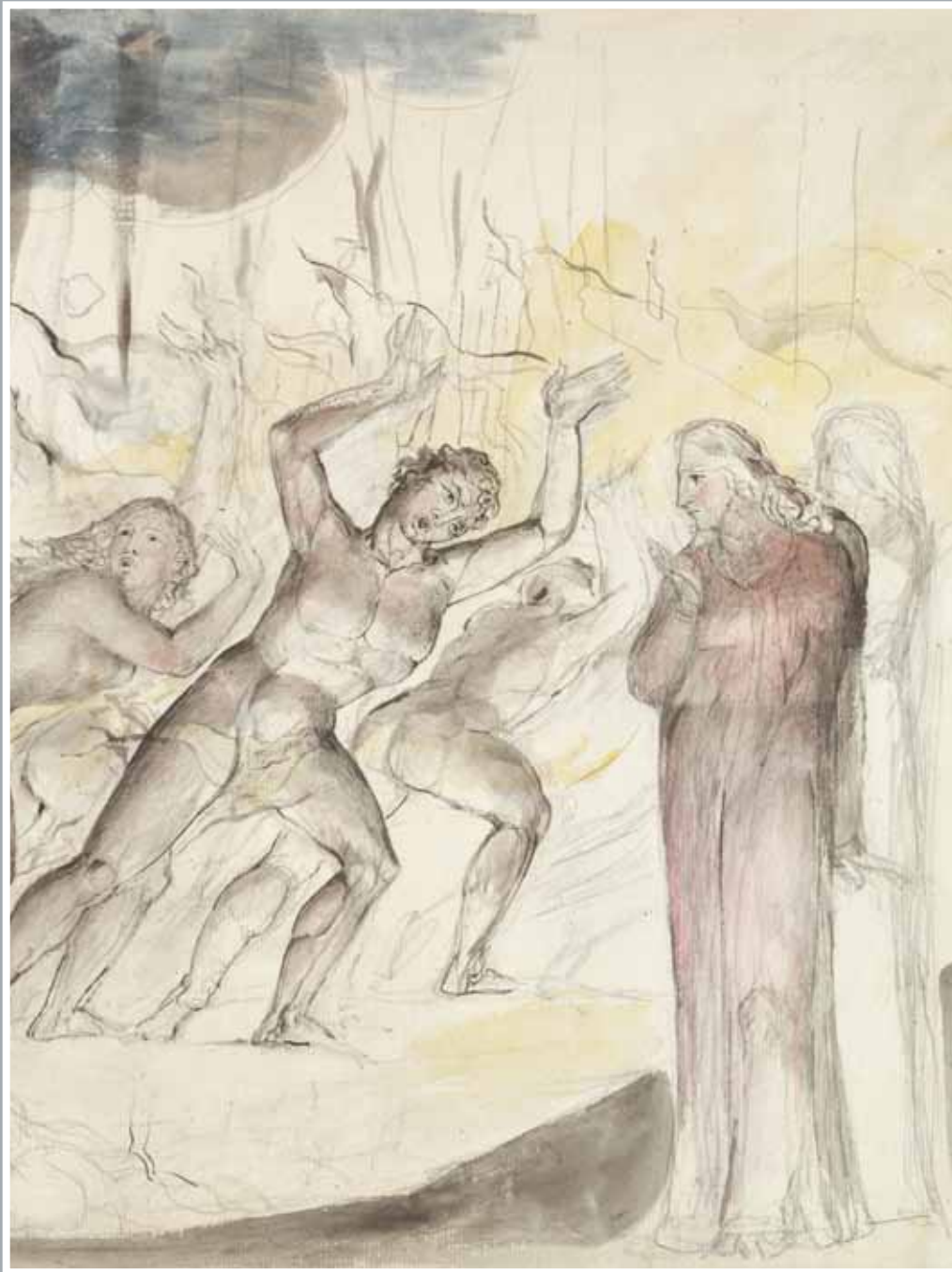


BURNING BRIGHT

Essays in Honour of David Bindman



[£]**UCLPRESS**

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David Bindman

★

Edited by
Diana Dethloff, Tessa Murdoch
and Kim Sloan, with Caroline Elam

 **UCLPRESS**

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Back Image: Louis François Roubiliac, *William Hogarth*, 1741. National Portrait Gallery.

Frontispiece: David Bindman, © President and Fellows of Harvard College. Photo by Kris Snibbe / Harvard Staff Photographer.

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Foreword: Celebrating David Bindman

CAROLINE ELAM

IN 1966, the year he published his first article on Blake (see David Bindman's Publications, p.267), David saw an advertisement in the Personal Column on the front page of *The Times*, offering for sale a painting of *The Raising of Jairus's Daughter* by the obscure English artist and Keeper of the Royal Academy, Henry Thomson (1773–1843). Still a penniless Ph.D. student at the Courtauld Institute, but already an avid collector of long standing, David was intrigued by an ambitious biblical subject exhibited at the RA in 1820. He offered the owner £50 on the spot and hired a van to remove the picture from Cranbury Park, Hampshire, where it had been stored behind the organ in the chapel. He took it to the Conservation Department at the Courtauld, then in Portman Square, but, with its contemporary frame, it was too large to go through the door. Realising its fundamental unsuitability for his own or any other private collection, David offered the picture to the Tate, which took it as a probably unexhibitable gift to the Friends of the Tate Gallery and stored it in a boiler cupboard. The canvas remained in limbo and unaccessioned for forty-six years until rediscovered and rehabilitated by Martin Myrone, who had it conserved and reunited with its original frame. It is now prominently displayed in the current Tate Britain chronological re-hang, improbably sandwiched between a Turner

Intro.1. Henry Thomson,
*The Raising of Jairus's
Daughter*, exhibited 1820.
Oil on canvas, 241.4 ×
299 cm (Tate, presented
anonymously 2012)



and a Constable. The label reads 'Presented anonymously, 2012', and in a thorough account of the painting's provenance and rediscovery in the online catalogue entry by Thomas Ardill, the 1966 purchaser is described simply as 'a distinguished art historian'. But, since his identity can be traced via a story in *The Times* (9 March 1967), referenced in a footnote, it is perhaps not too indiscreet to re-reveal it now. The story epitomizes so many of David's qualities: his compulsive and quixotic collecting, the breadth of his interests, his generosity, and the lasting effects of his teaching on the curatorial direction of museums – since Martin Myrone is one of the former pupils who have contributed to this Festschrift for David's 75th birthday (see p.136). And, crucially, both picture and story have their comic side.

Presented to him on his 75th birthday, this volume is above all a tribute to David from his former students – though a few colleagues who were not his pupils have crept in by the side door. The editors of the three sections all studied with David as undergraduates or graduate students at Westfield College and one went on to be his colleague at UCL. Their introductions give an invaluable picture of David's teaching methods and principles, in which ideas and objects have always been central, indissolubly combined and mutually explanatory, pursued hand in hand with personal and institutional art collecting. The contents of the book are divided according to the media across which David's research and teaching have ranged – sculpture, paintings and drawings, and prints – and the essays within each section are arranged chronologically. These are traditional choices, but the categories could as easily have been thematic. And while some themes are well-established – there are valuable essays here on patronage, collecting and iconography, on the interrelationship between technique and stylistic change – others engage with more recent methodological currents in the study of visual culture: the representation of race, gender, sexuality, political violence and propaganda, exile, notions of the canon. This plurality of approaches is a reflection of David's own research trajectory, which has embraced theoretical innovation without ever relinquishing historical rigour or a beady-eyed engagement with the object. He has been able to reconcile opposing factions in art history not just with tolerance but with enthusiasm. And from the very beginning, there has always been a radical and ethical dimension to his research and writing. In addition to the tributes to David embodied in these essays and made explicit in authors' acknowledgments, copious further reminiscences and anecdotes may be found in an accompanying, privately published booklet, which takes its title from his recent struggles with the US visa authorities – *David Bindman: An Alien of Extraordinary Ability*.

The Editors would like to thank many people who have made these volumes such a pleasure to prepare. Lara Speicher and Jaimee Biggins, of the newly re-launched UCL Press, welcomed the proposal for *Burning Bright* with enthusiasm from the outset; we are very proud to be included in the Press's first year of publication. (In accordance with its Open Access policies, this book will be available online.) Out of friendship for David, Stephen Hebron of the Bodleian Library gave up his free time in an exceptionally busy year to design the volume: it is entirely thanks to him that it looks so beautiful. Frances Carey has been essential to the whole process, supplying ceaseless quantities of information and moral support, and compiling the list of David's publications. Monica Sidhu has, among many other things, masterminded the record-keeping and acknowledgement of donations. John Banks was the expert copy-editor. Hugo Chapman allowed various corners of the Department of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum to be used for clandestine editorial meetings

over a long period, and the Students' Room to host the formal presentation. To ensure the viability of the project it was essential to raise money for publication costs – not exactly crowd-funding, given our attempts at secrecy, but an appeal to friends and supporters of David to subscribe in advance. The names of donors and contributors are listed in a *Tabula Gratulatoria* on p. 273 and we are immensely grateful to them for their response to badgering emails. Special thanks are due to The Paul Mellon Centre for British Art and to The Henry Moore Foundation for their prompt and generous grants, to the Faculty of Social and Historical Sciences and the Department of History of Art at UCL (particularly Frederic Schwartz and Daniela Hernandez Tanner), and to an individual who was the very first to respond, sending a large cheque by return of post. Finally, I would like to thank my fellow Editors, Diana Dethloff, Tessa Murdoch and Kim Sloan, for inviting me to join their joyful sororial collective.



