

**SELF-ORDERING CREATIVITY AND AN  
INDEPENDENT WORK SPACE: EDNA CLARKE  
HALL'S POEM PICTURES IN THE EARLY 1920s**

by

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## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis argues that the Poem Pictures made by Edna Clarke Hall (1879-1979) in the early 1920s signify new approaches to the treatment of ‘neuroses’ in British psychiatry following World War One, and contends that the artist’s biography is pertinent to understanding the production and meaning of these works. These hypotheses are demonstrated by considering Dr Henry Head’s responses to Clarke Hall when she sought his aid in 1920, following a period of emotional imbalance and physical illness. The thesis proposes that the philosophies underlying Head’s advice can be traced, via his acquaintance with psychiatrist Dr W.H.R. Rivers, to the unique psychotherapies practiced at Edinburgh’s Craiglockhart War Hospital from c.1916-17. Analysing archival holdings, it suggests that the Poem Pictures are Clark Hall’s creative manifestation of Head’s use of autognosis, by which a patient repeatedly verbalizes their subjective position. In relation to Craiglockhart’s ‘ergotherapy’, particular significance is placed on Head’s advice that Clarke Hall purchase a studio, and it is proposed that this space was imperative to the artist’s recovery and burgeoning career in the 1920s. In turn, this thesis situates the Poem Pictures and their author within the context of middle-class women’s participation in the arts in the inter-war decade.

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## INTRODUCTION

This thesis analyses a selection of Poem Pictures made in the early 1920s by British artist and poet Lady Edna Clarke Hall (1879-1979).<sup>1</sup> Presenting her own verses and imagery in gouache and ink, these objects combine Clarke Hall's principal practices of drawing, painting and poetry. Twenty-four were first publically displayed in the artist's 1926 solo exhibition at London's Redfern Gallery, and six were later reproduced as lithographs in the poetry book, *Facets*.<sup>2</sup> There are approximately one-hundred-and-fifty known Poem Pictures held at the Clarke Hall Archive, the majority representing differently posed draped or nude female figures (figs. 1 and 13).<sup>3</sup> Appearing in various stages of execution, some use the same poem with different imagery, and visa versa. Dating from c.1917 to c.1926, I believe the poems were written first, and were then interpreted visually to create the Poem Pictures. I contend that interpretation of these objects should be guided by the poems and my thesis, therefore, pursues both textual and visual analysis. A dynamic interaction between text and image is, however, still established in each work as Clarke Hall engaged with the *Ut pictura poesis* tradition by using visual motifs to evoke her poems' key sentiments and themes.<sup>4</sup> Whilst each is of interest, I believe the Poem Pictures' art-historical implications cannot be fully apprehended until they are approached collectively. Thus, whilst analysing individual works, my thesis aims to demonstrate two equally important overarching hypotheses regarding these objects' collective

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix No. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Exhibition of Watercolours, Etchings and Lithographs by Edna Clarke Hall*, Redfern Gallery, London, 5<sup>th</sup> February – 4<sup>th</sup> March 1926 (see Appendix No. 2); Clarke Hall wrote two poetry books: *Poems* (London, 1926) and *Facets* (London, 1930), the latter being published by Elkin, Matthews and Marrot in one limited edition of 300+30 copies.

<sup>3</sup> Clarke Hall Archive (CHA), private collection of Alison Thomas, Cambridge.

<sup>4</sup> Wesley Trimpi, 'The Meaning of Horace's *Ut pictura poesis*', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 36, 1973, 1-34.

significance. First, that the motivation behind their creation can be indirectly sourced to new treatments for mental illness developed in British psychiatry during World War One in response to the phenomenon of ‘shell-shock’.<sup>5</sup> Second, that Clarke Hall’s biography is imperative to understanding the making and content of these works in which, I suggest, the consistent first-person pronoun purposefully encourages alignment of the poetic narrative and figurative image with the author. However, I do not believe that the female figures in the Poem Pictures specifically represent Clarke Hall in the sense of naturalistic self-portraiture, but were used as pictorial frameworks by which she visually explored her subjectivity.

Archival sources suggest that during 1918 Clarke Hall progressively experienced uncharacteristic depressive moods, exhaustion, headaches and severe apathy towards painting, which she had, in fact, abandoned completely in 1917.<sup>6</sup> The principal reason for these problems can be traced to her unhappiness since marriage in 1898 to William Clarke Hall (1866-1931), their union unexpectedly bringing ‘emotional baroness’ and restrictions to her artistic practice.<sup>7</sup> Her shocked distress at the ‘organized hatred’ and bloodshed of World War One, and the loss of an intimate friend in the Battle of Arras, the poet Edward Thomas (1878-1917), seem to have catalyzed her condition, the latter’s death having a profound affect upon the artist by highlighting the depth of her marital difficulties.<sup>8</sup> In 1920 she sought treatment from

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<sup>5</sup> Elaine Showalter, *The Female Malady: Women, Madness and English Culture 1830-1980*, London, 1985, 18-19, 168-9, 176-8; Anthony Babington, *Shell Shock: A History of the Changing Attitudes to War Neuroses*, Leo Cooper, 1997; Louise E. Hoffman, ‘War, revolution and psychoanalysis: Freudian thought begins to grapple with social reality’, *Journal of the History of the Behavioural Sciences*, 17:2, April 1981, 251–269; Martin Stone, ‘Shellshock and the psychologists’, W. F. Bynum, R. Porter, & M. Shepherd (eds), *The Anatomy of Madness: Essays in the history of psychiatry*, 2, London, 1988, 242–271.

<sup>6</sup> Alison Thomas, *Portraits of Women: Gwen John and her Forgotten Contemporaries*, Cambridge, 1994, 148-9.

<sup>7</sup> Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 51-60.

<sup>8</sup> Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 143-4, 146-7.

neurologist Dr Henry Head (1861-1940), who, following detailed conversations with the artist, perceived her private life to be causing her afflictions.<sup>9</sup> Although aligning with contemporary syndromes such as neurasthenia and hysteria, Clarke Hall's symptoms were never pathologically identified, and would probably be diagnosed today as exogenous reactive (or situational) depression.<sup>10</sup> I therefore refer to her late 1910s state as 'depression', acknowledging here that this term, whilst used increasingly in medical discourse from 1856 and particularly from the 1890s to refer to the lowering of emotional functioning, only became prevalent later in the twentieth century.<sup>11</sup> Realizing that 'the psychological aspects of [Clarke Hall's] painting and poetry in relation to experience' and the freedom to express herself creatively were central to her wellbeing, Head suggested that her problems may be alleviated by having a private space where she could reengage with her creative work.<sup>12</sup> By 1922 the artist had acquired a studio, and it was here that the Poem Pictures were made. I will demonstrate my two hypotheses by arguing that Head's advice was informed by the unique psychotherapies based on self-knowledge and productive activity used at

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<sup>9</sup> Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 149-50.

<sup>10</sup> For early twentieth-century understanding of (now obsolete) syndromes such as 'neurasthenia' and 'hysteria', see: William McDougall, *An Outline of Abnormal Psychology*, [first published 1926], London, 1948 (6<sup>th</sup> edition), 220; Peter Gay, *Freud – A Life For Our Time*, New York and London, 1998, 69-87; Jane M. Ussher Amherst, *Women's Madness: Misogyny or Mental Illness?*, Massachusetts, 1991, 74-6; Showalter, *Female Malady*, 18; and Janet Oppenheim, *Shattered Nerves: Doctors, Patients and Depression in Victorian England*, New York and Oxford, 1991, 79-109 (symptoms - 93). For current definition and symptoms of 'reactive/situational depression', see: Miller-Kean Encyclopedia and Dictionary of Medicine, Nursing and Allied Health, 7<sup>th</sup> Edition, Philadelphia, 2003, 1098; and <http://www.nhs.uk/Conditions/Depression/Pages/Symptoms.aspx> (accessed 7<sup>th</sup> August 2012). See also: Marcia Gultentag, Susan Salasin and Deborah Belle (eds), *The Mental Health of Women*, New York, London, Sydney and Toronto, 1980, 58-59; Felix Post, 'Verbal Creativity, Depression and Alcoholism: An investigation of one hundred American and British Writers', *British Journal of Psychiatry*, 168, 1996, 545-555.

<sup>11</sup> G. E. Berrios, 'Melancholia and Depression during the Nineteenth Century: A Conceptual History', *British Journal of Psychiatry*, 153, 1988, 298-304; Mendels, *Concepts of Depression*, 35-37; McDougall, *Abnormal Psychology*, 1948, 352-9. First published in 1926, the latter book, whilst still acknowledging the separate illness 'neurasthenia', evidences the increasing use of the term 'depression' in place of 'melancholia' to describe a pathological condition, with McDougall's description of this indeed suggesting contemporary understandings of 'depression' align to the symptoms Clarke Hall showed.

<sup>12</sup> Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 158-9. Undated letter from early 1920s, from Edna Clarke Hall to Michel Salaman, CHA.

Craiglockhart Psychiatric War Hospital in Edinburgh from c.1916-17. Chapter One suggests the Poem Pictures are Clarke Hall's response to Head's encouragement to openly discuss her difficulties, and interprets certain works in relation to the artist's marital unhappiness. Chapter Two proposes the Poem Pictures and the circumstances by which they were made were imperative to the artist's emotional recovery and previously unachieved professionalism in the 1920s. I consider the Poem Pictures and Clarke Hall within the context of women's changing social position at this time, highlighting these objects as a central facet of the new work with which she re-launched her career following her 'depression'.

Clarke Hall is one of many female artists excluded from the traditional construction of the Western canon, but whilst this absence has been somewhat rectified for several contemporaries including Gwen John, the former remains widely unfamiliar and has received minimal attention in recent scholarship.<sup>13</sup> Clarke Hall is the focus of a 2009 local history article, is mentioned briefly in three publications, and appears in Katy Deepwell's 2010 study of female artists in relation to Britain's institutional frameworks between the wars.<sup>14</sup> Only three texts, however, explore Clarke Hall

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<sup>13</sup> For discussion of the absence of female artists in the Western canon, see: Linda Nochlin, 'Why have there been no great women artists?' [1971], *Women, Art and Power: and other essays*, New York, 1988, 145-78; Griselda Pollock, 'About Canons and Culture Wars', *Differencing the Canon: feminist desire and the writing of art histories*, London, 1999, 2-38; Thalia Gouma Peterson and Patricia Matthews, 'The Feminist Critique of Art History', *Art Bulletin*, 69.3, 1987, 326-357; Griselda Pollock, 'Feminist Interventions in the Histories of Art: Introduction', *Vision and Difference: Feminism and the Histories of Art*, London, 1988, 1-17; Nanette Salomon, 'The Art Historical Canon: Sins of Omission', Donald Preziosi (ed.), *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology*, Oxford, 1998, 344-55. Recent publications that have widened awareness of contemporary female artists, such as Gwen John, include: Sue Roe, *Gwen John: A Life*, London, 2001; and Pamela Garrish Nunn, *From Victorian to Modern: Innovation and Tradition in the work of Vanessa Bell, Gwen John and Laura Knight*, exhibition catalogue, Djanogly Art Gallery, Nottingham, 2006.

<sup>14</sup> Richard Purver, 'Edna Clarke Hall and her Memories of Southgate', *Oakleaves: Local History Bulletin of Southgate District Civic Trust*, 4, 2009, 23-5; Elizabeth Wilson, *Bohemians: the Glamorous Outcasts*, London, 2000, 101; Virginia Nicholson, *Among the Bohemians: Experiments in Living 1900-1939*, London, 2002, 60-61, 191; Juliet Nicolson, *The Great Silence: 1918-1920 Living in the Shadow of the Great War*, Oxford, 2009, 41, 58, 240-8 (note that whilst this publication devotes several pages to Clarke Hall, Nicholson basically repeats information from Thomas's 1994 *Portraits of Women*, and

directly, the most important being *Portraits of Women* by Alison Thomas, which concerns unacknowledged women artists who trained at London's Slade School of Art in the 1890s.<sup>15</sup> Paying significant attention to Clarke Hall and giving an informative introduction to her oeuvre, this biographical book is, at times, overly sentimental and offers little critical engagement. Claire Hardisty's 1994 article attempts a cursory use of feminist theory, mainly following Germaine Greer, to present Clarke Hall as an artist whose youthful talent was negated by contemporary socio-gendered inequalities; using her to exemplify how forces acting against women in the arts have often 'proved insurmountable'.<sup>16</sup> By evidencing Clarke Hall's 1920s and 1930s professional prominence, Thomas has done much to refute Hardisty's proposal that the artist never 'fully realized her potential' and that her work was principally a private 'bastion...against the wearying forces of patriarchal constraint'.<sup>17</sup>

Whilst mentioning the Poem Pictures when discussing *Facets*, Hardisty does not reference their 1920s production or exhibition, only sweepingly claiming that they all convey 'a sense of loss', an interpretation that my research repudiates.<sup>18</sup> Also, her statement that their visual elements show William Blake's influence 'personalised in female terms' problematically endorses a gendered understanding of aesthetics, whilst her description of these images merely as 'illustrations' obscures their complex evocative function.<sup>19</sup> Thomas gives a brief but more coherent and sensitive analysis, suggesting that the Poem Pictures had a 'special personal meaning' and 'deeply

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Jad Adams's 2006 article on the artist [see below]; Katy Deepwell, *Women artists between the wars: 'A fair field and no favour'*, Manchester, 2010, 52, 53, 141.

<sup>15</sup> Alison Thomas, *Portraits of Women: Gwen John and Her Forgotten Contemporaries*, Cambridge, 1994.

<sup>16</sup> Claire Hardisty, 'Edna Clarke Hall (1879-1979): A Feminist Interpretation of her Life and Work', *Women: A Cultural Review*, 5:1, Spring 1994, 73 – 80.

<sup>17</sup> Hardisty, 'Edna Clarke Hall', 75, 80.

<sup>18</sup> Hardisty, 'Edna Clarke Hall', 77.

<sup>19</sup> Hardisty, 'Edna Clarke Hall', 77.

emotional quality' for Clarke Hall.<sup>20</sup> By contrast, they do not feature at all in Jad Adams's 2006 article, being primarily concerned with situating Clarke Hall's husband within the nineteenth-century 'Cult of the Child'.<sup>21</sup> However, by considering the ideological context in which Clarke Hall's marital relationship was established in the 1890s, Adams provides a convincing historical framework with which to approach the problems she encountered in marriage. Whilst briefly considering the negative impact of this situation on Clarke Hall and referring to her unhappiness in the late 1910s as a 'breakdown', Adams does not discuss the artist or her work in any depth.

Whilst I agree with Thomas's and Hardisty's observations regarding the Poem Pictures' autobiographical nature, the latter overemphasizes the expression of negative sentiments in Clarke Hall's work in general to support her representation of the artist as a caged victim of patriarchy.<sup>22</sup> This in turn contributes to the image Hardisty cultivates of an emotionally frustrated, and perhaps mentally unstable, creative woman whose art resulted mainly from sentimental outpourings.<sup>23</sup> This positions Clarke Hall within a formulaic association between female artists' work and emotional self-expression. By contrast, my argument for the Poem Pictures' personal significance avoids correlating Clarke Hall's creative self-exploration with her gender by highlighting and discussing the historical significance of the same inclination in the work of her male contemporary, Siegfried Sassoon (1886-1967). Although I agree that much of Clarke Hall's work (particularly the Poem Pictures) references her personal position, Hardisty also fails to mention that, far from being a ubiquitous

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<sup>20</sup> Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 164-5.

<sup>21</sup> Jad Adams, 'William and Edna Clarke Hall: Private and Public childhood, "Your child forever"', *English Literature in Transition*, 2006, 49:4, 398-417.

<sup>22</sup> Hardisty, 'Edna Clarke Hall', 77.

<sup>23</sup> Hardisty, 'Edna Clarke Hall', 77, 79.

feature, significant proportions of her oeuvre divert completely from this tendency.<sup>24</sup> Additionally, Hardisty's theatrical descriptions potentially associate Clarke Hall with the popular 'mad artist' persona.<sup>25</sup> Whilst interpreting the Poem Pictures in relation to Clarke Hall's 'depression', I bypass such associations by considering the legitimate causes of the artist's unhappiness and proposing how new approaches in psychotherapy following World War One prompted her conception and facilitated the rational making of these works.

Although referencing Thomas and Adams as secondary sources, my thesis contrasts greatly with all three of the above authors' limited consideration of the Poem Pictures by constituting the first focused analysis and interpretation of these works and by positioning them within the context of the private circumstances that preceded, and I believe were pertinent to, Clarke Hall's inter-war artistic acclaim. I use a variety of primary sources, as well as secondary literature concerned with feminist, medical, cultural and social history to propose the Poem Pictures' collective art-historical implications from the original standpoint of my two hypotheses. The persistent recourse to Clarke Hall's personal life underpinning my study has admittedly fallen out of favour as a methodology following Roland Barthes's and Michel Foucault's critique of the author as a 'unified, transcendental subject' and ultimate controller of meaning.<sup>26</sup> Whilst biographically orientated, I do not, however, believe my thesis proclaims Clarke Hall as this type of author-subject. I am aware of the Poem

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<sup>24</sup> Hardisty, 'Edna Clarke Hall', 77-79.

<sup>25</sup> Christine Battersby, *Gender and Genius: Towards a Feminist Aesthetic*, Bloomington, Indiana, 1989, 138.

<sup>26</sup> Roland Barthes, 'The Death of the Author', Barthes, *Image, Music, Text*, London, 1977, 142-148; Michel Foucault, 'What is an Author?', Donald Preziosi (ed.), *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology*, Oxford, 2009, 321-334. See also Nicos Hadjinicolaou, *Art History and Class Struggle*, London, 1978, 40; Janet Wolff, *The Social Production of Art*, London, 1993, 136; Michael Hatt & Charlotte Klonk, *Art History: A Critical Introduction to its Methods*, Manchester and New York, 2006, 210-22.

Pictures' polysemic potential and I acknowledge that these objects, like all artworks, do not necessarily have a single, author-controlled, meaning. Lisa Tickner has advocated post-Barthesian theories of authorship for feminist art history.<sup>27</sup> Nonetheless, she has also highlighted its particular implications for female artists, having never 'acceded to that privileged position'.<sup>28</sup> I believe my approach is not dissimilar to Tickner's assertion that successful analyses of female artists will draw attention to their 'subject matter and artistic vocabulary as related to the social and geographical localities of their lives and interests' in history.<sup>29</sup> My two hypotheses were, indeed, motivated by my study of the historical occurrences and theoretical frameworks by which the Poem Picture were produced - most significantly, that of the new methods in early twentieth-century British psychotherapy which I believe Clarke Hall indirectly experienced during treatment for 'depression'. I justify my use of biography as an interpretive tool by evidencing how this historical and theoretical context strongly suggests the artist's subjectivity as imperative to the Poem Pictures' production and content. But although I propose these works explore Clarke Hall's private life, I do not reject the suggestion that cultural products contain 'meanings beyond the intended and conscious meanings of their authors', and thus argue for the Poem Pictures' private meanings as a facet of their collective broader signification to developments in early twentieth-century British psychotherapy.<sup>30</sup> My methodology can, therefore, be aligned with Tickner's, Janet Wolff's and Keith Moxey's claim that whilst the author as 'monolithic originator of meaning' must be rejected, Barthes's

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<sup>27</sup> Lisa Tickner, 'Feminism, Art History, and Sexual Difference', *Genders*, 1-3, 1988, 101.

<sup>28</sup> Tickner, 'Feminism, Art History, and Sexual Difference', 101.

<sup>29</sup> Tickner, 'Feminism, Art History, and Sexual Difference', 102.

<sup>30</sup> Wolff, *Social Production of Art*, 124.

demand that he/she disappear completely is not necessary.<sup>31</sup> Indeed, Eric D. Hirsch's proposal that a text may 'not be made to speak to us until what it says has been understood' in relation to the personal and historical position of its maker, seems comparable to my approach.<sup>32</sup>

Comprehensive analysis of all the archive's Poem Pictures is beyond the capacities of an MPhil thesis, so I have decided to concentrate on a selection from those exhibited at the Redfern Gallery in 1926. Whilst I believe the original catalogue titles present Clarke Hall's choice of the most significant and resolved works for display, the whereabouts and appearance of these actual objects unfortunately remains unknown. I therefore use each Redfern Gallery catalogue entry as a signifying locus to which I link, by title and theme, both published Poem Pictures and poems and those uncatalogued images residing in the Clarke Hall Archive.<sup>33</sup> This associated material is then discussed as a means of elucidating the main concerns that I believe characterized the original exhibit; the depth of my analysis being governed by the strength of the exhibit-title's published and archival representation.<sup>34</sup> This process has resulted in a focus upon sixteen 1926 exhibit-titles, which in fact seem succinctly

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<sup>31</sup> Tickner, 'Feminism, Art History, and Sexual Difference', 101; Wolff, *Social Production of Art*, 129; Keith Moxey, 'Semiotics and the Social History of Art', *New Literary History*, 22, 1991, 985-999; Barthes, *Image, Music, Text*, 148.

<sup>32</sup> Eric Donald Hirsch, 'Objective Interpretation', *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association*, 75, 1960, 463.

<sup>33</sup> Due to this process, I often discuss several works with the same or very similar titles. I therefore highlight the following: I will refer to the 1926 Poem Picture exhibits listed in the original Redfern catalogue by writing their full titles in italics (eg: *Leave me to my dull death*); I will refer to particular Poem Pictures from the CHA that I have linked directly to these catalogue titles, by writing an abbreviated title in italics (eg: *Dull death*); when specifically discussing poems, I will refer to these by writing the poem's title in inverted commas, either in full or in an abbreviated version (eg: 'Leave me to my dull death', or 'Dull death'). See Appendix No. 4 and Appendix No. 7 for all the poems by Edna Clarke Hall in order of mention throughout the thesis (this includes all the poems [published and unpublished] used in the Poem Pictures, as well as others that are not used in these works).

<sup>34</sup> Note: several of the original Poem Pictures shown at Redfern in 1926 were in fact sold during the exhibition, and can therefore not be in the CHA. I believe, however, that the archive's Poem Pictures with the same title as those listed in the 1926 Redfern exhibition catalogue are related by theme, genesis and content to these now untraced works. See Appendix No. 3.

representative of the main themes traceable through all the extant Poem Pictures. This complex situation concerning the identity of uncatalogued objects does not invalidate my study. Indeed, it will become apparent that the interconnected genesis and repetitive nature of the Poem Pictures I analyse and have collated according to theme, present key evidence for my two hypotheses.

## CHAPTER ONE

### *Beauty, Deceit and Mortality: Clarke Hall's Self-Ordering Creativity*<sup>1</sup>

The collapsed figure hiding its face in *Leave me to my dull death* visually evokes the loneliness laconically articulated in this work's sad poem (fig. 1). This Poem Picture aptly signifies the key themes of hopelessness, solitude and grief characterizing the works discussed in this chapter, in which, within the context of Clarke Hall's visits to Henry Head, I propose why the artist created such morbid work in the early 1920s. The chapter opens with contextual information imperative to my thesis's two overarching hypotheses, and argues that Head's approach to Clarke Hall reflects the psychotherapies practiced at Craiglockhart hospital during World War One.<sup>2</sup> I argue the Poem Pictures are the artist's self-articulating creative response to Head's encouragement to talk about her problems and reengage with her art, and suggest that the artist used the themes of beauty, deceit and mortality in a selection of these works from the 1926 Redfern exhibition as pathways by which to explore her troubled marriage.

### *Clarke Hall's marriage*

Thomas convincingly evidences that Head and Clarke Hall saw the latter's marital relationship as the cause of her late 1910s 'depression' and creative apathy.<sup>3</sup> The artist not only left the Slade to marry in 1898, but married life unexpectedly brought

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix No. 4 for list of all the poems by Edna Clarke Hall discussed in this chapter.

<sup>2</sup> I am obviously not proposing Clarke Hall had war neuroses, and I do not believe that she was seriously mentally ill. She was, however, undoubtedly deeply unhappy in her personal situation, and I argue that Head's suggestions of how to resolve her problems were influenced by the philosophies underpinning the aims and methods of Craiglockhart's psychotherapies.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 51-60, 141-150.

practical and emotional impediments to her work, principally due to William's dramatically changed behaviour towards her. From their meeting in 1892, William had cultivated a deeply romantic friendship with his fiancée, thirteen years his junior, promising a loving marriage, and their engagement correspondence evidences how his attentions were returned with innocent devotion.<sup>4</sup> William established himself as his fiancée's affectionate but superior mentor, supporting her talents and organizing her Slade enrolment at the unprecedented age of fourteen. Following marriage, however, he lost all interest in his wife, avoided intimacy and disapproved of her work, leading Clarke Hall to work in secret and initiating a gradual reduction in her practice.<sup>5</sup> Whilst William never physically stopped his wife painting and drawing, his sudden disregard had profoundly negative affects on her artistic self-confidence, leaving her always questioning 'why I was deserted...why in those first few months of marriage I was left standing like a confused child by an unkindness I could not interpret'; her consistent complaint at this time being loneliness.<sup>6</sup>

Jad Adams explores these occurrences in relation to the Victorian 'Cult of the Child' and a concern in the 1870s and 1880s to disassociate female youth from sexuality to preserve an idyllic innocence, thereby establishing adoration of the 'girl-child' figure.<sup>7</sup> Whilst such adoration may recall twenty-first-century understandings of

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<sup>4</sup> It was generally presumed in the mid and late nineteenth century that husbands would be older than their wives with a common age gap being between 10-20 years. Whilst the expected marital age for women was 20-24, and 23-8 for men, most families were pleased to have their daughters married by the age of twenty. Pat Jalland, *Women, Marriage and Politics 1860-1914*, Oxford, 1986, 21-44, 79, 81. William adhered to the strict and elaborate social conventions of Victorian engagement, waiting for two years for his fiancée's definite answer and for her to reach the age of 19 before their official union. Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 23-7; Adams, 'Private and public childhood', 408; letters between Edna Waugh [maiden name] and William Clarke Hall daring from the mid-late 1890s, CHA.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 58-9, 141-150.

<sup>6</sup> Undated letter of the early 1920s from Edna Clarke Hall to Michel Salaman, CHA. Adams, 'Private and public childhood', 410; Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 55-7.

<sup>7</sup> Adams, 'Private and public childhood', 398-417; James R. Kincaid, *Child-loving: The Erotic Child and Victorian Culture*, London, 1992; Catherine Robson, *Men in Wonderland: The Lost Girlhood of*

paedophilia, this romanticized poetic relationship originated in the nineteenth-century perception of youth and sexuality, with respectable gentlemen's amorous attention towards young girls generally perceived acceptable by being, most importantly, asexual. The postponement of womanhood until the 'coming out' age of seventeen was, in fact, medically recommended in Victorian society, avoiding the 'ill defined' state of female adolescence.<sup>8</sup> Dedicating his career to child welfare, William obviously had a genuine regard for children, and his devotion to his young fiancée seems part of his professional and personal wish to protect innocence from the dangers and (sexual) defilement of the adult world.<sup>9</sup> Adams suggests that the requirement of marital sex destroyed William's platonic fantasy by turning his 'girl-child' into a woman, thus having 'obtained his romantic object, [he] seemed perplexed as to what he should do, except...worship her from afar' – which Clarke Hall described as being 'put on a pedestal and forgotten about'.<sup>10</sup> Adams proposes that, in an attempt to continue the 'girl-child' relationship, William 'psychologically needed to maintain his distance and...assert dominance by belittling [his wife's] work', but his rejection also seems connected to his disappointment with her art.<sup>11</sup> William had expected Clarke Hall to pursue grand-scale literary themes exemplified by the work of Frederic Leighton or George Frederic Watts (figs. 2-3), but her inclination towards small watercolours of the family, the home and nature seemed

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*the Victorian Gentleman*, Oxford, 2001; Kimberly Reynolds and Nicola Humble, *Victorian Heroines*, Hertfordshire, 1993, 10-37.

<sup>8</sup> Jalland, *Women, Marriage and Politics*, 8, 10; Ussher Amherst, *Women's Madness*, 72.

<sup>9</sup> The National Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children was established by Edna Clarke Hall's father, Benjamin Waugh (1839-1908) in 1887. William Clarke Hall was one of the NSPCC barristers working for the charity. During his career, William tirelessly campaigned for child legal protection, published numerous books on the subject and frequently lodged abused children at his family home. Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 9-10, 24, 102; Adams, 'Private and public childhood', 399-400, 411-14; Robson, *Men in Wonderland*, 154-193.

<sup>10</sup> Adams, 'Private and public childhood', 406; Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 34.

<sup>11</sup> Adams, 'Private and public childhood', 414.

pointless to him.<sup>12</sup> William's disillusionment with his wife as an artist thus coincided with the destruction of his 'girl-child' idyll upon marriage, which was perhaps responsible for his reserve and apparent dismissal of his pre-marital promise that: 'If you do me the great honour of marrying me you must have no trouble about domestic affairs at all. I want you to consider Art your profession and I will not have you hampered in any way by stupid household details. We must have a house keeper to do all that sort of thing'.<sup>13</sup>

Having prolonged affects on her emotional state and work, I suggest the dramatic impact of this situation on Clarke Hall was heightened by her sensitive personality and unrealistic understanding of love. Late nineteenth-century attitudes towards marital love were complex and varied, with romantic intimacy only being permitted after the social, economic and class criteria to achieve a suitable match were met; married couples generally settling for a tolerant 'mutual affection'.<sup>14</sup> When she became engaged at seventeen, however, Clarke Hall's ideas regarding relationships were predominantly based upon Romantic literature and poetry. This idealized concept of love was common amongst young girls in this period, particularly during pre-marital courtship when ignorance, 'absence and abstinence encouraged

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<sup>12</sup> Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 59. Adams, 'Private and public childhood', 409. The work of contemporaries like Vanessa Bell, Gwen John and Laura Knight likewise frequently represented the 'private spaces of individual experience' in their everyday lives; Garrish Nunn *From Victorian to Modern*, 2006, 66. For discussion of the neo-classical work of Leighton and Watts, see: Christopher Newhall, *The Art of Lord Leighton*, London, 1996, 52-96, 97-138; Elizabeth Prettejohn, 'Between Homer and Ovid: Metamorphoses of the 'grand style' in G.F. Watts', Colin Trodd & Stephanie Brown (eds), *Representations of G. F. Watts: Art Making in Victorian Culture*, London, 2004, 49-64.

<sup>13</sup> Letter from William Clarke Hall to Edna Waugh, 1896, CHA.

<sup>14</sup> Jalland, *Women, Marriage and Politics*, 75, 93; Wendell Stacy Johnson, *Sex and Marriage in Victorian Poetry*, Ithaca and London, 1975, 13-33; Ross McKibbin, *Classes and Culture: England 1918-1951*, Oxford, 1998, 296-301.

sentimental dreams'.<sup>15</sup> Clarke Hall's fantasy of a perfect loving union was, however, undoubtedly enflamed by her fiancée's extreme intimate devotion. At some level, she must have associated her artistic credibility and identity with William, the one person to encourage her talent and make her serious pursuit of art possible, thus making her highly dependent on his approval. His sudden indifference to herself and her work therefore logically ruptured Clarke Hall's personal and artistic confidence, making her reaction to these circumstances self-destructive.

### **Craiglockhart's self-help methods: autognosis and creativity**

Head responded to Clarke Hall's problems in 1920 firstly by encouraging her to talk openly about her situation, and secondly insisting she re-engage with her art, indicating his belief that verbalising and creativity could be psychologically therapeutic.<sup>16</sup> His 'treatments' indeed recall Sigmund Freud's 'talking cure' and essays from 1900 to 1910 which directly linked art and catharsis by suggesting creativity was the successful sublimation of repressed libidinal energy.<sup>17</sup> This idea informed the later Freudian-based work of Melanie Klein, Adrian Stokes, and post-

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<sup>15</sup> Quotation from Jalland, *Women, Marriage and Politics*, 73. For Clarke Hall's interest in romantic poetry, and its influence on her, see: Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 19-21. For further discussion of this phenomenon, see: Johnson, *Sex and Marriage*, 108, 109, 110-184, 185-251; Genni Calder, *Women and Marriage in Victorian Fiction*, London, 1976, 15; Laurie Langbauer, *Women and Romance: The Consolations of Gender in the English Novel*, Ithaca and London, 1990, 89-92.

<sup>16</sup> Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 158.

<sup>17</sup> For discussions of Freud's work on creativity and art, see: Gay, *Freud: A Life For Our Time*, 65-66, 165-68, 317-323; James Hopkins, 'The Interpretation of Dreams', Jerome Neu (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Freud*, Cambridge, 1991, 86-135; Richard Wollheim, 'Freud and the Understanding of Art', Neu (ed.), *Cambridge Companion to Freud*, 249-66; Jack Spector, 'The State of Psychoanalytic Research in Art History', *Art Bulletin*, 70:1. March 1988, 49-76; Jack Spector, *The Aesthetics of Freud: A Study in Psychoanalysis and Art*, London, 1972, 77-45; and Ussher Amherst, *Women's Madness*, 109. Key essays by Sigmund Freud on art, creativity and catharsis include: Sigmund Freud *The Interpretation of Dreams* [1900-1901], James Strachey (ed. and trans), London, 1953; Sigmund Freud, 'Creative Writers and Day Dreaming' [1908]; Sigmund Freud, 'Leonardo da Vinci and a Memory of His Childhood' [1910], Albert Dickenson (ed.), James Strachey (trans), *Art and Literature: Jensen's Gradiva, Leonardo da Vinci and other works*, Penguin Freud Library, 14, Harmondsworth, 1990, 223-32.

Second World War British art therapy.<sup>18</sup> Whilst not widely available in Britain until the mid-1920s, Freud's work in fact influenced British psychology from the late 1890s, with the first English publication in 1909.<sup>19</sup> Head would therefore have been familiar with Freudianism, and most likely met Freud's colleague Ernest Jones in the 1910s, both being members of the Royal College of Physicians and later honorary members of the British Psychological Society.<sup>20</sup> I suggest, however, that Head's approach to Clarke Hall stems not directly from Freud, but from his acquaintance with the psychiatrist and anthropologist Dr William Halse Rivers Rivers (1864-1922), whom he met in 1891 when both worked at London's National Hospital for the Paralyzed and Epileptic.<sup>21</sup> Professional connections between these men are evidenced by their 'Human Experiment in Nerve Division' project (1903-7), and membership of London's Neurological and British Psychological Societies.<sup>22</sup> Head's 1920 article,

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<sup>18</sup> Ussher Amherst, *Women's Madness*, 111; Melanie Klein, 'Infantile Anxiety Situations Reflected in a Work of Art and in the Creative Impulse' [1929], Juliet Mitchell (ed.), *The Selected Melanie Klein*, Harmondsworth, 1986, 84-94; Adrian Stokes, 'Painting and the Inner World' [1963], *The Critical Writings of Adrian Stokes*, 3, London, 1978, 209-259. For British art therapy see: Susan Hogan, *Healing Arts: The History of Art Therapy*, London and Philadelphia, 2001, 21-31; Diane Waller, *Becoming a Professional: the history of Art Therapy in Britain, 1940-82*, London, 1991, 3-34; Marian Liebmann, *Art Therapy for groups: A handbook of themes and exercises*, London, 2004, 6-17.

<sup>19</sup> The first of Freud's essays to be published in English was 'Studies on Hysteria' in 1909, followed by 'Three Essays on Sexuality' in 1910, 'The Interpretation of Dreams' in 1913, and 'The Psychopathology of Everyday Life' in 1914. See: Sally Alexander, 'Psychoanalysis in Britain in the early twentieth century', *History Workshop Journal*, 45, 1998, 135-6; R. D. Hinshelwood, 'Psychoanalysis in Britain: Points of Cultural Access, 1893-1918', *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*, February 1995, Part 1, 135-51; Nicola Glover, 'Psychoanalytic Aesthetics: The British School', [http://www.psychanalysis-and-therapy.com/human\\_nature/glover/index](http://www.psychanalysis-and-therapy.com/human_nature/glover/index) (accessed 16<sup>th</sup> December 2010); Laura Cameron & John Forrester, "'A Nice Type of English Scientist': Tansley and Freud', *History Workshop Journal*, 48, Autumn 1999, 64-100.

<sup>20</sup> Henry Head was a member of the Royal College of Physicians from 1900; Ernest Jones (1879-1958) was an Honorary member of the British Psychological Society from 1934, and Head from 1937. <http://www.bps.org.uk/home-page.cfm> (accessed 17<sup>th</sup> December 2010).

<sup>21</sup> Showalter, *Female Malady*, 181-3; Eric Leed, *Combat and Identity in World War One*, Cambridge, 1979, 18-19, 182; Richard Slobodin, *W. H. R. Rivers*, New York, 1978; Today, London's National Hospital for the Paralyzed and Epileptic is called the National Hospital for Neurology and Neurosurgery. This hospital was founded in 1859 as The National Hospital for Diseases of the Nervous System including Paralysis and Epilepsy.

<sup>22</sup> 'The Human Experiment in Nerve Division' was a collaborative four year research project between Head and Rivers that took place between 23<sup>rd</sup> April 1903 and 13<sup>th</sup> December 1907 in Rivers's private rooms in St John's College, University of Cambridge. The results were written up informally in 1908, and then published in London in two volumes in 1920 as *Studies in Neurology*. Head and Rivers were both members of the London Neurological Society in the 1890s, and later members of British Psychological Society in the 1910s.

‘Observations on the elements of Psychoneurosis’, also correlates with Rivers’s theories regarding the unconscious, repression and fear, whilst between 1915 and 1922 Rivers principally researched correspondences in psychological and neural cerebral levels.<sup>23</sup>

Rivers is known for his treatment of soldiers suffering from ‘shell-shock’ at Craiglockhart War Hospital from 1916-17, when it was directed by Captain Arthur John Brock (1879-1947) whose unprecedented practices underpinned the organization, both men making it the most famous and progressive psychiatric clinic at the time.<sup>24</sup> Rivers’s experiences there undoubtedly featured in communications between himself and Head during the war and, I believe, informed the latter’s ideas regarding Clarke Hall’s treatment. Rivers became interested in Freudian psychotherapy in 1915 at Liverpool’s Maghull War Hospital, but whilst his work popularized Freud in England, the assumption that he was a ‘quasi-proto-Freudian’ is increasingly challenged.<sup>25</sup> At Craiglockhart, he worked on officers’ ‘substitution neurosis’, proposing in *Instinct and the Unconscious* (1922) it resulted from psychological anxiety rooted in a British class culture that conditioned repression of fear.<sup>26</sup> Rivers’s and Freud’s parallel interest in unconscious conflicts and neurotic re-enactment of repressed experiences stemmed from the neurologist John Hughlings

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<sup>23</sup> Henry Head, ‘Observations on the elements of Psychoneurosis’, *British medical Journal*, 1, 1920, 389-92; Allan Young, ‘W.H.R Rivers and War Neuroses’, *Journal of the History of the Behavioural Sciences*, 35:4, Autumn 1999, 362.

<sup>24</sup> Showalter, *Female Malady*, 167-94; Thomas E. F. Webb, “‘Dottyville’: Craiglockhart War Hospital and shell-shock treatment in the First World War”, *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 99:7, July 2006, 345; Martin Stone, ‘Shellshock and the psychologists’, W. F. Bynum, R. Porter, & M. Shepherd (eds), *The Anatomy of Madness: Essays in the history of psychiatry*, 2, London, 1988, 242– 271.

<sup>25</sup> When Rivers was working at Maghull War Hospital in Liverpool in 1915, it was directed by the Freudian enthusiast Dr. R. G. Rows, who first seriously introduced Rivers to Freud’s work; Young, ‘W.H.R Rivers and War Neuroses’, 359-60.

<sup>26</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, *Instinct and the unconscious: A contribution to a biological theory of the psychoneuroses* [1922], Howard Press, 1970; Young, ‘W.H.R Rivers and War Neuroses’, 368; Showalter, *Female Malady*, 1985, 175.

Jackson (1835-1911), whose work Head also followed.<sup>27</sup> Jackson's theories regarding evolutionary determinism were central to Rivers's understanding of the unconscious, which he believed was governed by conflict between self-preservation and duty, not libido (as Freud proposed).<sup>28</sup> Rivers's Craiglockhart work, however, signified his admiration for Freud's *Interpretation of Dreams* and agreement with the therapeutic importance of memory and self-narrative characterising Freud's 'talking cure'.<sup>29</sup> Rather than psychoanalysis, however, Rivers used his own version of a technique called 'autognosis' which, as the term implies, pursues recovery via self-diagnosis, prompting the patient to understand their own psychodynamics via repeated conversations in which they 'describe as minutely as possible ... [their] exact feelings and thoughts ... present mental condition...hopes and fears for the future...regrets and emotional memories of the past . . . longings, interests, ambitions and personal relations with others from all points of view'.<sup>30</sup>

Rivers believed neuroses resulted from patients' inability to exist psychically outside the original anxiety associated with certain past traumatic events, meaning they could not distinguish between this previous distress and their present or future subjective positions.<sup>31</sup> Contrasting to Freud's 'transference neurosis', he believed this pathological confusion could be clarified by patients repeatedly talking through their

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<sup>27</sup> Young, 'W.H.R Rivers and War Neuroses', 37; Frank J. Sulloway, *Freud, biologist of the mind: beyond the psychoanalytic legend*, New York, 1979, 269.

<sup>28</sup> Young, 'W.H.R Rivers and War Neuroses', 372.

<sup>29</sup> Young, 'W.H.R Rivers and War Neuroses', 362-3; Sigmund Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, James Strachey (ed.), Standard Edition, 5, London, 1953.

<sup>30</sup> William Brown, *Psychology and Psychotherapy* [1921], London, 1923, 103, quoted in Young, 'W.H.R Rivers and War Neuroses', 369 -74. Autognosis was a technique also used by Rivers's Craiglockhart colleague Dr William Brown, and which stems originally from the French physicians Joseph Dejerine and Earnest Gauckler, their theories first being published in English in *The psychoneuroses and their treatment by psychotherapy*, (Philadelphia and London, 1913). See also A. Merriam-Webster series, *Webster's Medical Desk Dictionary*, Springfield Massachusetts and London, 1986, 37.

<sup>31</sup> Young, 'W.H.R Rivers and War Neuroses', 370.

past and present experiences, which would restore a correct perception of their emotional position in time.<sup>32</sup> I will use my own term ‘temporal-emotional’ to refer to these theories. Rivers’s autognostic self-narration thus helped patients to psychologically ‘disentangle’ from their traumatic memories and understand these and their effects from a rational perspective, by relegating the anxiety originally associated with these occurrences safely in the past.<sup>33</sup> Head’s insistence that Clarke Hall discuss her marriage to help understand and reduce the negative significance of her experiences in relation to her present life, her work, and the future, aligns directly with such principals: ‘He talked and made me talk of my painting for some time, thereby gauging the strength of the forces that had cast it aside’.<sup>34</sup>

Head’s advice that Clarke Hall seriously re-engage with her work also correlates with Rivers’s belief that autognosis helped redirect patients’ new self-knowledge into productive channels that enriched their recovering lives.<sup>35</sup> More importantly, however, his advice aligns significantly with the psychotherapeutic use of creativity at Craiglockhart. Rivers and Brock both believed neuroses resulted from temporal-emotional disorientation, and the latter’s treatment called ‘ergotherapy’ aimed to clarify this confusion by engaging patients in physical and productive daily activities.<sup>36</sup> Creativity was an important aspect of these, the cognitive processes of which Brock believed aided patient’s psychological re-ordering. Used by both physicians, Brock proposed, for instance, that writing poetry about personal trauma involved the remedial organization of chaotic memories as they were cathartically

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<sup>32</sup> Gay, *Freud: A Life For Our Time*, 300-303.

<sup>33</sup> Young, ‘W.H.R Rivers and War Neuroses’, 370-4; Meredith Martin, ‘Therapeutic Measures: The Hydra and Wilfred Owen at Craiglockhart War Hospital’, *Modernism/Modernity*, 14:1, January 2007, 38.

<sup>34</sup> Undated letter from Edna Clarke Hall to Michel Salaman, CHA.

<sup>35</sup> Showalter, *Female Malady*, 184.

<sup>36</sup> Webb, “‘Dottyville’”, 342-6.

externalized and ordered in controlled metrical form.<sup>37</sup> With classes at Edinburgh School of Art organized for patients, visual creativity was also encouraged, Brock most likely believing it involved similar therapeutic processes to writing via the externalized arrangement of pictorial components during design.<sup>38</sup> His theories are embodied in his hospital magazine, *The Hydra*, which formed an integral part of therapy and was run completely by the patients, the title indicating ‘what we wish its character to be: many headed – many sided’ (fig. 4).<sup>39</sup> About twenty pages long, each volume included local advertisements, was ‘a recognised mouthpiece of the [hospital’s] various societies and clubs’ (figs. 5-6), and constantly sought literary, poetic and visual contributions from the patients.<sup>40</sup> Varying widely in subject, quality and tone, this latter published material frequently shows soldiers exploring their wartime memories and current experiences at Craiglockhart in pictorial and textual form.<sup>41</sup> Such is exemplified by the ‘New Series’ cover designed by the patient Adrian Berrington, depicting a soldier in the grip of ‘shell-shock’ nightmares being thrown backwards by an exploding shell shaped like the multi-headed hydra (fig. 7). Just as Hercules killed the mythical beast, the design suggests the soldier’s neurosis will be overcome, Craiglockhart appearing behind with the sun overhead and attentive nurses waiting to help. *The Hydra*’s most famous literary contributors were Rivers’s and

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<sup>37</sup> Martin, ‘Therapeutic Measures’, 35-7.

<sup>38</sup> Martin, ‘Therapeutic Measures’, 41; A. M. Crossman, ‘*The Hydra*, Captain A. J. Brock and the treatment of shell-shock in Edinburgh’, *Journal of the Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh*, 33, 2003, 120.

<sup>39</sup> *The Hydra, Journal of the Craiglockhart War Hospital*, 1:5, 1917, quoted in Crossman, ‘Brock and the treatment of shell-shock’, 119. *The Hydra* was printed by Pillans & Wilson of Edinburgh and sold to the patients at a cost of 6d per copy, the first series beginning on 28<sup>th</sup> April 1917, and ran fortnightly until 29<sup>th</sup> September 1917 (12 issues). The only surviving full run of the magazine is held at the University of Oxford English Faculty Library, Wilfred Owen Collection (<http://www.oucs.ox.ac.uk>, accessed 7<sup>th</sup> December 2011); the National Library of Scotland has Xerox copies of this run, with some sections missing; photocopies of all publications are held at Edinburgh Napier University, Craiglockhart Library, Edinburgh. Crossman, ‘Brock and the treatment of shell-shock’, 121-2; Martin, ‘Therapeutic Measures’, 35-54; Webb, “‘Dottyville’”, 344.

<sup>40</sup> *The Hydra*, 1:5, 1917, quoted in Crossman, ‘Brock and the Treatment of Shell-shock’, 119; Martin, ‘Therapeutic Measures’, 35-54.

<sup>41</sup> Martin, ‘Therapeutic Measures’, 44-45.

