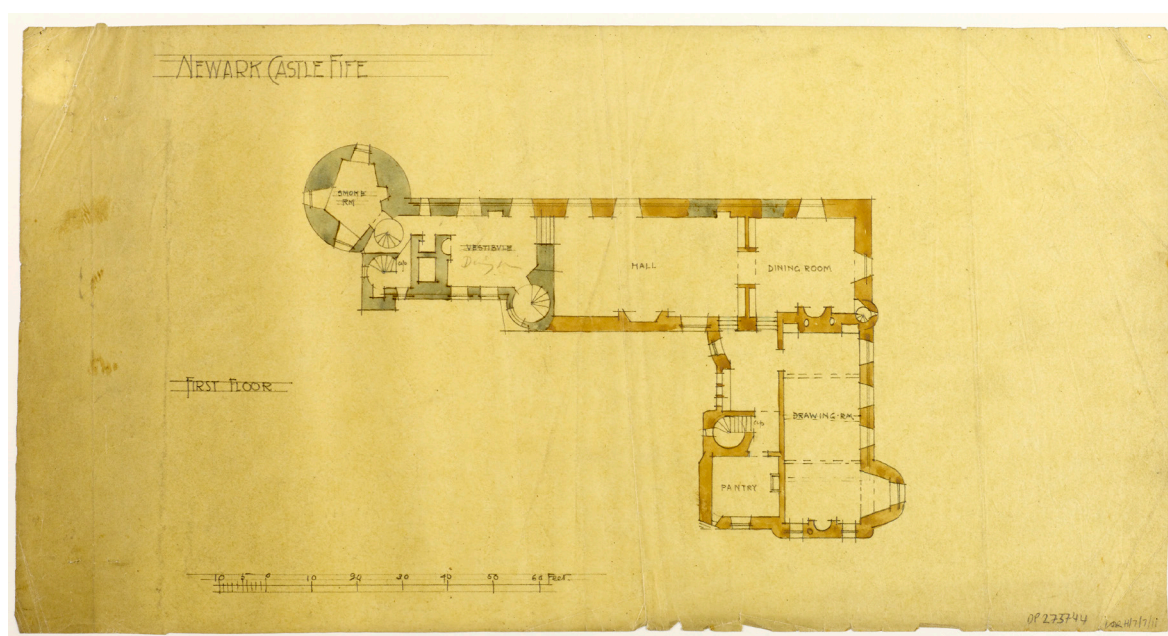


Figure 68: Robert Stoddart Lorimer, Provisional plan first floor, Newark Castle, near St Monans, Fife, (not executed) 1899 © Historic Environment Scotland



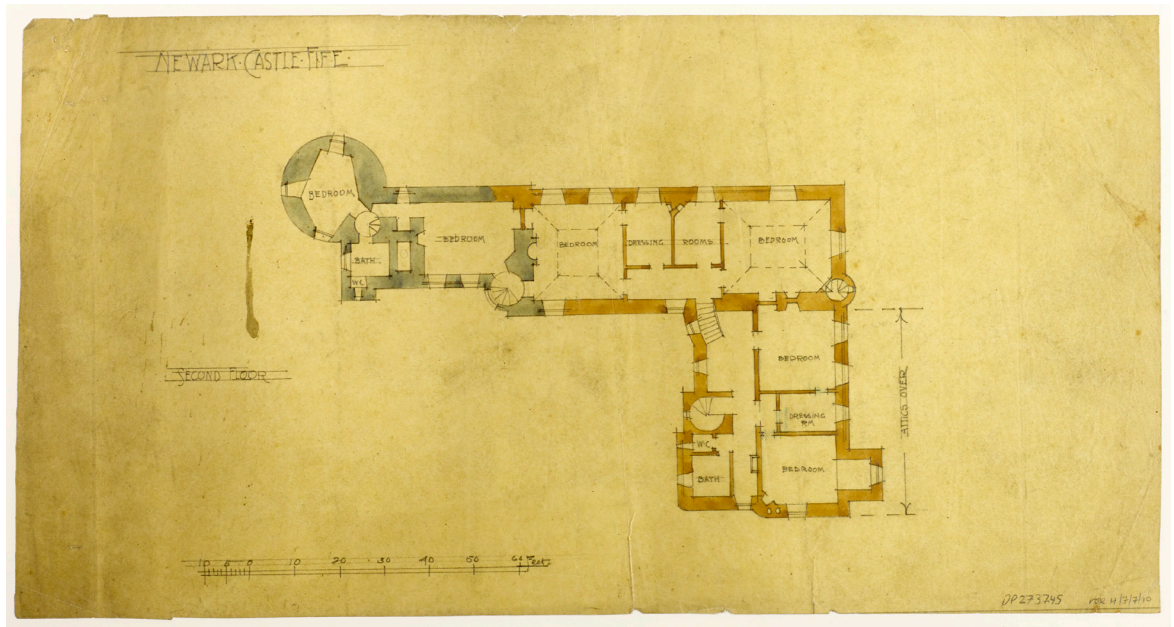


Figure 69: Robert Stoddart Lorimer, Provisional plan second floor, Newark Castle, near St Monans, Fife (not executed), c.1899 © Historic Environment Scotland

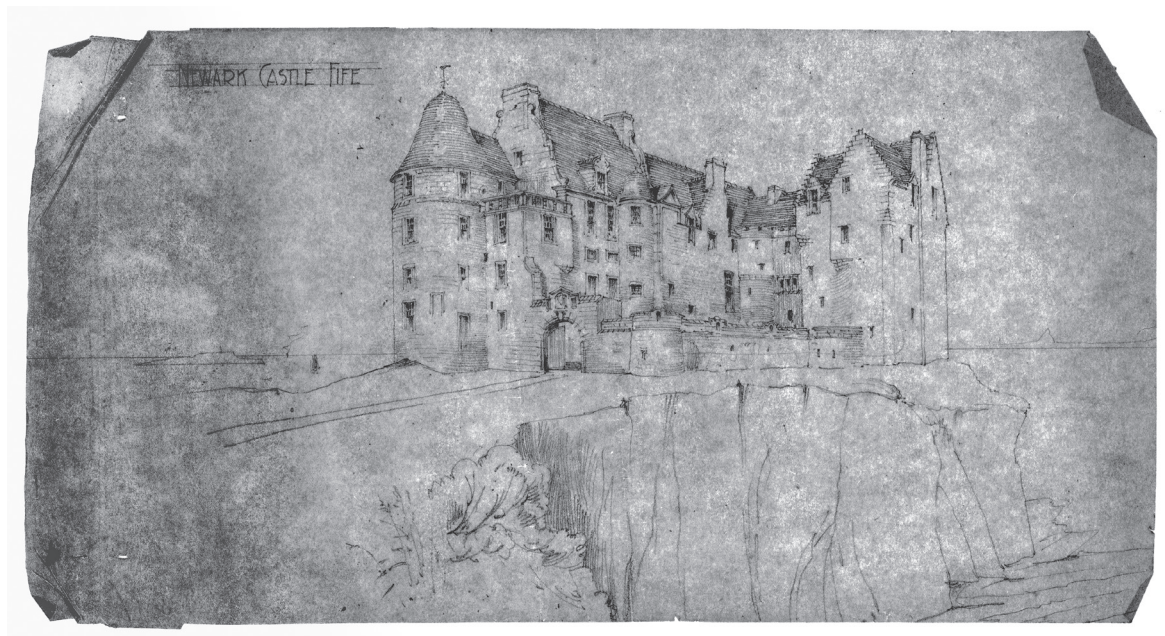


Figure 70: Robert Stodart Lorimer, Perspective sketch. Proposed restoration and additions for Wm Burrell (not executed) c.1899 © Historic Environment Scotland





Figure 71: Kellie Castle, Fife from north east, 1880 © Historic Environment Scotland

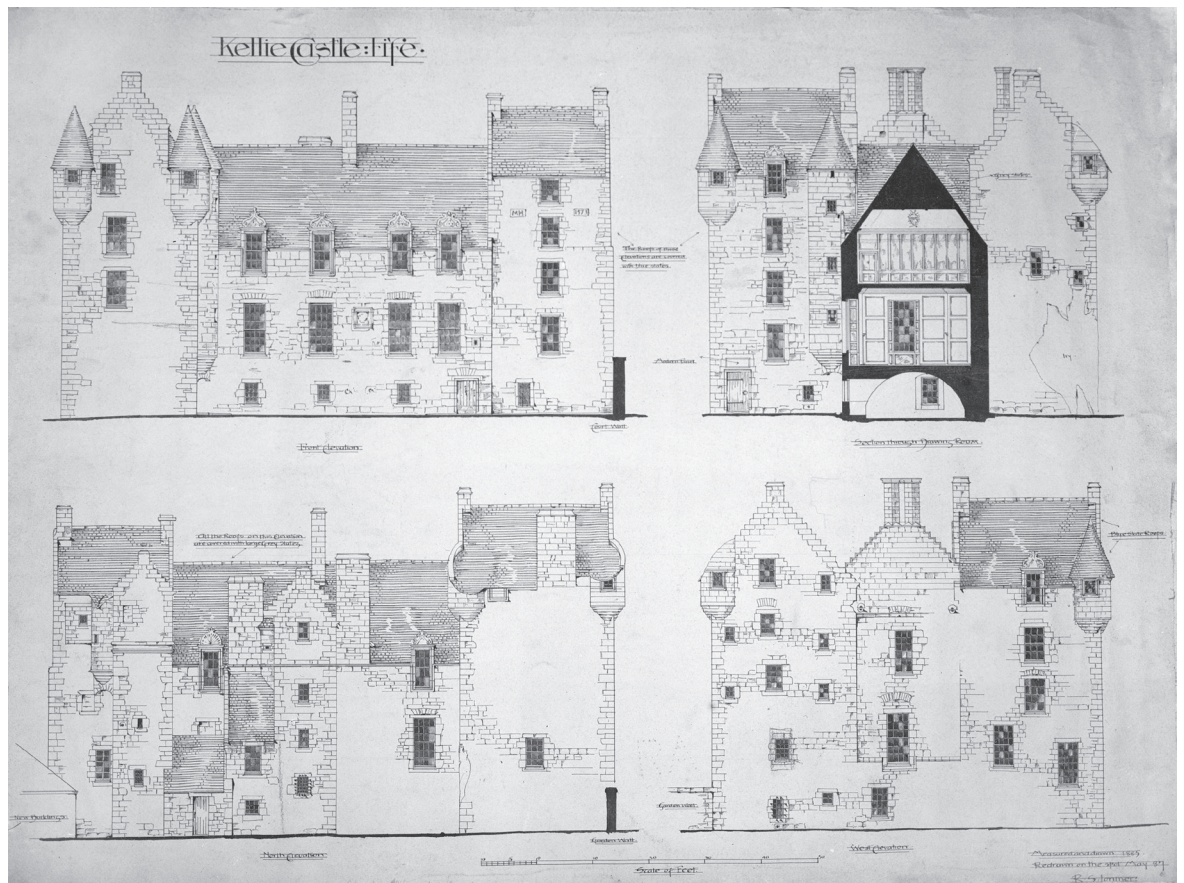


Figure 72: Robert Stodart Lorimer, Drawings for Kellie Castle, 1887 © Historic Environment Scotland

of castles by landowners in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries and their renovation into homes fit to live in.<sup>544</sup> Unfortunately for Burrell, Baird of Elie (owner of Newark) did not wish to sell Newark and so Burrell's dreams of owning his own castle would not be realised for nearly twenty years.

It is likely that Burrell's wish to own a historical castle was amplified when he met Lorimer in the late-1890s. Burrell and Lorimer met at Earlshall near Leuchars in Fife, the summer residence of R. W. Mackenzie, a fellow collector. Earlshall had been owned by the Bruces of Earlshall since the sixteenth century, and was restored in the 1890s by Lorimer.<sup>545</sup> The tower house is an example of a late sixteenth century suite of house and offices surrounding a small courtyard. Lorimer's restoration of Earlshall included: windows fitted with stained glass, early eighteenth century panelling and a wooden ceiling. The renovations to the tower house were published in *Country Life* in 1905.<sup>546</sup> The article included photographs of the interior of the house, showing a decorative scheme fashionable to the time: tapestries (set within wooden mouldings) as well as early oak furniture. This was the first of a series of articles published by the magazine illustrating the restoration of old houses with fashionable interior schemes.

Lorimer's family also rented a castle with similar historical associations to Earlshall, Kellie Castle near Arncroach, Fife, a sixteenth and seventeenth century Scots mansion house (See figures 71 and 72). The Lorimer family occupied the castle from 1878, when Lorimer's father, Professor James Lorimer (1818-1890), obtained its lease. At this time Kellie had been uninhabited for almost half a century and was falling to ruin. The Lorimers took it upon themselves to preserve the historic seat of Walter Oliphant, the eldest son and heir to the Knight of Abedalgie, who was a relative by marriage to King Robert the Bruce.<sup>547</sup> Like Earlshall, Kellie appeared in *Country Life*'s 'Country Homes and Gardens, Old and New' series. The author described the castle's history and accompanied it with photographs of the exterior and interior of the castle.<sup>548</sup>

Returning to "Castles of Comfort" with regard to Kellie Castle, its associations with Robert the Bruce connected the Lorimer family to a specific royal past. Professor Lorimer's renovations to the Castle restored it to a state in which his family could comfortably inhabit it. Building on from this, Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger argue for the notion of inventing tradition through the possession and repetition of the past. They define the invention of tradition as "a set of practices [...] which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where

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<sup>544</sup> Clive Aslet, *The Last Country Houses* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1982), 183.

<sup>545</sup> The following information on Earlshall, near Leuchars is taken from John Gifford, *The Buildings of Scotland: Fife* (London: Penguin Books, 1988), 198-202.

<sup>546</sup> 'Country Homes and Gardens, Old and New: Earlshall Fifeshire, the seat of Mr. R. W. Mackenzie', *Country Life*, July 1<sup>st</sup> 1905.

<sup>547</sup> 'Country Homes and Gardens, Old and New: Kellie Castle, Fife, the residence of Mrs. Lorimer', *Country Life*, July 28<sup>th</sup> 1906, 130 & 126.

<sup>548</sup> 'Country Homes and Gardens, Old and New: Kellie Castle, Fife, the residence of Mrs. Lorimer', 130 & 126.



possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past.”<sup>549</sup> If we consider the restoration of old houses through Hobsbawm and Ranger’s definition then by choosing to accurately restore historic houses as their dwellings, landowners established their own continuity with a specific historical context. For example, with regard to the restoration of Hever Castle near Edenbridge in Kent by William Waldorf Astor, 1<sup>st</sup> Viscount Astor (1848-1919), Aslet remarks that Astor, “wished to live in comfort in his medieval stronghold, having no desire to call up from the past phantoms of the Plague, Black Death, or the sweating sickness, and other deadly dwellers in the castle of the Middle Ages”.<sup>550</sup> Aslet’s comment illustrates a desire by Astor to establish continuity with what Hobsbawm and Ranger term a “suitable historic past”. In other words, Astor’s aspiration at Hever was to inhabit the medieval past but not to relive it in totality.

Like Hever, Kellie and Earlshall, Newark Castle too had historic associations. Although the ruin of the castle dated to the fifteenth century, the site had been occupied as early as the thirteenth century, and King Alexander III is said to have spent some of his childhood in the earlier castle, thus giving the site a historic royal connection.<sup>551</sup> Burrell’s interest in medieval castles with historical significance is apparent through his later acquisition of Hutton Castle near Berwick-upon-Tweed. Hutton was a Border fortress because of its strategic position on the Whittader River (See figure 73).<sup>552</sup> Like Newark, Hutton had connections to a royal history; in 1296 Edward I’s army encamped at the castle, and in 1496 the site was devastated by the Earl of Surrey during his raid on Scotland in retaliation for James V’s support for Perkin Warbeck (1474-1499), a pretender to the English throne.<sup>553</sup>

In an animated letter to Wilfred Drake, dated July 1936, Burrell wrote of Edward I’s stay at the castle in reference to a thirteenth century English stained glass panel of Beatrix de Valkenburg (See figure 74) from his collection: “He [Edward I] slept in the Tower bedroom and as it was the only bedroom in the ‘Keeps’ you may be sure that his cousin Richard Plantagenet – Beatrix de Valkenburg’s stepson – slept in the same room [...]. Her little panel is today only a few feet away from the bedroom in which her stepson no doubt slept.”<sup>554</sup> This comment illustrates Burrell’s keen interest in the historic nature of the castle, especially in relation to the objects he acquired to be housed within it. It also suggests that Burrell was attempting to establish a connection with a suitable medieval past, inventing a tradition that he and his family were visibly connected to within their home. By demonstrating his awareness of Hutton Castle’s history through interior decorations such as the Beatrix de Valkenburg stained glass panel he was manipulating the castle’s history and using it to define himself as a knowledgeable patron of upper-middle class status. Although this was two decades after his plans with Lorimer to purchase and restore Newark, I propose that the collector’s desire

549 (ed.) Hobsbawm & Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, 1.

550 Aslet, *The Last Country Houses*, 194.

551 David MacGibbon & Thomas Ross, *The castellated and domestic architecture of Scotland from the twelfth to the eighteenth century* (Edinburgh: D. Douglas, 1887-1892).

552 Marks, *Portrait of a Collector*, 92.

553 For full details of the historical association of Hutton Castle see Richard Marks’s chapter ‘Hutton Castle’ in *Ibid.*, 92-115.

554 Sir William Burrell to Wilfred Drake, 27<sup>th</sup> July 1936, GMRC, Burrell Archive, 52.56.118.

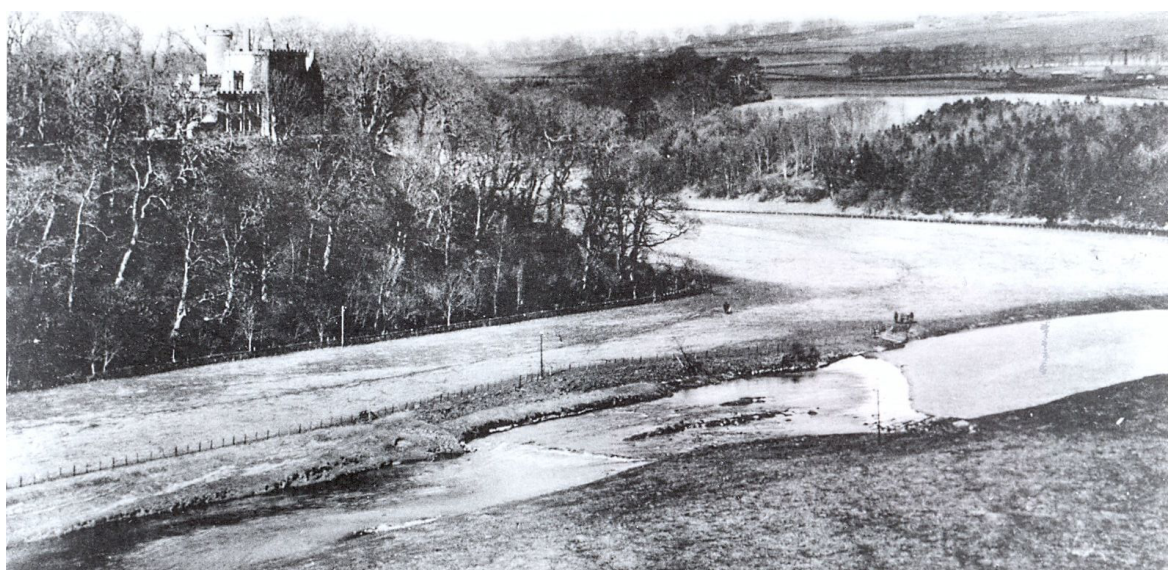


Figure 73: Exterior view of Hutton Castle showing position on River Whitteader © CSG  
CIC Glasgow Museums Collection



Figure 74: “Beatrix de Valkenburg”, stained glass panel, English, thirteenth-century, The Burrell Collection, 45.2 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection



to acquire the Fifeshire castle in the late-1890s presents the origin of this self-definition.

Considering Aslet, Hobsbawm and Ranger, and Higonet's theoretical notions together it is evident that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries there was a drive by members of the middle-classes towards identification with the historical past. For Burrell this specific historical past was a medieval one. This connection with a Gothic past was a central philosophy of the Arts and Crafts movement across Great Britain at the time. A.W. N. Pugin (1812-1852), a leading figure behind the development of the movement, championed the Gothic and argued that its architecture mirrored the morality of the society that produces it.<sup>555</sup> Burrell's admiration for all things Gothic therefore allows us to consider him within an Arts and Crafts narrative.

Although there has been considerable research on Lorimer's place within the Arts and Crafts movement in Scotland as an architect-designer, Burrell's connection with the movement as a collector has been largely overlooked. Annette Carruthers, a leading scholar on the Arts and Crafts in Scotland, argues that the style was not just developed from materials or methods of manufacture but its inspiration also came from historical objects.<sup>556</sup> In other words it was as much an interest in things from the past as it was in traditional manufacturing methods and materials that drove the movement. Therefore, as a collector of historical works of art ranging from painting to furniture, tapestry, glass, lace, porcelain, sculpture and much more Burrell championed the craftsmanship of the past, and by doing so can be considered a follower of Arts and Craft philosophies.

Evidence of Burrell's connection to the Arts and Crafts movement at this time can also be found in his personal library.<sup>557</sup> Burrell owned works by authors such as Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881), John Ruskin (1819-1900) and Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832).<sup>558</sup> All of these men were central figures in the Arts and Crafts movement. Scott's novels promoted interest in medieval literature and history, Ruskin's *Stones of Venice* (1851-3) especially inspired a taste in the Gothic style, and Carlyle's *Past and Present* (1843) emphasised the moral importance of work.<sup>559</sup> Although *Stones of Venice* is not in Burrell's library the presence of four other works by Ruskin - *Mornings in Florence: being simple studies of Christian Art* (1875), *A Joy For Ever and its place in the market* (1889), *Sesame and Lilies* (1865) and *German Popular Stories with illustrations* (1868) - suggests Burrell's interest in Ruskin's writing. Burrell's library holds 15 works by Carlyle, including *Past and Present*, and 82 works by Scott, the largest number of works by one author illustrating his admiration for Scott's medievalism.<sup>560</sup>

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<sup>555</sup> A.W.N. Pugin quoted in Annette Carruthers, *The Arts and Crafts Movement in Scotland: A History* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2013), 6.

<sup>556</sup> Here I am paraphrasing Carruthers in Carruthers, *The Arts and Crafts Movement in Scotland*, 14.

<sup>557</sup> Burrell's library is a key resource as it gives us an invaluable insight into the mind of the collector. For more information on Burrell's library see, (unpublished) Miles Kerr-Peterson, 'The Personal Library of Sir William and Lady Constance Mary Lockhart Burrell', Report for Glasgow Life, April 2016.

<sup>558</sup> Miles Kerr-Peterson, 'Sir William Burrell: Library Catalogue', GMRC, Burrell Archive, GMA.2013.1.2.6.

<sup>559</sup> Carruthers, *The Arts and Crafts Movement in Scotland*, 10; 8.

<sup>560</sup> (unpublished) Kerr-Peterson, 'The Personal Library of Sir William and Lady Constance Mary Lockhart



Within his library four volumes of Robert Billing's (1834-1898) *Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland* are also found. Harriet Richardson argues that during the nineteenth century in Scotland there was a renewed interest in fifteenth and sixteenth century architecture like Newark Castle.<sup>561</sup> She marks as evidence for this renaissance of interest the publication of Billing's text between 1848 and 1852.<sup>562</sup> Within this publication Billing argued for an augmentation of archaeological exactitude whilst criticising romanticised images of ruins.<sup>563</sup> The presence of these volumes within Burrell library as well as Ruskin, Carlyle and Scott suggest his appreciation of the philosophies of the Arts and Crafts and a desire to return to the truth and accuracy of historical sources. Moreover, the presence of works such as: John Henry Parker's *An Introduction to Gothic Architecture* and P. H. Ditchfield's *English Gothic Architecture* illustrate Burrell's preference for Gothic buildings, whilst Murray Adams-Acton's *Domestic Architecture and Old Furniture* and M. Harris's *Old English Furniture: its Designers and Craftsmen* allude to his appreciation of craftsmanship, something that will be further shown through the interior-schemes found at Great Western Terrace. Considered together: these volumes, his collection of historical objects, and his desire to inhabit a castle with fifteenth century origins firmly suggests the collector's appreciation of Arts and Crafts philosophies.

Although the purchase and restoration of Newark never materialised its place within the narrative of Burrell as a collector is key. Not only does this desire show Burrell's early interests in acquiring a medieval castle as both a home and setting for his growing collection, it also illustrates his relationship with the contemporary art world. As will be shown below in relation to the interior schemes of Great Western Terrace, Burrell's fascination with the Gothic was manifested not only through the objects he collected but also in the spaces within which he displayed them. His appreciation of medievalism went beyond simply an interest in the arts of the period, by collecting Gothic works of art and creating suitable spaces for them to be displayed Burrell followed the Arts and Crafts call for the "fitness for purpose" in design.<sup>564</sup> His desire to purchase Newark similarly follows this ideal, as it shows him seeking an appropriate context for his medieval objects. It creates a context in which to better understand Burrell's renovations of Great Western Terrace. Although he could not purchase a castle at this time he could renovate the interiors of a Glaswegian townhouse in such a way as to enhance his growing collection.

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Burrell'.

<sup>561</sup> Richardson, 'Lorimer's Castle Restorations', 64.

<sup>562</sup> Richardson, 'Lorimer's Castle Restorations', 64.

<sup>563</sup> Here I paraphrase from Richardson in Richardson, 'Lorimer's Castle Restorations', 64.

<sup>564</sup> Carruthers, *The Arts and Crafts Movement in Scotland*, 14.

### 3.3 1901-17: 8 Great Western Terrace, Glasgow

In May 1901 Burrell proposed to Constance Mary Lockhart Mitchell (1875-1961) and two months later he purchased a house in Glasgow's West End for the couple to live in. Their new home at 8 Great Western Terrace was, as described by Lorimer, "a double house two windows on each side of the door" designed by Alexander "Greek" Thomson in c.1869 (See figure 44).<sup>565</sup> Burrell had previously lived only a short distance from Great Western Terrace, at 4 Devonshire Gardens. Constance's family, the Mitchells, had also lived on Great Western Terrace, number 10, making their new home at 8 Great Western Terrace an expected choice for the couple. The house's exterior was neo-classical in style as seen through its extended front porch entrance supported by Ionic columns. From a surviving plan of the townhouse it is clear that the house had an ordered layout (See figure 75).<sup>566</sup> The names of the rooms are not marked on the plan but from a 'Typical Plan of House' made for 5 Great Western Terrace we see that the ground floor was comprised of: the dining room, pantry, drawing room, ante-drawing room, library, and cloakroom.<sup>567</sup> The basement of the surviving plan of 8 Great Western Terrace does not have markings, and is not included on the typical plan. From the 1911 Census we know that Burrell lived at Great Western Terrace with his wife and daughter and five servants.<sup>568</sup> It is possible that the servants' quarters were found in the basement of the house. The first floor plan of number 8 does not survive, however, from the typical plan we see that the first floor held bedrooms, bathrooms, a sewing room and a room for the housemaid. Originally the interior on number 8 was decorated in a Greco-Egyptian style, as was consistent with Thomson's design.<sup>569</sup> However, upon purchase of the house, Burrell employed Lorimer to renovate the building's interior.

In 1901 Lorimer wrote to Dods regarding his commission,

I'm going to alter it for him [Burrell], 'chip away the ginger bread' as he expresses it, also the plush mantelpieces etc etc rather a nice job [...] He wants it very simple as he has such lovely 'contents' – I want to do a simple black and white floor in the hall with oak walls, balustrade, etc and give him a white drawing room in which to hang his Whistlers etc [...].<sup>570</sup>

From this letter we can determine that Burrell's proposed interior scheme was intended to enhance his objects rather than detract from them as suggested by the collector's desire to "chip

<sup>565</sup> Lorimer to Dods, 29<sup>th</sup> July 1901.

<sup>566</sup> 'Basement and ground floor plan showing alterations for Wm Burrell', 1901, *Lorimer and Matthew*, Historic Environment Scotland, LOR G/19/2, DP 007221.

<sup>567</sup> 'Typical Plan of House No. 5 Great Western Terrace, Glasgow. Plan of ground floor Plan of first floor Measured & Drawn by WL & AFS 1942 Traced by ES', Historic Environment Scotland, GWD/23/1.

<sup>568</sup> 1911 Census Record in the district of Glasgow Hillhead, National Records of Scotland, 1911/644-12/22, page 25.

<sup>569</sup> Sam Small, 'Greater Glasgow: An Illustrated Architectural Guide' (Rutland Press, 2008).

<sup>570</sup> Lorimer to Dods, 29<sup>th</sup> July 1901.



Figure 44: 8 Great Western Terrace, Glasgow, c.1869, Alexander “Greek” Thomson © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection

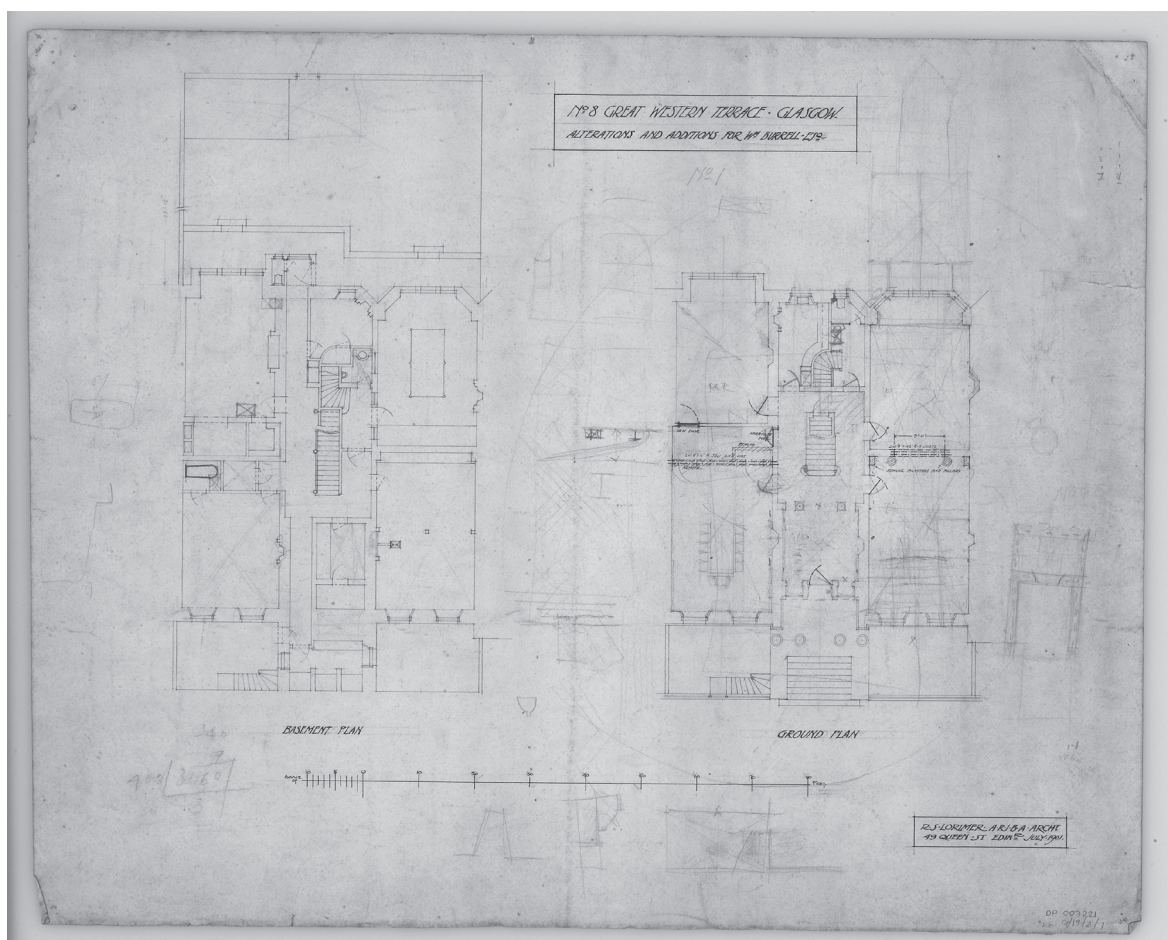


Figure 75: Robert Stodart Lorimer, Basement and ground floor plan showing alterations for William Burrell, 8 Great Western Terrace, 1901 © Historic Environment Scotland



away the gingerbread”. “Gingerbread” is the term used to describe gold braid embellishments on a military uniform, highlighting Burrell’s want to move away from a richly decorative interior to a more sober oak-panelled scheme.<sup>571</sup> On the same plan mentioned above a note in Lorimer’s hand reading “remove pilasters and pillars” in the dining room, confirms this move away from Greek ornamentation.<sup>572</sup> As a means of complementing his collection of medieval artefacts Burrell wished to embrace the fashionable Gothic-style interiors found in Scottish castles of this time.

From surviving photographs of 8 Great Western Terrace taken by the Kirkcaldy-based photographer Robert Milliken it is possible to piece together certain aspects of the home’s interior scheme. Starting with the hall, the photographs show that Lorimer kept to the majority of his plan (See figure 34). In the main entrance area Gothic-style linenfold oak panelling line the walls, although there is no evidence of the “simple black and white floor”. The decorative mantelpiece in the hall, adapted from a late-medieval Valencian predella,<sup>573</sup> is topped with three statuettes: on the left an emaciated male figure, most likely Christ, in the centre a Madonna and child and on the right a male figure in a suit of armour brandishing a spear. The statuette on the right could be the fifteenth century German woodcarving of ‘St Michael and the dragon’ that Burrell loaned to the Art Objects section of the 1901 Glasgow International Exhibition. The piece is no longer in Burrell’s collection making it hard to positively identify. St Michael is normally winged, suggesting that the figure is in fact St George, identifiable through his warrior dress and through the action of thrusting a spear into Satan, who is here portrayed as a dragon.