Part I

SCULPTURE

Opposite: see Fig.7.3

I

Introduction: Carving a Niche in Sculptural History

TESSA MURDOCH

THE SPRING TERM of 1975 at Westfield College, West Hampstead, saw a small group of second-year undergraduates from Westfield and UCL specialising in the 'Baroque period' assemble for David Bindman's class on English and French Sculpture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Günter Kowa¹ and Carol Blackett-Ord (née Scott-Fox)² were amongst them. I still have my notes from this inspiring course and the essay I wrote on the use of drawings and sketch models in English sculpture. David took us to the Foundling Hospital, St Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey to view sculpture in the context of architecture and painting. He invited the V&A curator Charles Avery to introduce the French eighteenth-century sculpture in the V&A's Jones galleries; bronze portrait reliefs by Bouchardon of Louis XV and the Dauphin were compared with contemporary French portrait medals, extending our interest in and engagement with decorative art and our understanding of the curatorial viewpoint. David's typed class hand-out 'Sculptures in the V&A for special study' singles out, under 'French', Houdon's busts of *Voltaire*³ and *The Marquis de Miromesnil*, Pigalle's bust of *J.R. Perronet*, Pajou's bust of *M.J. Sedaine*, Clodion's *Cupid and Psyche*, Falconet's *Allegory of Sculpture* and *Bathing nymph* and Lemoyne's bust of *The Comtesse de Feuquères*, masterpieces which have all been selected for the V&A's new European Galleries which open in December 2015.⁴ For English sculpture we were to focus on Delvaux's *Vertumnus and Pomona*, Scheemakers's bust of *Viscount Cobham*, Roubiliac's *Handel seated* and busts of *Jonathan Tyers* and *Alexander Pope*, Rysbrack's *Relief of the Allegory of Charity*, Wilton's bust of *Dr Cocchi*, Nollekens's *Castor and Pollux* and *Monument to Sir John Tyrell*, Thomas Banks's *Thetis dropping Achilles in the River Styx* and bust of *Dr Anthony Addington*, Flaxman's *Michael over-*

1. Günter Kowa is an art journalist and has published *Grazia e delicatezza: Ein deutscher Maler in Italien: Ignaz Stens Leben und Werk, 1679–1748*, Bonn, 1986; *Architektur der Englischen Gotik*, Cologne, 1990; and *Kardinal Albrecht und die Renaissance in Halle*, Halle, 2007.

2. Carol Blackett-Ord joined the National Portrait Gallery in 1980 and contributed as a researcher to the exhibition *Handel*, 1985, and jointly authored the publication *F.X. Winterhalter and the Courts of Europe*, 1987. From 1996, she was picture researcher for the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Recent publications include with S. Turner, 'Early mezzotints: prints published by Richard Thompson and Alexander Browne', *Walpole Society*, LXX (2008); with F. Pollak, L. Wrapson, *Print Quarterly: An Index 1994–2003*, London, 2009, and 'Shaping the master: the emergence of Donatello in nineteenth-century Britain', *Sculpture Journal*, 22 (2013).

3. The Voltaire is now considered to be nineteenth century – see Alicia Robinson, 'Houdon and Voltaire: an attribution reconsidered', *Sculpture Journal*, 21 (2012), pp.97–103 – but the Miromesnil is a splendid example of Houdon's portrait style.

4. For a celebration in print of these new galleries see Elizabeth Miller and Hilary Young, *The Arts of Living: Europe 1600–1815*, London, 2015.

coming Satan, and Coade and Sealy's *Monument to Sir William Hillman*.⁵ 'Terracottas and Models' are listed with the location of the finished commission, encouraging a comparison of the preparatory model with the completed work.

We examined the creative process of a sculpture; the design, often contributed by an architect, the preparatory sketch, whether drawn or modelled and the intended setting.⁶ Studying sculpture in the round was essential to full appreciation. Writing about the marble statue of Handel for Vauxhall Gardens led to the terracotta model in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, and to engravings showing its original setting in those South London pleasure gardens. Contemporary responses to the sculpture were important, and Dr Matthew Maty's poem describing a visitor's surprise on encountering the statue of a famous contemporary composer captures that moment of recognition.⁷ A visit to David Garrick's Temple to Shakespeare at Hampton led to an appreciation of the original lighting source for that statue, alas now skied in the British Library foyer, St Pancras. The intended setting for sculpture was an essential consideration; this was vital training for making future curatorial decisions when placing sculpture on exhibition.

The political agenda behind contemporary patronage enriched our awareness of the historical circumstances. A sculptor's reputation owed much to his experience through training and travel. A visit to Rome added to credentials as it demonstrated cultural enrichment and awareness of the classical past, so central to the curriculum of a patron's education. Establishing a sculptor's network of contacts, through his personal circumstances, membership of a church or Masonic lodge, threw light on the social and political influences on an artist's work.

David is an outstandingly gifted teacher, questioning our reactions and encouraging us to think and research for ourselves. Finding new evidence for attribution might result from ferreting in archives, household bills, inventories and bank accounts, talking to other scholars and curators, perusing their notes and reading contemporary accounts – David championed George Vertue's *Note Books*, John Flaxman's *Lectures on Sculpture*, London, 1829, J.T. Smith's *Nollekens and His Times*, 1828 (1920 edition) and recommended acquiring Hugh Phillips's remarkable study *Mid-Georgian London* (1964) – all sources which I still treasure and refer to regularly.⁸ David's excitement when he located Mrs Esdaile's papers for her 1928 book on Roubiliac was palpable. His own writings on sculpture set pinnacles of achievement. Julius Bryant writes

In the vast and distinguished Bindman bibliography one should not underestimate the impact of the modest early potboilers. As a schoolboy my eyes first popped at the pages of photographs of works by Bernini, Falconet, Canova and all as illustrated in his Studio Vista pocket paperback *European Sculpture from Bernini to Rodin* (1970). Years later, when I told its author this, he

5. Cobham, *Handel*, Pope and Tyers, Rysbrack's *Allegory of Charity* and Nollekens's *Castor and Pollux* are in the V&A's British Galleries, but the others are in the Hintze Sculpture Galleries.

6. John Physick, *Designs for English Sculpture, 1680–1860*, London, 1969, was an invaluable source for this quest.

7. Published in French in the *Mercure de France*, November 1750. Dr Maty, Under Librarian of the fledgling British Museum, presented a series of busts by Roubiliac bought at his posthumous sale; see Aileen Dawson, *Portrait Sculpture: A Catalogue of the British Museum Collection c.1675–1975*, London, 1999.

8. Hugh Phillips also left a bequest to the V&A to purchase acquisitions of eighteenth-century works of art, so his name continues to glow with gratitude on museum labels.

recalled buying a pile of remaindered copies and the comforting words at the till when he explained he had written it: 'Don't worry mate – it 'appens to the best of 'em, even Arold Robbins.'

I regret lending a friend my copy but hope it has inspired a lifetime's enjoyment. David's jointly authored Mitchell-prize-winning book on *Roubiliac and the 18th Century Monument: Sculpture as Theatre* and his recent study *Canova and Thorvaldsen* span the last twenty years and frame a plethora of books and articles. David's ongoing editorial role for the Harvard series on the Image of the Black in Western Art and his regular teaching at Harvard lead us to anticipate yet more exciting fruit from his energetic and fertile engagement with early modern European cultural achievements.

Contributors to these essays on sculpture have all benefited from working alongside David as mentor, collaborator or student. Their range of interests and influences demonstrates the wide harvest that David has reaped – belied by his affectionate nickname 'Bindweed',⁹ although it neatly summarises the common bond which his former students treasure and has resulted in the demonstrable commitment represented by this volume. The present tribute stretches geographically from California to China. It percolates through the offices of the Art Fund, the galleries of the British Museum, the libraries of the Courtauld Institute, the historic rooms and libraries of royal palaces, Tate and the V&A. Joanna Marschner, who contributes on Rysbrack's busts for Queen Caroline's Library at St James's Palace, remembers:

Arriving at Westfield College, as an undergraduate, in the autumn of 1976, was incredibly exciting. David Bindman was an inspiring teacher, introducing so many of the art treasures London had to offer. Later, with Professor Helen Weston, he kindly agreed to be supervisor for my PhD. I never forget our wide-ranging conversations, after which I always returned to the library or archive re-energised.