Brock's respective patients, Siegfried Sassoon and Wilfred Owen (1893-1918), both of whom wrote poetry that explored their wartime experiences and memories as part of their Craiglockhart treatment.<sup>42</sup>

Having suggested that the philosophies underpinning the use of autognosis and creativity at Craiglockhart informed Head's approach to Clarke Hall, I suggest his dual 'treatment', in turn, provided the conceptual and spatial frameworks for the creation of the Poem Pictures during the artist's early 1920s recovery. I propose Head's encouragement to Clarke Hall to talk about her situation initiated a self-articulating propulsion in her practice at this time, of which the Poem Pictures are the principal outcome. With their repetitive, extensive volume suggesting the cathartic self-analytic nature of their making, I argue these works, perhaps like many of the patients' contributions to *The Hydra*, are Clarke Hall's creative manifestation of the repeated self-ordering verbalization of the significant events deemed responsible for the subject's neuroses, as well as articulation of their present and future subjective positions, in autognostic therapy. As such, this chapter discusses Poem Pictures which I believe represent Clarke Hall's previous upsetting marital experiences, and Chapter Two analyzes contemporaneous works which I propose reflect her more immediate 1920s position. Despite adopting this division for the purposes of narrative clarity, I emphasize that the Poem Pictures are a complex interconnected body of works, often enigmatic and nuanced in content. Thus whilst certain thematic 'types' are distinguishable, I argue all resulted from the artist's autognostic self-ordering creativity as she negotiated various temporal-emotional positions during her recovery. Interestingly, the archive Poem Pictures *This and this would I from me cast* align with

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<sup>42</sup> Martin, 'Therapeutic Measures', 35-54. *Counter Attack* is an informal collection of Wilfred Owen's poetry written at Craiglockhart and published in *The Hydra*, including his famous *Dulce decorum est pro patria mori* (1917).

Craiglockhart's theories by exploring the distress caused by painful memories 'that have outlived their day', using kneeling figures clutching their covered heads to visually represent the temporal-emotional confusion and psychological immobility of inner tumult (figs. 8-11). I suggest these works express Clarke Hall's wish to reject the mental distress dominating her life in the late 1910s, and are representative of the self-ordering creativity she pursued following contact with Head as one means of achieving this.

Indeed, I believe the artist's meetings with Head propelled numerous self-narrating activities during her recovery, like the many 1920s journals, letters and poems repetitively analyzing her troubled marriage.<sup>43</sup> Clarke Hall's statement that 'too long the reserve has been upon me' evidences she had previously kept her unhappiness silent, and Thomas suggests it was 'the writing and revealing that mattered'.<sup>44</sup> Clarke Hall's recurring poetic exploration of love's happiness and pain was in fact noted by 1926 reviewers of *Poems*, various verses from which appear in the Poem Pictures, one critic stating 'Desire and imagination at strife... is the metaphysic underlying' her poetry, another highlighting the repeated (I suggest, self-signifying) 'theme of wearisome Love'.<sup>45</sup> Elaine Showalter similarly proposes that Rivers's methods at Craiglockhart not only encouraged Sassoon to talk and write about his wartime experiences, but that the poet carried this self-narrating process into his writing for the

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<sup>43</sup> Clarke Hall wrote hundreds of letters in the early 1920s lamenting her unhappiness in marriage and repeatedly analyzing William's behaviour, to persons such as Michel Salaman (to whom she sometimes wrote two or three letters a day), Ruth Head (Dr Henry Head's wife) and Helen Thomas (wife of the poet, Edward Thomas). Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 196-7.

<sup>44</sup> Edna Clarke Hall, quoted in Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 149.

<sup>45</sup> *Literary Supplement*, 18<sup>th</sup> March 1926; *Western Morning News and Mercury*, 22<sup>nd</sup> March 1926. Other reviews which made similar comments: William Kean Seymor, 'Mr Blunden and Some Others', *G.K.'s Weekly*, 7<sup>th</sup> August 1926; 'Four Poets', *The Bookman*, 1926. (All CHA).

rest of his life, repeatedly exploring these memories in his work.<sup>46</sup> But whilst Sassoon's treatment specifically involved writing about his experiences, Head never instructed Clarke Hall to explore hers creatively. Like Brock, however, he revered art greatly and possibly likewise saw remedial potential in self-expressive creativity.<sup>47</sup> Indeed, Head was also a poet and his first book, published in 1919, explored his harrowing experiences treating brain injured soldiers in London Hospital during the war.<sup>48</sup> Contrasting greatly with William, Head's resultant enthusiasm for Clarke Hall's work recalls Rivers's belief that 'the personality of the healer' and 'faith and suggestion' are central to psycho-therapeutics.<sup>49</sup> Thus, whilst not specifically prescribing art as treatment, Head's autognostic conversations and supportive interest undoubtedly helped repair Clarke Hall's confidence and I believe prompted her creation of new work, most importantly, the Poem Pictures. Like Owen's and Sassoon's Craiglockhart poems, I suggest these objects are the 'partial products of therapy'.<sup>50</sup> Before evidencing my arguments, however, I will introduce the Poem Pictures within the context of Clarke Hall's philosophy of creativity.

### **Clarke Hall's Romantic philosophy of art and the Poem Pictures**

The reduction in Clarke Hall's artistic practice within the context of her marital unhappiness should be approached in light of her understanding of art and the emotive underpinnings of creativity. With the Slade's 1890s bohemianism forming the

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<sup>46</sup> Showalter, *Female Malady*, 187. As exemplified by: Siegfried Sassoon, *Memoirs of an Infantry Officer*, London, 1930; Siegfried Sassoon, *Sherston's Progress*, London, 1939; Siegfried Sassoon, *Siegfried's Journey 1916-1920*, London, 1945.

<sup>47</sup> Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 150. Brock had wanted to be an artist himself only pursuing medicine to please his father. Crossman, 'Brock and the Treatment of Shell-shock', 120.

<sup>48</sup> Henry Head, *Destroyers and Other Verses*, Oxford, 1919; Ann Hudson Jones, 'Literature and Medicine', *The Lancet*, 349, 1997, 275-8.

<sup>49</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, 'Psycho-therapeutics', J. Hastings (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, 10, Edinburgh, 1918, 436, quoted in Young, 'W.H.R Rivers and War Neuroses', 374.

<sup>50</sup> Martin, 'Therapeutic Measures', 51.

foundations of her philosophy, she saw herself ‘in service to the function of Art’ and had highly Romanticist perceptions of her ‘calling’.<sup>51</sup> Advocacy of an individual’s unique creative expression was central to the Romanticist writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, such ideas in turn informing Western culture’s ‘myth of the artist’.<sup>52</sup>

Although it is unverified as to whether Clarke Hall read Rousseau, such concepts infiltrated her strong belief in her artistic ‘inner vision’, as evidenced by her memory of student painting sessions when ‘Already I was possessed by that touch of genius of which I was scarcely conscious, yet which dominated my life’.<sup>53</sup> Her dramatic description of making the 1917 ‘Spontaneous Compositions’ likewise suggests an emotive, poetic self-perception:

‘I [was] urged on by a divine madness...as if I had died and was glancing back at scenes in my life...I did forty wild coloured drawings and worked in such a frenzy that the sweat from my brow fell upon my naked feet’.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Nicholson, *Among the Bohemians*, 29, 149-52; Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 34-43, 148-9. Edna Clarke Hall, quoted in Alison Thomas, *Edna Clarke Hall 1879-1979, Watercolours and Drawings*, exhibition catalogue, Graves Gallery, Sheffield, 1985.

<sup>52</sup> For discussion of Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s influential philosophies, see Jane Turner (ed.), *The Dictionary of Art*, Grove, London and New York, 1996, 264-5; David Blayney Brown, *Romanticism*, London and New York, 2001, 17-68, 307-360; William Vaughan, *Romanticism and Art*, London, 1994, 28. For ‘myth of the artist’, see: Emma Barker (ed.), *The Changing Status of the Artist*, London and New Haven, 1999; Ernst Kris & Otto Kurz, *Legend, Myth and Magic in the Image of the Artist*, New Haven, 1981; Nochlin, *Women, Art and Power*, 153; Catherine M. Soussloff, *The Absolute Artist: The Histiography of a Concept*, Minneapolis, London, 1997; Battersby, *Gender and Genius*, 35-40.

<sup>53</sup> Edna Clarke Hall, *Heritage of Ages*, unpublished memoirs written in the 1970s, part 1, 19, Tate Archive, London, and CHA. With regards to whether Clarke Hall knew specifically about Rousseau’s philosophies, Alison Thomas has stated in email correspondence with myself: “I don’t know whether she ever ‘formalized’ her romantic responses and interpretation of the world around her. I suspect not. I have never come across any focused ready exchange of philosophical ideas, though I have noticed odd references to Plato, for example, so I suspect she was aware of the main Western philosophers and their ideas”, Saturday October 15<sup>th</sup> 2011.

<sup>54</sup> Edna Clarke Hall, *Heritage of Ages*, part 1, 83. These works were exhibited as ‘Spontaneous Compositions’ at Clarke Hall’s first exhibition after her ‘depression’, *Watercolours, Drawings and Etchings by Edna Clarke Hall*, at Redfern Gallery from 22<sup>nd</sup> January – 12<sup>th</sup> February 1924, and sold immediately (see Appendix No. 5). Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 146. Whilst the two previous quotations taken from Clarke Hall’s *Heritage of Ages* evidence the artist’s fundamental Romantic understanding of her work, creativity and own artistic ‘calling’, their autobiographical nature should be considered due to the problems of personal testimonies in which memory, self-construction, idealized retrospective perception of youth, and the use of certain formulas, poetic imagery and language to present ‘the self’, unavoidably occur. For further discussion of the problems of autobiography, see: Julia Swindells (ed.), *The Uses of Autobiography*, London and Bristol, 1995, 9; Linda Anderson, *Autobiography: The New Critical Idiom*, London and New York, 2001; Roy Pascal, *Design and Truth in Autobiography*, London, 1960, 61-83; Martine Watson Brownley & Alison B. Kimmich (eds), *Women and Autobiography*, Wilmington, 1999, ‘Introduction’.

Also central to Romanticism, Clarke Hall perceived a direct link between creativity and her emotional responses to life, particularly nature.<sup>55</sup> Natural beauty was indeed central to her understanding of inspiration, believing it her moral duty to reveal ‘Beauty, not superficially but in its essence...’, capturing ‘the impulse of creation – directly and simply’.<sup>56</sup> Such doctrines signify contemporary understandings of beauty, described in 1901 as a ‘moral and philosophical structure of perception’.<sup>57</sup>

These philosophies help to explain why Clarke Hall’s marital problems affected her work so profoundly, establishing a positive feedback cycle in which unhappiness impeded her ‘emotional’ ability to create. Her opinions also contribute to my argument for the autognostic motivation behind her Poem Pictures by highlighting how her conversations with Head rekindled and accentuated the sensitive subjectivity central to her Romanticist approach to her work. Indeed, I believe William Blake was the leading aesthetic and conceptual foundation for these self-narrating objects, his life and art epitomising Romanticism’s creative self-expression in contemporary thought.<sup>58</sup> Blake’s emphasis on the individual’s ‘inner world’ perhaps seemed the perfect precedent for Clarke Hall’s own self-expressive Poem Pictures, in which I suggest her Romanticist inclination towards emotional response was markedly

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<sup>55</sup> Turner (ed.), *Dictionary of Art*, 264-5.

<sup>56</sup> Edna Clarke Hall, quoted in Thomas, *Edna Clarke Hall 1879-1979*, exhibition catalogue, 1985. See also Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 59, note 21.

<sup>57</sup> Edward Garnett, first editorial of *The Thrush: A Periodical for the Publication of Original Poetry*, 1<sup>st</sup> January 1901, quoted in Hardisty, ‘Edna Clarke Hall’, 74.

<sup>58</sup> Marilyn Butler, ‘Blake in his Time’, Robin Hamlyn & Michael Philips (eds), *William Blake*, exhibition catalogue, Tate Britain, London, 2000, 15-25; G. E. Bentley, Jr, *The Stranger From Paradise: A Biography of William Blake*, New Haven and London, 2001, 79; William Vaughan, *William Blake*, London, 1999, 63. According to Clarke Hall’s grand-daughter (Gale Clarke Hall), ‘Great House was full of books...and there was certainly a copy of Blake’s poems. Edna used to recite some of them to me when I was a child which she knew by heart...“To see a world in a grain of sand, heaven in a wild flower. To hold infinity in the palm of your hand and eternity in an hour” is exactly who Edna was. Blake could have written it about her...I’ve got a hunch he influenced her a great deal...I imagine too the idea of the poem-pictures would have come from him’. Letter from Gale Clarke Hall to myself, 16<sup>th</sup> November 2010.

redirected.<sup>59</sup> Whereas inspiration had previously come from her spontaneous reactions to external surroundings, in these objects, described by a fellow student as ‘translating unhappiness into beauty’, her private feelings regarding her marriage ‘touch[ed] her artistic work for the first time’.<sup>60</sup> Like Blake, Clarke Hall was a watercolourist, poet and print-maker, and the Poem Pictures’ medium, appearance and themes directly recall his illuminated books.<sup>61</sup> But far from copying, I suggest she uniquely re-interpreted Blake’s motifs and aesthetics for her own highly personal means. Certainly both their Blakean influence and uniqueness were noted in 1926 by *The Times*.<sup>62</sup>

Whilst awareness of Blake gathered momentum from the 1880s, Clarke Hall’s choice of his work as her Poem Picture idiom signifies his growing prominence particularly in early twentieth-century Britain.<sup>63</sup> Although not fully recognised as an important British artist until the 1940s and 1950s, Blake publications appeared increasingly from 1900, his poetry was set to music, and Bloomsbury celebrated him as a modernist.<sup>64</sup> There were numerous Blake exhibitions in London in the 1910s, and the

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<sup>59</sup> Vaughan, *William Blake*, 13.

<sup>60</sup> Gwen Smith, Clarke Hall’s fellow Slade student, quoted in Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 98, 166.

<sup>61</sup> Morris Eaves et al. (eds), *William Blake: The Early Illuminated Books*, Princeton, New Jersey, 1993. Note how, like Blake, Clarke Hall also wished to publish her Poem Pictures (*Facets*, London, 1930).

<sup>62</sup> *The Times*, 9<sup>th</sup> February 1926; *Times of India*, 2nd March 1926.

<sup>63</sup> Following his work in Blake in the 1860s, Alexander Gilchrist’s *The Life of William Blake* (London, 1880) transformed Blake’s reputation. William Butler Yeats (1856-1939) and Algernon Charles Swinburne (1837-1909) were great advocates of Blake. The three-volume publication by William Butler Yeats and Edwin John Ellis (eds) ‘Memoir’- *The Works of William Blake, Poetic, Symbolic and Critical* (London, 1893), and the pedestrian biography by Alfred T. Story, *William Blake: His Life Character and Genius* (London and New York, 1898), widened awareness of Blake significantly in Britain. Bentley, *Stranger from Paradise*, 448-9. Important early and mid twentieth-century scholars whose work helped to enhance Blake’s standing in artistic and literary circles included G. E. Bentley (Jr), S. Foster Damon, Northrop Frye, Geoffrey Keynes and David V Erdman; Vaughan, *William Blake*, 73.

<sup>64</sup> Hamlyn & Philips (eds), *William Blake*, 16; Vaughan, *William Blake*, 73. Blake’s increasing popularity in the early twentieth century is exemplified in the following cultural and intellectual fields: Music:- classical composers Ralph Vaughan Williams and Benjamin Britten used Blake’s poetry; Academic papers:- *Cowper and Blake*, read at 13<sup>th</sup> annual meeting of the Cowper Society, Mansion House, London, on 23<sup>rd</sup> April 1913, published by Hubert Norman, London, 1914; PhD theses:- Kate Latitia, *William Blake’s Anticipation of the Individualistic Revolution*, New York, 1915; J.C.V

Tate opened their first ‘Blake Galleries’ in the 1920s, when high quality facsimiles of his work also became available.<sup>65</sup> Considering the role I suggest the Poem Pictures had in Clarke Hall’s 1920s recovery, her engagement with Blake in these objects is particularly significant due to a ‘psychological interest’ in his work in this decade.<sup>66</sup> His non-mimetic visionary practice influenced several artists exploring the psychological impetus and ‘artistic spirituality’ of their work at this time, such as Stanley Spencer, Paul Nash, John Piper, Graham Sutherland and Dora Carrington.<sup>67</sup> The question of whether Blake was ‘an Artist or Genius – Mystic or Madman?’ was debated in numerous contemporary publications, many authors aligning his work with his spiritualism and mental state.<sup>68</sup> That Blake’s visionary Romanticism was

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Bassalik-de-Vries, *William Blake in his relation to Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, Zurich, 1911. Key publications and biographies:- Irene Longbridge, *William Blake: A study of his life and work*, London, 1904; Edwin John Ellis, *William Blake: A portrait biography*, London, 1907; Arthur Symons, *William Blake*, London, 1907; Thomas Sturge Moore, *Art and Life*, London, 1910 (study of Blake and Flaubert); Charles Gardener, *William Blake: The Man*, London and New York, 1919; Denis Surat Bordeaux, *Blake and Milton*, London, 1920; Allardyce Nicoll, *William Blake and his Poetry*, London, 1922; T.S. Eliot, *The Sacred Wood: Essays on Poetry and Criticism*, London, 1922. Eliot comments that Blake’s poetry shows the rare trait of great poetry – ‘a peculiar honesty.... the essential sickness or strength of the human soul’ (34); Herbert Jenkins & C. E. Laurence (ed.), *William Blake: Studies of his Life and Personality*, London, 1925; Mona Wilson, *The Life of William Blake*, London, 1927 (important biography); Thomas Wright, *The Life of William Blake*, 12 volumes, Olney, 1929. (The previous information was sourced in Bentley, *Stranger from Paradise*, 2001, 448-9 and <http://www.archive.org>, accessed 23<sup>rd</sup> March 2011).

<sup>65</sup> For example: *Loan exhibition of works by William Blake*, National Gallery, London, November - December, 1913; and *Works by William Blake*, Carfax gallery, London, 14<sup>th</sup> June-31<sup>st</sup> July, 1906. National public collections also started to display their holdings of Blake increasingly from the late 1910s, such as Tate and the British Museum in London, to which Clarke Hall’s 1920s studio at Gray’s Inn was very close. <http://www.archive.org> (accessed 23<sup>rd</sup> March 2011).

<sup>66</sup> Vaughan, *William Blake*, 73.

<sup>67</sup> David Fraser Jenkins, ‘Slade School Symbolism’, John Christian (ed.), *The Last Romantics: The Romantic Tradition in British Art: Burne-Jones to Stanley Spencer*, exhibition catalogue, Barbican Art Gallery, London, 1989, 75; Vaughan, *William Blake*, 73; Fiona McCarthy, *Stanley Spencer: An English Visionary*, exhibition catalogue, Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Washington, USA, 1997, 1; Carolyn Leder, ‘Influence on the early work of Stanley Spencer’, *Stanley Spencer 1891-1959*, exhibition catalogue, Glasgow, Arts Council of Great Britain touring exhibition, 1976, 14-17; Anthony Bertram, *Paul Nash: The Portrait of An Artist*, London, 1982, 60, 78, 116, 133, 183, 246, 300, 307; Ronald Alley, *Graham Sutherland*, exhibition catalogue, the Graham Sutherland Gallery, Picton Castle, Haverfordwest, 1982, 9; Jane Hill, *The Art of Dora Carrington*, London, 1994, 18, 86, 100.

<sup>68</sup> Most significantly: Charles Gardener, *William Blake: The Man*, London and New York, 1919 (Gardener traces the mental and spiritual growth of Blake through his works); Gilbert Keith Chesterton, *William Blake*, London and New York, 1920 (included illustrations and poetry); Greville McDonald, M.D., *The Sanity of William Blake*, London, 1920; Edith J Morley (ed.), *Blake, Coleridge, Wordsworth. Lamb, etc., being selected from the Remains of Henry Crabb Robinson*, Manchester, 1922 (quotation taken from this publication, page 1); and Samuel Foster Damon, *William Blake, His Philosophy and Symbols*, London, 1924. <http://www.archive.org> (accessed 23<sup>rd</sup> March 2011).

associated discursively with his psychology perhaps highlighted him specifically as a fitting model for Clarke Hall's own emotionally self-ordering creative project.

Moreover, Blake's emphasis on inner regeneration after painful struggle 'as the first essential in order towards spiritual perception and understanding', aligns with my argument that the Poem Pictures aided Clark Hall's mental 'rejuvenation' after her prolonged personal distress.<sup>69</sup>

In fact, Blake was appropriated by many as a fortifying inspiration in the face of World War One's violence and disruption, which destroyed a generation's trust in tradition and authority and shattered long-held ideals of humanity's moral decency.<sup>70</sup>

In the 1920s Blake was seen widely as a mystical religious writer, and it is not surprising that his otherworldly visions and rejection of conventional doctrine led many to uphold him as a unique figure whose 'message is slowly remaking the world' and who 'uttered the words we needed'.<sup>71</sup> Blake's emphasis on authentic individual self-expression, towards which I suggest Clarke Hall was particularly inclined during her autognostic recovery, added to his celebrity in a society increasingly antagonistic to repressive orthodox etiquette. The parallel widespread popularity of Freud's work in 1920s Britain contributed to this rebellion against pre-war conventions, ideologies and lifestyles, giving 'a final challenge to Victorian moral restraints'.<sup>72</sup> Freud's 1923 'id', 'ego', and 'super-ego' model, the latter signifying the controlling dominance of 'religion, morality and social sense' over instinctual drives, was frequently used in lay interpretations to justify a new release of inner emotions, desires and fears in various

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<sup>69</sup> Charles Gardener, *Vision and Vesture: A Study of William Blake in Modern Thought*, New York, printed in Britain, 1926, 3.

<sup>70</sup> John Lucas, *The Radical Twenties: Aspects of Writing, Politics and Culture*, Nottingham, 1997, 111-135.

<sup>71</sup> Hamlyn & Philips (eds), *William Blake*, 16; Charles Gardener, *Vision and Vesture: A study of William Blake in modern thought*, New York, printed in Britain, 1926, 3.

<sup>72</sup> Arthur Marwick, *The Explosion of British Society 1914-62*, London, 1963, 47.

social circles.<sup>73</sup> Indeed, deeply antithetical to the Victorian repression that Rivers believed caused neuroses, these particular aspects of Freud's work perhaps additionally informed Head's autognostic approach to Clarke Hall within this potent ideological context - the 1920s emphasis on individual psychology, 'the subjective and irrational' perhaps further impelling the latter's creation of the Poem Pictures.<sup>74</sup>

Having introduced these important contexts, I will now support my claim that autognosis is the most legitimate framework by which to consider Clarke Hall's conception and making of the Poem Pictures by showing how a selection of these works replay one core poetic narrative, like a repeated autognostic conversation: the destruction of youthful and loving joy by some event or (male) person, resulting in abandonment and permanent misery. I propose this recurring narrative correlates to the artist's experiences of engagement and early marriage, thereby aligning to the stages of autognosis when the patient repeatedly discusses memories of the traumatic events causing their emotional imbalance. I will demonstrate my two hypotheses regarding the Poem Pictures' collective significance by using Craiglockhart's therapies and Clarke Hall's biography as my key discursive schema. The following sections aim to progressively elucidate the subjective autognostic content of the works discussed via the themes of beauty, deceit and mortality.

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<sup>73</sup> Sigmund Freud, 'The Ego and the Id' and 'The Ego and Super-ego' [1923] (published in England, 1927), *The International Psychoanalytical Library Number 12*, James Strachey (1927 ed.) & Joan Rivière (1927 trans.), London, 1974, John D. Sutherland (ed.), 9-30, 27; Marwick, *Explosion of British Society*, 49-50.

<sup>74</sup> Young, 'W.H.R Rivers and War Neuroses', 368; Marwick, *Explosion of British Society*, 47.

## **BEAUTY**

One of the principal manifestations of Clarke Hall's autognostic narrative occurs in her many poems personifying Beauty as a loving companion who signifies artistic inspiration by revealing nature's eternal perfection. Such is exemplified by the poetic and visual works linkable to the 1926 lithograph exhibit, *I with Beauty sat at board*, which relates directly to a published poem, two watercolours (figs. 12-13), and a *Facets* lithograph, of which there are two archival proofs (figs. 14-15).<sup>75</sup>

Representative of Clarke Hall's Romanticist inspiration from natural beauty, I propose the fantasy figure of Beauty in these and other works signifies the unimpeded creativity of her pre-marital youth, before domestic problems were encountered. The first half of 'Beauty' recalls past fulfilment when the poet's relationship with Beauty/nature grew. The second half describes the destruction of this love-affair when 'Man became my lover', leaving the poet 'Mute, and stricken, and alone', bewailing how 'It was not love of mortal men, / But dear Beauty, I adored', the text being preceded in publication by a love verse addressing Beauty's lost companionship.<sup>76</sup>

As suggested by the predominance of natural settings for her female nudes, the *Beauty* works exemplify Clarke Hall's adherence to traditional associations between femininity and nature, which also characterised work by contemporaries like Dame

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<sup>75</sup> Edna Clarke Hall, 'I with Beauty sat at board', *Poems*, London, 1926, 52; 'I with Beauty sat at board', *Facets*, London, 1930, 40-41. The 1926 published *Poems* text has eight stanzas, whilst the *Facets* version omits the last three stanzas. Any reference to the poem from now on will relate to the version published in 1926, and will be referred to using the abbreviated title 'Beauty'. I will refer collectively to all the poetic and visual work discussed in this section linkable to the *I with Beauty sat at board* 1926 Redfern exhibit title, as "the *Beauty* works".

<sup>76</sup> Edna Clarke Hall, 'I with beauty sat at board', *Poems*, London 1926, 52, lines 17, 28, 19-20.

Laura Knight (fig. 16).<sup>77</sup> I argue, however, that Clarke Hall does not repeat the essentializing female/nature and male/culture hierarchy which Tamar Garb suggests artists like Paul Cézanne and Auguste Renoir endorsed (figs. 17-18), but re-interprets these conventional binaries by presenting nature as an exclusively female but *empowering* haven of eternal spiritual enrichment, separate from the deadening realms of ‘mortal men’, indeed recalling Deepwell’s analysis of Ethel Walker’s contemporaneous ‘decorations’.<sup>78</sup> This reverence for, and utopian perception of, the mystically infinite in nature, signifies Clarke Hall’s rapport with Blake’s spiritualism, indeed calling herself ‘the heathen of the family’.<sup>79</sup> The division in ‘Beauty’ between fortifying feminine nature and the destructive world of ‘man’ is perhaps her subjective mirroring of Blake’s female/male binaries, as in *Jerusalem*, and the ‘Nature versus Society’ schema of his manuscripts, which, like Rousseau, condemned society’s false materialism, suppression of instinctual imagination, and inability to commune with nature’s metaphysical wonders.<sup>80</sup> The thematic division of ‘Beauty’ reflects these Blakean binaries, by which I suggest Clarke Hall self-narrated her own passage from inspired youth to the post-marital unhappiness that negated creativity. The numerous 1910s-1920s Blake publications available in Britain would surely have made her familiar with his spiritualist understanding of heaven as a philosophical mode of perception, particularly in nature, and his belief that the ability to see divinity in

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<sup>77</sup> Garrish Nunn, *From Victorian to Modern*, 75.

<sup>78</sup> Tamar Garb, *Bodies of Modernity: Figure and Flesh in Fin-de-Siècle France*, London, 1998, 145-177, 199-210; Linda Nead, *The Female Nude: Art, Obscenity and Sexuality*, London, 1992, 23; Edna Clarke Hall, ‘I with beauty sat at board’, *Poems*, London 1926, 52, line 19; Deepwell reassesses Ethel Walker’s ‘decorations’ as original and ambitious works which convey the artist’s ‘imaginings of a world of women as an ‘eternal spring’ from which men are clearly exiled....a female utopia’, Deepwell, *Women artists between the wars*, 159.

<sup>79</sup> Vaughan, *William Blake*, 63. Quotation taken from letter from Gale Clarke Hall to myself, 16<sup>th</sup> November 2010.

<sup>80</sup> William Blake, *Jerusalem: The Emanation of the Giant Albion* (1804-20), see Vaughan, *William Blake*, 59; Alexandra Cook, ‘The ‘Septième promenade’ of the *Rêveries*: a popular account of Rousseau’s botany?’, John C. O’Neal (ed.), *The Nature of Rousseau’s Rêveries: physical, humans and aesthetic*, Oxford, 2008, 11-35; John Purkins, *A Preface to Wordsworth*, London and New York, 1986, 75-77.

everyday surroundings was a matter of ‘inner vision’, to which contemporary society had no access.<sup>81</sup> These ideas correlate with Clarke Hall’s association between natural beauty and inspired creative vision, both artists using their beliefs to construct alternative mystical realities that bring spiritual vitality in opposition to ‘man’s’/society’s oppressions.<sup>82</sup>

Like other Blake-influenced Romanticist work, ‘Beauty’ upholds nature as a place of ‘timeless goodness...repose and fruition’.<sup>83</sup> The inspiring fulfilment celebrated in stanzas 1-4 indeed recalls Rousseau’s emphasis on contemplative solitude in nature for creative and spiritual enrichment, and William Wordsworth’s description of poetry as ‘emotions recollected in tranquility’.<sup>84</sup> Such ideas are visually represented in figures 12-15, in which a partially draped contrapposto figure is surrounded by foliage, its peaceful appearance communicating the inner replenishment of perceiving nature’s beauty. The somewhat overwhelming dark brushwork in figure 12 (perhaps the earliest) is resolved in the bright vivacious palette of figure 13, which chromatically expresses the figure’s inspired spiritual vitality. Here, the figure’s

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<sup>81</sup> For discussion of Blake’s spiritualist beliefs, see: Kathleen Lundeen, ‘Words on wings: Blake’s textual spiritualism’, *Word and Image*, 10:4, October-December 1994, 343; Vaughan, *William Blake*, 20, 66-7. Significant examples of Blake publications during the first two decades of the twentieth century in Britain which variously discuss his work, life, philosophies and spiritualism include: Irene Longbridge, *William Blake: A study of his life and work*, London, 1904; Edwin John Ellis, *William Blake: A portrait biography*, London, 1907; Thomas Sturge Moore, *Art and Life*, London, 1910; Charles Gardener, *William Blake: The Man*, London and New York, 1919; Gilbert Keith Chesterton, *William Blake*, London and New York, 1920; Greville McDonald, M.D., *The Sanity of William Blake*, London, 1920; Denis Surat Bordeaux, *Blake and Milton*, London, 1920; T.S. Eliot, *The Sacred Wood: Essays on Poetry and Criticism*, London, 1922; Edith J Morley (ed.), *Blake, Coleridge, Wordsworth. Lamb, etc., being selected from the Remains of Henry Crabb Robinson*, Manchester, 1922; Samuel Foster Damon, *William Blake, His Philosophy and Symbols*, London, 1924; <http://www.archive.org> (accessed 24<sup>th</sup> March 2011).

<sup>82</sup> Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 59.

<sup>83</sup> Michael Rosenthal, *British Landscape Painting*, Oxford, 1982, 118.

<sup>84</sup> Quotation from William Wordsworth & Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Lyrical Ballads 1805*, Derek Roper (ed.), Norwich, 1976, 41. For discussion of Rousseau’s belief in the importance of solitude in nature for spiritual replenishment, see: Sir Gavin de Beer, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau and his world*, London, 1972, 106-108; Dorothy Johnson, ‘Rousseau and Landscape painting in France’, John C. O’Neal, ‘Nature as Refuge in Rousseau’, and Natasha Lee, ‘A Dream of Human Nature’, O’Neal (ed.), *The Nature of Rousseau’s Rêveries*, 37-58, 59-70 and 99-114 respectively; and Robert Wokler, *Rousseau*, Oxford and New York, 1995, 17-18, 23, 38.

metaphoric loving union with Beauty by perceiving ‘her’ in nature is signified by flecks of pink from its body being re-articulated in the green-yellow flora. The later lithograph design (figs. 14-15) likewise represent this unity by blending the figure corporeally into its natural surroundings, with the poem’s thick ‘mossy woods’ creating an enveloping dark curtain, and the figure’s exposed limbs mirroring the opposite tree trunks. These works exemplify how Clarke Hall used her Poem Picture figures to evoke her text’s self-signifying sentiments and themes, epitomizing Romanticist interest in emotive visual association and recalling how Blake’s manuscripts used imagery as ‘a genuine other half’ to his poetry.<sup>85</sup> These figures’ awe-inspired admiration for nature is poetically expressed in the ‘running rivers strong’ and ‘mountain chasms deep’, whilst nature’s grand cyclical eternity is structurally represented in the verses’ regular continuous rhyme, ordered form and undulating trochaic tetrameter.<sup>86</sup> This metrical foot’s rolling, rhythmical continuity is signified by its etymology; ‘trochee’ or ‘choree’/ ‘choreus’ coming from the Greek ‘wheel’ and ‘dance’.<sup>87</sup> This in turn seems representative of Clarke Hall’s belief in nature’s ‘woven threads of *eternal* beauty’, epitomizing Romanticism’s understanding of beauty as ‘a symbolical representation of the infinite’.<sup>88</sup> The contemplative figure and Metaphysical-style poem in *I look upon Beauty, Beauty is old* likewise express this inspired wonder at nature’s timeless perfection (fig. 19).<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Vaughan, *Romanticism and Art*, 11; Vaughan, *William Blake*, 28.

<sup>86</sup> Edna Clarke Hall, ‘I with beauty sat at board’, *Poems*, London 1926, 52, lines 13-14.

<sup>87</sup> Barry Spurr, *Studying Poetry*, Basingstoke and London, 1997, 293; John Lennard, *The Poetry Handbook: A Guide to Reading Poetry for Pleasure and practical Criticism*, Oxford, 2005, 3-5.

<sup>88</sup> (my italics) Edna Clarke Hall, quoted in Thomas, *Edna Clarke Hall 1879-1979*, exhibition catalogue, 1985; A. W. Schlegel (taken from his Berlin lectures, 1801-2), quoted in Vaughan, *Romanticism and Art*, 11.

<sup>89</sup> Edna Clarke Hall, ‘I look upon Beauty’, *Facets*, London, 1930, 5.

Portraying Clarke Hall's Blakean understanding of nature as a sublime source of inspiration, her musing figures (figs. 12-15) recall Joseph Wright's 1781 *Sir Brook Boothby* portrait (fig. 20).<sup>90</sup> Wright's painting likewise represents solitary retreat from life's problems in peaceful wooded glades, and signifies Rousseau's advocacy in *Dialogues*, which Boothby holds, of spiritual replenishment via lonesome contemplative immersion in nature.<sup>91</sup> Indeed, Clarke Hall frequently associated the privacy of her inspiring love-affair with Beauty/nature with wooded secrecy, as in the poems 'When Beauty walked with me' and 'Fairies are sprightly'.<sup>92</sup> Her clandestine fidelity to Beauty, not 'man', is also fundamental to 'Grey is the meadow', where the poet's morbid all-powerful male lover, Time, remains ignorant of nature's soul-strengthening 'spirit of ages / That springeth in me'.<sup>93</sup> Fortifying nature is also chosen in preference to this same death-bringing figure in the poem 'Time', these works suggesting how Clarke Hall's Romanticist perception of nature became a source of assuagement during early marriage: 'For Beauty was my solace, when my heart / Nigh broke for need of love, in grief apart'.<sup>94</sup> Such is explored in the work linked to the 1926 exhibit *Leave me my solitudes* (fig. 21). The restful pale blues and greens of this single sapling evoke Clarke Hall's poetic description of how peaceful privacy in nature calms inner angst. Similarly, the work associated with the exhibit

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<sup>90</sup> It remains unverified as to whether Joseph Wright's *Brook Boothby* portrait was hanging at Tate in the 1920s, as the gallery's display records stop at 1918 and do not resume until 1959, suggesting they may have been lost or damaged during the war. Record catalogues of the permanent collection were not published between 1921 and 1928, and neither those from these two dates give an indication which of the collection works were on display. The portrait was, however, bequeathed to Tate in 1925 by Miss Agnes Ann Best, and the possibility that, as a new addition to the collection, it was displayed to the public in 1925 and 1926 is highly probable, meaning that Clarke Hall may well have seen the work during these years, especially after acquiring her studio in central London in the early 1920s which gave her easy access to all the national collections in the capital, such as Tate. (information obtained with the aid of Chris Bastock, Gallery Records, Tate, London, 11<sup>th</sup> January 2012 and from [www.tate.org.uk](http://www.tate.org.uk), accessed 21<sup>st</sup> October 2011). Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 59.

<sup>91</sup> de Beer, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau* 109-111; Vaughan, *Romanticism and Art*, 27-9.

<sup>92</sup> Edna Clarke Hall, 'When Beauty walked with me', *Poems*, London, 1926, 20; Edna Clarke Hall, 'Fairies are sprightly', *Facets*, London, 1930, 12.

<sup>93</sup> Edna Clarke Hall, 'Grey is the meadow', *Facets*, London, 1930, 15.

<sup>94</sup> Edna Clarke Hall, 'Time', *Facets*, London, 1930, 8; Edna Clarke Hall, 'You need not tell me "life is sweet"', *Poems*, London, 1926, 17. See also Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 55, 59.

*All my wealth of years* replays her autognostic narrative of scorned love whilst representing a nude walking through a painterly torrent of ‘healing rain’ that nature’s ‘heavens’ created from tears of ‘hidden pain’ (fig. 22).

By 1917, however, the damaging effect of Clarke Hall’s reaction to William’s behavior had led to her ceasing to paint and seems to have limited her emotive affectability to the inspiration she sought in nature. This departure of Beauty from her creative life is lamented in poems such as ‘When Beauty walked with me’ and ‘You need not tell me “life is sweet”’:

‘Now Beauty, that I loved all else above,  
Is gone from me, and made a mock of love.  
I hate the days whose wonder cannot stir  
The passions that once leapt at the sight of her...’<sup>95</sup>

This hopeless search for Beauty’s lost commiseration in ‘love unshared’ is articulated in *I would forget my loving’s need* (fig. 23) which I suggest expresses Clarke Hall’s grief at William’s disinterest and her lost creative inspiration. With head bent low and back arched forward, this kneeling restricted nude appears as if carrying some heavy burden, its uncomfortably cramped body seeming suppressed by the misery that the words above describe, and contrasting in mood to the fulfilled freedom in nature celebrated first in ‘Beauty’. Figure 23’s rapid production is evidenced by the messy scribbled text and sprawling watercolour blotches; this disregard for legibility suggesting it was not made to be publically displayed. Recalling Craiglockhart’s ‘writing cure’, this perhaps signifies a private stage in Clarke Hall’s self-ordering creativity as she negotiated the chaotic inner emotions associated with her marriage via self-narrating pathways other than conversation.

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<sup>95</sup> Edna Clarke Hall, ‘When Beauty walked with me’, *Poems*, London, 1926, 20; Edna Clarke Hall, ‘You need not tell me “life is sweet”’, *Poems*, London, 1926, 17; See also Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 58, 149-50.

## DECEIT

The previous section aimed to demonstrate my hypotheses for the Poem Pictures' autognostic and biographical character by suggesting how Clarke Hall repeated her self-signifying narrative of abandonment using the conceptual framework of Beauty. Further supporting my arguments, this section shows how this same narrative is replayed via the theme of deceit. Whilst works associated with the 1926 exhibit *Turn grey, turn green* (figs. 24-25) explore ideas of unpredictable variability, this is best exemplified by the poem, preparatory study (fig. 26) and Poem Picture (fig. 27) linked to the exhibit *Here stand I holding masks*, which use the mask motif to explore capriciousness and desertion.<sup>96</sup> The poem uses evocative descriptions of bodily actions to regretfully recall a reckless decision done 'ne'er so fast' in pursuit of fallacious hopes discovered to be just 'Another mask', with 'fate unkind' bringing eternal solitary misery.<sup>97</sup> I suggest this relates directly to Clarke Hall's memories of early marriage; stanza one's impulsive action correlating to her trusting acceptance of William's proposal and avowed love. With this poem's continually varying metre perhaps textually representing such changeability, William's later behaviour was, however, oppositional to his promises and refuted his pre-marital plea that they always remain 'candid and neither deceive ourselves, nor each other'.<sup>98</sup>

Figures 26-7 represent the refrain's lonesome narrator standing holding masks, with the turned head exemplifying, I suggest, Clarke Hall's visual evocation of her marital solipsism in several Poem Pictures via figures that repel viewer engagement, thereby

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<sup>96</sup> Edna Clarke Hall, 'Here stand I holding masks', *Poems*, London, 1926, 16. This poem will now be referred to using the abbreviated title, 'Masks'. The main archive Poem Picture (fig. 27) related to the *Here stand I holding masks* 1926 Redfern exhibit title, will now be referred to using the abbreviated title, *Masks*.

<sup>97</sup> Edna Clarke Hall, 'Here stand I holding masks', *Poems*, London, 1926, 16, lines 3 and 5.

<sup>98</sup> William Clarke Hall, quoted in Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 51, see also 51-61.

negating the complicit look conventionally expected from female nudes in Western art.<sup>99</sup> Furthermore, her figures' obliviousness to spectatorship pictorially manifests the poem's interconnected binary themes of deceit and isolation; truth and lies; vision and blindness, with youthful passions described as 'blind'. These concepts are additionally signified by how the figures' authentic face mirrors the beguiling mask in the right hand, therefore highlighting how masks obliterate clear sight and acknowledging the potential incongruity between inner truth and outer appearances. Clarke Hall ensures this visual correlation by upturning this mask between figures 26 and 27, stressing the comparison further by contrasting this object's blue-grey flatness and hollow eye-hole, with the nude's curvaceous cheeks and searching vision. Moreover, addition of three extra masks between figures 26 and 27 perhaps emphasizes the centrality of Clarke Hall's own encounter with deceitful façades to these self-narrating works. Suggesting the artist's subjective reinterpretation of cultural precedents other than Blake in the Poem Pictures, her masks in fact correspond closely to those in Agnolo Bronzino's *Cupid, Venus Folly and Time* (fig. 28), where these objects likewise signify deceit.<sup>100</sup>

In addition to suggesting her engagement with precursors like Bronzino, my proposal that Clarke Hall used the mask, both poetically and visually, to signify the problems

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<sup>99</sup> John Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, London, 1972, 49.

<sup>100</sup> It appears that Agnolo Bronzino's *Cupid, Venus, Folly and Time* (c.1545) was on display in the National Gallery throughout the 1920s (confirmed via email by Nicholas Donaldson, National Gallery Archivist, Monday 7<sup>th</sup> February 2011). Clarke Hall frequently visited the National Gallery, particularly after obtaining her London studio in the 1920s. The collection inspired numerous poems, such as 'The National Gallery' (*Poems*, London, 1926, 13), and Bronzino's painting specifically inspired her ekphratic 'Cupid, Venus, Folly and Time – Angelo Bronzino' (*Poems*, London, 1926, 42-3). For discussion of the use of the mask to signify deceit in Bronzino's *Cupid, Venus, Folly and Time*, see Mosche Barasch (ed.), *Imago Hominis: Studies in the Language of Art*, New York, 1994, 36-47. For further discussion of Bronzino's *Cupid, Venus, Folly and Time*, see: Elizabeth Cropper, 'Pontormo and Bronzino in Philadelphia: A Double Portrait', Carl Brandon Strehlke (ed.), *Pontormo, Bronzino and the Medici: The Transformation of the Renaissance Portrait in Florence*, exhibition catalogue, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, 2004, 27; and Jill Dunkerton, Susan Foister & Nicholas Penny (eds), *Durer to Veronese: Sixteenth-Century Painting in the National Gallery*, New Haven and London, 1999, 100-101.

she encountered on marriage via the theme of deceit, permits consideration of *Masks* and its author's personal experiences in relation to the broader context of early twentieth-century women's social position, and the direct exploration of this by female contemporaries. In addition to the other issues plaguing her relationship, Clarke Hall's controversial position as a professionally aspiring married woman and the conventional assumption, which William pursued, that she devote herself to domesticity in place of her career, significantly contributed to the problems she experienced.<sup>101</sup> The exploration of deceitful façades in *Masks* and the loss of creative inspiration in the *Beauty* works may therefore be considered in light of how Clarke Hall felt pressured into adopting respectable wifely behaviour, although conflicting with professional ambitions cultivated at the Slade.<sup>102</sup> As Henry Tonks stated, 'the genius that you have discovered [in female students] goes off and they begin to [have to] take marriage seriously'.<sup>103</sup> Recalling her use of the mask to represent fallacious appearances, Clarke Hall describes how she covered her marital unhappiness by wearing a 'smile that conceals', feeling others 'neither know nor guess the subtle torture with which I am afflicted, they see me moving in a *role*'.<sup>104</sup>

The artist's awareness of functioning behind the acceptable façade of domestic hostess, concealing her misery and 'inappropriate' professional wishes, correlates with Joan Rivière's 1929 psychoanalytical theories regarding the psychically- and

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<sup>101</sup> Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 59-60; Fiona A. Montgomery, *Women's Rights: Struggles and Feminism in Britain c.1770-1970*, Manchester and New York, 2006, 33-80, 114-153; Whitney Chadwick, *Women, Art and Society*, 1996, London, 175-204; Deepwell, *Women artists between the wars*, 84.

<sup>102</sup> Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 58-60.

<sup>103</sup> Henry Tonks (1862-1937), quoted in Susan Chitty, *Gwen John 1876-1939*, London, 1981, 37. See also Deepwell, *Women artists between the wars*, 52-36.

<sup>104</sup> Undated letter of the early 1920s from Edna Clarke Hall to Michel Salaman, CHA; (my italics) Edna Clarke Hall, quoted in Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 149.

socially-conditioned behaviour of intellectual women.<sup>105</sup> Whilst I do not believe Clarke Hall was making any overt social comment in *Masks*, her appropriation of the mask to explore her experiences parallels with Rivière's use of this motif to signify incongruity between traditional ideas of femininity and individual aspiring efficacy. Rivière proposed that women conceal their abilities behind a mask of 'womanliness' to 'hide the possession of masculinity and to avert the reprisals expected if ... found to possess it', thereby posing no threat to male counterparts.<sup>106</sup> Indeed, the artistic skills Clarke Hall 'masked' following marriage were thought to equal or excel that of her male Slade contemporaries and described by numerous 1920s reviewers as 'genius', a term usually associated with masculinity.<sup>107</sup> The social pressures leading to Clarke Hall feeling she was expected to present an external façade akin to Rivière's 'womanliness', were also experienced and explored by Virginia Woolf. Woolf's fictional scene describing the ideal Victorian wife, Coventry Patmore's 'Angel in the House', advising the aspiring female writer to '... be sympathetic; be tender; flatter; deceive; use all the arts and wiles of our sex. Never let anyone guess that you have a mind of your own', indeed aligns with the low intellectual expectations William had of his spouse, excluding her purposefully from 'matters in which I was not expected to have a voice'.<sup>108</sup> Such unexpected treatment must have seemed to mark the death of the discursive intimacy their pre-marital companionship had promised. Whilst this

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<sup>105</sup> Joan Rivière, 'Womanliness as Masquerade', first published in *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 10, 1929, 303-311. For further discussion of Rivière's theories, see: Victor Burgin, James Donald & Cora Kaplan (eds), *Formations of Fantasy*, London and New York, 1986, 35-44; Lisa Appignanesi & John Forrester (eds), *Freud's Women*, New York, 2000, 363-4; and Elizabeth Wright (ed.), *Feminism and Psychoanalysis: A Critical Dictionary*, Oxford, 1992, 242-3.

<sup>106</sup> Joan Rivière [1929], quoted in Burgin et al. (eds), *Formations of Fantasy*, 39.

<sup>107</sup> Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 59. Contemporary reviews that praised Clarke Hall's 'genius': 'Woman Painter's Romance – Art Sacrificed to Motherhood', *Daily Express*, 30<sup>th</sup> January 1924; 'Art and Motherhood', *Natal Advertiser, Durban, S.A.*, 11<sup>th</sup> March 1924; Frank Rutter, 'The Art of Edna Clarke Hall', *Sunday Times*, 3<sup>rd</sup> February 1924; See also Nochlin, *Women, Art and Power*, 153; Battersby, *Gender and Genius*, 15.

<sup>108</sup> Coventry Kersay Dighton Patmore, *The Angel in the House* [1854], London, 1889; Montgomery, *Women's Rights*, 35; Virginia Woolf, quoted in Michele Barrett, *Virginia Woolf on Women and Writing*, London, 1979, 59; Undated letter of mid-1920s from Edna Clarke Hall to Ruth Head, CHA.

section has proposed Clarke Hall represented these occurrences using the deceitful mask, the next suggests how she recapitulated her autognostic narrative in numerous Poem Pictures by pursuing three principal pathways under the theme of mortality: deathly permanence; metaphoric representation of emotional states using nature; and elegiac mourning of loss.

