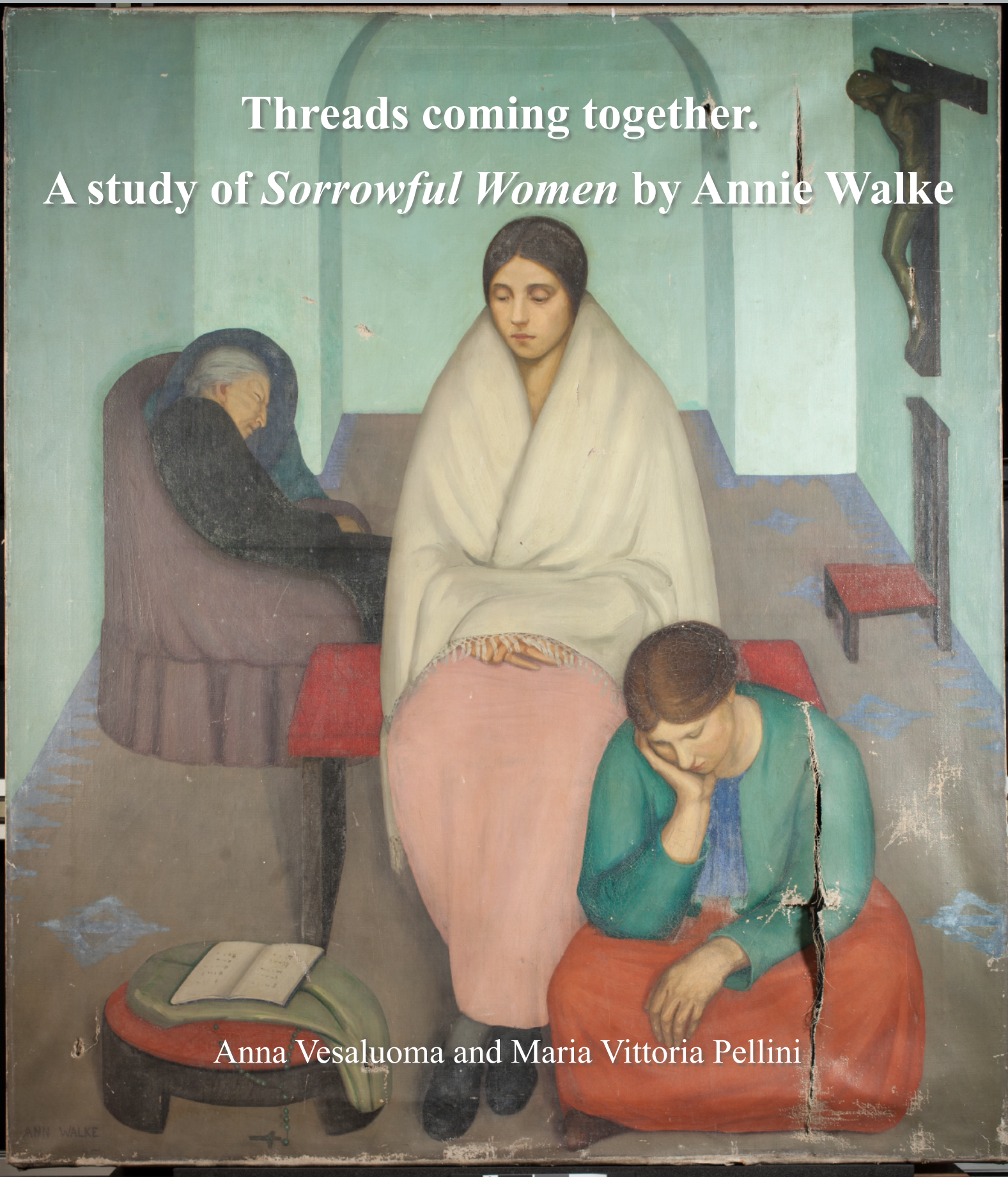


Threads coming together.

A study of *Sorrowful Women* by Annie Walke



Anna Vesaluoma and Maria Vittoria Pellini

Threads coming together.

A study of *Sorrowful Women* by Annie Walke



Fig. 1. Annie Walke, *Sorrowful Women*, 1920s (?), Oil on canvas, 135 x 116 cm, Private collection, Before treatment, *recto*.

In a still moment in time, three women of different ages pose in a staged interior setting on a patterned floor and with an arched alcove behind them. They appear detached from the space and have a heavy and solid materiality to them. The field of unusual turquoise flattens the image, but the accents of red guide the viewer's eye into the space. Time is suspended.

Sorrowful Women (Fig.1 and 2) is a painting by Cornwall-based artist Annie Walke (1877-1965), from the first half of the nineteenth century. The painting is oil



Fig. 2. Annie Walke, *Sorrowful Women*, *verso*.

on commercially prepared twill-weave canvas and measures 135 cm by 116 cm.

Sorrowful Women came to the Courtauld Institute of Art Conservation and Technology Department from a private collection in 2018 to be researched and treated, given its compromised structural and aesthetic condition. The painting arrived with poor tension of the support and numerous tears.

The research conducted on *Sorrowful Women* has been carried out as part of the annual Painting Pairs project, organised by

the Courtauld Gallery and the Department of Conservation and Technology.

This paper aims to shed light on Annie Walke and her oeuvre through the study of *Sorrowful Women*. The objectives of our research were to establish how the painting relates to Annie Walke's works, to investigate the unclear meaning of the subject matter, and to clarify the origin of the tears.

So far, there has been little published research on Annie Walke and no previous technical examination has been done on any of her paintings. Additionally, no catalogue of the artist's works exists. We have conducted technical examination and visual analysis on the painting in order to understand the artist's technique and to inform the decisions made in the conservation treatment. The historical research is based on the limited literature on Annie Walke, on unpublished archival material and on the findings we made during a visit to Cornwall.¹ In Cornwall, we were able to compare the painting to the most

¹ Important sources on the life of Annie and Bernard Walke include Allchin, 2000; the Cornwall Artist Index, n.d; Garrett, 2014; Garrett, 2015; Hills, 1997; Hills, 1999 and Walke, 1935.

significant known works by Annie Walke, most of which are of religious content.²

ARTIST'S BIOGRAPHY

The artist was born as Annie Fearon in Branstead, Surrey, on 6 July 1877. Although baptized as Annie, she signed her paintings with variations of her first name, such as 'Ann Walke' in the case in *Sorrowful Women* (Fig. 3).³ People who knew Annie Walke have described her as good-hearted but reserved, and she was considered a talented and very sensitive artist by her contemporaries.⁴

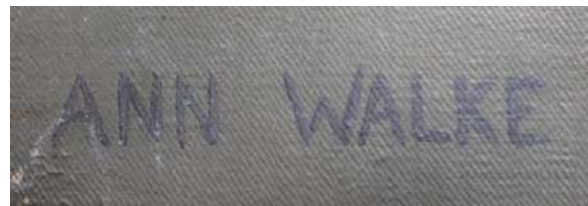


Fig. 3. Annie Walke, *Sorrowful Women*, det.

² The artworks we examined are *Reverend Bernard Walke and His Mother, Christ Mocked* and *Preaching from the Hill* at The Royal Cornwall Museum, *St Joan, Madonna with Red Shoes (St Clare)* and *Dedication* at St Hilary Church, *Christ blessing Cornish Industry* (Jesus Chapel Triptych) at Truro Cathedral, *White Tulips* at Penlee House, *St Clare* at the former Bolitho school in Penzance, and *St Christopher* at St Mary's Bourne Street, London. The whereabouts of this work were heretofore unknown.

³ In this essay we will refer to the artist by her maiden name, Annie Fearon, until the time of her marriage in 1911, after which we refer to her as Annie Walke.

⁴ Hills, 1997.

In her adult life, she was curiously referred to by her full name, even by her husband Bernard Walke, who wrote:

‘...the name Annie by itself suggested her so little to me that I have never succeeded in calling her Annie. It has always been Annie Walke, and Annie Walke she must remain.’⁵

Annie Fearon was the second child of the wealthy wine merchant Paul Bradshaw Fearon and his wife Edith Jane. The artist is often incorrectly reported to have been born in 1888, an error that was first brought to light by local historian Christopher Garrett.⁶ As Garrett notes, she was baptized in 1888 together with her younger siblings, which was an uncommon practice at the time, a fact that might have led to the confusion.⁷

Annie Fearon’s parents, described by Garrett as ‘religious dissenters and social reformers’, appear to have been open-minded and progressive, given how much they encouraged their children to develop their artistic predispositions.⁸ Annie Fearon attended Cheltenham Ladies College and from 1897 to 1899 lived in Dresden with her close sister Hilda. At this point Annie Fearon had not yet found her

calling for painting and instead pursued music, while her younger sister studied fine arts.⁹

Upon their return from Dresden, having discovered a new side to her artistic vocation, Annie Fearon enrolled at the Chelsea Art School where she trained in painting. The Chelsea Art School was a private artistic studio, co-founded by the artists William Orpen (1878-1931) and Augustus John (1878-1961) in 1903.¹⁰ The exact dates when Annie Fearon attended are unknown, but the school closed down for financial difficulties in 1907, which means the artist must have studied there sometime between 1903 and 1907.