We have all received generous acknowledgement where we have assisted with David's publications and our own academic achievements have been marked by appropriate gifts. A portrait of Guillaume Coustou, under whose authority Roubiliac studied at the Academy in Paris engraved by N. de L'Armessin to mark his own reception by the Paris Academy in 1730, was the unexpected additional reward for completing my doctorate under David's supervision. His excitement at some new find was announced with glee, and opportunities for students to acquire original drawings were generously shared. At a recent encounter in Harvard, David confessed to acquiring a bust by Mestrovic of Mrs Eumorfopoulos, wife of the notable collector of Oriental ceramics,¹⁰ but a frustration as to how he could display this at home. A generous proposal to lend this new acquisition to the V&A to mark the centenary of that first Mestrovic exhibition in 1915 is characteristic of David's enthusiastic excitement in sharing the fruits of his actual or virtual hunting expedi-

9. I learnt of this in 1989 from Charlotte Gere who told me that it was much used at the British Museum, where David's frequent presence and contributions are widely appreciated.

10. Mestrovic's bust of George Eumorfopoulos (1863–1939) was given by her husband's executors to the British Museum in 1944; Aileen Dawson, *Portrait Sculpture: A Catalogue of the British Museum Collection c.1675–1975*, London, 1999, no.30, pp.93–95.

tions. His wide-ranging engagement with cultural exchange and cross-fertilisation between disciplines is wonderfully captured in this enduring anecdote contributed by Malcolm Baker.

In 1982 David and Malcolm Baker went to Poland to give papers at a conference entitled 'Rococo Sculpture in Europe, with an Emphasis on the Lvovian School', Malcolm speaking on Roubiliac's European background and David on the English context of the sculptor's work. (This was the start of their collaboration on the book on Roubiliac's monuments.) Taking place at a time when the communist regime was being challenged by the Solidarity movement, the conference was peripatetic, crossing Poland and ending up in a castle in the Tatra mountains where the lecture hall was a converted cellar. Intending to show Roubiliac's religious qualities by accompanying the resurrection of the body in Hargrave monument with the sounds of 'The trumpet shall sound!', David had set off with a tape of the *Messiah* in his pocket. Unfortunately, this had been seized by Polish customs. (It was the time when the communist regime was being challenged by Solidarity and was especially wary of English art historians importing eighteenth-century sacred music.) Undeterred, David used all his considerable powers of persuasion to prompt a very nervous Malcolm to stand up at the appropriate moment and declaim the Handelian passage rather hesitantly from the audience. Fortunately, the dramatic effect of David's performance was not entirely lost because of a poor-quality soloist. Polish and German art historians rallied and enthusiastically sang 'I know that my Redeemer liveth'. Shortly afterwards David turned to the theme of the English and melancholy; no sooner had he started reciting some lines from Young's *Night Thoughts* than, just at the right time, there was a loud fluttering sound, for the recitative had awoken the bats and the German chairman had to burst in with the words, 'Achtung! Fledermaus!'

Victoria and Albert Museum

Netherlandish Allegories of Madness in English Perspective

LÉON E. LOCK

IN THE MIDDLE AGES, people with a mental disturbance generally remained embedded in social and family life, even if the 'furious mad' were usually chained and/or locked up. Hospitals could also have a separate section for those whom relatives were no longer able to control,¹ while specialised institutions appeared only later. The oldest in Europe is Bethlem (or Bedlam) Hospital in London (general hospital from 1247; specialised hospital from 1357). Further foundations were established in Valencia (1409), Zaragoza (1429), Seville and Valladolid (1436). In the Northern Netherlands, the oldest madhouse was founded in 1442 at 's-Hertogenbosch, by Reinier van Arckel, to house six inmates. Separate from the church, this asylum was run by local citizens. Then followed madhouses at Utrecht (1461) and Amsterdam (1562).

Until the nineteenth century, the insane were interned without special medical treatment. Influenced by the ideas of the Enlightenment, a gradual humanisation took place. The French physician Philippe Pinel (1745–1826) was the first, followed by Jean-Etienne-Dominique Esquirol (1772–1840), to release psychiatric patients from their handcuffs and grant them a more humane treatment. This new therapy, psychological rather than physical, was geared towards teaching a rational self-discipline. Pinel's Dutch counterpart was Jacob Schroeder van der Kolk (1797–1862), who wanted to make his patients useful to society instead of locking them up like dangerous animals in a zoo. This new mindset produced, on 29 May 1841, the first Dutch law concerning the insane and, in 1849, the opening of the first psychiatric institute in the Netherlands, at Bloemendaal.²

The Amsterdam Dolhuis (madhouse) was founded by the city of Amsterdam with 3,000 guilders given by Hendrik Pauwelsz. Boelenssen,³ whose wife had been bitten during her pregnancy by a madwoman. Around an interior garden surrounded by a colonnade resembling a cloister, were organised individual cells each with a bed, a cesspit and a system of two doors to the gallery. The first of these doors, which always remained closed, was equipped with an opening the size of a

IT IS WITH joy and gratitude that I recall the stimulating discussions with colleagues, particularly Karl Clausberg, Michel Maupoix, Frits Scholten, Anna Trobec and Emile van Binnebeke. All my thanks also go to my employer, the Fonds Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek Vlaanderen, which permits me to carry out this research in the Department of Architecture of the University of Leuven.

1. J.-M. Fritz, 'Expériences médiévales de la folie: le fou aux multiples visages', in J. Toussaint ed., *Pulsion(s): Images de la folie du Moyen-Age au siècle des Lumières*, Namur, 2012, pp.11–37, esp. p.12.

2. F.J.M. Schmidt, *Entwicklung der Irrenpflege in den Niederlanden: Vom Tollhaus bis zur gesetzlich anerkannten Irrenanstalt*, Herzogenrath, 1985; L. van den Berg, *Rijp voor paviljoen III. Krankzinnig in Amsterdam vanaf 1565*, Amsterdam, 1989.

3. M. Fokkens, *Beschrijvinge der Wijdt-vermaarde Koop-stadt Amstelredam*, Amsterdam, 1662, p.285.

head to allow the passage of food; the other was closed only when the inmate was not 'tameable' and became too noisy.⁴ Occasionally the Dolhuis was open to the public so visitors could come and admire these 'living curiosities' and the statue of a madwoman at the centre of the garden (Fig. 2.1). Those patients from well-to-do families who were self-funded were housed on the first floor, away from public view.⁵

The institution originally housed eleven inmates, the symbolic number of disciples after Judas's betrayal. Successive extensions increased the number of individual cells to fifty-three. They were administered daily by a steward and his wife who lived on site. A doctor assisted when an inmate was injured or was 'physically' ill.⁶ In 1792 the city decided to move the insane asylum to the *Buitengasthuis*, located outside the city, and to demolish the Dolhuis. The *Allegory of Folly*, now in the Rijksmuseum (Fig. 2.1) comes from the inner garden of the Amsterdam Dolhuis.⁷ The statue depicts a madwoman, naked, sitting uncomfortably on a stool-shaped trunk covered with straw, with drapery girding her loins, her right leg bent backwards. She contorts her torso to the right, her arms half outstretched while vehemently pulling her long hair upwards with her left hand and downwards with her right. Thus her arms and hair form a figure '8' with her head placed in the middle. Her face expresses great fear; she screams with all her might, her mouth wide open and her tongue sticking out. The pedestal, with deep mouldings, is adorned on each side with a high relief each showing an inmate looking through an opening – a peephole – just big enough for the head and four fingers (Fig. 2.2a–d).

The first description of the statue of the madwoman appears in 1662 in the published description of the city of Amsterdam by Melchior Fokkens: 'inside there is a large courtyard and garden, in the middle of which is placed a statue of a naked woman on a pedestal, representing fury or madness; her hair hangs over her naked body, she pulls her hair like crazy'.⁸ The following year the work was illustrated in an engraving in another guidebook, by Olfert Dapper (Fig. 2.3). The statue is clearly recognisable, as is the head in relief on the pedestal. The engraving shows that the statue occupied the centre of a garden with flower beds on one side (the other side separated by an arbour, was grassed over for bleaching linen). Dapper's description of the statue indicates that she is crying.⁹



Fig.2.1 Attributed to Artus Quellin the Elder (Antwerp 1609–68), *Madness*, c. 1650–62. Stone, height of statue with pedestal 295 cm; statue 162 × 65 × 62 cm (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam)

4. 'niet te bestieren', O. Dapper, *Historische Beschryving der Stadt Amsterdam*, Amsterdam, 1663, p.435.

5. C. Commelin, *Beschryvinge van Amsterdam*, Amsterdam, 1693, II, p.579.

6. Dapper, *op. cit.* (note 4), p.435.

7. Museum number BK-AM-38.

8. 'van binnen is een groote vierkante plaats / en Tuyn / daar in't midden op een Voetstuck een naackte Vrouwe beeldt staat / uytbeeldende de raserny of dulligheyt / 't haar hanght heur over 't naakte lijf / sy grijpt en treckt op't haar als rasende'. Fokkens, *op. cit.* (note 3), p.285.