## **MORTALITY**

### **The permanence of death**

The two archive Poem Pictures (figs. 1 and 29) and published poem linkable to the 1926 exhibit *Leave me to my dull death* manifest directly Clarke Hall's self-signifying theme of mortality.<sup>109</sup> Noted by contemporary critics, this poem's occult imagery, abab rhyme scheme, expanded epigram triple-quadrain format and short stanzas recall features of seventeenth-century Metaphysical poetry, which I suggest Clarke Hall appropriated for her specific autognostic means.<sup>110</sup> Signifying her marriage devoid of intimacy, the poem laments lost happiness and loneliness, with mystical 'Spirits of air' remaining the sole companions to be vanquished when only death is welcomed, recalling John Donne's c.1610 'Death be not proud'.<sup>111</sup> Whereas figure 29 seems too colourful and joyful for such grief, figure 1's languid body powerfully communicates

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<sup>109</sup> Edna Clarke Hall, 'Leave me to my dull death', *Poems*, London, 1926, 69. Note that the pose in figure 29 was adopted also for the works directly associated with the *I with Beauty sat at board* 1926 Redfern exhibit title (figs. 12-15), in which I suggest it more successfully evokes and relates to the themes and sentiments of the 'Beauty' poem. The 'Leave me to my dull death' poem will now be referred to using the abbreviated title, 'Dull death'.

<sup>110</sup> William Kean Seymor, 'Mr Blunden and Some Others', *G.K.'s Weekly*, 7<sup>th</sup> August 1926, CHA; 'Poems', *Oxford Chronicle*, March 1926, CHA. See also David Reid, *The Metaphysical Poets*, Harlow, 2000, 1-12, 13-90; Spurr, *Studying Poetry*, 33-5, 97-9, 109-18, 129.

<sup>111</sup> Edna Clarke Hall, 'Leave me to my dull death', *Poems*, London, 1926, 69; John Donne, 'Death be not proud' (Holy Sonnet 10), [written c.1610, published posthumously, 1633], *The Holy Sonnets*, Gary A. Stringer (ed.) *The Varium Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, Bloomington, 7:1, 2005. See Appendix No. 6.

the poet's hopeless morbidity.<sup>112</sup> This work's cool-blue wash suggests death's coldness and the poem's watery 'tears', 'streams' and 'sea', whilst the vaporous surroundings evoke the airy spirits which the floating words address. This weightless fluid atmosphere accentuates the collapsed figure's heavy immobility, which visually represents the poet's perception of eternal future unhappiness, akin to death. The thudding alliteration in 'dull death' linguistically instils this mood of weighty lifelessness.

'Dull death' exemplifies how this chapter's poems are retrospective memories of lost joy written from a grieving state of emotional, temporal and spatial immobility, concluding with the poet being 'stuck' in the permanent misery of abandonment and unable to perceive a present or future beyond this. This recurring temporal-emotional entrapment correlates with Rivers's theories and I suggest signifies the autognostic nature of Clarke Hall's early 1920s creativity. Indeed, in figure 1, the nude's face turned to the ground and bitter question, 'Have I not laughed the day long, / Wept the night through', aligns with the artist's description of her unhappiness, claiming 'I... hold up my chin and laugh when I long to be face to earth with weariness'.<sup>113</sup> Blake is a potential source for this figure, with numerous comparable reclining bodies, often associated with death, frequenting his illuminated books (figs. 30-32). Indeed, Clarke Hall used similar spiritless figures in several Poem Pictures to visually summon the emotionally nullifying effects of unreturned love in her self-narrating poetry (figs. 33-35).

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<sup>112</sup> The most significant archive Poem Picture (fig. 1) linked to the 1926 *Leave me to my dull death* Redfern exhibit title, will now be referred to using the abbreviated title, *Dull death*. Figure 29 will not be further discussed.

<sup>113</sup> Edna Clarke Hall, 'Leave me to my dull death', *Poems*, London, 1926, 69. Edna Clarke Hall, statement probably dating to the mid 1910s, quoted in Adams, 'Private and public childhood', 410.

Clarke Hall's visual and textual autognostic exploration of mortality is also evident in *Masks* (fig. 27), where past actions leave the poet, as in death, 'with graven face of stone / Alone, / And without joy', and 'with heart that constant grieves'.<sup>114</sup> Recalling Clarke Hall's description of wearing 'a mask of set indifference that lay like a curtain between the world and the self behind its immobility' during her 'depression', I propose this stone-face metaphor signifies her own emotional 'death' following marriage.<sup>115</sup> The immovable stone face in *Masks* poetically summons the frozen faces of tomb effigies and the icy stillness mortality brings to once animated features; such morbid imagery being further instilled by the work's cool muted palette. Indeed, as in the poem 'Cold as ice, and heavy as lead, Better it were if I were dead!', Clarke Hall often uses heaviness, coldness and death to communicate the eternity of her grief.<sup>116</sup> Brock and Rivers may have understood the poet's ending state with an immobile stone face and the fixed expressions of the lifeless masks in figure 27, to signify Clarke Hall's temporal-emotional entrapment in her traumatic marital experiences and psychological inability to move beyond this grief during her 'depression'. Representing, I suggest, entry into marriage, 'Masks' emphasizes the poet's fall from carefree youth to deathly permanence by contrasting brisk descriptions of previous vivaciousness, like 'fling', 'so fast', 'cast', with the sluggish assonance of 'stand', 'stone' and 'alone' describing her final fate. By variously evoking mortality, *Masks* indeed pursues the established link between death and masks originating in the medieval Catholic 'Dance of Death' graveyard play, where skeletal masks represented Death.<sup>117</sup> Such macabre revelry infiltrates the carnivalesque masked figures of Hieronymus Bosch, Pieter Bruegel and Francisco Goya (figs. 36-38), whilst

<sup>114</sup> Edna Clarke Hall, 'Here stand I holding masks', *Poems*, London, 1926, 16, lines 7, 13-5, 8.

<sup>115</sup> Undated letter of the early 1920s from Edna Clarke Hall to Michel Salaman, CHA.

<sup>116</sup> Edna Clarke Hall, 'Cold as ice, and heavy as lead, Better it were if I were dead!', *Poems*, London, 1926, 21.

<sup>117</sup> Harold Osborne (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Art*, Oxford and New York, 1991, 299-300, 677.

contemporary James Ensor explored the mask's morbid signification directly (fig. 39).<sup>118</sup> Though Clarke Hall may not have been aware of these specific works, *Masks* evidences her reinterpretation of canonical subject matter to autognostically self-narrate her personal emotional 'death'.

### **Metaphoric representation of emotional states using Nature**

I suggest Clarke Hall also signifies the 'death' of her pre-marital loving happiness by metaphorically representing emotional states using organic elements, thereby pursuing Romanticism's alignment of nature with 'the movements of the soul'.<sup>119</sup>

The poem 'Behold, my loves break into flower', for example, and the works linkable to the exhibit *My Love came through the long cliff grass*, compares the death of love's joys with withering flowers (figs. 40-41), whilst in the poem 'I said: 'The well is deep; there is always the well'', a garden represents the growth, rejection and death of the poet's loving soul.<sup>120</sup> This poem mobilizes the well's religious connotations by evoking a mysterious omnipresent entity that I suggest represents the poet's steadfast love, which awakens with budding nature but is then scorned and left alone in 'the garden that is now a waste', signifying her spiritual 'death'. This poem links to the 1926 exhibit *I said the well is deep*, which I believe related in appearance to the *Facets* lithograph Poem Picture of the same title (fig. 42).<sup>121</sup> As in 'The well', 'Dull death' likewise interweaves emotions and nature via its simile comparing 'tears' with

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<sup>118</sup> Walter S. Gibson, *Hieronymus Bosch*, London, 1991, 43, 49-68, 9-100; Walter S. Gibson, *Bruegel*, London, 1995, 90-119; Robert Hughes, *Goya*, London, 2003, 177-215; Jonathan Brown & Susan Grace Galassi, *Goya's Last Works*, New Haven and London, 2006; Michael Palmer, *From Ensor to Magritte – Belgium Art 1880-1940*, Brussels, 1994, 20-23.

<sup>119</sup> Vaughan, *William Blake*, 63; O'Neal (ed.), *The Nature of Rousseau's Rêveries*, 1-3.

<sup>120</sup> Edna Clarke Hall, 'Behold, my loves break into flower', *Facets*, London, 1930, 12; Edna Clarke Hall, 'I said: 'The well is deep; there is always the well'', *Facets*, London, 1930, 28.

<sup>121</sup> Edna Clarke Hall, 'I said: 'The well is deep; there is always the well'', *Facets*, London, 1930, 29. The published poem 'I said: 'The well is deep; there is always the well'', will now be referred to using the abbreviated title, 'The well'. The *Facets* lithograph Poem Picture (fig. 42) for this poem will now be referred to using the abbreviation, *The well*.

‘streams’, whilst the septet associated with the exhibit *A thousand years of grief are mine*, warns that happiness, like blossom, is ‘sweet and brief’, before the everlasting loneliness of its loss.<sup>122</sup> Aligning with Craiglockhart’s theory of temporal-emotional confusion, this poem explores how trauma warps subjective perception of time, with the poet eternally trapped in the ‘thousand years of grief’ resulting from a negative event which ‘fell upon the hour’. Five archive works also relate to this exhibit-title, in which falling petals visually represent love’s impermanence and the bowing bodies recall figure 23 by corporeally expressing the ‘weight’ of grief (figs. 43-47). This arched pose is traceable to Blake’s *There is no Natural Religion* (fig. 48), where it similarly evokes the lonely misery of spiritual ‘death’.<sup>123</sup> As in *Masks* (figs. 26-7), I believe figures 43-47 visually express Clarke Hall’s marital loneliness using figures that negate viewer engagement. This reclusive back view and hidden face also appear in *Dull death* (fig. 1) and *This and this also* (figs. 8-11), making these figures unreachably engulfed in their own misery. Moreover, I believe figures 8-11 and 43-47 evidence the repetitive autognostic nature of Clarke Hall’s early 1920s practice. ‘Masks’ also uses nature’s life-cycles to express the death of happiness, representing the reckless action that I suggest signifies Clarke Hall’s entry into marriage by equating the poet’s body with a leaf simile to signify decay. This impetuosity is described as throwing ‘Face, limbs, yea all I had’ ‘...As leaves / Unto the wind’, thus aligning this ‘self-offering’ with dead leaves that are scattered and lost, whilst expressing the brevity of young passion by evoking the futile child-like game of

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<sup>122</sup> Edna Clarke Hall, ‘Leave me to my dull death’, *Poems*, London, 1926, 69; Edna Clarke Hall, ‘A thousand years of grief are mine’, *Poems*, London, 1926, 96. From this point on, the latter poem will now be referred to using the abbreviated title, ‘Thousand Years’.

<sup>123</sup> William Blake, Plate a4 (i), ‘Man cannot perceive but through his natural bodily organs’, *There is no Natural Religion*, 1794 edition. A copy of this design was held at the British Museum in the 1920s, as well as appearing in various publications in the 1910s and 1920s. Eaves et al. (eds.), *The Early Illuminated Books*, 68.

tossing autumn debris in the air.<sup>124</sup> Such ideas suggest *Masks* (fig. 27) to be Clarke Hall's subjective reinterpretation of John Everett Millais's 1856 *Autumn Leaves* (fig. 49), where dead leaves can likewise be understood to represent youth's transience and loss, the influence of latter's work on Clarke Hall indeed being noted by contemporary reviewers.<sup>125</sup> Millais's painting prompts association between the young beauties gathering dead leaves and nature's omnipotent cycles that will lead to their decay and fall, like the leaves they burn.<sup>126</sup> These figures' ceremonious solemnity, the twilight tones and suggestive treatment of nature have been suggested as early manifestations of the evocative Aestheticist tropes influential on Clarke Hall's generation.<sup>127</sup> Indeed, figure 27's evocation of its poem's elegiac isolation via morbid cool colours and representation of a solitary nude with masks, perhaps suggests her exploration of such tropes. Moreover, the underlying theme of mortality pervading this chapter's Poem Pictures correlates with the awareness of decay and beauty's fragility in Aestheticist poetry, which shows, according to Walter Pater, 'the continual suggestion, pensive or passionate, of the shortness of life...[and] desire of beauty quickened by the sense of death'.<sup>128</sup>

<sup>124</sup> Edna Clarke Hall, 'Here stand I holding masks', *Poems*, London, 1926, 16, lines 6, 9-10.

<sup>125</sup> Meredith Ringel, 'Nostalgic Intensity in Millais's *Autumn Leaves*' (2007), <http://www.victorianweb.org/painting/millais/paintings/ringel3.html> (accessed 6<sup>th</sup> May 2011); Reed Keefe, 'Capturing a Transient Moment: Millais's *Autumn Leaves*', <http://www.victorianweb.org/painting/millais/paintings/keefe3.html> (accessed 6<sup>th</sup> May 2011); *The Times*, 25<sup>th</sup> Jan 1924.

<sup>126</sup> Robson, *Men in Wonderland*, 48-9; Elizabeth Prettejohn, *Art for Art's Sake: Aestheticism in Victorian Painting*, New Haven and London, 2007, 14-17.

<sup>127</sup> For discussion of Millais's *Autumn Leaves* as an early manifestation of Aestheticism, see: Allen Staley, *The Pre-Raphaelite Landscape*, New Haven and London, 2001, 67; Robin Spencer, 'Whistler's 'The White Girl': Painting, Poetry and Meaning', *The Burlington Magazine*, 140:1142, May 1998, 300-11; Prettejohn, *Art for Art's Sake*, 12-21; Lionel Lambourne, *The Aesthetic Movement*, London, 1996, 'Introduction'. I acknowledge the limitations of using contested terminology, such as 'Aestheticism', when retrospectively defining an historical cultural period or 'movement', such labels often being reductive and of great polysemic potential over time and space. For further discussion, see: Prettejohn, *Art for Art's Sake*, 1-2; Mieke Bal & Norman Bryson, 'Semiotics and Art History: A Discussion of Contexts and Senders', Preziosi (ed.), *The Art of Art History*, 1998, 242-256; Mieke Bal & Norman Bryson, 'Semiotics and Art History', *The Art Bulletin*, LXXIII, 2, June, 1991, 174-208.

<sup>128</sup> Walter Pater, 'Aesthetic Poetry' (from *Appreciations*), William E. Buckler (ed.), *Walter Pater: Three Major texts: the Renaissance, Appreciations, and Imaginary Portraits*, New York, 1986, 528; Prettejohn, *Art for Art's Sake*, 255-81.

### Elegiac mourning of loss

Much of Clarke Hall's poetry treating her self-narrating theme of forsaken love has a plaintive retrospection, with contemporary reviewers of *Poems* noting a 'brooding memory' and sad 'flavour of bitterness'.<sup>129</sup> I suggest this signifies her autognostic use of Romanticist and elegiac literary traditions to lament her own emotional 'death' in marriage, aligning with how elegies explore 'loss and search for consolation', and recalling late nineteenth-century understandings of this genre as being concerned with 'love, grief and death'.<sup>130</sup> Indeed, Thomas Gray's statement that elegies explore 'solitude and mourning', and Samuel Taylor Coleridge's suggestion that they should reflect the poet's emotive position, align with my proposal that the *Beauty* works, *Masks* and *The well* mourn the death of Clarke Hall's youthful inspiration, happiness and love (figs. 12-15, 27 and 42).<sup>131</sup> As a sober warning against heedless quests for fulfilment regretfully spoken from the position of their negative consequences, 'Masks', antithetical to traditional *carpe diem* poetry, is particularly poignant by mourning the death of the innocent confidence that recklessly pursued happiness.<sup>132</sup> Always the result of abandonment, Clarke Hall's self-signifying elegiac poetry often emphasizes the tragedy of such losses by stressing the preciousness of the offered loving soul that is rejected and dies. In *All my wealth of years* (fig. 22), for example, the loving poet's proffered 'riches' are renounced, whilst 'The well' and the poem in

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<sup>129</sup> 'Four Poets', *The Bookman*, 1926, CHA; R.D.Q.H, 'Poems', *Oxford Chronicle*, March 1926, CHA.

<sup>130</sup> Peter M. Stacks, *The English Elegy: Studies in the genre from Spencer to Yeats*, Baltimore and London, 1985, 1; J. C. Bailey, *English Elegies*, London, 1879, quoted in John W. Draper, *The Funeral Elegy and the Rise of English Romanticism*, New York, 1967, 5, see also 314-331; Blayney Brown, *Romanticism*, 191-250; Andrea Brady, *English Funerary Elegy in the Seventeenth Century: Laws in Mourning*, London 2006, 10-31.

<sup>131</sup> Suvir Kaul, 'Thomas Gray, *Elegy Written in a Country Church Yard*', Christine Gerrard (ed.), *A Companion to Eighteenth-Century Poetry*, Malden, Oxford and Victoria, 2006, 277-89. Donne's poetry was indeed particularly popular in early twentieth-century Britain; Achsah Guibbory, 'John Donne', Thomas N. Corns (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to English Poetry: Donne to Marvell*, Cambridge, 1993, 124-5.

<sup>132</sup> Spurr, *Studying Poetry*, 292.

the works associated to the 1926 exhibit *My heart was filled in fairy fashion*, also show this feature (figs. 50-51).

Indeed, by using the same pose as appears in a gouache version (fig. 52) of *The well* lithograph design (fig. 42), figure 51 evidences the interlinked genesis of the original 1926 *I said the well is deep* and *My heart was filled in fairy fashion* exhibits, revealing the processes of Clarke Hall's self-ordering creativity in making the Poem Pictures as she explored her autognostic narrative of abandonment in different text-image combinations.<sup>133</sup> Although separate Poem Picture designs were finally resolved for each poem (figs. 42 and 50), their narratives remain comparable: both start by celebrating love, conclude with its destruction, and use vessels to signify the poet's offered loving soul. Whilst the *Fairy fashion* works (figs. 50-51) express this verbally, figures 42 and 52 make this association by positioning a jug over the words "The Well", this motif representing the poet's eternal love. The swishing inked orbs and coloured brushstrokes emanating from these vessels in figures 42 and 50 suggest their precious contents. Figure 50's rainbow palette and kneeling nude seem indebted to Blake's *The Argument* (fig. 53), but Clarke Hall's red-highlighted figure evokes the 'fiery...winged passion' the poet offers. In figures 42 and 50, the dense backgrounds and shallow pictorial spaces push the figures out towards the viewer/reader to emphasise the value of their loving spiritual and bodily gifts, the 'clear and fragrant substance of delight'.<sup>134</sup> With the well remaining ignored and the 'bowl' in *Fairy fashion* being broken, however, rejection of these gifts leads to the poet's abandonment and metaphorical spiritual 'death', suggesting again, I propose,

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<sup>133</sup> From this point onwards, the main archive Poem Picture (fig. 50) associated to the 1926 catalogue title, *My heart was filled in fairy fashion*, will be referred to as *Fairy fashion*.

<sup>134</sup> Edna Clarke Hall, 'I said: 'The well is deep; there is always the well'', *Facets*, London, 1930, 28, line 8.

representation of Clarke Hall's temporal-emotional entrapment in her own painful experiences. This specific emphasis on rejection of spiritual and corporeal offerings I believe references the initial shock of William's mental and physical disinterest in his new wife, and destruction of her innocent fantasy that marriage would bring their 'sweet interchange of mind, of spirit, of body'.<sup>135</sup> Addressing her as 'queen of my affections' and 'idol of my worship', William's pre-marital endearments, although correlating with that permitted in Victorian betrothal correspondence, cultivated his impressionable fiancée's hope of experiencing 'the wonder of love' and burgeoned romantic notions of giving herself in marriage.<sup>136</sup> This initial idolization worsened the impact of his later unexpected disinterest, which seems represented by the cruel rejecting destruction of the poet's precious 'self-offerings' in figures 42 and 50-51.<sup>137</sup>

Whilst the reality of marriage turned out to be a sacrifice rather than an exchange of such 'self-offerings', Clarke Hall explains how even when knowing their love was 'among the ruins, I cannot put an end to its desires', for 'my chief ill is an overwhelming desire for love...in its spiritual ...and...physical expression'.<sup>138</sup> This highlights how the couple's problems were compounded by their personalities' emotive incompatibility, 'the spontaneous affection [coming] from her and... stern admonitions to duty from him'.<sup>139</sup> Pre-marital letters in which William frequently reprimanded his fiancée's carefree behaviour evidence this, his strictness perhaps

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<sup>135</sup> Unpublished writings of Edna Clarke Hall, quoted in Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 57.

<sup>136</sup> Letter dating from mid-late 1890s from William Clarke Hall to Edna Waugh, CHA. Rosalie Vicars-Harris & David Forham (eds), *Dearest Beatie, My Darling Jack: A Victorian Couple's Love Letters*, London, 1983. Unpublished writings of Edna Clarke Hall, quoted in Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 57.

<sup>137</sup> William's behaviour may perhaps be additionally considered in line with how, whilst the act of promising was considered an important binding contract, insincerity in marital promises was a definite theme in Victorian law, social practice and fiction; Randall Craig, *Promising Language*, New York, 2000, 47-76.

<sup>138</sup> Quotation taken from undated letter of early-mid 1920s from Edna Clarke Hall to Michele Salaman, CHA. Edna Clarke Hall, *Heritage of Ages*, part 2, 100, Tate Archive, London and CHA.

<sup>139</sup> Adams, 'Private and public childhood', 410.

traceable to his authoritarian upbringing which also possibly added to his avoidance of physical intimacy following marriage.<sup>140</sup> I suggest Clarke Hall hinted at this situation in the poem associated with the exhibit *My Love kneels down*, which describes ‘passion chaste’ as ‘the bitterest grief of all to taste’, and in ‘The well’ where the poet’s spirit ‘with beauty chaste’ remains forever desiring but undesired.<sup>141</sup> The lonely insecurity of her private relationship seems more overtly treated in *Too soon grey time*, where a melancholy nude waits by an empty bed for an eternally absent lover (fig. 54). Lack of sexual fulfilment was perhaps not unusual in Victorian marriages, particularly those potentially founded upon ‘girl-child’ adoration, but early twentieth-century middle-class attitudes towards marital sex, especially following Freud’s popularity in Britain, was increasingly characterized by belief that both partners’ sexual satisfaction was desirable and expressed loving partnership.<sup>142</sup> The unexpected difference between William’s intimacy before, and his cold reserve after, marriage negated Clarke Hall’s justifiable (if unrealistically romantic and poetic) expectations of their loving physical and spiritual union, and had a lasting, indeed ‘deadening’, impact on her emotional state and work.<sup>143</sup> This section has considered how the artist autogenetically represented such events in the Poem Pictures discussed using the theme of mortality, thus further supporting my hypotheses for these works psychotherapeutic and biographical foundations.

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<sup>140</sup> Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 25-6, 29-30, 58-9; Adams, ‘Private and public childhood’, 400-402, 411; Undated letters of the 1890s between Edna Waugh and William Clarke Hall, CHA.

<sup>141</sup> Edna Clarke Hall, ‘My Love kneels down’, *Facets*, London, 1930, 8, lines 4-6; Edna Clarke Hall, ‘I said: ‘The well is deep; there is always the well’’, *Facets*, London, 1930, 28-9, line 13.

<sup>142</sup> Montgomery, *Women’s Rights*, 229-32; Adams, ‘Private and public childhood’, 141; Ross McKibbin, *Classes and Culture: England 1918-1951*, Oxford, 1998, 299.

<sup>143</sup> The concept of women’s sexual fulfilment, liberation and emancipation can indeed be traced in much of the Victorian poetry on which Clarke Hall’s pre-marital teenage understandings of love, relationships and marriage were based; Johnson, *Sex and Marriage*, 110-184, 185-521, 256.

## *Chapter Conclusion*

This chapter has proposed that Head's clinical approach to Clarke Hall's 'depression' correlates with Craiglockhart's unprecedented use of autognosis and creativity as remedial aids for emotional trauma during World War One. As such, I have demonstrated my hypotheses that the Poem Pictures signify new approaches in early twentieth-century British psychotherapy, and that Clarke Hall's personal life is imperative to their understanding by arguing these objects are the principal manifestation of the artist's self-motivated self-ordering creative practice in the 1920s as, once given the spatial agency to do so, she continued to cathartically explore her marital problems beyond Head's autognostic conversations. Within the context of the artist's 1920s recovery, I have argued that William Blake was the central aesthetic and philosophical precedent for the Poem Pictures, using works like *Beauty* (figs. 12-15) to evidence the Romanticist leanings in Clarke Hall's approach to art informing her conception of these objects.

This chapter's sections entitled *Beauty*, *Deceit* and *Mortality* have presented progressive evidence to support my argument for the Poem Pictures' autognostic, biographical status by proposing that Clarke Hall's creative negotiation of her marriage experiences is evidenced in how the same self-referential narrative of desertion and lost happiness is repeated in all the works discussed, such as *Masks*, *Dull death* and *The well* (figs. 27, 1 and 42). I have argued this aligns to how autognosis encourages patients to verbally externalize memories of the previous traumatic events causing their neurosis. Another key aspect of Rivers's therapy, however, was the subject's discussion of their present and future positions to help them psychologically dissociate from their past trauma. As such, Chapter Two

discusses several Poem Pictures made simultaneously to those already considered, in which I propose Clarke Hall redirected her autognostic self-ordering creativity towards her more immediate 1920s circumstances.

## CHAPTER TWO

### *Spatial Independence: The Road to Recovery and a New Career*<sup>1</sup>

Chapter One suggested that *The well* (fig. 42) is one of many Poem Pictures showing Clarke Hall's autognostic narrative representing her marital experiences of rejected love and loneliness. Numerous contemporaneous Poem Pictures, however, repeat a more positive story of emotional renewal after an oppressive period of pain, as exemplified by the *Facets* lithograph (fig. 55) relating to two 1926 exhibits entitled *The night is passed*.<sup>2</sup> *The well* and *Night passed* in fact seem associated, both representing full-length, front-facing, partially nude figures in twisting open-legged stances with 'doll-like' faces, large lolling eyes, small noses and bow lips. I suggest, however, the very different poems articulating rejection in figure 42 and hopeful rejuvenation in figure 55 potently guide interpretation of each work and their comparable pictorial components. This exemplifies how the viewer/reader's approach to the Poem Picture imagery seems dependent upon its accompanying text, Clarke Hall's poetry indeed having been I believe, as at Craiglockhart, the leading pathway in her autognostic creation of these works.

The poetic differences between figures 42 and 55 highlight this chapter's new focus on works linkable to 1926 Poem Picture exhibits that all repeat the same hopeful narrative as *Night passed*, evidencing, I suggest, Clarke Hall's autognostic exploration

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix No. 7 for list of all the poems by Edna Clarke Hall discussed in this chapter.

<sup>2</sup> Edna Clarke Hall, 'The night is passed', *Facets*, London, 1930, 34-5. This poem will now be referred to using the abbreviated title, 'Night passed'. There were two works exhibited in the 1926 Redfern exhibition with the title *The night is passed* – a painting and a lithograph, and I believe the latter to be a print of the former. I suggest both these exhibits were most likely identical in design to the 1930 lithograph Poem Picture published in *Facets* of the same title. Therefore from this point on, the *Facets* lithograph Poem Picture (fig. 55) will be considered as representative of the two 1926 exhibits, and will be referred to as *Night passed*.

of her increasingly positive early 1920s position following her contact with Head. Having discussed her problems, Head believed Clarke Hall's reengagement with creative work in a space disconnected from her marital environment could aid her recovery, and so persuaded William to rent her a London studio at South Square, Gray's Inn.<sup>3</sup> This large room was 'an enchanting place, spacious, low-ceilinged, haphazardly furnished, littered unselfconsciously with her drawings, watercolours and materials'.<sup>4</sup> Situated near vibrant artistic areas such as Bloomsbury, and important resources like the British Museum and Central School of Art and Design, the studio's position undoubtedly facilitated Clarke Hall's 1920s professional pursuits; locating in London being pertinent to aspiring artists in this decade.<sup>5</sup> Until destroyed by bombing in 1941, the studio became Clarke Hall's valued 'haven' to which she admitted only those 'who help me in the creative side of art'.<sup>6</sup> Her enigmatic comment that 'On the lintel you will see 'Edna Clarke Hall', but within you will find neither Edna Waugh nor Edna Clarke Hall, but something sprung independently from both', evidences its personal significance.<sup>7</sup>

This chapter argues that Head's insistence on a studio was informed by Arthur Brock's ergotherapy, and proposes this space was central to Clarke Hall's emergence from 'depression' and, in turn, her successful 1920s career. Firstly, I introduce the wider context of her position in this decade by considering her perception of being an artist in relation to contemporary debates concerning married women's ability to

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<sup>3</sup> Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 158-9.

<sup>4</sup> *The Solicitors' Journal*, 115:43, October 1971, 784, CHA.

<sup>5</sup> Deepwell, *Women artists between the wars*, 24. Clarke Hall too full advantage of these provisions in the 1920s, enrolling, for example, on a printing course at the Central School of Art and Design on Southampton Row. Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 196-7.

<sup>6</sup> Undated letter of early 1920s from Edna Clarke Hall to Dorothy Samuel, quoted in Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 159.

<sup>7</sup> Undated letter of early 1920s from Edna Clarke Hall to Michel Salaman, CHA.

practice professionally. I then argue Clarke Hall autognostically explored her experiences of this transitional time via four principal pathways in the works discussed: the narrative communication of ordered temporal progression; the idea of uninhibited movement; the representation of rejecting impediments; and the expression of self-assured independence.

### **Marriage and an artistic career?**

Clarke Hall's 1926 Redfern exhibition was highly successful. Described as 'most stimulating' and evidencing her 'vivid and striking imagination', it fulfilled the hopes that her first public post-war presence in 1924, which was also at this venue, had bourgeoned amongst reviewers.<sup>8</sup> These were her first of many exhibitions at Redfern in the inter-war decade, when solo shows at independent galleries were increasingly important.<sup>9</sup> Clarke Hall's ability to create such admired work signifies the emotional and practical changes that had occurred in her life since first visiting Head and, I suggest, acquiring her studio. Whilst in 1920 she was highly unwell and had abandoned her work, by mid-decade she had regained her physical and emotional strength, published her first poetry book and was actively participating in the contemporary art world.<sup>10</sup> Being considerably more ambitious than that in 1924 and showcasing abundant new work, including the Poem Pictures, I suggest the 1926

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<sup>8</sup>*Water-colours, Drawings and Etchings by Edna Clarke Hall*, Redfern Gallery, London, 22<sup>nd</sup> January – 12<sup>th</sup> February 1924 (see Appendix No. 5); *Exhibition of Watercolours, Etchings and Lithographs by Edna Clarke Hall*, Redfern Gallery, London, 5<sup>th</sup> February – 4<sup>th</sup> March 1926 (see Appendix No. 2); Raymond McIntyre, *Architectural Review*, April 1926; *Times of India*, 2<sup>nd</sup> March 1926. Other articles praising the 1926 exhibition: *The Times*, 9<sup>th</sup> February 1926. Reviews praising the 1924 exhibition: 'Happy Impressions', *Morning Post*, 23<sup>rd</sup> January 1924; *The Times*, 25<sup>th</sup> January 1924; 'To-day's Art', *The Referee*, 3<sup>rd</sup> February 1924; K.N. Knody(?), 'An Illustrator of *Wuthering Heights*', *Observer*, 3<sup>rd</sup> February 1924; *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, 18<sup>th</sup> July 1924; Ywain, 'To-Day's Art: The Women Artists' Exhibition', *The Referee*, 7<sup>th</sup> September 1924; HHC, 'Modern Prints', *Times of India*, 2<sup>nd</sup> December 1924. (All CHA).

<sup>9</sup> Deepwell, *Women artists between the wars*, 131.

<sup>10</sup> Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 148-9; Edna Clarke Hall, *Poems*, London, 1926.

exhibition particularly signifies the artist's recovering state and, therefore, the success of Head's advice.

Clarke Hall's recovery is additionally suggested in her willingness to engage in contemporary gender debates in a letter to *The Evening News* in 1924.<sup>11</sup> This letter publically justified her equivocal position as a married female artist in response to reviews that approached her 1924 exhibition by discussing the compatibility of women's traditional marital roles and artistic careers. Such professional self-assertion positions Clarke Hall within the wider context of middle-class women's increasing working activity, even after marriage and especially in the arts, in the 1920s.<sup>12</sup> Cross-class antagonism towards women working undoubtedly existed in this decade, and pre-1914 ideologies 'committed to naturalizing [their] subordination in the home' still remained potent.<sup>13</sup> Despite this, however, Clarke Hall's 1924 reviewers tended to celebrate her belated professionalism whilst lamenting marriage's detrimental effect on women's artistic careers and, like numerous present-day (I suggest incorrect) representations of the artist, used her to exemplify this regrettable phenomenon.<sup>14</sup>

Frank Rutter claimed she 'would have been one of the most distinguished painters of

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<sup>11</sup> Edna Clarke Hall, 'Should Clever Women Marry?' by Edna Clarke Hall (A Brilliant Women Artist Who Did)', *The Evening News*, 2<sup>nd</sup> February 1924, CHA (see Appendix No. 8). The paper's description of Clarke Hall as 'A Brilliant Woman' in the title under which her letter was published in 1926, evidences the popularity of the idea of the 'exceptional woman' frequently presented in the press during this period; Deepwell, *Women artists between the wars*, 65.

<sup>12</sup> Deepwell, *Women artists between the wars*, 3-4, 22, 54, 66, 68-70, 100, 115, 194-6, 200; Chadwick, *Women, Art and Society*, 252-78; Lisa Tickner, *Modern Life and Modern Subjects: British Art in the Early Twentieth Century*, New Haven and London, 2000, 197-9; Garrish Nunn, *From Victorian to Modern*, 27.

<sup>13</sup> Tickner, *Modern Life and Modern Subjects*, 199; Showalter, *Female Malady*, 195; Deepwell, *Women artists between the wars*, 84; Gail Braybon, *Women Workers in the First World War: The British Experience*, Totowa (New Jersey), 1981, 112-153, 216-228; Arthur Marwick, *Britain in Our Century: Images and Controversies*, London, 1984, 78-9; Arthur Marwick, *Britain in the Century of Total War: War, Peace and Social Change 1900-1967*, London, Sydney and Toronto, 1968, 166-191.

<sup>14</sup> Recent publications that use Clarke Hall to exemplify marriage's detrimental impact on early twentieth-century women's artistic careers: Hardisty, 'Edna Clarke Hall', 73 – 80; Nicholson, *Among the Bohemians*, 60-61, 191; Nicolson, *The Great Silence*, 69; Deepwell likewise notes this, *Women artists between the wars*, 53.

her day if her time and energy had not been taken up by marriage'.<sup>15</sup> Pamela Garrish Nunn has considered how, even when professionally noted, women artists in this period were generally considered, as Vanessa Bell stated, 'that terribly low creature, a female painter'.<sup>16</sup> Conversely, whilst one of Clarke Hall's reviewers speculated 'as to whether it is something fundamental to femininity or the outward circumstances of life' that prevented there being female artist 'geniuses', the majority praised her 'genius' and considered women potentially as capable of being artists as men, blaming marriage for negation of female talent.<sup>17</sup> Clarke Hall's letter, however, suggests she did not see marriage *per se* as reducing her practice after 1898, and defended the compatibility of domesticity, creativity and professionalism by stating that a mother who is artistically talented is responsible for both her children's care and for cultivating 'those powers within herself that are her true expression'.<sup>18</sup>

Accommodating a desire for matrimony, motherhood and artistic careers, Clarke Hall's opinions contrast to that of contemporaries Gwen John and Virginia Woolf, who claimed to reject conventional female roles and saw killing 'the Angel in the House' necessary to women's professional creative success.<sup>19</sup> A married sculptress, 'Chelsea', wrote to *The Evening News* in support of Clarke Hall's stance, stating she

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<sup>15</sup> Frank Rutter, 'Drawing and Sentiment', *The Bookman*, October 1924, CHA.

<sup>16</sup> Vanessa Bell, *Vanessa Bell, Sketches in Pen and Ink: A Bloomsbury Notebook*, London, 1997, 118, quoted in Garrish Nunn, *From Victorian to Modern*, 17.

<sup>17</sup> Edith Shackleton, 'Women and the Arts', *Evening Standard*, 1<sup>st</sup> February 1924, page 3. The questions raised by Shackleton recall that later discussed in Linda Nochlin's essay, 'Why have there been no great women artists? [1971], *Women, Art and Power*, London, 1988, 145-178. Contemporary reviews that praised Clarke Hall's 'genius': 'Woman Painter's Romance – Art Sacrificed to Motherhood', *Daily Express*, 30<sup>th</sup> January 1924; 'Art and Motherhood', *Natal Advertiser, Durban, S.A.*, 11<sup>th</sup> March 1924; Frank Rutter, 'The Art of Edna Clarke Hall', *Sunday Times*, 3<sup>rd</sup> February 1924. (All CHA).

<sup>18</sup> Edna Clarke Hall, 'Should Clever Women Marry? by Edna Clarke Hall (A Brilliant Women Artist Who Did)', *The Evening News*, 2<sup>nd</sup> February 1924, CHA (see Appendix No. 8).

<sup>19</sup> Virginia Woolf, 'Professions for Women' [speech given by Woolf before a branch of the National Society for Women's Service, 21<sup>st</sup> January 1931], *The Death of the Moth and other stories*, London, 1970, 235-42. Gwen John stated that 'if we are to do beautiful pictures, we ought to be free from family conventions and ties', quoted in Garrish Nunn, *From Victorian to Modern*, 13.

‘provides a lesson which all artistic married women ought to take to heart’, explaining that although in marriage ‘[o]pportunities for study and practice may, perhaps, be somewhat reduced...they certainly do not disappear altogether’ and ‘[t]o take every advantage of them is a duty’.<sup>20</sup> Evidencing the contemporary existence of middle-class women, like Clarke Hall, determined to accommodate artistic professionalism within marriage, Chelsea’s response signifies a wider ‘general post-war scepticism’ towards society’s traditional economic and gendered structures in 1920s Britain.<sup>21</sup> Like Chelsea, however, Clarke Hall acknowledged that whilst ‘[o]f course a woman who is an artist should get married, if she wants to do so, and should continue her work’, she may be ‘...unable to concentrate on it fully owing to household cares’.<sup>22</sup> Both women were therefore aware of potential domestic impediments, Clarke Hall complaining in 1906, following her first child, ‘I never paint now partly because I have very little time and chiefly because I can never allow myself to be absent-minded’.<sup>23</sup> In 1924, however, she asserted that marital responsibilities do not justify abandonment of artistic practice and that ‘gifts of the mind and spirit’ must be cultivated whatever the circumstances.<sup>24</sup> Prior to her artistic cessation during ‘depression’, Clarke Hall’s perhaps reduced but continued practice and participation in early 1910s exhibitions evidences this determination to maintain her work when married.<sup>25</sup> It must be remembered, however, that whilst her and Woolf’s opinions regarding motherhood, domesticity and careers differed, their ability to seriously

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<sup>20</sup> See Appendix No. 8.

<sup>21</sup> Deepwell, *Women artists between the wars*, 196; John Lucas, *The Radical Twenties: Aspects of Writing, Politics and Culture*, Nottingham, 1997, 7-31, 32-67; Marwick, *Britain in Our Century*, 47-57; Marwick, *Explosion of British Society*, 52.

<sup>22</sup> Edna Clarke Hall quoted in ‘Art and Motherhood’, *Natal Advertiser*, 11<sup>th</sup> March 1924, CHA.

<sup>23</sup> Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 98.

<sup>24</sup> Edna Clarke Hall, ‘Should Clever Women Marry? by Edna Clarke Hall (A Brilliant Women Artist Who Did)’, *Evening News*, 2<sup>nd</sup> February 1924, CHA (see Appendix No. 8).

<sup>25</sup> During the early 1910s, for example, Clarke Hall entered over five watercolours and drawings each year from 1910-16 (except 1914) to the Friday Club’s annual exhibition, as well as showing work at the New English Art Club. Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 98-9, 114-5, 149-50.

pursue any creative activity was largely made possible by their economically privileged middle-class status, enabling each to employ servants, and William's money also paying for the studio.<sup>26</sup> Thus, although Clarke Hall found early motherhood restricting, following employment of a nursemaid in 1907 she could write, 'I took up my brushes and palette for the first time this morning for nearly two years'.<sup>27</sup> By contrast, her Slade colleague Ida John (née Nettleship) had no help following marriage and exemplified the complete 'sacrifice' of art to motherhood discussed by the 1924 reviewers.<sup>28</sup>

Clarke Hall's situation, however, was complex. Paying heed to Chapter One, I argue that despite having greater potential to work by employing staff, her ever depleting artistic practice after marriage and its 1917 cessation was principally due to the damaging emotional impact of her and William's problematic relationship. Whilst this private situation understandably remained unacknowledged in her 1924 article, the artist's confident statement that the challenges of 'ordinary circumstances of life' can become 'the roads to genius' must be approached in light of her significantly improved emotional state during this decade, largely due to having the studio.<sup>29</sup>

Providing the privacy to work, this space can be considered in line with Woolf's

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<sup>26</sup> Whilst William provided Clarke Hall with the financial stability that allowed her to practice her work more freely by employing domestic aid and having her own studio (from the early 1920s), it should also be noted that following his death in 1931, Clark Hall came to depend on the money she was able to make from her work, also sustaining herself by turning the family home in Essex, Great House, into a functioning farm. Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 211. In addition, it seems noteworthy to highlight that the working-class women employed as servants do not appear to always qualify in Virginia Woolf's opinion for the emancipation from the socio-gendered and economic suppression that she advocated so strongly for female members of her own class. See Alison Light, *Mrs Woolf and the Servants*, London, 2007; Virginia Woolf, *Selected Diaries*, Anne Olivier Bell (ed.), London, 2008, 255, 261.

<sup>27</sup> Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 97-98.

<sup>28</sup> As exemplified by: 'Woman Painter's Romance – Art Sacrificed to Motherhood', *Daily Express*, 30<sup>th</sup> January 1924; Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 98-9; Nicholson, *Among the Bohemians*, 214-7.

<sup>29</sup> Edna Clarke Hall, 'Should Clever Women Marry?' by Edna Clarke Hall (A Brilliant Women Artist Who Did)', *Evening News*, 2<sup>nd</sup> February 1924, CHA (see Appendix No. 8).

argument that women could not achieve careers without ‘a room of one’s own’.<sup>30</sup> I suggest, however, it was most importantly the remedial effects this spatial seclusion had on Clarke Hall’s ‘depression’ that ultimately enabled her 1920s professionalism. Although not eradicating her and William’s ‘fundamental incompatibility’, the studio gave the artist temporal, occupational and emotional independence from her domestic unhappiness, which simultaneously propelled her recovery and career by focusing her attention away from her marriage and allowing her to work seriously, enabling her to write ‘I am painting, I am etching. Something within me is claiming its own at last’.<sup>31</sup> The positive critical acclaim she increasingly attracted once able to produce proper work for exhibitions in turn depleted Clarke Hall’s emotional dependence upon William’s loving approval and provided the confidence and validation she required to pursue her career henceforth. Having introduced the context of Clarke Hall’s 1920s position, this chapter now aims to demonstrate my two hypotheses regarding the Poem Pictures’ collective significance by considering a selection of these works and their author’s changed circumstances in relation to Craiglockhart’s two psychotherapies.

### **Temporal-emotional self-ordering**

Principally focusing on the text in these works, this section argues that Clarke Hall’s increasing 1920s recovery is evidenced in numerous Poem Pictures that signify the self-ordering objectives of Rivers’s autognosis and Brock’s ergotherapy. Both physicians believed neuroses were triggered by past traumatic events that caused emotive confusion in time, and their different self-help therapies aimed to enable

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<sup>30</sup>Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One’s Own* [1928], Hammonsworth, 1974, 27.

<sup>31</sup> Undated letter of c.1922 from Edna Clarke Hall to Michel Salaman, CHA.

patients to divide their present existence from past traumas. Whereas Rivers used repeated conversations to clarify their past, present and future emotional states, Brock proposed that patients' self-controlled comprehension of their temporal and spatial position and activity could also remedy pathological emotional confusion. Whilst believing the cognitive processes of self-expressive creative exercises, like writing poetry, aided temporal-emotional self-ordering, his ergotherapy (also called 'functioning-cure') prompted this on a broader spatial level by entrusting patients to coordinate their occupations in time and space as they pursued strictly timetabled activities, which all productively contributed to running Craiglockhart.<sup>32</sup> Brock's philosophies originated from the Scottish sociologist Patrick Geddes (1854-1932), a significant figure in the demand for civic consciousness and social reform in 1880s Edinburgh, and, like Brock and Head, greatly interested in creativity.<sup>33</sup> Geddes proposed that modern city life had disrupted man's psychological understanding of his temporal and spatial niche in his natural and social surroundings, and Brock believed that war neurosis was an extreme version of this 'inco-ordination'.<sup>34</sup>

I suggest Head's advice of acquiring a studio signifies his belief that the various self-ordering opportunities it provided could aid Clarke Hall's recovery. Firstly, recalling how Rivers organised a private room for Sassoon at Craiglockhart where he could write poetry uninterrupted, the studio would give Clarke Hall the opportunity to pursue her creative work which I have proposed Head saw as a potentially therapeutic

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<sup>32</sup> Martin, 'Therapeutic Measures', 41.

<sup>33</sup> Murdo Macdonald, 'Celticism and Internationalism in the Circle of Patrick Geddes', *Visual Culture in Britain*, 6:2, 2005, 69-83, 241; Lindsay Errington, 'Celtic Elements in Scottish Art at the Turn of the Century', Christian (ed.), *Last Romantics*, 47-53; Alan Powers, 'Public Places and Private Faces: Narrative and Romanticism in English Mural Painting 1900-1935', Christian (ed.), *Last Romantics*, 63.

<sup>34</sup> Crossman, 'Brock and the treatment of shell-shock', 121-2.

avenue of self-ordering catharsis.<sup>35</sup> Secondly, it would allow her to organize her own temporal and spatial routine.<sup>36</sup> According to the Craiglockhart physicians, these two occurrences could cure neuroses by initiating the subject's re-ordered rational perception of their temporal-emotional positions, and I believe this objective is particularly traceable in this chapter's poems. All the Chapter One poems concluded with the poet being emotionally trapped in the traumatic consequences of past negative events, this temporal-emotional confusion preventing any positive perception of present or future existence. By contrast, Chapter Two's poems autagnostically replay an ordered temporal-emotional passage from a past state of oppressive distress to a present position of free happiness and future hope. Brock and Rivers might have considered this repeated coherent division of past, present and future states to represent Clarke Hall's own temporal-emotional dissociation from the previous negative experiences causing her 'depression', thus evidencing her recovery and rational perception of these events and their repercussions. This indeed seems suggested by her statement that 'In a flash I understood [Wil]Liam, his whole personality, and I accepted it. I looked upon the years of passionate unhappiness with a *detachment*, seeking not to have or to hold'.<sup>37</sup>

Numerous poems that I believe show Clarke Hall's autognostic self-narration also explore temporality, as with 'Grey is the meadow' and 'Time', the latter exemplifying her frequent emphasis of prolonged time using the words 'a thousand'.<sup>38</sup> This also recurs in exhibit-poems 'Thousand years' and 'Night passed' appearing in figures 43-

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<sup>35</sup> Showalter, *Female Malady*, 181.

<sup>36</sup> To be discussed in the next section of this chapter.

<sup>37</sup> (my italics) letter of the early 1920s from Edna Clarke Hall to Michele Salaman, CHA.