Some sources indicate that after returning from Dresden and giving up the idea of becoming a pianist, Annie Fearon also attended the London School of Art, where she met fellow artist Gladys Hynes (1888-1958). A letter sent by Hynes to her little brother, kept in the Tate Archives, testifies to the joyful environment of the school, where students were taught by the well-known artists Frank Brangwyn (1867-1956) and William Nicholson (1872-

⁵ Walke, 1935: 12.

⁶ Garrett, 2014: 18.

⁷ Garrett, 2014: 18.

⁸ Garrett, 2014: 18; Hills, 1999: 16.

⁹ Garrett, 2015: 18. There are some discrepancies in the literature regarding the order of Annie and Hilda Fearon’s studies, see Cornwall Artist Index, n.d.

¹⁰ Holroyd, 2006.

1940).¹¹ During her formative years in London, Fearon is most likely to have adopted her baptismal date as her birthdate in order to appear younger; she was almost equal in age to her teachers.¹²

Annie Fearon also spent time in Cornwall, especially in St Ives, where she is thought to have met her future husband, Bernard Walke, an eccentric Anglo-Catholic priest (Fig.4). The couple first lived in Polruan, where the artist had a studio ‘in a sail-loft overlooking the harbour’.¹³ They married on 6 September 1911 at St John the Baptist Church in London.¹⁴



Fig. 4. Annie and Bernard Walke, 20th century, Black and white photograph, St Hilary archives, Marazion.

¹¹ The exact dates are unknown. However, a letter from Gladys Hynes to her brother Hugh confirms her attendance at the school around 1905. An attached handwritten note by Hugh Hynes reports he met Annie Fearon, when visiting his sister at the school, when he was about ten (Hynes, 1905).

¹² Garrett, 2015: 18.

¹³ Walke, 1935: 12.

¹⁴ Garrett, 2015: 18.



Fig. 5. St Hilary Church, 2019.

In 1913 Annie and Bernard Walke moved to St Hilary, where Bernard had been appointed vicar, and the couple resided there until 1936 (Fig. 5). In the vicarage of St Hilary, Annie Walke had her own studio, where she painted principally religious scenes in contemporary settings, namely the Cornish landscape.

This time has been recorded in detail in Bernard Walke’s memoirs *Twenty years at St Hilary*.¹⁵ Meeting her husband marked a turning point in Annie Walke’s life and artistic production.

BERNARD WALKE

Bernard Walke was the son of Reverend Nicolo Walke (1833-1899). Nicolo Walke was an advocate for the ideas of Tractarianism, also known as the Oxford Movement. This 19th century movement aimed for the reinstatement of Roman Catholic doctrine and practice within the

¹⁵ Walke, 1935.

Church of England. From this movement stemmed the ideas of Anglo-Catholicism.¹⁶

While Annie Fearon grew up in the comfort of middle-class city-life, Bernard Walke spent his infancy in a small village in Wiltshire. He was home-schooled and lived in an environment, which placed value on craftsmanship and manual labour.¹⁷ Bernard Walke eventually followed in his father's footsteps, embracing Catholic values in life and as a priest.¹⁸



Fig. 6. Reverend Bernard Walke, 20th century, Black and white photograph, St Hilary archives, Marazion.

Bernard Walke was a charismatic yet controversial figure in the history of St Hilary (Fig. 6). His somewhat eccentric but compassionate character is well remembered in local history. Walke practiced Franciscan values of generosity and charity and was thus loved by many of his parishioners:¹⁹

‘Father Walke was somebody you would always remember as he radiated a sort of happiness and an interest in people...it did not matter who you were and he always had a good word for everybody’.²⁰

The extant literature tends to focus on Bernard Walke's life and personality, which often overshadows Annie Walke's more timid and reflective character.²¹ While these sources are useful, historians have rarely discussed Annie Walke's artworks in depth nor do they address the reciprocal dynamic between these two creative minds.²² Hilda Fearon commented on this unusual pairing: ‘If a curate can put

¹⁹ Hills, 1999: 19.

²⁰ Margaret Reed quoted in Hills, 1997: 12.

²¹ Allchin, 2000; the Cornwall Artist Index, n.d; Garrett, 2014; Garrett, 2015; Hills, 1997; Hills, 1999 and Walke, 1935.

²² Bernard Walke's own creativity comes across in the series of religious plays that he wrote and stages at St Hilary church and which were broadcast on BBC by his friend Filson Young from 1926 onwards (Allchin, 2000: 19; Walke, 1935). See Walke, 1939. Some of these recordings are still around and can be found in the Newlyn Archive.

¹⁶ Hills, 1999: 12.

¹⁷ Hills, 1999: 14.

¹⁸ Allchin, 2000: 5.

up with an artist, surely an artist can put up with a curate!²³ Perhaps because they came from different backgrounds, they enriched each other's vision of life. While Annie Walke had academic education in fine arts, Bernard Walke grew up surrounded by religion and traditional crafts. The meeting of the two minds offered a different view on religion, which could be approached in an artistic way. We believe that while her husband's religious outlook had an influence on Annie Walke's pictorial content, she proposed a new visual language to address religion in her artmaking.

ARTISTIC COMMUNITY IN WEST CORNWALL

During their stay in St Hilary, the couple befriended many of the well-known Lamorna group painters, including Dod and Ernest Procter, Gertrude and Harold Harvey, and Laura and Harold Knight.²⁴ In

²³ Garrett, 2015.

²⁴ The Lamorna group was a second-generation community of painters based in West Cornwall, successors to the Newlyn school artists. The Newlyn school had been founded in the 1880s and was inspired by 19th century French painting *en plain air*. Artists came to Cornwall to paint the rural landscape and the life of the fishing communities, often using locals as models. Subsequently, the second-generation moved away from the realistic depiction of Cornish harbor scenes to a more vibrant colour palette and more

the early 1920s, Bernard Walke commissioned some of these local artists, including Annie Walke, to produce a series of artworks for the decoration of St Hilary Church (Fig. 7).²⁵



Fig. 7. Annie Walke, Dod Procter, Gladys Hynes, Ernest Procter, Harold Knight, *Choir stalls depicting stories of the lives of Cornish saints*, 1920s, Oil on panel, St Hilary Church, Marazion.

Annie and Bernard Walke were first introduced to Laura and Harold Knight in 1915 in Lamorna, by the mutual artist-friend A. J. Munnings. Despite initial disinterest of the Knights to meet 'the clergyman', the couples became close friends over the years.²⁶ Laura Knight describes her impression of Bernard and Annie Walke thus:

'[We] felt we had known them for years. They were both long and thin, and Ber always wore dandy silk socks – he was not in the least like a parson to look at. A man with ideals that he lived up to – he was big-hearted enough to understand anyone and had it in him to enjoy vulgar fun as

varied subjects, including domestic scenes (Fox & Greenacre, 1985; Cross, 1994).

²⁵ Walke, 1935: 106.

²⁶ Walke, 1935: 71.



Fig. 8. Annie Walke, *Sorrowful Women*, verso, det.

much as any. After we became intimate we often went to stay with the Walkes at St Hilary [...].²⁷

The Tate Archives house whimsical caricatures by Laura Knight of both Annie and Bernard Walke that show the contrast of their two personalities.²⁸ Annie Walke was kept to herself, but was also caring and brave:

‘She was very good-natured, very kind hearted once you got to know her. Annie was a bit unapproachable at first I would say [...] Annie was not sociable, but not unsociable either, it was not that she didn’t want to meet people, talk to them, but that side of her life just didn’t seem to exist.’²⁹

²⁷ Knight, 1936: 208-9.

²⁸ Knight, n.d.₁; Knight, n.d.₂

²⁹ Derek Savage quoted in Hills, 1997. Annie Walke’s personality comes across in her poetry, in the descriptions of those who knew her (see Hills, 1997) and in Bernard Walke’s accounts (Walke, 1935), as well as in unpublished letters she wrote to her friends. The latter are kept in St Hilary archives and the Tate archives.

However, Annie Walke’s shy personality should not be interpreted as her not having had interesting viewpoints, which she voiced through her art. The subjects of Walke’s paintings are principally religious and reflect her sensitivity.

However, none of these paintings are dated. In order to establish where *Sorrowful Women* sits within the artist’s practice, we first looked for evidence on the object itself.