Framing the mantelpiece are two paintings, on the left in the photograph is Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472-1553), *Cupid and Venus, the honey thief* (See figure 33), which, as we know, Burrell bought from the collection of Sir Thomas Gibson Carmichael at Christie’s London in 1902. In a letter to Dods Lorimer commented on Burrell’s purchase of the Cranach:

Burrell bought the most exquisite little picture by Lucas Cranach of Cupid & Venus – a most delicious cupid, offering a honey comb, to a perfectly nude Venus – that’s to say she has on a necklace - & the jauntiest little German 15<sup>th</sup> century cap with a feather! Poor little cupid is sort of diapered over with bees having got stung badly in his efforts to get the honeycomb, in a Latin legend at the top Venus explains to him, that the stings that the bees have inflicted on him are as nothing to the stings which his darts have inflicted on her! Cranach you know flourished just about the same time as Durer & is a man whose work has a huge fascination for me – a sort of blending of late German Gothic & early Renaissance.<sup>574</sup>

571 ‘Glasgow, Great Western Road, 8 Great Western Terrace, Burrell’s House’, Canmore: National Record of the Historic Environment, <https://canmore.org.uk/site/148133/glasgow-great-western-road-8-great-western-terrace-burrells-house> (last accessed 13.10.17).

572 ‘Basement and ground floor plan showing alterations for Wm Burrell’, 1901; ‘Typical Plan of House, No. Great Western Terrace, Glasgow’.

573 (unpublished) Rocío Ruiz-Nieto, ‘The Burrell Fireplace Unit: a late-medieval Valencian predella’, MA Thesis, University of Glasgow, 2000.

574 Lorimer to Dods, 3<sup>rd</sup> June 1902.





Figure 34: View of hallway at 8 Great Western Terrace showing *Venus and Cupid the Honey Thief*, c. 1901 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection



Figure 33: Lucas Cranach the elder (studio of), *Venus and Cupid the Honey Thief*, 1584, oil on panel, The Burrell Collection, 35.74 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection

Lorimer's animated description of the painting highlights his admiration for Cranach's late-Gothic style, something that Burrell evidently shared. Unfortunately the painting to the right of the fireplace in the hall is unidentifiable. However, it is likely to have also been an Old Master painting so as to be in keeping with the Cranach picture.

Moving further into the house we come to the main staircase (See figure 76). The wooden stairwell, designed by Lorimer, is decorated with newel posts topped with carved heraldic animals and balusters intermittently decorated with Arts and Crafts-style foliage. The heraldic beasts depicted on the newel posts are lions, monkey, an elephant and a hound. At the bottom of the stairs two lions are depicted in front profile, seated and collared. On the left-hand side of the first landing is a seated monkey, with nuts placed between its legs (See figure 77). Opposite this is another monkey, holding pineapples in its arms (See figure 78). Above these two humorous monkeys are two further depictions of monkeys, but this time both of a mother with a baby clinging to her chest (See figure 79). The inclusion of the maternal apes could be a reference to Burrell's new marriage and his desire to build a family with Constance. At the top of the stairs is another representation of a lion. At both the top of the left and right-hand stair is a lion depicted with "langued gules", or tongue out, as is typical of heraldic lions (See figure 80).<sup>575</sup> Lorimer's drawing of this representation of a lion has survived and from it we can see that the lion is collared, with the collar taking the shape of a crown (See figure 81). Accompanying the lion at the top of the left-hand stairs is another creature, possibly a hound as suggested by its elongated snout and pointed ears (See figure 82). Accompanying the lion on the right-hand stair is an elephant (See figure 83).

As Lorimer designed the stair for Burrell the heraldic creatures would have been chosen specifically as signifiers of identity. Within the Arts and Crafts movement the choice of imagery by designers held reference to traditional natural or historical motifs, and most of this imagery had a symbolic intention.<sup>576</sup> Considered within the language of heraldry the animals have specific meaning; the lion is defined as, "The noblest of all wild beasts, which is made to be the emblem of strength and valour"; and the monkey (or ape), "An animal well known for its sagacity".<sup>577</sup> Placed together the lion and monkey tell a story of their patron's nobility and wisdom. Here again, as with Newark Castle, the notion of Burrell inventing a tradition through the repetition of the past is present. By commissioning a stairwell adorned with heraldic beasts Burrell utilised recognisable historic imagery as a means of creating a narrative within which he desired to be placed. In this manner, he was following the Arts and Crafts call for depth of thought in design and historical relevance.

The dining room at Great Western Terrace was furnished simply: a Gothic-style table designed by Lorimer placed in the middle of the room, accompanied by chairs, a low seventeenth century dresser, and the walls hung with tapestries (See figures 84 and 85). As Elizabeth Hancock notes a similar dining room scheme to Great Western Terrace was found

<sup>575</sup> Charles Norton Elvin, *A dictionary of heraldry: with upwards of 2,500 illustrations* (London: Kent & Co., 1889) <https://archive.org/details/dictionaryofhera00elvi> (last accessed 17.10.17), 84.

<sup>576</sup> Carruthers, *The Arts and Crafts movement in Scotland*, 17.

<sup>577</sup> Elvin, *A dictionary of heraldry*, 84; 6.





Figure 76: View of stairwell, 8 Great Western Terrace, c.1901 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection





(left) Figure 77: Image of monkey holding nuts on newel top of staircase, 8 Great Western Terrace. Photograph taken by author, 2017; (right) Figure 78: Image of monkey holding pineapple on newel top of staircase, 8 Great Western Terrace. Photograph taken by author, 2017.



Figure 79: Image of maternal ape with baby clinging to her chest on newel top of staircase, 8 Great Western Terrace. Photograph taken by author, 2017.



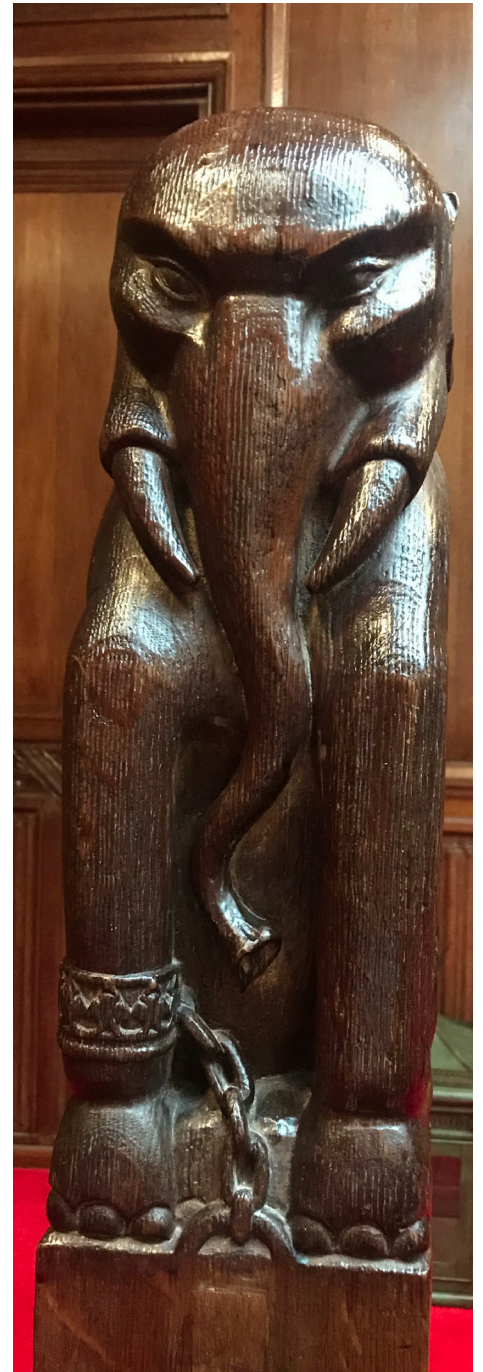


Figure 80: View of stairwell showing first floor landing, 8 Greaat Western Terrace, c.1901,  
© CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection



Figure 81: Robert Stodart Lorimer, Sketch of heraldic lion for Wm Burrell, 8 Great Western Terrace © Historic Environment Scotland





(left) Figure 82: Image of hound on newel post of staircase, 8 Great Western Terrace. Photograph taken by author, 2017; (right) Figure 83: Image of elephant on newel post of staircase, 8 Great Western Terrace. Photograph taken by author, 2017.

at Lorimer's own home, an Edinburgh townhouse at 54 Melville Street. The room was hung with tapestries - using another weaving of *The Months: April* tapestry as its centrepiece – and again a Lorimer-designed Gothic-style table is found in the centre of the room, accompanied by a low dresser below the tapestry.<sup>578</sup> The repetition of this scheme shows the similarity of Lorimer and Burrell's taste and suggests that it was a fashionable type of interior decoration of the time. Indeed, Miliken's photographs of Great Western Terrace were published in *The British Home of Today* (1904), further highlighting the currency of the townhouse's interior schemes.<sup>579</sup>

In August 1902 Lorimer described the furnishing of the dining room at Great Western Terrace to Dods in a letter, writing,

His [Burrell's] dining room looks very fine – the whole place hung with the finest Gothic tapestries, and in the centre a Gothic table by yours truly. Some good chairs and that's about all. He dines on the bare board, and I must say I'm old fashioned enough not to like it – I think there's something almost sacramental about the 'cloth'.<sup>580</sup>

Milliken's photographs of the dining room bring this description by Lorimer to life. The walls of the room were, as described, covered with secular tapestries all originating in in Southern Netherlands. These were: *The Months: April*, *The Months: January*, *The Months: September* all dated around 1500; *Scenes of Wine-Making: Vinters a Wine-Press* dated as roughly 1475 and attributed to Dieric Bouts or a follower; *Rural Dalliance and Fruit Picking* dated between 1500 and 1525; *Stag Hunt* dated 1500; *Lords and Ladies on Horseback* dated circa 1460 (See figures 86-92). All of these tapestries depict rural life, showing scenes of the hunt, gathering crops, fruit picking and feasting.

Accompanying these medieval hangings, the two windows on the exterior wall of the room were fitted with stained glass roundels and badges. Although we do not know the precise identification of all of the glass panels Linda Cannon identified six pieces of stained glass from the Milliken photographs, all of which are either dated from the sixteenth or seventeenth century and are Swiss, Dutch or English in origin.<sup>581</sup>

Perhaps surprisingly, contemporary European sculpture accompanied the tapestries in the dining room. On the mantel between two bronze lions is a bronze sculpture by Constantin Meunier entitled *Le Marteleur (The Hammersmith)* (See figure 93), to the right of this on a small chest between the mantel and window is a second bronze and between the two windows a third can just be made out. Because of the quality of the photograph the second

<sup>578</sup> Hancock, 'William Burrell's Tapestries', 17.

<sup>579</sup> (ed.) Walter Shaw Sparrow, *The British Home of Today: A Book of Modern Domestic Architecture & the Applied Arts* (New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1914).

<sup>580</sup> Robert Lorimer to Robin Dods, 18<sup>th</sup> August 1902, Sir Robert Lorimer Papers, Coll-27, University of Edinburgh Main Library, MS2484.7.

<sup>581</sup> Linda Cannon, 'Appendix I – Early Collecting', in Linda Cannon, *Stained Glass in the Burrell Collection* (Edinburgh: W & R Chambers Ltd, 1991), 88.





(above) Figure 84: Dining Room, 8 Great Western Terrace, 1902 (looking south-west)  
 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection; (below) Figure 85: Dining Room, 8 Great  
 Western Terrace, 1902 (looking north-east) © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection





Figure 86: *The Months: April*, Southern Netherlands, c.1500, The Burrell Collection, 46.76  
© CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection





Figure 87: *The Months: January*, Southern Netherlands, c.1500, The Burrell Collection, 46.75 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection



Figure 88: *Scenes of Wine-Making: Vinters a Wine-Press*, Southern Netherlands, 1475  
attrib. to Dieric Bouts or a follower, The Burrell Collection, 46.67 © CSG CIC Glasgow  
Museums Collection





Figure 89: *Rural Dalliance and Fruit Picking*, Southern Netherlands, 1500-25, The Burrell Collection, 46.64 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection



Figure 90: *Stag Hunt*, Southern Netherlands, 1500, The Burrell Collection, 46.55 © CSG  
CIC Glasgow Museums Collection





Figure 91: *Lords and Ladies on Horseback*, Southern Netherlands, c.1460, The Burrell Collection, 46.81 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection





Figure 92: *The Months: September*, Southern Netherlands, c.1500, The Burrell Collection, 46.78 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection

bronze is hard to positively identify. The third bronze is composed of a figure standing yet bent-over, suggesting that it is Charles van der Stappen's *La Glaneuse* (See figure 24). We know *La Glaneuse* was in Burrell's collection at this time as he loaned the piece to the 1901 exhibition.

Burrell continued this practice of pairing bronze sculpture and medieval tapestries throughout Great Western Terrace. The photographs show a bronze by Auguste Rodin situated under a tapestry on the first-floor landing of the townhouse. Beneath the sixteenth century tapestry entitled *Charity Overcoming Envy* Rodin's *Fleeting Love* can be seen placed on an oak chest (See figure 36). This pairing of nineteenth century bronze sculpture with Gothic tapestries is somewhat unusual and suggests a desire of Burrell's to juxtapose modern and medieval works of art as a means of highlighting the depth of his collection and, indeed, of his taste. A bronze by Rodin is also listed in the catalogue for the 1901 exhibition. It is likely that the piece, entitled *Maternal Love*, is in fact *Fleeting Love*.

As was suggested with the stairwell, in the dining room we also see the collector following a thoughtful interior decorative scheme. By pairing bronze sculptures of workers next to secular scenes of hunting, wine-making, fruit picking and feasting Burrell alluded to Carlyle's emphasis on the honourable nature of work in *Past and Present*, something that would have appealed to Burrell's work ethic as a Scottish Presbyterian. Just how the heraldic animals on the newel posts of the stairwell held symbolic meaning, the tapestries and sculptures chosen in this room also reflected their patron's identity. The secular scenes of the process of hunting, gathering and feasting displayed within the space echoed the function of the dining room. Here then Burrell was following the Arts and Crafts philosophy of "fitness for purpose", whereby each object within the room was suitable to its context.<sup>582</sup>

Burrell's faithfulness to the Arts and Crafts philosophies can also be seen through his inclusion of tapestry, historic furniture, modern furnishings, stained glass and bronze sculpture in the dining room. Through this collection of objects Burrell truly celebrated the maker and demonstrated a consideration of varying types of craftsmanship.<sup>583</sup> A surviving sketch of the elevation of the chimneypiece in the dining room by Lorimer highlights the extent to which his hand as a designer came into the interior decoration of the house (See figure 94). The sketch shows a fireplace surrounded by linenfold oak panels. The surround was to be plainly decorated with an oak mantel, white supporting columns and patterned tiles encompassing the fireplace. Lorimer's sketch also included details of the proposed objects to display both on the mantel and on the wall behind it. Originally Lorimer suggested three dishes with gothic candlesticks placed between them to be exhibited on the mantel and above these a tapestry framed by the oak panelling. Although this original scheme was not continued into the final dining room layout, Lorimer's sketch gives us an insight to the various stages of planning that went into the interior schemes for the townhouse, and suggests a high level of consideration on his and Burrell's behalf as to what would be displayed where.

<sup>582</sup> Carruthers, *The Arts and Crafts Movement in Scotland*, 14.

<sup>583</sup> Carruthers, *The Arts and Crafts Movement in Scotland*, 12.





Figure 93: Constantin Meunier, *Le Marteleur (The Hammersmith)*, 1881, bronze, The Burrell Collection, 7.5 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection



Figure 22: Charles Van der Stappen, *La Glaneuse (The Gleaner)*, 1891, bronze, The Burrell Collection, 7.20 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection



Figure 36: First Floor Landing showing display of *Charity overcoming Envy*, 8 Great Western Terrace, Glasgow © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection



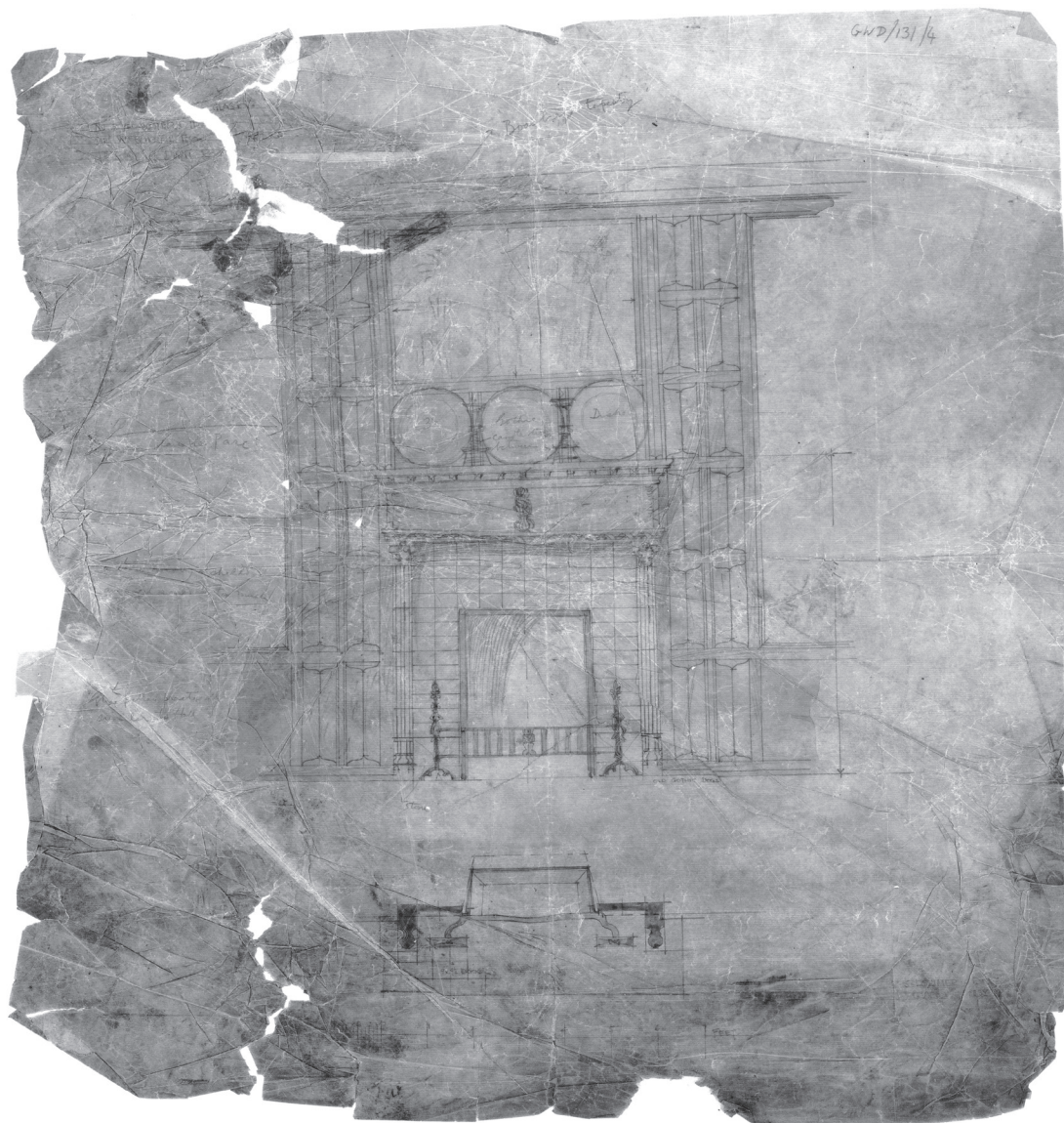


Figure 94: Robert Stodart Lorimer, Elevation & Plan of Chimneypiece for Dining Room, 8  
GWT © Historic Environment Scotland



Burrell's celebration of craftsmanship can also be seen in the furniture Lorimer designed for the house. As was mentioned above Lorimer designed the table in the centre of the dining room. As well as this piece he designed a cradle for William and Constance's daughter Marion, later Sylvia (1902-1992), light fittings and beds (See figure 95). In reference to the cradle Lorimer wrote,

I sent you a scribble yesterday – containing 2 letters from Willie Burrell which I thought would amuse you – isn't he a record breaker? Think of going into the question of a cradle with such thoroughness – 2 or three months before the kid is due! Last Sunday was wet – so I stayed at home & drew the whole thing out full size. Have put a hound on the top of the pillar at the foot & the pelican in her piety on the one at the top won't that rather lift the bun? Brushed out with wire brushes and fumed – its own mother won't know it from a piece of "French Gothic late 15<sup>th</sup> century".<sup>584</sup>

From surviving images of the cradle we can see that Burrell did indeed expect an intricate level of detail for this piece. At the foot of the cradle, as described by Lorimer, is a hound. Sitting opposite the mastiff a pelican is depicted in her nest, also referred to in heraldic terms as a "pelican in her piety".<sup>585</sup> On the four corners of the cradle winged angels are depicted kneeling in prayer. In a proposal sketch for Burrell's double bed we see lions with *langued gules*, this time accompanied by crowned angels playing musical instruments and a swan (See figure 96). The decorative elements of the bed, cradle and stairwell all correspond in subject, style and medium creating continuity throughout the house and illustrating Burrell and Lorimer's consideration for all elements of the interior schemes. In the next section of this chapter I argue that at Hutton Castle Burrell created a total exhibition space through his display of objects, furnishings, fittings and textiles. This continuity of form in the pieces of furniture designed by Lorimer and their suitability to the interior-schemes of Great Western Terrace presents an early example of Burrell's desire for a complete interior design. This illustrates that even at this relatively early stage of his collecting career Burrell had a clear notion of the type of collection he desired. His was to be a collection that celebrated historical objects and craftsmanship.

From the above consideration of the hall, stairwell, dining room and furnishings designed by Lorimer it is clear Burrell's interior-schemes at Great Western Terrace had Arts and Crafts sentiments, something that was most likely inspired by his interest in medievalism but also Lorimer's affiliation with the artistic movement.<sup>586</sup> However, it would be wrong to assume that the influential relationship between Lorimer and Burrell was one-sided. James Richardson (1883-1970) – a specialist in medieval woodwork, who later became the first Inspector of Ancient Monuments – commented on the solemn nature of Lorimer's

<sup>584</sup> Lorimer to Dods, 3<sup>rd</sup> June 1902.

<sup>585</sup> Elvin, *A dictionary of heraldry*, 100.

<sup>586</sup> For more on Robert Lorimer and the Arts and Craft Movement see Carruthers, 'Robert Stodart Lorimer: Architect and Designer', in Carruthers, *The Arts and Crafts Movement in Scotland*, 175-201; Savage, *Lorimer and the Edinburgh Craft Designers*, 1-29.

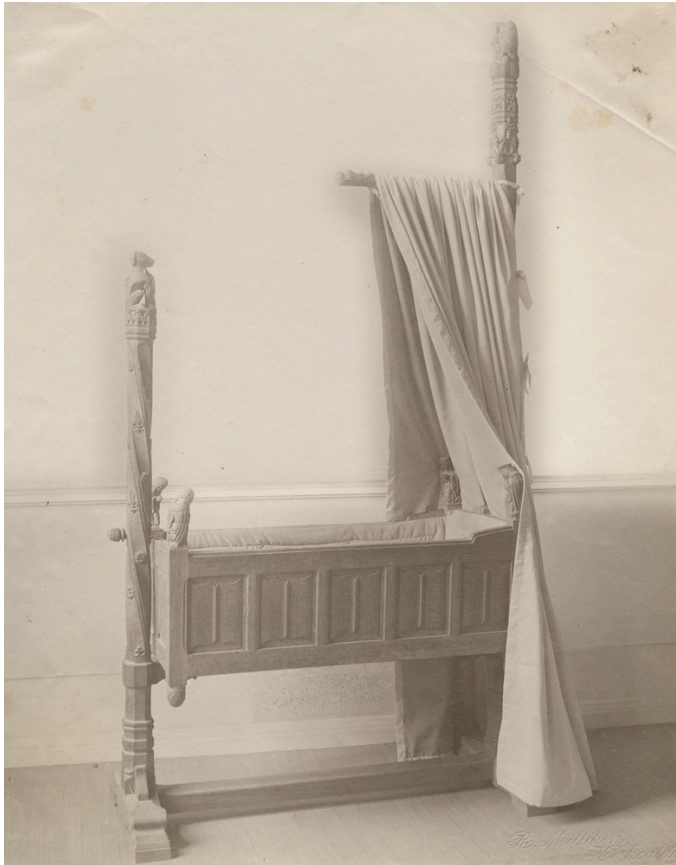


Figure 95: Robert Stodart Lorimer, cradle for Burrell, c.1901 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection

woodwork at Great Western Terrace, which marked a development of his domestic style.<sup>587</sup> Richardson maintained that it was Burrell who inspired Lorimer's interest in fifteenth century woodwork.<sup>588</sup> Richardson's claim suggests a reciprocal relationship between the two men. Just as on their European trips, at Great Western Terrace they were learning from each other, generating a style that was founded in current artistic fashion but specific to Burrell's taste and collection.

Further evidence of Burrell's dedication to craftsmanship at this time is found in the home he shared with his mother, and two sisters at 4 Devonshire Gardens, Glasgow. Lorimer described the home as "a regular collector's home", allowing one to assume that the house was filled with objects collected by the family.<sup>589</sup> Although there is no inventory of the house that allows us to determine the specific objects found within the home, a large stained glass stair window commissioned by Burrell in 1892/3 is still in its original location, thus preserving ties to the Burrell family and their collection.<sup>590</sup> The window, entitled 'Gather Ye Rosebuds While Ye May', was designed by George Walton (1867-1933) and depicts bird-formed patterns in the lower sections of the window and female figures in landscapes in the central areas.<sup>591</sup> In late nineteenth century Scotland the practice of stained glass had come to be recognised as a suitable means of artistic expression.<sup>592</sup> In Glasgow, Charles Wilson (1788-1864), Head Master of the Glasgow School of Art between 1849 and 1863 believed, in line with the philosophies of the South Kensington Museum in London, that artists, rather than tradesmen, should design stained glass.<sup>593</sup> Following the outcry regarding the re-glazing of Glasgow Cathedral by Munich-based glaziers (1859-64), a local style was generated in Glasgow,<sup>594</sup> and domestic commissions like that of Walton's window at Devonshire Gardens were outcomes of this drive to develop the craft.<sup>595</sup> Burrell's commission of the Walton window illustrates the collector's support, in line with Wilson, of local Glaswegian artists and the art of stained glass.

Fifteen years after Burrell's purchase of Great Western Terrace, in 1916, the Glasgow School of Art held the 'Exhibition of Ancient and Modern Embroidery and Needlework' as a means of raising money for the War Effort and the British Red Cross. The Director of the art school at the time, Francis Henry Newbery (Fra. Newbery, 1855-1946) noted that the exhibition was "for educational purposes" and that it was "to be organised to give opportunity to students, craftsmen and collectors to study the work that past Ages have left us."<sup>596</sup> The materials exhibited were principally British, but an international section was

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<sup>587</sup> Savage, *Lorimer and the Edinburgh Craft Designers*, 78.

<sup>588</sup> Savage, *Lorimer and the Edinburgh Craft Designers*, 78.

<sup>589</sup> Lorimer to Dods, 18<sup>th</sup> August 1902.

<sup>590</sup> Walton's window can be found at the West End hotel One Devonshire Gardens in Hyndland.

<sup>591</sup> Annette Carruthers, 'Stained Glass: A medium revitalised', in Carruthers *The Arts and Crafts Movement in Scotland*, 237.

<sup>592</sup> Carruthers, 'Stained Glass', 230.

<sup>593</sup> Carruthers, 'Stained Glass', 230.

<sup>594</sup> Sally Rush, 'Ungrateful Posterity? The removal of the "Munich" windows from Glasgow Cathedral', p. 64, in (ed.) F. Fawcett, *Glasgow's Great Glass Experiment: The Munich Glass of Glasgow Cathedral* (Edinburgh: Historic Scotland, 2003), cited in Carruthers, 'Stained Glass', 231.

<sup>595</sup> Carruthers, 'Stained Glass', 229.

<sup>596</sup> Fra. Newbery to Her Royal Highness Princess Louise, Duchess of Argyll, Glasgow School of Art





included.<sup>597</sup> Loans were asked from four bodies: museums, private owners, firms and antique shops.<sup>598</sup> Amongst the museums asked were: the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Edinburgh Museum and the Bowes Museum at Barnard Castle.<sup>599</sup> Among the firms was Morris and Co, Ltd, London, and Burrell was one of the private owners, loaning a total of 29 examples to the exhibition.<sup>600</sup> Burrell's brother George and sister Mary also loaned works, and Lorimer was listed both as a lender and an organiser of the exhibition.<sup>601</sup> In the minutes for the exhibition committee was noted, "That permission be asked, in certain cases, for students of the School, to copy exhibits."<sup>602</sup> Burrell's loans were one of these "certain cases". On 16<sup>th</sup> February 1916 Burrell wrote to the secretary of the art school on this matter, "I have Mr Newbery's letter of 15<sup>th</sup> inst. and am quite willing to agree to the request he makes".<sup>603</sup> Burrell's involvement in this exhibition, and his willingness to allow students of the art school to copy from his exhibited objects, reinforces the argument that he supported local artists, and that he continued to do so into the twentieth century.

One picture of Great Western Terrace that seems to stand in contrast to the others taken by Milliken is "the white drawing room" referred to by Lorimer to in a letter to Dods (See figure 97).<sup>604</sup> The photograph shows a fireplace topped with three Chinese painted porcelain vases - one rouleau vase and two ginger jars - most likely identified as nineteenth century copies of *café-au-lait* ground pieces in *Kangxi* period style.<sup>605</sup> To the left of the fireplace a detail of the side of a picture is seen. From this detail and Lorimer's reference to the drawing room as a room "to hang his [Burrell's] Whistlers" we can surmise that this painting was Whistler's *Princesse du pays de la porcelaine* (1863-1865), now found in the Peacock Room in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington DC (See figure 98).<sup>606</sup> Milliken's photograph shows the right-hand side of Whistler's painting within its distinctive frame. We can just make out the bottom of the sitter, Christina Spartali's, robe with its floral pattern.

We know that Burrell owned the Whistler at this time as he loaned it to the Fine Arts section of the 1901 Glasgow International Exhibition along with another painting by the artist, *Arrangement in Black and Brown: The Fur Jacket* (1876) (See figure 99). *La Princesse* and *The Fur Jacket* had been shown together in 1893 at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago and it was after this that Burrell purchased both works through Alexander Reid who had loaned them to the Chicago exhibition.<sup>607</sup> On his father's dealings with Whistler's

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Archive, GSAA/EPH/9/1/3/4.

597 'Minutes of Meeting of Needlework Exhibition Committee held on Monday October 18<sup>th</sup> 1915, at 3pm', Glasgow School of Art Archive, GSAA/EPH/9/1/2.

598 'Minutes of Meeting of Needlework Exhibition Committee', 1915.

599 'Minutes of Meeting of Needlework Exhibition Committee', 1915.

600 *Catalogue of the Exhibition of Ancient and Modern Embroidery and Needlecraft*, 1916, Glasgow School of Art Archive, GSAA/EPH/9/2/1/3.

601 *Catalogue of the Exhibition of Ancient and Modern Embroidery and Needlecraft*, 1916.

602 'Minutes of Meeting of Needlework Exhibition Committee', 1915.

603 William Burrell to The Secretary, GSA, 16<sup>th</sup> February 1916, Glasgow School of Art Archives, GSAA/EPH/9/1/3/4.

604 Lorimer to Dods, 29<sup>th</sup> July 1901.

605 Identification of vases given by Professor Nick Pearce.

606 Lorimer to Dods, 29<sup>th</sup> July 1901.

607 Linda Merrill, 'The Heirloom of the Artist', in Linda Merrill, *The Peacock Room: a cultural biography* (Washington DC: The Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1998), 318.



Figure 97: "The white drawing room", 8 Great Western Terrace, Glasgow, 1902 © CSG  
CIC Glasgow Museums Collection





Figure 98: James Abbot McNeill Whistler, *La Princesse du pays de la porcelaine*, 1863-1865, oil on canvas, 199.9 x 116.1 cm, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington DC



Figure 99: James Abbot McNeill Whistler, *Arrangement in Black and Brown: The Fur Jacket*, 1877, oil on canvas, 193 x 92.6 cm, Worcester Art Museum, Massachusetts



Figure 100: James Abbot McNeill Whistler, *Arrangement in Black: La Dame au Brodequin Jaune – Portrait of Lady Archibald Campbell*, 1882-1883, oil on canvas, 218.4 x 110.5 cm, Philadelphia Museum of Art



work McNeill Reid wrote,

My father had bought in 1892 three of the Whistler full-length paintings ‘The Brodequin Jaune’, the ‘Princesse au Pays de la Porcelaine’ and later the same year, ‘The Fur Jacket’. Neil Munro writes very fully about the Whistlers in his book ‘The Brave Days’ and mentions that, in 1892 there were half a dozen Whistlers in my father’s gallery which he could have had his choice of for some £600 or £700, but he did not care much for any of them, nor did he have the money to buy them.<sup>608</sup>

The three full-length paintings mentioned by McNeill Reid were eventually bought by Burrell. In a letter to McNeill Reid dated 1946 Burrell wrote,

At that time [late-1890s] your father was in constant touch with Whistler and it was then I bought from him The Fur Jacket, Brodequin Jaune and La Princesse du Pays de la Porcelaine, 3 full lengths and at the same time he sold the Piano Picture by Whistler, I think to Mr. Cowan of Westerlea, Murrayfield.<sup>609</sup>

*The Fur Jacket* McNeill Reid estimated Burrell bought in 1898 for £1,000 and *The Brodequin Jaune* and *La Princesse du pays de la porcelaine* a number of years earlier.<sup>610</sup> None of these works remain in the Burrell Collection today, and were all sold to American collections by Burrell: *Arrangement in Black: La Dame au Brodequin Jaune – Portrait of Lady Archibald Campbell* is now housed in the Philadelphia Museums of Art (See figure 100), *Arrangement in Black and Brown: the Fur Jacket* in the Worcester Art Museum, and *Rose and Silver: la Princesse au pays de la porcelaine* in the Freer Gallery of Art. The three paintings all corresponded in subject matter: full-length portraits of women. The fact that the *The Fur Jacket* and *La Princesse* were displayed together in Chicago suggests that at Great Western Terrace the paintings were also hung together. Certainly, the fact that Lorimer designed this room to house Burrell’s Whistlers suggests that there was more than one displayed within the space.