9. 'In't midden van't bloemperk wort de krankzinnigheit in steen door een stene naekte vrouw, die op een voetstal staet en als uitzinnig 't haar by't hoofd heeft hangen, en't selve al wenende met de handen uittrekt, uitgebeeldt.' Dapper, *op. cit.* (note 4), p.435.



a



b

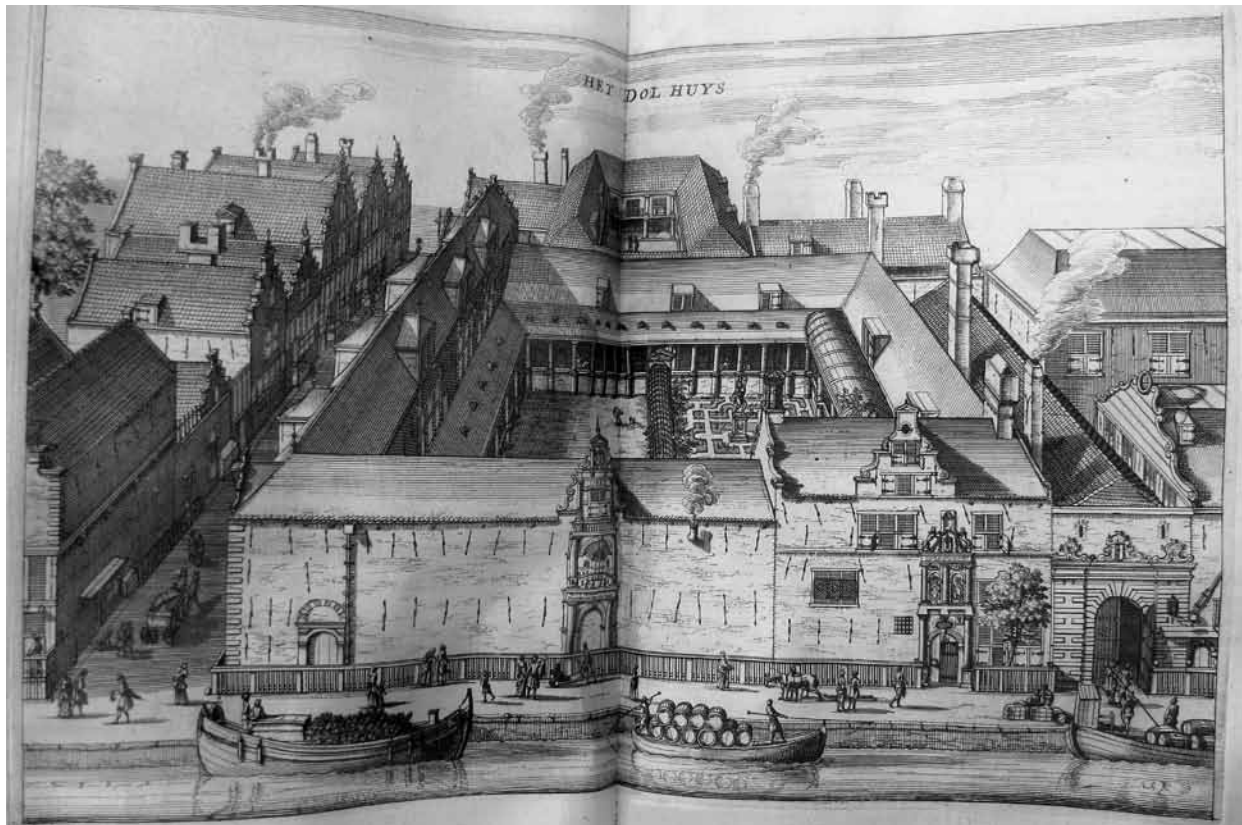


c



d

Fig.2.2 a–d Attributed to Artus Quellin the Elder, *Heads of Inmates*, c.1650–62. Stone relief, height of pedestal 133 cm (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam)



There are no archival documents concerning the statue,¹⁰ or descriptions of it from the early seventeenth century. Following a plethora of stylistic arguments initiated by Juliane Gabriëls in 1930,¹¹ followed by Jaap Leeuwenberg and Willy Halsema-Kubes,¹² Frits Scholten¹³ and Titia de Haseth Möller,¹⁴ the old attribution to Hendrick de Keyser (1565–1621) and his principal assistant Gerrit Lambertsz. (c.1595–1667), can be definitively ruled out. Instead, the attribution to Artus Quellin the Elder (1609–68) is fully convincing, with a dating between 1650 (Quellin's arrival in Amsterdam) and 1662 (the year of Fokkens's publication). The contextual historical elements outlined below confirm the attribution to the most important sculptor of the Low Countries in the seventeenth century, who decorated with marble what was in the eyes of his contemporaries the eighth wonder of the world – the town hall of Amsterdam, currently a royal palace.

On each of the four sides of the sculpture's pedestal (Fig. 2.2), a vertical panel is pierced by a rectangular aperture from which heads of inmates emerge. These peephole panels refer to the interior doors of the asylum's cells, equipped with a shutter to allow the passage of daily food rations. The heads are alternately male

Fig.2.3 Anonymous engraver, 'The madhouse of Amsterdam', published in Olfert Dapper, *Historische Beschryving der Stadt Amsterdam*, Amsterdam, 1663. 29.6 × 42.2 cm (Léon Lock)

10. J. Gabriëls, *Artus Quellin de Oude, 'kunstrijk belthouwer'*, Antwerp, 1930, p.152, note 233.

11. J. Gabriëls, "'De Razernij' of 'Dolhuisvrouw' van het Nederlandsch Museum", *Oudheidkundig Jaarboek*, x, 1930, p. 171, and Gabriëls, *op. cit.* (note 10).

12. J. Leeuwenberg and W. Halsema-Kubes, *Beeldhouwkunst in het Rijksmuseum*, 's-Gravenhage/Amsterdam, 1973, no.302, pp.228–30.

13. F. Scholten, *Artus Quellin. Beeldhouwer van Amsterdam*, Amsterdam, 2010, pp.54–55.

14. T. de Haseth Möller, entry in the forthcoming catalogue of sculpture in the Rijksmuseum.

and female. Two have a calm expression, the other two shout. These four representations correspond to the building's four wings surrounding the inner garden. The alternating heads are characteristic of the scientific classification of different types of madness, and also fit the concept of *varietà* dear to seventeenth-century artists. Two of the four psychoses represented have been identified by the psychiatrists Schmidt and Murken: the woman with loose long hair is probably suffering from hallucinatory catatonia (Fig. 2.2b);¹⁵ the man with a ribbon represents *melancolia agitata* (today identifiable with depression or neurasthenia, Fig. 2.2a).¹⁶

Schmidt and Murken have also considered the representation of different types of madness, carved on a relief by Peter van Coeverden from Dordrecht of 1686, for the madhouse at 's-Hertogenbosch, commemorating its founder Reinier van Arckel and its inauguration in 1442 (see Fig. 2.7 below).¹⁷ From left to right, the six types of madness represented can be identified with the following psychoses:¹⁸ senile dementia (e.g. Alzheimer's disease) or alcoholic dementia (Korsakov's disease); mania (here the fury of someone who is beating and biting himself); imbecility (IQ between 30 and 50, with 100 being the average of the population); vital depression (sadness, anxiety, alternating with mania, today described as manic depression; its representation is comparable to the head of a bearded man with a ribbon on the front of the pedestal of the Amsterdam sculpture attributed to Artus Quellin); paralytic dementia (dementia that causes partial paralysis, especially of the arms, legs and facial muscles, related to the syphilis bacterium); and acromegaly (dwarfishness, with non-congenital hypertrophy of the extremities and head). The hinges and locks of the doors, equipped with shutters are shown in great detail. A small ledge facilitates the delivery of food and in the opening of the main door, a food bowl is dangling from a chain.

The authors of the relief at 's-Hertogenbosch and of the pedestal reliefs in Amsterdam must have spent hours observing and drawing psychiatric phenomena in the two asylums in order to represent all these different psychoses, at that time not yet medically identified, but now recognised by psychiatrists in these detailed images. Direct observation was also practised by members of the surgeons' guild, which included Dr Nicolaes Tulp, whom Rembrandt represented dissecting a corpse (1632, Mauritshuis, The Hague).

The Amsterdam statue shows the madwoman pulling her hair vehemently and contorting her naked body in an ecstatic attitude, yelling with fear and pain. She suffers from manic delirium, which encourages her to inflict suffering on herself, here by pulling her hair. Her consciousness of self is reduced and she is prey to physical agitation and hallucinations.¹⁹ Olfert Dapper claimed in 1663 that she was also crying. This contemporary interpretation emphasises the pain she expresses, with which visitors to the Dolhuis could sympathise. Her arms and hair form an '8' with her head in the middle. If we follow the curves of the '8', we return to the start-

15. F.J.M. Schmidt and A.H. Murken, *Die Darstellung des Geisteskranken in der bildenden Kunst: Ausgewählte Beispiele aus der europäischen Kunst mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Niederlande*, Herzogenrath, 1991, p.33.

16. *Ibid.*, p.35.