INSCRIPTION AND CANVAS STAMP

On the cross-bar of the stretcher of *Sorrowful Women*, we came across an inscription:

‘Ann Walke / Sorrowful Women, St Hilary / W Marazion Cornwall’.

The address of the inscription indicates that the work was painted during the Walkes’ stay in St Hilary, thus sometime between 1913 and 1936. This provided us

with an initial timeframe for *Sorrowful Women*. We have reason to believe that the inscription was written by the artist herself. This is suggested by comparisons with samples from handwritten letters and the artist's signature. Furthermore, there is a stamp by C. Roberson & Co. on the verso of the canvas (Fig. 9).³⁰ The specific trading name and address in this stamp were in use between 1908 and 1937, which makes the suggested timeframe of 1913-1936 plausible.³¹



Fig. 9. Annie Walke, *Sorrowful Women*, verso, det.

³⁰ C. Roberson & Co. was a well-known supplier of artist's materials, including canvases, in operation from the 1820s. On the stretcher bar is also a barely legible James Lanham & Co. stamp. James Lanham & Co. was a St. Ives-based supplier of artists' materials by manufacturers such as C. Roberson & Co. (account between 15/11/1898 and 17/01/1908), but also acted as an exclusive exhibition venue for painters from Newlyn and St Ives from 1887 to 1928 (Cross, 1994: 153; Simon, 2018a; Cornwall Artist Index, n.d.; Woodcock, 1997). This stamp could mean that Annie Walke bought the Roberson-prepared canvas from James Lanham around 1908, or that the painting was at one point exhibited at the Lanham Gallery.

³¹ See Simon, 2017 and 2018b, who has identified similar canvas stamps on paintings dated between 1913 and 1937.

If the inscription on the stretcher is indeed by the artist's hand, it would mean the title 'Sorrowful Women' was given to the painting by Annie Walke herself, which was significant to our research regarding the interpretation of the subject.

REASONS FOR SORROW

The subject of the painting as depicting sorrowful women is puzzling, and therefore posed a number of iconographic questions. Namely, why are the women sorrowful? This could be for several reasons.

First, we considered whether the sorrow could be tied to the biography of the artist, such as the recorded deaths of several family members and close friends. For example, Bernard Walke's mother, portrayed by Annie Walke in the painting *Reverend Bernard Walke and his Mother*, passed away in 1918.³² Additionally, Annie Walke lost two of her sisters, Ethel in 1914 and her beloved Hilda in 1917.³³ Furthermore, the death of their close friend Gerard Corner in 1923 left such a void in the Walkes' lives that they left the country

³² The old woman in *Sorrowful Women* resembles Bernard Walke's mother, however there is no further evidence to suggest that the old woman is Walke's mother.

³³ Garrett, 2011. Unpublished notes by Christopher Garrett.

for a while to come to term with their sorrow abroad.³⁴ As all of these autobiographical events would have affected both Annie and Bernard Walke equally, this first hypothesis does not account for the fact that *Sorrowful Women* portrays only women.

Given that the sitters are exclusively female, *Sorrowful Women* could be read as a representation of the experience of World War I. As the war occurred during Annie Walke's stay at St Hilary and thus within the supposed timeframe for the painting, the sorrow could perhaps relate to the collective female experience in this historical moment of uncertainty, worry and bereavement. In fact, Bernard Walke praised the strength of women in wartime:

'I have attended many deaths, and many times have I watched the endurance and courage of women who have stood, like the Marys at the cross, witnessing scenes that would have tested the courage of the bravest of men.'³⁵

The central figure in the painting suggests religious associations through her posture, lowered gaze and the serenity of her pose: the woman might be referencing imagery of the Virgin Mary. This allusion is further supported through other elements in the composition such as the open book and the

rosary at her feet, as well as the archway behind her. Additionally, the presence of the near-life size crucifix on the right wall emphasises the religious atmosphere of the scene.

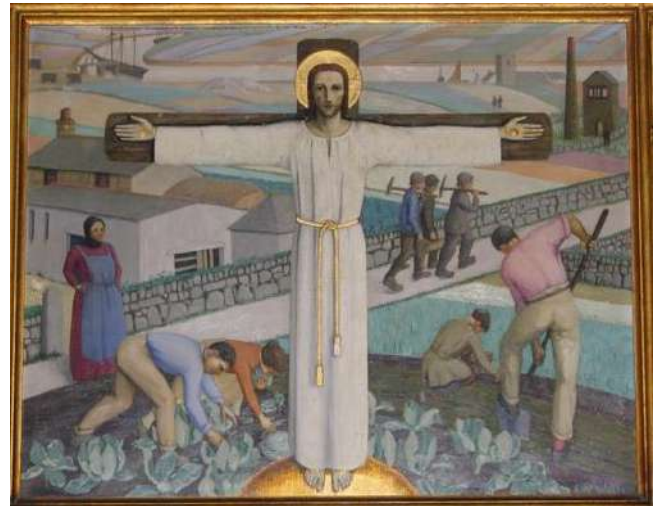


Fig. 10. Annie Walke, *Christ blessing the Cornish Industry*, 1923, Oil on panel, 75 x 95 cm (central panel), Truro Cathedral, Truro.

Within Western visual culture, Mary has usually been portrayed covered by a shawl-like garment and with an open book, and she is often framed by an archway. As a woman of faith and a trained artist, Annie Walke would have been exposed to a wide range of religious imagery and would have been well versed in Christian iconography. We found evidence of Walke deliberately giving symbolic meaning to her work on a different occasion: in a handwritten note to accompany the *Triptych* she painted for the Truro Cathedral (Fig. 10). Here she gives an allegorical interpretation of her painting, but also explicitly refers to Christian symbolism in art:

³⁴ Walke, 1935: 178.

³⁵ Walke, 1935: 134.

‘The conventional use, in religious art, of the Cross planted on the globe, is one which has been sanctioned by Christian symbolism.’³⁶

The Crucifix in the triptych is placed in a contemporary Cornish landscape populated by cabbage farmers and tin miners. The practice of representing religious themes in domestic, everyday setting is a visual form of contextual theology.³⁷ Although less explicitly than the *Triptych*, possibly *Sorrowful Women* refers to Christian archetypes within this very frame of contextual theology.

The figure sitting in the foreground is depicted in a pose traditionally associated with melancholy, a feeling of pensive sadness.³⁸ Her tilted head leans forward, and the figure gazes downwards in an introspective attitude, with her face resting on her palm and the other hand on her lap. This specific pose has been widely employed throughout art history. Within traditional religious painting, the pose is assumed especially by witnesses to the sacrifice of Christ, often on one side at the

foot of the Crucifix.³⁹ In these representations, the posture is that of embodied sorrow.

SETTING

The scene in *Sorrowful Women* takes place in an intimate chapel-like interior. This makes *Sorrowful Women* unusual, as most of Walke’s paintings are set against the Cornish landscape. However, during a research visit to Cornwall in January 2019, we found a thought-to-be lost artwork in the former St Clare School in Penzance



Fig. 11. Annie Walke, *St Clare*, c.1928, Oil on canvas, 151 x 91 cm, Former St Clare School, Penzance

³⁶ Walke, A, n.d.

³⁷ The authors thank Reverend Rachel Monie for the discussion of contextual theology in Annie Walke’s oeuvre.

³⁸ The most famous depiction of this sentiment is Albrecht Dürer’s *Melencholia I*, 1514.

³⁹ A well-known example of such composition is Fra Angelico’s *Christ rising from his tomb*, c.1438-45, in the Museo di San Marco, Florence.

(Fig. 11). In this painting St Clare is framed by an architectural setting similar to the one in *Sorrowful Women*. The two paintings present considerable stylistic similarities, especially in the peculiar way in which the figures sit in space. The infrared reflectograph of *Sorrowful Women* reveals that the artist created this perspective deliberately with the aid of a grid-structure and diagonal lines that she drew with a carbon-containing dry medium, possibly charcoal or graphite (Fig. 12).⁴⁰ This could indicate that Walke was squaring up from a



Fig. 12. Annie Walke, *Sorrowful Women*, Infrared reflectograph, OSIRIS, sensitivity 0.9 – 1.7 um

⁴⁰ Infrared reflectography is a non-invasive imaging technique that provides information about materials present through their characteristic absorbance or reflectance in the infrared region.

drawing.⁴¹

FLOOR PATTERN

The infrared reflectograph also shows the careful construction of the decorative design along the border of the floor and the peculiar light blue shapes (Fig. 13).