Because of their exhibition in Chicago the Whistler paintings had international fame. Burrell ultimately sold *La Princesse* to the American industrialist and art collector Charles Lang Freer in 1903 for £3750.<sup>611</sup> In a letter to Freer following the sale Burrell wrote,

I should be very reluctant indeed to part with the *Fur Jacket* as I consider that [...] it

<sup>608</sup> McNeill Reid, ‘Notes on purchases made by Sir William Burrell’.

<sup>609</sup> Burrell to McNeill Reid, 14<sup>th</sup> January 1946.

<sup>610</sup> McNeill Reid, ‘Notes on purchases made by Sir William Burrell’.

<sup>611</sup> William Burrell to Charles Lang Freer, 4<sup>th</sup> September 1903, Freer Gallery Archive, Subseries 2.1, Charles Lang Freer Correspondence, 1876, 1886-1920: Bosch-Reitz – Church (Box 11 of 351), Folder 18: Burrell, William 4<sup>th</sup> September – 8<sup>th</sup> October 1903.

was one of the Master's greatest productions, ranking in every way with his *Mother* and *Carlyle*. *The Princess*, as you know, was painted as a decorative picture and from that point of view it could not be excelled. [...] But the *Fur Jacket* was a mature thing, painted many years after that, and is, beyond all doubt, one of the Master's most subtle and most profound productions.<sup>612</sup>

This correspondence illustrates the high regard in which Burrell held both works by Whistler. It is an enlightening insight into the collector's knowledge and opinion of the objects he owned at this early stage in his career. The fact that Lorimer designed a room in Great Western Terrace focused around the artist's works only acts to emphasize Burrell's admiration of Whistler. In this manner the white drawing room followed Edith Wharton and Ogden Codman's 1897 argument that in some houses the drawing room, "is still considered [...] the best room in the house".<sup>613</sup> Wharton and Codman were discussing the evolution of the drawing room in Europe and America and the distinction made, towards the beginning of the eighteenth century, between the *salon de compagnie* and the *salon de famille*.<sup>614</sup> The former being a more formal space used for entertaining, and the latter a more private, family apartment.<sup>615</sup> Within this context, the white drawing room falls into the category of the formal, *salon de compagnie*. Although there is no surviving evidence detailing the complete furnishings of the room, the fact that Burrell held the Whistler works in such high regard at the time suggests that the Whistler room was intended to act as a showpiece.

Milliken's photograph of the white drawing room does not exude a feeling of warmth, or a room that was to be used as the family's main living quarters. The white walls are cold, and the two upholstered chairs,<sup>616</sup> positioned in sequence on the outer walls of the room have a decorative quality rather than one of comfort or use. It is important to note that the sparse nature of furnishings in this image of the drawing room is also because of the date and purpose of Miliken's photograph; it was taken in 1901 around the time when the Burrell's moved into the townhouse and so a lack of furniture is not surprising. The photographs were also commissioned by Lorimer and were taken with the intention of advertising Lorimer's work carried out to the property rather than to capture Burrell's objects. Nevertheless, if the photograph is compared to another pair of images taken of the library at Great Western Terrace, the drawing room's function as an exhibition space is exemplified (See figures 101 and 102). The library follows a Gothic-style similar to that found in the dining room: stained glass roundels and crests are seen in the upper section of the windows, the walls are oak-

612 William Burrell to Charles Lang Freer, 8<sup>th</sup> October 1903, Freer Gallery Archive, Subseries 2.1, Charles Lang Freer Correspondence, 1876, 1886-1920: Bosch-Reitz – Church (Box 11 of 351), Folder 18: Burrell, William 4<sup>th</sup> September – 8<sup>th</sup> October 1903.

613 Edith Wharton & Ogden Codman Jr., *The Decoration of Houses* (London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1997), 126.

614 Wharton & Ogden, *The Decoration of Houses*, 126.

615 Wharton & Ogden, *The Decoration of Houses*, 126.

616 These chairs are both have a twist-turned frame in the style of seat furniture from the period 1670-1690. The chair on the right is a backstool, the form was developed from a stool. The chair on the left has a raked high back which was a later development, c.1680-1700. The covers are likely to be later in date, likely from the late-nineteenth century. Information on chairs provided by Elizabeth Hancock.



(above) Figure 101: View of “library” at 8 Great Western Terrace, c.1901/2; (below) Figure 102: View of “library” showing detail of fireplace at 8 Great Western Terrace, c.1901/2 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection



panelled, a small rectangular framed tapestry fragment is positioned above the fireplace. A statuette of a Madonna and child placed in the centre of the mantelpiece, accompanied by two candelabra. The placement of the objects and furnishing within the space feels more informal in its approach; a late nineteenth century historic-style velvet sofa sits below the windows;<sup>617</sup> fitted wall cabinets lining the wall are filled with books, photographs and papers; and on the circular table in the middle of the room evidence of writing materials - a pen, ink and leather bound notebook - are seen. These less formal additions to the room suggest it was a room used more regularly by William and Constance.

If the drawing room is considered together with Lorimer's restoration of Kellie Castle for John Henry in 1897, the room shows evidence of Burrell and the architect-designer following established Arts and Crafts taste.<sup>618</sup> Harriet Richardson comments that in the drawing room at Kellie Lorimer "echoed Morris's call for simplicity in interior decoration, with plain white walls interrupted only by what was functional or beautiful."<sup>619</sup> Considered within the context of Lorimer's previous work, the drawing room at Great Western Terrace also conforms to Morris's call for simplicity as a means of emphasising beauty. Set within an interior scheme of a house that suitably celebrates the beauty of the Gothic, of craftsmanship, and of historical objects the white walls of the drawing room are similarly considerate of the objects housed within it. The Whistler paintings would have looked out of place displayed on oak-panelled walls, and so by setting them against plain white walls their beauty was exemplified.

Another factor to consider when analysing the drawing room is the context of disease in Glasgow at the beginning of the twentieth century. Because of the nature of the slums across Glasgow disease was rife in the city. Despite the council's efforts to improve the conditions and provide parks as a means to combat disease 1900 saw an outbreak of smallpox and the bubonic plague.<sup>620</sup> As a means of visually combatting this within the home light schemes were used. Juliet Kinchin gives the example of Charles Rennie Mackintosh and Margaret Macdonald's white drawing room at 78 Southpark Avenue, arguing that this was "[...] an attempt to control their immediate environment and to exclude the threatening elements of society."<sup>621</sup> It could therefore be argued that the drawing room, as with Mackintosh and Macdonald's, was a reaction to the city's conditions; creating a space that rejected the dirt of the city through its white-washed décor. Certainly Burrell's office as convenor on the sub-committee "On Uninhabitable Houses, Areas and Back Lands, and Underground Dwellings" from 1904 illustrates his concern about the state of the city. It is possible that Burrell knew of Mackintosh's use of the white drawing room type through the Eighth Vienna Secession exhibition, which ran from November to December 1900 (See figure 103). In a letter dated

617 Elizabeth Hancock suggests that this is a late nineteenth century sofa in the form of an eighteenth-century style (c.1720-1740).

618 After the death of Professor Lorimer in 1890 John Henry took over the lease at Kellie Castle, in Richardson, 'Lorimer's Castle Restorations', 71.

619 Richardson, 'Lorimer's Castle Restorations', 71.

620 Juliet Kinchin, 'The Drawing Room', in (ed.) Annette Carruthers, *The Scottish Home* (Edinburgh: National Museum of Scotland, 1996), 176.

621 Kinchin, 'The Drawing Room', 176.

14<sup>th</sup> November 1900 Lorimer wrote to Dods regarding wanting Burrell's help to acquire a tapestry, stating: "[...] hope to get Burrell to work it through but don't know how to get hold of the chap as he's flying backwards & forwards to Vienna at present."<sup>622</sup> These trips may either have been for business or consular duties. It is possible that Burrell, a collector who supported progressive artists, visited the Secession exhibition, and there drew inspiration for his home from the Glasgow Room that was so highly praised.

The presence of this room in Great Western Terrace in the early-1900s acts to again highlight the Arts and Crafts nature of the interior scheme running throughout 8 Great Western Terrace. Both by being a space suitable for his Whistler oil paintings, and one that combatted the negative associations of disease in the city at this time, the room followed the Arts and Crafts call for "fitness for purpose in design". Indeed, each of the schemes chosen for the photographed rooms in the townhouse were created with the objects in mind, whether it be oak-panelling or plain white walls the rooms reflected the thought behind their design.

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<sup>622</sup> Robert Lorimer to Robin Dods, 14<sup>th</sup> November 1900, Sir Robert Lorimer Papers, Coll-27, University of Edinburgh Main Library, MS2484.5.

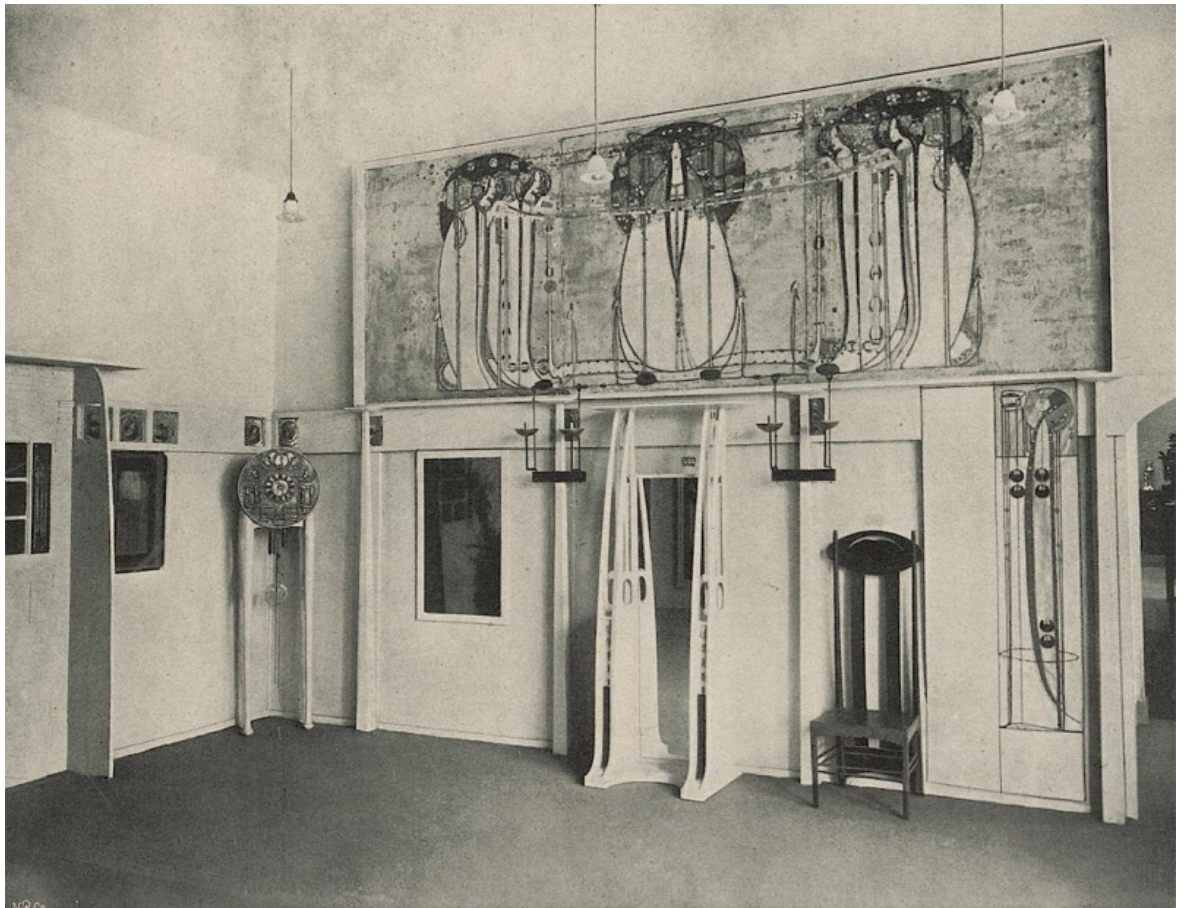


Figure 103: North Wall of Hall 10, Eighth Exhibition of the Vienna Secession, 1900, *Innendekoration*, 12, no. 2, 1901, p. 36 © University Library, Ruprecht Karls University Heidelberg



### 3.4 Hutton Castle, Berwick-upon-Tweed

Fourteen years after his purchase of Great Western Terrace, on Wednesday the 15<sup>th</sup> of September 1915, Hutton Castle, near Berwick-upon-Tweed, was put up to public auction at the Royal Hotel, Princes Street, Edinburgh by Messrs. Curtis & Henson (See figure 104).<sup>623</sup> Burrell acquired Hutton Castle and the estate of 163 acres for £23,000 at this sale, at last fulfilling his desire to own a medieval castle.

Within the notice of sale remarks were made on the soil, position of the estate, distance to banks, postal facilities, school and churches as well as a notice of the historical associations of the castle.<sup>624</sup> The historical description of the site began as follows,

In the Plantagenet period when England and Scotland were frequently at War, it is recorded that Edward I encamped with his Army at Hutton and the day following took possession of the town of Berwick.

There are still many relics at Hutton, which date back to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Many old iron cannon balls, at least four inches in diameter, have been discovered in the trees in front of the Hall. The oldest part of the building is the square tower or keep which dates back to 1200, having a projecting circular tower, a stone stairway and a huge fire-place.<sup>625</sup>

The advertisement went on to describe the various notable owners of the castle including William, Earl of Douglas; George Ker of Samuleston; Colonel Robert Johnston; Sir John Marjoribanks, Provost of Edinburgh in 1813; and ultimately Sir Dudley Coutts Marjoribanks who became the first Baron Tweedmouth of Edington.<sup>626</sup> The inclusion of the historical account and ownership details within the estate's advertisement for sale confirms the contemporary fashion for owning property from a specific past, as argued above in relation to Aslet, Hobsbawm and Ranger and Higonnet. For Burrell, the historical associations of the castle were as much a selling point as its location or size.

After the purchase of the property Lorimer began drawing up plans for Hutton. Letters between Burrell and Lorimer document the increasingly tense interactions following the purchase of the property, as the two men's relationship, now over twenty years in the making, began to fracture.<sup>627</sup> The following correspondence confirms what Burrell's initial requests for the renovations to the castle included. A letter from Burrell to Lorimer dated

<sup>623</sup> 'Notice of sale of Hutton Castle', Richard Marks Notes, Hutton Castle, GMRC, Burrell Archive, to be catalogued under number GMA.2013.1.3.4.; 'Sale of Hutton Castle', *The Times*, September 16<sup>th</sup> 1915, Issue 40961, 11.

<sup>624</sup> 'Notice of sale of Hutton Castle'.

<sup>625</sup> 'Notice of sale of Hutton Castle'.

<sup>626</sup> 'Notice of sale of Hutton Castle'.

<sup>627</sup> Sir Robert Lorimer Papers, Coll-27, University of Edinburgh Main Library Gen.1963/52, File 4: Hutton Castle.



Figure 104: Hutton Castle, Berwick-upon-Tweed, 1916 after restorations by Lord Tweedmouth © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection

May 1916 listed ten alterations,

Dear Lorimer,

I have your letter of 17<sup>th</sup> and telegram of today but as I informed you I am quite happy with the exterior of Hutton as it stands and am not prepared to remove any part of it. All I thought of doing was what I indicated in my letters of 7<sup>th</sup> instant but since writing them I have decided to do only the undernoted, leaving the rest for consideration after the war is over.

1. Turn the pug's parlour, butler's bedroom, and butlers pantry into an entrance hall as suggested by you making the entrance doors at the south end and leaving the drawing room floor above undisturbed. The stairs to remain as it is making the best passage round to it from the entrance hall.
2. Small centre bedroom above drawing room to be added to the south bedroom next door so that the south bedroom and the north bedroom may be used either as separate bedrooms or as a bedroom and a dressing room.
3. Remove the large Chimney from the servant's hall, boudoir, my dressing room and bedroom on top floor – the fireplace in servants hall to be placed into the centre wall opposite.
4. Remove wood panelling from Dining Room & put up the linen fold dado at present in the dining room of 8 Great Western Terrace.
5. Morning room in Tower – Change fireplace into kitchen flue, thin the north wall and take away thick corner in south west of room.
6. Bedroom in Tower – Thin the north wall and take away thick corner in south west of room.
7. Turn the present beer cellar and larder opposite the kitchen into a butlers pantry.
8. Turn the room next to the game room into a wine cellar.
9. Electric wiring – we should like a note of the position of the lights and plugs.
10. You might find out if the centre wall can be thinned or if it is better left alone

When asking for estimates will you kindly ask Robb Gelchrist & Son. Ltd. 48 New Street Glasgow and R Murdoch & Son 91 Maxwell Road Glasgow to quote in addition to any others you may be asking. We should like to get into the house as early as possible and should be glad if the work can be completed by the middle or end of July.<sup>628</sup>

Burrell's letter clearly indicates that his initial plans for Hutton were for a quick renovation to the castle's interior. He concluded by stating that he wanted work to be finished by the end of July at the latest, only two months after sending the letter. Burrell expressed that until the end of the war he did not wish to undertake major renovations. The alterations requested from Lorimer in the letter follow Aslet's notion of the transformation of a historical castle into a home suited to modern living, the additions of electric wiring especially indicated the collector's desire for Hutton to become a "castle of comfort".<sup>629</sup>

<sup>628</sup> William Burrell to Sir Robert Lorimer, 20<sup>th</sup> May 1916, Sir Robert Lorimer Papers, Coll-27, University of Edinburgh Main Library, Gen.1963/6/271.

<sup>629</sup> Aslet, *The Last Country Houses*, 183.



Despite Burrell's requests for minimal renovations at this stage, Lorimer suggested a number of varying alterations for the castle. In November 1916 he wrote to Burrell regarding two matters arising from Burrell's requests for the renovations of the castle, the first read as follows:

Regarding the first, your proposal is to stop the principal corkscrew staircase at the Drawing room level and leave the bathroom above more or less as it is. The upper floors would then solely be served by two extremely narrow corkscrew stairs – the one in the old Tower being about as bad and difficult a one as I have ever seen, and the other a little if any better.

As I have lived for nearly 40 years in a house entirely served by corkscrew stairs I am doubtless the last person who ought to know anything about them from the practical point of view. At Kellie there are four corkscrew stairs three of them fairly easy and one unusually wide. Where everyone is 'merry and bright' these stairs answer well enough, but when any one is not too strong or suffering from lumbago or rheumatism or some such ailment, these stairs are a difficulty. I cannot picture to you the agony of trying to get my mother up and down the Turret stair to her bedroom the last year or two at Kellie, and one of the main reasons why we had to abandon taking her there last year was owing to the impossibility of getting her up and down. You cannot carry a person on a carrying chair up and down one of these stairs, yet the stair to my mother's bedroom was comparatively wide and easy compared to your stairs at Hutton.<sup>630</sup>

In his letter Lorimer advised Burrell against his plan to have only two narrow corkscrew stairs as access to the upper floors. His advice was based on personal experience from Kellie. Whilst this shows the close nature of the men's relationship it also suggests why their friendship was to come to an end. Lorimer's continued references to Kellie enforced a competition between the two friends, one based on their individual status.

Burrell did take a number of Lorimer's suggestions on board, for example the inclusion of central heating throughout the castle, and Lorimer's idea to turn the pug's parlour, butler's bedroom and butler's pantry into an entrance hall.<sup>631</sup> In a letter dated 7<sup>th</sup> May 1916 Burrell wrote to Lorimer,

Since writing you today Connie and I have been talking over the matter further and think I might be better to make now any additions we are going to make, as to do it later would mean a second upheaval and when central heating is going in it is well to know exactly what age of boiler etc are required for the total. Now we don't want much – It seems to me that if you had the present end building repeated it would

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<sup>630</sup> Sir Robert Lorimer to William Burrell, 6<sup>th</sup> November 1916, Sir Robert Lorimer Papers, Coll-27, University of Edinburgh Main Library, Gen.1963/6/270a.

<sup>631</sup> William Burrell to Sir Robert Lorimer, 7<sup>th</sup> May 1916, Sir Robert Lorimer Papers, Coll-27, University of Edinburgh Main Library, Gen.1964/6/274a.

cover all we require.<sup>632</sup>

The letter demonstrates that Lorimer's recommendations did not fall on deaf ears. Here again we see Burrell's eagerness to make Hutton a house fit to live in. However, in both letters from May 1916 Burrell clearly stated that he did not want much by way of changes to the original castle. A year after this letter, in August 1917, the collector wrote to Lorimer,

I have your letter of 3<sup>rd</sup> instant in which you write 'owing to the fact that no one can teach you anything about your own business you assume you are equally conversant with everything else'.

I think this remark is surely unnecessary. What I have done is to decline your £40,000 proposals of which up till now I have received three although I made it clear from the beginning that I was quite pleased with the exterior of the house and was not prepared to remove any part of the exterior – that all I wanted was to remove some of the partitions etc in order to get more space inside and larger rooms and – provided the expense was not too much – to build some servants rooms at the east end of the house. But because I tell you what accommodation I wish and suggest how it might be got surely the remark you make is quite unnecessary.

I note you have prepared another plan and I wired asking you to send it though – I hope it does not embody more than I wish.<sup>633</sup>

The letter marked a distinct change of tone between the two men. Burrell quoted Lorimer's letter back to him in which the architect suggested Burrell was unwilling to take advice. The collector then criticised Lorimer for having ignored his requests for simple renovations using limited expenses. Lorimer's additions had gone beyond internal renovations; the architect had drawn up a number of plans for an extension wing to be added to the castle (See figure 105). In September 1917 Burrell wrote to Lorimer, "As you know I only agreed to allow the wing to be built on your distinct assurance that it could be carried out comfortably at £3000 or a little over. Had I known that it would have cost more I would never have allowed the work to go on."<sup>634</sup> From both letters it appears that Lorimer was going against Burrell's requested alterations. Lorimer's comment cited by Burrell, "no one can teach you anything about your own business", appears to also have been true of the architect.

Lorimer's status as an architect in Scotland at this time was significant, both as a renovator of historic houses but also as a designer of war memorials during the First World War. His standing was such that he was knighted for his services in 1911.<sup>635</sup> I would suggest that the tension between the two men came from the acceleration of Lorimer's status. When

<sup>632</sup> Burrell to Lorimer, 7<sup>th</sup> May 1916.

<sup>633</sup> William Burrell to Sir Robert Lorimer, 9<sup>th</sup> August 1917, Sir Robert Lorimer Papers, Coll-27, University of Edinburgh Main Library, Gen.1963/6/276.

<sup>634</sup> William Burrell to Sir Robert Lorimer, 26<sup>th</sup> September 1917, Sir Robert Lorimer Papers, Coll-27, University of Edinburgh Main Library, Gen.1963/6/278.

<sup>635</sup> David Goold, '(Sir) Robert Stodart Lorimer', *Dictionary of Scottish Architects*, [www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect\\_full.php?id=200052](http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=200052) (accessed 02.05.18).

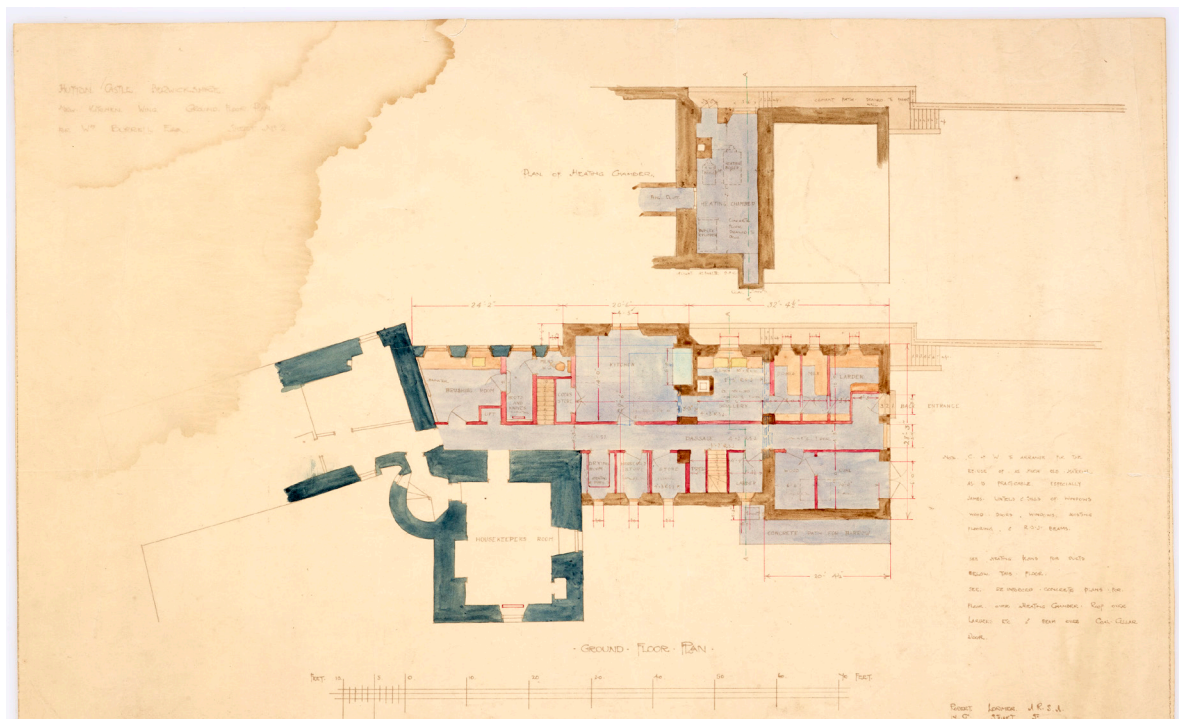


Figure 105: Robert Lorimer, Floor plans and elevations showing alternative schemes for additions and alterations. Ground floor plan of new kitchen wing. Sketch of proposed new entrance doorway, 1916, Hutton Castle © Historic Environment Scotland



Burrell and Lorimer met, Lorimer's success as an architect was just beginning. Under Burrell's employment the two men grew and learned from each other. By 1917 both men had matured into their roles as collector and architect respectively. Burrell would also be knighted for his services to art, but not until 1927. Perhaps the collector felt overshadowed by Lorimer's successes. On Lorimer's part, his knighthood might also have brought with it a sense that he knew better than Burrell. His regular comparisons of Hutton to Kellie might indicate as much; not only had Lorimer been knighted before Burrell, he also had experience of living in a historical building for "nearly forty years".<sup>636</sup>

In October 1917 Burrell and Lorimer's relationship came to an end. Burrell wrote to the architect, "The result is so unsatisfactory and annoying that I shall not require further professional assistance from you."<sup>637</sup> Although the letter only indicated a break of their professional association, their friendship was also finished. After this, no renovations took place on Hutton Castle until after the First World War, when Burrell employed a pupil of Lorimer's, Reginald Fairlie (1883-1952). Fairlie undertook internal and external renovations to the castle's west block.<sup>638</sup> Marks suggests that Burrell's choice of Fairlie was somewhat surprising.<sup>639</sup> However, taking into consideration the competitive nature between Burrell and Lorimer it is arguable that the collector's choice of Lorimer's pupil was deliberate. Whatever the case, the relationship was short-lived as Fairlie left the project in the early 1920s.<sup>640</sup>

In September 1947 Burrell wrote to Tom Honeyman regarding the renovation of Hutton Castle,

When I bought Hutton Castle I employed Sir Robert Lorimer to do a part of the building, the servants wing, & on his own he submitted a plan for the main building which was so poor that it was not worth consideration. The 1914-18 war took place & everything was closed down but some time after I employed Reginald Fairlie. But he made several serious blunders & to strengthen up the building I found a Mr Frank Surgey who was immeasurably capable than either of the men. I can't tell you how clever & helpful he was – He takes the deepest interest in the house and knows the collection more intimately than anyone else.<sup>641</sup>

Whilst it is not known how Burrell met Frank Surgey, we do know his first purchases from him were made on the 1<sup>st</sup> July 1925. The objects listed for this date are, "Pair English Gothic iron firedogs", "Nonesuch inlaid oak chest" and "Sheraton bird cage", showing that Burrell was buying domestic objects for Hutton from Surgey.<sup>642</sup> It was Surgey's firm, Acton Surgey

<sup>636</sup> Sir Robert Lorimer to William Burrell, 6<sup>th</sup> November 1916, Sir Robert Lorimer Papers, Coll-27, University of Edinburgh Main Library, Gen.1963/6/270a.

<sup>637</sup> William Burrell to Sir Robert Lorimer, 25<sup>th</sup> October 1917, Sir Robert Lorimer Papers, Coll-27, University of Edinburgh Main Library, Gen.1963/6/281a.

<sup>638</sup> Marks, *Portrait of a Collector*, 102.

<sup>639</sup> Marks, *Portrait of a Collector*, 102.

<sup>640</sup> Marks, *Portrait of a Collector*, 107.

<sup>641</sup> Sir William Burrell to T. J. Honeyman, 3<sup>rd</sup> September 1947, GMRC, Burrell Archive, GMA. 2013.1.2.22.

<sup>642</sup> Burrell, *Purchase Book*, 1925, 52.6, 13-17.

Ltd, that Burrell employed in 1925 to complete the refurbishment of the castle's interiors.<sup>643</sup> Acton Surgey Ltd was a firm started by Surgey, and joined a few years later by Murray Adams-Acton. Both men had been employees of White Allom & Co a decorator, furniture manufacturer and antique dealership set up by Charles Carrick Allom (1865-1947) in 1905.<sup>644</sup> White Allom was a firm best known for its renovations of Buckingham Palace and Henry Clay Frick's house at One East 70<sup>th</sup> Street.<sup>645</sup> An advertisement for the Acton Surgey's gallery at 6 Abermarle Street, London, from 1947, reads, "One of our galleries, where we have a large selection of antique furniture of all periods, early works of art, tapestries" and from this we know that like White Allom, Acton Surgey specialised in interiors (See figure 106).<sup>646</sup>

Rather than duplicate Marks's research on the Hutton renovations, in this section I concentrate on the interior schemes and fittings of the castle.<sup>647</sup> Using the dining room and drawing room of Hutton Castle as my main case studies, I trace the similarities and differences in design from 8 Great Western Terrace. My analysis of the interior schemes ultimately shows that the interior schemes designed with Lorimer in Glasgow formed the basis for Burrell's future philosophies of design, regardless of their falling out. Hutton Castle presents a culmination of Burrell's taste, and a space in which Burrell expressed, through his choice of interior fittings and decoration the manner in which he wanted his collection to be experienced.<sup>648</sup>

Hutton Castle had rooms over four floors. On the ground floor of the main block there was: the entrance corridor, main hall and bathrooms. Above the main hall on the first floor was the drawing room; this floor also housed the dining room. The second and third floors of the castle were: bedrooms, bathrooms, as well as smaller drawing rooms and boudoirs.

The main drawing room at Hutton Castle was a public room. It held fine tapestries, examples of late sixteenth and early seventeenth century English oak furniture, early eighteenth century cane and upholstered chairs and settees, medieval sculpture and a large Gothic stone chimneypiece (See figure 107 and 108).<sup>649</sup> The oak floors were covered in rich carpets and the windows fitted with stained glass. The majority of the tapestries that hung on the walls of the room had been in Burrell's collection since Great Western Terrace. Indeed, they had been hung on the walls of the townhouse's dining room (See figures 86-92).<sup>650</sup> By hanging the tapestries together again within the drawing room at Hutton Burrell showed his augmented admiration for the pieces, again pairing them with suitable furnishings, stained glass and sculpture as a means of celebrating their historical and aesthetic value.

<sup>643</sup> Marks, *Portrait of a Collector*, 109.

<sup>644</sup> For details of both firms see 'Antique Dealers: the British Antique Trade in the 20<sup>th</sup> century', University of Leeds, <https://antiquetrade.leeds.ac.uk/dealerships> (last accessed 23.11.17).

<sup>645</sup> Marks, *Portrait of a Collector*, 109.

<sup>646</sup> 'Acton Surgey, 6 Abermarle Street, 1947', image and information taken from 'Antique Dealers: the British Antique Trade in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century', Leeds University, <https://antiquetrade.leeds.ac.uk/dealerships/36138> (last accessed 23.11.17).

<sup>647</sup> For Marks's analysis of Hutton Castle see 'Hutton Castle', in Marks, *Portrait of a Collector*, 92-116.

<sup>648</sup> Higonnet, *A Museum of One's Own*, 95.

<sup>649</sup> Hancock, 'William Burrell's Tapestries: Collecting and Display', 21.

<sup>650</sup> For full details of the location of the tapestries in the drawing room see Hancock, 'William Burrell's Tapestries: Collecting and Display', 19-21.