<sup>38</sup> Edna Clarke Hall, 'Grey is the meadow' and 'Time', *Facets*, London, 1930, 15-6 and 8.

47 and 55 respectively.<sup>39</sup> These two poems in fact are closely related, but whilst in ‘Thousand years’ the poet is trapped in unreturned love’s endless pain, in ‘Night passed’ she dissociates from her past misery and rises ‘from out an age of woe’ into an unending future of ‘love’. Both poems use time’s paradoxical qualities to explore how joy is ‘brief’ and grief seems eternal, but whilst the first offers no hope of movement outside this endless unhappiness, the second celebrates a new positive present and comprehends uninhibited progression into a hopeful future. Whilst both also start and end by instilling time’s infinity, ‘Thousand years’ opens and concludes with permanent pain, but ‘Night passed’ opens by confidently claiming such suffering is over, concluding with a future of ‘loveliness’ that ‘can never know the touch of death’. Considering Craiglockhart’s theories, I suggest these comparisons highlight Clarke Hall’s different autognostic focus in these works - the first articulating her temporal-emotional entrapment in painful experiences, the second exploring an ordered and positive perception of past, present and future subjectivities. I suggest ‘Night passed’ therefore signifies the artist’s creative negotiation of her early 1920s recovery within her new self-ordered (and self-ordering) lifestyle. The poem’s ‘night’ perhaps metaphorically represents Clarke Hall’s past negative experiences and ‘depression’, whilst the newly discovered ‘love’ points to her improving position and relations at this time.

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<sup>39</sup> Edna Clarke Hall, ‘A thousand years of grief are mine’, *Poems*, London, 1926, 96; Edna Clarke Hall, ‘The night is passed’, *Facets*, London, 1930, 34. I believe Clarke Hall’s use of the phrase ‘a thousand years of grief’ in these two (and other) poems may be sourced to the British Christmas hymn ‘A thousand years have come and gone’, hymn no. CVII from *The Rivulet; a Contribution to Sacred Song*, which has this exact phrase in the penultimate line of the last verse (see Appendix No. 9). Written in 1868 by Thomas T. Lynch (1818-1871) and put to music in 1871 by Arthur Sullivan (1842-1900), this hymn was highly popular in the late nineteenth century and Clarke Hall may well have been aware of it. Although the core themes of the hymn and Clarke Hall’s two poems are very different, all three open with the phrase ‘a thousand years’ to establish the duration of a long period of time; both the hymn and ‘A thousand years of grief are mine’ conclude with this phrase; and whilst the latter poem offers no joy in its final lines, both the hymn and ‘The night is passed’ conclude on a positive note of assertive, rising hope that looks towards a positive future with the strength of love.

A similar temporally-ordered poetic narrative appears in the work directly associated with the 1926 exhibit *O Sunlight!* (fig. 56), which celebrates how a new found ‘joy’ gives strength to reject ‘the spell of the chain’, which, like the ‘face of stone’ in ‘Masks’, I suggest represents emotional imprisonment.<sup>40</sup> The ‘abcdbdb’ structured *Sunlight* poem linguistically evokes this chain, with the repeated ‘b’ sound linking the rhyme highlighting key words in the narrative: ‘brain’ (poet’s inner self), ‘gain’ (present ‘joy’) and ‘chain’ (rejected past). I have also linked the archive’s *Too long I let the dusty chain of circumstance entwine* (fig. 57) to the *O Sunlight!* exhibit-title, due to its poem’s ordered comprehension of temporal-emotional positions and identical description of new emotional strength breaking oppressive chains.<sup>41</sup> The *Sunlight* and *Too long* poems emphasize this break by contrasting the levels of inhibition between past and present positions. Both works use a heavy static chain to visually and textually represent the imprisoned past, in opposition to the description of liberated sunlight and freely running feet respectively in each that signify the poet’s fortified present and unimpeded future. Thus whereas the ‘Masks’ poet remains metaphorically trapped in the stone face signifying imprisonment in the memories and repercussions of painful past occurrences, in *Sunlight* and *Too long* the past’s cumbersome chain is destroyed. As with the poet’s assertive ‘break’ in *Sunlight*, previous misery is confidently rejected in *Too long* by leaving ‘for aye those days and nights, / that into quiet belong’.

This section has argued that the recurring poetic narrative showing an ordered division of, and transition through, emotive states in time in the works discussed

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<sup>40</sup> Edna Clarke Hall, ‘Here stand I holding masks’, *Poems*, London, 1926, 16. From this point onwards, the Poem Picture (fig. 56) associated to the *O Sunlight!* Redfern 1926 exhibit will be referred to as *Sunlight*.

<sup>41</sup> This Poem Picture (fig. 57) will now be referred to as *Too Long*.

signifies Clarke Hall's autognostic exploration of her recovery within her improved 1920s position. These poems suggest that negative situations can alter in time as grief is emotionally secured in the past, thus representing how the artist's changed position enabled her psychological break from the circumstances and emotional state of her 'depression'. This concentration on poetry further supports my overarching hypotheses. Firstly, by highlighting these works' close correlation with, and signification to, Rivers's and Brock's self-narrating 'writing cure' used during the war. Secondly, by aligning these poetic narratives to positive changes in Clarke Hall's 1920s circumstances and thereby demonstrating how poetry was central to the Poem Pictures' autognostic making. Whilst writing poetry formed part of Brock's treatment, however, his methods most importantly involved giving his patients spatial, occupational and temporal liberty in their daily lives. The next section considers how this self-governed independence was likewise central to Clarke Hall's lifestyle once having the studio, and proposes how the Poem Pictures signify this.

### ***The studio: a new temporal and spatial freedom***

Brock's theory that temporal, spatial and occupational self-coordination imposed order on mental trauma seems to underpin Head's advice that Clarke Hall acquire a studio. I suggest Head aimed to rectify a key contributor to the artist's 'depression' by allowing her to work when she chose in a space separate from her problematic marital environment. Giving Clarke Hall new agency, this initiated a self-ordered routine that I refer to as her 1920s 'studio lifestyle' which aided her recovery by allowing her to work weekly in London from Tuesday to Thursday, thereby balancing her domestic

and artistic roles.<sup>42</sup> This section argues that the artist's experiences of this new lifestyle are represented by the various visual and textual ways the Poem Pictures convey a sense of uninhibited movement in time and space, as aptly exemplified by *Night passed* (fig. 55). Representative of the bathing theme's popularity in British art, this draped female nude standing in water points to traditional bather iconography originating with the Venus Pudica and Cnidian.<sup>43</sup> I suggest Clarke Hall used this iconography to mobilize ideas of bodily inhibition and free movement in nature central to the bathing theme, to signify the self-governed temporal and spatial liberties of her own 1920s studio lifestyle in this work.<sup>44</sup> Additionally, the restless appearance, open-legged stance, twisting torso and bent knees of the bather strongly evoke mobility, whilst the agile water suggests the figure is walking forward and moving from side-to-side. Its undulating rocking motion is further accentuated by the swaying arched lines of the adjacent text. Dense layers of ink create powerful chiaroscuro between the bather's pale body and dark surroundings, creating an oppressive nocturnal background signifying the poem's 'night', from which the figure emerges. Ink has been scraped away in lines from the lithographic stone to create the moving water and flickering white background that further impel the figure's movement; this latter feature being suggested in the preliminary study, where sweeping blue lines heighten the figure's motility (fig. 58).<sup>45</sup> In figure 55, these hatchings additionally interweave behind the words, making a visual connection between text and image to emphasize their interdependent communication of movement.

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<sup>42</sup> Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 158.

<sup>43</sup> For discussion of the bathing theme in British and Western art, see: Alison Smith (ed.), *Exposed: The Victorian Nude*, London, 2001, 13-14; Francis Haskell & Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500-1900*, London and New Haven, 1981, 316-33; Kenneth Clarke, *The Nude: A Study of Ideal Art*, 1985, London, 74, 78-81.

<sup>44</sup> Linda Nochlin, *Bathers, Bodies, Beauty: The Visceral Eye*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England, 2006, 9, 62-3; Beatrice Farwell 'Manet's Bathers', *Arts Magazine*, 54:9, May 1980, 124-133; Garb, *Bodies of Modernity*, 166.

<sup>45</sup> The bare oval area in the lower right of figure 58 suggests how Clarke Hall planned for the poem to be situated to the left of the bather in the final print (fig. 55).

Indeed, the bather's rhythmical dynamism is invoked by the poem's regular pulsing syllabic pattern (10, 4, 10, 4), cyclical alternation between iambic pentameter and iambic dimeter, and methodical 'abcbcdcd' rhyme scheme. Movement is also central to the poet's passage from past sorrow to present and future happiness, with the verbs 'to fall' and 'to rise' summoning vertical motion in combination with the narrative's horizontal temporal progression. Similar themes of horizontal and vertical mobility are also used in *Sunlight* (fig. 56), but whereas the word 'sunlight' evokes light and the sun's free celestial movement to represent the poet's bright present and joyful future, visual signification to impeding imprisonment in the image of the dark heavily descending chain, seems antithetical to the poem's initial uplifting declarations of liberty. This textual and visual incongruity, however, is gradually elucidated as the chain leads the viewer/reader down to the text then disappears behind the words, leaving them to make associations between poem and image. Whilst I maintain that the poems guide comprehension of the Poem Pictures' pictorial components, such features exemplify how, like Blake, Clarke Hall established a lively engagement between image and text in these works, often blurring conventional divisions between these communicative modes by mobilizing their properties simultaneously to express meaning.<sup>46</sup>

Combined textual and visual evocation of movement is also pertinent to *Too long* (fig. 57), where the description of unimpeded moving feet signifies the attainment of a new emotional liberty, 'My heart sweet freedoms song'. This liberated mobility is visually expressed by the dynamic design composed around the centripetal force of circulating

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<sup>46</sup> Kathleen Lundeen, 'Words on wings: Blake's textual spiritualism', *Word and Image*, 10:4, October-December 1994, 344; Vaughan, *William Blake*, 28.

sweeping blue-mauve arabesques, over which the poem is written in swirling lines interlocking in two curves that mirror the twisting figure below, both recalling the links of the chain being broken. This writhing nude seems directly indebted to plate b8(VI) of Blake's *There is no Natural Religion* (fig. 59), where a male figure likewise clasps its head and has feet bound by chains; comparable concepts to those in *Sunlight*. But whereas Blake condemns man for desiring 'what he is incapable of possessing', *Sunlight* and *Too long* celebrate the inner enlightenment that breaks these metaphorical shackles to gain spatial and emotional liberty. Moreover, the liberated poet's unbound feet seeking movement in nature's open 'heights' in *Too long*, and the sunshine metaphor signifying the unchained freedom of new happiness in *Sunlight*, evidence how Clarke Hall often connected themes of bodily freedom and spiritual regeneration within her Romanticist understandings of nature in the Poem Pictures to explore her subjective position. Recalling how these ideas were also utilized in the *Beauty* works to lament lost pre-marital happiness and inspired freedom (figs. 12-15), Clarke Hall's use of nature as an autognostic framework in both her grieving and hopeful Poem Pictures highlights these objects' collective making during her early 1920s recovery.

Clarke Hall's Romanticist perception of the natural world also underpins *Night passed* (fig. 55), where the bather mobilizes conventional links between bathing and freedom in nature; these ideas in fact being particularly topical in the 1920s.<sup>47</sup> Clarke Hall's association between nature, unrestricted movement and emotional fulfilment is most potently suggested, however, by the 1926 exhibit *Camilla*, one of three catalogue entries concerned with mythological females. Whether showing just an image and title

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<sup>47</sup> Nicholson, *Among the Bohemians*, 141-2.

(figs. 60-61), or including full poems (figs. 62-66), Clarke Hall's repeated engagements with Camilla, which include paintings, Poem Pictures and a published poem, accentuate the spatial liberation in nature central to Virgil's *Aeneid* figure:

'...her speed left even the winds behind;  
for she would skim an untouched harvest ere the sickle fell,  
nor graze the quivering wheat-tops as she ran;  
or o'er the mid-sea billows' swollen surge  
so swiftly race, she wet not in the wave her flying feet.'<sup>48</sup>

I suggest Clarke Hall's concentration on these features evidences her empathetic identification with Camilla's spatial liberation, aligning it with her own new studio lifestyle. In figures 62-63 Camilla's free movement in nature is represented by the weightless nude drifting uninhibited over choppy seas, whilst figures 64-65 evoke this liberty by visually referencing Virgil's 'wheat-tops' using a motif traceable to Blake (fig. 67), and via the loose brush-strokes, sprawling writing, fleeting poetic meter and repeated description of running feet. Figure 66 represents directly the vast receding fields and open sky of Camilla's freedom, whilst the poem hints at Clarke Hall's personal identification with this character by blending the latter's memories with the poet's own musings, which 'step' over the field like the uninhibited mythological runner.

Whilst not listed as a Poem Picture in the 1926 catalogue, the *Proserpine* exhibit likewise evidences Clarke Hall's 1920s interest in particular mythical figures, with

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<sup>48</sup> Edna Clarke Hall, 'Camilla wears her cloak of blue', *Facets*, London, 1930, 17; From this point on, Clarke Hall's various visual and poetic engagements the 'Camilla' myth will be referred to collectively as "the *Camilla* works". Camilla was a virgin Volsci warrior and servant to the goddess Diana, and appears in books 1-7 of Virgil's *Aeneid* (29–19 BC) which cover the Trojan wars in Italy, which is the only classical source for this mythological figure. Virgil, *The Aeneid*, C. Day Lewis (trans.), Oxford, 1986; Jane Davidson Reid, *Oxford Guide to Classical Mythology in the Arts, 1300-1990s*, 1, New York and Oxford, 1993, 61. See Appendix No. 10.

this exhibit-title's related works suggesting her self-narrating engagement with features of Proserpine's myth that mirror her own position at this time (figs. 68-70).<sup>49</sup> As changer of seasons, Proserpine's life is structured around temporal and spatial movement in correlation with nature, her descent to Hades bringing earth's dark winter, but her return prompting bright springtime replenishment.<sup>50</sup> Figures 68-70 show Proserpine jumping up energetically, open arms raised in her ascending release from imprisonment. These representations recall plate b9(VII) in Blake's *There is no Natural Religion* (fig. 71), which shows the same figure as in figure 59 now breaking free from its chains to embrace 'Infinite' spiritual freedom. I suggest Clarke Hall reinterpreted Blake's image to represent her subjective alignment with Proserpine's joyful spatial liberty, thereby signifying her new 1920s studio lifestyle. The theme of Proserpine's rising temporal movement from dark imprisonment to sunlit freedom in nature recurs in *Night passed* and *Sunlight*, which likewise associate ascension, freedom, sunlight and rebirth, whilst using nature to metaphorically signify emotional states. The poem's rising sun in *Sunlight* represents a new strengthening 'joy' that brings bodily liberty, whilst in *Night passed*, the 'laughter of my youth' which 'Fell like a flower', re-blossoms as the poet 'rises' from the dark night – this description linking back to Proserpine's ascending initiation of Spring's light and rebirth.

Natural fecundity is also central to the third mythological exhibit, *Venus*, with this figure's most popular art-historical representation, Venus Anadyomene, showing its birth from the sea.<sup>51</sup> Whilst no archive works link directly to this exhibit-title, Venus

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<sup>49</sup> Figures 68-70 will now be referred to as "the *Proserpine* works".

<sup>50</sup> James Hall, *Hall's Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, London, 2001, 259-260; Davidson Reid, *Oxford Guide*, 858.

<sup>51</sup> Caroline Arscott & Katie Scott (eds), *Manifestations of Venus: Art and Sexuality*, Manchester, 2000, 1-23 (Venus Anadyomene, 10); Jennifer L. Shaw, 'The Figure of Venus: Rhetoric of the Ideal and the

features in Clarke Hall's 1926 ekphratic poem and I propose her interest in this character during her recovery was instigated by these positive ideas of renewal and regeneration, as with the features of the Proserpine and Camilla myths to which she also seems particularly drawn at this time.<sup>52</sup> In addition to such empathetic attraction towards such myths, Clarke Hall's exploration of Proserpine and Venus was perhaps also spurred by the contemporary popularity of Botticelli's *Primavera* and *Birth of Venus* (figs. 72-73), which she admired in 1896; there being more books published on this Renaissance painter in 1920s Britain than on any other artist.<sup>53</sup> Indeed, the tilted heads and standing contrapposto poses of the long-haired blonde nudes serenely facing the viewer and emerging from water in archive studies contemporaneous with the Poem Pictures, suggest the 1920s influence of Botticelli's *Venus* on Clarke Hall (figs. 74-77). Her 1890s and 1920s interest in Botticelli's mythological paintings was possibly additionally strengthened by her familiarity with the Pre-Raphaelites and writers like Walter Pater, all responsible for the late nineteenth-century 'rediscovery' of Botticelli.<sup>54</sup>

Further demonstrating my thesis's two hypotheses, this section has suggested that Clarke Hall's evocation of uninhibited movement and emotional freedom, often in association with nature, in the Poem Pictures discussed indicates her autognostic

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Salon', Arscott & Scott (eds), *Manifestations of Venus*, 92-3; Davidson Reid, *Oxford Guide*, 144; Clarke, *The Nude*, 64-161.

<sup>52</sup>Edna Clarke Hall, 'Cupid, Venus, Folly and Time – Angelo Bronzino', *Poems*, London, 1926, 42-43; see also Marion Thain, 'Sight and Song: Botticelli and Ekphratic Paradox', *Michael Field: Poetry, Aestheticism and the fin-de-siècle*, Cambridge, 2007, 66-89.

<sup>53</sup>Clarke Hall visited Florence in 1896, with her fiancée's family. Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 30-2. Michael Levey, 'Botticelli and Nineteenth-Century England', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 23:3/4, July - December 1960, 291.

<sup>54</sup>Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 9, 20. Walter Pater (1839-1894) published the first essay in English on Botticelli in 1873, and his work was well known in the 1890s and early twentieth century, with a complete collection of his essays published repeatedly from 1901 until the late 1920s. First published as *Studies in the History of the Renaissance*, this book was later renamed *The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Poetry*.

exploration of the new autonomy central to her ergotherapeutic 1920s studio lifestyle. Having argued this aided the artist's recovery by giving her spatial, temporal, occupational and emotional independence from her marital life, the next section explores how these works represent a key aspect of this recovering process.

### **Recovery: rejecting impediments**

This section develops the concerns of the previous by highlighting how the self-referential evocation of free movement in these Poem Pictures is often associated with, and accentuated by, the figures' removal or disarrangement of clothes and drapery. I believe Clarke Hall frequently used covering attire to represent emotional or material restriction, as also signified by the 'night' in *Night passed*, the chains in *Too long* and *Sunlight*, and Proserpine's Hades imprisonment. Such is exemplified in the *This and this also* works (figs. 8-11), which represent the psychological distress of tormenting memories using hanging veils that impede and blind the figures depicted. In this chapter's Poem Pictures, however, I propose the casting-off of such garments represents the rejection of impediments by always being associated with bodily freedom, frequently in nature. This association between nudity, nature and elated liberty is also evidenced in works like *Let this joy*, *The garden* and *The insect* (figs. 78-81). Such concepts indeed correspond to certain contemporary concerns with which Clarke Hall was likely familiar - the liberated naked body being increasingly celebrated by avant-garde artistic groups in the twenties and thirties as nudist camps became popular and outdoor naked bathing was embraced as representing emancipation from repressive Victorian traditions.<sup>55</sup> Indeed, Clarke Hall's focus on the nude in the Poem Pictures correlates with that notable in other 1920s female

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<sup>55</sup> Nicholson, *Among the Bohemians*, 141-2.

artists' exhibited work.<sup>56</sup> Whilst women painters had previously represented nudes, this trend perhaps signifies not only their pursuit of conventionally male-dominated themes in art, but also middle-class women's new experiences of bodily liberation particularly at this time, when outdoor female nude bathing increased and fashions allowed an unprecedented level of corporeal movement, embodying 'honesty, release and the expectation of a new freedom'.<sup>57</sup>

Whilst it is significant to note this contemporary context, I suggest Clarke Hall specifically used drapery removal in several Poem Pictures to visually represent her rejection of the private circumstances and emotional state underpinning her 'depression' in reality. Aligning with Rivers's theory that psychological disentanglement from traumatic past events would cure neuroses, I argue this feature is Clarke Hall's creative representation of her increasing recovery, thereby signifying Head's autognostic objectives. The *Camilla* works (figs. 60-66) aptly exemplify this, with the removal or disarrangement of covering attire during active movement being central to Virgil's description that Camilla 'bared her virgin breast to meet the brunt of battle', and when travelling 'her royal scarf in many a purple fold [would] float off her shining shoulder'.<sup>58</sup> Clarke Hall's numerous interpretations of Virgil all highlight Camilla's naked movements and specifically associate removal of clothes with freedom from inhibiting 'boundaries' and the revelation of the true beautiful self: 'She has found liberty at last / Most beautiful is she!' (fig. 65). The *Proserpine* works

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<sup>56</sup> Garrish Nunn, *From Victorian to Modern*, 85.

<sup>57</sup> Garrish Nunn highlights Laura Knight's 1911 *Daughters of the Sun* (fig. 16) and *Self Portrait with Female Model* (1913, oil on canvas, National Portrait Gallery, London) to exemplify this suggestion; Garrish Nunn, *From Victorian to Modern*, 85. Quotation from Nicholson, *The Great Silence*, 173. For further discussion on early twentieth-century women's fashion, and suggestion of its signification to new ideologies regarding women's place in society, see: Nicholson, *Among the Bohemians*, 132-41; Gerda Buxbaum (ed.), *Icons of Fashion: The Twentieth Century*, Munich, London, New York, Berlin, 2005, 16-17, 22-23, 26-7; James Laver, *A Concise History of Costume*, London, 1969, 177-278; J Anderson Black, Madge Garland & Frances Kennett (eds), *A History of Fashion*, London, 1982, 111-121.

<sup>58</sup> See Appendix No. 10.

likewise associate happy freedom with drapery removal, figures 68-69 showing cloaks being thrown off as liberty is gained. In figure 70, Proserpine's naked upper torso leaps into open blue space that possibly represents earthly freedom, whilst the figure's draped lower body is surrounded by a dark swirling area perhaps signifying the underworld imprisonment from which it emerges.

Proserpine's half-covered dynamic appearance here recalls the *Night passed* figure (fig. 55), which swishes up its drapery as if about to remove it, thereby enhancing its motility and highlighting how its identification as a bather mobilizes ideas of bodily inhibitions, nudity and spatial freedom.<sup>59</sup> These works evidence Clarke Hall's interest in the partially draped female body, as also exemplified by numerous archival holdings (figs. 79-80, 82-84). In figure 55, however, the drapery could be considered in line with its conventional art-historical use in bather imagery to justify the representation of nude women, often in nature, by covering taboo genital areas.<sup>60</sup> Images of draped female bathers have thereby often limited femininity to ideas of natural fecundity and desirability, as perhaps exemplified by figures 85-86 in which representation of plump, soft unclothed girls is validated by depicting them as partly covered bathers placidly residing in ideal timeless natural settings.<sup>61</sup> I propose, however, that Clarke Hall re-presents this potentially essentializing iconography in *Night passed* by using the bather's agitated drapery to visually communicate her subjective experiences of rejecting past restrictions and gaining liberated new beginnings, as articulated in this work's self-narrating poem. In fact, I believe she

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<sup>59</sup> Nochlin, *Bathers, Bodies, Beauty*, 9; Nicholson, *Among the Bohemians*, 141-2.

<sup>60</sup> Smith, *Exposed*, 11-20, 58; Martin Myrone, 'Prudity, Pornography and the Victorian Nude (or What do we think the butler saw?)', Smith, *Exposed*, 23-35; Edward Lucie-Smith (ed.), *Eroticism in Western Art*, London, 1972, 178-81.

<sup>61</sup> Nochlin, *Bathers, Bodies, Beauty*, 1-53, 108-10; Garb, *Bodies of Modernity*, 145-177, 199-210; Farwell, 'Manet's Bathers', 124-133.

associated this particular figure design with the general idea of removing garments to gain fulfilled liberation, due to the closely related figure removing its clothes in *The well* (fig. 42). Here, I suggest this action visually represents the poet's offering of her precious body and devoted soul to attain the elation of perfect loving union. These works therefore reveal how Clarke Hall reused the same figure-type to explore the concept of gaining joyful liberty by removing clothes, but affiliated this motif with disparate poetic narratives to autagnostically negotiate different temporal-emotional positions during her recovery.

### ***A new self-assurance: 'masculine' assertion and 'feminine' desirability***

The previous section suggested Clarke Hall used drapery removal in numerous Poem Pictures to represent her dissociation from the emotional and material circumstances causing her 'depression', thereby signifying an important stage in her recovery. In addition to Head's autognostic conversations, I have argued this recovery was greatly aided by his advice to purchase a studio. This final section considers how Brock's ergotherapeutic philosophies underlay Head's belief in the remedial potential of this space due to the changes it would introduce to Clarke Hall's life and how these would, in turn, increase her personal and professional self-assurance, and will propose how this is represented in the Poem Pictures. Brock's ergotherapy was formulated by his belief that work 'is the fundamental law and purpose of life', and that patients' participation in self-ordered activities which contributed to a functioning community helped reconfigure a healthy psychological perception of their temporal, emotional and socio-spatial position in life.<sup>62</sup> In contrast to the 'rest cure' frequently prescribed

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<sup>62</sup>A. J. Brock, *The Hydra*, 7:2, 1918, quoted in Crossman, 'Brock and the treatment of shellshock', 120; Webb, "'Dottyville'", 346.

to female sufferers of neurasthenia and hysteria at the time, like Virginia Woolf, Craiglockhart patients were encouraged to partake in physically and mentally active pursuits which built social cohesion and group participation.<sup>63</sup> Brock thus established a self-sufficient community at Craiglockhart to which everyone's activities contributed, including creative pursuits, like illustrating or writing *The Hydra*, with artistically-inclined patients being encouraged to 'produce beautiful objects of immediate and practical utility'.<sup>64</sup> Sassoon, for instance, in addition to partaking in physical and social activities like golf, was encouraged to approach his poetry as serious work and actively publish his verses.<sup>65</sup> By evidencing their worth within a larger framework, Brock proposed this communal participation aided recovery by cultivating patients' self-confidence and re-educating them to function normally in society; his methods therefore working as an early form of occupational therapy.<sup>66</sup>

I propose Head likewise saw the studio as an ergotherapeutic means of aiding Clarke Hall's recovery by providing a self-ordered, and therefore self-ordering, lifestyle via which she could establish a productive niche within the 1920s art world. Just as Brock's ergotherapeutic activities had to contribute to Craiglockhart, Clarke Hall's work contributed to London's exhibition world, and thereby to women's increasing inter-war participation in the arts and, as producers and purchasers, in early twentieth-century cultural consumption.<sup>67</sup> The Poem Pictures specifically positioned her in 1926 as 'possibly the most imaginative artist we have [in England] today', whilst

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<sup>63</sup> Ussher Amherst, *Women's Madness*, 76; Showalter, *Female Malady*, 181.

<sup>64</sup> A. J. Brock, *The Hydra*, 7:2, 1918, quoted in Crossman, 'Brock and the treatment of shellshock', 120.

<sup>65</sup> Showalter, *Female Malady*, 181; Virginia Woolf, *Selected Diaries*, Anne Olivier Bell (ed.), London, 2008, 119-136, 138-9, 154-7.

<sup>66</sup> Crossman, 'Brock and the treatment of shellshock', 122.

<sup>67</sup> Deepwell, *Women artists between the wars*, chapter 4; Lucas, *Radical Twenties*, 68-110; Tickner, *Modern Life and Modern Subjects*, 197, 204; Chadwick, *Women, Art and Society*, 276-8. One of Clarke Hall's 1924 reviewers indeed noted the increasing prominence of female exhibitors in the 1920s: Edith Shackleton, 'Her First Big Exhibition, *Evening Standard*, 7<sup>th</sup> February 1924, CHA.

reviews of *Poems* noted how her original verses had ‘a strange compelling enchantment quite of their own’.<sup>68</sup> Additionally, I suggest, just as Brock believed that publishing in *The Hydra* was a self-assuring form of communication between the patient and wider hospital, Head believed the studio would, by enabling Clarke Hall to participate in exhibitions, invigorate her artistic self-confidence by validating her work and affirming her professional status.<sup>69</sup> This in turn would improve the personal circumstances causing the artist’s ‘depression’ by reducing the importance of William’s attentive support. I propose Clarke Hall represented these improvements in her public and private life, and self-perception, by female figures in the Poem Pictures which simultaneously signify conventionally gendered concepts of active ‘masculine’ assertion and passive ‘feminine’ desirability, and will now discuss these features in this order.<sup>70</sup>

Clarke Hall’s use of Poem Picture figures signifying ideas stereotypically associated with an active determined masculinity to represent her 1920s professional self-assurance is well exemplified by the *Camilla* works; this character being renowned for its courageous command ‘leading her mail-clad, radiant chivalry’ and bravely baring ‘her virgin breast to meet the brunt of battle’.<sup>71</sup> I propose this Volsci warrior

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<sup>68</sup> Frank Rutter, *The Times*, 9<sup>th</sup> February 1926, CHA; R.D.Q.H, ‘Poems’, *Oxford Chronicle*, March 1926, CHA.

<sup>69</sup> Martin, ‘Therapeutic Measures’, 42; Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 196-7.

<sup>70</sup> For discussion of the conventional binary division between the concepts ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’, see: Chris Beasley, *Gender and Sexuality: Critical Theories, Critical Thinkers*, London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi, 2005, 11-27, 177-185; Holly Devor, *Gender Blending: Confronting the Limits of Duality*, Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1989, 25-42, 43-64; R.W. Connell, *Gender*, Cambridge, Oxford, Malden, 2002, 1-11, 28-52; Harriet Bradley, *Gender*, Cambridge and Malden, 2007, 14-33; Arthur Brittan, *Masculinity and Power*, Oxford, 1989, 123-7; Nead, *Female Nude*, 23-9; Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, 41.

<sup>71</sup> See Appendix No. 10. As a warrior, Camilla shows quintessential ‘masculine’ attributes of strength, assertion, bravery, dominance, power, activity and confidence, as described in: George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity*, New York and Oxford, 1996, 3-39, 107-132; Brittan, *Masculinity and Power*, 11-14, 36-41; Paul Higate & John Hopton, ‘War, Militarism and Masculinities’, Michael S. Kimmel, Jeff Hearne & R.W. Connell (eds), *Handbook of Studies on Men*

offered a fitting conceptual framework by which the artist explored her growing confidence as a self-motivated woman embarking on a career, the independent Camilla being ‘fit for woman’s toil, no follower she’.<sup>72</sup> Whilst not showing Camilla fighting, figures 60-63 express her mythic power via the calmly assured movements of the lithe long-limbed bodies, with the direct gaze and jaunty pose in figure 61 suggesting confident self-possession. The *Proserpine* works also communicate this self-signifying assertive independence, but by stressing more overtly the idea of corporeal strength via youthful bodies bursting out of imprisonment (figs. 68-70). Likewise, the twisting figure assertively breaking its chains in *Too long* (fig. 57) visually represents the poet’s firm claim of ‘Freedoms that are mine’, mirroring the same determined action described in *Sunlight* (fig. 56). Perhaps exemplifying my argument most directly, however, is the decisive emphasis of physical strength in the *Night passed* figure, which I suggest communicates an impression of unshakable fortitude deemed stereotypically ‘masculine’ (fig. 55). This is achieved by how this substantial body’s twisting pose accentuates certain ‘un-feminine’ features, such as the slightly tensed abdominal muscles, the large left shoulder and the long muscular arm. Additionally, the jutting elbow produces a strong thrusting action as the body turns, and this sturdy stance ensures an authoritative presence and independent confidence. Such conventionally ‘masculine’ features are notably absent in more conventional and reductive representations of female bathers in which passive bodies evoke a calm, gentle placidity (figs. 16 and 85-88).

Pursuing this suggestion that Clarke Hall mobilized certain ‘masculine’ traits to reference the increasing self-assurance bourgeoned by her new professional and social

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and *Masculinities*, Thousand Oaks (California), London and New Delhi, 2005, 432-447; Connell, *Gender*, 28-52, 58-9; and Garb, *Bodies of Modernity*, 24-53, 54-79.

<sup>72</sup> Appendix No. 10.

independence in the 1920s, these Poem Pictures recall the numerous posters encouraging women to work during World War One, with which the artist would have been familiar (figs. 89-93). By representing active women pursuing previously male-dominated roles in the public realm, the female figures in these posters signified attributes conventionally associated with masculinity, such as working capability and socio-spatial autonomy. Association of femininity with such concepts presented a fortifying self-image to contemporary female audiences to cultivate belief in their ability and vital contribution through work to the communal war-effort.<sup>73</sup> Indeed, many believed that women were psychologically fortified by being given ‘meaningful work’ that contributed to wider society during this national crisis.<sup>74</sup> This in fact aligns with the ergotherapeutic tactics Head mobilized in the form of the studio to rekindle Clarke Hall’s belief in her personal and professional worth by facilitating her working contribution to the wider contemporary artistic community. Whilst principally enabled by the studio, Clarke Hall’s increasing professional 1920s activity took place within, and I suggest was facilitated by, the broader context of women’s changing place in early twentieth-century society.<sup>75</sup> Characterised by ‘innovation, freedom and scepticism’, 1920s Britain contrasted dramatically to the Victorian society of the artist’s youth, broadly governed by gendered spatial divisions restricting women to domesticity.<sup>76</sup> Whilst from the 1880s feminists had fought ideologies of

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<sup>73</sup> Pearl James (ed.), *Picture This: World War One Posters and Visual Culture*, Lincoln and London, 2009, 1-36; Z. A. B. Zeman, ‘Mass Communications, 1914-1918: Propaganda and Subversion’, *History of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century: The Beginning of the End*, 2, Chapter 29, 1968, 802-808; Arthur Marwick, *The Deluge: British Society and the First World War*, London, 1978, 210-216.

<sup>74</sup> Showalter, *Female Malady*, 195.

<sup>75</sup> For discussion of the changing place of women in the early twentieth century, see: Deepwell, *Women artists between the wars*, 3-4; Garrish Nunn, *From Victorian to Modern*, 10-11; Chadwick, *Women, Art and Society*, 235, 277-8, 305-6; and Montgomery, *Women’s Rights*, 231, 246-49. Despite its frequent use in analysis of cultural objects, I acknowledge the limitations of the concept of ‘context’ and the problems of assuming to retrospectively understand any historical period. Bal & Bryson, in Preziosi (ed.), *The Art of Art History* (1998), 242-256.

<sup>76</sup> Quotation from Marwick, *Explosion of British Society*, 47. For discussion of this conventional gendered spatial division, see: Harriet Bradley, *Men’s Work, Women’s Work: A Sociological History of*

male assertion and female passivity underlying such patriarchal systems, the social upheavals of World War One prompted disruption of restrictive traditional concepts of masculinity and femininity, whilst the psychologically and physically destructive affects of modern warfare ruptured a previously dominant ideal of masculine superiority.<sup>77</sup> The popularity of Freud's theories on psychological social conditioning and the alteration in economic, political, technological and sexual frameworks in the inter-war decades, additionally heightened antagonism towards the gendered and class inequalities of pre-1914 society, particularly regarding the socio-spatial and professional restrictions imposed on women.<sup>78</sup> This impelled a marked increase in middle-class women's agency particularly, as they increasingly pursued activities and occupations previously restricted to men. The media's 1920s construct, the 'Modern Woman', personified these changes, and this simulated figure's activity, interests and

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*the Sexual Division of Labour in Employment*, Cambridge and Oxford, 1992, 7-50, 223-240; Audrey Middleton, 'Public and Private: Marking the Boundaries', Eva Gamarnikow, David Morgan, Jane Purvis & Daphne Taylorson (eds), *The Public and the Private*, London, 1983, 12-27; and Kathryn Backett-Milburn and Linda McKie, *Constructing Gendered Bodies*, Basingstoke and New York, 2001, 85-103; For discussion of comparable traditional socio-gendered divisions in relation to female impressionists in late nineteenth-century Paris, see Griselda Pollock, 'Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity', *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and the Histories of Art*, London and New York, 2003, 70-127. Although my summary description of late nineteenth-century hierarchical socio-sexual structures here is undoubtedly simplified, and its essentialized significance has been critiqued (eg: Kimmel et al. (eds), *Handbook*, 20-24), 1920s Britain was still characterized by an increased antagonism and disruption to the traditional gendered divisions underpinning Victorian pre-1914 society. For further discussion of this, see: Montgomery, *Women's Rights*, 33-80; Jalland, *Women, Marriage and Politics*, 7; Garrish Nunn, *From Victorian to Modern*, 39; Deborah Valenze, 'Gender and the Formation of European Power, 1750-1914', Teresa A. Meade & Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks (eds), *Companion to Gender History*, Malden, Oxford and Melbourne, 2004, 459-491.

<sup>77</sup> For discussion of the threat to this tradition of 'unbreakable masculinity' during and after World War One, see: Chadwick, *Women, Art and Society*, 235, 305-6; Nicholson, *The Great Silence*, 171-3; Gabriel Koureas, *Memory, Masculinity and National Identity in British Visual Culture: A Study of 'Unconquerable Manhood'*, Aldershot and Burlington, 2007, 'Introduction'; Mosse, *Image of Man*, 13, 134; Patricia Allatt, 'Men and War: Status, Class and the Social Reproduction of Masculinity', Gamarnikow et al. (eds), *Public and the Private*, 47-71; Showalter, *Female Malady*, 171-2.

<sup>78</sup> Connell, *Gender*, 76-96, 120-125; Jacques Chastenot, 'Europe in the 1920s', *History of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century - Post-War Europe: Illusion and Indulgence*, 3, Chapter 42, 1968, 1150-7; Deborah Valenze, 'Reorientating the Dual Revolutions: The Rise of Socialism and Feminism', Meade & Wiesner-Hanks (eds), *Companion to Gender History*, 472-4; Tickner, *Modern Life and Modern Subjects*, 197-9; Lucas, *Radical Twenties*, 68-110; Deepwell, *Women artists between the wars*, 3, 147.

appearance were indeed frequently correlated with that conventionally associated with males.<sup>79</sup>

This ideological context is comparable to that in contemporary France, Germany and America, where many avant-garde artists directly engaged with such issues, particularly via the theme of gendered identity. Growing awareness of the possibility of ‘countertypes’ to conventional sexual ideals is traceable from the late nineteenth century, and sexologist theories of a cross-gendered figure showing ‘masculine’ elements informed cultural representations from c.1900.<sup>80</sup> This context gave rise to the intellectually and physically powerful femininity of Romaine Brookes’s *Self-Portrait*, and the self-assured women in ‘masculine’ garb, poses and activities in Suzanne Valadon’s *The Blue Room* and Gabrielle Münter’s *Anna Roslund*, whilst Claude Cahun’s 1920s photographic self-portraits catechized socially constructed sexualities (figs. 94-98).<sup>81</sup> Whilst noting this contemporary concern with ‘masculinised’ representations of women and acknowledging the international cultural context in which Clarke Hall functioned, I am not trying to insert her into the subcultures to which figures like Brookes and Cahun undoubtedly belonged. Indeed, any comparison serves to highlight Clarke Hall’s recurring focus on exploring her personal feelings, and her frequent pursuit of conventional imagery and traditional

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<sup>79</sup> Chadwick, *Women, Art and Society*, 278, 302-3.

<sup>80</sup> Chadwick, *Women, Art and Society*, 249-51, 299-301; Mosse, *Image of Man*, 77-105; Thomas J. Gerschick, ‘Masculinity and Degrees of Bodily Normality in Western Culture’, Kimmel et al. (eds), *Handbook*, 368-75; Richard Ekins & Dave King, ‘Transgendering, Men and Masculinities’, Kimmel et al. (eds), *Handbook*, 379-94.

<sup>81</sup> Women taking up activities previously limited strictly to men by tradition (eg: smoking, wearing trousers, drinking beer in public houses) was noted repeatedly in the British press during the 1910s and 1920s, and was seen to signify a new level of female emancipation. Nicholson, *Among the Bohemians*, 154-5; Penny Tinkler, *Smoke Signals: Women Smoking and Visual Culture in Britain*, Oxford and New York, 2006, 41-76, 77-104. For discussion of Cahun’s radical work: Jennifer Mundy (ed.), *Surrealism: Desire Unbound*, exhibition catalogue, Tate Modern, London, and Metropolitan Museum, New York, 2001, 186-8, 194-6; Penelope Rosemont, *Surrealist Women: The International Anthology*, London, 1998, 52-9.

themes, as the Poem Pictures best exemplify. The principally private, emotive motivation for her art contrasts with many of the previous female artists whose work and lifestyles publically expressed their political and social antagonism by defiantly rejecting conventional gender positions. Thus, whilst I propose these Poem Pictures suggest a definite, if subtle, interest in and emphasis on certain ‘masculine’ attributes comparable to that referenced in figures 94-98, like determination, strength and independence, I believe these features are Clarke Hall’s more ambiguous articulation of her private experiences of an altered lifestyle within the wider historical and ideological matrix of the post-war decade.

In addition to such ‘masculine’ traits, however, these Poem Picture figures also have features recalling certain ideologically-loaded representations of women that perpetuate the saccharine docility often associated with reductive conceptions of pliable femininity and traditional ideals of female beauty. The neat bow lips, small nose and candied face in *Night passed*, for example, recall that of women in nineteenth-century paintings like George Elgar Hick’s *Woman’s Mission* and Ford Madox Brown’s *Waiting* (figs. 99-100), which support the Victorian ideology potent in Clarke Hall’s youth linking ideal womanhood to angelic meekness.<sup>82</sup> The same infantilizing motifs occur in much 1920s advertisement imagery, pursuing this association between feminine desirability and demure quiescence by representing docile inviting women with ‘doll-like’ features and endearingly turned heads (fig.

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<sup>82</sup> For discussion of this ideology, see: Usher Amherst, *Women’s Madness*, 68-9; Chadwick, *Women, Art and Society*, 180-3; Montgomery, *Women’s Rights*, 33-5; Nead, *Female Nude*, 29; Mary D. Sheriff, ‘How Images Got their Gender: Masculinity and Femininity in the Visual Arts’, Meade and Wiesner-Hanks (eds), *Companion to Gender History*, 146-169; Calder, *Women and Marriage*, 16-26. For a reassessment of the nuanced complexities of gendered female stereotypes, see Kimberly Reynolds and Nicola Humble, *Victorian Heroines*, Hertfordshire, 1993.

101), as likewise appears in *Night passed* and *To Long* (figs. 55 and 57).<sup>83</sup> But whilst these commercial photographs utilize such ideologically-loaded images as a marketing ploy, and contemporaries like Cahun and Brookes rejected such representations as oppressive, I suggest Clarke Hall mobilized this association of femininity with submissive sweetness in these Poem Pictures to visually explore her personal sense of growing self-assurance during her recovery, as articulated in these works' poems, by infusing the latter's associated figures with the subtle potency linked to feminine desirability.<sup>84</sup> This potency is indeed central in figures 99-101 which, whilst undeniably advocating restrictive patriarchal ideals of womanhood, uphold angelic female figures as personifications of desirable perfection to be revered.

The eye-contact evident in figure 101, gives many of the models the complicit doe-eyed coyness evident in representations of women in both 'high art' and popular culture assuming male spectatorship.<sup>85</sup> Clarke Hall's figures, by contrast, as also in figures 99-100, tend to avoid viewer engagement (fig. 57) or appear in a trance-like remove from reality (fig. 55). In fact, the detached or downward gazes exemplified by figures 55 and 57 heighten suggestion of an idealised femininity by recalling comparable features in numerous Renaissance representations of holy women with which Clarke Hall was familiar (figs. 102-105); the graceful swan neck in *Night passed* especially recalling Parmigianino's *Madonna* (fig. 105).<sup>86</sup> Whilst the tilted

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<sup>83</sup> B. Altman Company, *1920s Fashion from B. Altman and Company*, Mineola, 1999.

<sup>84</sup> Gillian Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, London, 1999, 69-99.

<sup>85</sup> Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, 39-58; Nead, *Female Nude*, 31.

<sup>86</sup> Clarke Hall would have seen these (and/or very similar) works when she went to the Uffizi in 1896, as noted in her letters and diaries during her Florence visit; Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 30-2. She was also most likely familiar with Raphael's *St Catherine* (fig. 103) which appears to have been on display in the National Gallery throughout the 1920s (confirmed via email by Nicholas Donaldson, National Gallery Archivist, Monday 9<sup>th</sup> January, 2012). Clarke Hall frequently visited the National Gallery, particularly in this decade after she acquired her London studio, and the collection inspired numerous poems such as 'The National Gallery' and 'Cupid, Venus, Folly and Time – Angelo Bronzino', *Poems*, London, 1926, 13 and 42-3.

heads, large eyes, neat full lips and little noses in these Renaissance paintings likewise signify the infantile ‘feminine’ passivity pertinent to figures 99-101, I propose that the way these sacred women avoid intimacy by looking beyond their mortal beholders in these religious contexts, accentuates the potent aura of their self-contained status as divine representations to be worshiped.<sup>87</sup> I suggest Clarke Hall transferred such features to her figures to give them self-sufficient sovereignty which, in combination with these poems, I believe signifies her own recovering self-possession and new autonomy. Indeed, the artist’s self-exploratory interest in Camilla was possibly prompted by such ideas. Born ‘of Minerva’s craft’, Camilla’s sacred origins combines with her virgin purity to amplify her untouchable desirability, recalling that of the Renaissance Madonnas and child-like 1920s models. This in turn arouses awe and worship from Camilla’s lay beholders: ‘For sight of her the youth / from field and fortress sped, and matrons grave / stood wondering as she passed...’.<sup>88</sup> Indeed, in figures 62-63 this powerful Olympian virgin beauty seems far-removed from, and oblivious to, the cares and presence of earthly viewers.

I have so far suggested that Clarke Hall transposed the associations between desirability, value and potency traceable in various sources, such as figures 99-105, to visually represent the self-assurance bourgeoned by her new 1920s professional independence and publically appreciated work. Additionally, however, I propose these desirable female figures in association with the poetic articulation of confident hope and new beginnings in these Poem Pictures perhaps more importantly point to improvements in the artist’s private marital life in the 1920s. Indeed, considering the

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<sup>87</sup> Mary Douglas suggests that ‘To be holy is to be whole, to be one; holiness is unity, integrity, perfection of the individual and of the kind.’ Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* [1966], London and New York, 1991, 147.

<sup>88</sup> Appendix No. 10.

lack of intimacy plaguing Clarke Hall's marriage, as hinted in exhibit-poems like 'The well' and 'My Love kneels down', the theme of desirability was undoubtedly significant to her.<sup>89</sup> Whilst she seems not to have experienced the heights of physical passion and spiritual union romantically anticipated in pre-marital innocence, a new level of friendship undoubtedly characterised her and William's 1920s relationship, as their correspondence evidences.<sup>90</sup> As I believe Head hoped, Clarke Hall's independent studio lifestyle and increasing public attention prompted William's more respectful notice of her artistic ability, which aided improvements in their relationship alongside her growing professional self-assurance.<sup>91</sup> To highlight the positive amendments to Clarke Hall's marital relationship, as well as recall the centrality of poetry in, and interconnected genesis of, the Poem Pictures, it seems useful to again draw attention to the figurative links between *The well* (fig. 42) and *Night passed* (fig. 55). Both use the 'feminine' facial features discussed above to signify a winsome desirability, but this takes on different meanings in relation to the disparate self-referential poems in these works. In *The well*, which I have suggested explores the painful abandonment and insecurity resulting from William's lack of love in early marriage, the figure's 'feminized' 'doll-like' face and demurely turned bent head visually represent the poet's obsequiously offered 'self' as a desirable gift to the unappreciative lover.<sup>92</sup> In *Night passed*, however, in relation to the poet's self-assured passage into a new happy future, the same passive sacchariferous beauty infuses the figure with a confident, detached self-sufficiency (as in figs. 102-5), which

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<sup>89</sup> Edna Clarke Hall, 'I said: 'The well is deep; there is always the well'', *Facets*, London, 1930, 28-9, line 13; Edna Clarke Hall, 'My Love kneels down', *Facets*, London, 1930, 8, lines 4-6.