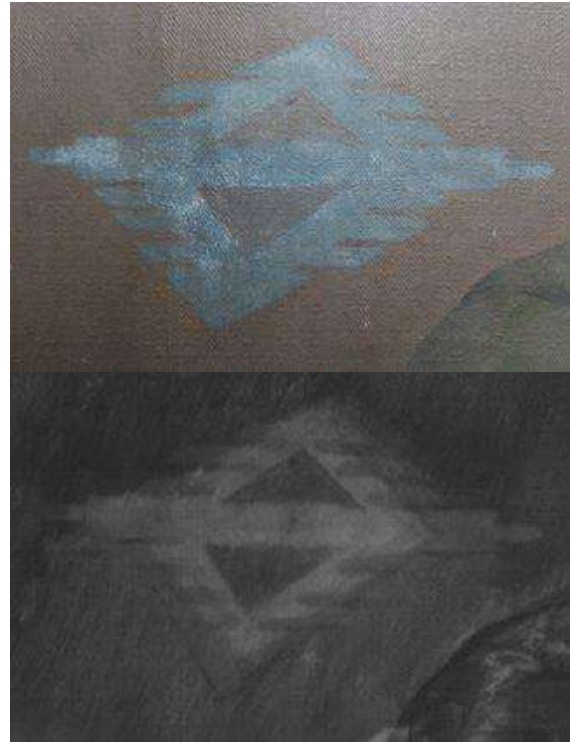


Fig. 13. Annie Walke, *Sorrowful Women*, normal light det. (top) and infrared reflectograph, OSIRIS det. (bottom)

The underdrawing suggests this striking motif to be an intentional part of the initial composition and to have a significance for the artist. At first sight the motif appears to

⁴¹ So far we have found no drawings by Annie Walke. She could have learned the grid technique at art school. Sally Taor showed that William Orpen, a teacher of Annie Walke's at the London School of Art, used parallel and diagonal lines in his underdrawing for squaring up from a preparatory sketch (Taor, 2006).⁴¹

be a non-European pattern. Despite being unable to identify the exact origin of or the artist's motivation to include this motif, we can propose two hypotheses for its presence. These are based on visual comparisons and placement in a historical context.

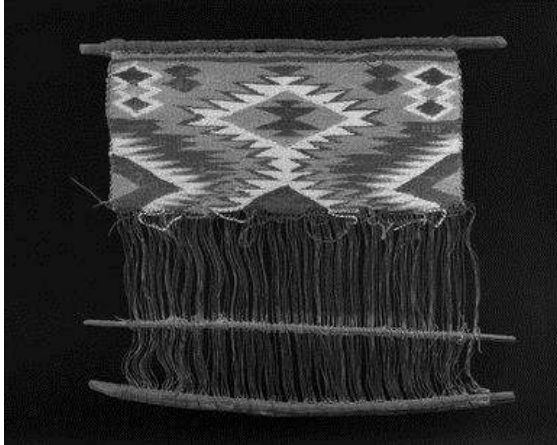


Fig. 14. Navajo, Model of Loom, late 19th century, Wool, cotton, wood, 41.9 x 48.3cm, Brooklyn Museum, New York

The first hypothesis is that this pattern refers to Native American patterns, for which we have been able to find comparable examples (Fig. 14). In fact, there may be a curious historical explanation for this: during the nineteenth century, the Cornish tin and copper mining industries entered a period of decline, which resulted in poverty and lack of employment. Many Cornish miners therefore emigrated to the Americas, where intensive mining of silver and other minerals offered them better prospects.⁴²

⁴² This mass-emigrated community was known as 'The Cornish Diaspora' (Baker, 2016: 1). Another

While some of the families permanently settled abroad, others later returned to Cornwall. The Varker family, for example, left St Hilary for gold and silver mining in Idaho in the 1890s. At this moment in time, Idaho was still populated with Native American communities.⁴³ The Varkers returned to Cornwall in the early 1900s, and Rebecca, the miner's wife, spent the rest of her life in St Hilary.⁴⁴ It is possible that such returning families brought back with them examples of local visual culture in the form of patterned artefacts, which in turn could have inspired Annie Walke. In fact, they might even have been given as gifts to Bernard Walke, who had close personal ties with the mining community in Cornwall.⁴⁵

The possibility that Annie and Bernard Walke had this decorative pattern at home is supported by the finding of a similar fringe pattern in another Annie Walke

popular destination was Mexico, where the first Cornish miners were registered in 1824 (Todd, 2000:17, 9). The pattern in *Sorrowful Women* might also have been inspired by native Mexican patterns.

⁴³ Baker, 2016: 5

⁴⁴ Baker, 2016: 7

⁴⁵ Immediately after the First World War, when the Cornish mining industry was going through another period of crisis, Bernard became actively involved in attempting to re-build the industry in Western Cornwall (Walke, 1935: 148; Allchin, 2000).

painting. Close examination revealed a comparable pattern along the edges of the floor in the painting *Reverend Bernard Walke and His Mother* (Fig. 15 and 16). As this painting is a more naturalistic rendition of figures in a domestic setting, it might also be a realistic depiction of the actual interior space and the decorative elements within.⁴⁶



Fig. 15. Annie Walke, *Reverend Bernard Walke and His Mother*, 20th century, Oil on canvas, 182 x 121 cm, The Royal Cornwall Museum, Truro

⁴⁶ Bernard Walke recalls having often posed as a model for Annie Walke, which could indicate the paintings like this could have been painted, at least in parts, from life (Walke, 1935: 54).



Fig. 16. Annie Walke, *Reverend Bernard Walke and His Mother*, det. (left), *Sorrowful Women* det. (right)

The second hypothesis is that given the relationship between the central figure and the iconography of the Virgin Mary in *Sorrowful Women*, the presence of the pattern might relate to the visual tradition of representing Middle Eastern, Islamic and Anatolian carpets in Western religious imagery.⁴⁷ In the 15th and 16th centuries, such carpets were considered luxury goods in Europe. Their wide appreciation led to them being depicted in paintings, especially in religious scenes. Most of these show the Virgin enthroned, on a patterned floor, carpet or a combination of the two.⁴⁸ Artists used patterned carpets as a dais to visually draw attention to the main protagonists and to confer authority

⁴⁷ Denny, 2003:15.

⁴⁸ Well-known Renaissance examples are van Eyck's *Lucca Madonna*, c.1437, in Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt and Gentile Bellini's *Madonna and Child Enthroned*, c. 1475-85, in the National Gallery, London.

and dignity to them.⁴⁹ Interestingly, Bernard Walke records a trip the couple took to Spain in 1923 when they were trying to recover from the grief over the death of their friend Corner.⁵⁰ They visited the monastery of La Cartuja de Miraflores, near Burgos, where they might have seen the *Annunciation* by Pedro Berruguete, which shows Virgin Mary on one such carpet (Fig. 17).⁵¹

To test our hypothesis, we compared the pattern in *Sorrowful Women* with Anatolian motifs. Although we were unable to find the exact pattern, we identified many comparable examples (Fig. 18). These relate to both the diamond-shaped pattern and the geometric motif along the edges. However, what makes the floor of *Sorrowful Women* rather different from these examples is the colour scheme. Many of the rugs we looked at, both actual examples and depictions in paintings, have a red field or red as a predominant colour. In fact, a paint cross-section taken from the grey floor in *Sorrowful Women* shows red paint underneath the grey (Fig. 19). The sample was analysed using Scanning Electron Microscopy with Energy-Dispersive X-ray Spectroscopy, which suggested the



Fig. 17. Pedro Berreguate, *Annunciation*, c. 1505, Oil on panel, La Cartuja de Miraflores. Burgos



Fig. 18. Old Turkish Sarkoy Kilim Rug, Ivory Border, Banded Design, c. 1920, 202 x 128 cm, det.

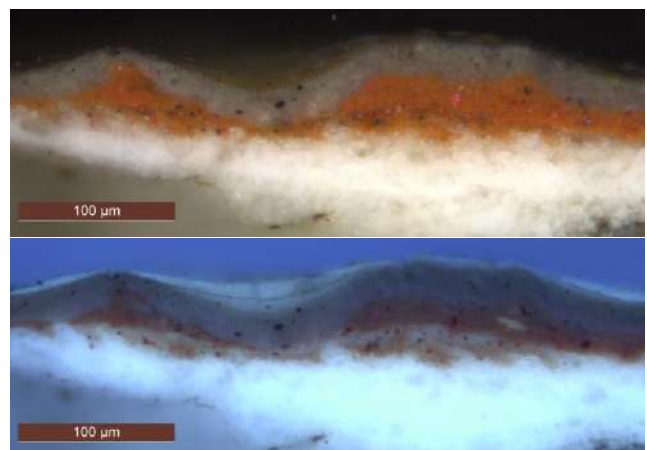


Fig. 19. Cross section sample from lower right grey floor in normal light (top) and ultraviolet light (bottom)

⁴⁹ King, 1983: 14; Ydema, 1991: 7.

⁵⁰ Walke, 1935: 178.