Figure 106: Interior of Acton Surgey shop, 6 Abermarle Street, 1947 © University of Leeds, *Antique Dealers: the British Antique Trade in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century* <https://antiquetrade.leeds.ac.uk/img/uploads/2017/04/ba34dc11e3ca59031f7c29c3adf320bd.jpg> (accessed 3.12.18)





Figure 107: Drawing Room, Hutton Castle, view to the East, 1948 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection

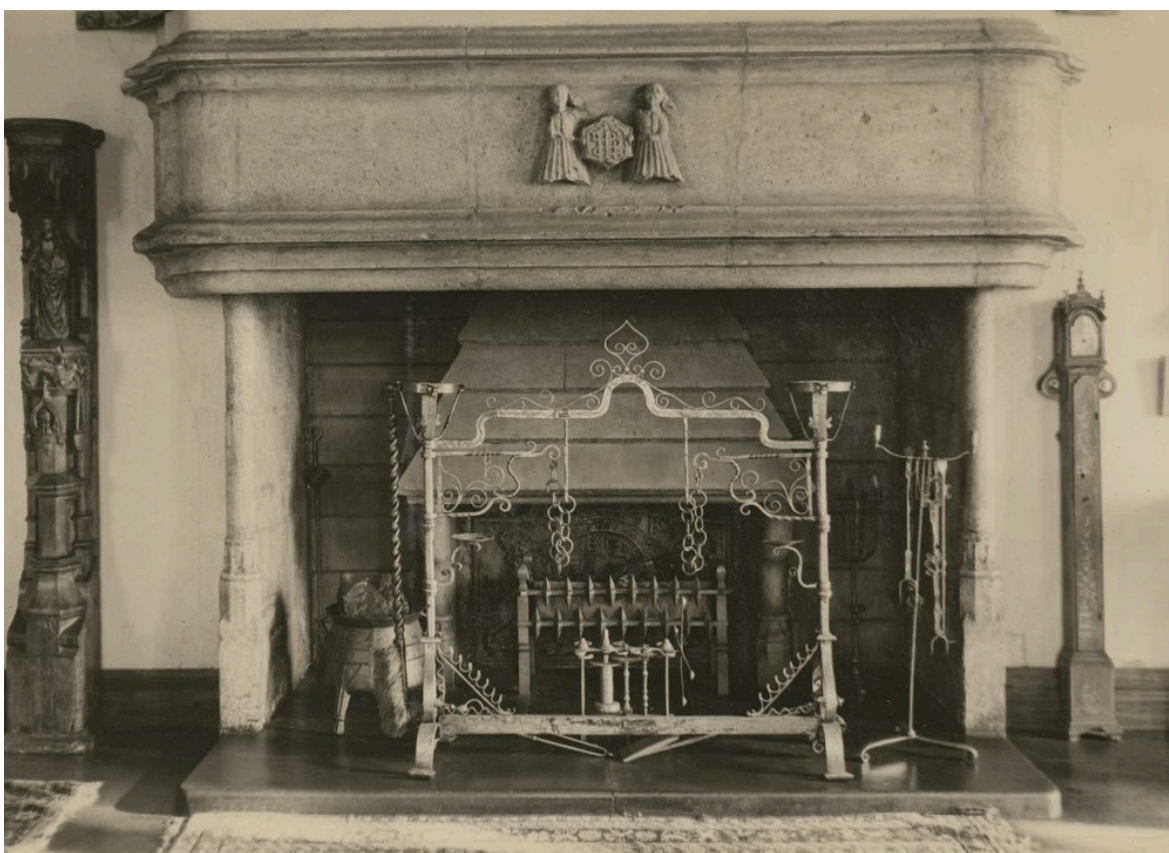


Figure 108: Detail of stone chimneypiece in Drawing Room, Hutton Castle © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection

Much of the furniture within the room was acquired with historical relevance and significant provenance, such as aristocratic families and established collections. An example of this is the Richard de Bury Chest, an important piece of mid fourteenth century English oak furniture (See figure 109). Burrell purchased the chest in 1941. His entry for the piece in his purchase book stated that it was bought from Captain Norman R. Colville (1893-1974), a great collector of furniture, and went into great detail about its form and painted decoration: commenting specifically on the four coats of arms visible on the inside lid of the chest. He noted the history of the chest: how it was made for Richard de Bury, Bishop of Durham (1335-1345) and the Chancellor of England and High Treasurer under Edward II (1327-1377).<sup>651</sup> Burrell bought the chest for £2500, equivalent to about £62,500 today.<sup>652</sup> His detailed description of the piece, as well as the high price that he paid for it illustrates how significant this object was to him at the time.

Because of its rich provenance the chest was a celebrated piece of furniture. It had been exhibited twice in the 1930s: at the V&A in 1930 and the Royal Academy of Arts in 1934.<sup>653</sup> It was also widely published in literature at the time, an example being Percy Macquoid and Ralph Edwards's 1924 *Dictionary of English Furniture*, a copy of which Sir William had in his personal library.<sup>654</sup> As with the Bury Chest, all of the pieces of furniture in this room were specifically chosen. Of the original items of furniture located in the drawing room only six were acquired before 1911.<sup>655</sup> Fifteen pieces were acquired between 1915 and 1926, eight between 1931 and 1947, and five in 1941 from the Colville collection.<sup>656</sup> As the castle was purchased in 1915 these dates illustrate that the majority of the items of furniture were acquired with the drawing room in mind. This indicates that Burrell's choice of items for the room was particular, individual pieces were chosen as a means to create a whole.

Just as in the drawing room at Great Western Terrace the Hutton Castle drawing room was a space in which Burrell displayed his most important pieces. Undoubtedly, the two rooms present a development of Burrell's taste. The white drawing room suggests Burrell's earlier celebration of Whistler's oeuvre, whilst Hutton Castle's drawing room shows the collector's total embrace of the medieval. Regardless of the change in the objects Burrell displayed within this room, it is important to note the continued purpose of the room. Just as the white drawing room suited the objects housed within it, the Hutton drawing room used plain walls and ceiling as a means of enhancing the objects on display, which covered the room from wall to wall. Considering the two drawings rooms together it is clear that although they are different in style the principles of design that went into them remained

<sup>651</sup> Burrell, Purchase Book, 1941, 52.14, 66.

<sup>652</sup> Burrell, Purchase Book, 1941, 52.14, 66.; This price conversion is working on the sum of multiplying the original price by 25.

<sup>653</sup> Forthcoming publication Elizabeth Hancock, Erma Hermens and Lindsay Gordon, 'The Medieval Bury Chest: Mapping the Journey from Durham Cathedral to the Burrell Collection', in (eds.) Nick Pearce and Jane Milosch, *Collecting and Provenance: A Multi-Disciplinary Approach* (New York: Roman and Littlefield, forthcoming, 2019).

<sup>654</sup> Miles Kerr-Peterson, 'Sir William Burrell Library Catalogue', GMRC; Further information from Elizabeth Hancock unpublished '14.352 Bury Chest File'.

<sup>655</sup> These are most likely acquired pre-1911 as they do not feature in the Purchase Books.

<sup>656</sup> Information from Elizabeth Hancock's notes on drawing room, December 2016.





Figure 109: Richard de Bury chest of oak and iron, c. 1340, The Burrell Collection, 14.352  
© CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection



constant. Just as in the white drawing room Burrell juxtaposed the Whistler paintings with suitable Chinese porcelain and plain decorations, at Hutton Castle the objects were suited to each other. In both rooms the objects were chosen specifically, and by placing together within the space of the drawing room they reflected their owner's specific knowledge and appreciation of his objects.<sup>657</sup>

An account of Hutton Castle from the son of a Norwegian shipbuilder who visited Hutton during the First World War recounts a tour of Hutton Castle.<sup>658</sup> In the account Lady Burrell is quoted having said to the Norwegian,

You must come often, as we build the place up. It will be years before William gets it all ready, years. It's taken him months of planning just to get these three rooms organised, and they have absorbed only a tiny part of what he has been building over the last few years.<sup>659</sup>

The account was written by Frank Herrmann but never published. However, Herrmann did publish a revised account in 1999 in association with the Travellers Club, London.<sup>660</sup> Although the Norwegian family is untraceable, Herrmann writes that they were in shipping and also collectors. These connections are presumably how Burrell knew the family. Herrmann writes, "there was concern over making public MM's amazing collecting activities", suggesting the reason as to why the original account was never published.<sup>661</sup> Regardless of this the account gives a unique insight into Hutton Castle at this early stage of its renovations. Without knowledge of who the Norwegian family were the value of the source is limited, but it still indicates the amount of thought Burrell put into the planning of the castle's interiors.

One room described in the account fits the description of the drawing room,

William and his wife led us through a number of rooms which were still a total shambles, with plasterwork falling off and cracked ceilings, though I recall that they were all scrupulously clean. Then we came to a great hall that was imposing in itself, but what made it truly magnificent were the early Flemish tapestries depicting hunting scenes and incidents from rural life that hung all around the walls. Below them on the finest medieval tables were displayed Italian Renaissance sculptures and carvings in wood and ivory, majolica, glass, metalwork and arms and armour. Outside a museum I had never seen such an assemblage.<sup>662</sup>

<sup>657</sup> Jean Baudrillard, 'The System of Collecting', in (eds.) John Elsner & Roger Cardinal, *The Cultures of Collecting* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 1994), 7.

<sup>658</sup> (unpublished) Frank Herrmann, 'Account of Hutton Castle', Richard Marks notes, 'Hutton Castle', GMRC, Burrell Archive, to be catalogued under the series GMA.2013.1.4.

<sup>659</sup> (unpublished) Herrmann, 'Account of Hutton Castle'.

<sup>660</sup> Frank Herrmann, 'The Secret Saga of the Three Ms', in (eds.) Frank Herrmann & Michael Allen, *Travellers Tales* (London: Castlereagh Press, 1999), 198-205.

<sup>661</sup> Herrmann, 'The Secret Saga of the Three Ms', 204.

<sup>662</sup> (unpublished) Herrmann, 'Account of Hutton Castle'.

Although the room is described as “a great hall”, the description of the tapestries showing scenes from rural life and hunting leads me to believe that this was the drawing room. The Norwegian’s account gives a unique impression of the impact of Hutton’s interiors in the first decade of the twentieth century, and the manner in which Burrell created his interiors; room by room, building each up in turn. It is then not surprising that he and Constance did not move into Hutton until 1927.

As the drawing room was the principal room of the castle, it is perhaps surprising that Burrell did not continue the use of oak panelling into the room. However, when considered alongside museum display at this time – here I am particularly thinking of the V&A’s display following Aston Webb’s redesign of the building between the years 1899 and 1909 – the choice of plain walls is not so surprising. Throughout his collecting career Burrell loaned objects, tapestries and furniture to the V&A. In the 1930s he unofficially offered his collection to the museum, an act that suggests both his admiration for the museum’s mission, their “object-based” scholarship,<sup>663</sup> and methods of display.<sup>664</sup> The 1909 opening of the V&A marked a change in the museum’s display; rather than the bold colours used as backgrounds to the objects by Henry Cole (1808-1882), Webb set the displays against plain walls as a means of reducing crowding and increasing coherency.<sup>665</sup> As I have noted the drawing room at Hutton was Burrell’s main display room, covered from wall to wall it housed some of the collector’s most important objects. The room’s purpose would support Burrell’s adherence to museum display methods, especially the methods of a museum that he held in such high regard as the V&A.

An entry from Burrell’s purchase book dated 7<sup>th</sup> May 1932 reads, “An exceptionally fine English oak room from Harrington Hall, as shown in the set of photographs, the room consisting of a superb series of carved panels with linen fold and plain panels below, the date of the room being about 1500.”<sup>666</sup> The panelling described was fitted within the dining room of Hutton Castle (See figures 110 and 111). Hutton’s panelled dining room marked a move away from the tapestry-covered walls of the dining room at Great Western Terrace. Although at Great Western Terrace the tapestries were framed by panelling, the panelling was not historic. The Harrington Hall panelling at Hutton was a feature itself. Small German tapestry fragments were displayed within the panelling, but the main feature of the room were the historic panels.

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663 Anthony Burton, ‘Cultivating the First Generation of Scholars at the Victoria and Albert Museum’. *Nineteenth-century art worldwide, a journal of nineteenth-century visual culture*, Vol. 14, Issue, 2, Summer 2015 [http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/summer15/burton-on-first-generation-of-scholars-at-victoria-and-albert-museum#\\_ftn72](http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/summer15/burton-on-first-generation-of-scholars-at-victoria-and-albert-museum#_ftn72) (accessed 20.10.18); See also John Physick, *The Victoria and Albert Museum: the history of its building* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1982).

664 For information on Burrell’s intentions to bequeath his collection to the V&A see V&A Archive, BURRELL, Sir William PART 1 1920-1933/34, MA/1/B3568.

665 Richard Dunn & Anthony Burton, ‘The Victoria and Albert Museum: An Illustrated Chronology’, in (eds.) Malcolm Baker & Brenda Richardson, *A Grand Design: The Art of the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London & Baltimore: V&A Publications, 1997), 61.

666 Whilst this entry is dated 7<sup>th</sup> May 1932, the panelling was purchased on 25<sup>th</sup> November 1925 from Acton Surgery. Burrell, Purchase Book, 1932, 7<sup>th</sup> May 1932, 52.8, 59.



Figure 110: Dining Room, Hutton Castle, view to the East, 1948 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection





Figure 111: Harrington Hall panelling in situ at Harrington Hall © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection



Figure 112: Dining Room showing original panelling, Hutton Castle, 1915 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection



A picture of the dining room from 1915 shows that the room was panelled when Burrell purchased Hutton (See figure 112). Both the panelling and the plaster ceiling dated from the late sixteenth century. These fittings were original interior elements, leading Marks to note that their removal was a “mixed blessing”.<sup>667</sup> Why Burrell chose to replace Hutton’s original panelling is unclear. Perhaps he wanted an earlier example of wooden decoration for the room. Or maybe, rather than simple square-panelling Burrell wanted an example of linen fold decoration, which was fashionable at this time.<sup>668</sup> The Harrington Hall panelling was intricately carved; two linen fold tiers were topped with decoration of hybrid monsters and foliage. In fact, the floral decoration of the panelling is reminiscent of the decorative panels that Lorimer designed for Burrell’s stairwell at Great Western Terrace (See figures 113-115). It suggest that Burrell’s admiration for the Harrington Hall panelling was its similarity to Lorimer’s woodwork. Whatever the reason Burrell’s replacement of Hutton’s original panelling highlights his eagerness to create his own historical context within the castle, a context that reflected his personal taste.

The Hutton Castle dining room also marks a development from its Great Western Terrace counterpart precisely because it is a room that is exclusively historic. The Glasgow room was furnished with a Gothic-style table designed by Lorimer. In contrast the Hutton dining room was accompanied by historical English oak furniture. The dining table, bought from Acton Surgey in October 1929 for £3200, was “An exceptionally large & rare Elizabethan Refectory Table with massive parquetry Top, carved frieze and carved bulbous legs”.<sup>669</sup> Six armchairs surrounded the table, now known to be: three from South Yorkshire, one from South Wales, one from Southwark and one from Northern England. They were all oak and dated from between 1575 and 1675. The three German tapestry panels found within the dining room were all bought in 1928, suggesting that they were purchased specifically for the room.<sup>670</sup> Around the side walls of the room were armchairs, two of which are Scottish seventeenth century, and chests and court cupboards from England. Armorial stained glass and medieval sculpture accompanied these. All of the objects within the room acted to enhance the historical nature of the display.

Like the drawing room, the dining room at Hutton Castle presented a complete exhibition space. From the oak panelling to the oak floors, the use of oak beams running across the ceiling, and all of the suitable furnishings detailed above, Burrell created a room that acted as a comprehensive space of display for his objects.

Although there is no extant correspondence between Burrell and Acton Surgey, Murray Adams-Acton’s 1929 text *Domestic Architecture and Old Furniture* demonstrates at least one half of the firm’s taste in the decoration of houses.<sup>671</sup> The book’s publication in

<sup>667</sup> Marks, *Portrait of a Collector*, 109.

<sup>668</sup> John Harris, *Moving Rooms: The Trade in Architectural Salvages* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2007), 11.

<sup>669</sup> Burrell, Purchase Book, 15<sup>th</sup> October 1929, 52.8.

<sup>670</sup> Hancock, ‘William Burrell’s Tapestries’, 21.

<sup>671</sup> Murray Adams-Acton, *Domestic Architecture and Old Furniture* (London: Geoffrey Bus, 1929).



(above) Figure 113 and 114: Detail of wooden stair decoration at 8 Great Western Terrace. Photograph taken by author, 2017; (below) Figure 115: Detail of Harrington Hall oak panelling, c.1500 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection



1929 coincided with Acton Surgey's renovations to Hutton, suggesting that Burrell was both aware of the text and supported it. Indeed, many of Adams-Acton's arguments laid out in the twenty-first chapter of his book - 'Victorian to the Present Day' - in which he considers the use of historical furniture within domestic spaces, are reflected in the interior schemes at Hutton Castle.<sup>672</sup>

With regard to appropriate lighting for an historical room Adams-Acton exclaimed,

why do some people invariably hang electrical fittings just as near to the ceiling as they possibly can? They give an unpleasantly cold reflection and provoke a fear that to read a book at night it would be necessary to sit on top of a step-ladder! An early oak room is best lighted by *torchères* and lamps.<sup>673</sup>

From Burrell's Purchase Books we know he purchased various pairs of *torchères*: "a pair of fifteenth-century wrought iron *torchères* French or Italian" purchased in January 1929, and "a pair of very fine early 15th Century iron *torchères* with ornamental wrought iron lily flowers" purchased in August 1930.<sup>674</sup> Evidence of lamps are also seen in all of the rooms of Hutton Castle photographed in 1948. The lamps are either standing or table lamps and are placed beside chairs, sofas and beds (See figures 116 and 117). This links to Adams-Acton's call for the homely nature of historic interior decoration, the rooms of Hutton Castle, whilst displaying the objects housed within them appropriately, still displayed signs of use and comfort.<sup>675</sup>

In the photographs of Hutton's drawing room three wrought iron chandeliers can be seen, however, these have been hung on long chains so as to augment the amount of light brought into the room (See figures 118 and 119). The vellum shades for the chandeliers are plain in colour, following Adams-Acton's call for "tones of amber, vellum and straw" as the best imitation of sunlight.<sup>676</sup> A similar design of chandelier can be seen in the photographs of the dining room and hall. From Burrell's record of objects bought through Acton Surgey it appears that the collector had 21 chandeliers of this type designed for Hutton Castle. These were in both public and private rooms; all of the bedrooms, the drawing room, dining room, landings and vestibule, with their total cost amounting to over £1,000.<sup>677</sup> The repetition of these chandeliers throughout the house illustrates Burrell's desire for a coherence of display. I would argue that the repetition of design in *both* public and private rooms suggests Burrell's intentions to create a total exhibition space within Hutton Castle. Not only did he link the rooms with late-medieval and early-Renaissance objects, he supported this with suitable

<sup>672</sup> Adams-Acton, 'Victorian to the Present Day', in Adams-Acton, *Domestic Architecture and Old Furniture*, 100-111.

<sup>673</sup> Adams-Acton, 'Victorian to the Present Day', 108.

<sup>674</sup> Burrell, Purchase Book, 1929-1930, 52.7, 31; 52.8, 19.

<sup>675</sup> Adams-Acton, 'Victorian to the Present Day', 106-110.

<sup>676</sup> Adams-Acton, 'Victorian to the Present Day', 108.

<sup>677</sup> 'Chandeliers', Burrell, Purchase Book, 1932, 52.9, 9.



Figure 116: Photograph of Dressing Room No 1 showing table lamp beside bed, Hutton Castle, 1948 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection



Figure 117: Photograph of Dressing Room No 1 showing table lamp beside bed, Hutton Castle, 1948 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection





(above) Figure 118: Photograph of vellum chandelier made by Acton Surgey for Hutton Castle drawing room, The Burrell Collection © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection;  
 (below) Figure 119: Photograph of Hall showing chandeliers made by Acton Surgey for Burrell Hutton Castle, 1948 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection



modern fittings running throughout the castle.

As well as lighting Burrell also had Gothic-style radiator covers designed for eleven rooms of the castle, including: the dining room, drawing room and hall as well as all of the landings, ladies cloakroom and three bedrooms.<sup>678</sup> The covers were made from oak and were designed by Acton Surgey as a means of disguising the modern radiators. A photograph of one of the castle's guest bedrooms, listed as "No.1 Bedroom", shows an example of one of the radiator covers placed in the window (See figure 120). It was made in a way that complimented the furnishings of the room, and, indeed, the rest of the house.

Other fittings that are repeated through the house are doors. In Burrell's "Summary of Accounts" 42 doors were listed as having been added to the castle. The doors, acquired between 1926 and 1932, were all oak and Gothic. Burrell bought 21 of these through Acton Surgey in 1932 for £645, the entry for this purchase states, "21 old oak carved Gothic linenfold, slab and panelled doors and a carved chest used for a Spanish door - Avg £30-13/".<sup>679</sup> Whilst it is not known exactly where these particular doors were placed throughout the house, the fact that 21 of the 42 bought doors were similar in style suggests Burrell's desire for coherency throughout the castle. This is not to say that the other doors were not similar in style, in fact, they were also listed as panelled doors or simply oak Gothic doors suggesting their coherency. The doors were not simply purchased for the castle's public rooms, but were also purchased for: "top of narrow stairs", "bathroom to no 4 corridor", "bath room, new block", "housemaids pantries", "entrance to servants passage" and for all of the bedrooms. As with the chandeliers discussed above, Burrell's intention was for his interior decorations to be continuous throughout the whole castle, not only in the public rooms.

Burrell also had stained glass windows fitted into the windows of the servants' quarters. In a letter to Wilfred Drake from December 1930 Burrell wrote, "The English Gothic panel for the Servants pantry will require a plain sheet inside to protect it from the servants and I shall feel obliged if you will send this with the rest."<sup>680</sup> (See figure 121) The presence of glass panels in the servants' pantry again shows Burrell's intention to create a complete Gothic decorative scheme. Considering the fact that windows are visible internally and externally, the inclusion of stained glass panels in all of the windows of the castle is unsurprising. With regard to curtains Adams-Acton argues, "A glance at the curtains of a house from the outside will frequently tell you all you need to know about the nature of its interior."<sup>681</sup> Stained glass panels have the same effect. Visitors to Hutton Castle were able to see from the outside the nature of the castle's interior. The colourful windows acted as indications of the internal extension of the building's Gothic exterior.

On the 26<sup>th</sup> September 1932 Burrell wrote to Drake regarding the stained glass

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678 'Radiator Cases & Pelmet's', Burrell, Purchase Book, 1932, 52.9, 8.

679 Burrell, Purchase Book, 7<sup>th</sup> May 1932, 52.8, 57.

680 Sir William Burrell to Wilfred Drake, 8<sup>th</sup> December 1930, GMRC, Burrell Archive, 52.56.58.

681 Adams-Acton, 'Victorian to the Present Day', 109.



Figure 120: Photograph of Bedroom No 1 showing Gothic-style radiator cover made by Acton Surgey for Burrell, Hutton Castle, 1948 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection



Figure 121: Stained glass panel depicting archbishop saint, English, fifteenth century, The Burrell Collection, 45.52 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection



panels at Hutton, “I am anxious to make my glass in the house proper as much English as possible.”<sup>682</sup> The following month he wrote to the glazier again on this topic, “I have quite decided to alter the windows in the No 1 Dressing Room getting out 11 Swiss 1 French and putting in instead 4 English.”<sup>683</sup> Burrell’s agenda was clear; he wanted to move away from a European stained glass scheme to one more appropriate to the castle’s location and history: an English one.

Drake’s stained glass catalogue lists four pieces of glass in the No. 1 Dressing room, each of these were sixteenth century English panels.<sup>684</sup> Drake described the window in the dressing room as: “Four light window containing armorial oval medallions one in each light”.<sup>685</sup> He sketched an image of the layout of the window next to his description. Reading from left to right, the window’s first panel was a “Medallion with shield, ‘sable a fret or’; within a Renaissance cartouche of strapwork with birds, butterflies and locusts. These are the arms of MALTRAVERS, related by marriage with the Verneys of Compton Verney. English. XVI Century.”<sup>686</sup> The second was a “Medallion with shield, quarterly of nine” holding the arms of Talbot, Earl of Shrewbury circa 1570.<sup>687</sup> “The shield within a Renaissance cartouche of strapwork with birds, butterflies and locusts. [...] English. XVI Century.”<sup>688</sup> The third was a “Medallion with shield, quarterly of eight.”<sup>689</sup> “The shield within a Renaissance cartouche of strapwork with birds, butterflies, and locusts. The first and seventh quarterings contain the arms of Guilford Dudley, the husband of Lady Jane Grey. English. XVI Century.”<sup>690</sup> And the fourth was a “Medallion with shield, (or a chevron gules within a hordure engrailed sable). The shield within a Renaissance cartouche of strapwork with birds, butterflies and locusts. These are the arms of Stafford, related by marriage with the Verneys of Compton Verney. English. XVI Century.”<sup>691</sup> The panels were all identical in size, measuring at 21” x 15.5” (See figures 122-125). A note in Drake’s hand on the first page for the No. 1 Dressing room reads, “in place of 12 Swiss panels removed”.<sup>692</sup> Here we see a complete transformation of the room’s windows from a continental scheme - panels inspired from Burrell’s early trips to Europe - to one that celebrated English heraldic history. It was not only in this dressing room that English panels were found at Hutton. On the front page of Drake’s catalogue is an analysis of the glass throughout the castle, it divides the number of panels into their geographic locations: 148 English, 23 French, 30 Flemish, 24 Swiss, 20 Dutch and five German, making a total of 250 panels and showing Burrell’s clear preference for pieces of English origin.<sup>693</sup>

682 Sir William Burrell to Wilfred Drake, 13<sup>th</sup> October 1932, GMRC, Burrell Archive, 52.56.84.

683 Burrell to Drake, 13<sup>th</sup> October 1932.

684 Wilfred Drake, ‘List of Ancient Stained Glass at Hutton Castle 1932’ (draft), GMRC, Burrell archive, GMA.2013.1.4.1, 26-28.

685 Wilfred Drake, ‘List of Ancient Stained Glass at Hutton Castle 1932’ (draft), 26.

686 Drake, ‘List of Ancient Stained Glass at Hutton Castle 1932’ (draft), 25.

687 Drake, ‘List of Ancient Stained Glass at Hutton Castle 1932’ (draft), 26.

688 Drake, ‘List of Ancient Stained Glass at Hutton Castle 1932’ (draft), 26.

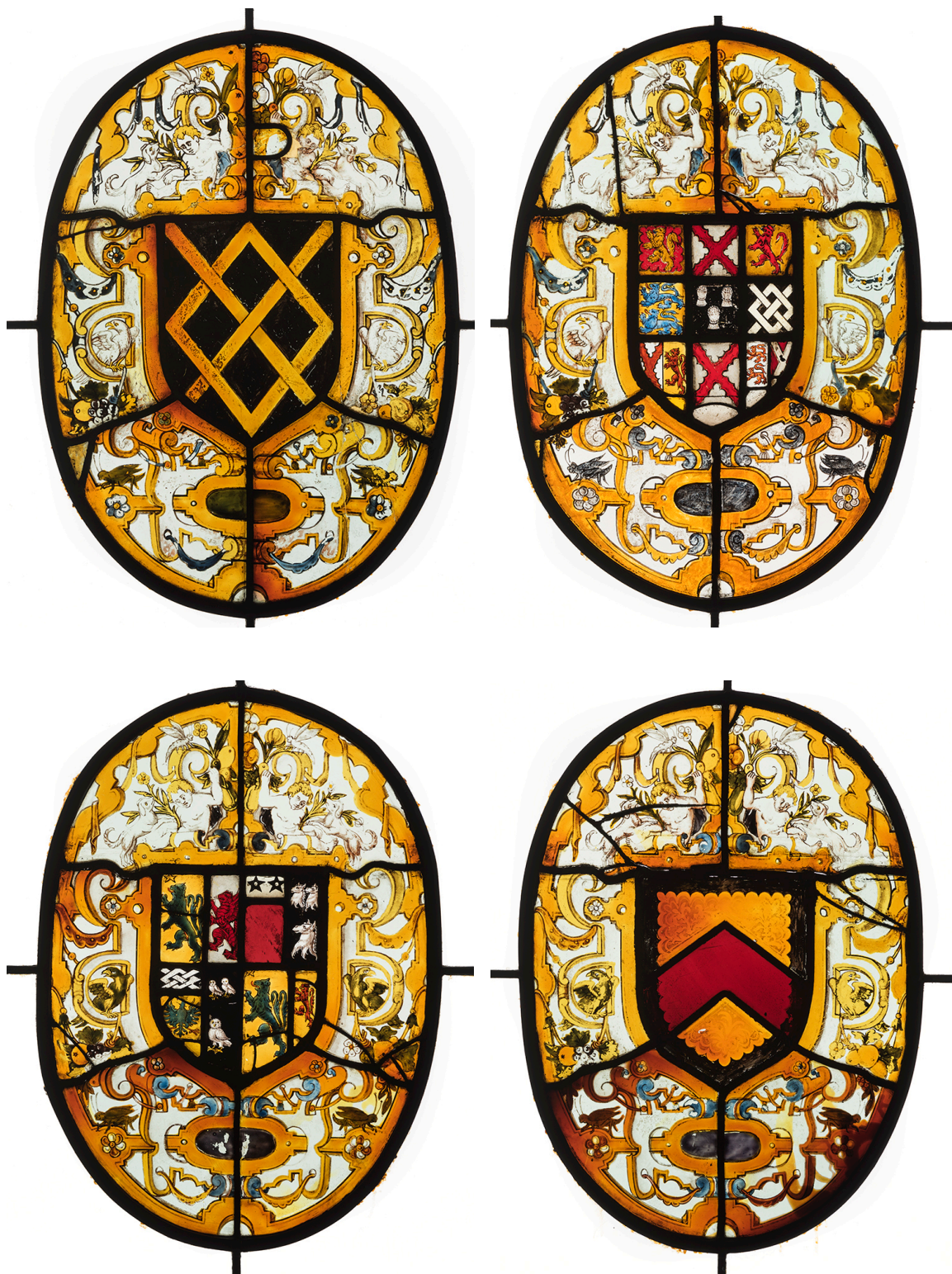
689 Drake, ‘List of Ancient Stained Glass at Hutton Castle 1932’ (draft), 27.

690 Drake, ‘List of Ancient Stained Glass at Hutton Castle 1932’ (draft), 27.

691 Drake, ‘List of Ancient Stained Glass at Hutton Castle 1932’ (draft), 28.

692 Drake, ‘List of Ancient Stained Glass at Hutton Castle 1932’ (draft), 26.

693 Wilfred Drake, ‘List of Ancient Stained Glass at Hutton Castle 1932’ (draft), front page.



(above left to right) Figures 122 and 123: Oval cartouche with Shield of Maltravers, English, sixteenth century, The Burrell Collection, 45.193; Oval cartouche, Arms of Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, English, sixteenth century, The Burrell Collection, 45.194

(below left to right) Figures 124 and 125: Oval cartouche with Shield of Dudley, English, sixteenth century, The Burrell Collection, 45.195; Oval cartouche with Shield of Dudley, English, sixteenth-century, The Burrell Collection, 45.196 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums



This incorporation of English glass can be read as Burrell seeking to portray a nationalist vision of art. As such the interior decorations at Hutton follow Higonnet's argument with regard to collection museums, "Collectors invited their audiences to identify with a modern, individual and nationalist ownership of art by designing sumptuous yet intimate settings for their treasures."<sup>694</sup> Higonnet suggests that the home became a space where the middle-class collector could at once project their own identity as well as a patriotic vision of their collection. Using the duc d'Aumale and Chantilly as her main case study she argues that at Chantilly Aumale created "the patriotism of the present" through his rebuilding of the chateaux as a means of demonstrating a French history of architecture.<sup>695</sup> Although Burrell did not attempt to rebuild Hutton, he did source suitable English fittings for the interior of the castle. These furnishings went beyond stained glass and included those discussed in this chapter: Gothic doors, English oak furniture, objects such as the Richard de Bury chest, and the Harrington Hall panelling for the dining room.

As we have already seen above through the example of Burrell's placement of the Beatrix de Valkenburg panel in the room in which her stepson, Richard Plantagenet, is said to have slept, his interior schemes were intentional and thoughtful; he specifically considered the history of Hutton (See figure 74). As I discuss in the next chapter, Burrell's conditions for his gift stated that he wanted the dining room, drawing room and hall from Hutton recreated within the collection's future building so that it felt more like a private home rather than a public museum.<sup>696</sup> This suggests that Burrell wanted the resonant and patriotic narrative of display to remain as part of the collection's identity.

Having considered the fittings throughout Hutton Castle it is evident that Burrell was attempting to create a historical interior scheme that expressed his personal historical taste. Not only did the objects within each room correspond to one another but the spaces within which these objects were placed did too. At Great Western Terrace the interiors were comprehensive, but they stood in contrast to the neo-classical exterior of the Alexander Greek Thomson designed townhouse. At Hutton Castle Burrell's objects were relevant to both the renovated interiors and the historical exterior. Therefore, through his purchase of Hutton Castle Burrell was able to celebrate his love for the Gothic and create a suitable exhibition space for the medieval pieces he had collected.

Despite the differences in the home's exteriors Burrell's interior schemes at Hutton show a continuation from Great Western Terrace. Burrell initially continued to display bronzes in his interior schemes at Hutton. In a letter to the National Gallery, Millbank (now the Tate Britain) from 1930 Burrell wrote regarding the return of two specific bronzes to

<sup>694</sup> Higonnet, *A Museum of One's Own*, 81.

<sup>695</sup> Higonnet notes how Chantilly had originally been built on triangular medieval foundations surrounded by water in 1789. It was internally redesigned several times but externally remained intact. Aumale's decision was to bring all of the varying eras of the castle's life back to life at once, using Pierre-Gerôme-Honoré Daumet as his architect. "The result was a grandiose assemblage of exteriors in medieval and Renaissance styles, of replanted seventeenth-century gardens, of preserved eighteenth-century exteriors and interiors, with nineteenth-century amenities throughout." See Higonnet, *A Museum of One's Own*, p. 83.

<sup>696</sup> Second condition, Memorandum, 1944, 1-2.



Hutton from the London gallery,

The bronze *L'Appel aux Armes* arrived safely & I am greatly obliged to you for all the trouble you took in having it so carefully packed. I have placed it and find it requires a companion so that I am reluctantly obliged to ask you to send me the '*Penseur*'.<sup>697</sup>

Upon the receipt of *L'Appel aux Armes* Burrell sent another letter to Millbank thanking them for the return of his bronze and sending four smaller bronzes pieces to the gallery,

Meantime I should like to send 4 small bronzes to the Museum viz: *The Gleaner* by van der Stappen, *The Blacksmith* by Meunier, *The man with the broken nose* by Rodin – the first bronze Rodin ever did & *Joan of Arc listening to the Voices* by Bastien Lepage – the only bronze Lepage did. They would take up very little room & we feel they do not go with our Gothic things.<sup>698</sup>

If we consider the number of bronzes found within the Great Western Terrace schemes, Burrell's last comment about how the smaller bronzes did not fit into Hutton's Gothic interior suggests a development of his taste from Great Western Terrace to Hutton Castle. Nevertheless, the continued presence of certain pieces of nineteenth century bronze sculpture at Hutton highlights his personal taste, as well as a continuity of interior-schemes from Great Western Terrace.