<sup>90</sup> Letters dating from early 1920s between Edna Clarke Hall and William Clarke Hall, CHA. Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 197.

<sup>91</sup> Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 199.

<sup>92</sup> Note how in *Fairy fashion* (fig. 50), which is closely related to *The well* (fig. 42), a similar servile compliant desirability is also evident, with the attractive female nude humbly kneeling in a submissive pose whilst offering the vessel that signifies the poet's proffered loving heart and soul that is scorned and destroyed.

I suggest combines with its ‘masculine’ attributes (absent in *The well*) to signify the artist’s own passage into more positively self-assured private and public positions during her recovery.

This section has suggested that the growing self-assurance characterizing Clarke Hall’s subjective position in the early 1920s is signified in several Poem Pictures by the representation of female figures showing traits associated with conventional conceptions of ‘masculine’ determination and ‘feminine’ desirability. Consideration of these works within the context of explorations of gender in contemporary culture could lead to the assumption that they mimetically perpetuate the reductive ideologies that other female artists adamantly critiqued. I argue, however, that Clarke Hall used such traditional gendered constructs as a means of signifying her personal experience of increased agency and appreciation in her new professional and private life, thus further supporting my hypothesis regarding the Poem Pictures’ deeply personal significance. Indeed, my suggestion that Clarke Hall signified her growing working assurance via emphasised ‘masculine’ traits, and her improved private relations via quintessentially ‘feminine’ features in these works, can be aligned to the two main gendered ‘roles’ occupying her 1920s life. Aligning precisely to that advocated by herself and ‘Chelsea’ in *The Evening News* in 1924, Clarke Hall began to pursue a traditionally ‘masculine’ self-governed working activity in London, whilst simultaneously maintaining her conventionally ‘feminine’ domestic responsibilities at home.<sup>93</sup> By allowing her to pursue this dual lifestyle, I have also considered how the studio was pertinent to the artist’s increasing 1920s professional and private self-assurance, and discussed Head’s advocacy of this space in relation to the objectives

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<sup>93</sup>Edna Clarke Hall, ‘Should Clever Women Marry?’ by Edna Clarke Hall (A Brilliant Women Artist Who Did), *The Evening News*, 2<sup>nd</sup> February 1924, CHA.

and practices of Brock's ergotherapy. As such, the 'masculine' and 'feminine' features in these Poem Pictures present a final facet of support for my hypothesis that the Poem Pictures signify new ideas in British psychiatry following World War One.

### **Chapter Conclusion**

This chapter has used the aims and methods of Craiglockhart's psychotherapies, especially ergotherapy, as discursive frameworks to understand Head's advice that Clarke Hall acquire a studio; to consider her changed position in the early 1920s; and to analyse a selection of her Poem Pictures, arguing the latter evidence the artist's autognostic exploration of her recovery from 'depression' and developing career during these years. I have proposed both occurrences resulted from how the studio gave Clarke Hall the temporal and spatial independence to reengage with, and start exhibiting, her work, which in turn rejuvenated her artistic conviction and self-assurance, thereby rectifying a principal cause of her problems by reducing her emotional dependence on her husband's supportive interest. I have considered Clarke Hall's position in relation to contemporary debates regarding married women's artistic careers, highlighting how her public contribution to these discourses and her early 1920s professionalism both places her within the broader context of middle-class women's increasing inter-war working activity and signifies her recovery. I have also argued that this recovery, and therefore Head's successful mobilization of the philosophies underlying autognosis and ergotherapy, is signified by the ordered temporal poetic narratives in Poem Pictures such as *Sunlight* and *Too long* (figs. 56 and 57), and the removal or disarrangement of covering attire, such as in the *Camilla*

and *Proserpine* works (figs. 60-66 and 68-70). I have also suggested how the evocation of uninhibited spatial movement in the Poem Pictures discussed can be considered in the light of Clarke Hall's new autonomous studio lifestyle, whilst the representation of assertive but desirable female figures in works such as *Night passed* (fig. 55) reflect the artist's growing public and private confidence during this time. As such, this chapter demonstrates my thesis's hypothesis that the Poem Pictures collectively signify new attitudes in psychotherapy developed by physicians like Rivers and Brock at Craiglockhart in response to soldiers' unexpected psychological reaction to modern warfare during World War One, whilst further demonstrating my claim that Clarke Hall's personal experiences are imperative to understanding these works.

## CONCLUSION

This thesis has argued for two closely connected hypotheses regarding the production and meaning of Edna Clarke Hall's early 1920s Poem Pictures. Firstly, that they collectively signify the emergence of unprecedented psychiatric treatments in Britain due to the widespread psycho-pathological reaction of soldiers to the traumas of World War One trench warfare, and secondly that the artist's biography is central to understanding these works. My study has highlighted how Clarke Hall's 'depression' and consequent visit to Dr Henry Head in 1920 marked a significant turning point in her private and professional life. I suggested that Head's encouragement to verbalize her subjective position and acquire a studio was informed, via his acquaintance with Dr W.H.R. Rivers, by the practices of autognosis and ergotherapy developed during the war at Craiglockhart Hospital. Chapter One discussed the influence of William Blake's work on Clarke Hall's Poem Pictures and argued that Head's autognostic conversations prompted her specifically self-narrating early 1920s practice by which she creatively negotiated the causes of her 'depression' by repeating a self-reflexive poetic narrative that equated to her distressing experiences of marriage. Chapter Two proposed that this same autognostic creativity resulted in other contemporaneous Poem Pictures in which Clarke Hall explored the new freedoms and confidence of her more immediate and increasingly positive 1920s circumstances, arguing the latter resulted from the changes the studio initiated in her life and considering this in relation to Dr Arthur Brock's ergotherapy. Therefore, my study has demonstrated how Head's approach to Clarke Hall's problems gave her both the courage to externalize her unhappiness and the spatial independence by which to reengage with her work, arguing that these occurrences not only resulted in the

Poem Pictures, but also facilitated the artist's recovery and professional activity in the 1920s.

Moreover, by tracing the connections between Craiglockhart, Head, Clarke Hall and the Poem Pictures, and situating the latter within the context of early twentieth-century British psychotherapy, I believe my thesis illuminates a new position from which to consider the already acknowledged links between art, literature and psychology in Britain at this time.<sup>1</sup> Due to its pivotal role in publishing Freud's essays from 1924, Bloomsbury is often of prime interest when discussing these relations.<sup>2</sup> But whilst Bloomsbury was undoubtedly imperative to the matrix of art, poetry and psychoanalysis underpinning Britain's early twentieth-century cultural and intellectual communities, my thesis draws attention to other contemporaneous figures whose work and lives contributed in a different way to this dynamic interdisciplinary exchange, of which I suggest the Poem Pictures are a direct, but previously unconsidered, permutation. Interestingly, whilst never linked directly to Bloomsbury, Head, Clarke Hall, Rivers and Siegfried Sassoon were in fact variously connected with this prominent social milieu from the 1900s to the

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<sup>1</sup>Jack Spector, 'The State of Psychoanalytic Research in Art History', *Art Bulletin*, 70:1, March 1988, 49-76; Mark Jarzombeg, *The Psychologising of Modernity: Art, Architecture and History*, Cambridge, 2000. These early twentieth-century interdisciplinary links between art and psychology are exemplified by key studies such as Roger Fry's *Art and Psychoanalysis* (London, 1928) and Ernst Kris's *Psychoanalytical Explorations in Art*, (London, 1953). Such concerns were also central to Surrealism in 1920s-1930s France and Britain: see David Lomas, *The Haunted Self: Surrealism, Psychoanalysis, Subjectivity*, New Haven and London, 2000; Whitney Chadwick, *Mirror Images: Women, Surrealism and Self-Representation*, exhibition catalogue, MIT List Visual Arts Centre, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1998; Robertson, Alexander; Remy, Michel; Gooding, M., and Friedman T. (eds.), *Surrealism in Britain in the Thirties: Angels of anarchy and machines for making clouds*, exhibition catalogue, Leeds City Art Gallery, Leeds, 1986; Deepwell, *Women artists between the wars*, 275-288.

<sup>2</sup> Sally Alexander, 'Psychoanalysis in Britain in the early twentieth century', *History Workshop Journal*, 45, 1998, 135-6; Spector, 'Psychoanalytic Research in Art History', 72-3; Barbara Caine, 'The Stracheys and Psychoanalysis', *History Workshop Journal*, 45, Spring 1998, 144-169; Daniel Pick, 'The Id comes to Bloomsbury', *The Guardian*, Saturday 16<sup>th</sup> August 2003, 26; Joanne Meek, 'Bloomsbury and Psychoanalysis: An Exhibition of Documents from the Archives of the British Psychoanalytical Society', <http://www.psychoanalysis.org.uk/archivesexhibition.htm>; George M. Johnson, "'The Spirit of the Age': Virginia Woolf's response to Second-Wave Psychology", *Twentieth-Century Literature*, 40:2, Summer 1994, 139-164.

1920s, via their different associations with Cambridge University, the Slade and the Friday Club.<sup>3</sup>

I have argued that Clarke Hall's personal life is paramount to the Poem Pictures' production and meaning proposing the influence of autognosis on her conception of these works and suggesting they were made specifically as a means of cathartically exploring her personal feelings. By comparison, the contemporaneous Vanessa Bell pursued Bloomsbury aesthetics when claiming that, despite her work's representative appearance, formal relations were her prime concern in painting, not narrative or autobiography.<sup>4</sup> The contrast between these artists' understanding of their work is, in fact, indicative of their different positions in popular conceptions of early twentieth-century British art, as endorsed by numerous publications. Due to its vital contribution to the history of British modernism, Bloomsbury is a key concern in discussions of this period, with French influences often being foremost in both contemporary and recent studies of British art.<sup>5</sup> Frequently noting the confused state of artistic culture during the post-war period, scholarship on 1920s British art specifically, tends to continue this trait by focusing on the rise of Modernist landscape painting and sculpture, as well as the fate of avant-garde circles deemed representative of Britain's forays into European modernism, such as the Group X (previously the Vorticists), the London Group, the Seven and Five Society, and,

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<sup>3</sup> Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 114-115; Robert Graves, *Goodbye to All That*, London, 2000, 204-6; Shirley Panken, *Virginia Woolf and the "Lust of Creation": A Psychoanalytic Exploration*, New York, 1987, 69; Nicolson, *The Great Silence*, 245; Virginia Woolf, *Selected Diaries*, Anne Olivier Bell (ed.), London, 2008, 248; Eric Leed, *Combat and Identity in World War One*, Cambridge, 1979, 18-19, 182; Richard Slobodin, *W. H. R. Rivers*, New York, 1978; Siegfried Sassoon, *Sherston's Progress*, London, 1939.

<sup>4</sup> Frances Spalding, *Vanessa Bell*, London, 1983, 69.

<sup>5</sup> For significant examples of this tendency, see: Paul Johnson, *Art: A New History*, London, 2003, 668-9, 674-76; Anna Gruetzner Robins, *Modern Art in Britain 1910-1914*, exhibition catalogue, the Barbican Art Gallery, London, 1997, 152, 139-58; Charles Harrison, *English Art and Modernism 1900-1939*, New Haven, 1994, 147-9; Sir John Rothstein, *British Art Since 1900: An Anthology*, London, 1962, 15-21; *British Art and the Modern Movement 1930-1940*, exhibition catalogue, National Museum of Wales, Cardiff, 1962, 5; Christopher Reed, *Bloomsbury Rooms: Modernism, Subculture and Domesticity*, London and New York, 2004, 1-18, 213-251; Tickner, *Modern Life and Modern Subjects*, London, 2000.

of course, Bloomsbury.<sup>6</sup> As importantly highlighted by the Barbican's 1989 *Last Romantics* exhibition, attention is less frequently given, however, to numerous early twentieth-century artists whose work, whilst not forming a unified group, signify a continuation of the Romantic tradition in British art at this time.<sup>7</sup> I suggest that Clarke Hall should be considered within this commonly unacknowledged but significant strain in British inter-war culture, of which I believe the Blakean Poem Pictures are particularly representative.

Clarke Hall's professional status accelerated rapidly after her 1926 Redfern exhibition in which these unique works were first shown, as she went on to exhibit widely in the 1920s and 1930s, garnered considerable critical attention with major public collections purchasing her work, and was soon identified amongst the nation's most recognized contemporary artists.<sup>8</sup> I believe her success, and the Poem Pictures' specific 1920s popularity, are testament to the Romanticist inclinations in the contemporary cultural field, the importance of which has been overshadowed by the conventional modernist narratives of art historical scholarship. Whilst her work was not included in the Barbican exhibition, I propose Clarke Hall rightly belongs alongside the (notably male) artists, such as Augustus John and William Orpen, categorised by David Fraser Jenkins as 'Slade School Symbolists', and with whom she was indeed repeatedly identified in the

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<sup>6</sup> As is exemplified by: David Peters Corbett, *The Modernity of English Art: 1914-30*, Manchester, 1997; *Blast to Freeze: British Art in the Twentieth Century*, exhibition catalogue, Kunstmuseum Wolfsburg, Germany and Maastricht, 2002, 7-70; Harrison, *English Art and Modernism*, 165, 167, 204-130; *British Art and the Modern Movement 1930-1940*, exhibition catalogue, Arts Council of Great Britain, Welsh Committee, National Museum of Wales, Cardiff, 1962, 5.

<sup>7</sup> John Christian (ed.), *The Last Romantics: The Romantic Tradition in British Art, Burne-Jones to Stanley Spencer*, exhibition catalogue, Barbican Art Gallery, London, 1989. (This Romantic 'trait' in British 1920s art is mentioned, but only briefly, in: Johnson, *Art: A New History*, 675, and Rothstein, *British Art Since 1900*, 20-21).

<sup>8</sup> Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 189-200. Clarke Hall's professional success and noted acclaim in the inter-war decades is most prominently signified in her being selected to take part in Shellmex's commission of leading British artists in the late 1920s to design posters for the company, which later culminated in a touring national exhibition, 'Modern Pictorial Advertising', in 1931. Thomas, *Portraits of Women*, 95.

1920s.<sup>9</sup> This thesis has introduced the personal and historical routes by which Clarke Hall entered the professional art world in this decade, and I propose that if she had neither suffered ‘depression’, nor visited Head, nor acquired her London studio, then not only would the Poem Pictures never have been made, but her belated career may not have developed as it did. Clarke Hall’s comprehensive insertion into, and as yet unacknowledged significance within, contemporaneous and contemporary understandings of British inter-war art, however, remains a topic for future research.

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<sup>9</sup> David Fraser Jenkins, ‘Slade School Symbolism’, Christian (ed.), *Last Romantics*, 71-76; contemporary reviews that associated Clarke Hall with Augustus John and William Orpen: ‘Happy Impressions’, *Morning Post*, 23<sup>rd</sup> January 1924; ‘Woman Painter’s Romance – Art Sacrificed to Motherhood’, *Daily Express*, 30<sup>th</sup> January 1924; ‘Art and Motherhood’, *Natal Advertiser, Durban, S.A.*, 11<sup>th</sup> March 1924; ‘Art or Marriage?’, *Daily Mirror*, 30<sup>th</sup> January 1930; *Studio XCIX*, 1930; *Apollo*, 15, 1932, 293; ‘What’s on at Manchester City Art Gallery’, *Manchester Evening News*, 20<sup>th</sup> June 1939. (All CHA). It seems pertinent to note that Clarke Hall, William Orpen and Augustus John were similarly the focus of the publication, John Fothergill (ed.) et al., *The Slade: A collection of drawings and some pictures done by past and present students of the London Slade School of Art, 1893-1907*, University College London, London, 1907.

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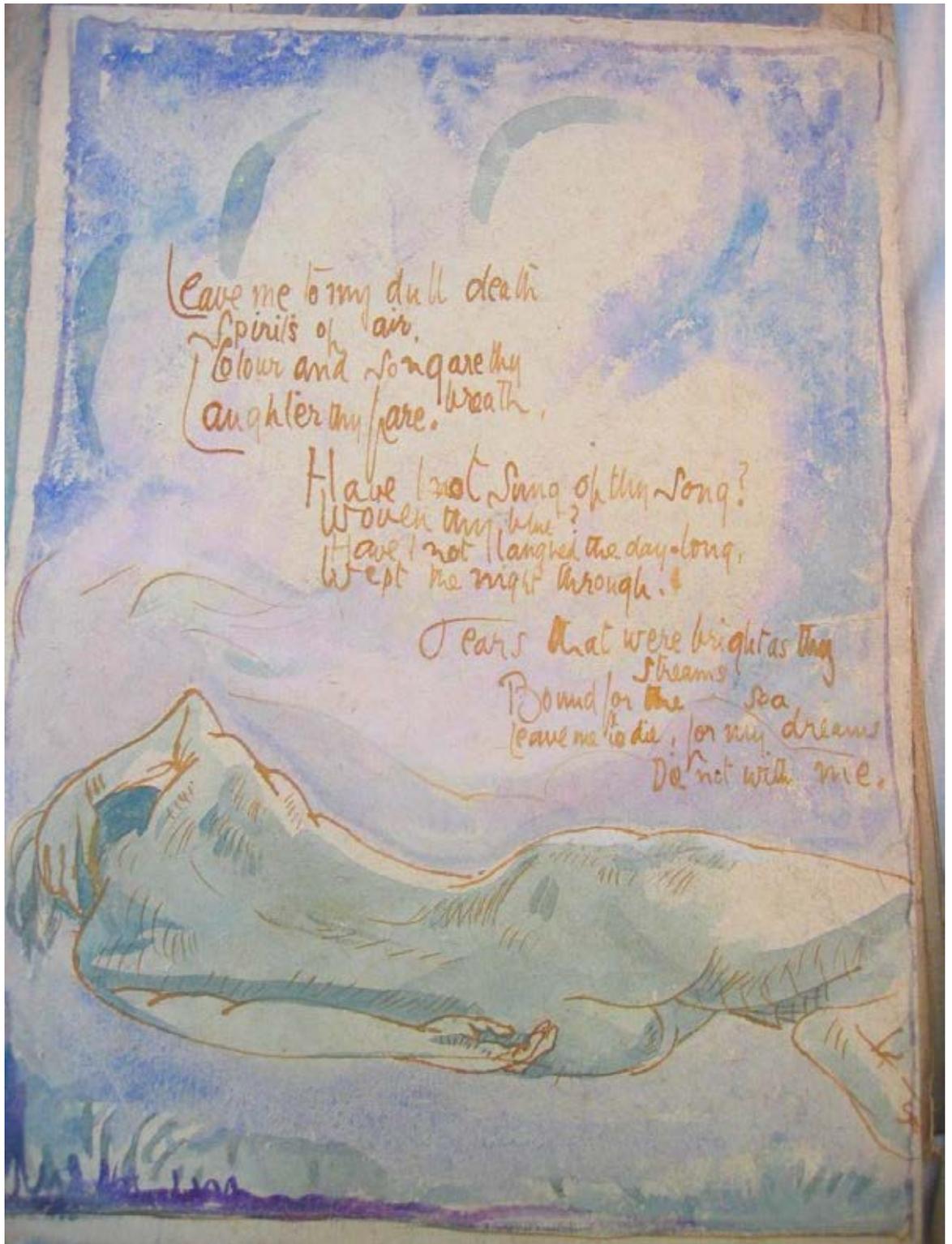


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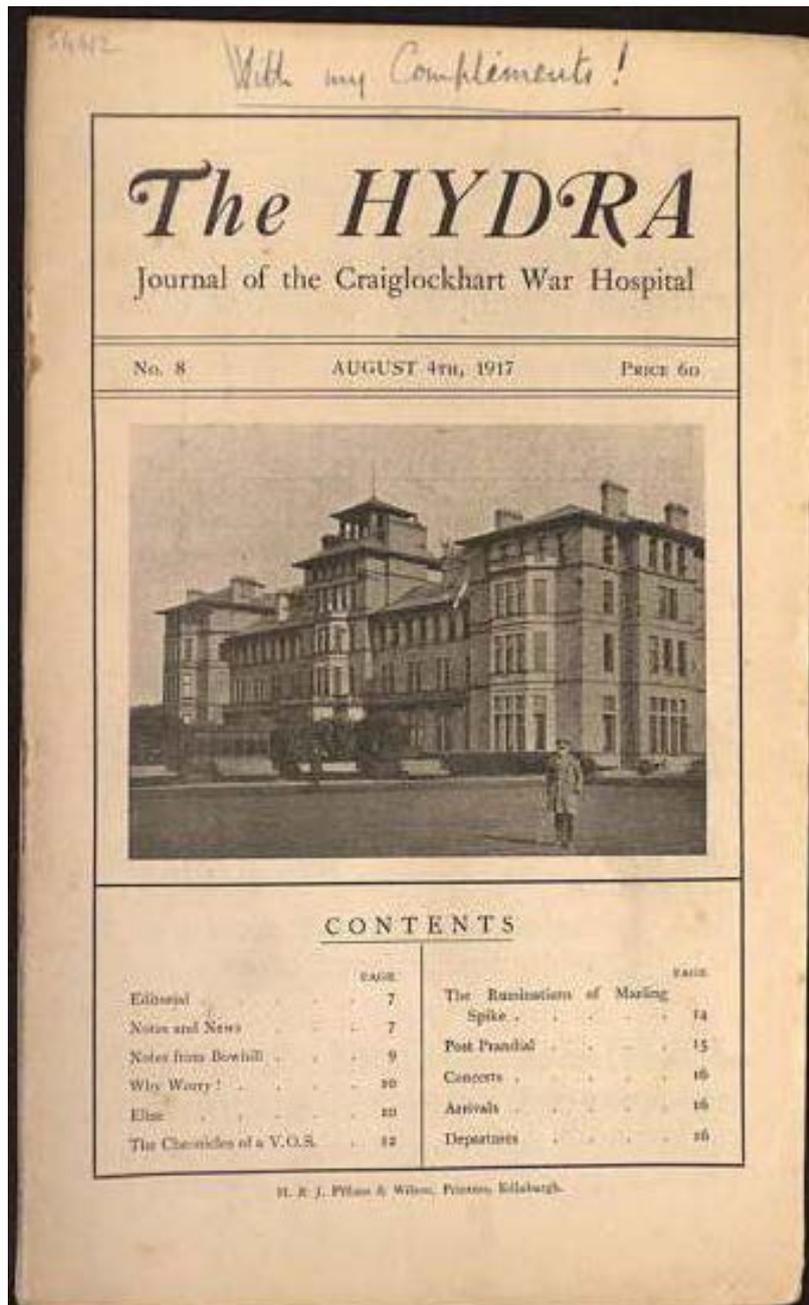


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*The Hydra, Journal of the Craiglockhart War Hospital,*  
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Figure 5  
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## NOTES AND NEWS.

**Golf.**

The golfing enthusiasts have been seen going out regularly in spite of the Scotch weather which has visited us lately, and some phenomenal drives have been recorded (or, perhaps, imagined), under cover of the thick mist. Our usual Thursday match against the Merchants of Edinburgh Club had to be cancelled at the last moment owing to the heavy rain. A Medal Competition is to be played on 13th inst., and it is hoped that other competitions may follow.

**Bowls Club.**

WHITEHOUSE GRANGE & CRAIG-  
LOCKHART.

Our Bowls Club endeavoured to play a return match on the 8th inst., with Whitehouse Grange on the latter's green, but owing to the inclement weather it was impossible to play more than about half the number of ends; nevertheless a most enjoyable evening was spent and refreshments were very kindly provided by our hosts.

The President extended an open invitation to members of Craiglockhart to use their green on any afternoon, and those members interested in the game would do well to take advantage of this offer, as the green is one of the best in the country.

**Field Club.**

On Monday we had a paper dealing with the perceptive faculties of plants and their various responses to the stimuli of light, heat, moisture, gravity, contact, and even smell. The lecturer then touched on the similarity of plant-respiration and digestion with our own; on their secret power of utilising light-energy for building up foods from crude elements; on their remarkable

contrivances for effecting cross-fertilisation, and the dispersal of seeds. We were brought to regard the plant world from a new and almost startling point of view. Biology is no longer content to observe the adaptation of a plant to its environment in its struggle for existence, but begins to demand: In what way is the plant *inspired* of its environment, and whence its anxiety to survive? The lecture carried us to the farthest point of modern research; at which point, physiology fails, and it is time to send out "feelers" of metaphysical guessing.

The following Monday, 6th August, Capt. Hyland gave an attractive paper on "Geology in Flanders." His most useful and thorough investigation of the structure and disposition of the strata met with mirroring, illustrated by blackboard sketches, was greatly appreciated. The lecturer recounted his valuable experiences over the earth's crust in that part, and a comparison of the geological formations of that country with that of the southern reaches across the "Silver Stream" was made. Our president, Major Beyce, took part in the criticisms and debate which followed.

On the 10th inst. a dozen stalwarts proceeded by the mid-day train from Slatford to Balerno, whence they struck out for the hills. The route lay by Threipmoir Reservoir and Bavelaw Castle (at which point there were two desertions), then via the Green Cleuch, and round the flank of the Black Hill to Loganlee Waterfall; this little cascade comes down very prettily in a small amphitheatre formed by horizontal layers of old red sandstone and conglomerate. Then round we swung into "Habbie's Howe," and soon were "discussing" scones and jam and fresh eggs in the shepherd's cottage at the head of the reservoir. The

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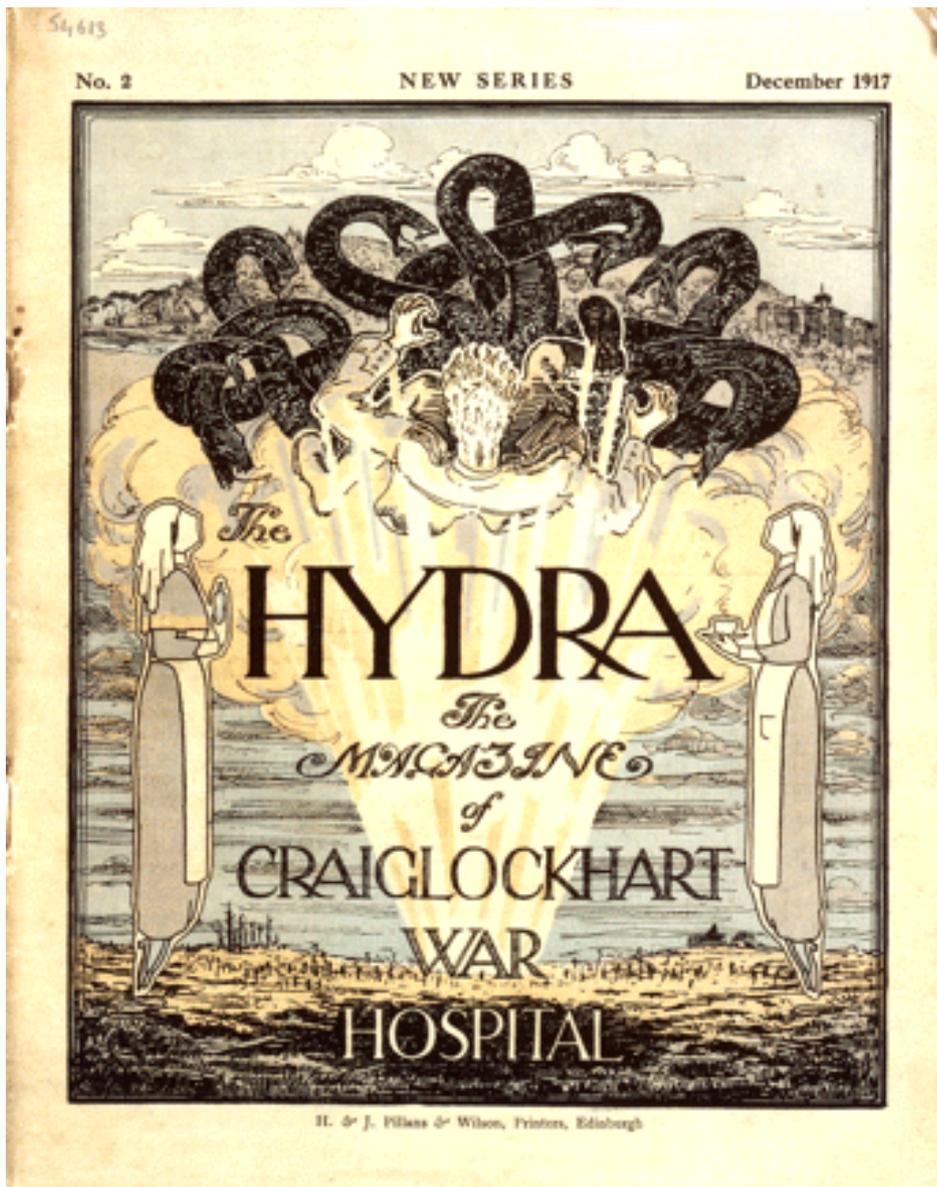


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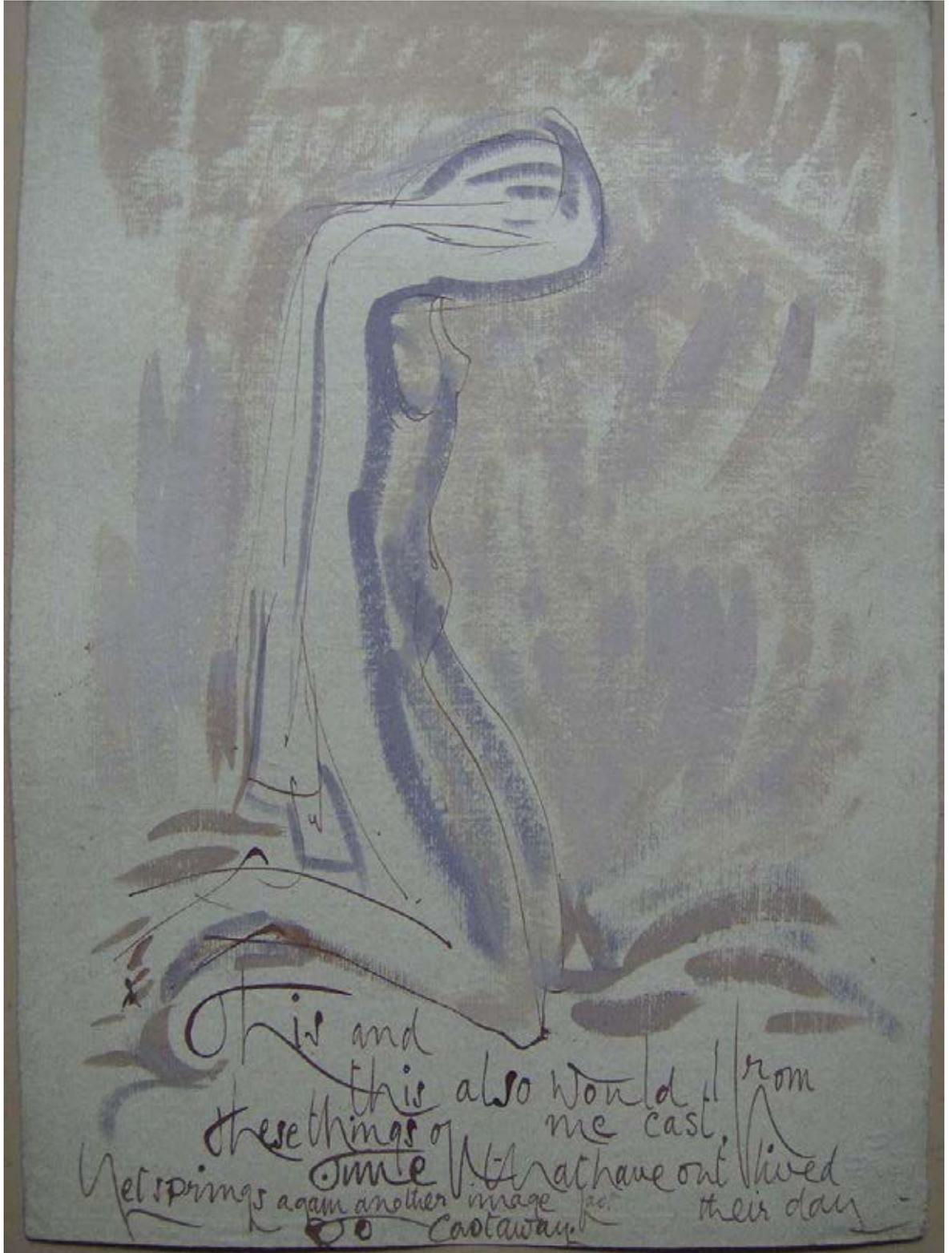


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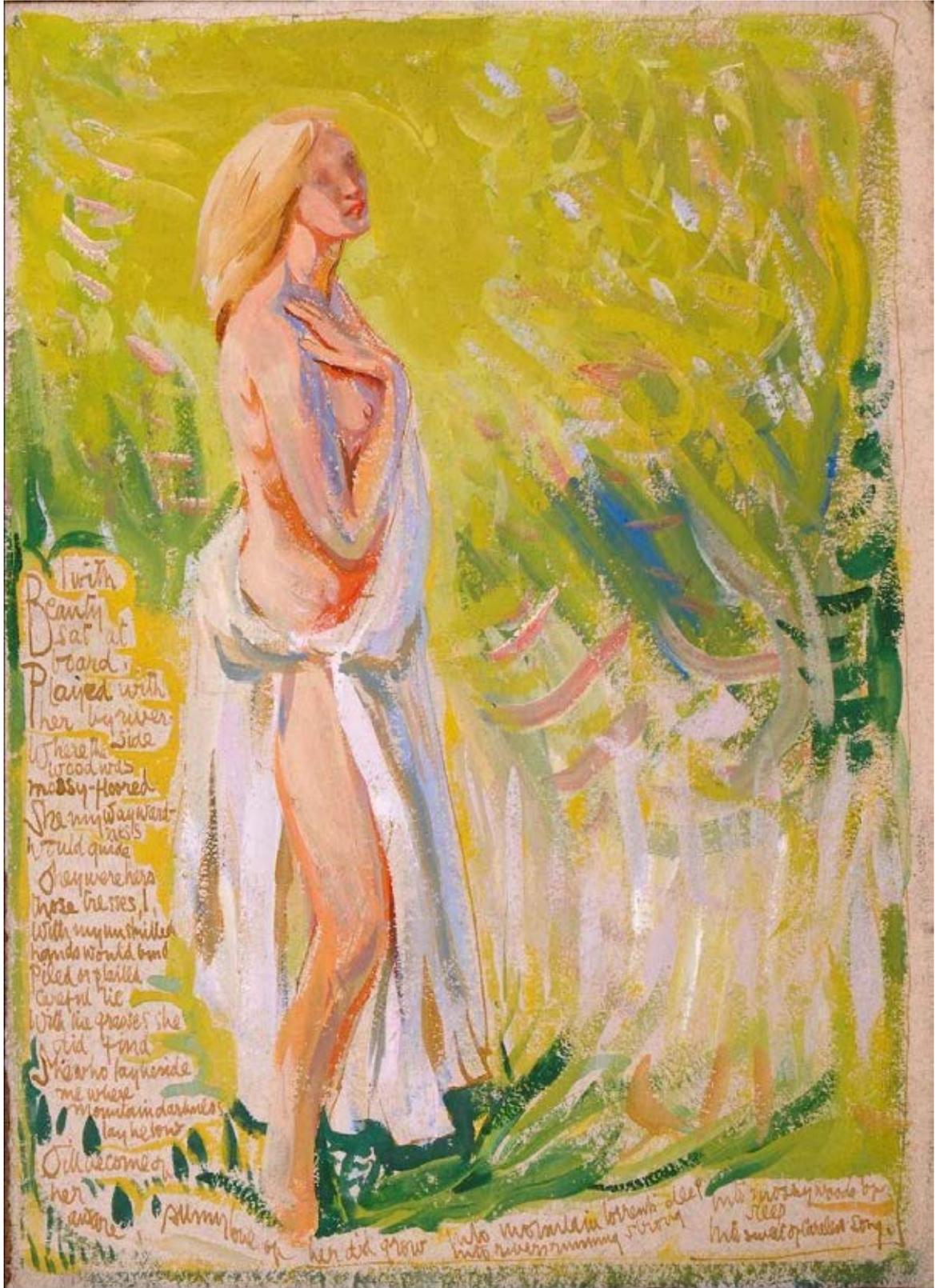


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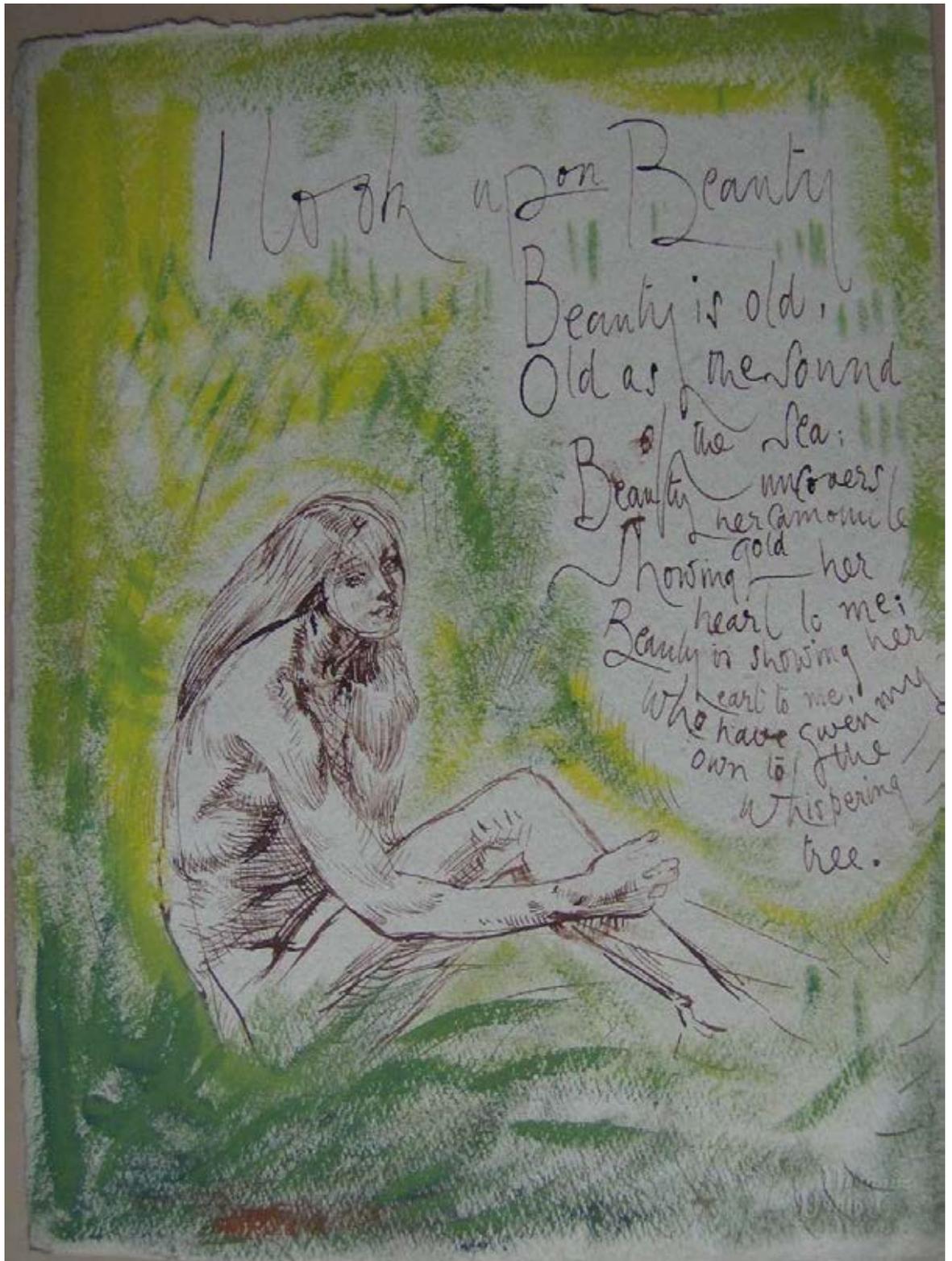


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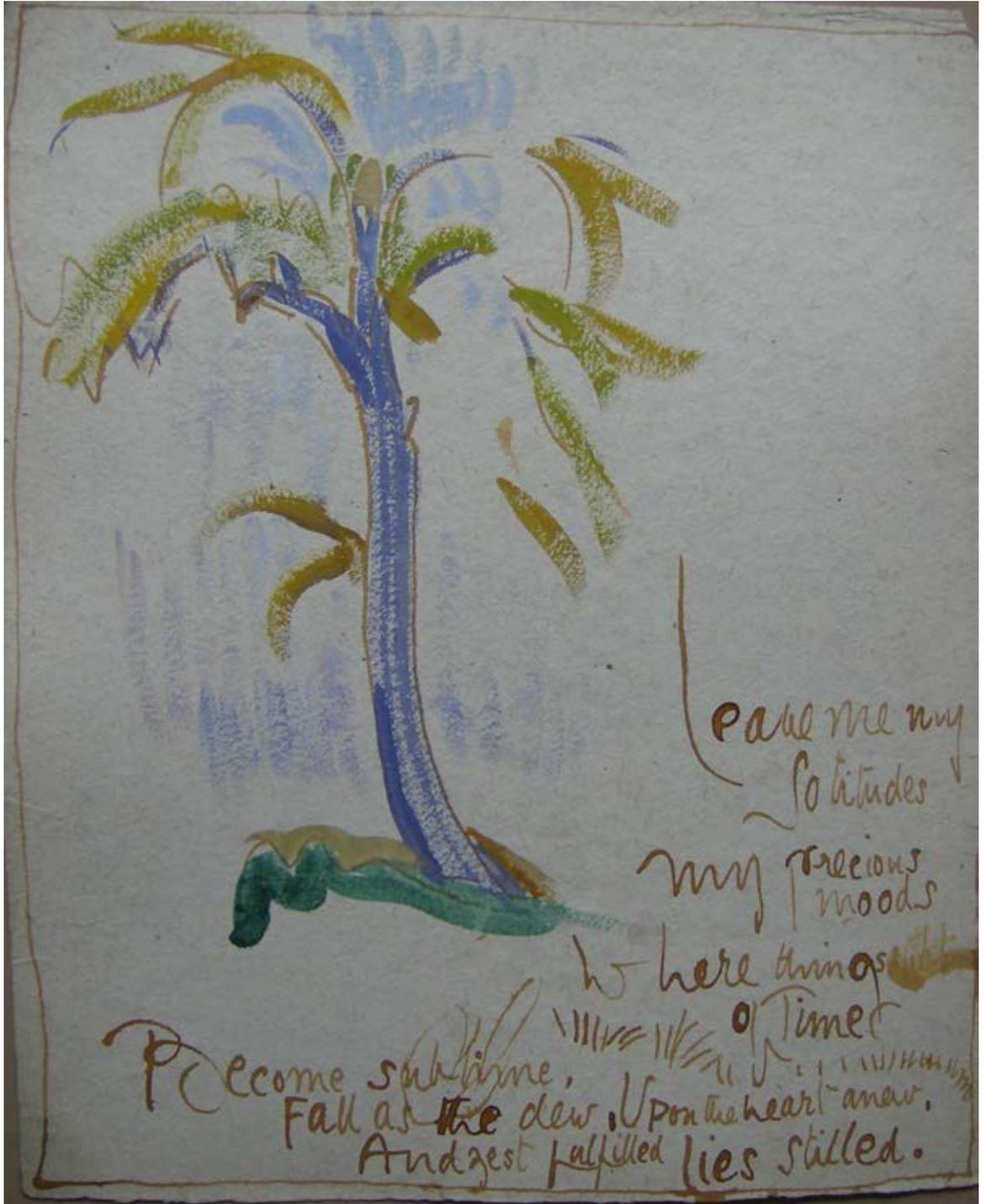


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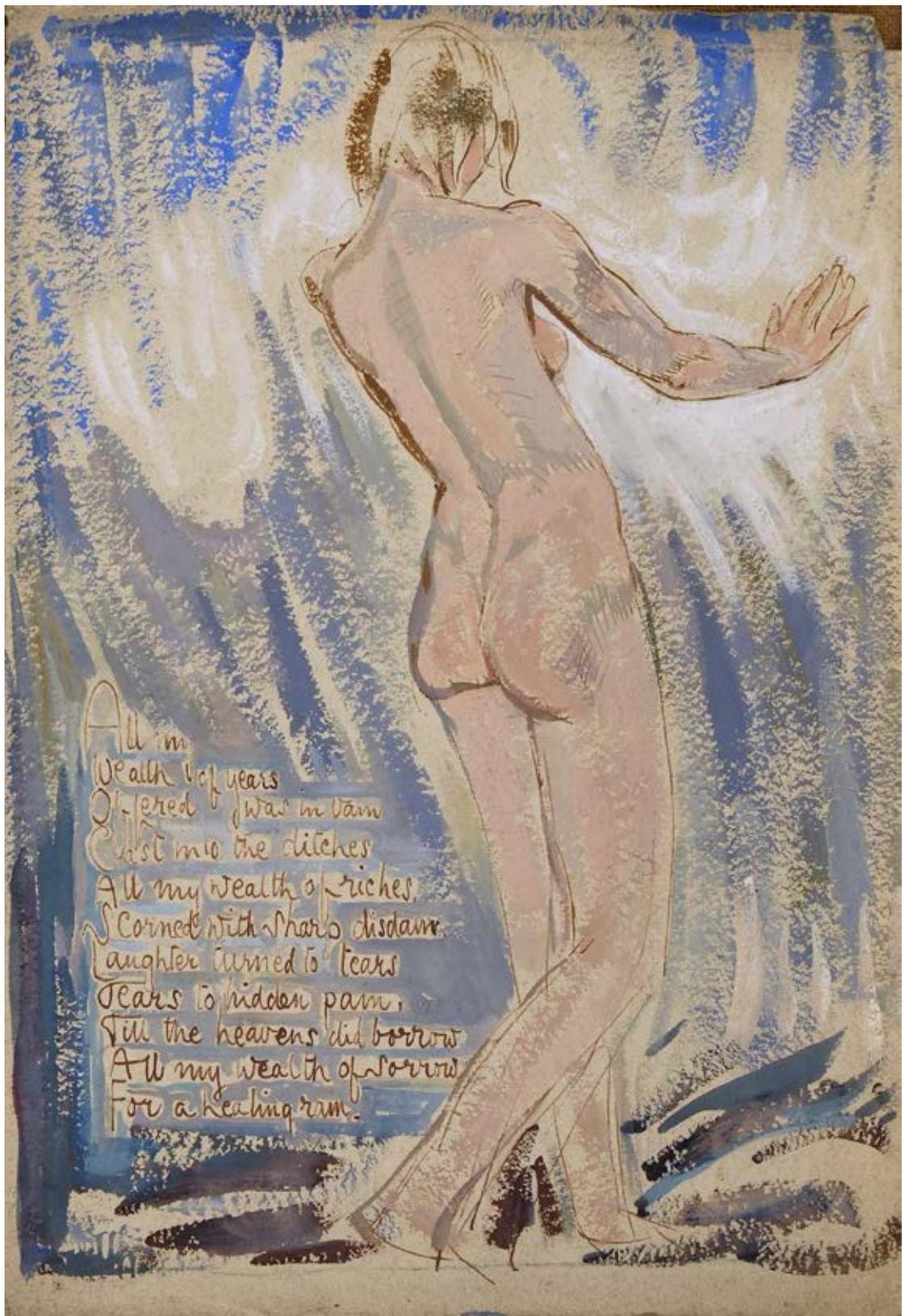