17. E. Neurdenburg, *De zeventiende eeuwse beeldhouwkunst in de Noordelijke Nederlanden: Hendrick de Keyser, Artus Quellinus, Rombout Verhulst en tijdgenoten*, Amsterdam, 1948, p.100 and fig.72; A.C.M. Kappelhof, *Reinier van Arkel 1442–1992: De geschiedenis van het oudste psychiatrische ziekenhuis van Nederland*, 's-Hertogenbosch, 1992, p.37.

18. Schmidt and Murken, *op. cit.* (note 15), pp.17–21.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 32.



ing point: this is the circular and obsessive nature of madness, but with a reversal sometimes inside the circle and sometimes outside. The head is the meeting point of the exterior and the interior, it is the focal point which madness can neither control, nor can it differentiate between the outside and inside, the true and the false.

In addition, the '8' is formed not by continuous curves but by jerky movements forming many diagonals in a composition reminiscent of the Rubensian tradition, which Artus Quellin knew from his hometown. The allegory integrates a plurality of sources to illustrate this extreme case, while going beyond these sources. Like the four portraits of mad people on the pedestal, the statue of the madwoman is neither a traditional representation nor a simple allegory of madness.

Although Artus Quellin must have spent time observing the psychosis of mania in the Dolhuis itself, it was not until the nineteenth century that the link between psychiatric conditions and the representation of expressions started to be discussed in the literature. In *The Physiognomy of Mental Diseases*, 1840, Alexander Morison's descriptions are matched by lithographic illustrations. Morison (1779–1866), one of two senior doctors at Bethlem Hospital, London, between 1835 and 1853, followed the doctrine of physiognomy, the study of facial expression to reveal mental condition.²⁰ He describes cases from his medical experience, and concludes with an analysis of the two statues that crowned the gate of the Moorfields hospital, as built in 1675 to designs by the architect Robert Hooke. (Fig. 2.4).

These two dramatic and monumental depictions of naked madmen, lying down and contorted, were created about 1676 by the Danish-born sculptor active in London, Caius Gabriel Cibber (1630–1700).²¹ He was the foreman of John Stone

Fig.2.4 Monogramist A.G. after Caius Gabriel Cibber, *Melancholy Madness*, dated 1839. Lithograph, opposite page 271 in Alexander Morison, *The Physiognomy of Mental Diseases*, London, 1843; 24.5 × 15 cm (Wellcome Library)

20. A. Beveridge, 'Richard Dadd (1817–1886). Sir Alexander Morison (1852), Psychiatry in pictures', *British Journal of Psychiatry*, 184 (2004), 6, p.465–a22; D. Doyle, 'Notable fellow: Sir Alexander Morison (1779–1866)', *Journal of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh*, 41 (2011), 4, p. 378.

21. H. Faber, *Caius Gabriel Cibber 1630–1700: His Life and Work*, Oxford, 1926, pp.42ff. Works at Bethlem Royal Hospital, today at Beckenham, near London, www.bethlemheritage.org.uk.

(1620–67), son of the more famous Nicholas Stone (1587–1647), son-in-law of the sculptor and architect Hendrick de Keyser (1565–1621) of Amsterdam. The figures of *Raving Madness* (manic) and *Melancholy Madness* (depressive) clearly refer to the reclining figures created by Michelangelo for the Florentine Medici tombs, but also echo the Amsterdam Dolhuis statue. Indeed, Cibber visited Amsterdam in 1660 when he accompanied his master, John Stone, who was ill, back to London. He then managed Stone's London workshop until the master's death in 1667, before establishing his own.²² It is likely that Cibber visited the Amsterdam Dolhuis, admired the statue and observed some of the inmates.

Morison described Cibber's two statues in these words:

[*Raving Madness*] is supposed to represent the porter of Oliver Cromwell, who, it is said, was a patient in the Bethlem Hospital of his time; it is evidently intended to give an idea of a person in a state of mania; the attitude is finely conceived, expressing, what is intended, a raving madman, and displaying great anatomical skill without individuality; the drawn in appearance of the abdomen, and the thrown back head, sinking, as it were in the trunk, are indicative of the reckless roars to which he seems giving vent.²³

[*Melancholy Madness*] has been generally considered to be a representation of Melancholy Insanity; if, however, it be attentively examined, I think it must be referred to the variety termed Dementia; that state in which the symptoms of melancholy, previously existing, have now disappeared, and deprivation of intellect and of mental energy has gradually succeeded.

The extreme child-like attitude is natural, and with the tongue protruding from the mouth is characteristic of total absence of mind.

The spectator is supposed to be rather under the statue, consequently looking up to it, which by giving apparent length to the face has the effect of shortening the head; this, and the open mouth, and flabby or relaxed look, convey an idea of the face being larger than it really is, and the cranium smaller, and greatly assist in carrying out the character of want of emotion.²⁴

These descriptions are similar to the interpretation of the Amsterdam statue, though there is more latitude in psychiatric interpretation in the Cibber statues, including that of melancholy, which Schmidt and Murken prefer to interpret as a representation of imbecility.

Another contemporary physician, Sir Charles Bell (1774–1842), records the possible sources of inspiration for the representation of different types of madness, apart from direct study in asylums. In *Essays on The Anatomy and Philosophy of Expression*, 1824, he explains facial expressions based on musculature. His studies of emotions and their expression assisted Charles Darwin in considering the origins of the emotional life of humankind. Bell's connection with the Royal Academy, and his ambition to become professor of anatomy there, brings him even closer to artistic practice. Bell's analysis of *Horror* is illustrated by a lithograph of a man attacked by a snake that wraps around him.²⁵ This evidently refers to the ancient Laocoön group,

22. M. Whinney, *Sculpture in Britain 1530 to 1830*, 2nd ed. revised by J. Physick, London, 1988, pp.79, 110.

23. A. Morison, *The Physiognomy of Mental Diseases*, London, 1840, p.269.

24. *Ibid.* p.271.

25. C. Bell, *Essays on The Anatomy and Philosophy of Expression*, London, 1824, pp.89–127.

with its expression of fear about death. The head of the Amsterdam Dolhuis statue also shows this expression.

These illustrations also closely match Charles Le Brun's representations of *acute pain* and *simple bodily pain*, in his *Expressions des Passions de l'Âme*, underlining the continuity of artists' approaches through the centuries. These citations date from a little later than the Dolhuis statue and they indicate common classical sources: the Laocoön²⁶ and figures of the family of Niobe,²⁷ which express extreme pain. Quellin would have been able to study these during his trip to Rome. Giambattista della Porta's *De humana physiognomonia libri IIII* (1586) was probably the first Renaissance publication to restore honour to Aristotelian ideas of physiognomy, the pseudo-science that attempts to determine character and personality from physical evidence, including the face. This was developed by Sir Thomas Browne (1605–1682) and especially by Johann Kaspar Lavater (1741–1801).

Ralph Dekoninck has clarified the link between ideas about the sin of idolatry and mental disorders: the idol will end insensible, motionless and silent, as if petrified like the idol of Psalm 115.²⁸ Is this not the image of the statue of the madwoman, which the citizens of Amsterdam regarded as a curiosity, but also as a model not to follow? There was every reason for Amsterdam to distinguish itself from its Catholic neighbours, especially with regard to idolatry, which it fought ferociously.

The fact that the madwoman exposes her naked body without too much discomfort could associate her with the sin of lust. This sin demands punishment and confinement, even exorcism; the moral or religious weakness of an individual attracted punishment. It is not coincidental that the Rake, the immoral son of a rich merchant illustrated in Hogarth's print of 1735 (retouched in 1763),²⁹ who ended up at Bethlem Hospital, is depicted as chained to the ground in the position of Cibber's *Raving Madman* (Fig. 2.5), but also recalling seventeenth-century painted compositions of the *Lamentation*.³⁰ All these comparisons remind us in a moralising message that madness was often seen as a punishment. This was still evident in Thomas Rowlandson's *Incurables* of 1789, a political caricature set at Bethlem Hospital (Fig. 2.6).

The metaphor of undone hair, evidence of moral disorder in the Middle Ages (and even in the representation of *Britannia* on the medal added by Hogarth in his engraving of 1763), may refer to the undone spirit. This is found in the representation in stained glass of the mad Mathilde of Cologne, in Holy Trinity Chapel, Canterbury Cathedral.³¹ Not all medieval references to madness, however, are negative. Jean-Marie Fritz noted that in the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* (1320), King Nebuchadnezzar prefigures Christ's Passion, in his humiliation and suffering.³² This hairy bestial monster refers to wild men. These wear shaggy hair as an attribute, and similar hair is found on the pedestal of the statue of the Amsterdam madhouse. Such abundant hair could also symbolise the madman's attachment to the

26. F. Haskell and N. Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500–1900*, New Haven and London, 1981, pp.243–47.

27. Ibid., pp.274–79.

28. R. Dekoninck, 'La folie pour l'image et pour l'art', in J. Toussaint, ed., *Pulsion(s): Images de la folie du Moyen-Age au Siècle des Lumières*, Namur, 2012, pp.121–31.