At Hutton Burrell continued the philosophies of display generated and executed with Lorimer in Glasgow, suggesting that the renovations to the townhouse laid the foundations of Burrell's taste in the display of his collection for the remainder of his career. The interior schemes used remained: suitable to the objects they housed, they were simple and did not detract from the works of art and, of course, they were Gothic in style. Through his continued collection of furniture and objects to fill the rooms of Hutton Castle Burrell celebrated medieval craftsmanship, and so his adherence to Arts and Crafts philosophies was still present. What changed at Hutton was Burrell's desire to move away from the use of modern-made Gothic-style furnishings like those Lorimer had designed for 8 Great Western Terrace. Although he did have fittings such as the radiator covers made for the castle, this was simply because there was no historical equivalent for him to acquire. Hutton Castle was an opportunity for Burrell to immerse himself as much as possible in the historic.<sup>699</sup> As suggested through his replacement of the original Hutton dining room panelling with the

<sup>697</sup> Sir William Burrell to J. B. Manson Esq., 8<sup>th</sup> December 1930, Tate Archive, TG/4/8/3/3.

<sup>698</sup> Sir William Burrell to J. B. Manson Esq., 17<sup>th</sup> February 1935, Tate Archive, TG/4/8/3/4.

<sup>699</sup> Burrell's embrace of historic craftsmanship at Hutton did not extend to all areas of his collecting. For example in 1937 he purchased the Post-Impressionist work by Paul Cezanne (1839-1906) *The Chateau de Medan*. His was not a rejection of modern art, rather, within his home, it was a rejection of the modern made in place of the historic.

Harrington Hall panels, this was not any history but one specifically chosen by the collector himself. Through his carefully designed interior schemes Burrell celebrated his collection. By doing so, he created interior spaces that projected his desired identity, confirming his status as a cultured collector of great means and good taste.

Hutton as a symbol of Burrell's identity is clearly expressed through a proposed sketch of the new entrance doorway drawn by Lorimer in 1916.<sup>700</sup> Above the door William and Constance's initials surrounded the year 1916. Above this was a crest with motifs related to Burrell; at the top of the crest there was a ship, underneath which was a hand resting on top of an object and a shield. Under the shield was a scroll on which is written, "What I have I hold" (See figure 126).<sup>701</sup> Just as with the newel posts and other symbolic imagery found in Great Western Terrace, the sketch for the doorway at Hutton showed Burrell's desire to project his identity through his homes. The ship placed at the top highlighted Burrell's industry and livelihood. The motto denoted his love of material objects, thus defining the castle as a mercantile collector's. I have not found evidence of Lorimer's sketch being followed out in the final renovations to Hutton. However, two carved wooden plaques made by Lorimer for 8 Great Western Terrace in 1901/2 survive in the collection. The plaques are initialled "WB" and "CM" (See figures 127 and 128). Both plaques have angels holding a shield in which the individual's initials are written. The sketch and the plaques highlight the continuation between these two very different domestic settings, and confirm their value as contexts within which Burrell expressed his taste and his identity.

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<sup>700</sup> Historic Environment Scotland, Hutton Castle, LOR/H/7/7/14.

<sup>701</sup> Robert Lorimer, 'Hutton Castle – Berwickshire, for William Burrell Esq. of Hutton, 1" scale sketch of proposed new Entrance doorway', Historic Environment Scotland, LOR/H/7/7/14.

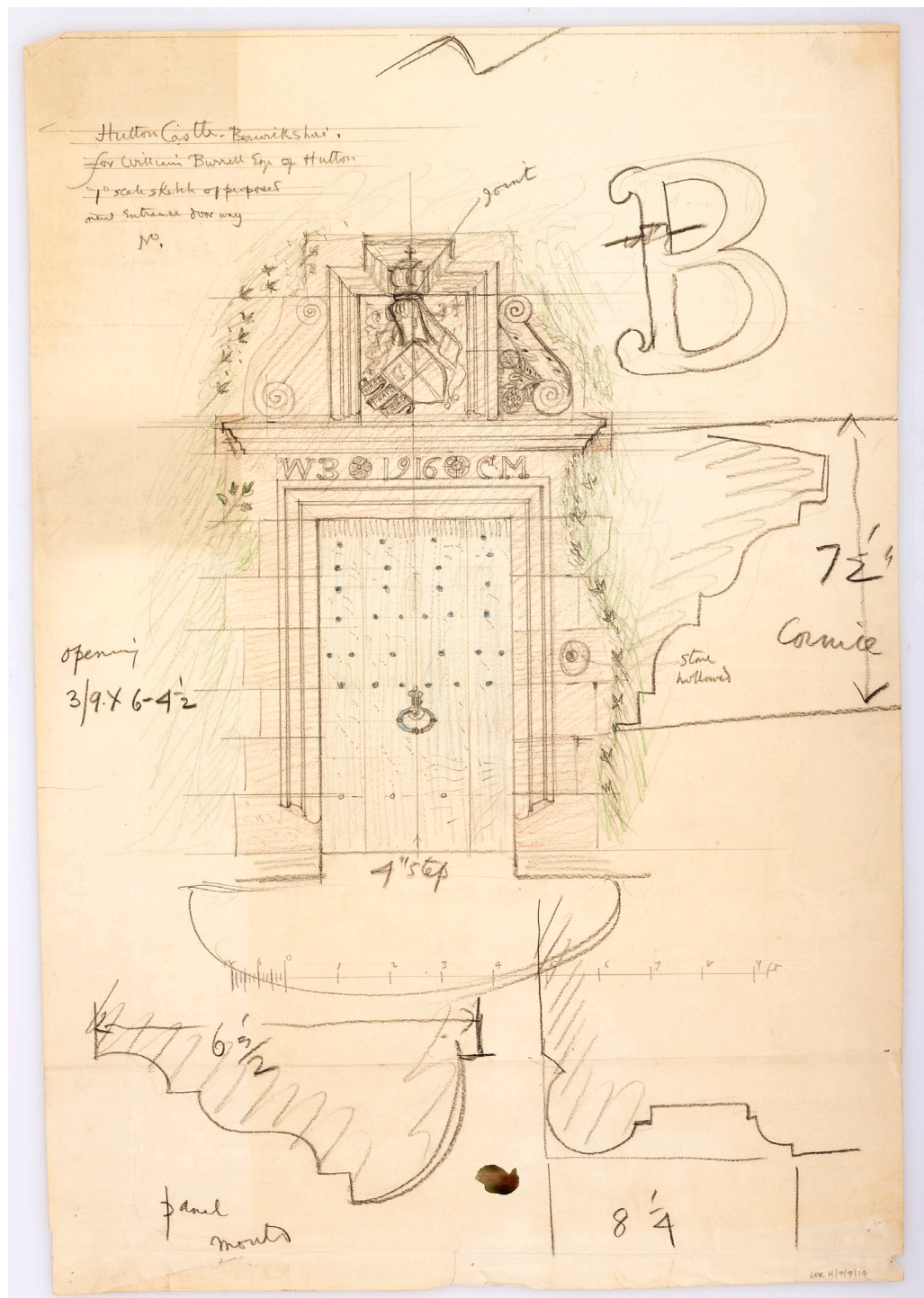


Figure 126: Robert Lorimer, Drawing for Hutton Castle "What I have I hold" © Historic Environment Scotland





52.41



52.42

(above) Figure 127: Carved wooden plaque initialed "B" for 8 Great Western Terrace, The Burrell Collection, 52.41; (below) Figure 128: Carved wooden plaque initialed "C" for 8 Great Western Terrace, The Burrell Collection, 52.42 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection

## Chapter Four – Tracing the development of the Burrell Collection from Deed of Gift (1944) to Pollok Park, Glasgow (1983).

### 4.1 Burrell's intentions behind the gift

In April 1944 a memorandum of agreement between Burrell, his wife Constance, and the Corporation of Glasgow was signed.<sup>702</sup> It detailed Sir William and Lady Burrell's gift of their collection to the City of Glasgow. Listed were 13 conditions of the gift ranging from the name of the Collection, "The Burrell Collection", to the specifics of what was and was not included in the gift, and where the new building was to be located: four miles from Killearn, Stirlingshire, and at least 16 miles from Glasgow Royal Exchange.<sup>703</sup> This chapter considers the conditions of Sir William and Lady Burrell's gift, ultimately raising the question of how the collection, as a museum, developed out of the stipulations laid out by the couple in 1944.

In the introduction to *The Gift* Marcel Mauss cites a line from Llamaval (an old poem of Scandinavian Edda),<sup>704</sup> "A present given always expects one in return".<sup>705</sup> This outlines the core of his argument, namely that there is no such thing as a one-sided gift. His theoretical assessment argues for the active and individual nature of gifts, as well as contesting that by giving a gift the donor seeks an equivalent replacement.<sup>706</sup> Mauss's argument is centred on the obligation of the gift, examining how, rather than being inert, gifts act as contracts that better economic and social status.<sup>707</sup> Whilst Mauss uses pre-capitalist, archaic, societies as his case studies, in his conclusion he argues that gift exchange still holds relevance in capitalist societies because of the continuity of what he terms "the atmosphere of the gift".<sup>708</sup> Mauss contends that within society there is a belief that one is at liberty to refuse a gift, when in truth social obligations ensure that gifts are almost always accepted. In essence gift exchange remains relevant to present day society as long as this duality of obligation and liberty prevails. Considering Sir William and Lady Burrell's gift through the Maussian gift-exchange theory this chapter raises the question of what the couple intended to gain in return for their philanthropic act.

It is important to note that Burrell did not always intend for his and Lady Burrell's collection to be left to Glasgow. Indeed, for a number of years running up to the ultimate gift of the collection in 1944 he was in discussion, initially with the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and then with the London County Council, through Sir Kenneth Clark,

<sup>702</sup> Memorandum, 1944.

<sup>703</sup> Memorandum, 1944.

<sup>704</sup> The Scandanavian Edda is an Old Norse term for two Medieval Icelandic works: the Prose Edda and the Poetic Edda.

<sup>705</sup> Mauss, *The Gift*, 2.

<sup>706</sup> Mauss, *The Gift*, 12.

<sup>707</sup> Ting Chang, 'The limits of the gift: Alfred Chauchard's donations to the Louvre', *Journal of the History of Collections*, vol. 17, no. 2 (2005), 213.

<sup>708</sup> The following description of Mauss's notion of the "atmosphere of the gift" comes from Mauss, *The Gift*, 65.

about leaving his collection to a London location. A letter between Honeyman and Clark from June 1946 suggests that originally Burrell was not satisfied that Glasgow was the right place for the gift as it was not at the centre of the art world.<sup>709</sup> An earlier letter of Burrell's supports Honeyman's statement by alluding to the collector's desire to avoid leaving his collection to Glasgow. In reference to a suggested loan of three tapestries to the V&A Sir William wrote, "I don't wish if I can avoid it to send them to the Museum in Glasgow as, if I once did so, I should not feel justified in ever taking them away again – I should much prefer that they should not be separated but all in London".<sup>710</sup> This letter shows that in the 1930s Sir William did not want a loan of his tapestries to Glasgow to be permanent.

Burrell had loaned a number of tapestries to the V&A throughout his career, and had hinted in his exchanges with the museum that he desired for objects to remain within their collection after his death. The Director of the V&A in 1932, Sir Eric Maclagan (1879-1951), commented on this: "I understand Sir William Burrell is prepared to pay for frames for these tapestries if they are accepted as loans and I believe on his visit he dropped some sort of hint that once here they are not likely to go away again."<sup>711</sup> Maclagan's statement illustrates that not only was Sir William suggesting that his collection was to become part of the V&A's permanent collection, he was also investing money – through the purchase of bespoke tapestry frames to protect his prize objects – into this aspiration. Despite Burrell's desires the V&A was unsure about the appropriateness of taking on such a large collection. In May 1931 Oliver Brackett (1875-1941), Keeper for Furniture and Woodwork at the V&A, was sent to Hutton Castle to consider the appropriate nature of Sir William's collection for the London museum.<sup>712</sup> His report demonstrated that the V&A were interested in select pieces from the collection. Referring to furniture at Hutton Castle Brackett reported, "The chairs [...] being all of the same pattern would scarcely be suitable for the Museum, considering the limited space available for loans."<sup>713</sup> It is evident that the V&A were not interested in acquiring a total collection, but rather they were interested in key examples from within it.<sup>714</sup>

In May 1931 Maclagan questioned Sir William's proposed gift, "I suppose some general reference should be made to this proposed bequest, although it is difficult to estimate how much of such a large Collection is ultimately acceptable."<sup>715</sup> Here Maclagan's concern regarding the ability for the V&A to take on a collection of its size is evident. In 1906 the V&A accepted the ceramics collection of George Salting (1835-1909) who stipulated in his Will, "The objects are to be kept at the said Museum, and not to be distributed over the

709 Tom Honeyman to Kenneth Clark, 21<sup>st</sup> June 1946, National Library of Scotland, Acc. 9787/44, 3/19/80.

710 Sir William Burrell to Mr. Wace, Victoria & Albert Museum, London, 14<sup>th</sup> March 1931, Victoria & Albert Museum Archive, MA/1/B3568, BURRELL, Sir William, PART 1, 1920-1933/34.

711 Director of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 3<sup>rd</sup> June 1932, Victoria & Albert Museum Archive, MA/1/B3568, BURRELL, Sir William, PART 1, 1920-1933/34, 32/4914.

712 Simon Jervis, 'The Department of Furniture and Woodwork, Victoria and Albert Museum', *Furniture History*, Vol. XXVI (1990), 124.

713 Mr Brackett report on Hutton Castle, Victoria & Albert Archive, MA/1/B3568, BURRELL, Sir William, Part 1, 1920-1933/34, 31/3384.

714 Mr Brackett report on Hutton Castle.

715 It is important to note here that Sir William Burrell never made an official offer of gift to the V&A. Director of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 4<sup>th</sup> May 1931, Victoria & Albert archive, MA/1/B3568, BURRELL, Sir William, Part 1, 1920-1933/34, 31/3384.



various sections, but kept all together according to the various specialities of my exhibits.”<sup>716</sup> Salting’s desire was for his collection to remain together and to be identifiable within the V&A’s larger permanent collections. Burrell mirrored Salting’s desire to gift a total, distinctive, collection in his later memoranda both to London City Council and Glasgow Corporation. Even though no official memorandum was drawn up, the fact that Brackett had visited Hutton Castle suggests that Burrell’s intentions were to leave his whole collection of furniture, tapestries, and gothic works of art to the London museum. This raises the question of what would have happened to the remainder of his collection.

In the 1930s a large number of Burrell’s pictures were on loan to the Tate Gallery at Millbank. Burrell had loaned pictures to the gallery since 1924. The catalogue for the 1924 exhibition entitled, ‘Loan Exhibition of the Burrell Collection’, noted,

The Trustees have accepted the loan of Mr William Burrell’s collection, most of which has been on loan for some years at the National Gallery, Edinburgh, with a view to increasing the interest in the collection of Modern Foreign Art, which will shortly be housed in the new Gallery now being built on the vacant site behind the Gallery at Millbank.<sup>717</sup>

Included in the exhibition were 153 pictures, with a dominance of French and Dutch painters of the late nineteenth century, a few old masters and a group of works by Crawhall. By 1940, 291 of Burrell’s works were on loan to the gallery, the majority of these were paintings but the loans also included 25 Oriental drawings and eight bronze sculptures.<sup>718</sup> Burrell’s paintings were displayed in various galleries throughout the Tate. In 1939 Sir John Rothenstein wrote to Burrell, “The room which has been redecorated specially to house the greater part of your collection on loan here was opened yesterday.”<sup>719</sup> The room that Rothenstein described held 40 pictures at the time of his writing, but the Director noted, “It will contain part of a temporary exhibition of photographs of mural paintings. This will continue for about two months, after which the room will be devoted permanently to the Burrell Collection.”<sup>720</sup> The room at the Tate that housed Burrell’s collection of pictures was either gallery 28 or 29, a *Times* article from the 1<sup>st</sup> of June 1939 reported on the exhibition of photographs of mural paintings being displayed in these two rooms.<sup>721</sup> A schedule of the decorative work at the Tate Gallery for the 1938/1939 programme noted that these galleries, located in the basement of the building, had the following decorations: “Paint 3 coats to ceiling, beams, & cornice, wall fitting & all wood & ironwork, and all surfaces not covered with tapestry. Slipping where

<sup>716</sup> George Salting’s will quoted in ‘The Salting Bequest – The Display at South Kensington’, *The Times*, March 23, 1911, Issue 39540, 7.

<sup>717</sup> National Gallery, Millbank, ‘Loan Exhibition of the Burrell Collection’, 1924, GMRC, Burrell Archive, GMAC227, 1.

<sup>718</sup> Sir John Rothenstein to Sir William Burrell, 12<sup>th</sup> March 1940, Tate Archive, TG 2/6/1/45.

<sup>719</sup> Sir John Rothenstein to Sir William Burrell, 26<sup>th</sup> May 1939, Tate Archive, TG 2/6/1/45.

<sup>720</sup> Rothenstein to Burrell, 26<sup>th</sup> May 1939.

<sup>721</sup> ‘Mural Painting’, *The Times*, 1<sup>st</sup> June 1939, pg. 12, Issue 48320.

specified.”<sup>722</sup> The fact that the Director saw fit to redecorate a room to house Burrell’s works illustrates the central nature of the loan collection to the Tate’s display.

In January 1944, having learned of Burrell’s gift of his collection to Glasgow Corporation, Rothenstein wrote to the collector,

It was with great interest that I read in this morning’s ‘Times’ about your generous offer to present your collection of works of art to the Corporation of Glasgow. You will doubtless remember the correspondence that we had shortly before the war broke out, concerning your important collection of nineteenth century pictures which had been on loan to the Gallery for a number of years, and which is still in our care. I then explained to you that considerations of space made it difficult for us to exhibit all the pictures from your collection which we held here, and I made out and sent to you a list of those which I was sure we would like to have permanently on view, and arranged for the decoration of a room for their exhibition together. Naturally we should like to be able to continue to exhibit what constituted a very vital part of the collection of nineteenth century art which we were able to put before the public, and indeed such works as ‘La Repetition’ by Degas, ‘La Dame au Parasol’ by Courbet, ‘La Jetee à Trouville’ by Boudin, ‘Durante’ by Degas, etc. etc. have acquired the status of popular favourites, since the enjoyment of them has been publically available in this Gallery. I trust therefore that you will forgive my writing now to ask you whether we may hope for the continuance of this most important loan when our building has been again rendered fit for exhibition purposes.<sup>723</sup>

Rothenstein’s letter suggests that he was eager to retain some of the Burrell Loan Collection of nineteenth century pictures held at the gallery. Burrell responded to Rothenstein the following month,

I had great difficulty in knowing how to arrange matters but in the end I decided not to split up the collection as I felt that would largely take the interest out of it so that all the pictures are included. But I shall see what can be done in trying to meet your wishes. There is as you know plenty of time as I don’t expect Glasgow will wish the pictures before the war is over.<sup>724</sup>

Burrell’s response to Rothenstein is revealing. It suggests that his desire to bring his collection together was a relatively recent decision. It also indicates that he thought that including the varying strains of his collection together in his gift augmented its “interest”. I propose that the “interest” Burrell referred to was his collection’s individual nature. Collections that covered the diversity of areas that Burrell’s did were usually made up by a number of collections.

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<sup>722</sup> ‘Copy of Schedule of Work (Decorations) at Tate Gallery. 1938/1939 Programme’, Tate Archive, HM Office of Works: Maintenance, TG 14/1/1/5.

<sup>723</sup> Sir John Rothenstein to Sir William Burrell, 25<sup>th</sup> January 1944, Tate Archive, TG 2/7/1/45.

<sup>724</sup> Sir William Burrell to Sir John Rothenstein, 14<sup>th</sup> February 1944, Tate Archive, TG 2/7/1/45.

Burrell's was a catholic collection amassed by an individual. From the above correspondence it appears that in the 1930s Burrell's intention had been to leave his collections of historical furniture, medieval tapestry and stained glass to the V&A, and his picture collection to the Tate. However, this was not to be so and wanting to retain the "interest" in his collection, Burrell turned his attentions to Clark and the London County Council.

It is likely that Burrell and Clark met through the Board of Trustees at the Tate. Clark was elected onto the board in January 1934, eleven months before Burrell's office as a trustee for the Gallery ended.<sup>725</sup> Eight years later, on the 8<sup>th</sup> of November 1942, Burrell wrote to Clark enclosing a memorandum of terms for his gift of his complete collection to the London County Council. Within this letter he stated, "I am offering 100% of the Collection 100% of the residue of my estate and I think you will agree that it is impossible for me to give more."<sup>726</sup> The memorandum detailed nine terms and conditions for his proposed gift, these included: the list of the objects that Sir William was bequeathing; when the council would receive such items; that the council would undertake all insurance and storage costs of the objects; that the collection should be housed in a specific building, separate to any other museum or gallery; that the building should hold only the works from Burrell's collection; and, finally, that the collection should be no further than 25 miles from Charing Cross and on the north side of the River Thames.<sup>727</sup>

The memorandum was almost identical to the one written subsequently for the Glasgow Corporation. In both cases Burrell offered his total collection, apart from the picture *Grief* by Matthijs Maris which he proposed to bequeath to the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, the Spode dinner service by Copeland and Garrett, a needlework Settee which had belonged to Lord Beaconsfield, and all modern items of furniture and glass which he did not consider suitable for the collection.<sup>728</sup> In both Burrell stipulated his desire for the building to be "housed together in a suitable building [...] entirely separated and detached from any other building", and that the collection be "shewn as it would be if in a private house [...] so as to insure that the building has as little of the semblance of a Museum as possible".<sup>729</sup> Both memoranda also stated that it was the duty of the recipient of the gift to ensure the care and upkeep of the collection as well as the insurance of the items within it; that the recipient was not entitled to sell, donate or exchange any item within the Burrell Collection; and that only items from his collection were to be exhibited within the building housing the collection.<sup>730</sup> The similarities between the London and Glasgow memoranda prove that by the early-1940s Burrell had a distinct vision for his collection, whichever city it was to be housed in.

Burrell's efforts to establish his collection in London were ultimately unsuccessful.

<sup>725</sup> Tate Gallery, Board Meeting Minutes, Tate Archive, TAM 72/11, Jan. 1933 – Dec. 1935, 479.

<sup>726</sup> Sir William Burrell to Kenneth Clark, 8<sup>th</sup> November 1942, Tate Archive, TGA 8812.1.3.554.

<sup>727</sup> 'Memorandum by Sir William Burrell of Hutton Castle, Berwick-on-Tweed, of terms and conditions on which he proposes to offer his Collection of pictures, tapestries, furniture, porcelain, carpets, silver, stained glass &c., to the London County Council', 1942, Bannatyne Kirkwood France & Co., Tate Archive, London, 8812.1.3.563/2.

<sup>728</sup> Third Condition, Memorandum, 1942, 1-2; Second Condition, Memorandum, 1944, 1-2.

<sup>729</sup> Eighth Condition, Memorandum, 1942, 3; Eighth Condition, Memorandum, 1944, 8.

<sup>730</sup> Eighth Condition, Memorandum, 1942, 3; Ninth Condition, Memorandum, 1944, 7.



The relevant correspondence between Burrell, Clark, and the London County Council shows that the council's initial response to the offer was positive but difficulties were soon found with regard to the cost of maintenance of the Collection.<sup>731</sup> The council was hesitant to contribute any more than £10,000 per annum from the rates towards the upkeep of the collection.<sup>732</sup> They also questioned whether Burrell would be willing to hand over his art collection and the majority of his fortune to the trustees, and later to the council, by Deed *inter vivos* so as to avoid death duties.<sup>733</sup> Burrell was not willing to make such a condition definite.<sup>734</sup> Correspondence between Burrell, Clark and the Council continued into December 1943. In the end Clark suggested to Burrell that it was the Council's fear of being "associated with the arts in the public mind" that turned them away from the collector's offer.<sup>735</sup> On 22<sup>nd</sup> December 1943 Clark confirmed to Burrell with feelings of "disappointment and regret" that the collector's "marvellous offer [was] turned down in this way".<sup>736</sup>

In a matter of days Burrell brought his offer to Honeyman and Glasgow. As Honeyman later recorded in his autobiography,

One December evening in 1943 [Burrell] got me on the telephone. [...] When he told me that Lady Burrell and he had finally determined to present the entire collection to the City of Glasgow plus the sum of £450,000 to provide a gallery for its display [...] I was too excited to be coherent.<sup>737</sup>

Throughout Sir William's correspondence with both the V&A and Clark he alluded to Glasgow's keen desire to acquire the collection. In November 1942 Sir William had written to Clark, "Confidentially and only for yourself Glasgow is very anxious to have the collection and will feel very sore if I pass them".<sup>738</sup> As was explored in chapter two, Honeyman's position as Director of Glasgow Art Galleries from 1939 helped to cement the collection's fate. He had Burrell's trust, and, in light of London's growing anxiety regarding financial concerns, I argue that this was in part persuaded Burrell to leave his collection to his native city. Whatever the reason Burrell's original intentions for his collection must not be forgotten,

<sup>731</sup> Sir William was not in direct correspondence with the London County Council, all matters regarding his proposed gift were sent through Kenneth Clark.; London County Council to Sir Kenneth Clark, 17<sup>th</sup> December, 1942, Tate Archive, TGA 8812.1.3.548.

<sup>732</sup> Kenneth Clark to Sir William Burrell, 11<sup>th</sup> February 1943, Tate Archive, TGA 8812.1.3.551.

<sup>733</sup> Clark to Burrell, 11<sup>th</sup> February 1943; Deed *inter vivos* is a legal term that refers to a gift made during one's lifetime, rather than to a testamentary gift (that takes effect on death) under the subject of a trust.

<sup>734</sup> Sir Kenneth Clark to London County Council, 12<sup>th</sup> March 1943, Tate Archive, TGA 8812.1.3.552.

<sup>735</sup> Sir Kenneth Clark to Sir William Burrell, 1<sup>st</sup> December 1943, Tate Archive, TGA 8812.1.3.556.

<sup>736</sup> Sir Kenneth Clark to Sir William Burrell, 22<sup>nd</sup> December 1943, Tate Archive, TGA 8812.1.3.558.

<sup>737</sup> Honeyman, *Art and Audacity*, 135; It is important to note that Honeyman's recollection of Sir William's donation of £450,000 as well as the Collection in December 1943 is not entirely correct, however, in light of the source being a memoir published almost three decades after the fact, his blurring of facts is understandable. In the 1944 memorandum of agreement there is no evidence of an amount of money being given to the Corporation as part of the gift. Sir William did eventually give £450,000 to the Glasgow Corporation, however, this came later and in two instalments: the first a sum of £250,000 in August 1946, and the second a sum of £200,000 in June 1948. At the time of his offer to Glasgow Sir William's conditions were, on the whole, parallel to those he had laid out to the LCC.

<sup>738</sup> Sir William Burrell to Sir Kenneth Clark, 16<sup>th</sup> November 1942, Tate Archive, TGA 8812.1.3.546.

as until the very last moment The Burrell Collection was almost part of London, rather than Glasgow's, history.

## 4.2: Naming “The Burrell Collection”

Having examined Burrell’s early ideas for the collection’s geographical location, we now return, with this in mind, to our main assessment of the objectives behind the gift. This question is examined using three conditions from the 1944 agreement: the first, eighth and ninth. The first condition read,

The Collection shall be known as “The Burrell Collection” and shall be so described for all purposes: and it is to be clearly understood and known that the bequest and gift of the Collection is from the Donors jointly and that their names shall always be associated in respect of it.<sup>739</sup>

This stipulation illustrated an intrinsic intention behind the Burrell’s gift, one of recognition and identity. Higonnet argues that collectors gave their collections to public bodies in order to be recognised, as a means of asserting their power, wealth, nobility, and moral superiority.<sup>740</sup> In other words gifted collections secured their founders philanthropic and cultural identity in history. Whilst Higonnet’s argument holds value, The Burrell Collection is not a straightforward example of a collector’s search for recognition. On the walls of the most recent display of The Burrell Collection (2016) was written a quote of Sir William’s, “The collection [...] not the collector, is the important thing.”<sup>741</sup> This seems to be in direct opposition to Higonnet’s argument. Nevertheless it can be argued that by stipulating that both his and Constance’s name should forever be associated with the collection, Burrell gave equal importance to the family name as to the collection.

If Burrell’s only concern had been the preservation of his collection, his gift would have been anonymous, or he would have simply added it to Glasgow Museum’s existing collection. Taking a tour around the galleries of the Kelvingrove Art Gallery in Glasgow today the name Robert Lyons Scott appears on labels as a donor. Scott, a fellow shipowner, was chairman of the Scott Shipbuilding and Engineering Co. from 1915 until his death in 1939.<sup>742</sup> Between 1917 and 1923 he created a collection that surveyed this history of arms and armour.<sup>743</sup> Scott had always intended to leave his collection to Glasgow. His was a desire to create an educational collection, and this drive determined what and how he collected.<sup>744</sup> Burrell’s collecting practice post-1944 is comparable to Lyons’s shaping of his collection to suit Glasgow. Lyons bequeathed his collection of 800 items of European armour and

<sup>739</sup> First Condition, Memorandum, 1944, 1.

<sup>740</sup> Higonnet, *A Museum of One’s Own*, 192.

<sup>741</sup> Sir William quoted by Honeyman, in Honeyman, *Art and Audacity*, 141.

<sup>742</sup> Geoffrey Hancock, Helen Adamson, Brian Blench, Anne Donald et al., *Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum; with an introduction by Alasdair A. Auld* (London: Collins in association with Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries, 1987), 61.

<sup>743</sup> Hancock, Adamson, Blench, Donald et al., *Glasgow Art Gallery*, 61.

<sup>744</sup> Tobias Capwell, *The Real Fighting Stuff: Arms and Armour at Glasgow Museums* (Glasgow: Glasgow City Council, 2007), 6.



weapon, as well as over 3,000 books dating from between 1291 and 1936 to Glasgow at his death. Although his name is still linked to the works that he bequeathed, these pieces have become a part of Glasgow Museum's permanent collection. They are not displayed together and as such have lost their coherency as a collection.

An interesting comparison can be made between The Burrell Collection and the Frick Collection, New York.<sup>745</sup> In his Will, Henry Clay Frick (1849-1919) bequeathed his collection and his home to New York as a means of establishing a public gallery of art to be known as The Frick Collection.<sup>746</sup> Helen Clay Frick (1888-1984) later commented on her father's gift, writing, "It was his home and his collection that he was giving, and had his purpose been different, he would simply have given his art collection to one of the many public museums already in existence."<sup>747</sup> In other words Frick had a clear intention for his collection and a purpose for its future after his death. This purpose was to create a collection "for the use and benefit of all persons whomsoever", one that would forever be associated with his name.<sup>748</sup> Burrell too had a specific intention: the preservation of both his collected objects and his collection's identity.

In 'The System of Collecting' Jean Baudrillard argues that objects within private collections reflect their collector.<sup>749</sup> Within his argument he outlines two functions of an object - something to be used and something to be possessed - and comes to the conclusion, "once the object stops being defined by its function its meaning is entirely up to the subject".<sup>750</sup> In other words the collected object, taken out of its original function through the process of collecting, always refers back to the subject, which in this case is the collector. Following Baudrillard I suggest that Burrell and Constance did indeed want recognition in return for their gift. However, this desired recognition was not an assertion of the couple's power, nobility, moral superiority or wealth as suggested by Higonnet.<sup>751</sup> If Burrell had given his collection to Glasgow Museums its history as an individual collection would have been muted by the museum's existing holdings. By naming the collection after himself he, like Frick, allowed its identity to remain.

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<sup>745</sup> For more information on Henry Clay Frick (1888-1984) and the Frick Collection see 'Henry Clay Frick, Art Collector', in *The Frick Collection: An Illustrated Catalogue*, Vol. 1 (New York: The Frick Collection, 1968).

<sup>746</sup> *The Frick Collection: An Illustrated Catalogue*, Vol. 1 (New York: The Frick Collection, 1968), p. xxxv.

<sup>747</sup> Helen Clay Frick quoted in Higonnet, *A Museum of One's Own*, 22.

<sup>748</sup> *The Frick Collection*, xxxv.

<sup>749</sup> Jean Baudrillard, 'The System of Collecting', in (ed.) John Elsner and Roger Cardinal, *The Cultures of Collecting* (London: reaction Books Ltd., 1994), 7.

<sup>750</sup> Baudrillard, 'The System of Collecting', 8.

<sup>751</sup> For a further discussion of private collector's search for recognition through the gifting of their collection to a public body see Higonnet, *A Museum of One's Own*, 192.

#### 4.3: “A suitable distinct and separate building”<sup>752</sup>

Unlike Frick Sir William did not gift his home with his collection. Instead, the eighth condition of the agreement stated,

The Collection shall be housed by the Donees in a suitable distinct and separate building to be erected by the Donors [...] within four miles of Killearn, Stirlingshire, and not less than sixteen miles from Glasgow Royal Exchange and shall be retained there as a separate Collection.<sup>753</sup>

In 1944 the Burrell’s family home was at Hutton Castle near Berwick-upon-Tweed. I have not found any statement from Burrell as to why he did not wish to gift his home as part of his collection. However, there are three possible reasons for this. The first was the lack of space at Hutton. At this time the Burrell Collection was located across 36 separate museums, art galleries, cathedrals, and storage facilities both within the United Kingdom and abroad.<sup>754</sup> All 6,000 objects would not have been accommodated within the castle’s walls.<sup>755</sup> The second reason was the castle’s location. If we remember Burrell’s speculation regarding the cultural significance of Glasgow, it is unlikely that the collector held Berwick-upon-Tweed in any higher cultural esteem to become the new home for his entire collection.<sup>756</sup> The third reason was the specific late-medieval context that Hutton Castle provided. The objects and fittings housed within Hutton Castle were suitable to the building’s history. However, Burrell’s collection spanned more than his Gothic objects. Areas of his collection such as modern painting would have been out of place within Hutton’s historic scheme. Therefore it was more appropriate to bring his collection together in a specially constructed environment.

A letter from Burrell to Honeyman, written in July 1944, indicated that the collector was thinking ahead about the environment within which he wanted his collection to be housed. The letter read, “I am enclosing a plan of the ground floor of the Washington Gallery. It seems very fine. I think the Museum might be on same lines but no doubt much smaller.”<sup>757</sup> We know from Honeyman’s reply that Burrell was referring to the west building of the National Gallery of Art, Washington DC, built in 1941 (See figure 129). Honeyman’s response read, “I know all about the National Gallery of Art at Washington [...]. I have often thought that the general layout of this Gallery was ideal and I agree that it could be adapted

<sup>752</sup> Eighth Condition, Memorandum, 1944, 6.