⁵¹ Walke, 1935: 121.

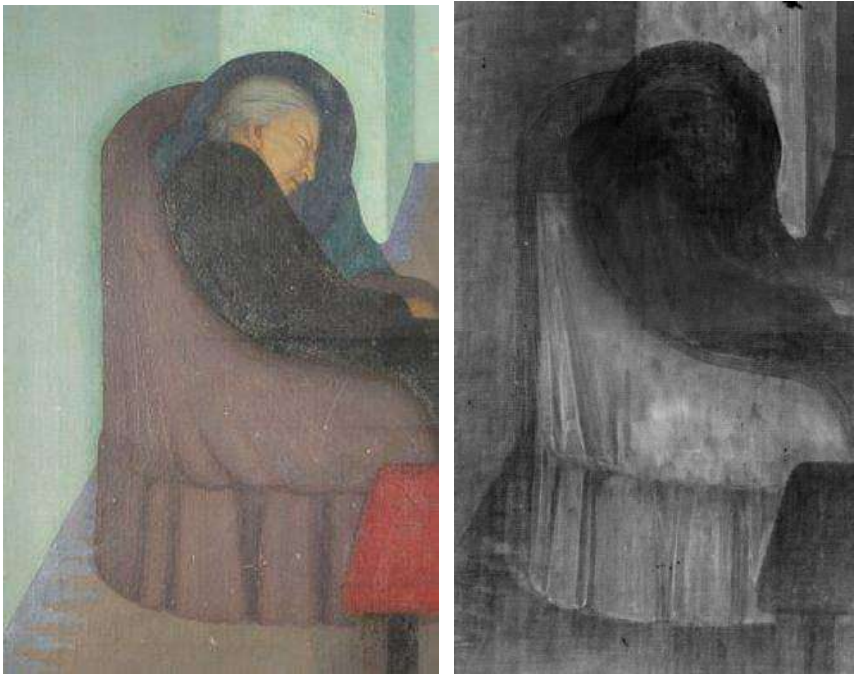


Fig. 20. Annie Walke, *Sorrowful Women*, normal light det. (left) and x-radiograph, 15 keV, 3.5 mA, 40 seconds exposure, det. (right)

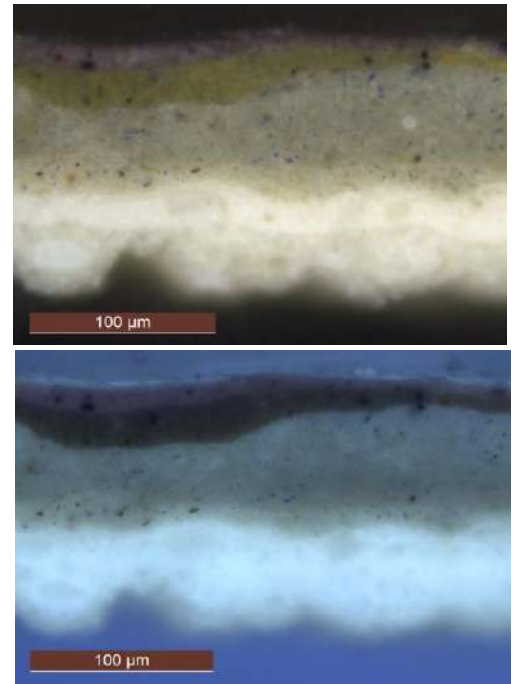


Fig. 21. Cross section sample from purple armchair in normal light (top) and ultraviolet light (bottom)

presence of vermillion and iron earth pigments.⁵² The red is also visible through the grey paint under light microscopy, but does not extend underneath the blue motifs. It relates exclusively to the area of the grey floor. This makes us wonder whether the red paint was applied to give the grey a warmer tone, or whether the floor was originally intended to resemble a large red carpet with blue motifs, but was later modified by the artist.

We know that Annie Walke other modifications in the painting process. The x-radiograph of the old woman shows a light-coloured area that does not

⁵² SEM-EDX is an analytical technique that helps to identify inorganic elements in a cross-section, from which pigments can be inferred.

correspond to the current shape of the chair (Fig. 20). A cross-section taken from the purple chair shows grey and green paint layers underneath a very thin purple one (Fig. 21). The underlying paint layers contain lead-white and thus could relate to the lighter shape in the x-ray. This might indicate the presence of a differently shaped chair painted before the purple one.

CONTEXTUAL THEOLOGY

The space in which *Sorrowful Women* is set can be interpreted as a hybrid between an intimate chapel-like interior and a domestic setting. The domesticity of the purple chair contrasts with the archway and kneeling stool, which recall a more official religious place. The bringing together of everyday life and religion is

characteristic of Annie Walke's art, which embodies the principles of contextual theology. In 1963, she published a collection of her poems, some of which appear to closely relate to her paintings and carry similar theological ideas.⁵³ This might indicate that she had been writing poetry in parallel with her artistic career. In most of her texts, she draws original associations between simple hands-on activities, for example gardening or woodworking, and great theological mysteries.

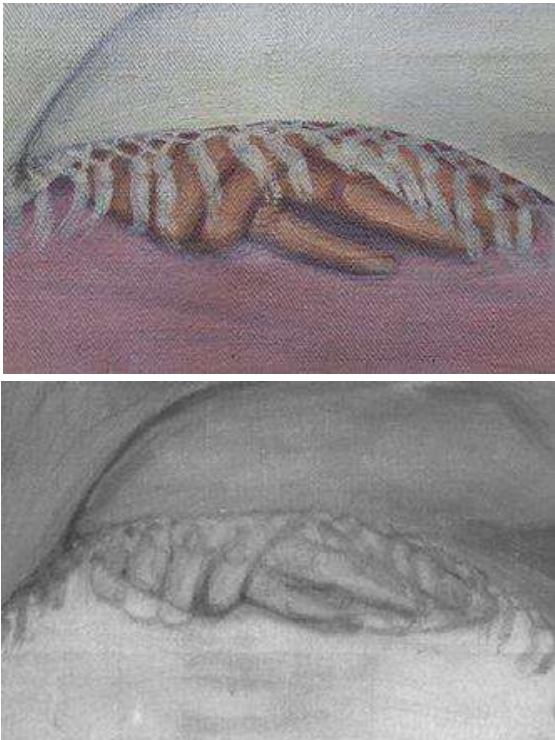


Fig. 22. Annie Walke, *Sorrowful Women*, normal light det.(top) and infrared reflectograph, OSIRIS det. (bottom)

The following excerpt from her poem *Jesus in the workshop* illustrates this:

Men's hands –
 How they give praise to God,
 More praise, than any creature of his
 thought, save man himself,
 Praise him with variety and subtlety
 Praise him with strong beauty and tender
 By the perfection of power and cunning
 use,
 Obedient to the instant sign
 Serving, heart and mind, following the
 eye,
 Using all tools of man's ingenious thought,
 Themselves the loveliest tool given by Go
 d to man
 To raise him above creatures.
 Then praising Him again by the fine things
 they have made.
 Which in themselves praise Him
 Endless reiteration of blessedness.
 And I praise God for my hands
 And I rejoice that I have handled this wood
 This gentle, living body of trees,
 And have myself created a plough
 Well proportioned, with careful joints and
 a fine surface and smooth
 Fitted most perfectly to the ploughman's
 hand and to his purposes –
 Its own true purpose inviolate.
 And I praise God that I and other men
 May create, may handle and mould and
 build
 Changing the stuff of the earth to our good
 pleasure
 Forging the rigid sinews into beauty
 Causing to be what was not
 Shaping a form to our dreaming
 Sharing God's bliss:
 I praise him.⁵⁴

Here, Annie Walke compares Jesus's earthly activity as a carpenter with the act of making art, which she considers both a way of praising God. In this the artworks

⁵³ Cornwall Artist Index, n.d.

⁵⁴ This poem was published in *A Selection of Poems by the Artist Annie Walke* (ed Hills, 2004: 12).

themselves become a form of prayer. In an unpublished letter to the artist-friend Dod Procter, Bernard Walke also draws the analogy between painting and prayer: ‘Prayer, I think, must be something like painting...’.⁵⁵ In both prayer and painting, hands become the vehicles for the activity.

Moreover, Annie Walke places emphasis on hands as devices through which she portrays feelings in her art. In *Sorrowful Women*, the attention on hands is evident in the infrared reflectograph, which shows changes in the positioning of the hands from the underdrawing or painting to the finished artwork (Fig.22).⁵⁶

EXPERIENCE OF SORROW

The deliberate positioning of the figure in the foreground, including the hands, is a fundamental compositional device used by Walke to communicate the subject of sorrow. Even though we discussed above possible reasons for the women’s sorrow, the painting itself shows no reference to a specific cause for sorrow. This led us to believe that the reason for sorrow is perhaps not the artist’s main focus, but

rather the experience of sorrow and the ways of coping with it from a distinctly female perspective.