29. D. Bindman, *Hogarth and His Times: Serious Comedy*, London, 1997, p.200.

30. R. Paulson, *Hogarth*, vol.2, *High Art and Low 1732–1750*, New Brunswick, NJ, 1992, p.21 and pls.23–25.

31. Bethlem Heritage, *Windows onto the Past II*, <http://bethlemheritage.wordpress.com/2012/02/10/windows-onto-the-past-ii/>, 2012; illustrated in the stained glass inventory: <http://www.therosewindow.com/pilot/Canterbury/n-2-19.htm>.

32. Fritz, *op. cit.* (note 1), p.16 and note 10.





Fig.2.7 Peter van Coeverden, Façade relief representing six madmen, 1686, Psychiatric hospital Reinier van Arkel, 's-Hertogenbosch

world, as in medieval times.³³ Fritz noted that around 1230 the traditional figure of the madman became bald or shaved, possibly repeating the ancient tradition of the bald mime (*mimus calvus*), an iconography that recurs on both figures by Cibber at Bethlem Hospital.

The facial expression of the Dolhuis madwoman also reminds us of Bernini's *Damned Soul*. Its iconography, together with its counterpart, *Blessed Soul*, is based on the doctrine of the *Quattuor Novissimi* (death, judgement, heaven and hell),³⁴ while reducing the whole to an antithetical representation of heaven and hell.³⁵ Similarly, the statue of the mad woman may refer to hell, while the surrounding flowers in the garden, much as on the head of Bernini's *Blessed Soul*, refer to the heavenly garden of paradise. Or, in other visual terms, the disorderly gestures of the figure and her hair, implying evil in medieval and early modern terms, contrast with the garden's symmetrical arrangement of parterres. Between all these changing attributes, the position of the insane remains ambiguous as in medieval times, when it oscillates between the damned and the elect, between curse and blessing.

In conclusion, although the Dolhuis was purpose-built, its plan, with the 1617 cloister³⁶ and individual cells, is reminiscent of medieval monastic architecture. The large relief above the entrance porch served as a sign of the building's purpose and encouraged passers-by to contribute to the foundation, and the cost of feeding of its patients. At the Reinier van Arkel asylum at 's-Hertogenbosch (Fig. 2.7) and at London's Bethlem Hospital the sculptural representations emphasised the harsh reality of madness. Both inspired feelings of fear and curiosity to motivate

33. Ibid., p.30.

34. See the canonical form of the *Cordiale quattuor novissimorum* by Gerardus de Vliederhoven.

35. S. Schütze, 'Anima dannata', in A. Coliva and S. Schütze, eds., *Bernini scultore: la nascita del Barocco in Casa Borghese*, Rome, 1998, pp.152–69.

36. Dating according to Dapper *op. cit.* (note 4), p.434.

passers-by to visit the asylum, so that their admission charge would contribute to running costs. The public was admitted during opening hours to come *gekken kijken*, watching the inmates, as the stewards understood that after obtaining an entry fee from the visitors, the sight of madness in flesh and blood, would invoke compassion, and encourage additional donations or bequests.

The allegory of madness, the statue that adorned the garden of the madhouse of Amsterdam from the 1650s, complements the sculpture at 's-Hertogenbosch and the figures from the London Bethlem Hospital. The Amsterdam statue combines medieval textual and visual sources with references to ancient Rome, prized by the new Republican Amsterdam, as well as to the contemporary sculpture of Bernini.

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Michael Rysbrack's Sculpture Series for Queen Caroline's Library at St James's Palace

JOANNA MARSCHNER

IN JANUARY 1738 Michael Rysbrack (1693–1770) received a letter from Isaac Ware, Secretary to the Board of Works, requesting that he should return to the Office of Works a series of portrait busts, still incomplete, which had been commissioned by Queen Caroline of Ansbach. The sculptor was informed that he would be paid in full for the project.¹

Caroline of Ansbach's commission to Rysbrack was substantial. Had it come to fruition, it would have constituted his longest series of associated portrait busts. It would also have been the largest royal commission for sculpture in the first half of the eighteenth century. However, it was not only the project that was blown off course. The work which Rysbrack so diligently returned to the royal family would later meet a series of mishaps too. This has left the art historian with a significant task: to reconstruct the importance of the sculptural series as a whole, and to explore Caroline of Ansbach's ambition in placing the commission.

The first mention of the project is in June 1735, when *The Old Whig, or the Consistent Protestant* noted that 'Her Majesty has ordered Mr Risbrack to make the Busto's in Marble of all the Kings of England from William the Conqueror'. This account already presents something of a conundrum, as it states that the work was destined for the queen's 'New Building in the Gardens at Richmond'.² In August that year the final bill was passed for the construction of Merlin's Cave, a thatched cottage in a playful gothic style, one of a series of pavilions and garden structures that punctuated the walks through the park surrounding Richmond Lodge, the rural retreat used by George II and Queen Caroline.³ Merlin's Cave, together with the Hermitage, another of the little buildings, and indeed the garden itself, the brain child of Caroline, was invested with a political message. Merlin's Cave was populated with life-sized waxworks – representing the characters associated with Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, with its celebration of the Tudor dynasty. The figure of Merlin was set at the heart of the piece, which also included figures of Queen Elizabeth I and her mythical embodiment, Britomart.⁴ The ensemble spoke of the ancient origins

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1. London, The National Archives (thereafter cited as TNA), Works 1/2, p.7. 23 Jan. 1737–8. TNA, Works 4/7, 11 Jan. 1737–8.

2. *The Old Whig, or The Consistent Protestant*, Issue 16, 26 June 1735.

3. TNA, Works 4/6, 1 August 1735.

4. An alternative reading of the inspiration behind the programme of Merlin's Cave is based on Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* in which Merlin's prophecies are for glory for the House of Este, from which the House of Hanover claimed origin.

of British monarchy and set up a comparison between the Tudors, whose regime saw a renaissance for England in the sixteenth century, and the new Hanoverian dynasty. It is just possible that the first idea was that busts of the kings of England might complete the scheme. A drawing by William Kent of a section through the Cave shows that bookshelves provided for the naive poet Stephen Duck, its hermit-interpreter, were topped with sculpture. However, space in the Cave was very limited.⁵ The wax-works were ridiculed by visitors and in the contemporary press. It is no surprise to find that Rysbrack's distinguished series would be destined for another location.⁶

In about 1735, Caroline decided to build a new library to house her books. These had previously been stored in repositories scattered through the royal homes, including in an apartment she had recently offered to clear to provide accommodation for her husband's new mistress, Amelia Sophia de Walmoden. The library would be located in the stable yard at the western side of St James's Palace. Her architect of choice was William Kent. He designed a single-storey building 60 feet long by 30 feet wide, with a deeply coved ceiling. Five arched windows on the long west wall, looking out over Green Park, were balanced with five arched recesses on the east. With the central recess forming the main entrance into the space, those flanking it were filled with bookshelves.⁷ Additional shelves projected from the walls at right angles between the bays. There was a chimneypiece at each end of the room. Eventually brackets to support sculpture were included at a high level between the bays, over the chimneypiece and on the mantelshelf. It was there that Rysbrack's busts were to go.

Queen Caroline seems to have taken an interest not only in the message of Rysbrack's sculptural programme but in its preparation too. She visited his studio in 1735, where she saw not just the busts in progress but also the monumental equestrian portrait of William III destined for Queen's Square, Bristol.⁸ She was not, however, to see her project complete. In November 1737, she was taken ill in her library, and died eleven days later, leaving its furnishing unfinished.

In 1738 Rysbrack complied with the request to return 'the modellos of the faces you made for working after' – a spectacular series of terracotta busts each about 60 cm tall. Whether these were ever intended to be recreated in marble is not known. However, marble busts of George II and Caroline dated 1738 and 1739 respectively, which eventually sat on the mantelshelves at either end of the library, do have terracotta versions.⁹ A watercolour (Fig. 3.1), and an associated pencil drawing, made by Charles Wild of the library, in about 1815, show that the terracotta busts were installed on the high-level brackets around the room.¹⁰

The impact of Caroline's unexpected death rumbled on. Despite some additions being made to the book collection during George II's lifetime, the speed of growth

5. British Library (hereafter cited as BL), 'The Section of Merlin's Cave in the Royal Gardens at Richmond' by William Kent, *Some Designs by Mr Inigo Jones and Mr Wm Kent*, London, 1744.

6. There is reference to Michael Rysbrack making sculptures after the seasons for Merlin's Cave. *The Daily Gazetteer* (London edition), 3 July 1736.

7. Sir John Soane's Museum, *Designs for Queen Caroline's Library*. Accession numbers, vol.147/192, 193, 195, 196, 198.

8. *Daily Journal*, 11 June 1735. *General Evening Post*, 10–12 June 1735. George Vertue, *Note Books*, 6 vols, *Walpole Society*, London 1930–47. III (1934), p.75.