<sup>753</sup> Eighth Condition, Memorandum, 1944, 6.

<sup>754</sup> Third Condition, Memorandum, 1944, 2.

<sup>755</sup> In 1944 the total objects within the Burrell Collection amounted to roughly 6,000. In the next 13 years Burrell bought over 2,000 objects bringing the total number of objects to around 8,000 by the time of his death.

<sup>756</sup> Sir William quoted in Honeyman, *Art and Audacity*, 141.

<sup>757</sup> Sir William Burrell to T.J. Honeyman, 12<sup>th</sup> July 1944, NLS, 9787/83, 3/19/49; Sir William Burrell to T.J. Honeyman, 12<sup>th</sup> July 1944, GMRC, Burrell Archive, GMA.2013.1.2.1.92.



Figure 129: The West Building, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC, built 1941 © National Gallery of Art, Washington DC

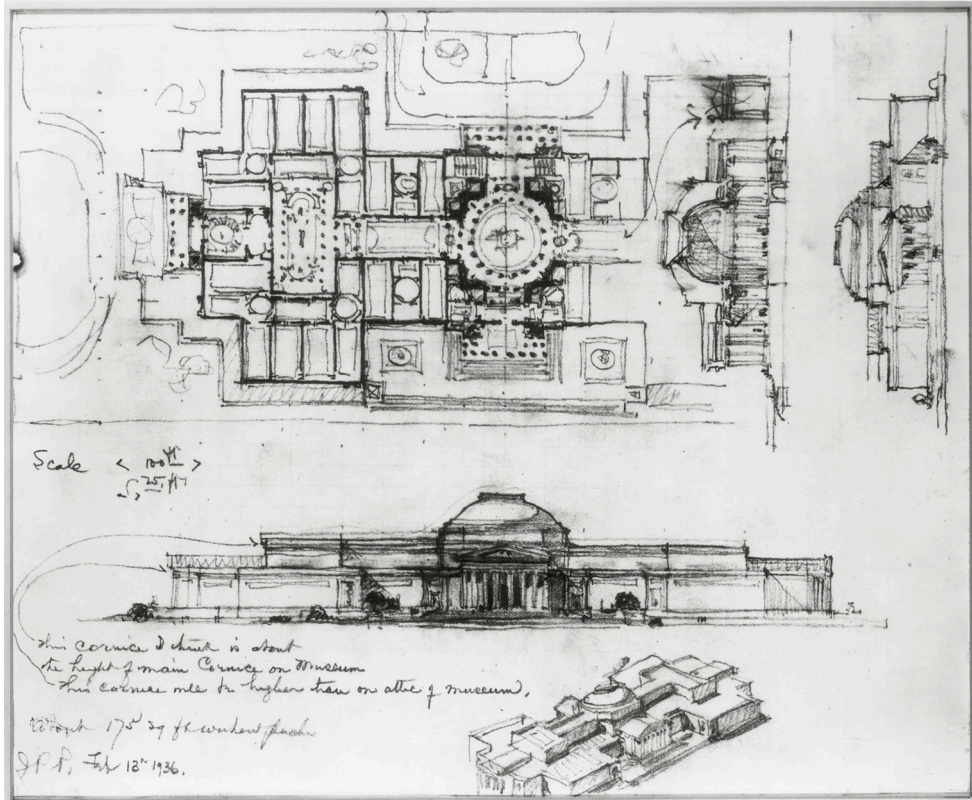


Figure 130: West Building Plan, 1936, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC © National Gallery of Art, Washington DC



for the purposes of the Burrell Collection.”<sup>758</sup> The gallery in question was a neo-classical style building designed by John Russell Pope (1874-1937). Its plan was centralised around a rotunda, based on the Pantheon in Rome, with a coffered dome upheld by columns of green and black marble, to the east and west of this rotunda were loft portals and north and south monumental Ionic porticoes (See figure 130).<sup>759</sup>

In the same letter Burrell asked Honeyman to write to the Director of the gallery, David E. Finley (1890-1977), asking for a plan of the ground floor and upper floor with the window positions marked, stating that Mr Kendrick of the V&A had sent a plan to himself and ended the letter by noting, “He [Mr Kendrick] says the Washington Gallery has earned a good deal of praise.”<sup>760</sup> Indeed, *The Times*, 18<sup>th</sup> March 1941, had voiced such praise, reporting on the dedication of the gallery by President Roosevelt,

The building [...] is a classic Greek structure of pink Tennessee marble, equipped with every known device to keep its paintings and sculptures from deterioration and show them to the best advantage, including an elaborate air-conditioning system and laminated glass ceilings, through which the light from concealed arc lamps is diffused as to avoid shadows and distortion.<sup>761</sup>

Burrell was concerned with conservation and display, ensuring in his memorandum the suitable conditions for his collected objects. The eighth stipulation stated, “the Collection on a site to be chosen by the Donees [...] within four miles of Killearn Stirlingshire and not less than sixteen miles from Glasgow Royal Exchange.”<sup>762</sup> This was not a desire by Burrell for his collection to be housed in a countryside setting. Rather his was a concern over the air pollution levels in Glasgow and their effect on objects within the collection, especially on delicate objects such as tapestries. In hindsight this was quite an advanced request from our conservative collector.

It was not only in his memorandum that Burrell indicated his concern for his objects’ conservation. The display cases he had made for his tapestries loaned to the V&A also highlight his attention to collection care. Moreover, in 1945 in a reference to tapestries held by the V&A Sir William wrote,

The tapestries in the Victoria & Albert being in a city are in an entirely different position from the others and in my opinion they should be brought on to Glasgow as early as possible. That I think is the most important, I lent them to the Victoria & Albert only because I couldn’t find suitable places in the country.<sup>763</sup>

758 T.J. Honeyman to Sir William Burrell, 14<sup>th</sup> July 1944, GMRC, Burrell Archive, GMA.2013.1.2.1.93.

759 John Walker, *National Gallery of Art, Washington* (New York: Abradale Press, 1995), 22.

760 Burrell to Honeyman, 12<sup>th</sup> July 1944.

761 ‘National Gallery for United States: Dedication by president. From our own correspondent’, *The Times*, March 18, 1914, 48877, 3.

762 Eighth Condition, Memorandum, 1944, 6.

763 Sir William Burrell to T.J. Honeyman, 16<sup>th</sup> September 1945, GMRC, Burrell Archive,

Sir William was discussing the return of the objects of his collection from their temporary homes after his gift to Glasgow in 1944. His suggestion that they were only on loan to London because of a lack of appropriate venues in the countryside confirms Sir William's concern for the condition of his objects. The letter, dated 16<sup>th</sup> September 1945, post-dated VE day in Britain, so we know that in this letter Burrell's concern was not linked with the risk of air raids in London during the Second World War, suggesting that his concern was again with air pollution.

In January 1950 Tom Honeyman wrote to Burrell regarding the French exhibition held at Burlington House in London that month,

The success of the present exhibition of French landscape plus the fact I had another look at the Burlington House premises, has made me more wishful than ever for a great feature show of The Burrell Collection. In the French landscapes, there are fourteen tapestries which are very well hung. I was in the Birmingham too, and saw some tapestries hung there on the wall of the Gallery which is in the centre of the city. It is true that the climactic conditions this year have been exceptionally fine and in this country we cannot be certain of anything.<sup>764</sup>

Honeyman's letter not only voices his wish for Burlington House to do a feature show on The Burrell Collection, but also his attempt to alter Burrell's opinion on the exhibition of tapestries in cities. Burrell's response illustrates his firm opinion on the matter:

[...] the risk would be far too great as you very rightly point out the climate conditions this year have been exceptionally fine and in this country we cannot be certain of anything. In a normal year the damage would be incalculable. I understand the tapestries in the French Exhibition are C17th tapestries which from an artistic point of view and from a money point of view [...] are worth very little. But ours, as you know are Gothic Tapestries, 200 years earlier, and irreplaceable and must be kept in their present beautiful condition.<sup>765</sup>

As this letter shows Burrell was not willing to risk his objects on the uncertain climatic conditions in Britain.

Burrell's interest in the preservation of his objects extended to other delicate works of art, such as pastels. Glasgow Museums had loaned Degas's *Jockeys sur la pluie* to the 1950 Burlington House exhibition. In response to the loan Burrell wrote to Honeyman,

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GMA.2013.1.2.1.245.

<sup>764</sup> T.J. Honeyman to Sir William Burrell, 3rd January 1950, National Library of Scotland, 9787/83, 3/19/106.

<sup>765</sup> Sir William Burrell to T.J. Honeyman, 19<sup>th</sup> January 1950, National Library of Scotland, 9787/83, 3/19/113.

My daughter returned from London last night and tells me that she was at the Burlington House show and that she saw the pictures you lent, including the Degas 'Jockeys sur la pluie'. I think it is a pastel, if so, I hope you will excuse my saying that I think it is dangerous to lend pastels. I have had a bad experience through doing so. The chalk gets gradually shaken off. Oils and watercolours, as you know, are quite safe.<sup>766</sup>

As with his concern for the tapestries, this correspondence shows the extent of Burrell's concern over the protection of his collection. Whilst his condition about the location of The Burrell Collection caused issues with regard to finding a suitable site for the future building,<sup>767</sup> it also shows that Burrell held progressive views on collection care. Indeed, his views on the preservation of historical objects is not surprising in light of his support of Arts and Crafts philosophies. The movement's return to historical sources in turn promoted their conservation.<sup>768</sup> Therefore, the National Gallery in Washington's adherence to systems that protected their collection would have appealed to Burrell. His request for Honeyman to obtain a plan with marked windows suggests that he was interested in the effects of light within a gallery space.

I have not found any further discussion of the Washington gallery. However, I propose that it was the manner in which the galleries were designed: their general layout and conservation properties that appealed to Burrell. With regard to the layout of objects within the gallery space the focus of the designers, and especially Finley's focus, was on the works of art, as described by John Walker:

To avoid monotony and to harmonize with the styles of painting, we selected different backgrounds for the different rooms: plaster for the early Italian, Flemish, and German pictures; damask for later Italian paintings; oak panelling for Rubens, van Dyck, Rembrandt, and the other Dutch; and painted panelling for the French, English, and American canvases. A suggestion of the architectural styles prevalent when these schools flourished is indicated in wainscoting, mouldings, and overdoors.<sup>769</sup>

It is clear that the Washington gallery hoped to create complimentary environments for its collection. Burrell was also concerned with the context in which his collected objects were

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<sup>766</sup> Sir William Burrell to T.J. Honeyman, 4<sup>th</sup> January 1950, NLS, 9787/83, 3/19/107.

<sup>767</sup> For more information on the search for a site for the collection see Alex Gordon and Peter Cannon-Brookes, 'Housing the Burrell Collection – a Forty-year Saga', *The International Journal of Museum Management and Curatorship* (1984), 3, 19-59. Also 'Epilogue: The Search for a home for the Collection', in Marks *Portrait of a Collector*, 186-197.

<sup>768</sup> For more information on the origins of conservation and its link to Arts and Crafts thinkers such as John Ruskin and William Morris see (eds.) Nicholas Stanley Price, M. Kirby Talley Jr. & Alessandra Melucco Vaccaro, *Readings in Conservation: Historical and Philosophical Issues in the Conservation of Cultural Heritage* (Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute, 1996).

<sup>769</sup> Walker, *National Gallery of Art, Washington*, 23.



to be housed. As at the Washington gallery, he wanted the building to be designed around the collection, rather than the objects finding places within a regular museum structure. Burrell's interest in the Washington gallery is significant in two respects. Firstly, it highlights that Burrell was looking to other museums for ideas for his own collection. Secondly, it suggests that he was beginning to think about the display of his objects within the future building.

In September 1947 Burrell wrote to Honeyman regarding plans that Frank Surgey had drawn for the new museum,

I spoke to him about the Museum 2 years ago & he has after a great deal of thought & care drawn up plans which I have only now received. The plan is for a Ground floor with a 1<sup>st</sup> floor in the centre. The pictures would have a top light being at each side, the Tapestries & Carpets would be under the 1<sup>st</sup> Floor so that they would not have a top light – a fierce light, which would harm them.

I told him I should like the Museum to have the contents shown to look as little like a Museum as possible, eg. to have the contents of the beds etc shewn in bedroom instead of all the beds being clubbed together and to have the stained glass shown so that the windows with their vistas would show it to the best advantage instead of all the stained glass being shown as in the Victoria & Albert in the Glass Department – all huddled together.

Now I should be glad if you will kindly go over these plans with Mr Hannah if you think fit & after having done so to let me have your general views – But please don't show them to any architect or outsider. That is always a danger. You yourself know better than they what is wanted.

Personally I think the plan is exceedingly good. I would adopt it myself – But of course it may be improved upon here & there. In the main I think it would be a wonderful building and most suitable. Mr Surgey has given it great thought over 2 years, improving one plan after another until this one has been evolved. [...]

Of course nothing can be done meantime & it is not desirable as prices are not what they ought to be but I think we will help matters by coming nearer to settling something than by leaving it to be completely for after my death & a monstrosity produced.<sup>770</sup>

This letter is crucial to our understanding of Burrell's vision for his collection. Surgey's drawings for this plan follow Burrell's description in the letter (See figures 131 and 132). Marks published these drawings in his biography of Burrell in 1983 alongside ones made by Adams-Acton. He provided a useful comparison between the schemes, but noted that there were no recorded comments by Burrell on Surgey's plans. This letter thus allows us to build on Marks's analysis. Burrell thought the plan was "exceedingly good", and that it would be a wonderful and suitable building. The structure Surgey designed was balanced, using an H-shaped structure linked by a central block.<sup>771</sup> Marks notes that "According to Mrs Surgey

<sup>770</sup> Burrell to Honeyman, 3<sup>rd</sup> September 1947. Emphasis original to Burrell.

<sup>771</sup> Marks, *Portrait of a Collector*, 163.

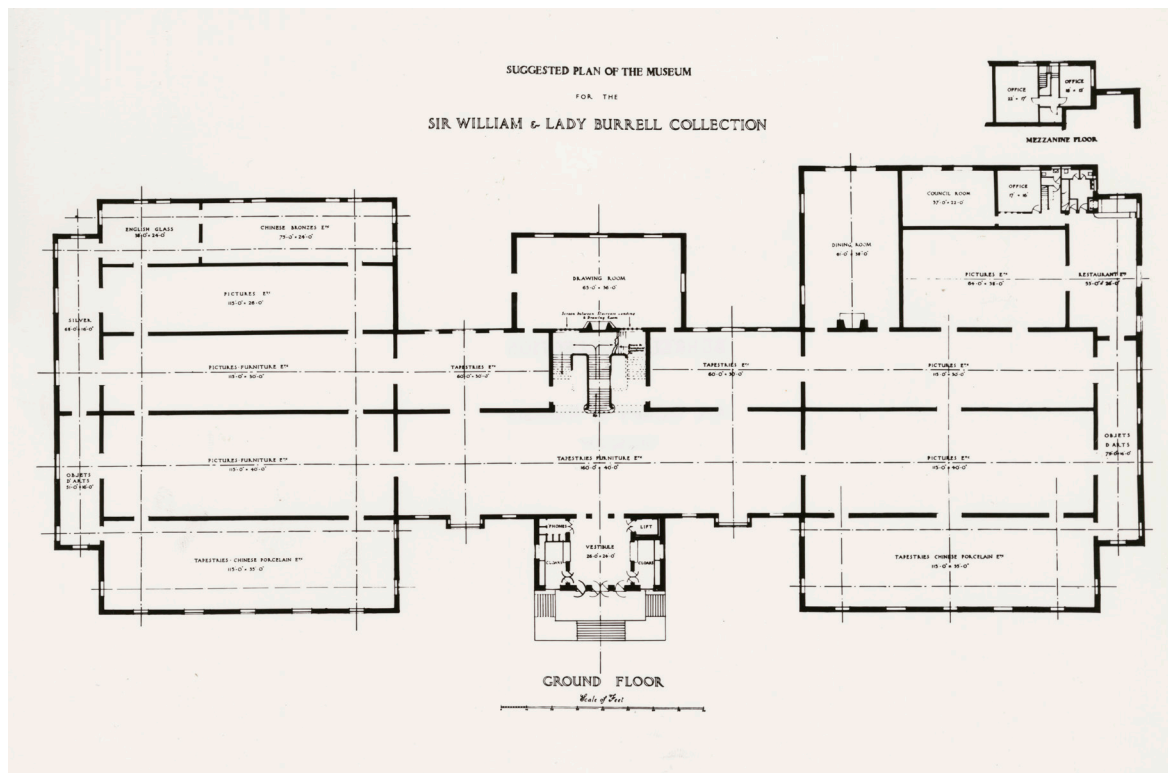


Figure 131: Frank Surgey, Suggested plan for the Sir William & Lady Burrell Collection, Ground Floor, 1947 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection

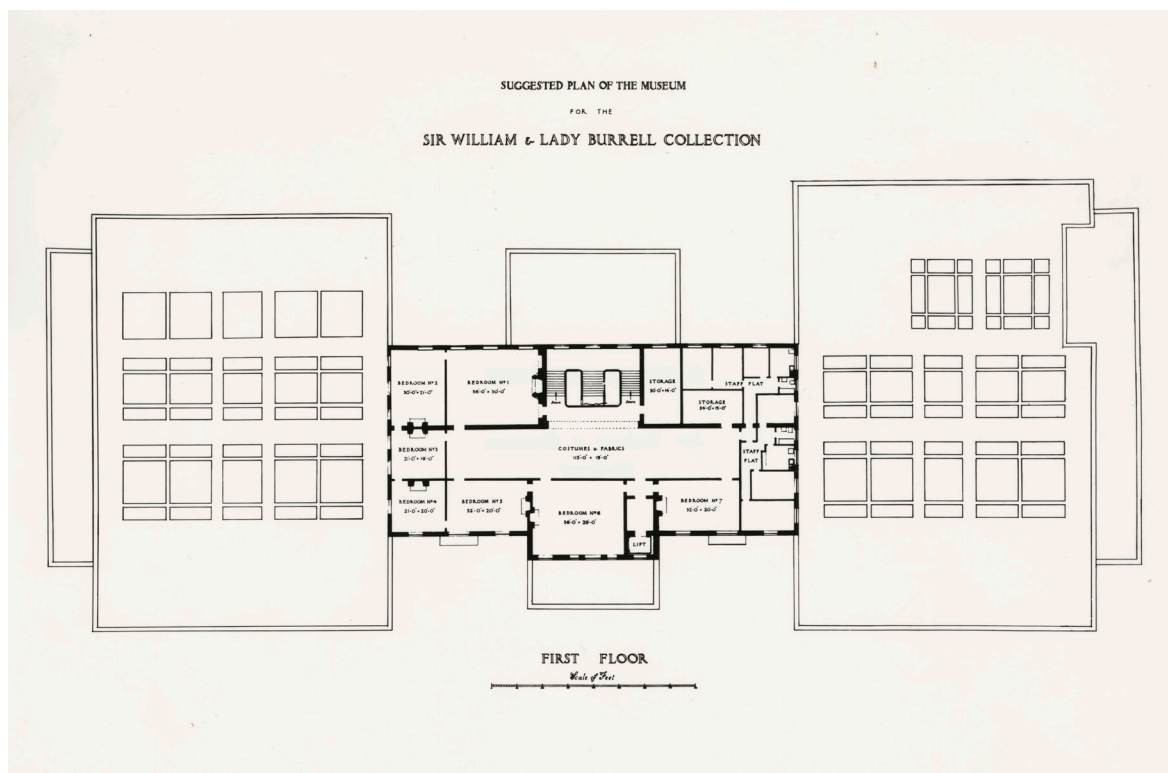


Figure 132: Frank Surgey, Suggested plan for Sir William & Lady Burrell Collection, First Floor, 1947 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection

the elevation was to be neo-classical in style”, which was the norm at this time for museum and gallery designs.<sup>772</sup> Although this seems to go against Burrell’s desire for a domestic display within the museum, he had displayed his Gothic objects within a neo-classical building before at Great Western Terrace. Following Burrell’s desire for the museum to be “as little like a Museum as possible”, on the ground floor Surgey placed the Dining Room and Drawing Room, and on the first floor seven bedrooms would have been recreated from Hutton. At Great Western Terrace there were more modern pictures and bronze sculpture found within the domestic space. Perhaps Burrell felt that a neo-classical exterior fitted with specific spaces to incorporate rooms from Hutton, would allow for more regular gallery spaces to suit his objects not housed at Hutton.

Adams-Acton’s plans were quite different to Surgey’s. Marks notes that the only similarities in plan were their neo-classical structures.<sup>773</sup> Adams-Acton’s plan was more centralised with an inner courtyard and galleries coming off of this central space (See figures 133 and 134). The plans showed two floors, and Adams-Acton detailed the placement of individual objects. On the ground floor the Bayswater ceiling and Neptune panelling were to be displayed in the same room, there was to be a room with linenfold panelling on the walls that displayed early furniture and tapestries, and a room he named the “Elizabethan room”. On the first floor were Burrell’s pictures displayed in two rectangular galleries on either side of the internal courtyard. The galleries were to have balconies, presumably to look into the courtyard below. As Surgey had done, Adams-Acton also created galleries to house the rooms from Hutton: bedrooms and the Drawing Room appear on the ground floor of his plan.

The detail of Adams-Acton’s plan extended to drawings that incorporated the architectural fragments bought by Burrell from the collection of William Randolph Hearst (1863-1951) between August 1952 and 1954 (See figures 135 and 136).<sup>774</sup> In a letter to Andrew Hannah dated July 1954 Adams-Acton wrote,

Sir William is most anxious for me to set out a few sketches for the arrangement of an architectural court and I shall do this when time permits as it will please him. I shall work on the assumption that portals such as that at Hornby, which includes a door, could be placed against a wall, as it would convey the idea that it actually led somewhere; but the Gothic façade & the Chateau Thierry arch should be open & used as such i.e. part of the fabric. I think also that the large Gothic windows could be put into service if facing an internal courtyard. We seemed to be in agreement upon this, but Sir William is uncertain about it. There’s time enough!<sup>775</sup>

We can assume that the drawings of the stonework were those discussed by Adams-

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<sup>772</sup> Marks, *Portrait of a Collector*, 163.

<sup>773</sup> Marks, *Portrait of a Collector*, 163.

<sup>774</sup> Marks, *Portrait of a Collector*, 182.

<sup>775</sup> Murray Adams-Acton to Andrew Hannah, July 1954, GMRC, Burrell Archive, GMA.2013.1.2.8.338.









Figure 135: Murray Adams-Acton, Drawings of medieval architectural features from Hearst Collection for Burrell Collection, 1954 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection

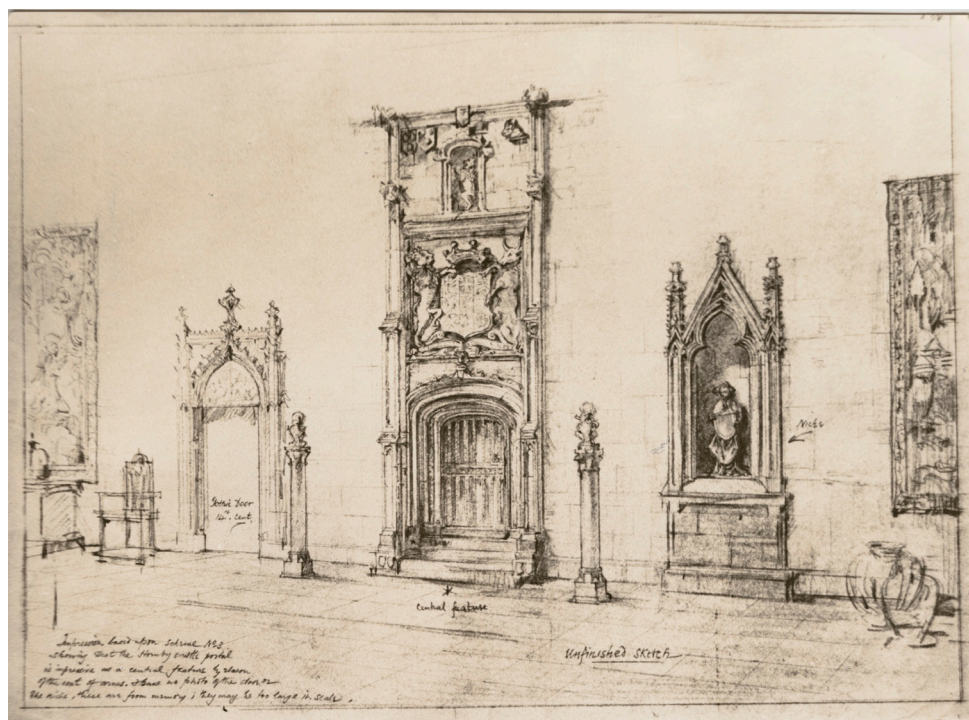


Figure 136: Murray Adams-Acton, Drawings of medieval architectural features from Hearst Collection for Burrell Collection, 1954 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection

Acton in this letter. In his text Marks writes that apart from a few encouraging comments to Hannah regarding Adams-Acton's drawings, "Burrell gave few indications that he had given the design of the building to house his collection serious consideration."<sup>776</sup> This new correspondence that has come to light in the years since Marks wrote his biography indicates that Burrell was in fact deeply concerned about the building's design.

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<sup>776</sup> Marks, *Portrait of a Collector*, 166.



#### 4.4: Preserving the Collection's identity

As well as to be housed in a purpose built building Burrell stipulated that the collection was to be kept completely separate from other collections, as listed in the ninth condition:

The building in which the Collection is housed shall contain only (one) the Collection gifted by the donors and any further articles purchased by the Trustees or either of them for the Collection as aftermentioned, (two) any articles which may be donated or bequeathed to the Donees by the Donors' daughter, Miss Marion Burrell, provided the said articles be deemed [...] suitable for the Collection, [...] no other pictures or works of art of any description shall be housed therein [...] and the Donees shall not be entitled on any pretext whatever to sell or donate or exchange any item or part of the Collection.<sup>777</sup>

Here Burrell clearly defined what could and could not be exhibited within the new building. The condition illustrated how determined he was that only objects gifted by himself and Constance, or suitable articles purchased by trusted partners (the trustees or their daughter Marion) could enter the collection. Burrell also stipulated that no objects were to be exchanged with, or donated to, other collections. The three stipulations illustrate a desire for the collection to be preserved as he had envisaged it. This notion is furthered both later in the memorandum and in Burrell's Will in which, with regard to the purchase of new objects for the Collection, stated, "it being my wish that a very decided preference be given to works of art of the Gothic period".<sup>778</sup> This highlights that he wanted the collection to remain faithful to his taste after his death. Although he was not to have a direct hand in the erecting of a building for his Collection, Burrell's stipulations allowed him to have some control over his collection's future.

In correspondence with Clark from the 1940s Sir William made multiple references to his concern over finding a home for his collection, writing, "on account of my age, I am anxious to have the matter settled while I am still here."<sup>779</sup> The worry expressed by Burrell, who at the time was 81, highlighted his wish to secure the future of his collection before his own death. By naming the collection after the family name, ensuring that it was housed within a purpose-built building, and that it was kept separate from other collections Burrell controlled, as much as he could, his collection's fate by preserving its identity in a manner that he saw fit. The next section examines this notion of identity through an assessment of how the private nature of the collection was continued into the building and the collection's opening display in 1983. By examining certain exhibition spaces within the museum it demonstrates how Burrell and Constance's identity became physically present within a

<sup>777</sup> Ninth condition, Memorandum, 1944, 7.

<sup>778</sup> 'Extract Registered Trust Disposition and Settlement and Codicils of the late Sir William Burrell', 450.

<sup>779</sup> Burrell to Clark, 16<sup>th</sup> November 1942.

building that neither of them lived to see.

#### 4.5: From private collection to public display

Opened on the 21<sup>st</sup> October 1983, The Burrell Collection was located in Pollok Country Park, roughly 6 miles from Glasgow's city centre.<sup>780</sup> The red sandstone building, designed by Barry Gasson Architects between 1978 and 1983, is a purpose built pavilion that incorporates views of the surrounding parkland and woodland (See figure 137). Inside the building, bright sky-lit rooms are juxtaposed with smaller spaces to best suit the objects that fill them (See figures 138-140).<sup>781</sup> In the *Architects' Journal* of October 1983 one author, Michael Brawne, discussed this interplay of open and closed spaces, noting how the architects created particular settings for categories of the exhibition instead of using the model of an "open loft as the ideal museum".<sup>782</sup> Rather than design a building that could house any collection, The Burrell Collection designers tailored each space so as to best highlight the objects displayed within them; smaller internal spaces were used for objects such as needlework and pictures, whilst loftier spaces housed armour, sculpture and examples of furniture.

The question of the marriage of the building and the Collection was a key factor for Gasson's architectural firm. In a report of the building from 1973 they posed the following questions:

How does one display a stone portal, once a doorway and now a piece of sculpture, that was outdoors and is now indoors? What is a piece of stained glass that once had location and message, and now has history and is preserved forever? How does one display objects of one epoch in a building that denies many of the qualities of that epoch? How does one resolve the relationship of objects that are very explicit in themselves to a building that tends not to be?<sup>783</sup>

These questions illustrate the concerns that the architects faced in bringing the collection from a specific private domain into a public one. As we know at the time of the gift the collection was partly located at Hutton Castle and displayed within a very specific historical context. In contrast, the architects were tasked with designing "a fine modern building which will make the most of [the] splendid Collection".<sup>784</sup> It is the relationship between old and new around which this chapter now concentrates, ultimately questioning how this once private collection was translated into a purpose-built, public, exhibition space.

<sup>780</sup> In 1967 Pollok House and Estate was presented to the City of Glasgow by Mrs Maxwell Macdonald for the purpose of providing a house for the Burrell Collection. For more information see Marks, *Portrait of a Collector*, 192.

<sup>781</sup> Barry Gasson Architects, 'The Burrell Collection', 1983, <http://www.ajbuildingslibrary.co.uk/projects/display/id/2137> (last accessed 12.12.16)

<sup>782</sup> Michael Brawne, 'The Burrell Collection: Architectural Showcase' *Architects' Journal*, October 19, 1983, 178.42, pp. 60-64, p. 62.

<sup>783</sup> Barry Gasson Architects 'SECOND REPORT: THE BURRELL COLLECTION, 1 April 1973', GMRC, Burrell Archive, item number not yet assigned.

<sup>784</sup> ARCHITECTS BRIEF – B.3.2.5, GMRC, Burrell Archive, item number not yet assigned.



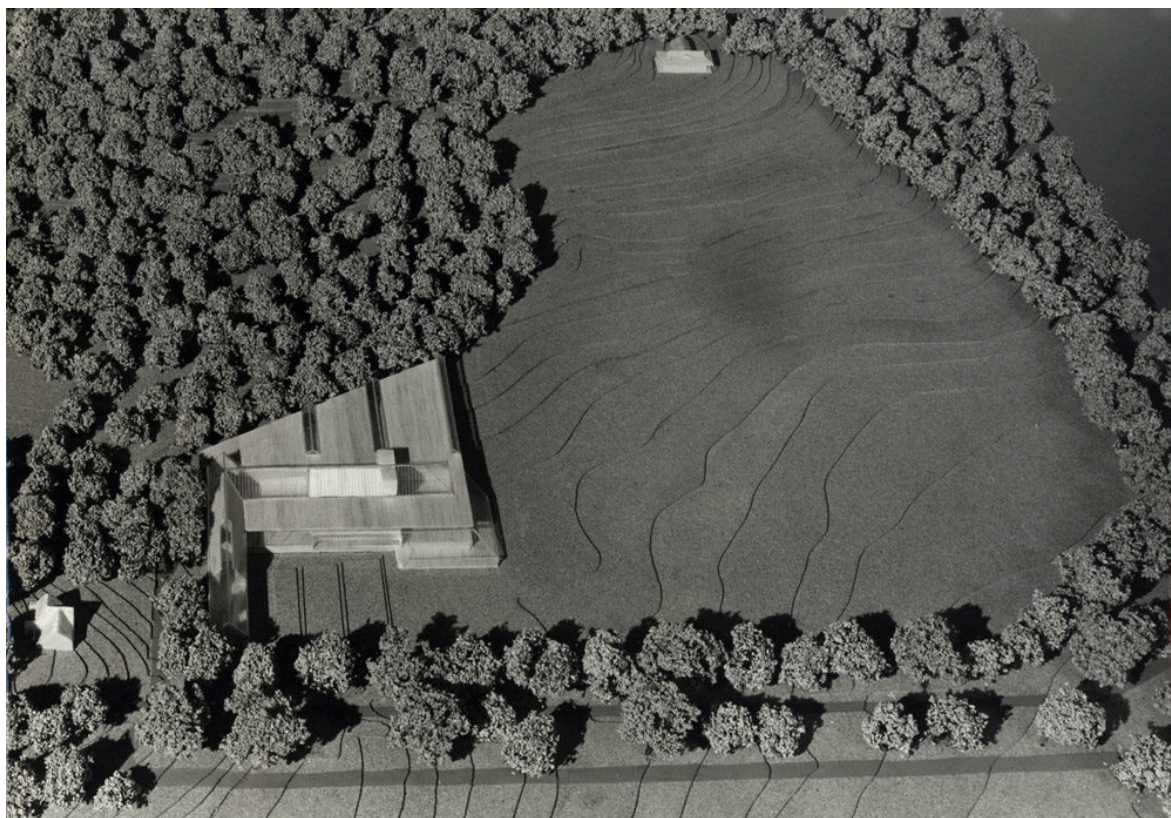


Figure 137: Barry Gasson Architects, Model, showing site for Burrell Collection, 1978  
2016 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection



Figure 138: 'Walk in the Woods' (north gallery), The Burrell Collection, 2016 © CSG CIC  
Glasgow Museums Collection





Figure 139: Needlework room, The Burrell Collection, 2016 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection



Figure 140: Arms and armour display, The Burrell Collection, 2016 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection

In *A Museum of One's Own* Higonnet argues for the creativity of collectors by likening art collectors to “artists-in-residence”, who used the “museum as their medium”.<sup>785</sup> She contends that their chosen areas of collecting were acquired as a means of projecting a personal vision of the way that objects should be experienced.<sup>786</sup> The majority of the private collections that Higonnet uses as case studies (such as the Musée Condee in Chantilly) are preserved in domestic settings, namely the homes of their founders. She argues that by using the setting of the home, collectors allowed the public to recognise a modern, personal and nationalist ownership of art through the juxtaposition of intimacy and grandeur.<sup>787</sup> Whilst Burrell’s collection is without a doubt a private collection (it was created by one collector according to his taste and desires) the collection is not preserved in a domestic setting. Instead Barry Gasson’s building is on a museum scale. However, intimacy is still present throughout its display.