Fig. 23. Walter Langley, *But Men Must Work and Women Must Weep*, 1883, Watercolour on paper, 90.5 x 53.5 cm, Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham

We wonder whether this depiction of female sorrow could also be viewed as a reaction to the way famous male artists in Cornwall had previously portrayed women’s sadness. Examples include Walter Langley’s *But Men Must Work and Women Must Weep* (Fig. 23) and *A Hopeless Dawn*, by Frank Bramley. One cannot help but draw parallels between these figures and the ones in *Sorrowful*

⁵⁵ Walke, B., n.d.

⁵⁶ In *Sorrowful Women* Annie Walke used two forms of carbon-containing underdrawing: straight lines made with a dry medium for the grid and diagonal lines, and bolder and freer strokes in a fluid medium for the figures and hands.

Women, although their composesures differ greatly. These earlier representations by male artists focus on the female act of crying, having lost their beloved men. Their positions are an outward expression of uncontainable grief, hopelessness and despair. *Sorrowful Women*, on the other hand, portrays reflective, calm and collected women who show strength in their endurance of grief.



Fig. 24. Annie Walke, *Sorrowful Women*, Raking light left

Additionally, one of the common elements of the earlier images is the presence of an older woman consoling a young one. In *Sorrowful Women* there is no interaction between the figures, and the old woman is relegated to the background, resting on the armchair. Perhaps the relief for these women lies in something that for Annie Walke was more powerful than earthly consolation: the Christian faith and prayer.

Ultimately, *Sorrowful Women* might be read as an example of the power of faith in everyday life, when faced with moments of sorrow.

PROVENANCE AND 1932 RAID

The painting arrived at the Courtauld Institute in 2018 with fifteen tears, poor tension and active flaking of the paint and ground layers. The biggest tear is 50 cm long and the deformations can be seen in the raking-light photograph (Fig. 25). One of the aims of our research was to determine the cause of the tears. Through correspondence with the current owner we found that he had acquired the work in its present condition about a decade ago. The painting had been previously kept in a country house in St Austell, Cornwall, where it had been placed in an attic prior to the house being renovated in the 1950s-1960s.⁵⁷ What happened between when the work was painted in St Hilary and when it arrived in St Austell?

We turned to Annie and Bernard Walke's biography to understand whether the poor condition of the painting could relate to a specific and significant event during their stay at St Hilary. The Walkes' settling in

⁵⁷ Information on the provenance has been kindly given by the current owner.

St Hilary in 1913 was by no means easy. According to Bernard Walke, the locals were resistant to anything which differed from what they were used to.⁵⁸ The traditional parishioners were confronted with an eccentric, unconventional vicar and his artist-wife, who transformed the parish over the following years. In his memoirs, Bernard Walke wrote about the local people's scepticism:

“How we must have disappointed the people at St Hilary when we arrived there in 1913, and how ruthlessly we must have offended against the vicarage tradition.”⁵⁹

The newcomers aroused suspicion and curiosity, and the “goings on” at St Hilary became the subject of village gossip.⁶⁰



Fig. 25. *Procession of Our Lady lead by Bernard Walke, c. 1920s*, Black and white photography, St Hilary, Marazion

There was resentment towards Annie Walke for converting the church stables

⁵⁸ Walke, 1935: 38.

⁵⁹ Walke, 1935: 30.

⁶⁰ Walke, 1935: 12.

into a studio and for her last-minute arrivals at mass.⁶¹ Additionally, Bernard Walke tried to introduce a series of Catholic practices that were in contrast with the Anglican tradition.⁶² These included the benediction, religious processions and practices related to the Virgin Mary (Fig. 25). His activities resulted in discontent amongst some members of the parish and they challenged the vicar's authority by contesting the validity of the presence of certain Catholic items in the church, such as a tabernacle.⁶³ In protest to Bernard Walke's refusal to

⁶¹ Walke, 1935: 12.

⁶² Even prior to Bernard Walke's appointment, many of the ideas embraced by him were already subjects of heated debate in the Church of England, as exemplified in an 1874 attempt at a legislation by the House of Commons. These included the Consecration of the Sacrament, the Prayer for the Dead, the Invocation of Saints and the use of incense, as well as the use of beautiful props as adjuncts to worship (Tyne, 2011: 23).

⁶³ The raid was ultimately provoked by a legal dispute about fifteen liturgical articles and the Catholic activities in St Hilary church. It had been brought to the Consistory Court in Westminster by the parishioners King, Orman and Smitham in February 1932. The judgement from March 1932 called for the removal of these items. Bernard Walke did not attend the court proceedings, nor did he abide by the deliberation of the court. As a result, the parishioners decided to take matters into their own hands. Even after Bernard Walke retired in 1936, the dispute continued, and was well reported in *The Times*. See Anon., 1932a-c.

remove these items, the church was raided and vandalised on 10 August 1932. During this siege, the vicar was kept hostage for several hours, which he later described: ‘They surrounded me and prevented me by force from leaving’.⁶⁴

Initially, we wondered whether *Sorrowful Women* was displayed in the church at the time of the raid and whether the tears are a sign of this assault. However, we found no evidence for this to have been the case. Contemporary newspaper accounts described in great detail the consequences of this event and listed destroyed items, which did not include *Sorrowful Women*.⁶⁵

Not only was the painting not damaged in the raid, but we have reason to believe it was never displayed in the church in the first place. Bernard Walke also listed in his memoirs all the artworks he had commissioned for the decoration of the church, a decade before, amongst which *Sorrowful Women* was not mentioned.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Bernard Walke quoted in Anon., 1932d.

⁶⁵ For a list of the items removed, see Anon, 1932c. The items included a green crucifix that may be the one depicted in *Sorrowful Women*.

⁶⁶ Walke, 1935: 106-111. The paintings depicted the lives of Cornish saints by Ernest Procter, Dod Procter, Annie Walke, Harold Harvey, Norman Garstin, Harold Knight, Alethea Garstin and Gladys Hynes; the *Visitation* and *Deposition from the Cross* by Ernest Procter; paintings by Joan

Therefore, the tears must have happened on a different occasion. Indeed, the tears do not look like they were caused by natural degradation of the canvas, but rather as the result of a severe impact.⁶⁷



Fig. 26. Front cover of *Daily Mirror*, 10th August 1932

We do not know for certain what happened to *Sorrowful Women* after it was painted and how and when it arrived in St Austell. However, on the verso of the painting is another label, which records the title of the painting and the village name ‘Mevagissey’ (Fig. 27). Unfortunately, the

Manning Saunder; *St Joan* by Annie Walke; and *St Francis* by Roger Fry.

⁶⁷ So far, we have been unable to gain more information from the former owners of the country house in St Austell about how they came into the possession of the painting and in what condition.

label is torn, and therefore no longer fully legible. However, in 1936, Bernard and Annie Walke moved from St Hilary to Mevagissey, where Annie Walke lived after Bernard's death in 1941.⁶⁸ Here the artist spent her last years and her studio in Mevagissey was sold before she died in 1965.⁶⁹ Several of her paintings were sold long after her death by the landlady of the house, where Annie Walke lived.⁷⁰



Fig. 27. Annie Walke, *Sorrowful Women*, verso, det.

DATING

Because of the lack of documentation this work of art is also difficult to date. As a result, we turned to style and technique comparisons of *Sorrowful Women* with other works by Annie Walke. The two works that relate the closest to *Sorrowful Women* are *Christ Mocked*, in the Royal Cornwall Museum and *St Clare*, in the

⁶⁸ Hills, 1999: 42-43.

⁶⁹ Hills, 1999: 43.

⁷⁰ Royal Cornwall Museum dossier for TRURI: 1996.23, file TT:1993.40

former St Clare School.⁷¹ The first mention we found of *Christ Mocked* was in an exhibition review from 1924, which means it must have been painted before this date.



Fig. 28 Annie Walke, *Christ Mocked*, before 1924, Oil on canvas, 91.5 x 79.2 cm, Royal Cornwall Museum, Truro

Despite lack of documentation, *St Clare* was probably commissioned sometime in or before 1928, when the girl school in Penzance changed its name to 'St Clare School' and became dedicated to St

⁷¹ Until now, *Christ Mocked* has often been dated c. 1935 (Art UK, n.d.). However, we found evidence of it being exhibited in the 14th Goupil Gallery Salon in 1924 (Times, 1924) and in the 73rd exhibition of the Society of Women Artists at the Royal Institute Galleries in 1928 (Times, 1928). It was also exhibited in a 1936 St Ives Group exhibition (City of Birmingham Museum and Gallery, 1936).