9. Marble busts, royal collection inventory number (hereafter RCIN) 31322, and RCIN 31317. Terracotta versions of the busts (RCIN 1412 and RCIN 1411) were acquired by Queen Mary in 1932 from the collection of Lord Hatherton. Another copy of the terracotta bust of Queen Caroline is in the Koninklijk Huisarchief, The Hague, The Netherlands.

10. Watercolour, RCIN 922168. Drawing, City of Westminster Archives, London.



Fig.3.1 Charles Wild,
Queen Caroline's Library,
St James's Palace, c.1815.
Watercolour, 20 × 25.1 cm
(The Royal Collection)

dwindled dramatically. Under George III the space was denuded, as fine furniture was retrieved to help fit out the library William Chambers was constructing in the Queen's House, later Buckingham Palace. By the early nineteenth century there are references to Kent's beautiful building being little more than a 'lumber room'.¹¹ Despite a final flourish, when it was used to house the book collection of Frederick, Duke of York and Albany, it was demolished in 1825. The sculpture was moved initially to the Orangery at Windsor Castle. By the third quarter of the nineteenth century the bust of Queen Elizabeth I had been built into the chimneypiece of Windsor's new royal library, and those of Edward, the Black Prince and King Edward VI set in niches in the Grand Vestibule there. The remaining majority had been placed in store, where in 1906 the shelf on which they were stored collapsed. The damage was catastrophic, and only the fragments of one bust were deemed salvageable.

However, despite their disastrous history, it is possible to assemble more information about Rysbrack's line of kings and queens for Queen Caroline. The busts of Elizabeth I, Edward, the Black Prince and Edward VI have now been retrieved from their architectural settings and can be appraised as works in their own right.¹² The badly damaged bust of Elizabeth of York is carefully preserved in store. She has lost her nose, and much of the back of her head and right shoulder.¹³ In the Royal Collection Trust's Photograph Collection there are four glass negatives made

11. Thomas Pennant, *Some Account of London*, London, 1805, p.118.

12. Elizabeth I, RCIN 45101. Edward, the Black Prince, RCIN 37067. Edward VI, RCIN 53346. The busts of the Black Prince and Edward VI are discussed in Desmond Shawe-Taylor, ed., *The First Georges: Art and Monarchy 1714–1761*, The Royal Collection Trust, 2014, pp.284–85.

13. RCIN 31667.



Fig.3.2 J.F. Livingstone,
Elizabeth of York, portrait
bust, Michael Rysbrack,
1737–38. Photograph, c.1872
(The Royal Collection)

by J.F. Livingstone in about 1872, each recording a pair of busts – Edward III and Philippa of Hainault; Edward, the Black Prince, with Edward VI; Elizabeth of York (Fig. 3.2) with Henry V (Fig. 3.3); and Henry, Prince of Wales, with Catherine of Valois.¹⁴ This was part of a photographic record commissioned on behalf of Queen Victoria of room arrangements at Windsor and individual artefacts there, part of a programme of numbering and listing the works. By 1874 photographs made from the surviving negatives of the busts, together with three additional photographs for which the negatives must now be lost, were included in the ‘Windsor Castle Inventory of Statuary, Busts &c.’.¹⁵ This was one of a series of inventories made at the time, which also include bronzes, clocks and candelabra, pictures, porcelain and arms and armour. The inventory of statuary indicates that at this date there had been eleven busts surviving – the last two subjects were King Alfred the Great and Henry VII.

Given that Kent’s library building was constructed with such an eye to symmetry, it is perhaps surprising to find an uneven number of busts. Interestingly George Vertue, describing Caroline’s visit to the sculptor’s studio, records her comment on seeing a bust in preparation of King James I. The Queen was not impressed, stating, ‘Il me semble a une boureau. I won’t have it done.’¹⁶ Perhaps this may have been part

14. Negative numbers 2400578, 2400579, 2400580, 2400581.

15. RCIN 1101202.

16. ‘He looks like a scoundrel to me. I won’t have it done’, Vertue, *op. cit.*, note 8, III (1934), p.75.



of the series, but whether the subject was dropped or, if the design was amended, the piece made, delivered, but later destroyed, is now impossible to establish. In Charles Wild's illustrations of the room it is possible to make out the identity of several of the busts in situ, but the image does not show the space in its entirety.

As inspiration for those using her library, Caroline made a hall of ancestors, selecting monarchs for their contribution to the construction of the rights and liberties of the nation. In contrast to the waxworks programme of Merlin's Cave, not only was this conceived in a more conventional medium but the history of each subject was well established.

Edward III, Edward, the Black Prince, and Henry V had established places in the Valhalla of royal British heroes, famed for their valour, defending the honour of the nation at Crécy and Agincourt respectively. Caroline's choice would have been reinforced by the knowledge that they had been venerated by generations of her royal ancestors, and it may have helped that they had trounced the French – despite the fact since 1713 there had been an Anglo-French rapprochement, relations with the old enemy remained uneasy.

Caroline's decision to include King Alfred in the series comes as no surprise. Since her arrival in London in 1714, she would have been aware of the Whig party's promotion of Alfred as a perfect monarch, famed for his wisdom and sense of justice. His role in the unification of the ancient kingdoms of Britain, described in editions of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* and Assar's *Life of King Alfred*,

Fig.3.3 J.F. Livingstone,
Henry V, portrait bust,
Michael Rysbrack. 1737–38.
Photograph, c.1872
(The Royal Collection)



Fig.3.4 J.F. Livingstone, Henry VII, portrait bust by Michael Rysbrack, 1737–38. Photograph, c.1872 (The Royal Collection)

both published in 1722, was in line with a growing awareness of a ‘British’ national identity, which followed the Act of Union with Scotland in 1707.¹⁷ The catalogue of Caroline’s library shows she had a healthy number of books concerning this subject.¹⁸

Caroline’s veneration of the Tudor dynasty is apparent in many aspects of her patronage and she sought to draw parallels between the new Hanoverian family and these romantic ancestors under whom the country had prospered. Henry VII (Fig. 3.4) and Elizabeth of York take their place as the founders of the house, Edward VI and Elizabeth I as their starry Protestant successors. It is hard to position Henry, Prince of Wales, in the series. Certainly, he was a great patron of artists, a role to which Caroline aspired too. However, it is possible that this is another instance where another earlier dynasty is celebrated. The presence of Prince Henry in conjunction with the mysterious bust of his father, James I, perhaps honours members of the House of Stuart, who brought with them the throne of Scotland.

The inclusion of the last two women, Philippa of Hainault, wife of Edward III, and Catherine of Valois, wife of Henry V, is more unusual – spouses were not included as standard through the series. It is interesting to discover, though, that,

17. The Venerable Bede, *Historiae Ecclesiasticae Gentis Anglorum*, ed. J. Smith, Cambridge, 1722. *Annales Rerum Gestarum Aelfredi Magni: Auctore Asserio Menevensi*, ed. F. Wise, Oxford, 1722.

18. Sir John Spelman, *Life of Alfred the Great*, London, 1709. Sir Richard Blackmore, *Alfred: An Heroic Poem in Twelve Books*, London, 1723.

in histories prepared in the early eighteenth century, stories of the deeds of both Philippa and Catherine were included. Philippa was said to have raised an army of twelve thousand men, while her husband was in France, in order to defend the English against the Scots. Catherine, following the death of Henry V, had married Owen Tudor, and thereby became a pivotal figure, linking the House of Lancaster with that of Tudor.

A study of the sources used by Rysbrack as inspiration for the busts reveals yet another dimension to Caroline's scheme. The models selected for the majority of the busts were from works of art in the royal collection, which in several instances had been acquired by Caroline herself. While it may seem obvious that royal portraits would be located most frequently in the royal art collection, the dispersal of a great part of this in government sales in 1647, following the execution of Charles I, had left many gaps. Significant royal pieces had been acquired subsequently by others; James II had acquired one hundred and ten paintings by Jacob de Wet of Scottish monarchs for the Palace of Holyroodhouse in Edinburgh. However, in London, Caroline, when establishing the extent of the holdings on the accession in 1727, would have been unable to put together either a painted or a sculptural series of dynastic portraits of any great antiquity.¹⁹ In order to remedy this, with respect to paintings, according to the Reverend James Grainger, she 'begged' Lord Cornwallis of Eye to sell her fifteen late sixteenth-century copies of royal portraits, painted on panel, from his family collection, representing many generations of monarchs, from Edward III to Mary Tudor.²⁰ These paintings, along with others she had bought individually, were drawn together with the historic royal collection survivors, principally at Kensington Palace in both the state and private apartments.

Even though Rysbrack had visited Kensington, and probably other royal homes too, his information did not come directly from the works, but through the engraved portraits, made after the royal collection examples by George Vertue.²¹ From 1728, George Vertue, historian, artist and printmaker, made numerous visits to the royal palaces, especially to Kensington, hunting for 'pictures [which] are most useful for me to work after'. He claimed that, at Kensington by about 1734, he had been able to locate images of every monarch from Henry IV to Charles II, as well as 'a Duke of Gloucester and Lord Guildford'.²²

The results of his endeavours were published as two sets of engravings to illustrate Salmon's *The Chronological Historian* and Paul Rapin's *History of England*, published first in Paris in 1733, and later, in 1736, by Nicholas Tindal in London, as *The Heads of the Kings of England Proper for Mr Rapin's History*. A note about the source of the image is frequently engraved in the plate. Caroline's library contained a publication listed as *Heads of King's and Queen's of England*, which is very likely to be one or other of the editions of these works.