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Edna Clarke Hall,  
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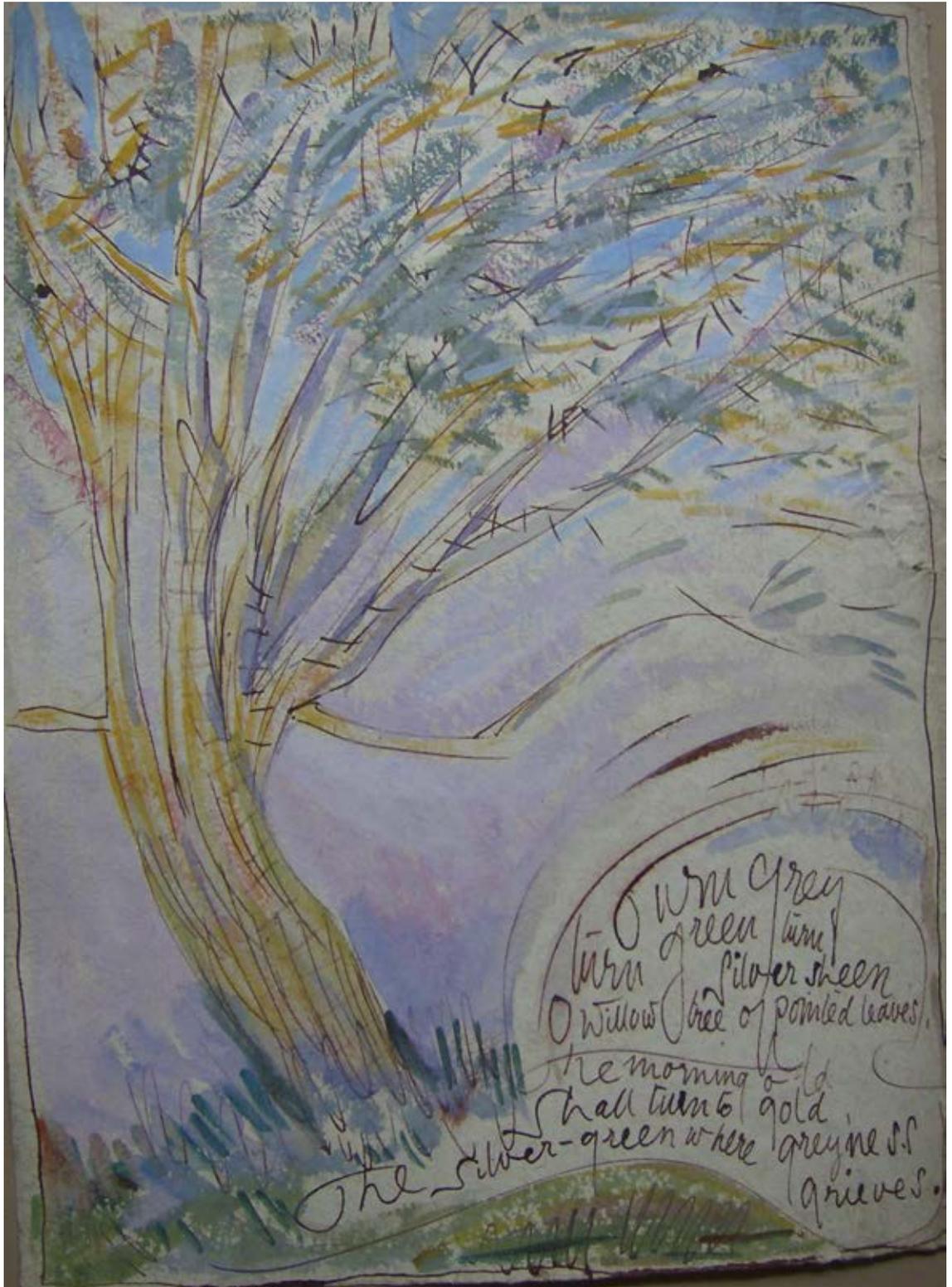


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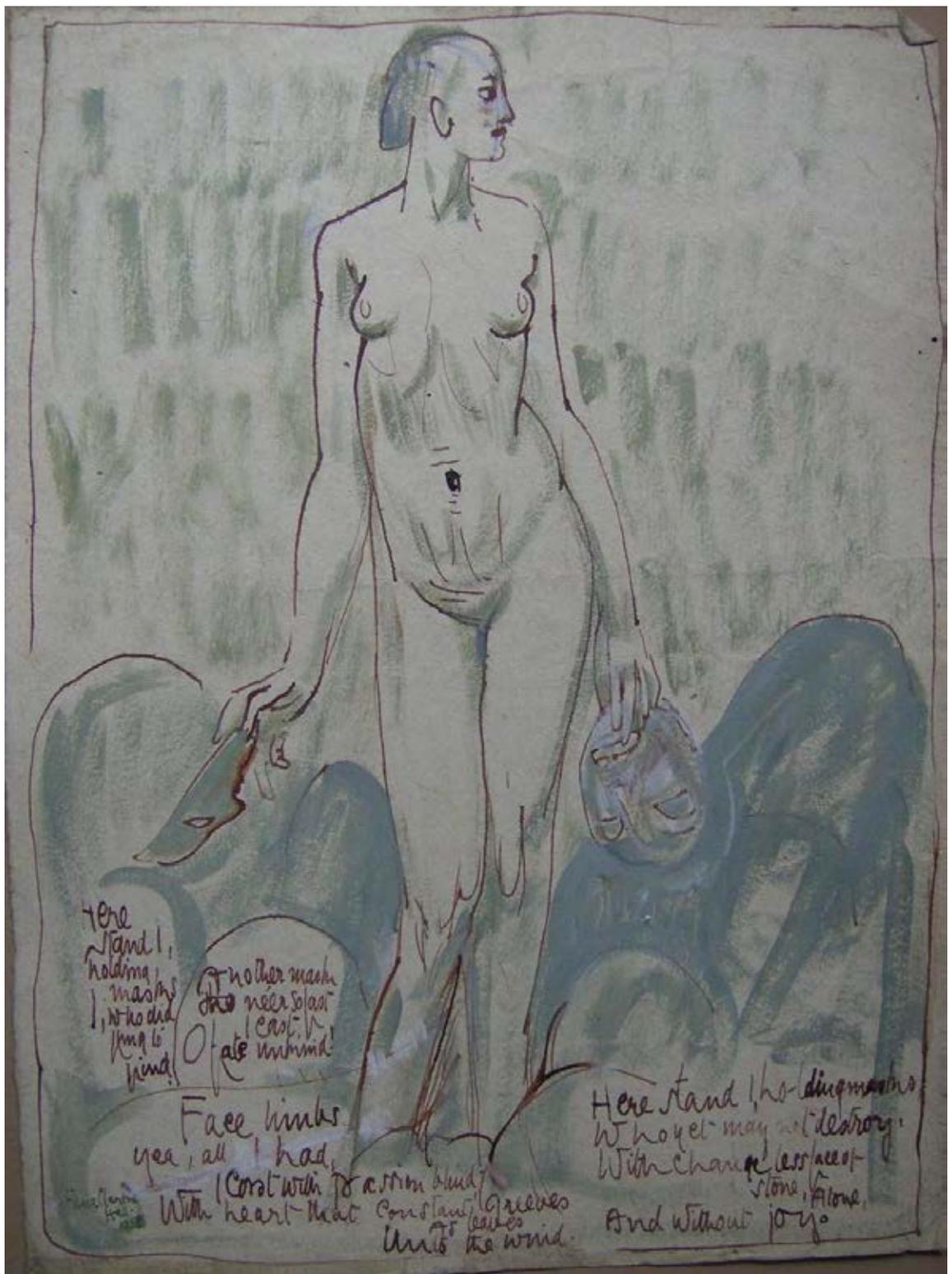


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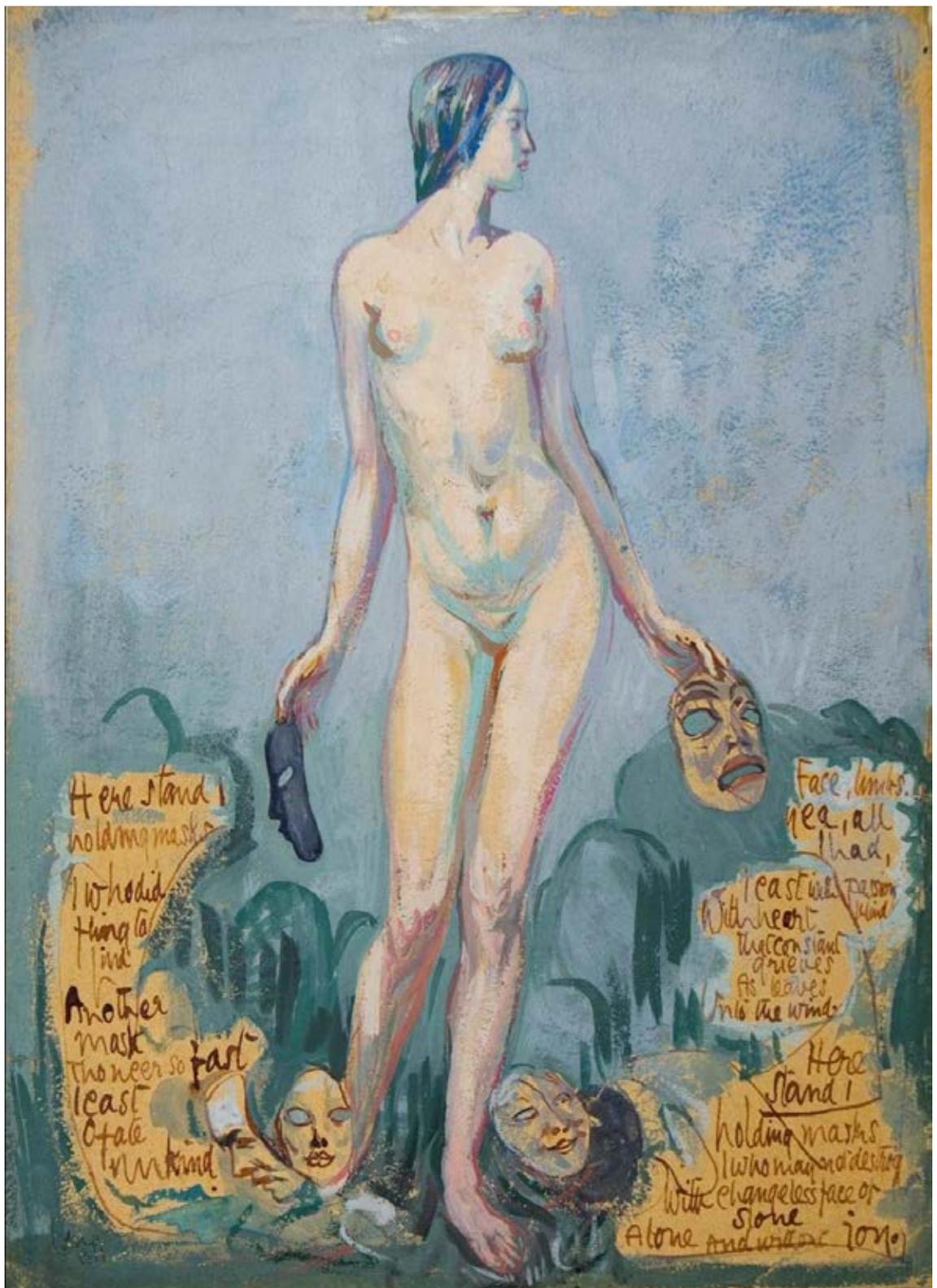


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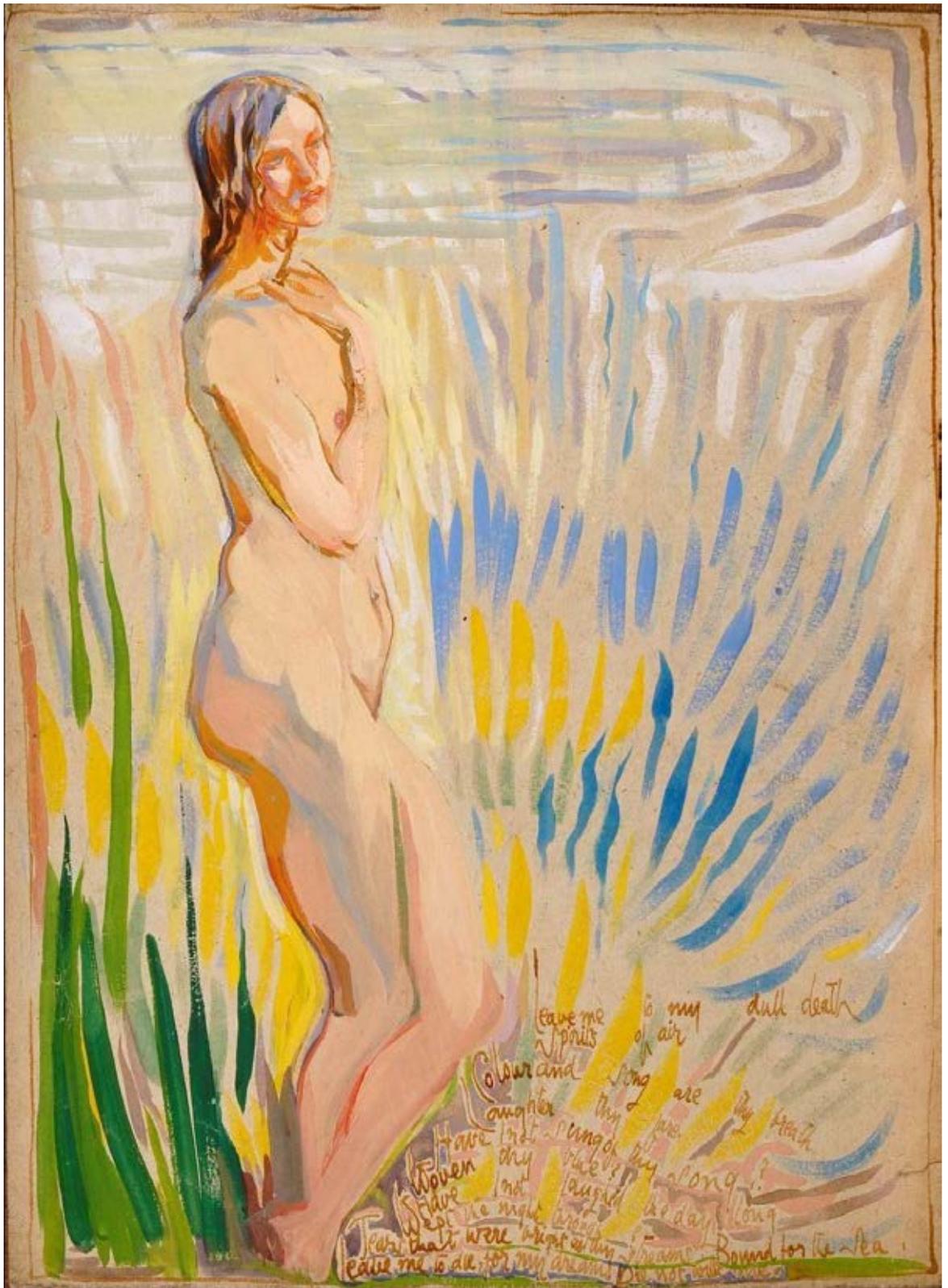


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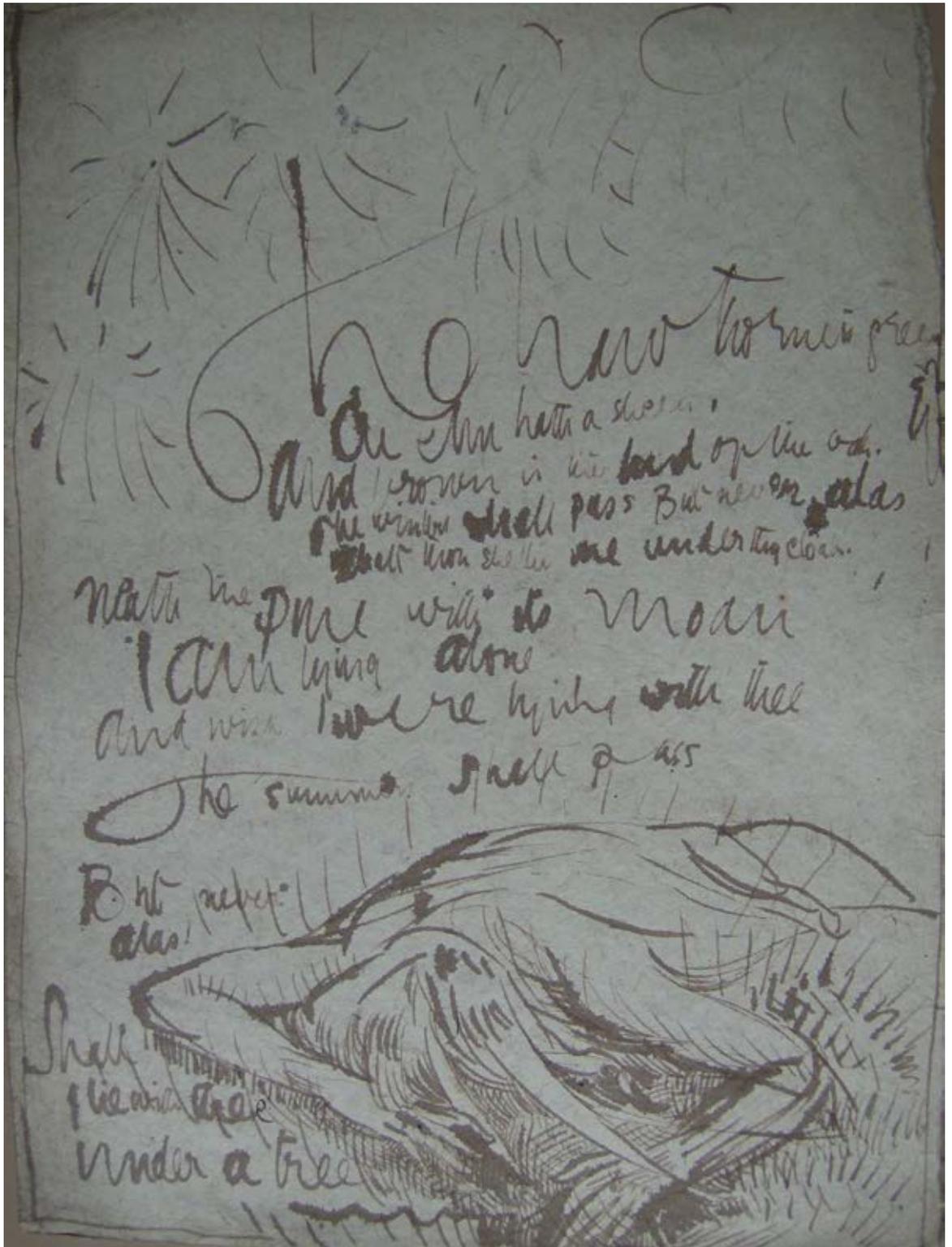


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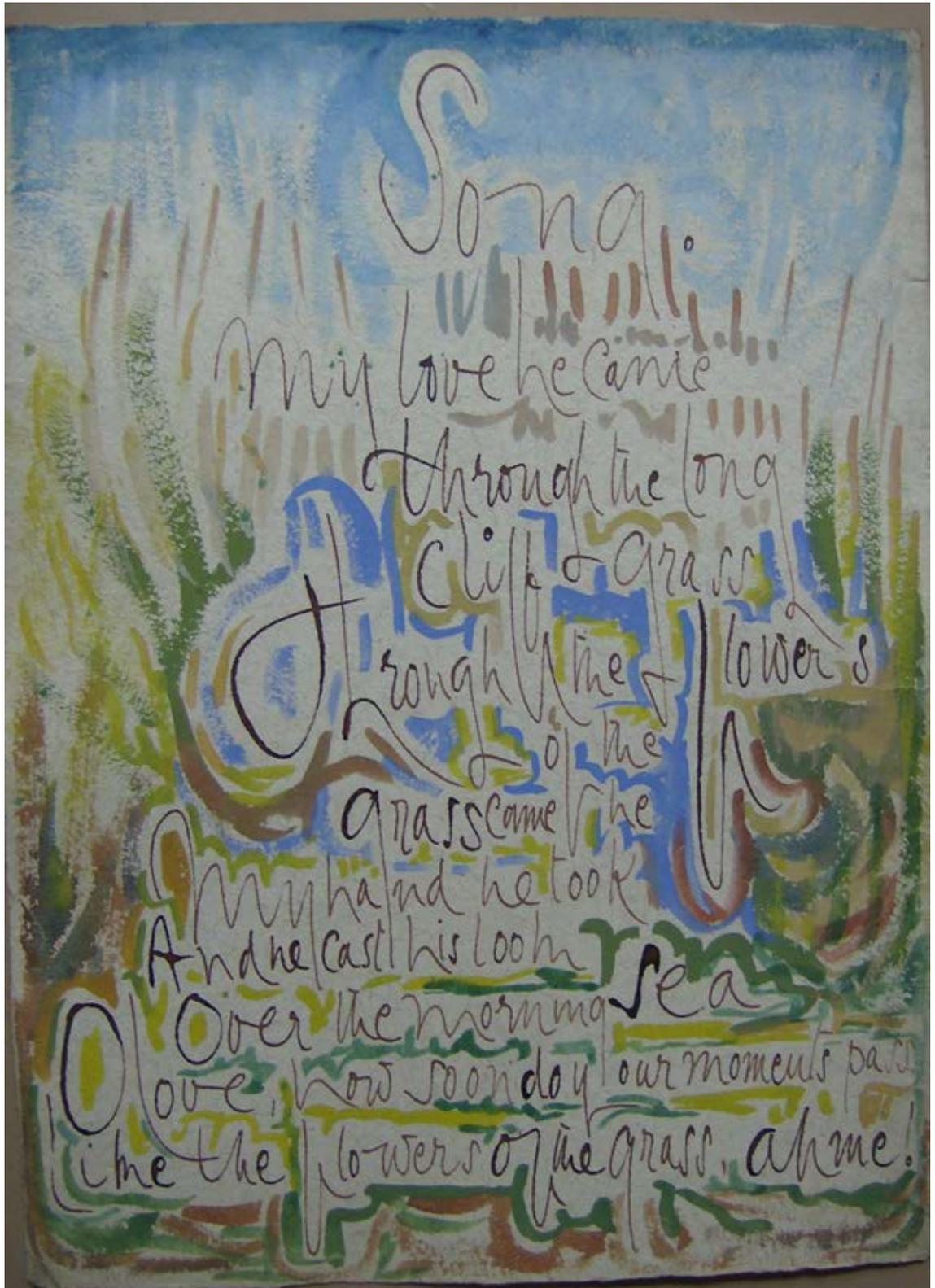


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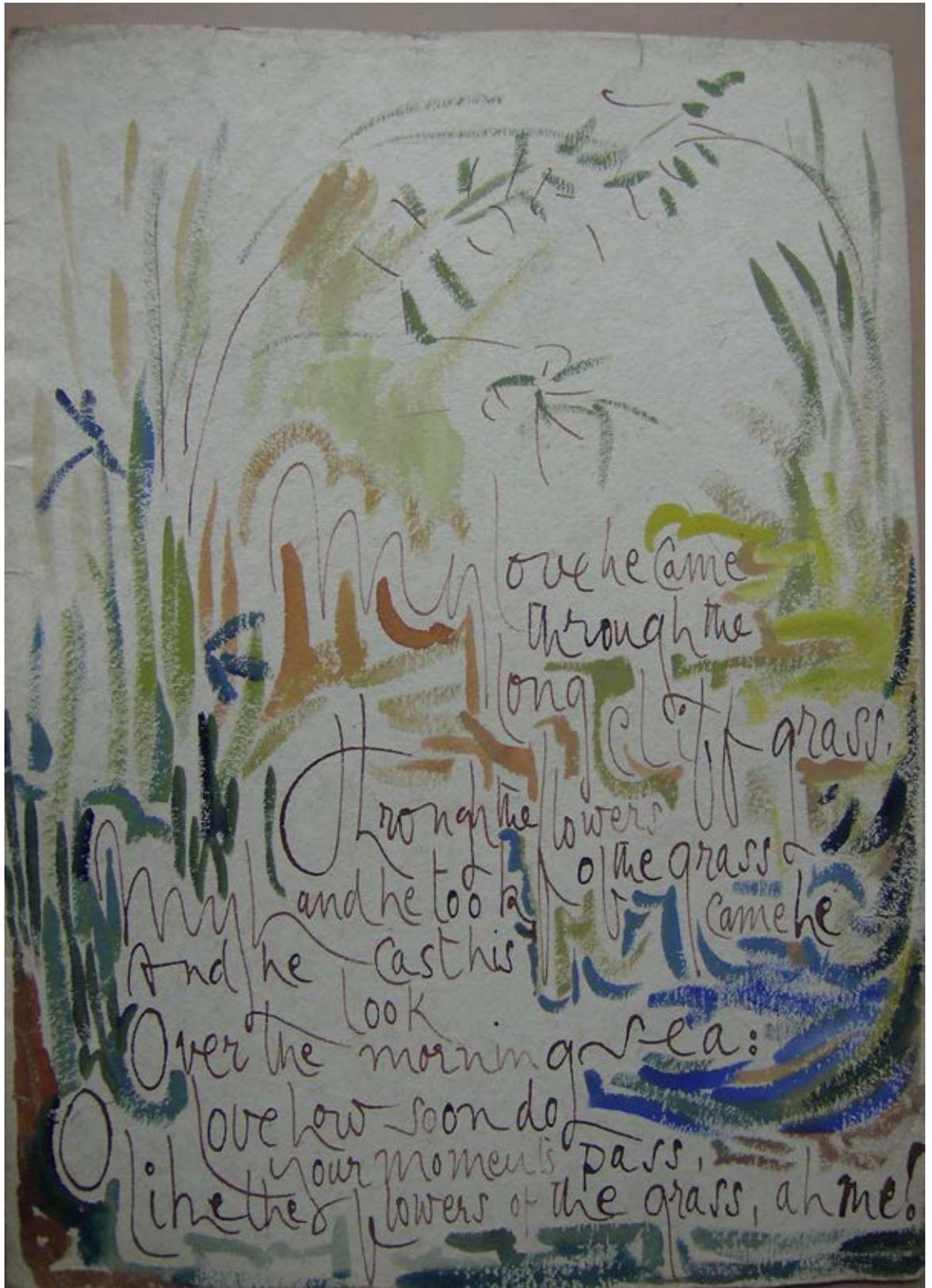


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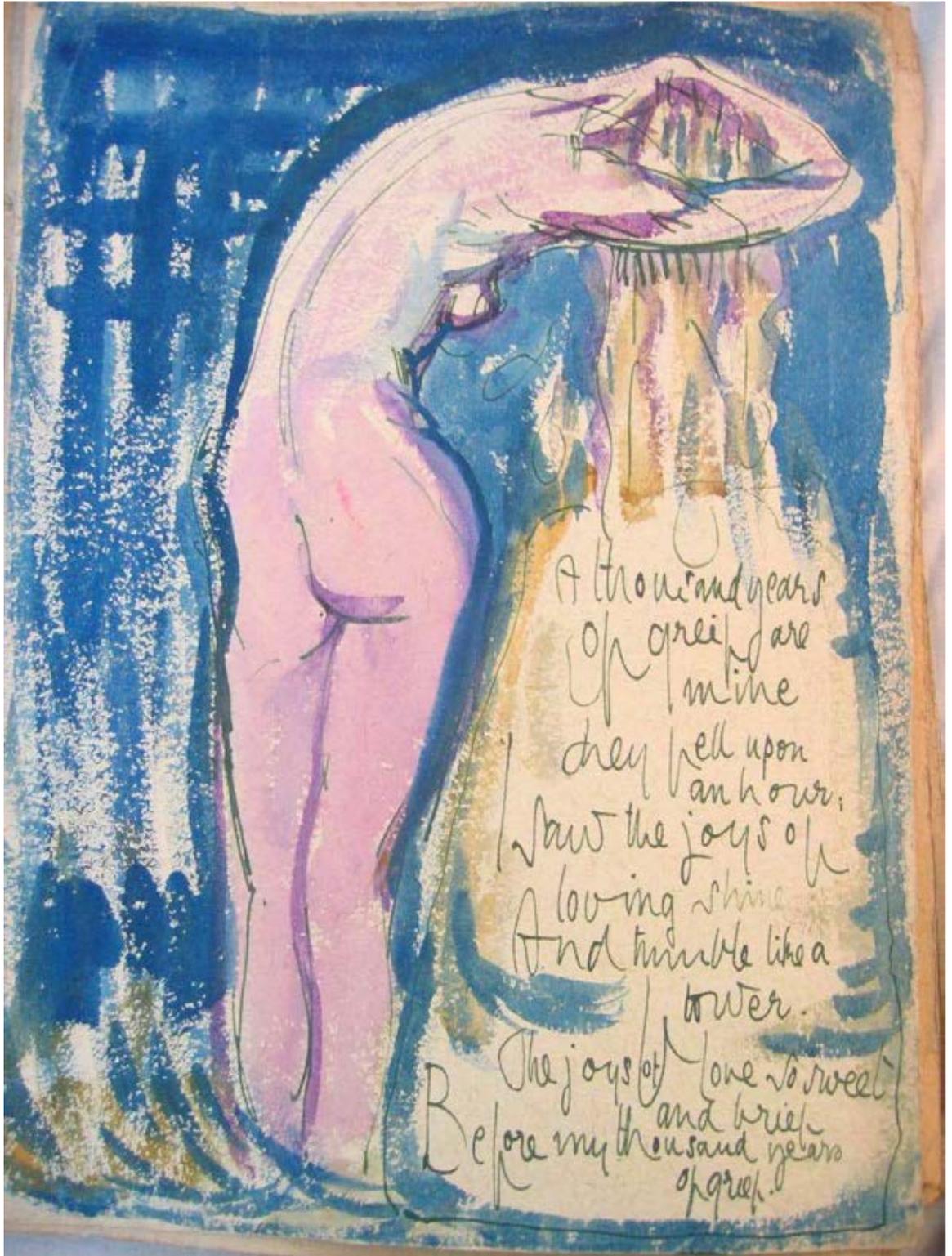


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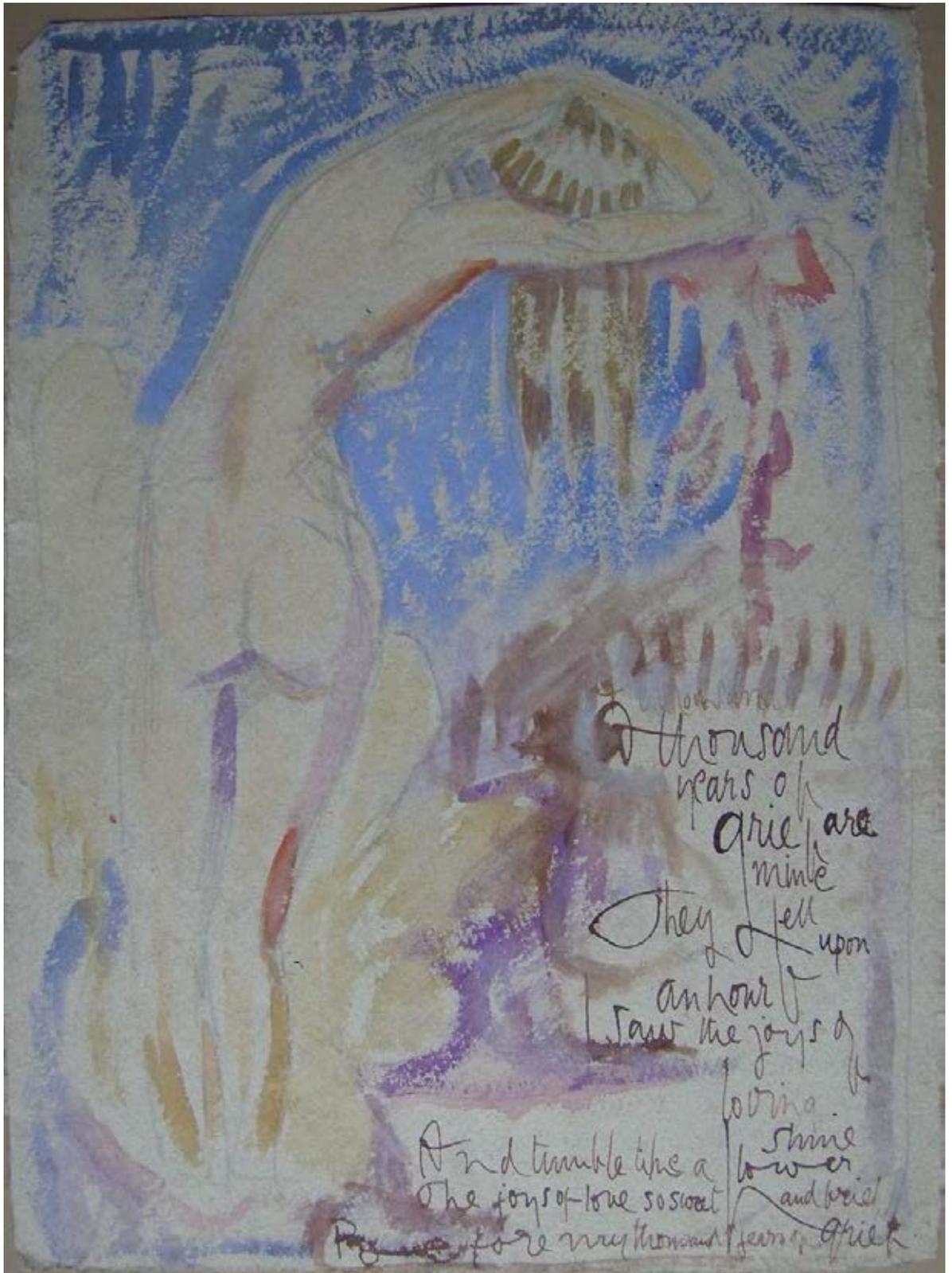


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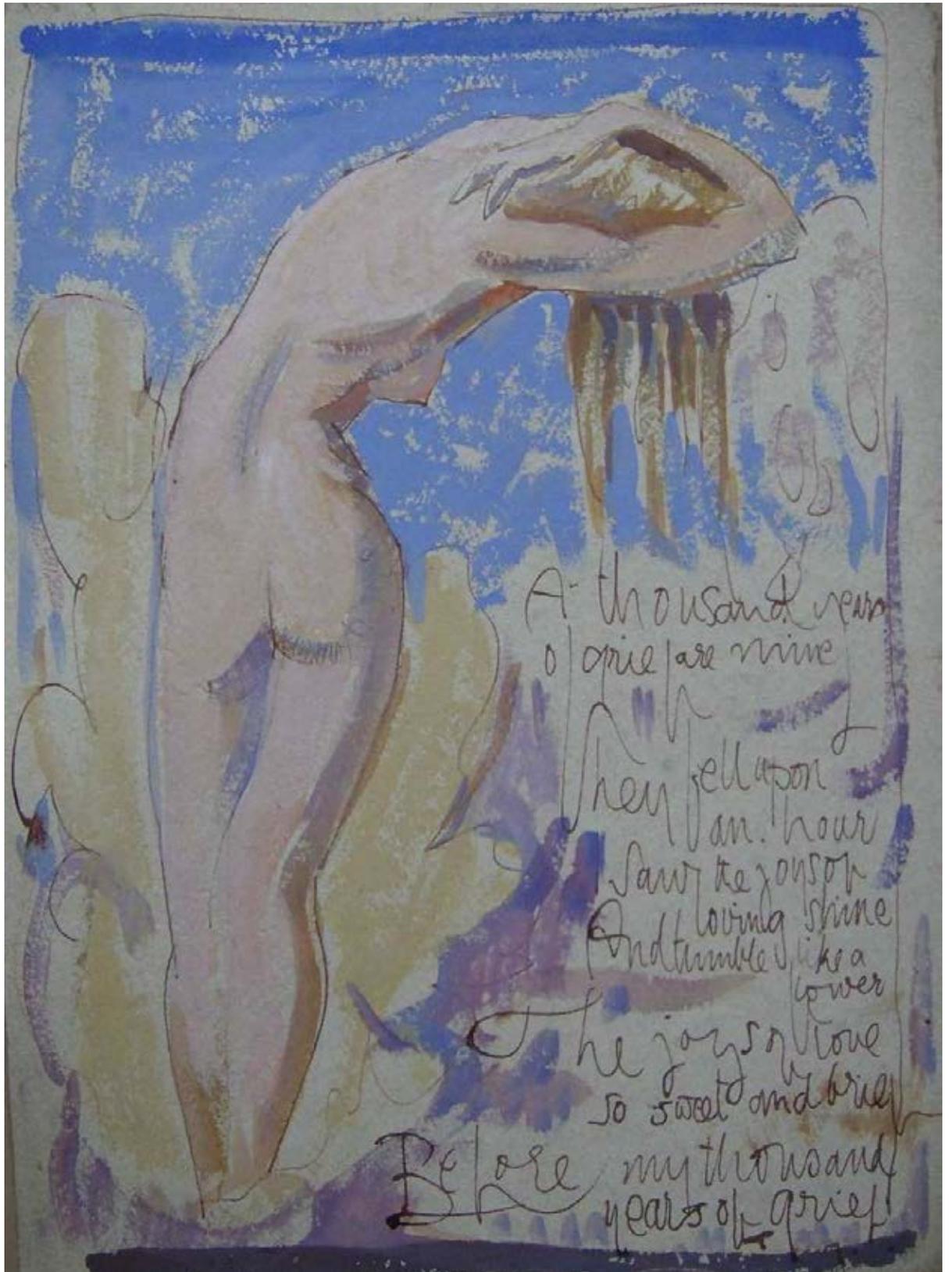


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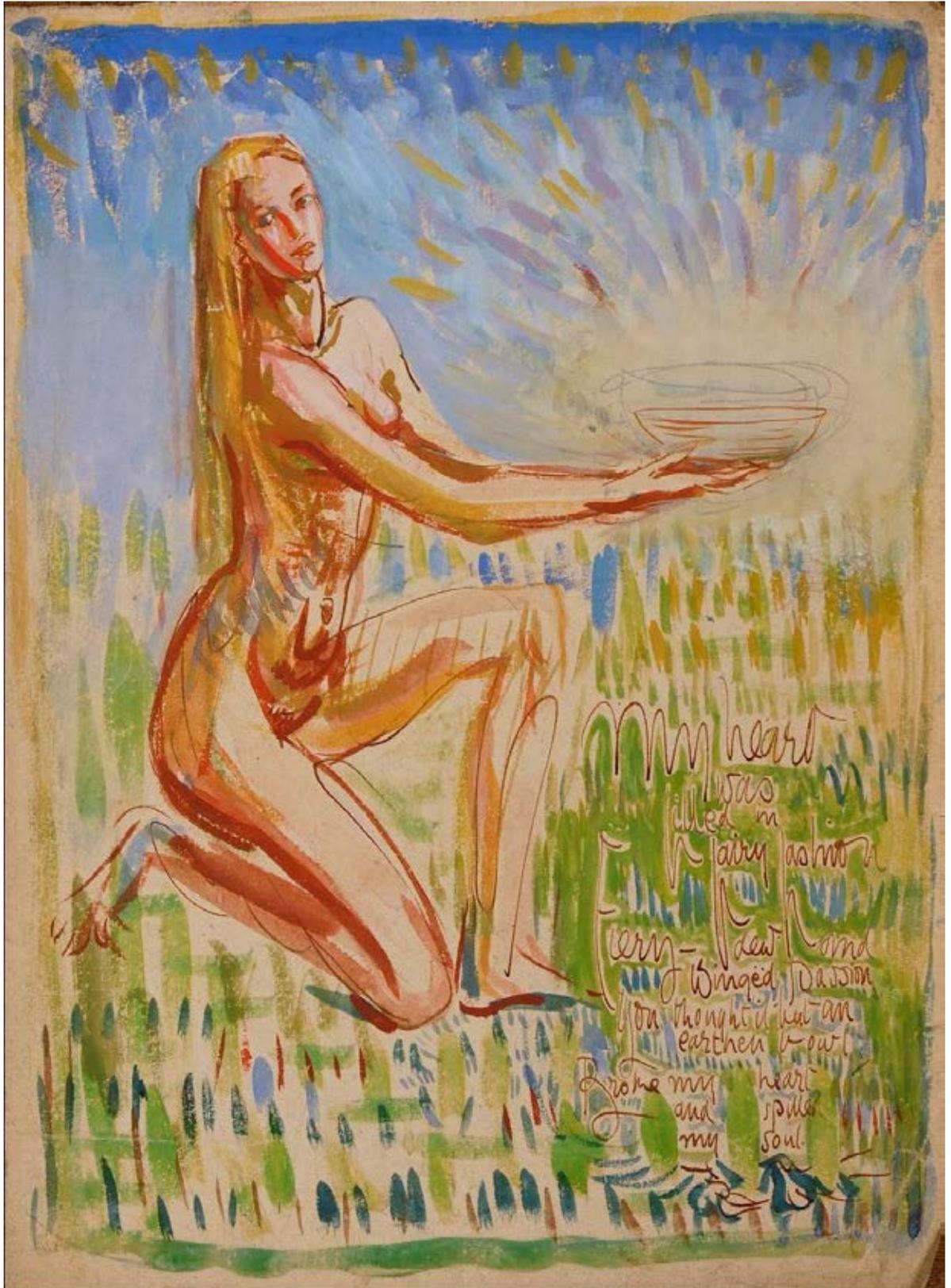


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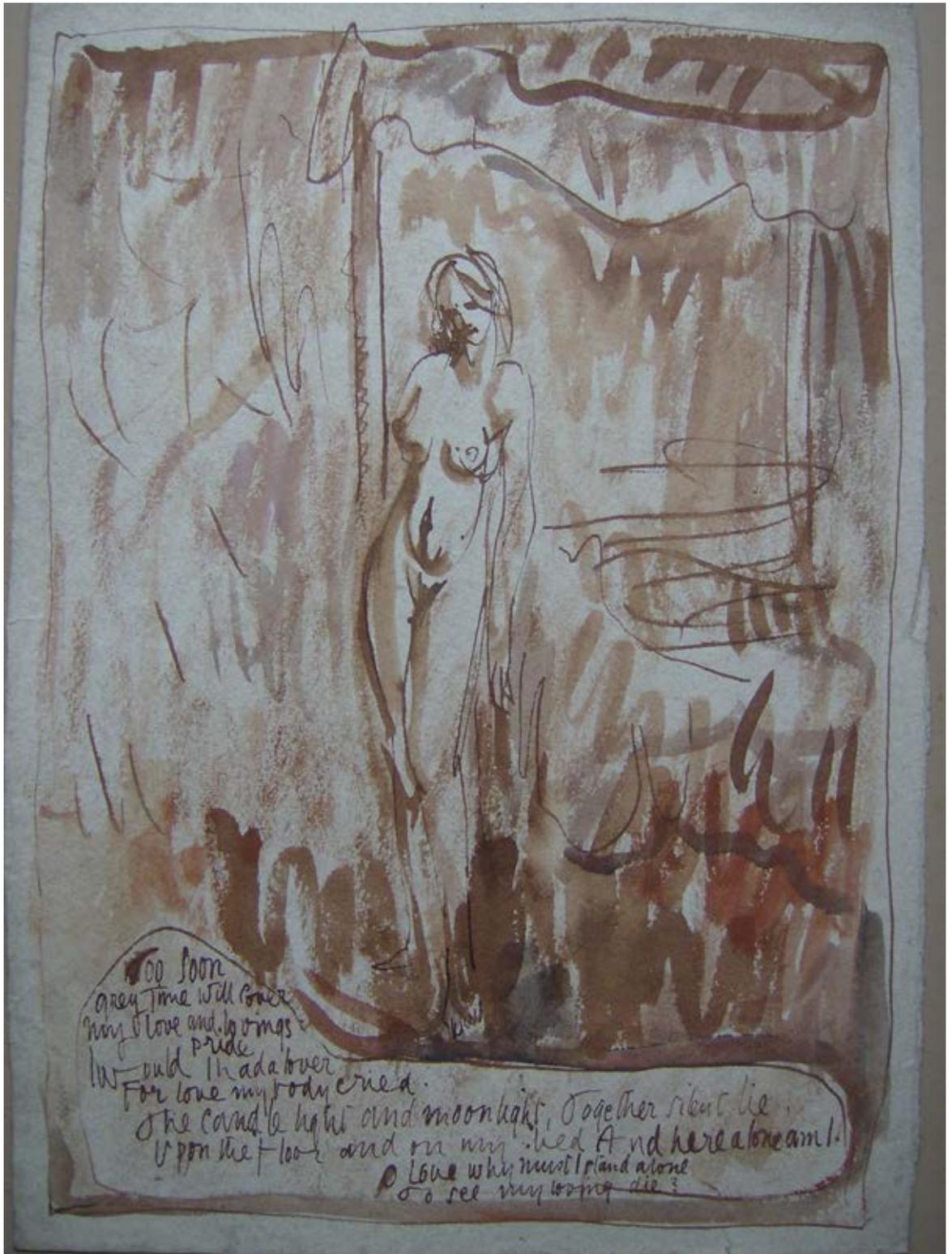


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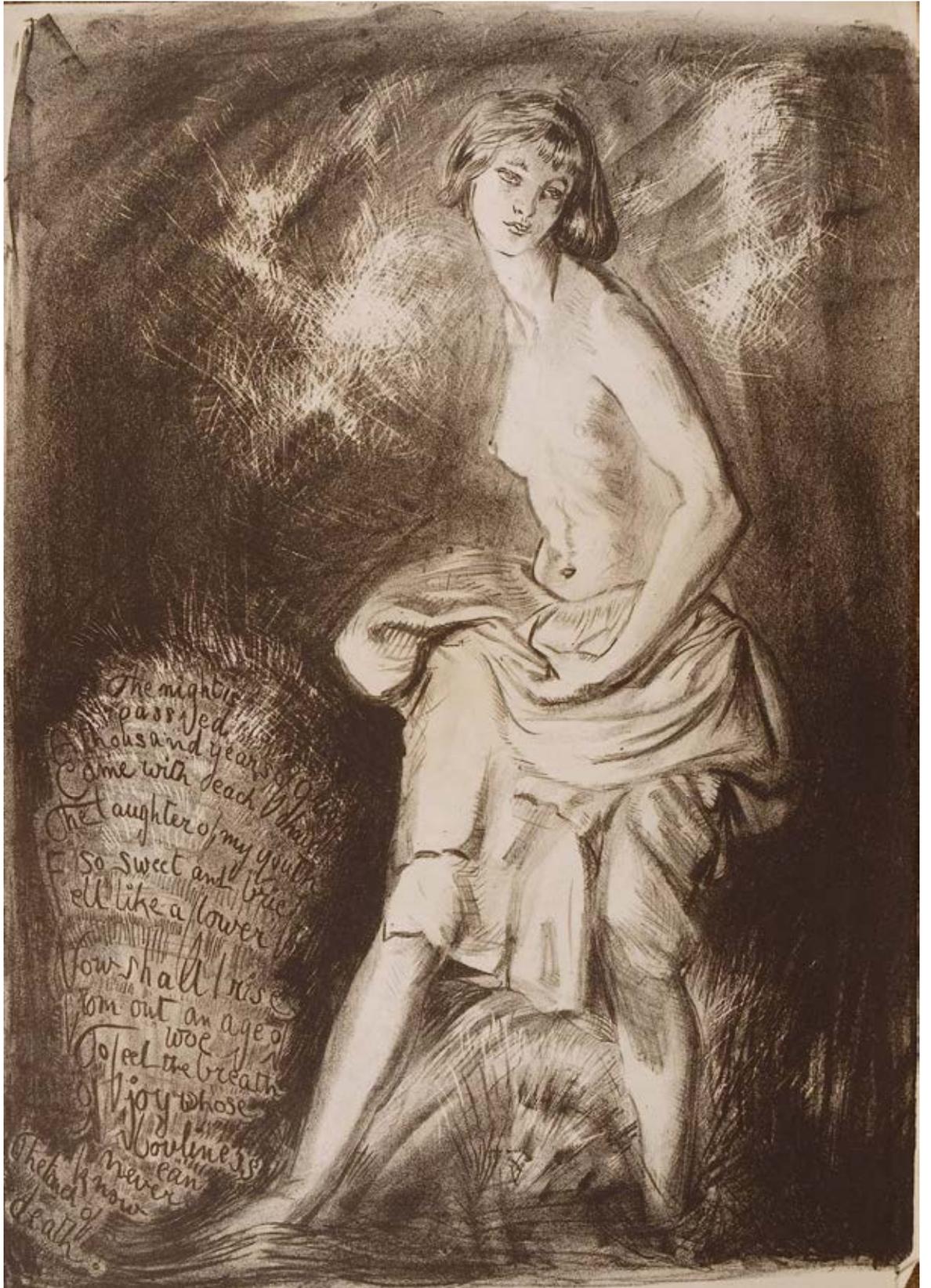