Clare.⁷² The stylistic analogies with *Sorrowful Women*, makes *St Clare* an important piece in the process of chronologically framing our painting. The colour palette and signature of *Sorrowful Women* are closely comparable to those of *Christ Mocked*, while the architectural interior compositionally relates to *St Clare*. The painting technique is similar in all three works. In particular, the woman women are portrayed with soft and round facial characteristics, with the brush marks following the shape of their features. While the modelling is often blended, sometimes brushstrokes become vividly material. The background is often painted around the figures with a loaded brush. As the paint is being pushed around, tracing the artist's movement on the canvas, ridges are created, especially around the outlines of figures. The way beads are painted in *St Clare* and *Sorrowful Women* is also closely comparable. We believe Annie Walke

Painted *Sorrowful Women* sometime between *Christ Mocked* and *St Clare*, roughly in the second half of the 1920s.

By contrast, paintings that we believe to belong to the artist's earlier oeuvre differ somewhat in style. *Reverend Bernard Walke and His Mother* is presumed to have been painted before or shortly after Bernard Walke's mother's death in 1918. *St Joan*, commissioned for St Hilary church and companion piece to *St Francis* painted by Roger Fry from 1920, is thought to have been painted around the same time. These works appear more graphic: they are characterised by bold and



Annie Walke, *St Joan*, c. 1920, Oil on canvas, St Hilary Church, Marazion

⁷² In 1928, The Penzance Church High School for Girls was taken over by the Woodard Corporation, and on 12th of May 1928 it was renamed 'The School of St Clare'. The school was later renamed the Bolitho school in 1995, and has since closed down. An old photograph of the first Chapel is kept at the former school in Polwithen, which shows both *St Clare* and *Madonna with Red Shoes* hanging on either side of the altar. *Madonna with Red Shoes* (also known as *St Clare*) now hangs in St Hilary Church.

sharp dark outlines, flat fields of colour, and a lack of modelling of light and shade. Because none of Annie Walke's works are dated, an important line of further research would be to establish a plausible timeline of all her paintings.

CONCLUSION

Sorrowful Women is an outstanding work of art that presents the opportunity to better understanding the work of a sensitive yet confident artist, who had sadly been eclipsed by her more famous contemporaries and artist-friends. Annie Walke remains an appreciated artist in the collective consciousness of West Cornwall, but deserves wider recognition in the context of early 20th century British Art.

Although there is no documentary evidence that would explain the presence of the tears, the nature of the damage and the accounts of the event that took place in 1932 at St Hilary allow us to conclude that the tears do not relate to the raid. This has guided the conservation treatment decision to mend the tears, rather than retain them for reasons of historical significance.

The particular scene depicted in *Sorrowful Women* testifies to a specific sensibility on Walke's part with regard to the intersection between religion and everyday

life. Not only does this demonstrate her conscious employment of contextual theology in her artwork, but it relates the painting to contemporary intellectual debates and a time-specific climate in the Anglican Church.

The visual language of the painting draws from traditional religious imagery, with particular reference to the iconography of the Virgin Mary. Nevertheless, *Sorrowful Women* presents a female perspective on the depiction of sorrow and the possibility of religion providing consolation.



Fig. 30. Annie Walke, 20th century, Black and white photograph, St Hilary, Marazion

Considering the testimonies of Annie Walke's spirituality and her idea of creativity, the painting could even be considered a form of prayer in itself. This makes hers a unique viewpoint in respect to her contemporaries, which reveals an insightful personality that managed to be progressive within tradition.

In her final years, Annie Walke led a spartan lifestyle of solitude and contemplation. Towards the end of her life in 1965, she was recalled having said 'I want to unpick the threads of my life'.⁷³ It has been a pleasure to have had the chance to reweave those threads together.

⁷³ This was recalled by Lionel Miskin, an artist who used to visit Annie Walke during her last years (Hills, 1997).

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1. Annie Walke, *Sorrowful Women*, 1920s (?), Oil on canvas, 135 x 160 cm, Private collection, Before treatment, *recto*.

Figure 2. Annie Walke, *Sorrowful Women*, 1920s (?), Oil on canvas, 135 x 160 cm, Private collection, Before treatment, *verso*.

Figure 3. Annie Walke, *Sorrowful Women*. (detail)

Figure 4. *Annie and Bernard Walke*, 20th century, Black and white photograph, St Hilary, Marazion (Photo credit: St Hilary archives).

Figure 5. *St Hilary Church*, 2019 (Photo credit: authors).

Figure 6. *Reverend Bernard Walke*, 20th century, Black and white photograph, St Hilary, Marazion (Photo credit: St Hilary archives).

Figure 7. Annie Walke, Dod Procter, Gladys Hynes, Ernest Procter and Harold Knight, *Choir stalls depicting stories of the lives of Cornish saints*, 1920s, Oil on panel, St Hilary church, Marazion (Photo credit: authors).

Figure 8. Annie Walke, *Sorrowful Women*, *verso*. (detail)

Figure 9. Annie Walke, *Sorrowful Women*, *verso*. (detail showing Roberson & Co stamp: PREPARED BY / C. ROBERSON & CO ^{LTD} / 99 LONG ACRE, LONDON)

Figure 10. Annie Walke, *Christ blessing the Cornish Industry*, 1923, Oil on panel, 75 x 95 cm (central panel), Truro Cathedral, Truro (Photo credit: Truro Cathedral).

Figure 11. Annie Walke, *St Clare*, c. 1928, Oil on canvas, 151 x 91 cm, Former St Clare School, Penzance (Photo credit: authors).

Figure 12. Annie Walke, *Sorrowful Women*, OSIRIS, sensitivity 0.9 – 1.7µm.

Figure 13. Annie Walke, *Sorrowful Women* and Annie Walke, *Sorrowful Women* OSIRIS, sensitivity 0.9 – 1.7µm. (details)

Figure 14. Navajo, Model of Loom, late 19th century, Wool, cotton, wood, 41.9 × 48.3 cm, Brooklyn Museum, New York (Photo credit: Brooklyn Museum).

Figure 15. Annie Walke, *Reverend Bernard Walke and His Mother*, 20th century, oil on canvas, 182 x 121 cm, Royal Cornwall Museum, Truro (Photo credit: Royal Institution of Cornwall).

Figure 16. Annie Walke, *Reverend Bernard Walke and His Mother* and Annie Walke, *Sorrowful Women*. (details)

Figure 17. Pedro Berreguete, *Annunciation*, c. 1505, Oil on panel, La Cartuja de Miraflores, Burgos (Photo credit: Wikimedia Commons).

Figure 18. Fig. 18. Old Turkish Sarkoy Kilim Rug, Ivory Border, Banded Design, c. 1920, 202 x 128 cm, det. (Photo credit: Vinterior)

Figure 19. Cross-section sample from lower right grey floor in normal light and ultraviolet light.

Figure 20. Annie Walke, *Sorrowful Women* and Annie Walke, *Sorrowful Women* X-radiograph, 15 keV, 3.5 mA, 40 seconds exposure. (details)

Figure 21. Cross-section sample from purple armchair.

Figure 22. Annie Walke, *Sorrowful Women* and Annie Walke, *Sorrowful Women* infrared reflectograph, OSIRIS, sensitivity 0.9 – 1.7µm. (details)

Figure 23. Walter Langley, *But Men Must Work and Women Must Weep*, 1883, Watercolour on paper, 90.5 x 53.5 cm, Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham (Photo credit: Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery).

Figure 24. Annie Walke, *Sorrowful Women*, raking light, left.

Figure 25. *Procession of Our Lady lead by Bernard Walke*, c. 1920s, Black and white photograph, St Hilary, Marazion (Photo credit: St Hilary archives).

Figure 26. Front cover of *Daily Mirror*, 10th August 1932, British Library, London (Photo credit: British Newspaper Archive).

Figure 27. Annie Walke, *Sorrowful Women*, verso. (detail)

Figure 28. Annie Walke, *Christ Mocked*, before 1924, Oil on canvas, 91.5 x 79.2 cm, Royal Cornwall Museum, Truro (Photo credit: Royal Institution of Cornwall).

Figure 29. Annie Walke, *St Joan*, c. 1920, Oil on canvas, St Hilary Church, Marazion (Photo credit: The Cornwall Historic Churches Trust).