In the 1944 memorandum two conditions specifically highlighted Burrell’s desire for the Collection to pursue a domestic display. The first of these reads, “[...] the Collection so far as possible should be as it would be if in a private house”.<sup>788</sup> Burrell gave examples of how this might be manifested in the new museum. With regard to stained glass he suggested that there should be specially constructed windows around the building for the display of glass, rather than exhibiting all the pieces together in a gallery.<sup>789</sup> To some extent the building followed this stipulation.<sup>790</sup> Whilst there was a small gallery that displays mounted roundels and smaller pieces of glass, there was an attempt to incorporate the glass into the structure of the building itself (See figure 141). Set into the wooden supports for the external windows in the south gallery were medieval glass panels that ran down the length of the front façade of the building (See figure 142).<sup>791</sup> As the gallery was south facing the glass experienced changes in colours according to the time of day and the seasons. In this manner, the glass was seen much as it would have been in its original ecclesiastical setting: affecting the visitor through its reflection of light and colour.<sup>792</sup> By setting the stained glass into the windows of the building the panels became part of the overall structure.

As such these panels were also displayed much like they would be in a private house, acting as windows as well as collected objects. As was noted above Burrell used his stained glass collection in the same way at Hutton Castle, employing Drake to fit 220 pieces of medieval glass into the windows of his home between 1927 and 1929. Sir William’s admiration for the functional use of his stained glass collection was such that he even had less important examples – what he described as “Dutch and therefore very moderate in

<sup>785</sup> Higonnet, *A Museum of One's Own*, 96.

<sup>786</sup> Higonnet, *A Museum of One's Own*, xiii.

<sup>787</sup> This “nationalist” ownership that Higonnet refers to is a comment on the democratization of art collections. Whilst historically it had been the aristocracy who were art collectors, during the nineteenth-century there was a shift in control over art with it becoming the possession of the middle classes. For more information see Higonnet, *A Museum of One's Own*, 81.

<sup>788</sup> Memorandum, 1944, 6.

<sup>789</sup> Memorandum, 1944, 6.

<sup>790</sup> My analysis is of the building’s display as it was in 1983.

<sup>791</sup> Marks, *The Souvenir Guide*, 63-64.

<sup>792</sup> Marks, *The Souvenir Guide*, 64.





Figure 141: Internal stained glass gallery, The Burrell Collection, 2016 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection



Figure 142: South gallery, The Burrell Collection, 2016 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection

quality” – put into a summer house within his grounds.<sup>793</sup>

It was the incorporation of objects into the fabric of the building that allowed for a feeling of privacy in an otherwise public museum, as it gave the objects a practical function rather than a purely aesthetic one. Perhaps the best examples of this were the architectural features from the Hearst Collection (See figure 143). These medieval stone portals and windows acted as a framework for smaller items, whilst giving the impression that the building and the collection were one singular entity.<sup>794</sup> From the letters between Adams-Acton and Hannah quoted above we know that Burrell intended for the fragments to be incorporated within the future museum’s display, suggesting that this was his reason for purchasing them.

Let us take as an example the early sixteenth century sandstone portal from Hornby Castle in Yorkshire (See figure 144). The portal connected the courtyard to the north gallery. This is the largest object in the collection. Measuring at roughly 7 by 2 metres this object is by no means on a domestic scale. However, this is not to say that the inclusion of the portal diminished a sense of the domestic within the collection’s display. By incorporating it into the fabric of the building the portal’s original function was somewhat renewed. The portal led visitors into the Ancient Civilisations gallery, from which began the museum’s main circuit of display.<sup>795</sup> In this manner it acted as an entranceway to the collection in a similar fashion to how it would have functioned at Hornby.

This use of architectural features within the space of a collection was not unique to The Burrell Collection. The American collector Isabella Stewart Gardner (1840-1924) collected architectural fragments (columns, staircases, ironwork, arches, pilasters, doors, brocades for walls) from across Europe to be integrated into her collection at Fenway Court on the Boston Fens, which opened to the public in 1903.<sup>796</sup> Aline Saarinen described Gardner’s use of the architectural features, writing, “[...] she used bits of old architecture to create her own style. It is impossible to say where objects leave off and the building begins for they are all one and the same.”<sup>797</sup> In the centre of Fenway Court is a garden courtyard. The architectural fragments used within this area become part of the fabric of the museum, and allow visitors to see into the courtyard from the surrounding galleries (See figure 145).

In a letter to Adams-Acton Hannah wrote, “Some of the stone features purchased by Sir William will, as you suggest, be best used to form a courtyard and garden feature”.<sup>798</sup> This emphasizes the similarity between Adams-Acton’s proposed design of The Burrell Collection and Fenway Court. Even though Adams-Acton’s plan was not executed, The Burrell Collection’s use of architectural features to frame parts of the collections is reminiscent of

<sup>793</sup> Sir William Burrell to Wilfred Drake, 9<sup>th</sup> June 1941, GMRC, Burrell Archive, 52.56.398.

<sup>794</sup> Richard Marks, ‘Sculpture and Church Art’, in (eds.) Marks, Scott et al., *The Burrell Collection*, 88.

<sup>795</sup> Barry Gasson Architects, Notes, ‘1Information, B – General Information’, B.6.2, GMRC, Burrell Archive, item number not yet assigned.

<sup>796</sup> Aline B. Saarinen, *The Proud Possessors* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1959), p48.

<sup>797</sup> Saarinen, *The Proud Possessors*, 51.

<sup>798</sup> Andrew Hannah to Murray Adams-Acton, 27<sup>th</sup> July 1954, GMRC, Burrell Archive, GMA.2013.1.2.8.339.





Figure 143: Stone window, The Burrell Collection, 2016 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection





Figure 144: Hornby portal, sandstone, early sixteenth-century, The Burrell Collection ©  
CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection

Gardner's establishment of her own style through architectural elements. Stonework features were placed around the collection. Arches led visitors into different gallery spaces, and stone windows framed objects, providing glimpses into neighbouring displays. The courtyard itself incorporated the Hornby Portal, and the space was used a space to display sculpture and the Warwick Vase purchased by the trustees after Burrell's death (See figure 146). It also acted as a central natural light source for the building. The three Hutton Rooms surrounded the courtyard. As such the space allowed natural light to shine through the stained glass windows of the rooms.

Although there is no evidence that points to Fenway Court having any direct agency over Burrell's decision to incorporate his architectural features, it is possible that Burrell was aware of Gardner's collection and museum through the press. *The Times* in 1934 reported on the 'Art Treasures of America', naming Fenway Court "[...] a romantic palace built round an internal covered court with windows and balconies from Venice."<sup>799</sup> The fact that Burrell had shown interest in the National Gallery of Art in Washington also suggests that he was looking to American museums and galleries for inspiration.

In the first section of this chapter Baudrillard's argument was used to express how objects in private collections reflect the collector.<sup>800</sup> I followed Baudrillard's contention that the process of reflection occurs because the collected objects have been stripped of their original function through the act of collecting.<sup>801</sup> However, the example of both the stained glass in the south gallery and the architectural fragments incorporated into the fabric of the building seem to disprove this argument, as their functions have been somewhat restored: the stained glass panels act as windows once more, just as the portals and arches can be walked through, and the stone windows looked through. Although the objects have regained function they continue to reflect Burrell because he dictated their use within the space of the collection. Building on Baudrillard's argument, I would suggest that it is the act of the collector, be that the act of acquisition or a stipulation of display, that is reflected onto an object. Burrell's stipulations regarding the stained glass and the incorporation of architectural features within the gallery space reflect his vision for the collection, and in doing so ensure a continuation of the personal within a public setting.

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<sup>799</sup> Philip Hendy, 'Art Treasures of America, II. The Glories of New England. A Romantic Palace', *The Times*, 6<sup>th</sup> December 1934, Issue 46930, 15.

<sup>800</sup> Baudrillard, 'The System of Collecting', 7.

<sup>801</sup> Baudrillard, 'The System of Collecting', 7.



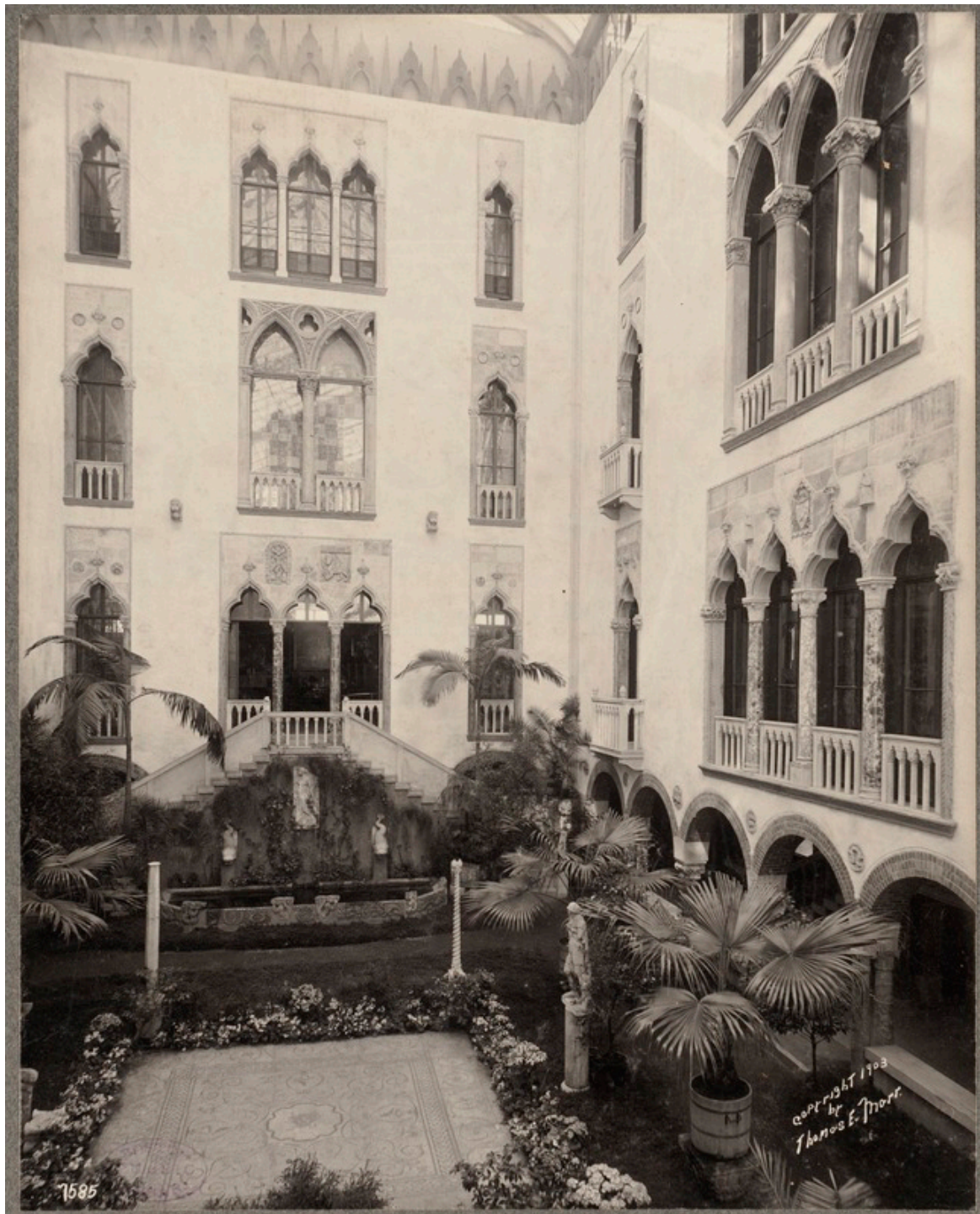


Figure 145: Photograph of architectural courtyard at Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 1903 © Thomas E. Morr





Figure 146: Courtyard, The Burrell Collection, 2016 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection

## 4.6: The Hutton Rooms

The second condition from the agreement that highlights Burrell's specific desire for a domestic display concerns furnishings that were built into the structure of Hutton Castle. The condition called for oak panelling, fireplaces, carved stone, lintels, etc. to be removed from Hutton and become part of the Collection's new building, so as to allow for three rooms within the Castle to be reproduced.<sup>802</sup> The three rooms were: the dining room, drawing room, and hall. The reproduction of these rooms was a central condition to the gift. In his Will Burrell declared, "in order to retain their artistic value and feeling the rooms in Hutton castle should be reproduced in the building [...] as nearly as possible".<sup>803</sup> Burrell had originally intended for private rooms such as bedrooms to also be included in the museum, as seen on Surgey and Adams-Acton's plans. However, in the end only the three public rooms were chosen. The fact that Burrell wanted bedrooms reproduced in the future building as well as the drawing room, dining room and hall from Hutton suggests that he wanted the historical aesthetic achieved throughout Hutton to be reflected in the museum. It can therefore be argued that it was the identity of his collection and its display that Burrell wanted to survive as his legacy in the future museum.

As a means of facilitating the faithful reproduction Burrell drew up precise plans of the rooms, listing their proportions. He also created inventory lists of Hutton Castle within which the arrangements of the items from these rooms were meticulously detailed (See figures 147 and 148). The detailed lists illustrated his desire to bring his own individual vision into the museum context. He not only recorded what was in each room but their locations as well.

Burrell's comment on the "artistic value and feeling" of the rooms can be associated with Higonnet's argument for the creativity of a collector. Rather than simply allow his collection to be placed within an objective museum environment, Burrell chose to bring his personal curating of objects into the public domain. The rooms were to be consumed and recognised by the public in a style that he believed his collection should be experienced.

Through this condition Burrell continued the resonant exhibition mode that he had used at Hutton. Greenblatt argues that the key for a resonant exhibition is, "[...] the intimation of a larger community of voices and skills".<sup>804</sup> In other words the objects are exhibited within spaces that "[...] evoke in the viewer the complex, dynamic cultural forces from which [the object] has emerged".<sup>805</sup> The Hutton Rooms in The Burrell Collection museum achieved this twofold. Firstly, in the manner in which they had at Hutton: creating suitable spaces to exhibit Burrell's medieval objects. Secondly, they evoked the history of

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<sup>802</sup> Memorandum, 1944, 2.

<sup>803</sup> 'Extract Registered Trust Disposition and Settlement and Codicils of the late Sir William Burrell', National Records of Scotland, 'Record of Wills, no. 14', SC60/47/14, 453.

<sup>804</sup> Greenblatt, 'Resonance and wonder', 48.

<sup>805</sup> Greenblatt, 'Resonance and wonder', 42.



Figure 147: Photograph of Inventory list for Drawing room in Burrell's hand, The Burrell Collection © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection





Burrell's collection itself. As was argued in the previous chapter, the rooms at Hutton were carefully designed with each object being the sum of a whole. Therefore, by stipulating that rooms from Hutton were to be recreated within the museum Burrell preserved the manner in which he believed his medieval objects should be displayed and consumed.

After Burrell's death in 1958 Stanley Cursiter (1887-1976), Director of the National Galleries of Scotland between 1930 and 1948 wrote to Honeyman, "We won't see his like again – he was the last of the Collectors – modern conditions are all against such things happening again."<sup>806</sup> With Burrell's death Cursiter saw the end of a generation of collectors who devoted their lives and fortunes to art collecting. Undoubtedly Burrell had done both. Burrell's status as an art collector by his death was significant. Added to this he had sat as a trustee for two national galleries, and had been closely involved with museums such as the V&A in London. This suggests that, like Cursiter, Burrell was aware of the modern conditions that inhibited the future of collecting, as he had known it. His interior displays at Hutton mirrored late nineteenth and early twentieth century taste in the "Romantic Interior".<sup>807</sup> In light of Cursiter's remark, I suggest that Burrell's stipulation for rooms from Hutton to be recreated within the museum was an attempt to preserve not only his collection's identity but also the history of this taste, one which he had followed since the late nineteenth century.

The idea of bringing an individual vision into a public sphere is present within other private collections brought into the public domain in the twentieth century. A comparison can be made with the Lady Lever Art Gallery in Port Sunlight, which opened in 1922. Like Burrell, William Lever created a series of historical rooms within his collection as a means of offering a comparison with his own domestic interiors (See figure 149).<sup>808</sup> Unlike Burrell, Lever was directly involved in the building of his gallery and the arrangement of its displays.<sup>809</sup> Whilst Lever created his rooms as a means of reflecting his individual vision and tastes, he adapted these to fit within the regular spaces of the gallery.<sup>810</sup> Moreover, Lever's rooms highlighted his interest in the use of an historical context to frame his collection, rather than being reconstructions of particular rooms from his home.<sup>811</sup> The Hutton Rooms were also adapted to fit within the new museum space. However, in the 1944 Agreement, Burrell's Will and the brief for the architectural competition (1971), the Hutton Rooms were central to the structure of the new building. Burrell's intention for reconstructing the Hutton Rooms was as a means of creating and conserving the identity of his collection within the public museum.

When analysing the 1983 Hutton Rooms it is important that the appropriate

<sup>806</sup> Stanley Cursiter to T. J. Honeyman, 31<sup>st</sup> March 1958, NLS, Tom Honeyman files, Acc. 9787/83, 3/19/167.

<sup>807</sup> Wainwright describes the "Romantic Interior" as an interior defined by the character of objects from either classical, medieval or Renaissance works of art and antiquities. He argues, "Their creators need only acquire a range of objects that date from an earlier period." See Clive Wainwright, *The Romantic Interior: the British Collector at home, 1750-1850* (London: Yale University Press, 1990), 1.

<sup>808</sup> Michael Shippobottom, 'The Building of the Lady Lever Art Gallery', *Journal of the History of Collections*, 4, No. 2 (1992), 186.

<sup>809</sup> Shippobottom, 'The Building of the Lady Lever Art Gallery', 175.

<sup>810</sup> Shippobottom, 'The Building of the Lady Lever Art Gallery', 175.

<sup>811</sup> Shippobottom, 'The Building of the Lady Lever Art Gallery', 186.



Figure 149: The Napoleon room (before refurbishment), Lady Lever Art Gallery © Liverpool Museums Website



terminology is used.<sup>812</sup> Although in Gasson's report on the Burrell building it was stated, "The Hutton rooms will be accurate reconstructions", it is wrong to assume that these rooms are completely faithful to their original counterparts.<sup>813</sup> Of the three rooms the dining room was the closest reproduction, with all aspects being as they were in Hutton Castle apart from a door in the wood panelling which may have originally been used for access to the kitchen, and an English oak armchair that was removed from the original layout (See figure 150).

In the museum reconstructions the drawing room and the hall were reversed so as to fit better within the layout of the new building. Despite this the Hall was almost entirely a reflection of its Hutton Castle counterpart, apart from the addition of a sixteenth century oak armchair which is not visible in the Hutton photographs (See figure 151).

The drawing room presented the most extensive example of a recreation of the original room. In the drawing room at Hutton Castle the large stained glass window was found on the south wall, directly above the main castle entrance. Opposite this was a full tapestry wall. At Hutton Castle there was only one door into the drawing room. The museum designers added an extra door into the museum reconstruction so as to allow visitors to view the room from both ends (See figure 152 and 153). Originally Burrell had wanted visitors to be able to flow through these rooms naturally. However, Honeyman expressed concerns regarding the idealistic nature of this projection. On the subject he noted,

This is an excellent ideal but in our experience we have to protect the exhibits from young people who sometimes have an urge to handle everything in sight, and from the risk of the occasional vandal who has no respect for private or public property.<sup>814</sup>

By adding an extra door to the drawing room, the designers allowed for the public to enter as much of the room as possible without risking damage to the exhibited objects.

As well as reconfiguring the room, four items of furniture were removed from the Hutton Castle drawing room and two new pieces were placed into it. By playing around with the items found within the rooms the original Burrell curators altered the collection's identity created by Burrell at Hutton.

"As nearly as possible"<sup>815</sup> Barry Gasson, the original Burrell curators, and the Glasgow Corporation were faithful to the conditions laid out in 1944. However, they took

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<sup>812</sup> Information regarding the reconstruction of the Hutton Rooms has been sourced from Elizabeth Hancock and her unpublished presentation 'Sir William Burrell's Rooms: from the original to the reconstruction' (September 2014).

<sup>813</sup> Barry Gasson Architects, 'Second Report: The Burrell Collection, 1 April 1973' GMA.2013.1.5, GMRC, Burrell Archive, item number not yet assigned.; It is important to note that the images used within this thesis are from 2016. As such items such as carepts are no longer seen within the Hutton Rooms. Although they were displayed in 1983, they were taken out of the schemes for conservation reasons.

<sup>814</sup> T. J. Honeyman, 'Memorandum on the Sir William and Lady Burrell Collection', National Library of Scotland, 9787.83 'Burrell', 3/19.15.

<sup>815</sup> 'Extract Registered Trust Disposition and Settlement and Codicils of the late Sir William Burrell', 453.



(above) Figure 150: Dining room, The Burrell Collection, 2016; (below) Figure 151: Hall, The Burrell Collection, 2016 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection





(above) Figure 152: Drawing room, The Burrell Collection, 2016; (below) Figure 153: Tapestry wall, drawing room, The Burrell Collection, 2016 © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection



into consideration the social, artistic and historical contexts in which they were creating and curating The Burrell Collection. After the end of World War Two favour turned against the collection museum.<sup>816</sup> Whilst they were endured for the masterpieces within them, they had come to be seen as too private and too decorative.<sup>817</sup> With this in mind it is no surprise that Burrell's conditions were interpreted the way that they were. The Glasgow Corporation desired a museum that would be relevant to a modern day public, whilst still staying faithful to its founder. By incorporating the domestic and museum types they allowed for the private and public realms to come together harmoniously.

As an example of a collection museum The Burrell Collection is confusing. Within one exhibition space opposites are married as a means of creating a unified whole: the historic versus the modern, the man-made object versus the natural park setting, the domestic scale versus the museum, and of course the private collection versus the public museum. The collection is not a straightforward example of a private collection being preserved in its original context, as if frozen in time. Indeed, after the 1944 gift the nature of the collection changed; Burrell expanded the range of objects he collected and he began collecting larger scale pieces. The 1983 manifestation of the museum was an example of a private collection that was adapted so as to suit new generations of visitors and curators. The elements of the domestic that were incorporated into the fabric of the building maintained the private, and intimate nature of the collection. However, the building itself was timeless and objective, acting as a blank canvas to enhance the collections, rather than to overshadow them with architectural innovativeness. Undoubtedly elements of Burrell's stipulations were altered when it came to the design and display of the museum in Pollok Country Park. However, what remained when we consider his 1944 memorandum, his Will, and the detailed inventories of Hutton Castle, was Burrell's determination for the collection's identity to survive beyond his own lifetime.

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<sup>816</sup> Higonnet, *A Museum of One's Own*, 206.

<sup>817</sup> Higonnet, *A Museum of One's Own*, 206.

## Conclusion

This thesis has shown that throughout his life Burrell was a considered collector. Although his family shared his love of art, it was Burrell's trips abroad that augmented his hunger for collecting and his knowledge of the Continental art world. In the late nineteenth century Glasgow's art scene was outward looking in its nature, and so too was Burrell. Just as the Glasgow Boys were looking to their contemporaries on the Continent, Burrell was travelling to Paris, Amsterdam, Brussels and Vienna: buying art and absorbing European artistic culture.

From the beginning of his collecting career Burrell's taste was catholic, as shown through his loans to the 1901 Glasgow International Exhibition. By his death his collection included; Sumerian, Assyrian, Egyptian, and Greek objects; Chinese pottery, bronzes and jades; Persian carpets, pottery and metal work; Turkish pottery; Coptic textiles; gothic tapestries and needlework; European medieval stained glass, English and Continental pottery and glassware, furniture and oak panelling, bronze and brass wares, iron and steel objects, silver and gold objects, arms and armour, Gothic stonework, bronze sculpture, painting, and prints. Rather than illustrate an indiscriminate taste, the range of objects in his collection demonstrates Burrell's appreciation of good design and craftsmanship.

As argued in chapter three, Burrell's interest in history aligned him with the philosophies of the Arts and Crafts movement in Britain. His appreciation of the history of objects linked him to the art movement's interest in the study of historical sources as key to an understanding of traditional methods of manufacture and craftsmanship. Burrell's interior schemes both at 8 Great Western Terrace and Hutton Castle illustrate his adherence to fitness for purpose in design and the suitability of objects to their context, both key Arts and Crafts ideas. Moreover, as was argued in chapter three, Burrell held progressive views on the care of his collection: ensuring that objects were not only displayed correctly but housed in a location with suitable climatic conditions. In keeping with John Ruskin and William Morris, he recognised his acquired objects not just as things of beauty, but as pieces of history that needed to be preserved and protected. This thesis has not attempted to argue that Burrell was an Arts and Crafts collector. Rather, by highlighting his alignment with the philosophies of the movement, I have illustrated the collector's engagement with his contemporary art world.

Burrell's considered nature was cemented by his gift to the City of Glasgow in 1944. The stipulations attached to the gift stated that the collection was to have as little semblance to a museum as possible. He called for the collection to be exhibited as if it were in a private home. Burrell's desire to purchase Newark Castle in the late-1890s marked the genesis of his Gothic-inspired vision for the collection, a vision that was first manifested in the interiors at 8 Great Western Terrace and came to fruition at Hutton Castle in the late-1920s. By calling for rooms from Hutton Castle to be recreated within the collection's future building, Burrell

called for a continuation of his vision beyond his own lifetime.

Following Greenblatt I argued that through this condition Burrell was used a resonant exhibition model: intimating not only the histories from which his objects came, but also the history of the collection itself. Paintings and sculptures that had once been housed at the National Gallery or the Tate would be united with tapestries displayed at the V&A and Durham Cathedral, and furniture loaned to the Bowes Museum or the Tower of London. Added to this these objects that had been exhibited in public institutions would be, in some cases for the first time, exhibited alongside objects from Hutton Castle. Within an Appadurain framework, the collection united told a story of its “social life”. As quoted in the introduction of this thesis Appadurai argued, “[...] from a *methodological* point of view it is the things-in-motion that illuminate their human and social context.”<sup>818</sup> Burrell’s collection brought together did just this; not only did the objects reflect Burrell, they also told the story of collection’s biography, thus retaining the “interest” that Burrell believed his collection had because of its diversity.

Burrell’s collection was not without its faults. Writing to Honeyman in 1944 the collector asked for 91 pieces to be removed from the collection, “They are all very unimportant – blots which I am anxious to have removed. Collecting over such a long time it was, I think, impossible to avoid them.”<sup>819</sup> This suggests that Burrell was aware of his own limitations as a collector. He wanted to ensure that his collection was of the best quality possible, and recognised that to do this it needed to be refined.

It is evident that over 75 years Burrell carefully built and curated a collection fit for the public domain. Since the 1890s he had loaned works to public exhibitions. He also loaned pieces from his collection to museums, art galleries, cathedrals and libraries. I have suggested that Burrell’s idea to leave his collection to the nation began in the early-1930s. However, the fact that he loaned pieces from his collection to public exhibitions and institutions since the late nineteenth century illustrates that from this time he wanted his collection to be accessible to the public. His smaller gifts to the Berwick Museum, the McLean Museum in Greenock, Perth Museum, Kirkcaldy Museum, and the Bowes Museum support this argument.

On the of 7<sup>th</sup> March 1949 Honeyman wrote to Burrell regarding the collector’s gift of 49 paintings to the museum in Berwick-upon-Tweed. What troubled Honeyman most was Burrell’s inclusion of *Danseuses Russes* by Degas, and *Cap Gris Nez* by Charles François-Daubigny (1817-1878), which he considered to be the best example of the artist’s work.<sup>820</sup> Honeyman believed that Burrell was weakening Glasgow’s holdings by gifting these works to the local museum. Burrell responded to Honeyman,

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<sup>818</sup> Appadurai, ‘Introduction’, 5.

<sup>819</sup> Sir William Burrell to T. J. Honeyman, 21<sup>st</sup> July 1944, National Library of Scotland, Acc. 9787/83, 3/19/47.

<sup>820</sup> T.J. Honeyman to Sir William Burrell, 7th March 1949, National Library of Scotland, Acc. 9787/83, 3/19/90.



the Daubigny I bought from a London dealer a picture which I had good reason to return, and as I could not get my money back I was obliged to take something in exchange. The Daubigny was the only respectable picture he had and I took it, not because I would otherwise have bought it, but to save my money. The Degas is only a sketch and you have 17 left including the last picture he ever painted – and one day you may have more.<sup>821</sup>

Burrell's response indicates that he was not willing to alter his gift to Berwick. Indeed, both pieces remain in the Berwick Museum's collection today. As well as these two modern pictures Burrell gifted others by Crawhall, Boudin, Monticelli, Bonvin, James Maris, Bosboom, Fantin-Latour, Muhrman, Ribot, Lavery, Arthur Melville, amongst others.<sup>822</sup> Burrell also gifted a number of old master paintings to the museum, including: Allan Ramsay's *Portrait of Miss Christian Grant*, a French seventeenth century work entitled *Teetotum* and a Dutch sixteenth-century *Portrait of a Gentleman*.<sup>823</sup> The 49 paintings were representative of Burrell's larger painting collection: a dominance of modern European artists accompanied by a few old masters. The gift was overwhelmingly received by Berwick-upon-Tweed, so much so that the mayor of the town stated,

[...] in these pictures, we have the finest art gallery on the whole of the east coast route between London and Edinburgh. That may sound a rather sweeping claim to make but, I believe it will be found fact, and that is how I personally regard the value of this great gift.<sup>824</sup>

The fact that Burrell's gift to Berwick was representative of his picture collection suggests that with this act he was trying to share his collection as widely as possible, and simultaneously augment the cultural profile of Berwick-upon-Tweed.

Burrell similarly gifted four pictures to the McLean Museum in Greenock in November 1940: *Still Life* by Vincelet, *The Farmyard* by Hervier, an Italian School picture by an unknown artist, and a Muhrman pastel entitled *The Bridge*.<sup>825</sup> In June the next year he gave a further nine domestic objects to the museum.<sup>826</sup> As with Berwick, the paintings

821 Sir William Burrell to T. J. Honeyman, 9<sup>th</sup> March 1949, National Library of Scotland, Acc. 9787/83, 3/19/91.

822 List of Pictures gifted to Berwick Museum by Sir William Burrell in 1949, Berwick-upon-Tweed Record Office, BRO 794/81/5.

823 List of Pictures gifted to Berwick Museum by Sir William Burrell in 1949.

824 Mayor's address, 5<sup>th</sup> May 1949, Berwick-upon-Tweed Record Office, BRO 794/81/5.

825 Information in email correspondence from Val Boa, Curator at McLean Museum, Greenock, 9<sup>th</sup> August 2018. Painting accession numbers: (Vincelet) 1977.1178, (Hervier) 1977.886, (Italian School) 1977.228, (Muhrman) 1977.1022.

826 These objects were: a nineteenth century Dutch utensil, a pair of seventeenth-century brass altar candlesticks, a small brass plate with the figure of a stag (also seventeenth century), an eighteenth century circular brass powder flask, a nineteenth century pewter dish, an eighteenth century kitchen fireplace extension hanger, a nineteenth century Irish ashet, a nineteenth century Irish two-handed bowl and an

and objects given to Greenock give an indication of the range of his collection. It could be argued that Burrell's gift to the museum was related to his links to the history of shipbuilding in the area. Twelve of Burrell & Son's ships were built in Greenock by the Greenock & Grangemouth Dockyard Company.<sup>827</sup> Greenock was representative of Burrell's mercantile roots, and indeed the root of his fortune, which had enabled him to form his collection. By sharing a part of his collection with Greenock, Burrell publicly recognised the town's place in the history of his own and the collection's life.

Burrell left smaller gifts to three further museums: the Perth Museum and Art Gallery, Kirkcaldy Museum, and the Bowes Museum in County Durham. In 1940, 1941 and 1944 Burrell donated 31 objects to the Perth museum: 12 sword-types, 15 domestic items, three works on paper and one Chinese silk brocade wall hanging.<sup>828</sup> Burrell also gave three pictures to Kirkcaldy Museum in 1940.<sup>829</sup> After 1944 Burrell wrote to the Bowes Museum regarding objects that he had loaned to them,

I beg to intimate that, with the undernoted exceptions, I have gifted to the Corporation of Glasgow the various articles which your Museum holds on loan from me as detailed in Receipts dated 19<sup>th</sup> November 1934, 18<sup>th</sup> December 1934, 18<sup>th</sup> January 1935, 26<sup>th</sup> December 1936, and 11<sup>th</sup> August 1938.<sup>830</sup>

Of the 51 objects that Burrell had loaned to the museum from 1934, the Corporation took 43. The final eight articles Burrell offered as a gift to the Museum: six needlework panels, one floral tapestry, and one needlework seat.<sup>831</sup>

These five smaller gifts suggest that although it was Burrell's ultimate purpose to leave a coherent collection to the City of Glasgow, what was important to him was the public accessibility of his collection. Notably his gifts to Greenock and Perth pre-date 1944. As was discussed in chapter five, Burrell had initially attempted to leave his collection to London. The Greenock and Perth gifts therefore suggest that he had always intended to leave part of his collection to Scottish museums and galleries. His 1925 gift of 27 oil paintings and 51 watercolours to Glasgow's Kelvingrove Art Gallery, and his 1927 gift of £5,000 towards the furnishing of Provand's Lordship,<sup>832</sup> a medieval historic house in Glasgow, both support such an argument.