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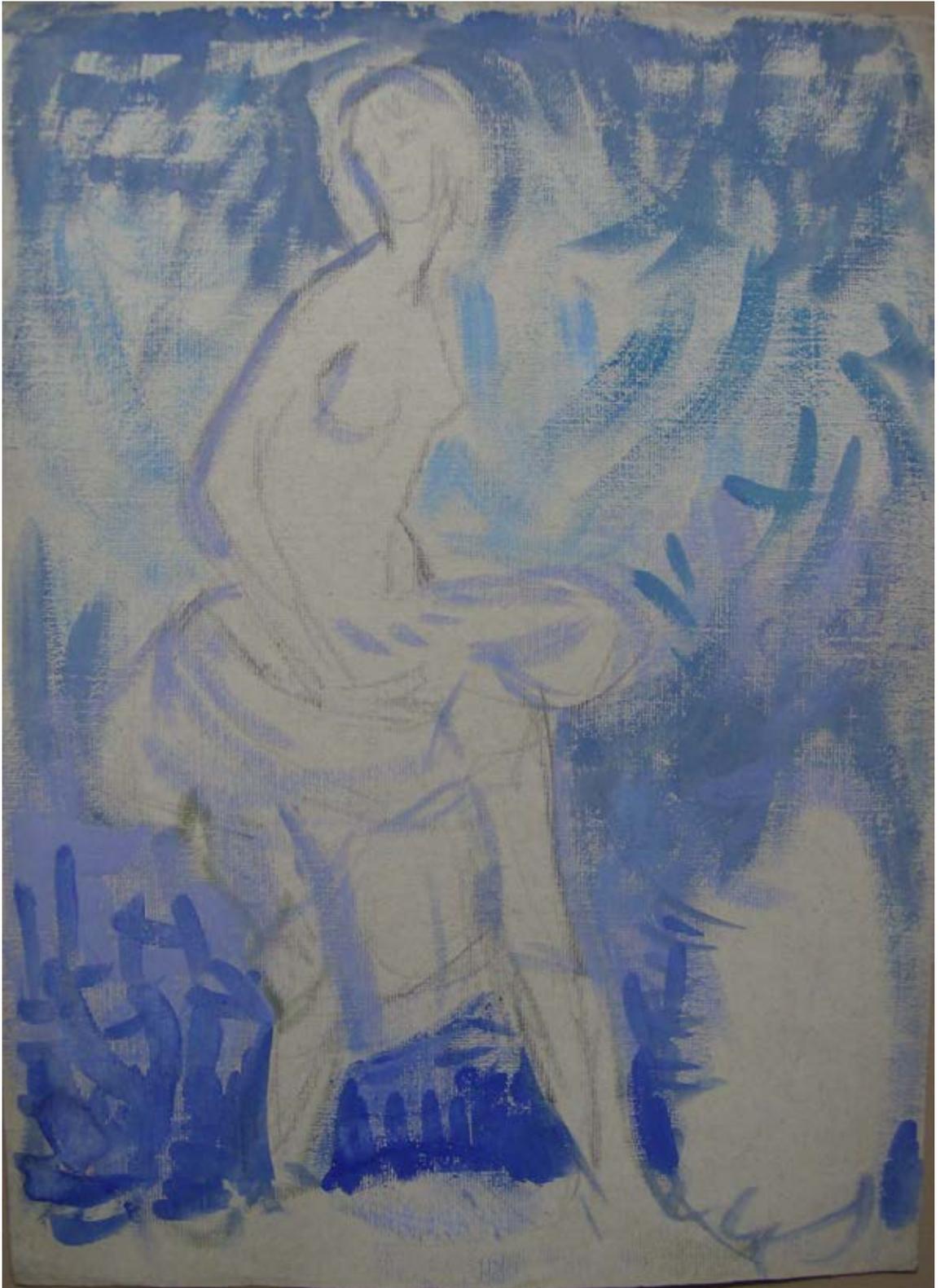


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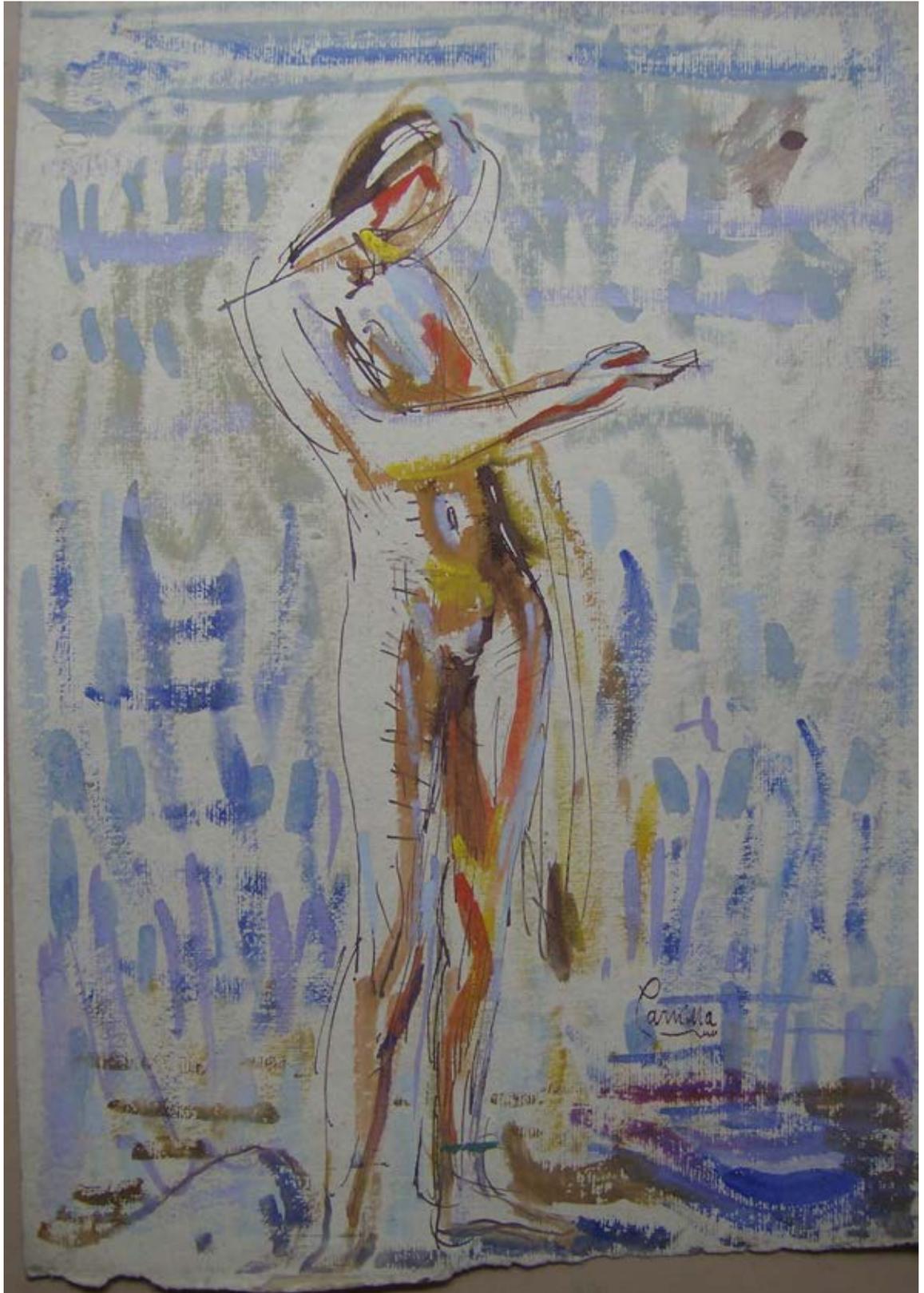


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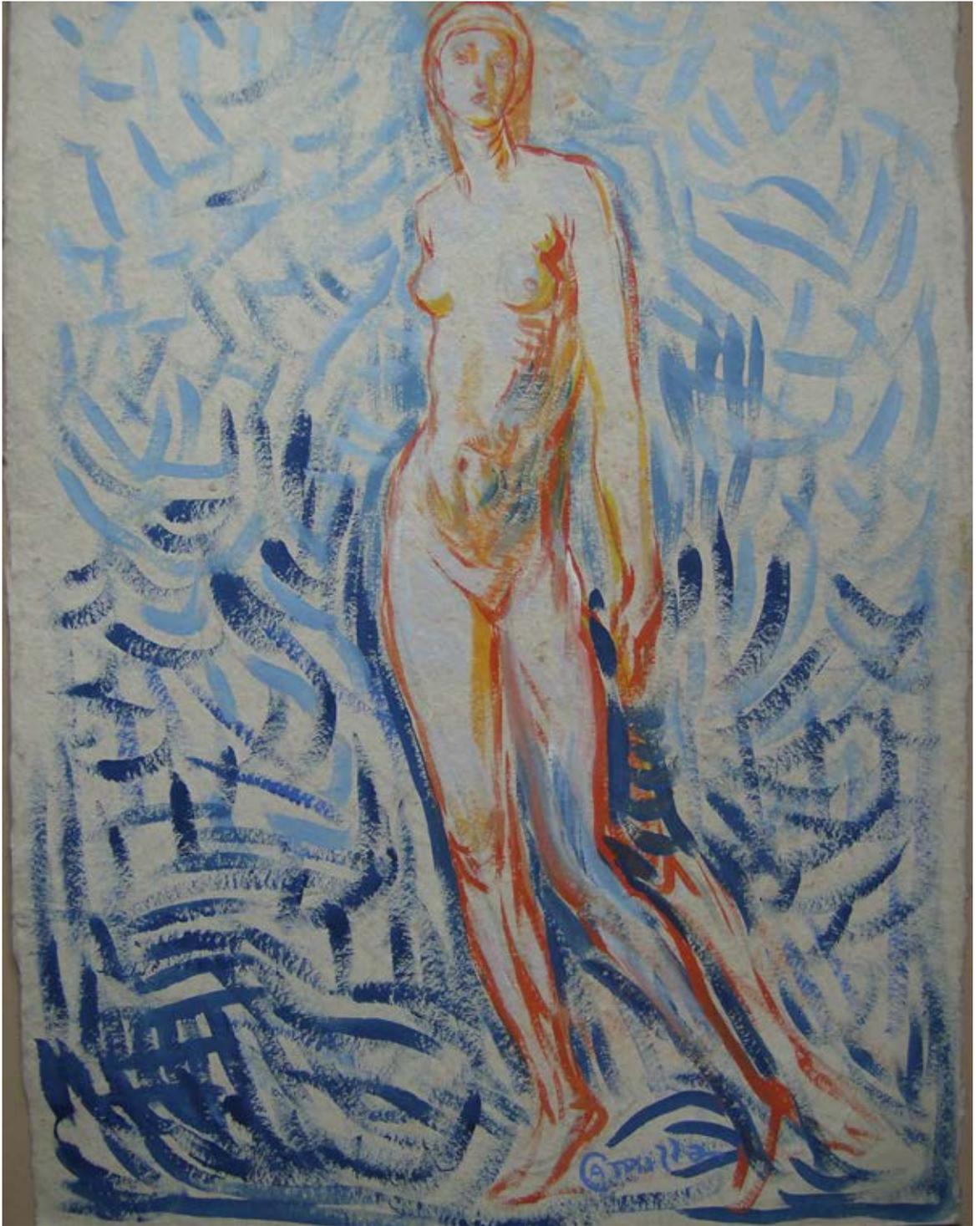


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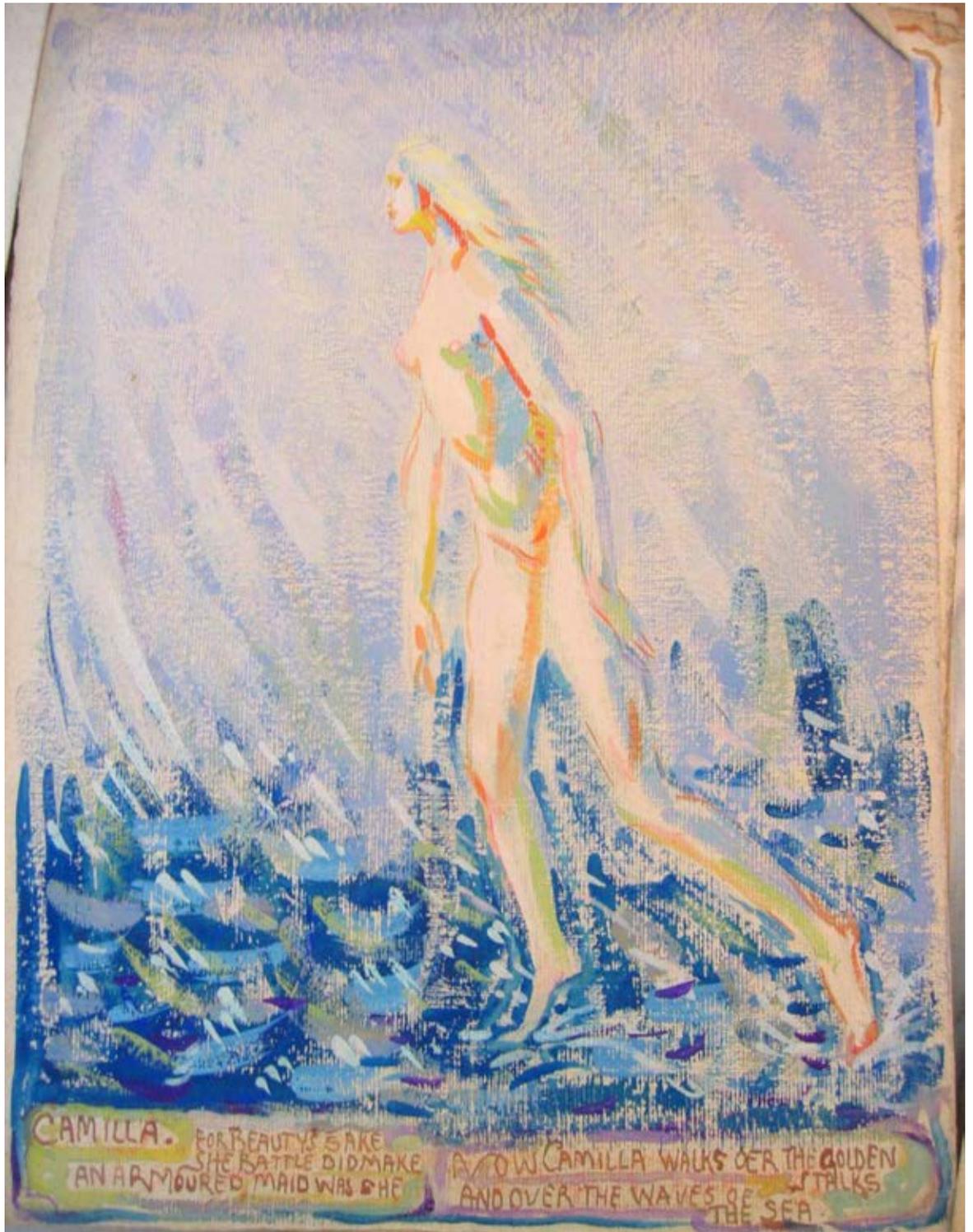


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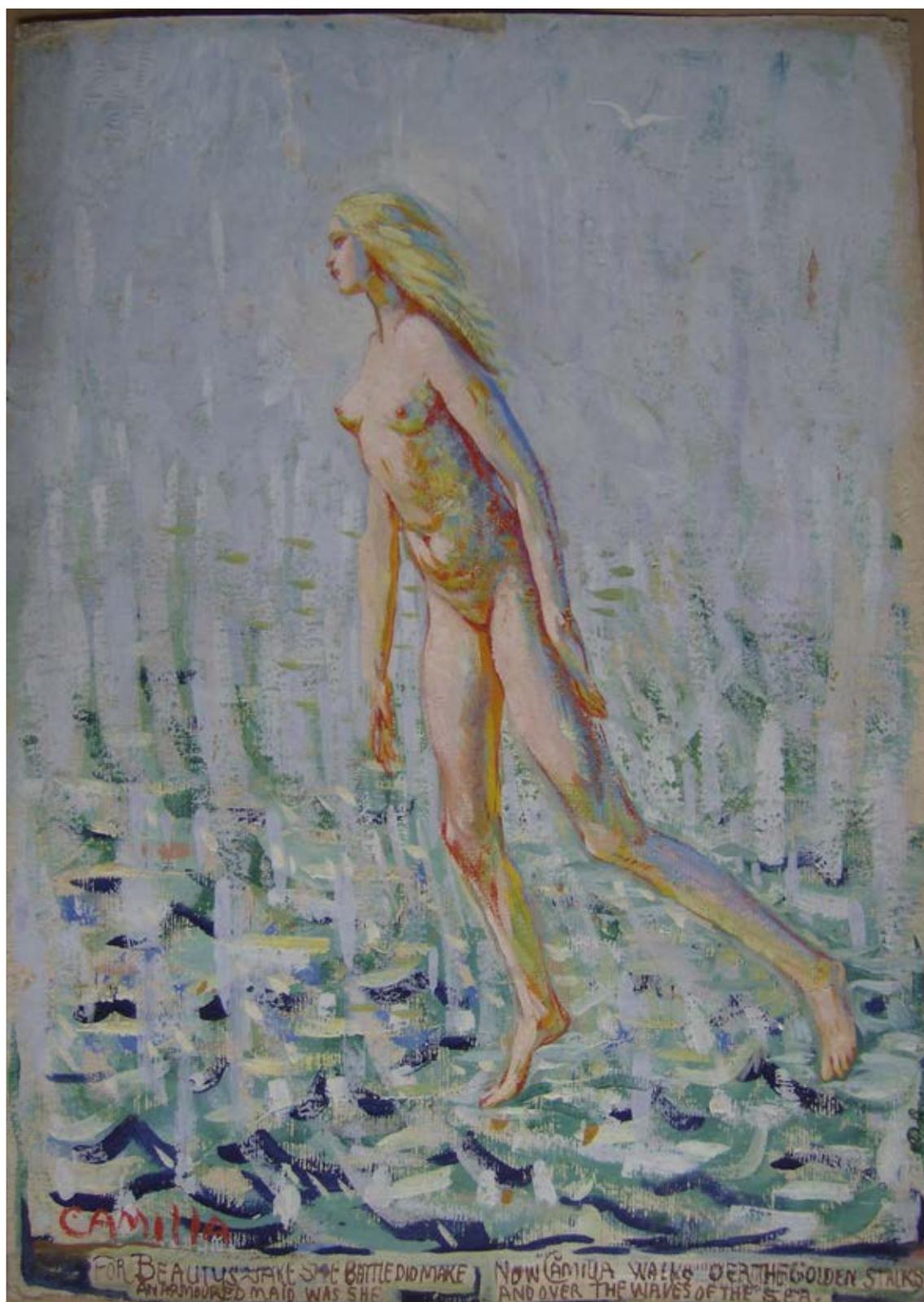


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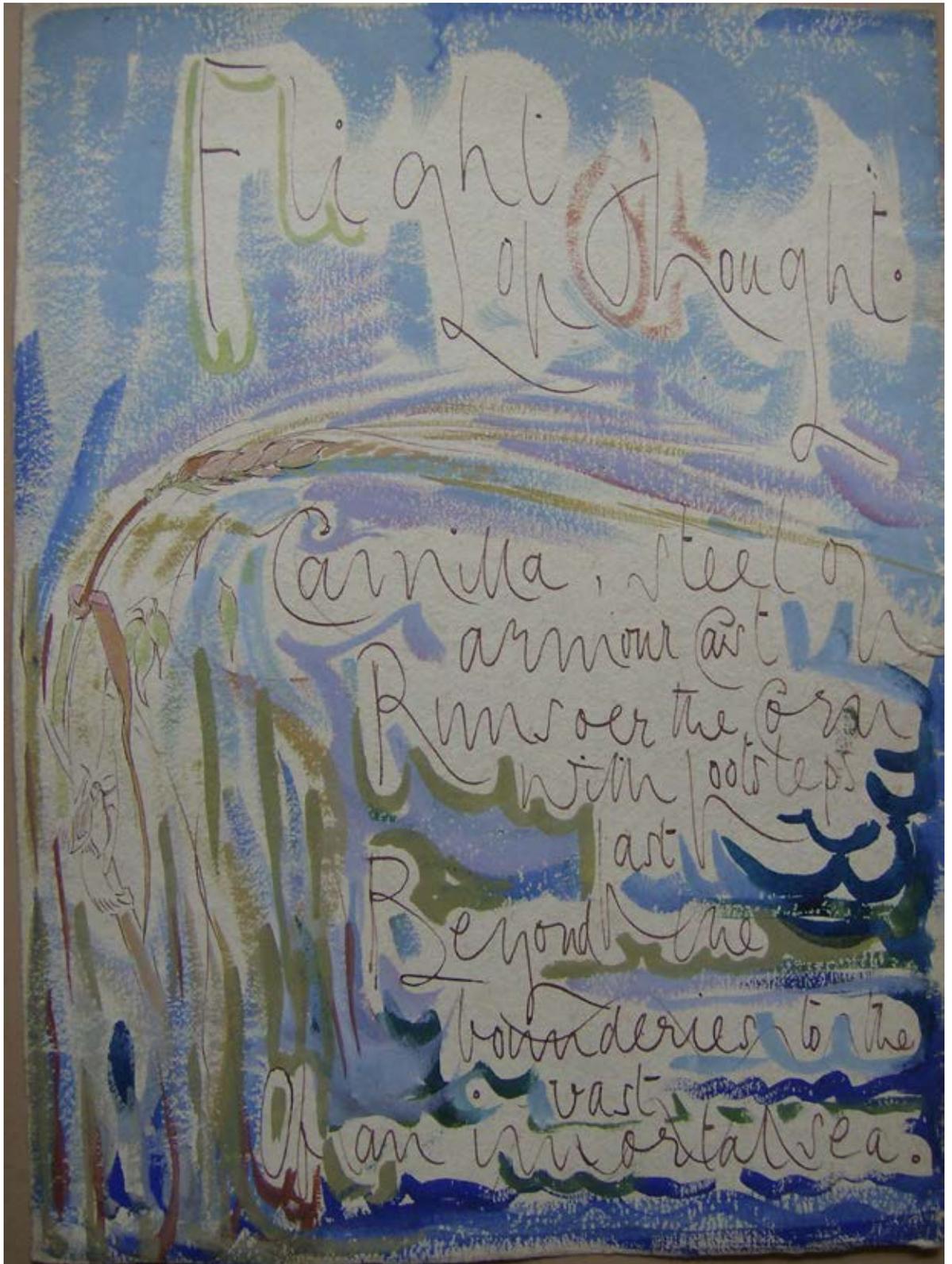


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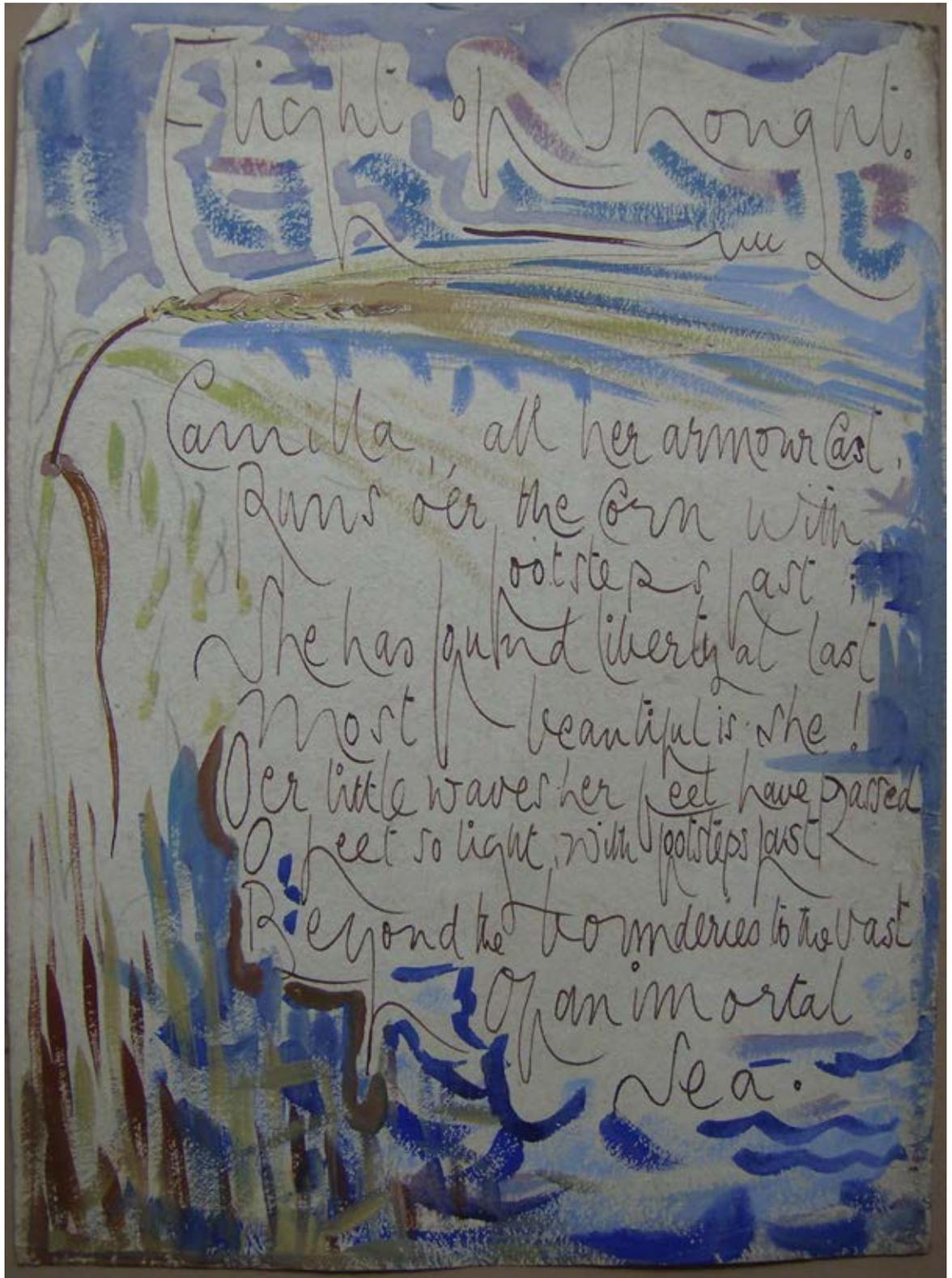


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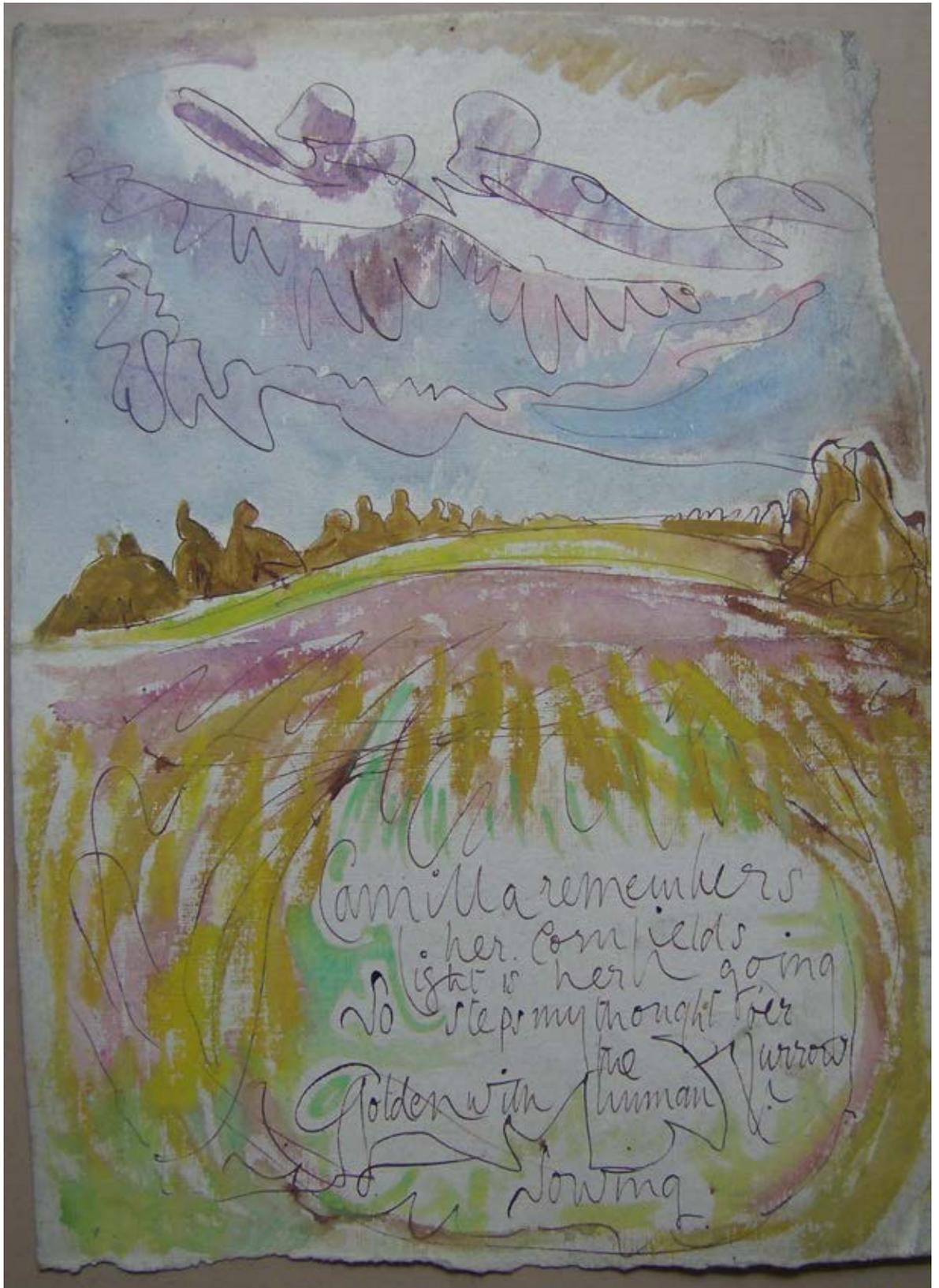


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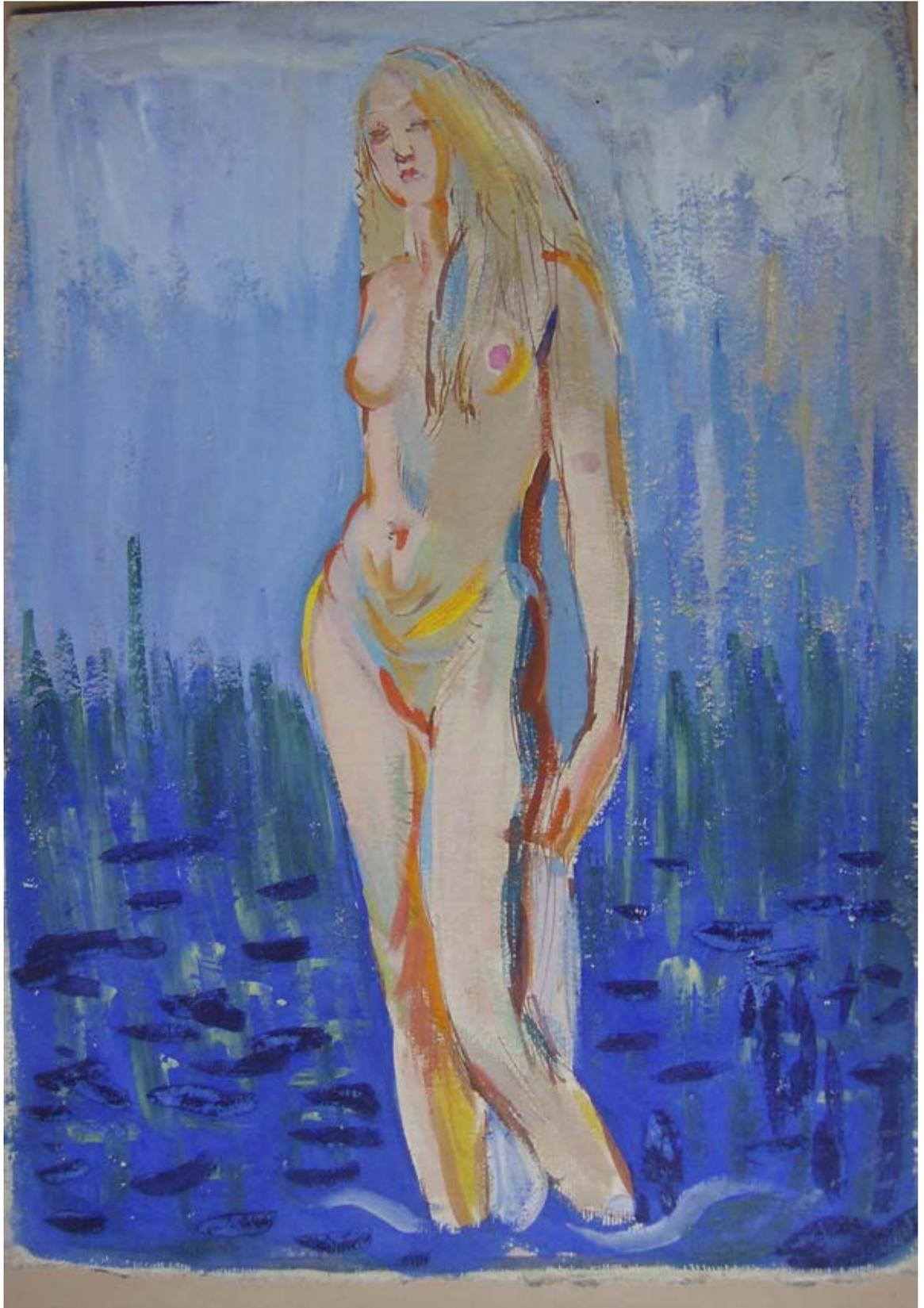


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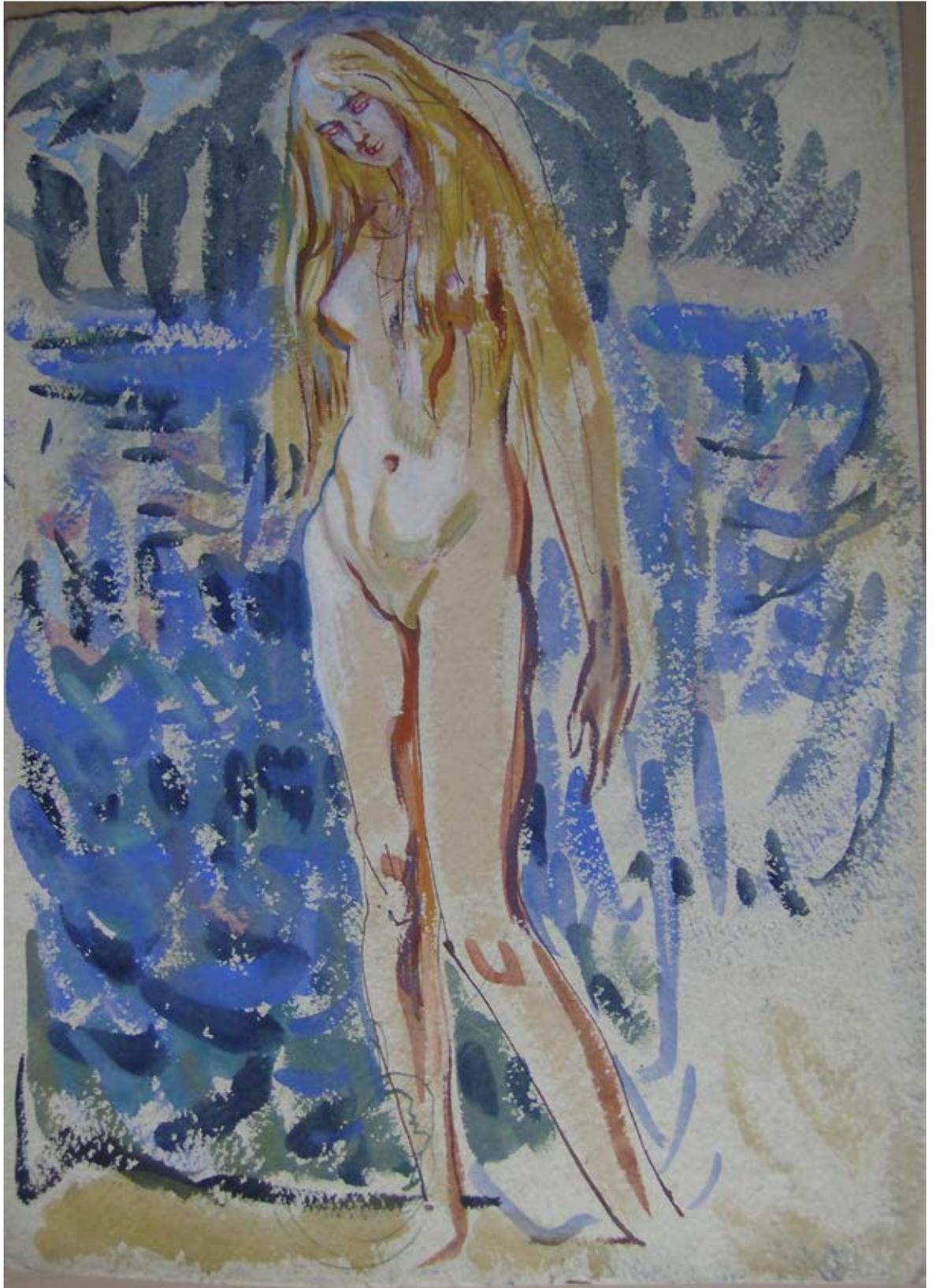


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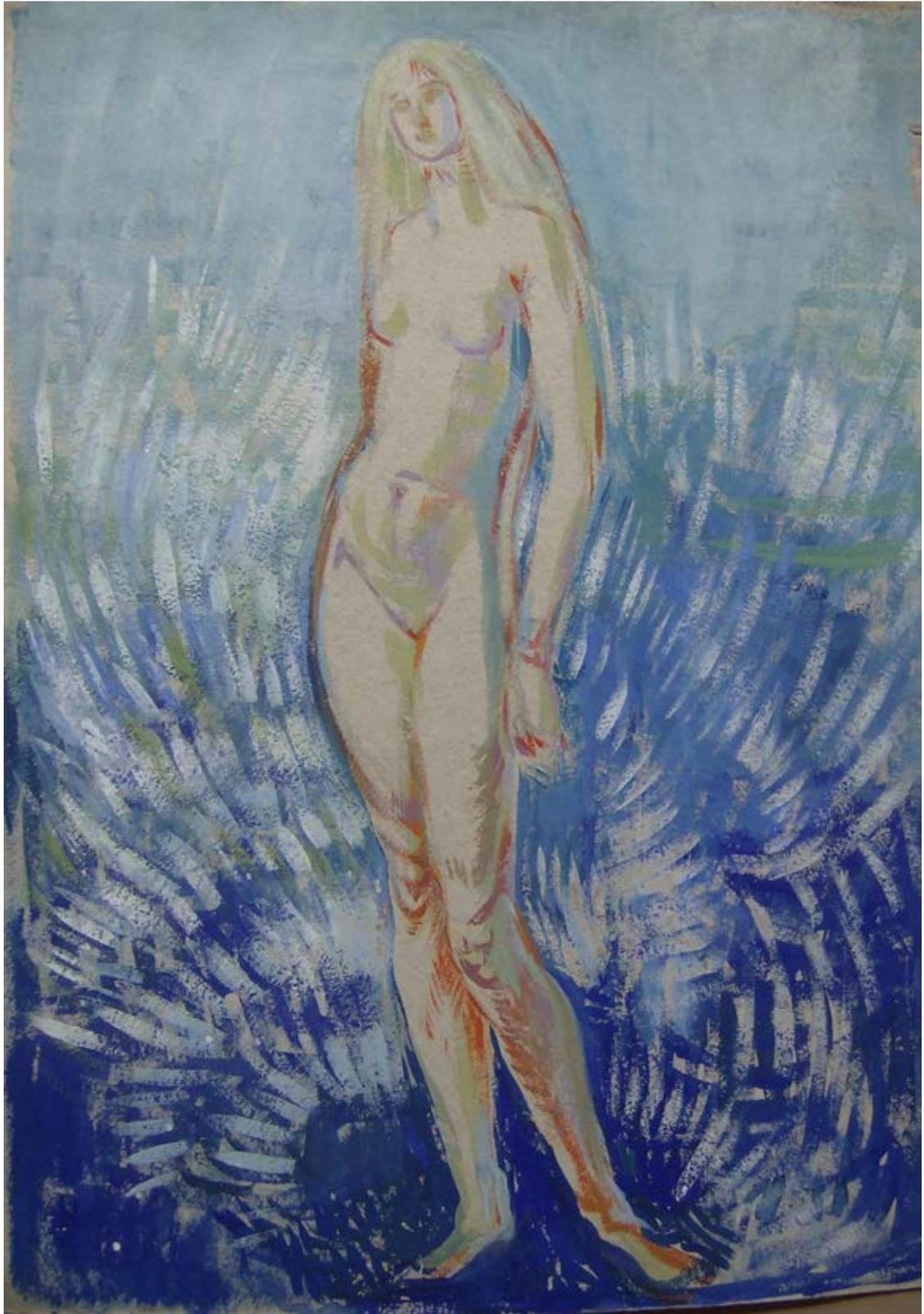


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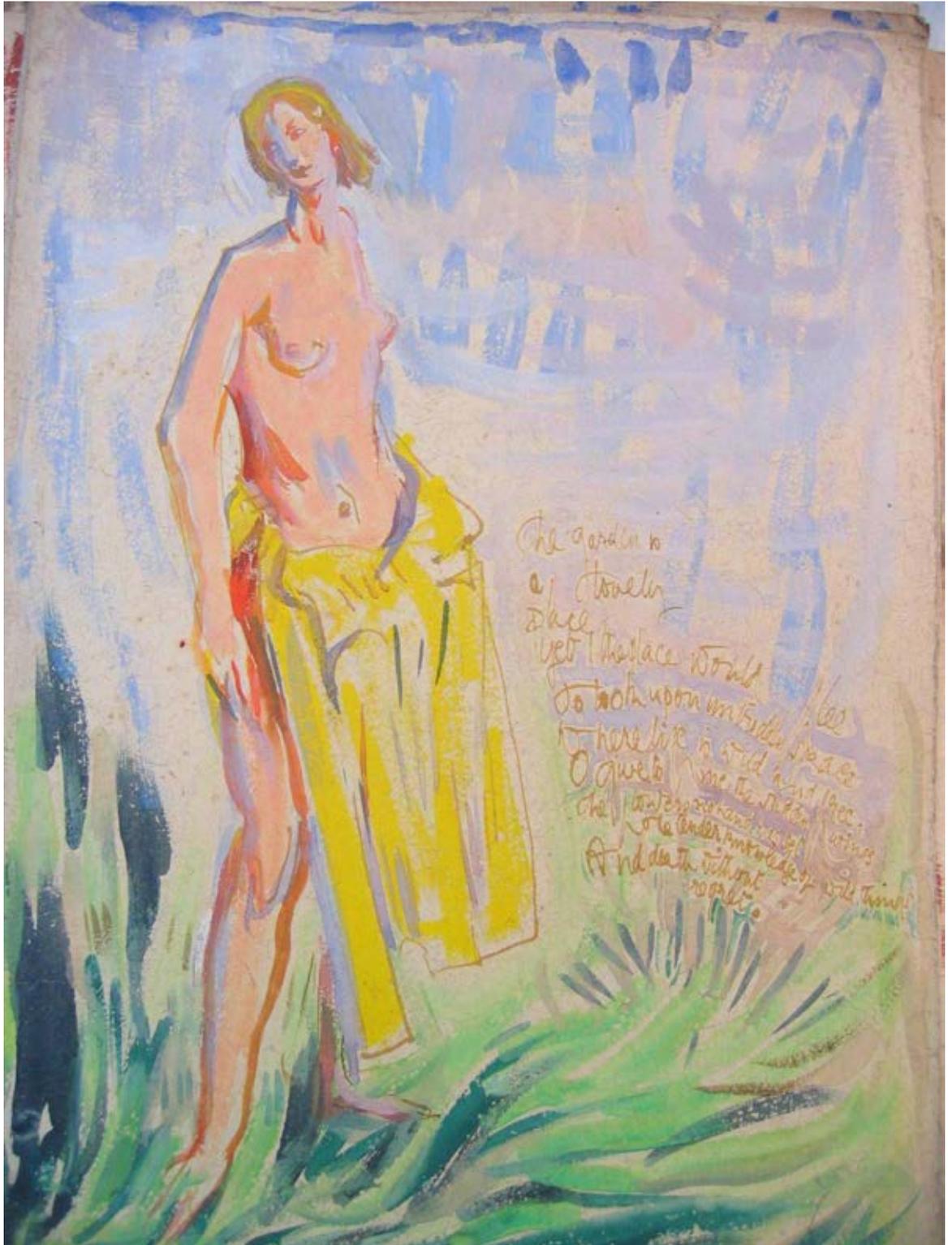