Figure 30. *Annie Walke*, 20th century, Black and white photograph, St Hilary, Marazion (Photo credit: St Hilary archives).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Allchin, D. (2000) *Bernard Walke: A Good Man Who Could Never be Dull*. Abergavenny: Three Peaks Press.
- Anon. (1924) Art Exhibitions. *The Times*. London. 31 October 1924. p.15. The Times Digital Archive. [Date accessed: 14 Dec 2018]
- Anon. (1928) Art Exhibitions. *The Times*. London. 13 Feb 1928. p.17. The Times Digital Archive. [Date accessed: 14 Dec 2018]
- Anon. (1932a) Church Dispute. *The Times*. London. 15 Feb 1932. p.9. The Times Digital Archive [Date accessed: 14 Dec 2018]
- Anon. (1932b) Marazion Parish Church. *The Times*. London. 10 March 1932. p.14. The Times Digital Archive [Date accessed: 14 Dec 2018]
- Anon. (1932c) Raid On Cornish Church. *The Times*. London. 10 August 1932. p.12. The Times Digital Archive [Date accessed: 14 Dec 2018]
- Anon. (1932d) Crowbar and Chisel Raid on a Church. *The Daily Mirror*. London Edition. 10 August 1932. Pp. 1-3.
- Arcadja (2018) *Ann Fearon Walke – Sorrowful Women*. [Online], Available at: http://www.arcadja.com/auctions/en/fearon_walke_ann/artist/380766/ [Date accessed: 29 Dec 2018]
- Artist Biographies (n.d.) *Chelsea Art School*. [Online], Available at: <https://www.artbiogs.co.uk/2/schools/chelsea-art-school> [Date accessed: 17 May 2019]
- Art UK (n.d) *Christ Mocked*. [Online], Available at: <https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/christ-mocked-14524> [Date accessed: 18 May 2019]
- Baker et al. (2016) *Women of West Cornwall*. Penzance: Penwith Local History Group.
- Bonhams (2009) *Lot 100. ANN FEARON WALKE (BRITISH, 1890 – 1965)*. 18 Nov 2009 Auction. [Personal email communication with Bonhams representative]
- City of Birmingham Museum and Gallery (1936) *Catalogue of An Exhibition of Works by the St. Ives Group*. Exhibition Catalogue. 10th July to 29th August 1936.
- Cornwall Artist Index (n.d.) *ANNIE WALKE*. [Online], Available at: <https://cornwallartists.org/cornwall-artists/annie-walke> [Date accessed: 29 Dec 2018]
- Cornwall Artist Index (n.d.) *JAMES LANHAM & CO*. [Online], Available at: <https://cornwallartists.org/cornwall-artists/james-lanham-co> [Date accessed: 29 Dec 2018]
- Cross, T. (1994) *The Shining Sands: Artists in Newlyn and St Ives 1880 -1930*. Devon: Westcountry Books.
- Davies, P. (2002) *Antique Kilims of Anatolia*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company Inc.

- Denny, W. B. (2003) *The Classical Tradition in Anatolian Carpets*. Washington DC: The Textile Museum.
- Fox, C. and Greenacre, F. (1985) *Painting in Newlyn 1880-1930*. London: Barbican Art Gallery.
- Garrett, C. (2011) *Art Archive 2340 Walke*. Unpublished notes. Newlyn Archives.
- Garrett, C. (2014) The Artist Annie Walke (nee Fearon) – To Polruan – Part 1. In *Lanteglos Parish News*. October-November 2014. p.18.
- Garrett, C. (2015) The Artist Annie Walke (nee Fearon) – To Polruan – Part 2. In *Lanteglos Parish News*. December 2014 – January 2015. p.18.
- Hardie, M. (2009) *Artists in Newlyn and West Cornwall, 1880-1940: A Dictionary and Source Book*. Bristol: Art Dictionaries Ltd.
- Hills, P. (1997) *Bring Back the Donkeys: A Tribute to Father Bernard Walke and the Artist Annie Walke*. [Exhibition Booklet] Jesus Chapel, Truro Cathedral, 18 Dec 1997 – 2 Jan 1998.
- Hills, P. (1999) *A Cornish Pageant*. Camborne: Philip Hills.
- Hills, P. ed (2004) *A Selection of Poems by the artist Annie Walke (1877-1965)*. Camborne.
- Holroyd, M. (2006) John, Augustus Edwin. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. [Online], Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/34196> [Date accessed: 17 May 2019]
- Hoyle, H. (2011) A Forgotten Prodigy ~ Joan Manning Sanders 1913-2002. *Women Artist in Cornwall*. [Online], Available at: <http://cornishmuse.blogspot.com/2011/11/forgotten-prodigy-joan-manning-sanders.html> [Date accessed: 04 Jan 2019]
- Hynes, G. (around 1905) *Letter by Gladys Hynes to Hugh Hynes*. Unpublished letter. 12 June 1905. Tate Archives, London, 859.1.
- King, D. (1983) *The Eastern Carpet in the Western World: From the 15th to the 17th Century*. Hayward Gallery. 20 May – 10 July 1983. London: Arts Council of Great Britain.
- Knight, L. (1936) *Oil Paint and Grease Paint: Autobiography of Laura Knight*. London: Ivor Nicholson & Watson Limited.
- Knight, L. (n.d.)₁ *10 am 2 Queens Road*, Drawing of Annie Walke. [Ink on paper] Tate Archives, London, 895.4.
- Knight, L. (n.d.)₂ *Good Works*, Drawing of Bernard Walke. [Ink on paper] Tate Archives, London, 859.5.
- Penlee House (n.d.) Anne Walke. [Online], Available at: <https://www.penleehouse.org.uk/artists/anne-walke> [Date accessed: 29 Dec 2018]
- Simon, J. (2017) *British canvas, stretcher and panel suppliers' marks. Part 8, Charles Roberson & Co*. [Online PDF], Available at: https://www.npg.org.uk/assets/files/pdf/research/artists_materials_8_Roberson.pdf [Date accessed: 29 Dec 2018]

Simon, J. (2018a) British Art Suppliers, 1650-1950 – L. *National Portrait Gallery*. [Online], Available at: <https://www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes/directory-of-suppliers/l> [Date accessed: 29 Dec 2018]

Simon, J. (2018b) British Art Suppliers, 1650-1950 – R. *National Portrait Gallery*. [Online], Available at: <https://www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes/directory-of-suppliers/r.php> [Date accessed: 29 Dec 2018]

Taor, S. (2006) *The painting materials and techniques of William Orpen RA 1878-1931*. The Courtauld Institute of Art, Conservation and Technology. Third Year Project.

Todd, A. C. (2000) *The Search for Silver: Cornish Miners in Mexico 1824-1947*. Exeter: Short Run Press Ltd.

Tyne, C. (2011) *Tumult and Joy: a short history of St Hilary*. Penzance: St Hilary Heritage Center.

Walke, A. (n.d.) *JESUS CHAPEL*. Handwritten note accompanying the Truro Triptych. Cornwall Record Office.

Walke, B. (1932) The Episode of St Hilary. *The Times*. London. 29 August 1932. p. 11. The Times Digital Archive [Date accessed: 14 Dec 2018]

Walke, B. (1935) *Twenty Years at St. Hilary*. Saint Agnes: Truran.

Walke, B. (1939) *Plays from St. Hilary*. London: Faber and Faber Limited.

Walke, B. (n.d.) Unpublished letter to Dod Procter. Tate Archives, London, **7920.2.6**

Wallace, C. (1996) *Women Artists in Cornwall 1880-1940*. Falmouth: Falmouth Art Gallery.

Wallace, C. (2002) *Under the Open Sky: The Paintings of the Newlyn and Lamorna Artists 1880-1940 in the Public Collections of Cornwall and Plymouth*. Cornwall: Truran.

Whybrow, M. (1994) *St Ives 1883-1993: Portrait of an Art Colony*. Suffolk: Antique Collector's Club.

Woodcock, S. (1997) *Index of account holders in the Roberson Archive 1820-1939*. Cambridge: Hamilton Kerr Institute, University of Cambridge.

Ydema, O. (1991) *Carpets and their Datings in Netherlandish Paintings. 1540-1700*. Zutphen: Walburg Pers.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to thank the following people for all their help and assistance:

Dr Pia Gottschaller, Prof Aviva Burnstock, Dr Karen Serres, The Courtauld Institute of Art
Staff at The Courtauld Institute of Art

Silvia Amato, The Courtauld Institute of Art

The owner of *Sorrowful Women*

Alison Smith, private conservator

Michael Harris, Royal Cornwall Museum

Owen and Carrie Baker, St Hilary

Reverend Rachel Monie, Colin Reid and Charles Butchart, Truro Cathedral

Katie Herbert, Penlee House

Helen Hoyle, Cornwall Artist Index

Pam Lomax and Newlyn Archives staff

Nicola Hemsley, Polwithen House

James Flower, Bonhams

Dr Ben Blackburn and Bill Luckhurst, King's College London

Kathy and staff, St Mary's, Bourne Street, London

Darragh and Tate Archive Staff, Tate Britain

Our profound gratitude goes to Hugh and Jane Bedford, for their warmth and hospitality during our trip to Cornwall, and constant enthusiasm towards our research. Without them much of our work would not have been possible.