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eighteenth century hanging brass ornament. Information in email correspondence from Val Boa, Curator at McLean Museum, Greenock, 9<sup>th</sup> August 2018. Accession numbers for objects still in the McLean Museum collection: C19th ashet 1981.1526, C19th two-handed bowl 1981.1530, C18th hanging brass ornament 1981.339.

<sup>827</sup> 'Burrell & Son, Glasgow 1850-1939', *The Ship List*, <http://www.theshipslist.com/ships/lines/burrell.shtml> (accessed 10.08.18).

<sup>828</sup> Information in email correspondence from Rhona Rodger, Senior officer, collections management, Perth Museum and Art Gallery, 13<sup>th</sup> August 2018.

<sup>829</sup> *Dundee Courier*, 4<sup>th</sup> December 1940.

<sup>830</sup> Sir William Burrell to The Curator, Bowes Museum, 7<sup>th</sup> July 1944, GMRC, Burrell Archive, GMA.2013.1.2.10.45b.

<sup>831</sup> Burrell to The Curator, Bowes Museum, 7<sup>th</sup> July 1944.

<sup>832</sup> 'Gift of £5,000 by Glasgow Shipowner', *Glasgow Herald*, 5<sup>th</sup> February 1927.

Burrell's legacy was wide reaching. As a collector he should be considered within the British context of late nineteenth century middle-class collectors. Comparable examples used within this thesis were Arthur Kay, William Coats and Leonard Gow. These collectors were not aristocratic by birth but came from mercantile backgrounds. They were the sons of businessmen and as such most of them left school early to join their family's firms. Burrell left school aged 14 to work in the office at Burrell and Son. This affected his academic confidence later in life. As such his relationships with dealers were fostered on their expertise. Those closest to Burrell took on the role of "commercial experts"; they were instrumental in the processes of acquisitions, but they also all expanded Burrell's comprehension of the pieces that he owned.

In chapter two I suggested that Burrell and Reid's patronage of the Glasgow Boys was comparable to that of the Cassirer cousins in Berlin. Just as Paul and Bruno Cassirer drew comparisons between German artists and their European contemporaries, so too did Reid in his exhibitions. As argued, the 1894 Crawhall solo exhibition had educational motivations. Reid's catalogue instructed the viewers on Crawhall's biography and status as an artist. As both a lender and buyer to this exhibition I suggested that Burrell supported the art historical narrative being created by Reid around the artist. Although Burrell never wrote on his collection beyond his Purchase Books he did attempt to commission two catalogues during his lifetime. Due to her death Kurth's tapestry catalogue was never completed, and Drake's work on the stained glass took the form of an inventory rather than a descriptive catalogue. Nevertheless, both examples illustrate that Burrell was interested in promoting object-based research around his collected works.

According to Marks Burrell's later collecting policy was to concentrate on areas of the collection that needed strengthening.<sup>833</sup> Indeed, Marks writes that Burrell stated on a number of occasions, "I think it is better to fill the gaps than bid for better specimens of what we already have."<sup>834</sup> Marks does not give a reference to this quote, so the context in which this was said is unclear. Taking into consideration that Burrell had at first rejected Glasgow as a possible site to house the collection because it was not a "centre of the Art world",<sup>835</sup> I contend that Burrell's desire to fill gaps in the collection was an attempt to enhance the city's cultural capital.

Between 1944 and 1957 Burrell added over 2,000 objects to the collection.<sup>836</sup> Marks puts this down to Burrell finding consolation in collecting because of his frustrations over a site for the building.<sup>837</sup> However, an important question should be raised here: if Burrell had been successful in his bid to leave the collection to London, would he have felt the need to fill in the collection's gaps? In London Burrell's collection would have been one of many significant collections housed in the city. In Glasgow, it was unique. Although Kelvingrove's

<sup>833</sup> Marks, *Portrait of a Collector*, 167.

<sup>834</sup> Marks, *Portrait of a Collector*, 167.

<sup>835</sup> As referenced in chapter four. T.J. Honeyman to Sir Kenneth Clark, 21st June 1946.

<sup>836</sup> Marks, *Portrait of a Collector*, 166.

<sup>837</sup> Marks, *Portrait of a Collector*, 166.



holdings were valuable, they did not match up to the variety of collections in London.

During this period Burrell extended his ceramic collection, purchasing earlier pieces including Neolithic period wares from the N.S. Brown Collection in 1944 and 1948.<sup>838</sup> In 1946 he began to collect Persian pottery, an area in which until this date he had only bought eight examples.<sup>839</sup> From 1947 he also bought 12 examples of Persian metalwork, a field he had not before entered into. In the same year he bought 34 examples of Turkish pottery, having only bought one before this date in 1919.<sup>840</sup> Other unexplored areas that he ventured into included Sumerian, Assyrian, Egyptian, Greek and Ancient Persian objects. Before 1945 Burrell had only collected five Egyptian objects, and none from the other four areas. After this date he added: 59 Sumerian, 12 Assyrian, 276 Egyptian, 176 Greek, and 42 Ancient Persian objects.

Although Kelvingrove Museum had a strong Egyptian archaeological collection stemming from its subscription to the Egypt Exploration Fund in 1892, its other archaeological holdings were limited to Scotland and Cyprus.<sup>841</sup> In Edinburgh archaeological collections were found in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland founded in 1781 to collect the archaeology of Scotland.<sup>842</sup> Both cities had archaeological collections but they were limited geographically. Was Burrell's drive to collect in these new areas linked to existing Scottish ethnographic and archaeological holdings? Or, was it an attempt by the collector to expand his collection's diversity of craftsmanship?

As we have seen, in the 1930s Burrell attempted to leave his collection to the V&A in London; a museum whose early model rejected the scholarly nature of the British Museum and the connoisseurial and academic context of the National Gallery, in favour of a utilitarian model "to improve British manufacture of consumer goods through vocational education".<sup>843</sup> Its founding director, Henry Cole, was not a scholar, and scholarship was not at the foreground of the early Museum. After A. F. Kendrick's appointment of Keeper in 1897 this changed; during the early twentieth century the museum's scholarship was object-based.<sup>844</sup> Through the acquisition of a wider diversity of objects, was Burrell attempting to create a museum in Scotland modelled in part on the V&A in London? If we consider Burrell's interest in: Arts and Crafts philosophies, historical craftsmanship, the history of his collected objects, and his rejection of a public museum model in the 1944 memorandum, such a connection seems possible. Moreover, if we take into account his connection to Glasgow School of

838 Marks, *Portrait of a Collector*, 168.; Forthcoming publication Nick Pearce, 'Archaeology, and Lunacy: N. S. Brown's Chinese Neolithic Collection', in (eds.) Pearce & Milosch, *Collecting and Provenance*.

839 The following data is taken from 'Table of Sir William Burrell's acquisitions between 1911 and 1957', in *Treasures from the Burrell Collection*, 50.

840 He bought a further six examples in 1948 and one in 1949. See *Treasures from the Burrell Collection*, 50.

841 Hancock, Adamson, Blench, Donald et al., 36-50.

842 'History of the National Museum of Scotland', <https://www.nms.ac.uk/explore-our-collections/stories/scottish-history-and-archaeology/history-of-the-national-museum-of-scotland/> (accessed 22.10.18).

843 Burton, 'Cultivating the First Generation of Scholars at the Victoria and Albert Museum', *Nineteenth-century art worldwide, a journal of nineteenth-century visual culture*, Vol. 14, Issue, 2, Summer 2015 [http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/summer15/burton-on-first-generation-of-scholars-at-victoria-and-albert-museum#\\_ftn72](http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/summer15/burton-on-first-generation-of-scholars-at-victoria-and-albert-museum#_ftn72) (accessed 20.10.18).

844 Burton, 'Cultivating the First Generation of Scholars at the Victoria and Albert Museum'.

Art in the early-1900s, and his involvement in the 1916 ‘Exhibition of Ancient and Modern Needlework’ discussed in chapter one, his interest in the education of craftsmen and artists through historical sources is confirmed. Like Cole, Burrell was not a scholar. However, like Kendrick, he promoted object-based scholarship through Drake, Kurth and Yetts. Burrell’s long affiliation with the V&A, and his trust in the museum to safeguard his objects, suggests his admiration of its model.

The objects that Burrell collected post-1944 expanded his collection not only in ethnographic and archaeological terms, but also through other examples of craftsmanship that were different both geographically and temporally. Rather than see this as Burrell filling in the gaps, should we not consider it as his attempt to enrich his future visitors’ experience of the collection? From Sumerian and Assyrian artefacts to medieval tapestries, linen fold oak panelling, English oak furniture, medieval stained glass, and the modern European paintings that he so admired; a unifying feature of his collection was Burrell’s appreciation of craftsmanship and artistry. This allows us to consider Burrell’s famous statement, “The collection [...] not the collector, is the important thing”, as a call for object-based scholarship in line with that of the V&A in the early twentieth century.<sup>845</sup>

This thesis has concentrated on four main thematic areas: Burrell’s early days, his network of experts, the collection at home, and the development of the museum. Considering these themes together I have highlighted trends that occurred throughout Burrell’s life as a means of repositioning his value as a collector. I have argued that from the beginning of his collecting career Burrell was engaged with his contemporary cultural context. I have also highlighted his public mindedness, a trait that remained constant throughout his lifetime. I have shown his determination to self-educate and to truly understand his collection. In doing so I have highlighted his considered mind.

The subject of Burrell the man and the collector is, just like his collection, wide-reaching. Further areas of research on the topic include a more in depth analysis of Burrell’s place within his contemporary collecting context. Although briefly discussed in the introduction to this thesis, a more developed assessment would deepen still our understanding of Burrell’s place in Glasgow’s and in the wider British history of collecting. However, this would depend on the availability of primary material on figures such as Arthur Kay and William Allen Coats. Both of these men’s collections were sold at or after their deaths, and as such their lives are even more opaque than Burrell’s.

This thesis also only considered Burrell’s permanent homes. The family rented a number of properties, such as Kilduff House near Haddington in Lothian, Rozelle House in Ayrshire, and Broxmouth Park, Dunbar. Objects from the collection were housed and displayed in these sites, and as such an examination of them could further support the argument of identity through display found in chapter three.

An assessment of the varying locations nationwide that Burrell loaned parts of his

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<sup>845</sup> Honeyman, *Art and Audacity*, 141.

collections to would also be beneficial. Did Burrell have requirements for display of his objects? Was he named as the lender? Such questions would build upon the argument for Burrell's public consciousness.

More examples of Burrell's relationship with dealers would also be valuable. Those chosen were significant but only represent a fraction of his associations. A wider analysis of Burrell's contemporary mercantile middle-class collectors' use of dealers would help to understand the significance of the term "commercial expert". Were other collectors at this time, who had similarly left education early, also using their dealers to bolster their confidence in their academic knowledge? This research could be taken wider than British collectors, and include American collectors of the same period too.

Burrell's collecting career spanned two World Wars and lasted into the middle of the twentieth century. As such a further assessment of his connection to these historical and political contexts would also benefit our understanding of Burrell the man. The fact that Burrell collected so many objects over such a long period makes it impossible for us to know for certain the reliability of the provenance of his entire collection. This thesis has not attempted to enter into the question of provenance as it could become a thesis in itself. Instead it concentrated on what drove Burrell and where his passions lay. However, further research could pick up a more analytical stance on the notion of provenance and how important it was to him as a collector.

Finally, research into Constance would help shape our understanding of the extent to which she was involved in the creation of the collection. As noted in my introduction, with limited sources pointing to her in existing archival material, we have to be careful about placing her into the narrative of the collection. Whilst I have not assessed her in any great detail, Burrell clearly stated that the collection was forever to be associated with Constance's name, as well as his own. Therefore, future research that goes beyond the parameters of Burrell the man and the collector should consider to what extent Constance was involved.

In March 1956, just under a year before Burrell died, Murray Adams-Acton wrote to Andrew Hannah, "Sir William mentioned in the last letter that he had 'stopped buying'. If this be true...well...he has not done too badly!"<sup>846</sup> Burrell, then 95, bought his last object in April 1957: an Ancient Persian bronze head of a bull from a cauldron.<sup>847</sup> Burrell's deep passion for collecting is highlighted by the fact that he kept buying objects right up until his death. Yet, what is perhaps more impressive, is that these were objects destined for a museum that he would not live to see. Right until the end of his life his desire to expand his collection did not waver.

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<sup>846</sup> Murray Adams-Acton to Andrew Hannah, 25<sup>th</sup> March 1956, GMRC, Burrell Archive, GMA.2013.1.2.8.393.

<sup>847</sup> Burrell, Purchase Book, 1957, 52.28.



## APPENDIX 1

MEMORANDUM of AGREEMENT between SIR WILLIAM BURRELL and LADY CONSTANCE MAY LOCKHART BURRELL, his wife, of Hutton Castle, Berwick-on-Tweed (hereinafter referred to as “the Donors”) and the CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF GLASGOW acting under the Glasgow Public Parks Acts 1878 to 1937 (hereinafter referred to as “the Donees”).

WHEREAS the Donors have gifted to the Donees, on behalf of the City of Glasgow, their collection of pictures, tapestries, stained glass and other works of art at present (one) housed in Hutton Castle aforesaid and adjoining buildings; (two) in various Museums and Cathedrals and in storage in Great Britain, and (three) in America, and all as hereinafter more fully described and hereinafter referred to as “the Collection”, and that in the manner and on the conditions hereinafter set out and the Donees have accepted “the Collection” on these conditions, THEREFORE the Parties have AGREED and Do hereby AGREE as follows:-

FIRST. The Collection shall be known as “The Burrell Collection” and shall be so described for all purposes: and it is to be clearly understood and known that the bequest and gift of the Collection is from the Donors jointly and that their names shall always be associated in respect of it.

SECOND. The part of the Collection housed in Hutton Castle and outhouses comprises the contents of Hutton Castle with the exception of all modern articles of furniture and plenishing and personal effects, pearls, jewellery and furs the Spode Dinner Service made by Copeland and Garrett (two birds design) and a needlework Settee which belonged to Lord Beaconsfield and all items contained in Photo Book titled “Hutton Castle Y” which the Donors do not consider suitable for the Collection but includes without prejudice to said generality needlework, lace, tapestries, books, pictures, drawings, stained glass (some fixed in windows), furniture, carpets and rugs, curtains, wood carvings, bronzes, swords, maces, glass, pottery, silver (except modern silver) alabasters, stone statues, porcelain, objects d’art, oak panelling in the Dining Room of the Castle, and all fireplaces, lintels jambs and doors in the Castle, corbels, carved stones and all other objects of art, built into the structure of the walls or otherwise and also notwithstanding the above reference to modern articles the modern curtains in the Drawing Room which are to form part of the Collection and so enable these rooms to be reproduced in the building which the Collection is to be housed as aforementioned.

THIRD. The part of the Collection in various Museums and Cathedrals and in storage in Great Britain comprises pictures, bronzes, works of art, glasses, stained glass, tapestries, carpets, needlework, lace and other articles including silver belonging to the Donor in, lent to or stored with or by the National Gallery, Trafalgar Square, London; The Victoria and Albert Museum, London; The National Gallery – British Art (Tate Gallery) Millbank, London; The London Museum (Lancaster House) London; The Tower of London; The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; Christ Church College, Oxford; Winchester Cathedral; Chinchester Cathedral; City of Perth Museum and Art Gallery; Dundee Public Libraries Museum and Art Galleries; The Royal Scottish Museum Edinburgh; Glasgow Art Galleries and Museum (Kelvingrove Art Gallery and King’s Park); Laing Art Galleries and Museum, Newcastle-on-Tyne; Durham Cathedral including the Galilee Chapel; Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle, County Durham; City Art Gallery Leeds; Temple Newsham House, Leeds; Belgrave Hall, Leicester; Ely Cathedral; Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge; Luton Public Museum, Luton; the Museum and Art Galleries Ipswich; Torre Abbey Art Gallery, Torquay; The National Museum of Wales, Cardiff; the Public Library and Art Gallery, Huddersfield; Ashton Hall, Birmingham; City Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham; Poyle Manor, Colnbrook, Buckinghamshire (in which two valuable pieces of furniture are at present stored with Mr. John Hunt); Messrs.F. Partridge and Sons Store near Aberystwyth, Wales; their Store at Carcizon House, King Street, St. James’, London; their Store near Stilton by Peterborough and their Store at North Myonus Park, Hatfield, Herfordshire; Mr. Frank Partirdge’s House videlicet:- Salisbury House, Potters Bar and Mr. Wilfrid Drakes House Cassilis, Fifty one Peters Road, St. Margaret on Thames and certain items in Hutton Castle and outhouses which are temporarily stored there but which are no part of the Hutton Castle furnishings by excludes the picture “Grief” stored in the Kelvingrove Galleries, Glasgow, which the first named Donor intends to bequeath to the Ryks Museum, Holland, various articles which he intends to bequeath to certain Museum and Art Galleries in Great Britain and which he considers unsuitable for the Collection and the articles stored at Eight Great Western Terrace, Glasgow.

FOURTH. The part of the Collection in America comprises one stained glass window Fourteen feet Seven inches high and two other valuable panels of stained glass stored by Messrs. Thomas and Drake, New York.

FIFTH. The part of the Collection described in Article Second hereof shall be delivered to the Donees on the death of the survivor of the Donors but such survivor shall have power to advance such date of delivery as he or she may determine but declaring that until such time as Hutton Castle may come to be used as a Public Institution not more than four of the oak doors in the Castle shall be removed by the Donees. It is understood that under existing legislation no death duties will be exigible on the Collection on the Donors deaths but the Donees undertake to meet any death duties which for any reason may be prestable and

so free and relieve the Donors estates thereof. Should it be necessary for the first named Donor's Trustees in the event of a capital levy in order to secure the provisions made by him for his wife and others by testamentary bequest to realise some of this part of the Collection they shall be entitled in their sole discretion to do so and the Donees shall be free of any obligation as regards death duties on the part of the Collection so realised.

SIXTH. The gift of the parts of the Collection described in Articles Third and Fourth hereof shall take effect on the completion of these presents and the first named Donor shall as soon as possible thereafter give written instructions to the various custodiers of the articles comprised in the gift to hold said articles to the order of the Donees or their nominees. In the event of the Donees taking actual possession of any tapestry, carpets, needlework, lace or other textiles before the building to house them is erected they shall not exhibit the same in any building within sixteen miles from the Royal Exchange Glasgow and should they take actual possession of any articles other than the foregoing and exhibit them in Glasgow or elsewhere they shall transfer them as well as all tapestries, carpets, needlework, lace or other textiles to the building to be built as aforementioned for housing the Collection when the same is built so that the whole Collection shall be permanently shown together there.

SEVENTH. As from the last date hereof the Donees undertake liability for all insurance charges, storage charges and other expenses connected with that part of the Collection described in Articles Third and Fourth hereof and further undertake for all time from said date to keep them fully insured against all risks (except War Risks) and that at values not less than the present insured values and so enable the Donees to replace with others any articles lost or destroyed and the Donees shall similarly insure as from said date in the joint name of the donors and donees for their respective interests at the expense of the donees that part of the Collection described in Article Second hereof and any articles added to the Collection as aftermentioned as from the date or dates when such additions are made. The Donors recommend that all such insurances and any others required by this Agreement shall be effected through the agency of John Barrington Bodie, Insurance Broker, One hundred and twenty four Saint Vincent Street, Glasgow (who has attended to the insurance of the Collection on the Donors' behalf for many years and has a full knowledge of all its details).

EIGHTH. The Collection shall be housed by the Donees in a suitable distinct and sepearete building to be erected by the Donors in the near vicinity of a sufficient water supply so that in the event of a fire a plentiful supply of water will be available specially as a Museum to house the Collection on a site to be chosen by the Donees in accordance with plans to be submitted to and approved by the Donors' of their Testamentary Trustees and the Donees within four miles of Killearn Stirlingshire and not less than sixteen miles from Glasgow Royal Exchange and shall be retained there as a separate Colelction. Such site



shall be provided by and the title taken in the name of the Donees at their expense and the whole expense of and costs incidental to the care and upkeep of the Collection (and of any additions made thereto by the Donors or their Testamentary Trustees or by their daughter as after provided) in all time coming including keeper, officials, days and night attendants, the supply of plate glass for the tapestries and the costs of transporting the various articles of the Collection from different Galleries et cetera, shall be borne by the Donees. The Donors recommend that the Donees should consult Mr. Wilfrid Drake, Cassilis, St. Peters Road, St. Margaret-on-Thames, Middlesex, as to forming the windows and placing the stained glass in the building to be provided to house the Collection, and that the Collection so far as possible be should as it would be if in a private house eg. the stained glass instead of being shown altogether should be shown in as many specially constructed windows of the building as possible and the tapestries, furniture, beds etcetera, should be placed in room through-out the building which other appropriate furniture so as to ensure that the building has as little semblance to a Museum as possible.

NINTH. The building in which the Collection is housed shall contain only (one) the Collection gifted by the donors and any further articles purchased by the Trustees or either of them for the Collection as aftermentioned, (two) any articles which may be donated or bequeathed to the Donees by the Donors' daughter, Miss Marion Burrell, provided the said articles be deemed, by the experts to be appointed hereafter to advice on purchases for the Collection, suitable for the Collection, and no other pictures or works of art of any description shall be housed therein. It is the Donors wish that the Collection should comprise only works of the highest merit and the Donees shall not be entitled on any pretext whatever to sell or donate or exchange any item or part of the Collection once it has formed part of the Collection but the Donees shall be entitled from time to time to lend temporarily to responsible bodies any article or articles forming part of the Collection as they may think fit for exhibition in any Public Gallery in Great Britain.

TENTH. The first named Donor undertakes by his Testamentary Settlement to provide that his Trustees on the expiry of the life interest and other provisions for his said wife and after satisfying certain legacies and bequests which include without prejudice to said generality bequests of Hutton Castle and its policies, his interest in Hutton Estate Company Limited, Blackburn Estate Company Limited and Whiterig Estate, shall hold the whole residue and remainder of his means and estate with the exception of all pearls, jewellery and furs with instructions to apply as much of the capital thereof as his said Trustees shall consider necessary, and of which they shall be the sole judges towards the erection of the building to house the Collection and the provision of all drains, sewers, water pipes, electric cables et cetera and to apply the income of the balance of said residue in the purchase of pictures and works of art (a very decided preference being given to works of art of the highest

standard of the Gothic period). Instructions as to the manner in which such purchases shall be made will be given by the first named Donor in his Testamentary Settlement. The Donees shall at their expense insure and keep insured for all the time the said building, when completed, for not less than the cost thereof and shall be further liable in all time for all ground burdens, rates and taxes affecting the said building and for the whole costs of the repair and maintenance of the same.

ELEVENTH. In case of any dispute or difference arising between the parties as to the true meaning and intent of these presents or any of the articles hereof or as to the implement or non implement thereof such dispute or differences shall be submitted and referred to the amicable decision, final sentence and decree arbitral of an Arbiter to be mutually chosen and failing whom to be named by the Sheriff of the County of Lanark and whatever the said Arbiter shall decide shall be final and binding upon both parties.

TWELFTH. In the event of it being found necessary to obtain the authority of Parliament to acquire the ground and incur the expenditure necessary for the repair and maintenance of the building contemplated in Article Eight hereof the Donees hereby undertake to apply for necessary powers.

LASTLY. Both parties consent to the registration hereof and of any Decreets arbitral interim or final for preservation: IN WITNESS WHEREOF these presents consisting of this and the three preceeding pages are executed, in duplicate, as follows videlicet:- they are sealed with the Common Seal of the said The Corporation of Glasgow and subscribed by William McCubbin Lee and Hugh Turner MacCalman two members of the said Corporation and by William Kerr, Town Clerk of said City all for and on behalf of said Corporation acting as aforesaid, at Glasgow on Thirtieth March Nineteen hundred and forty four before these witnesses Thomas Marr, Writer and Andrew Dunlop Ralston, Law Apprentice both in the Town Clerk's Office, Glasgow; and they are signed by the said Sir William Burrell and Lady Constace Mary Lockhart Burrell at Berwick-on-Tweed on Sixth April in the year last mentioned before these witnesses John Norman Connel, Agent and John Cormack, Accountant, both in the National Bank of Scotland Limited, Berwick-on-Tweed."

## APPENDIX 2

William Burrell loans of paintings, works on paper and sculpture to 1901 Glasgow International Exhibition (categories and titles of work taken from 1901 catalogue)

*The Official Catalogue of the Fine Arts Section* (Charles P. Watson: 33 Gordon St., Glasgow, 1901), GU Special Collections, Bh11-c.36.

### **British oil:**

John Lavery (1856-1941), *Portrait of a Lady*

James Abbott McNeill Whistler (1834-1903), *The Fur Jacket*

James Abbott McNeill Whistler, *Princesse du Pays de la Porcelaine*

### **British watercolour:**

Joseph Crawhall (1861-1913), *The Black Cock*

Joseph Crawhall, *The Cockatoo*

Joseph Crawhall, *The Pigeon*

Henry Muhrmann (1854-1916), *The Bridge* (pastel)

Henry Muhrmann, *Winter* (pastel)

### **Foreign watercolour:**

Johannes Bosboom (1817-1891), *Haarlem Church*

Jacob Maris (1837-1899), *Dordrecht*

Jacob Maris, *Dutch Town*

Jacob Maris, *The Sisters*

Matthjis Maris (1839-1917), *The Walk*

### **Foreign oil:**

Thomas Couture (1815-1879), *Un Conventionnel*

Honoré Daumier (1808-1879), *La Blanchisseuse*

Honoré Daumier, *Don Quixote*

Jean-Louis-André-Théodore Gericault (1791-1824), *Horse*

Johan Jongkind (1819-1891), *Street in Paris*

Édouard Manet (1832-1883), *Girl's Head*

Matthjis Maris, *The Butterflies*

Matthjis Maris, *Montmatre*

Adolphe Monticelli (1824-1880), *Marseilles Bazaar*

Adolphe Monticelli, *Scene from the 'Decameron'*

Théodule Ribot (1823-1891), *The Musician*

Théodule Ribot, *The Rosary*

Diego Velázquez (1599-1660), *Portrait of Infanta Maria Teresa*

### **Black and white:**

Albrecht Durer (1471-1528), *L'Enfant Prodigue* (engraving)

Matthjis Maris, *The Bride*

Matthjis Maris, *The Enchanted Castle*

Matthjis Maris, *Landscape*

Matthjis Maris, *Lausanne*

Phil May, *The Alibi*

Phil May (1864-1903), *"All right, it's my fault"*

Phil May, *"Drink, I suppose"*



Phil May, *Reassuring*

**Sculpture:**

John Acton-Adams (1834-1910), *Miss W. Glen Coats* (Plaster)

William R. Colton (1867-1921), *Head of a Girl* (marble)

J. H. M. Furse, *Miss David Henderson*

E. W. Kennedy, *The Lady of the Land*

David McGill (1864-1947), *The Victor* (statuette, bronze)

M. Charles Meunier, *Le Pêcheur*

E. Roscoe Mullins (1848-1907), *Boy with Top* (statue, bronze)

Auguste Rodin (1840-1917), *Maternal Love* (bronze)

Egide Rombaux (1865-1942), *Epouvantail*

Victor Rousseau (1865-1954), *Le Coupe des Volupés*

Charles Van der Stappen (1843-1910), *La Glaneuse*

Charles Van der Stappen, *Maternity*

Charles Van der Stappen, *Un Vieux*

Arthur George Walker (1861-1939), *A Sea Maiden* (statuette, plaster)

### APPENDIX 3

‘Modern Pictures – Pictures & Drawings – The Property of a Gentleman; and from Numerous private collections and Different Sources’ (London: Christie, Mason & Woods, 1902)

Sale at Christie’s London, 16th May 1902 (titles of works taken from catalogue)

Henry Muhrmann, *The Edge of a Common with buildings*  
Johannes Bosboom, *Interior of a Church, with figures*  
François Bonvin (1817-1887), *The Scullery Maid*  
Thomas Couture, *Head of a Lady*  
Honoré Daumier, *The Artist*  
Honoré Daumier, *A woman going to market on a donkey*  
Narcisse Virgilio Díaz (1807-1876), *A Bouquet of Flowers*  
Narcisse Virgilio Díaz, *Lovers and Cupids*  
Johan Jongkind, *Fabrique de Cuirs Forts*  
Édouard Manet, *Head of a Lady, in white dress*  
Jacob Maris, *A coast scene, with stranded boats and figures*  
Matthijs Maris, *The Prisoners*  
Matthijs Maris, *A Flower Piece*  
Adolphe Monticelli, *Female Figure in a Forest*  
Adolphe Monticelli, *Le soir dans le parc*  
Adolphe Monticelli, *A Road, with trees and figures*  
Théodule Ribot, *The Musician*  
Théodule Ribot, *Mother and Daughter*  
Théodule Ribot, *Still Life*  
Théodule Ribot, *A Young Child, with a book*

‘Important Modern Pictures & Drawings of the Continental Schools; and also Fine Early English Pictures and a few works by Old Masters – The property of William Burrell, Esq.; Robert Ryrie Esq., deceased Miss Squire, deceased’ (London: Christie, Mason & Woods, 1902)

Sale at Christie’s London, 14th June 1902 (titles of works taken from catalogue)

Henry Muhrmann, *A River Scene, with bridge and boats*  
James Abbott McNeill Whistler, *The Entrance to a Courtyard*  
François Bonvin, *Oysters and Still Life on a Table*  
François Bonvin, *A Violin, glass and flask*  
François Bonvin, *A Book and Spectacles*  
Honoré Daumier, *The Good Samaritan*  
Honoré Daumier, *Don Quixote and Sancho Panza*  
Edgar Degas (1834-1917), *A Girl Looking Through Opera Glasses*  
Adolphe Hervier (1818-1876), *A Fishing Boat*  
Edward Atkinson Hornel (1864-1933), *Butterflies*  
Edward Atkinson Hornel, *A Silk-shop in Japan*  
John Lavery, *Dear Lady Disdain*  
Jean-François Millet (1814-1875), *A Girl changing her Shoes*  
Matthjis Maris, *Lausanne*  
Adolphe Monticelli & Matthjis Maris, *Ladies in a Forest*  
Matthjis Maris, *Head of a Girl*  
Matthjis Maris, *Vegetables and Still Life on a Table*



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### ARCHIVE MATERIAL

- (1) The Burrell Archive in the Glasgow Museum Resource Centre (GMRC) holds the main body of primary material on Burrell and the collection. Although not extensive the archive holds: correspondence, inventories, photographs, Burrell's library, Glasgow Museum and Burrell annual/quarterly reports, exhibition catalogues relating to the collection, newspaper clippings, and information relating to the Burrell court case of 1997 (GMA.2013.1; 52.1-56).
- (2) The Glasgow Museum Resource Centre (GMRC) library and archive also holds information on Provand's Lordship (no call number, ref. "Provands-Lordship Collection related material").
- (3) Glasgow City Archives, held at the Mitchell Library in Glasgow, holds material relating to the Glasgow Corporation (including the 1901 Glasgow International Exhibition) (CI 3.32; GCF 352 GLA; D-TC11/4). The archives also hold information relating to the Royal Glasgow Institute of Fine Art (TD 1981/1/5/1).
- (4) Glasgow University Archive holds the archive of John Scott Maclay, First Viscount Muirshiel of Kilmacolm (1905-1992). He was a Senior Trustee of Sir William Burrell's Trust in the 1970s and 1980s (DC 371/7/1). The archive also holds photographs relating to the 1901 Glasgow International Exhibition (GB 248 DC 061).
- (5) The Glasgow School of Art Archive holds material relating to Burrell's time as governor for GSA, as well as information relating to exhibitions at the school that Burrell was involved with (GSAA GOV 2/5; GSAA GOV 1/2; GSAA GOV 5/1; GSA EPH 9/1).
- (6) Glasgow University Special Collections holds material relating to the 1901 Glasgow International Exhibition, including catalogues and newspaper clippings. Material relating to the Glasgow Civic Society is also held here (Bh11; MS Gen.1342).
- (7) The National Library of Scotland in Edinburgh has Dr T. J. Honeyman's archive. Within this is a file dedicated to Burrell (Acc. 9787/83). The library also has Alexander James McNeill Reid's archive relating to a proposed book that he was to write about his father Alex Reid in the 1960s (Acc.6925). The Glasgow Conservative Association archive is also held at the library (Acc. 10424/23).
- (8) The National Galleries of Scotland in Edinburgh holds records of their Trustees meetings, of which the minutes dating from 1923 to 1947 relate to Burrell (NGS Archive, Minutes vol. vii).
- (9) Burrell's Will can be found at the National Records of Scotland in Edinburgh. The National Records of Scotland also hold the Census Records of 1871 and 1911 used within this thesis (Will no. 3998; 1871/453/1; 1911/644-12/22) .

- (10) Historic Environment Scotland holds a large collection of Sir Robert Stodart Lorimer's drawings, plans and sketchbooks (SK21/17-19 & 21; GWD/131; MS 73/43; LOR/H/7/1; LOR/h/7/2; LOR/H/7/7; BWD/88/45).
- (11) Edinburgh University Library holds Sir Robert Stodart Lorimer's papers (Coll/27, MS 2484 & Gen.1963/6).
- (12) Tate Archive in London holds material on Burrell's time as a Trustee of the National Gallery of British Art at Millbank from 1923 to 1946 (TAM72/6-15). The archive also holds correspondence between Sir Kenneth Clark and Burrell from the 1940s (TGA 8812). The Reid & Lefevre archive is also held at the Tate, and includes letters between McNeill Reid and Burrell between 1934 and 1953 (TGA 200211). The archive also holds material relating to Burrell's loans to the Gallery between 1924 and 1945 (TG 92/15/2; TG 4/8/3/2; TGA 2/7/1/45; TGA 4/8/3/2).
- (13) The V&A Archive in London holds material dating from the 1930s regarding Burrell's loans of tapestries and other works of art to the museum, as well as details of Burrell's proposed gift of his collection to the museum in the late-1930s (MA/1/B3568).
- (14) Lady Lever Art Gallery, Liverpool holds material relating to Frank Partridge's relationship with William Hesketh Lever, founder of the gallery (17.4 A-D).
- (15) The Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Galleries Archive holds material relating to Charles Lang Freer, including the correspondence quoted in this thesis (Subseries 2.1: Charles Lang Freer Correspondence, 1876, 1886-1920).

## **PUBLICATIONS ON BURRELL & BURRELL COLLECTION**

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