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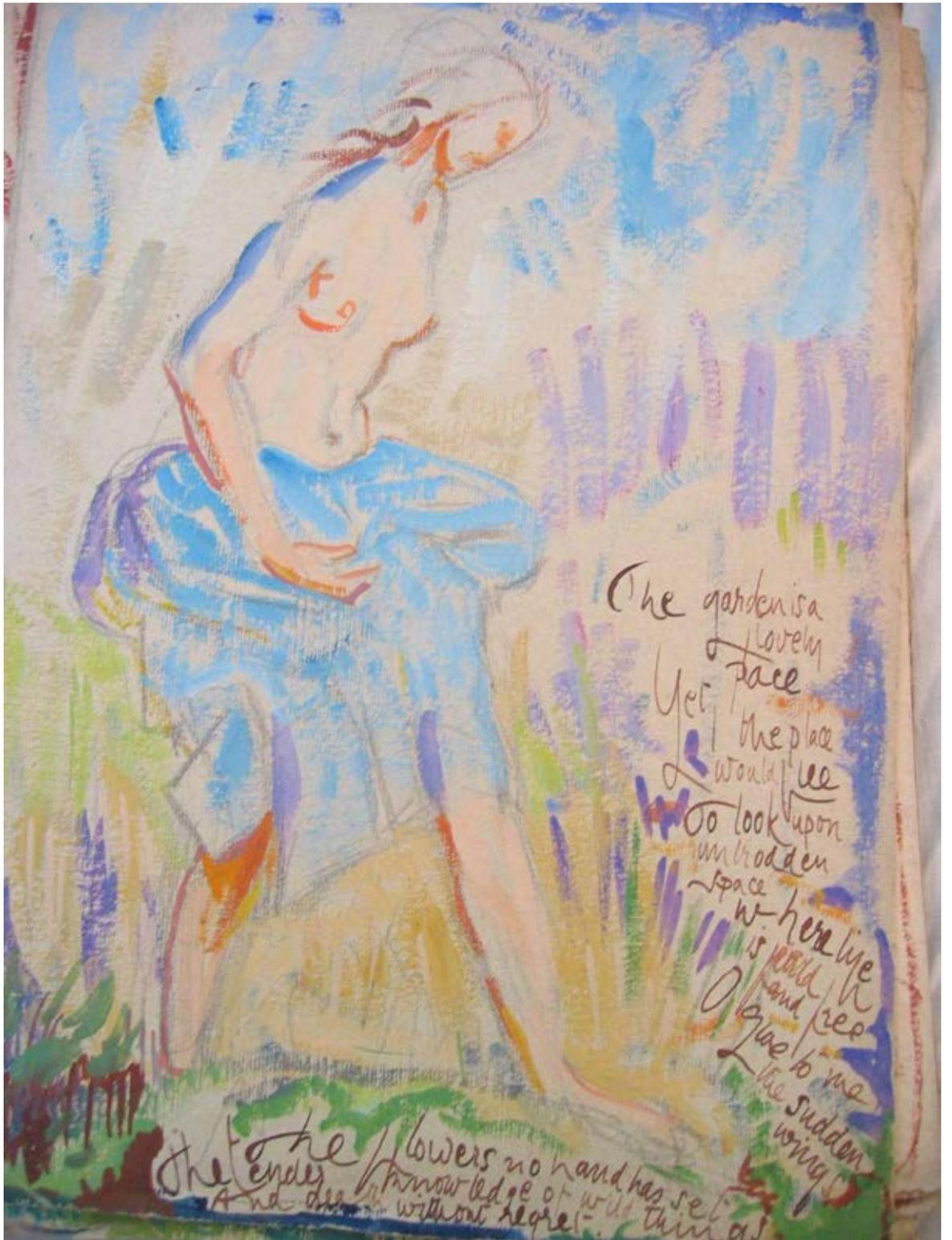


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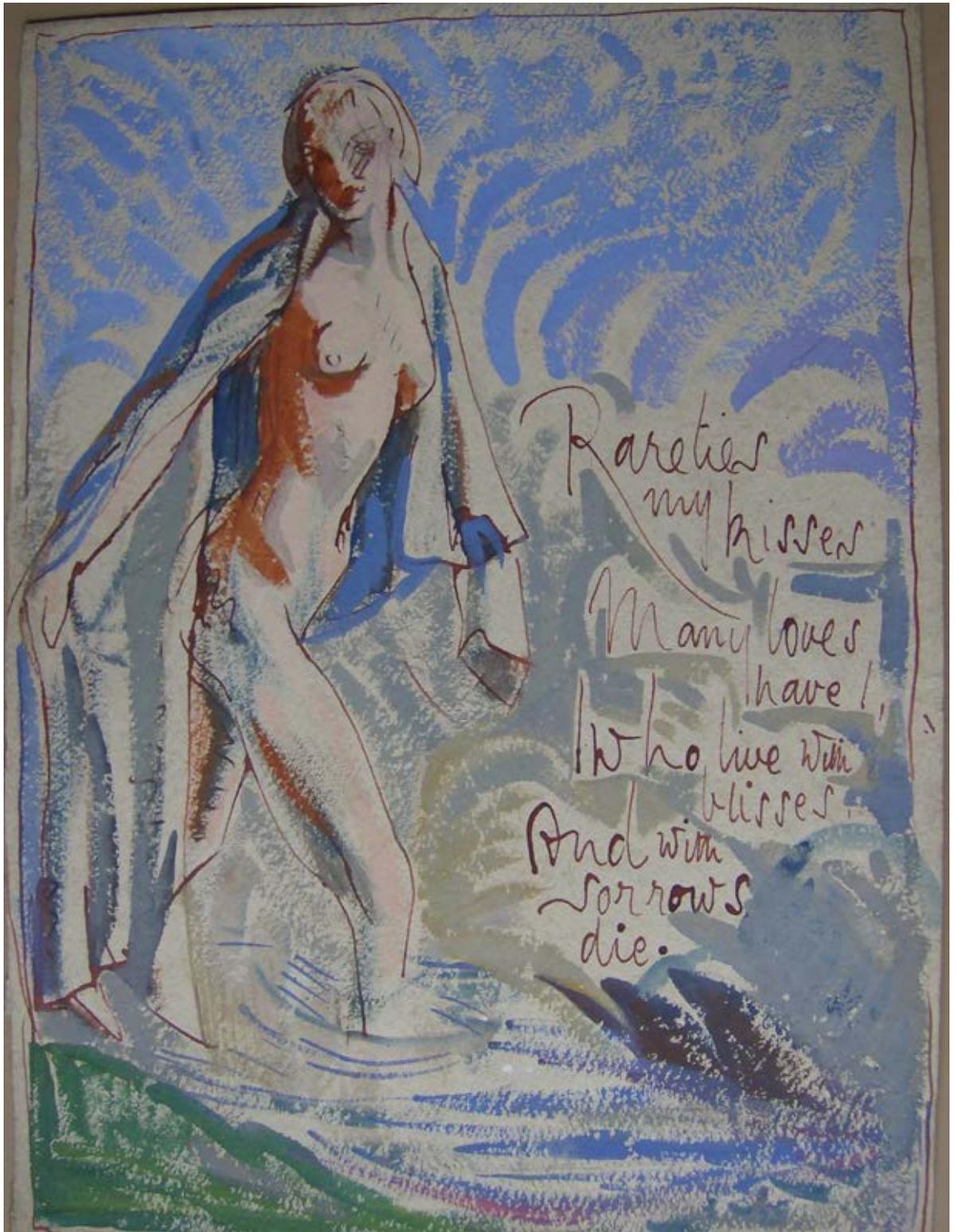


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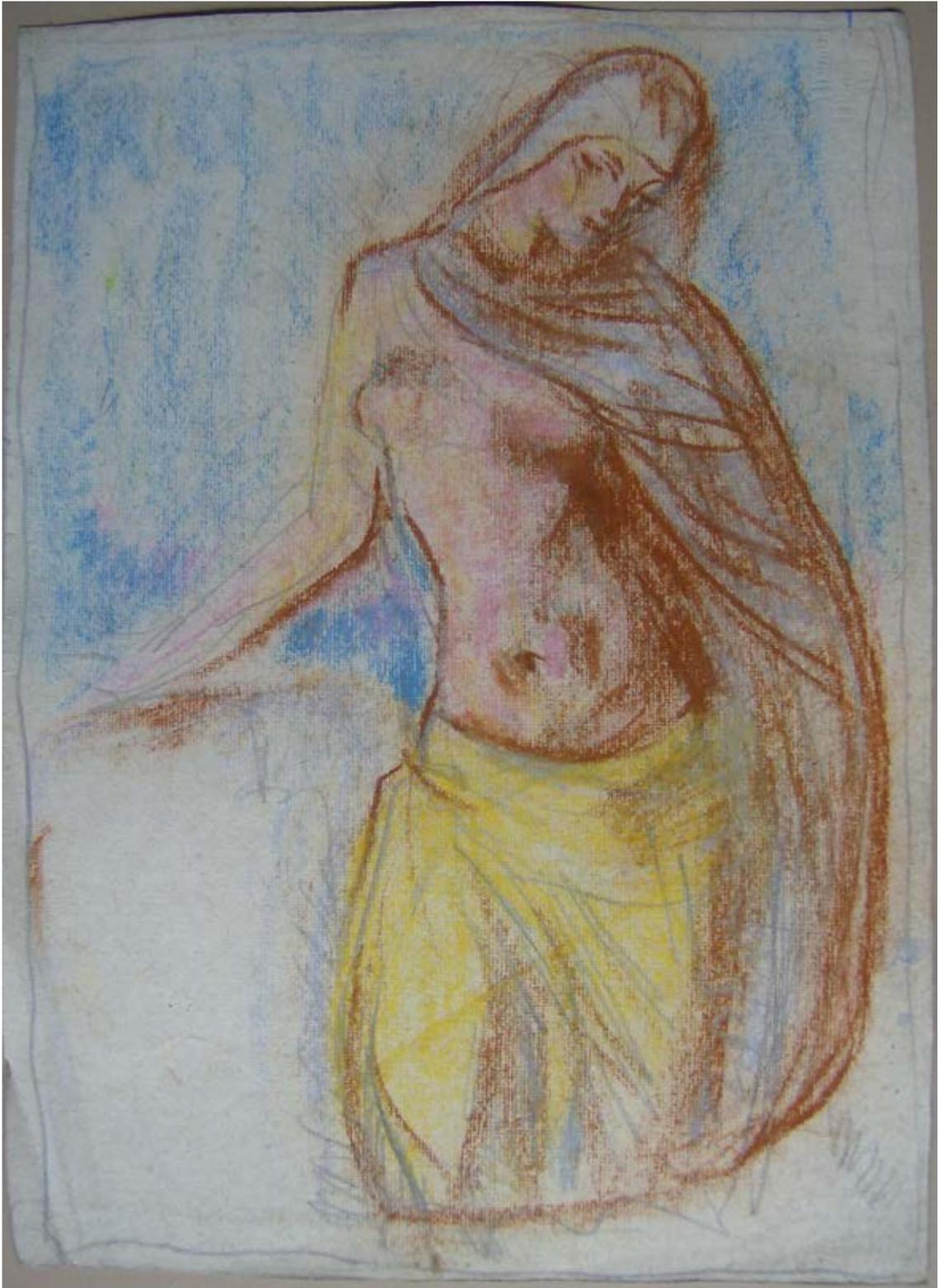


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## APPENDIX No. 1

### Biography for Lady Edna Clarke Hall [née Waugh] (1879–1979)

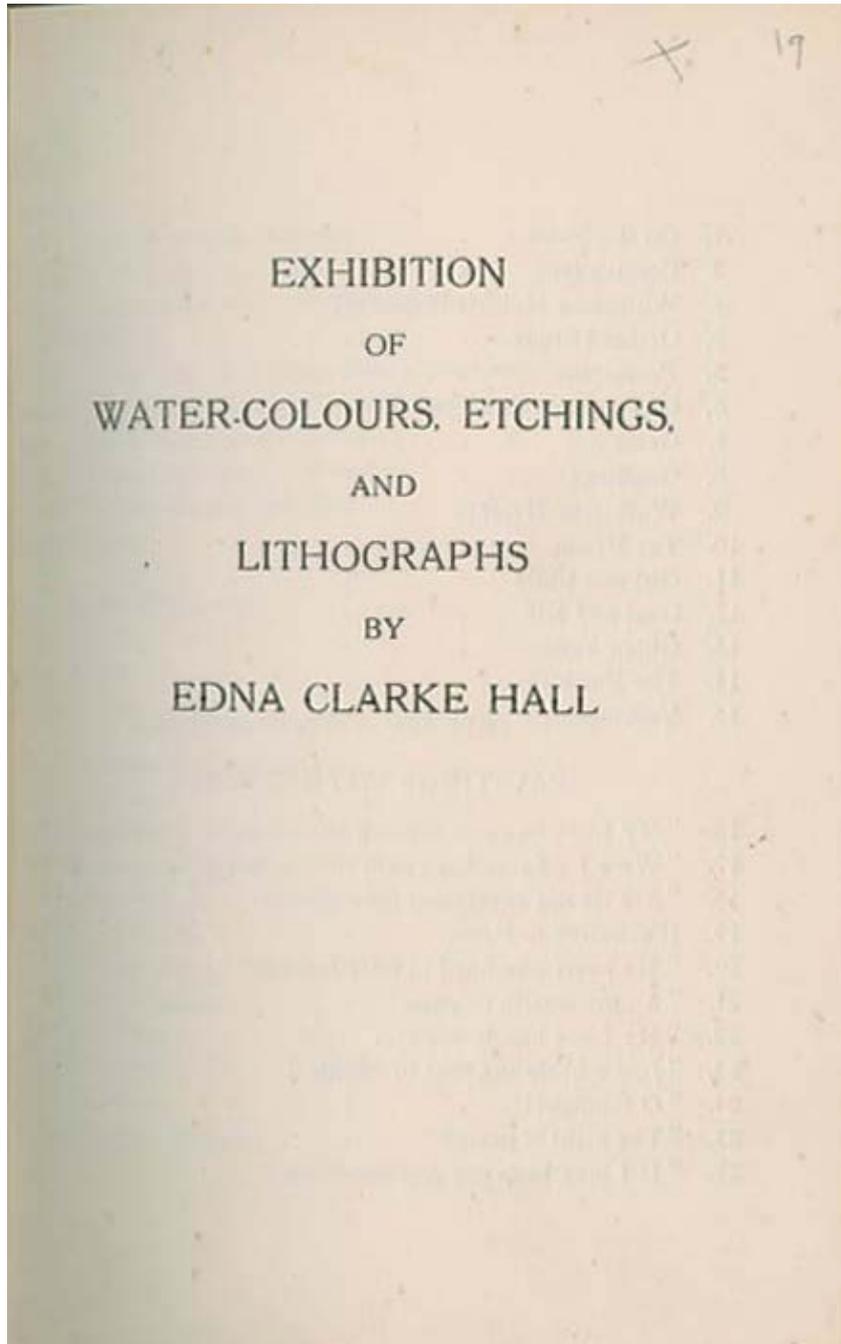
- Born 29<sup>th</sup> June 1879, at Shipbourne in Kent, to Reverend Benjamin Waugh (1839-1908) and Sarah Elizabeth (Lilian) Boothroyd.
- 1881 - family moves to Southgate, North London.
- 1889 - Benjamin Waugh resigns his ministry to devote himself to NSPCC, and family settles in St Albans, Hertfordshire.
- 1892 - Edna Waugh meets William Clarke Hall (1866–1931).
- October 1893 - Edna Waugh enters Slade School of Art as part time student
- 1896 - William proposes to Edna Waugh, and she accompanies Clarke Hall family to Florence in October.
- 1897 - wins Slade Scholarship and Summer Figure Composition Prize.
- 22<sup>nd</sup> December 1898 - leaves Slade training early to marry William Clarke Hall. The couple's first home was Red Cottage, Thames Ditton, Surrey.
- 1899 - work first accepted at the New English Art Club.
- 1901 – the Clarke Halls move temporarily to Great Tomkyns, Upminster Common, Essex. Autumn - back in London and purchase a flat in Battersea.
- 28<sup>th</sup> June 1901 – the Clarke Halls move to a sixteenth-century Georgian farmhouse, Great House, Upminster Common. Summers now spent here, and winters at their flat in Grays Inn, London.
- Autumn 1903 – attends the art school set up by Augustus John and William Orpen at Chelsea.
- 1905 - first son, Justin, born.
- 1908 – participates in Allied Artists Association (AAA) inaugural exhibition, Royal Albert Hall, London. Spends summer in Dielette village, Normandy.
- July 1910 - second son, Denis, born (d. 2006).
- 1914 – persuaded by Henry Tonks to do a one-woman show at the Chenil Galleries, London. Exhibition well received.
- 1915 – the Clarke Halls buy cottage at Gillan Creek, south of Helford Estuary, Cornwall, where they summer until 1927.
- November 1915 - Edward Thomas (1878-1917) stationed at Hare Hill Camp, visits Clarke Hall frequently.
- October 1917 – due to German bombings on Upminster Common, William moves Denis and Clarke Hall to Wheathampstead village, near St Albans; they finally settle in Prestwood village, Buckinghamshire, Chiltern Hills until October 1918.

- 1918-9 - Clarke Hall shows increasing signs of physical illness and depressive moods. Has ceased painting and drawing.
- 1920 - Henry Tonks persuades her to visit Dr Henry Head (1861-1940).
- c.1921-22 - acquires a studio in South Square, Gray's Inn, Camden, London. Enrolls at Central School of Art and Design (Southampton Row, London) on etching course
- 1925 – visits Germany.
- 4<sup>th</sup> December 1926 – travels across France and sails to Egypt with Egyptologist George Hornblower. Lands in Port Said, visits Cairo, stays first in hotel but decides to camp in desert village, Neslet el Seman, for several weeks. Much painting done.
- Late 1920s - takes part in Shell Mex commission, which culminates in 1931 touring exhibition, *Modern Pictorial Advertising*. Visits Germany several times.
- 28<sup>th</sup> October 1931 - William Clarke Hall dies of heart attack while sailing. Clarke Hall Fellowship set up (to continue his work) and funds for annual Clarke Hall Lecture (cont. to 1957). Clarke Hall turns Great House into a functioning farm.
- 1932 - William posthumously knighted in the New Year Honors List in recognition of his work with children and the law.
- January 1933 - private sale of Edna Clarke Hall's work organized by Michel Salaman and his two sisters, Louise Bishop and Dorothy Samuel, to raise money with which they set up a trust to buy one of the artist's paintings each year, to ensure she could keep her Gray's Inn studio.
- August 1941 - Grays Inn studio destroyed in Blitz bombing. Clarke Hall's work reduces increasingly after this.
- Early 1950s - ceases painting, largely due to severe arthritis in hands; last dated work, 1951. This decade is a difficult time as Clarke Hall (now in her 70s) finds running Great House increasingly challenging.
- 1958 - Mary Fearnley Sander (aged 46), Clarke Hall's niece, moves to Great House, and becomes housekeeper and companion for last 25 years of Clarke Hall's life.
- 1960s and 70s – Mary encourages Clarke Hall to write memories (which becomes *The Heritage of Ages*) and organize her letters as the press and public show increasing interest in her and her life following 1971 Slade School Centenary celebrations and exhibitions.
- Winter 1979 – Great House structurally unstable; Clarke Hall and Mary move to cottage in Deal, Kent. Clarke Hall soon moved into nursing home.
- Dies 16<sup>th</sup> November 1979 at Deal, Kent, six weeks after leaving Great House.

## APPENDIX No. 2

### 1926 Redfern Exhibition Catalogue (4 pages)<sup>1</sup>:

*Exhibition of Watercolours, Etchings and Lithographs by Edna Clarke Hall, Redfern Gallery, London, 5<sup>th</sup> February – 4<sup>th</sup> March 1926*



(1)

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<sup>1</sup> Redfern Gallery Archive, London

CAT

|   | Guineas |
|---|---------|
| 1. On the Shore . . . . .                         | 7       |
| 2. Cornish Girl . . . . .                         | 12      |
| 3. Wuthering Heights ( <i>drawing</i> ) . . . . . | 16      |
| 4. Orchard Study . . . . .                        | 7       |
| 5. Proserpine . . . . .                           | 10      |
| 6. Girl and two Children . . . . .                | 10      |
| 7. Grass . . . . .                                | 8       |
| 8. Goatlings . . . . .                            | 8       |
| 9. Wuthering Heights . . . . .                    | 20      |
| 10. The Beach . . . . .                           | 10      |
| 11. Girl and Child . . . . .                      | 10      |
| 12. Goat and Kid . . . . .                        | 8       |
| 13. Gillan Valley . . . . .                       | 8       |
| 14. The Black Goat . . . . .                      | 8       |
| 15. Vaucotte . . . . .                            | 10      |

PAINTINGS WITH POEMS.

|  |    |
|--|----|
| 16. " My Love he came through the long cliff grass " | 15 |
| 17. " Were I a figure-head unto silence wed "        | 15 |
| 18. " Are we not angels and fairy sprites . . . "    | 15 |
| 19. Illustration to Poem . . . . .                   | 15 |
| 20. " My heart was filled in fairy fashion "         | 15 |
| 21. " All my wealth of years " . . . . .             | 15 |
| 22. " My Love kneels down . . . "                    | 15 |
| 23. " Just a blade the reed to whittle "             | 15 |
| 24. " O Sunlight! " . . . . .                        | 15 |
| 25. " The night is passed " . . . . .                | 15 |
| 26. " If I may keep one precious thing " . . . . .   | 15 |

## OGUE

|  | Guineas |
|--|---------|
| 27. "I said the well is deep" - - -            | 15      |
| 28. "Love takes my heart" - - -                | 15      |
| 29. "A thousand years of grief are mine" -     | 15      |
| 30. Camilla - - - -                            | 15      |
| 31. "Turn grey, turn green, turn silver sheen" | 15      |
| 32. "Not this or that shall hinder me"         | 15      |
| 33. "Here stand I holding masks"               | 15      |
| 34. "Leave me to my dull death"                | 15      |
| 35. "Leave me my solitudes" - - -              | 15      |
| 36. Venus - - - -                              | 20      |
| -----  |         |
| 37. Little Girl laughing - - - -               | 7       |
| 38. Dennis - - - -                             | 8       |
| 39. Head - - - -                               | 7       |

### LEAVES FROM A SKETCH BOOK,

|                                   |   |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| 40. Children on the Cliff - - - - | 7 |
| 41. A Group - - - -               | 7 |
| 42. Evening - - - -               | 7 |
| 43. Looking to Sea - - - -        | 7 |
| 44. Blue Squall - - - -           | 7 |
| 45. Small Craft - - - -           | 7 |
| 46. On the Shore - - - -          | 7 |
| 47. On the Sands - - - -          | 7 |
| 48. The Pool - - - -              | 7 |
| 49. Rainbow - - - -               | 7 |
| 50. Children - - - -              | 7 |
| 51. Study of Children - - - -     | 7 |

[P.T.O.]

CATALOGUE—*continued.*

|  | Guineas             |
|--|---------------------|
| 52. Frontispiece ( <i>lithograph</i> ) . . . . .                 | 2                   |
| 53. Dr. Friedlander . . . . .                                    | 10                  |
| 54. Goat and Kid . . . . .                                       | 8                   |
| 55. Dry Point Etching ( <i>illustration</i> ) . . . . .          | 7                   |
| 56. Baby . . . . .   | 8                   |
| 57. German Peasants . . . . .                                    | 7                   |
| 58. Tree Study . . . . .   | 6                   |
| 59. Sycamore Seed . . . . .                                      | 7                   |
| 60. "I with Beauty sat at board" ( <i>lithograph</i> ) . . . . . | 2                   |
| 61. Pen and Ink Sketch . . . . .                                 | 4                   |
| 62. Old Chelsea . . . . .  | 6                   |
| 63. Pen and Ink Study of a Girl . . . . .                        | <i>Not for sale</i> |
| 64. A Street in Chelsea . . . . .                                | 20                  |
| 65. A Shop in Chelsea . . . . .                                  | 6                   |
| 66. "The night is passed . . ." ( <i>lithograph</i> ) . . . . .  | 2                   |
| 67. On the Cliff . . . . .                                       | 6                   |
| 68. Nude Child ( <i>etching</i> ) . . . . .                      | 6                   |

*A complete Set of Etchings in Portfolio.*

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THE REDFERN GALLERY, LTD.,

27, OLD BOND STREET, W.1.

*February 5th—March 4th, 1926.*

### APPENDIX No. 3

Poem Pictures sold in 1926 from *Exhibition of Watercolours, Etchings and Lithographs* by *Edna Clarke Hall*, Redfern Gallery, London, 5<sup>th</sup> February – 4<sup>th</sup> March 1926<sup>1</sup>:

- *O Sunlight!*
- *Venus*
- *The night is passed* (lithographs x 6)
- *My Love kneels down*
- *Leave me my solitude*
- *Turn grey, turn green*
- *I with Beauty sat at board* (lithograph)
- *Were I a figure-head unto silence wed*

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<sup>1</sup> Information obtained from Redfern Gallery Archive sales records.

## APPENDIX No. 4

List of all poems by Edna Clarke Hall mentioned and discussed in Chapter One, in order of appearance. Those poems still in copyright published in either *Poems* (1926) or *Facets* (1930) are listed by title and details of original publication only, whilst those poems that have never been published, but appear in certain archive Poem Pictures, are reproduced here in full.<sup>1</sup>

'Leave me to my dull death', *Poems*, London, 1926, 69  
(relating to figs.1 and 29)

'This and this also would I from me cast', unpublished poem from archive Poem Picture  
(relating to figs. 8-11)

This and this also would I from me cast  
These things of time that have outlived their day  
Yet spring again, another image fast,  
To cast away.

'I with Beauty sat at board', *Poems*, London, 1926, 52  
(relating to figs.12-15)

'I look upon Beauty, Beauty is old', *Facets*, London, 1930, 8  
(relating to fig. 19)

'When Beauty walked with me', *Poems*, London, 1926, 20

'Fairies are sprightly', *Facets*, London, 1930, 12

'Grey is the meadow', *Facets*, London, 1930, 15

'Time', *Facets*, London, 1930, 8

'Leave me my solitudes', *Facets*, London, 1930, 7  
(relating to fig. 21)

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<sup>1</sup> By kind permission of Alison Thomas, keeper of the Clarke Hall Archive.

'All my wealth of years', unpublished poem from archive Poem Picture  
(relating to fig. 22)

All my wealth of years,  
Offered was in vain,  
Cast into the ditches  
All my wealth of riches  
Scorned with sharp disdain.

Laughter turned to tears,  
Tears to hidden pain,  
Till the heavens did borrow,  
All my wealth of sorrow,  
For a healing rain.

'You need not tell me "life is sweet"', *Poems*, London, 1926, 17

'I would forget my loving's need', unpublished poem from archive Poem Picture  
(relating to fig. 23, some text illegible)

I would forget my lovings need  
And that for love I cared  
To follow abstract Beauty freed  
From grief of love unshared,  
For Beauty has my loving stirred.  
In xxx xxxxx Beauty's quest  
And from my sorrow flee,  
To find that grief is also guest  
where else my xxxxxx would be.

'Turn grey, turn green', unpublished poem from archive Poem Picture  
(relating to figs. 24-25)

Turn Grey,  
Turn Green,  
Turn silver sheen  
willow tree of pointed leaves.  
The morning old  
Shall turn to gold  
The silver-green  
Where greyness grieves.

'Here stand I holding masks', *Poems*, London, 1926, 16  
(relating to figs. 26-27)

'Cupid, Venus Folly and Time' - Angelo Bronzino, *Poems*, London, 1926, 42-43  
(relating to fig. 28)

'Still and stark my spirit lies', unpublished poem from archive Poem Picture  
(relating to fig. 33)

Still and stark my spirit lies  
In the dust with closed eyes  
Was it you sweet love who thrust  
Your sweet playmate in the dust?

'See my spirit silent lies', unpublished poem from archive Poem Picture  
(relating to fig. 34)

See my spirit silent lies  
Still and stark in death's disguise  
Was it you O love who thrust  
This sweet playmate in the dust?  
In the dust where now she lies  
Still and stark with closed eyes.

'Cold as ice, and heavy as lead', *Poems*, London, 1926, 21

'Behold my loves break into flower', *Facets*, London, 1930, 12

'My Love came through the long cliff grass', unpublished poem from archive Poem Picture  
(relating to figs. 40-41)

My Love came through the long cliff grass  
Through the flowers of the grass came he,  
My hand he took,  
And he cast his look  
Over the morning sea:  
love, how soon do your moments pass  
Like the flowers of the grass, ah me!

'I said: 'The well is deep; there is always the well'', *Facets*, London, 1930, 28  
(relating to figs.42 and 52)

'A thousand years of grief are mine', *Poems*, London, 1926, 51  
(relating to figs. 43-47)

'My heart was filled in fairy fashion', unpublished poem from archive Poem Picture  
(relating to figs. 50 and 51)

My heart was filled in fairy fashion,  
Fiery dew and winged passion,  
You thought it but an earthen bowl,  
Broke my heart and spilled my soul.

'My Love kneels down', *Facets*, London, 1930, 8

'Too soon grey time', unpublished poem from archive Poem Picture  
(relating to fig. 54)

Too soon grey time  
Will cover my love and loving's pride,  
I would I had a lover,  
For love my body cried

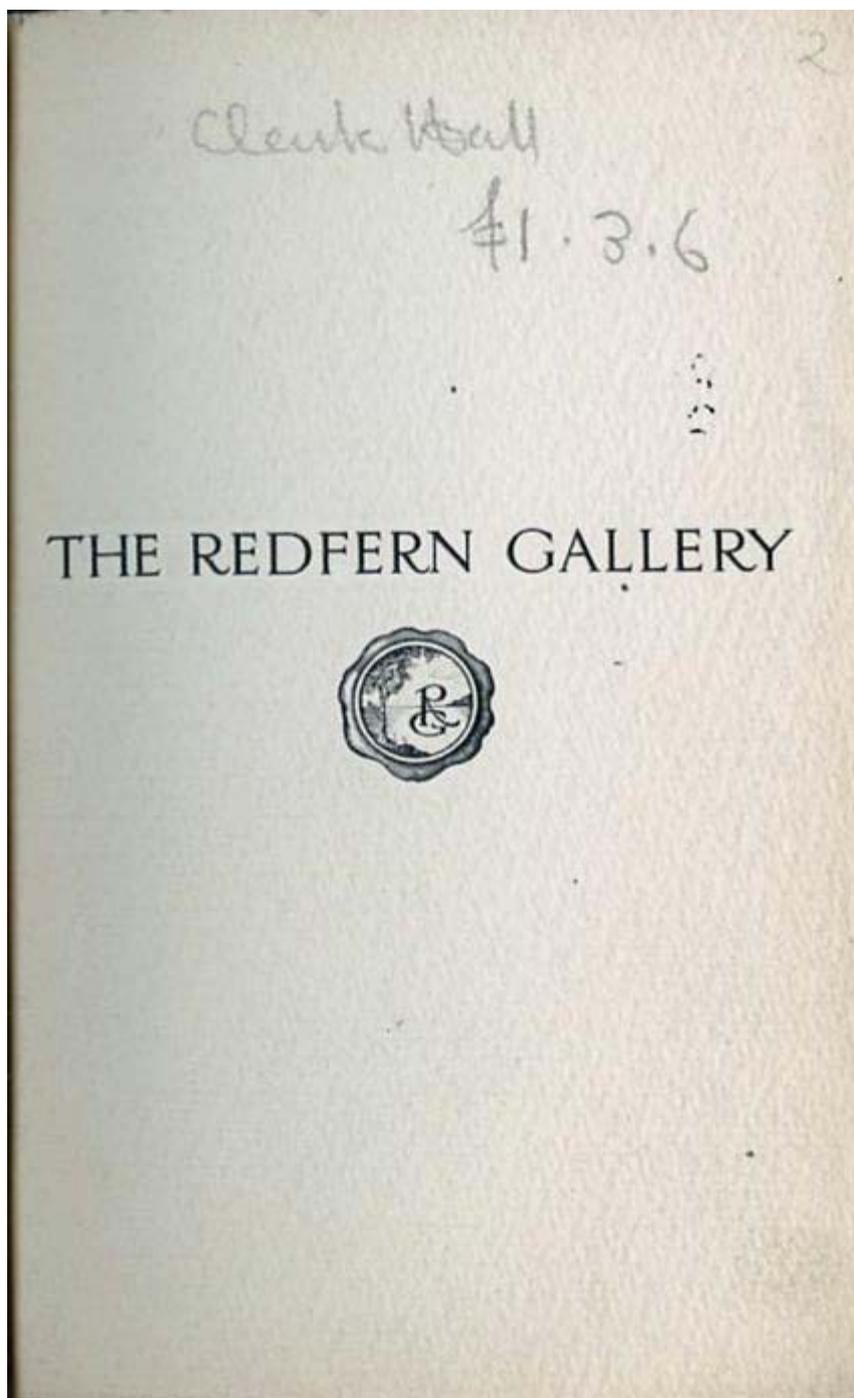
The candle light and moonlight,  
Together silent lie,  
Upon the floor,  
And on my bed  
And here alone am I

love,  
Why must I stand alone,  
To see my loving die?

## APPENDIX No. 5

### 1924 Redfern Exhibition catalogue (5 pages)<sup>1</sup>:

*Water-colours, Drawings and Etchings by Edna Clarke Hall,*  
Redfern Gallery, London, 22<sup>nd</sup> January – 12<sup>th</sup> February 1924



(1)

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<sup>1</sup> Redfern Gallery Archive, London.

X

WATER-COLOUR DRAWINGS  
AND  
ETCHINGS  
BY  
EDNA CLARKE HALL.

(2)

CATA

|     |                                   |   |   |   |                     |         |
|-----|-----------------------------------|---|---|---|---------------------|---------|
| 1.  | Wuthering Heights                 | . | . | . | 4                   | Guineas |
| 2.  | Portrait of a Girl by Candlelight | . | . | . | 3                   | "       |
| 3.  | Wuthering Heights                 | . | . | . | <i>Not for sale</i> |         |
| 4.  | Illustration (4)                  | . | . | . | 3                   | Guineas |
| 5.  | The Byre, Upminster Common        | . | . | . | <i>Not for sale</i> |         |
| 6.  | Wuthering Heights (1)             | . | . | . | 4                   | Guineas |
| 7.  | Illustration (1)                  | . | . | . | <i>Not for sale</i> |         |
| 8.  | Albert Rutherston                 | . | . | . | 4                   | Guineas |
| 9.  | Wuthering Heights (3)             | . | . | . | 3                   | "       |
| 10. | Child in a Hat                    | . | . | . | 4                   | "       |
| 11. | Self Portrait                     | . | . | . | 3                   | "       |
| 12. | Illustration (2)                  | . | . | . | 3                   | "       |
| 13. | Ambrose McEvoy                    | . | . | . | 4                   | "       |
| 14. | Candlelight                       | . | . | . | 3                   | "       |
| 15. | Girl in an Orchard                | . | . | . | 5                   | "       |
| 16. | Girl at a Table                   | . | . | . | 3                   | "       |
| 17. | An Embrace                        | . | . | . | 3                   | "       |
| 18. | Norman Waugh                      | . | . | . | <i>Not for sale</i> |         |
| 19. | Girl Lying Down                   | . | . | . | 3                   | Guineas |
| 20. | Head of a Boy                     | . | . | . | 4                   | "       |
| 21. | Illustration (3)                  | . | . | . | 3                   | "       |
| 22. | The Byre                          | . | . | . | 4                   | "       |
| 23. | Bee                               | . | . | . | 3                   | "       |
| 24. | Ida Nettleship                    | . | . | . | 4                   | "       |
| 25. | Girl in Bed                       | . | . | . | 3                   | "       |

UE.

SPONTANEOUS COMPOSITIONS.

|       |                                 |           |           |
|-------|---------------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| 26.   | 7 Guineas                       | 44.       | 7 Guineas |
| 27.   | "                               | 45.       | "         |
| 28.   | "                               | 46.       | "         |
| 29.   | "                               | 47.       | "         |
| 30.   | "                               | 48.       | "         |
| 31.   | "                               | 49.       | "         |
| 32.   | "                               | 50.       | "         |
| 33.   | "                               | 51.       | "         |
| 34.   | "                               | 52.       | "         |
| 35.   | "                               | 53.       | "         |
| 36.   | "                               | 54.       | "         |
| 37.   | "                               | 55.       | "         |
| 38.   | "                               | 56.       | "         |
| 39.   | "                               | 57.       | "         |
| 40.   | "                               | 58.       | "         |
| 41.   | "                               | 59.       | "         |
| 42.   | "                               | 60.       | "         |
| 43.   | "                               | 61.       | "         |
| <hr/> |                                 |           |           |
| 62.   | Sheep                           | 3 Guineas |           |
| 63.   | Portrait of a Child             | 8         | "         |
| 64.   | Girl Reading in Bed             | 3         | "         |
| 65.   | Study for Wuthering Heights (6) | 3         | "         |
| 66.   | Child in a Hat                  | 8         | "         |

[P.T.O.]

CATALOGUE—*continued.*

|     |                       |   |   |   |    |                     |
|-----|-----------------------|---|---|---|----|---------------------|
| 67. | Winged Insects        | - | - | - | 3  | Guinea              |
| 68. | Dennis                | - | - | - | 8  | "                   |
| 69. | The two Selves        | - | - | - | 3  | "                   |
| 70. | Child Sleeping        | - | - | - | 10 | "                   |
| 71. | Catherine's Dream     | - | - | - | 3  | "                   |
| 72. | Portrait              | - | - | - | 8  | "                   |
| 73. | Bee and Moth          | - | - | - | 3  | "                   |
| 74. | The Old House         | - | - | - | 3  | "                   |
| 75. | Breton Children       | - | - | - | 15 | "                   |
| 76. | Wuthering Heights     | - | - | - | 25 | "                   |
| 77. | Bonfire               | - | - | - | 18 | "                   |
| 78. | Cornish Child         | - | - | - | 15 | "                   |
| 79. | Austin                | - | - | - | 10 | "                   |
| 80. | Portrait Study        | - | - | - | 8  | "                   |
| 81. | Study of a Boy        | - | - | - | 8  | "                   |
| 82. | For Wuthering Heights | - | - | - | 10 | "                   |
| 83. | On the Rocks          | - | - | - | 15 | "                   |
| 84. | Children on a Cliff   | - | - | - | 8  | "                   |
| 85. | Tempora               | - | - | - | 15 | "                   |
| 86. | Boy in a Hat          | - | - | - |    | <i>Not for sale</i> |
| 87. | Wuthering Heights     | - | - | - | 17 | Guinea              |
| 88. | Bonfire (2)           | - | - | - | 15 | "                   |
| 89. | Wuthering Heights     | - | - | - | 18 | "                   |

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THE REDFERN GALLERY,  
27, OLD BOND STREET, W. 1.

*22nd January—12th February, 1924.*

Women's Printing Society, Ltd., Brick Street, Piccadilly, W. 1.

## APPENDIX No. 6

### *Death be not proud*

John Donne (1572-1631)

written c. 1610, published 1633

*Death be not proud, though some have called thee  
Mighty and dreadfull, for, thou art not soe,  
For, those, whom thou think'st, thou dost overthrow,  
Die not, poore death, nor yet canst thou kill mee.  
From rest and sleepe, which but thy pictures bee,  
Much pleasure, then from thee, much more must flow,  
And soonest our best men with thee doe goe,  
Rest of their bones, and soules deliverie.  
Thou art slave to Fate, Chance, kings, and desperate men,  
And dost with poyson, warre, and sicknesse dwell,  
And poppie, or charmes can make us sleepe as well,  
And better then thy stroake; why swell'st thou then?  
One short sleepe past, wee wake eternally,  
And death shall be no more; death, thou shalt die.<sup>1</sup>*

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<sup>1</sup> John Donne, 'Death be not proud', (Holy Sonnet 10), *The Holy Sonnets*, from Gary A. Stringer (ed.), *The Varium Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, Bloomington, 7:1, 2005.

## APPENDIX No. 7

List of all poems by Edna Clarke Hall mentioned and discussed in Chapter Two, in order of appearance. Those poems still in copyright published in either *Poems* (1926) or *Facets* (1930) are listed by title and details of original publication only, whilst those poems that have never been published, but appear in certain archive Poem Pictures, are reproduced here in full.<sup>1</sup>

'I said: 'The well is deep; there is always the well'', *Facets*, London, 1930, 28  
(relating to fig. 42)

'The night is passed', *Facets*, London, 1930, 34-5  
(relating to fig. 55)

'Grey is the meadow', *Facets*, London, 1930, 15

'Time', *Facets*, London, 1930, 8

'A thousand years of grief are mine', *Poems*, London, 1926, 51  
(relating to figs. 43-47)

'O Sunlight', unpublished poem from archive Poem Picture  
(relating to fig. 56)

Sunlight,  
The sunlight is clearer that burns in my brain,  
More intimate brighter and nearer,  
One joy that I gain  
And wrapped in its wonder,  
My heart breaks asunder  
The spell of the chain.

'Here stand I holding masks', *Poems*, London, 1926, 16  
(relating to fig. 27)

'Too long I let the dusty chain of circumstance entwine', unpublished poem from archive Poem Picture (relating to fig. 57)

Too long I let the dusty chain of circumstance entwine  
But now my feet shall seek to gain  
Freedoms that are mine.  
let my feet now find the heights  
My heart sweet freedoms song  
And leave for aye the days and nights  
That into quiet belong.

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<sup>1</sup> By kind permission of Alison Thomas, keeper of the Clarke Hall Archive.

'Camilla wears her cloak of blue', *Facets*, London, 1930, 17

'Camilla – for Beauty's sake', unpublished poem from archive Poem Picture  
(relating to fig. 62-63)

For Beauty's sake,  
She battle did make,  
An armoured maid was she

Now Camilla walks  
Over the golden stalks,  
And over the waves of the sea

'Flight of thought', unpublished poem from archive Poem Picture  
(relating to fig. 64)

Camilla, steel of armour cast,  
Runs over the corn with footsteps fast  
Beyond the boundaries to the vast  
Of an immortal sea

'Flight of thought', unpublished poem from archive Poem Picture  
(relating to fig. 65)

Camilla, all her armour cast,  
Runs over the corn with footsteps fast  
She has found liberty at last  
Most beautiful is she!  
Over little waves her feet have passed,  
feet so light, with footsteps fast,  
Beyond the boundaries to the vast  
Of an immortal sea

'Camilla remembers her cornfields', unpublished poem from archive Poem Picture,  
(relating to fig. 66)

Camilla remembers her cornfields  
Light is her going,  
So steps my thought,  
Over the furrow,  
Golden with human sowing

'Cupid, Venus Folly and Time' - Angelo Bronzino, *Poems*, London, 1926, 42-43  
(relating to fig.28)

'Let this joy that is divine', unpublished poem from archive Poem Picture  
(relating to fig. 78)

Let this joy that is divine,  
All my sorrows leaven,  
And the sorrows that are mine,  
Shine like stars of heaven  
Climbing in the night  
my love,

What sweet is here  
For my heart's delight  
For my heart's delight  
Take my hand again  
Xxxxx in the gift of love  
Immortal is the pain.

'The garden is a lovely place', unpublished poem from archive Poem Picture  
(relating to fig. 79-80)

The garden is a lovely place,  
Yet I the place would flee,  
To look upon untrodden space,  
Where life is xxx and free.  
give to me the sudden wings,  
The flowers no hand has set,  
The tender furrow ledge of wild things  
And death without regret.

'The insect, beneath a fallen leaf', unpublished poem from archive Poem Picture  
(relating to fig. 81)

You make your sojourn,  
Believing that your life will never cease.  
I too have made belief  
In moments sweet and brief  
And neath a fallen leaf  
Have tasted peace

'Rarities my kisses', unpublished poem from archive Poem Picture  
(relating to fig. 82)

Rarities my kisses  
Many loves have I  
I who live with blisses  
And with sorrows die

'Why seek the base in me', unpublished poem from archive Poem Picture  
(relating to fig. 83)

Why seek the base in me,  
You who found grace?  
What would you now with me  
Where would you place  
The something that called to me  
Out of my youth  
Showed you the distant blue  
Land of love's truth

'My Love kneels down', *Facets*, London, 1930, 8

## APPENDIX No. 8

Copy of original newspaper cutting from Clarke Hall Archive:

The Evening News, 2<sup>nd</sup> February 1924

SATURDAY, The Evening News FEBRUARY 2<sup>nd</sup>

### SHOULD CLEVER WOMEN MARRY?

By MRS. CLARKE HALL  
(A Brilliant Woman Artist Who Did).

Before her marriage, 18 years ago, Mrs. Clarke Hall, the wife of the London stipendiary magistrate, was a brilliant contemporary with Sir William Orpen and Augustus John at the Slade Art School.

Thereafter her art took second place; her husband and children came first. But though brilliant women have married and the result has been that their talent was lost to the world, Mrs. Clarke Hall has managed to keep alive the flame of her art. Below she replies to those who would argue that genius should not be sacrificed on the altar of domestic happiness.

THE exhibition of my works at the Redfern Gallery in Bond-street seems to have created an interest quite outside the sphere of art criticism—an interest which I did not expect and much deprecate.

It is for those who see my work to decide if it has proved me an artist. If it has, the fact that, without exception, everything shown has been done since my marriage—and a great deal more besides—ought to be answer enough to those who question the wisdom of testing talent with the ordinary circumstances of life.

#### The Roads of Genius.

"Improvement makes straight roads; but the crooked roads without improvement are the roads of genius."

Does not pampering lead to sickly physique? Surely it is the same with the gifts of mind and spirit. Hardiness comes with wise guardianship, and if any of those who have gifts have not sufficient wisdom to guard what

the gods have given, let them seek help wherever it may be found.

Every woman who possesses gifts, and also possesses children, should remember not only that she owes to her children the care and consideration which are due to every child, but that her responsibility lies also in the development of those powers in herself which are her true expression.

This makes simple an apparent complexity. It seems that my work as an artist has given me pleasure because it is intimate with life and imagination; and, as William Blake says (in one of his letters, I think): "I know no other Christianity but this, the liberty of mind and body to use the divine arts of the imagination—for what is life but Art and Science?"

#### LOST ART.

To the Editor of "The Evening News."

Sir,—It is difficult to estimate how much talent has been lost to the world because brilliant women, on marrying, have allowed their artistic gifts to take second place to husband, home and children, and ultimately to stagnate and disappear.

The exhibition of Mrs. Clarke Hall's pictures provides a lesson which all artistic married women ought to take to heart.

Marriage, instead of interrupting and destroying art, ought to ripen it. Opportunities for study and practice may, perhaps, be somewhat reduced, but they certainly do not disappear altogether. To take every advantage of them is a duty.

I hope more married women artists will give expression to their gifts.

Chelsea. SCULPTRESS.

## APPENDIX No. 9

### ‘A thousand years have come and gone’,

#### *The Rivulet: A Contribution to Sacred Song*

Lyrics (1868) by Thomas T. Lynch (1818-1871)

Music (1871) by Arthur Sullivan (1842-1900)

*A thousand years have come and gone, and near a thousand more,  
Since happier light from Heaven shone than ever shone before:  
And in the hearts of old and young a joy most joyful stirred.  
That sent such news from tongue to tongue as ears had never heard.*

*Then angels on their starry way felt bliss unfelt before,  
For news that men should be as they to darkened earth they bore;  
So toiling men and spirits bright a first communion had,  
And in meek mercy’s rising light were each exceeding glad.*

*And we are glad, and we will sing, as in the days of yore;  
Come all, and hearts made ready bring, to welcome back once more  
The day when first on wintry earth a summer change began,  
And, dawning in a lowly birth uprose the Light of man.*

*For trouble such as men must bear from childhood to fourscore,  
He shared with us, that we might share His joy forevermore;  
And twice a thousand years of grief of conflict, and of sin,  
May tell how large the harvest sheaf His patient love shall win.<sup>1</sup>*

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas T. Lynch, ‘A thousand years have come and gone’, Hymn No. CVII, *The Rivulet: A Contribution to Sacred Song*, London, 1868, 126.

## APPENDIX No. 10

### 'Camilla', from *The Aeneid*

Virgil (29-19 BC)

*Last came Camilla, of the Volscians bred,  
leading her mail-clad, radiant chivalry;  
a warrior-virgin, of Minerva's craft  
of web and distaff, fit for woman's toil,  
no follower she; but bared her virgin breast  
to meet the brunt of battle, and her speed  
left even the winds behind; for she would skim  
an untouched harvest ere the sickle fell,  
nor graze the quivering wheat-tops as she ran;  
or o'er the mid-sea billows' swollen surge  
so swiftly race, she wet not in the wave  
her flying feet. For sight of her the youth  
from field and fortress sped, and matrons grave  
stood wondering as she passed, well-pleased to see  
her royal scarf in many a purple fold  
float off her shining shoulder, her dark hair  
in golden clasp caught fast, and how she bore  
for arms a quiver of the Lycian mode,  
and shepherd's shaft of myrtle tipped with steel.<sup>1</sup>*

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<sup>1</sup> Virgil, *The Aeneid* [29-19BC], C. Day Lewis (trans.), Oxford, 1986, Book 7, 803.