19. Just four portraits, those of Henry VI, Edward IV, Richard III and Elizabeth Woodville, had survived from a series commissioned by either Henry VII or Henry VIII some time between 1504 and 1520.

20. The collection included: RCIN 403045, RCIN 404196, RCIN 404734, RCIN 404740, RCIN 404744, RCIN 404745, RCIN 404748.

21. Rysbrack had provided a marble relief, *The Roman Marriage*, for the chimneypiece in the Cupola Room in Kensington Palace in 1723. In March 1727 Rysbrack had been granted permission to make copies of Camillo Rusconi's *Four Boys*, part of the decoration of the King's Gallery at Kensington Palace. TNA, LC5/158, p.492, and TNA, LC5/159, p.1.

22. Vertue, *op. cit.* (note 8), IV (1936), p.65.

Rysbrack based the design of his busts of King Alfred, Edward III, Edward, the Black Prince, Henry V, Henry VII and Elizabeth of York, Edward VI, Henry, Prince of Wales, and possibly Catherine of Valois too, on Vertue's engraved portraits. In the case of Henry V and Edward VI, these are evidently taken from the respective images in the painted panel-portrait series that Caroline had recently acquired from Lord Cornwallis, and, indeed, Vertue notes in the plate that they were hanging at Kensington Palace.²³ Edward III is based on another of the panel paintings, but this one, Vertue suggests, was hanging at Windsor Castle. The source for the busts of both Henry VII and Elizabeth of York is Remigius van Leemput's small version, painted on canvas in 1667, of Hans Holbein's life-sized mural of the family of Henry VIII, painted in 1537 for the Privy Chamber at Whitehall Palace. The mural had been lost in the Whitehall fire of 1698, but van Leemput's little copy had been inherited by Caroline from the historic royal collection, and hung in the private apartments at Kensington, according to Henry Lowman's inventory of the collections there made in about 1732.²⁴ Vertue's own note is that his source was 'an original in oil colours in the Royal Collection'.

As sources for other engravings, which subsequently provided inspiration for Rysbrack, Vertue looked further afield. The engraving of King Alfred was made after a panel painting, dating probably from the early seventeenth century, which had been purchased by University College, Oxford, in 1661–62, and became thereafter a standard image. Edward, the Black Prince, was based on his effigy in Canterbury Cathedral. Henry, Prince of Wales, was based on a miniature after Isaac Oliver in the collection of Dr Richard Mead. Locating a source for the bust of Catherine of Valois is not easy, but again it is probably Vertue who provided Rysbrack with the key. The Queen is depicted wearing a fashionable French round hood, and a gown that resembles that worn by Mary Tudor, Queen of France, painted by François Clouet, in about 1515, at the time of her second marriage to Charles Brandon, First Earl of Suffolk. A copy of this portrait was in the possession of John Carteret, Lord Granville, who courted Caroline's favour over discussions about art and literature. The compiler of one of Kensington's inventories notes the similarities between Lord Granville's picture and another in the royal collection, suggesting that it had been brought to the palace for inspection, just as others had been brought to delight the Queen.²⁵ Vertue made an engraving of the painting, and with its French style of dress, it is possible this was used, as the most appropriate source available.²⁶

However, Rysbrack also undertook his own research. His bust of Philippa of Hainault was made after a painting by Thomas Murray, completed in 1710 for Queen's College, Oxford; Philippa was founder of the college. Elizabeth I was not only based on her effigy made in 1603 by Maximilian Colt, and her wax portrait part

23. The painting of Edward VI (RCIN 404747) is depicted in a watercolour (RCIN 922153) by James Stephanoff as still hanging on the south wall of the Old Drawing Room in Kensington Palace in about 1815.

24. Remigius van Leemput, RCIN 405750. 'A Catalogue taken of the Pictures which are in the Publick and Private Lodgings of the Palace of Kensington', Henry Lowman, about 1723, Office of the Surveyor of the Queen's Pictures, York House, St James's Palace.

25. William Bathoe, *A Catalogue of Pictures Belonging to King James the Second (Copied from a ms. In the Library of the Earl of Oxford): To which is Appended a Catalogue of the Pictures, Drawings, Limnings, Enamels, Models in Wax and the Ivory Carvings etc. at Kensington Palace in Queen Caroline's Closet, next the State Bedchamber*, London, 1758.

26. William Kent depicts Catherine of Valois wearing a round French hood in his painting of *The Meeting of Henry V and the Queen of France* made for Queen Caroline in 1730–31.

of the 'Ragged Regiment' collection, both in Westminster Abbey, but also shows hints of the Ditchley portrait of the Queen, to which he may have been given access through his friend and colleague, the architect James Gibbs. Most important of all, Rysbrack gave each of the busts a vivacity that transcended any engraved or painted source. In the case of the busts that drew on funeral effigies, his subjects are rendered to show all the stateliness and energy of these monarchs in their prime. Rysbrack's busts made for Caroline should have provided the royal collection with its first coherent line of kings in sculptural form. For her library, arguably Britain's first 'Universal' library, they would have served as a decoration to give distinction to Kent's fine room, and a fitting message and inspiration for its potential function as a place of study and debate.

Historic Royal Palaces



Fig. 4.1 Attributed to John Thomas Smith, *Hogarth Sitting to Roubiliac for his Bust*, about 1820–30.
Pen and sepia wash, 18.3 × 13.7 cm (Yale Center for British Art, New Haven; Paul Mellon Collection)

Roubiliac's Hogarth and the Playful Portrait Bust

MALCOLM BAKER

LONG AFTER THE deaths of both Roubiliac and Hogarth, the painter was represented sitting to the sculptor in an encounter which, though fictitious, celebrates the well-documented friendship between the two artists (Fig. 4.1). Attributed to J.T. Smith, the biographer of Nollekens, Keeper of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum, and son of Nathaniel Smith who had worked in Roubiliac's studio, this pen and wash drawing may be fanciful but has some features – the shelf supporting what are recognisably specific busts by Roubiliac – which appear to draw on a distant memory of the sculptor's workshop.¹ Certainly, the way in which the bust of Hogarth already sits on its socle, as well as the fact that the socle is of a familiar Roubiliac pattern rather than the distinctive one seen with the surviving terracotta (Fig. 4.3), is an anomaly, just as the motif of Hogarth sitting at a table drinking is an anachronistic if charming invention. None the less, the wit of this image, with Hogarth's dog Trump being represented not as a live animal but instead in the form of the model (complete with base) made by Roubiliac, rings true. Roubiliac's bust of Hogarth is here used as a focus for an imagined session between two friends with similar artistic values, not least a shared predilection for visual play.

Playing with the viewer's sense of what is real and what is fictive, and by this means engaging the viewer in the very process of perception, is central to many of Hogarth's compositions. The *Conquest of Mexico*, for instance, leaves ambiguous the division between the space in which the drama is enacted and that occupied by the audience, just as we are left wondering whether the relief below the bust on the chimneypiece is painted or sculpted. Nowhere is this delight in visual ambiguity more apparent than in his *Self-Portrait with Pug* (Fig. 4.2).² Here the conceit of the

IN ACKNOWLEDGMENT of David Bindman's major contributions to the study of both Hogarth and Roubiliac and of his own great capacity for friendship, an essay on the friendship between the two artists seems appropriate, even though I am aware that it will probably prompt a sceptical and robustly Hogarthian guffaw.

1. Yale Center for British Art B.1975.3.806, published in K. Junod, *Writing the Lives of Painters: Biography and Artistic Identity in Britain, 1760–1810*, Oxford, 2011, pl.22, p.147. The busts on the shelf include images which may be identified as models or casts of Roubiliac's Martin Folkes, Charles II, Isaac Barrow, Shakespeare, all of which were among the busts purchased for the British Museum by Matthew Maty at the sculptor's posthumous sale in 1762. These were well known to J.T. Smith, who in 1817 (as Aileen Dawson has noted) reported to the Trustees that the busts had been moved 'from a dark room where they were difficult to be seen' to the Print Room where they made 'a most respectable appearance'. (See A. Dawson, *Portrait Sculpture: A Catalogue of the British Museum Collection c.1675–1975*, London, 1999, p.10.) Smith's image seems to bring together the British Museum's busts with Samuel Ireland's image of Roubiliac's terracottas of Hogarth and Trump discussed below. Also included, as Adam White has pointed out to me, is a reversed image of Michelangelo's Moses, presumably taken from a print such as either that by Jacob Matham c.1600 or that in Jan de Bisschop's *Paragdimata*, 1672–89.

2. The literature on this portrait and Hogarth's engraving of it is vast but key contributions include D. Bindman, *Hogarth*, London, 1981, p.151; E. Einberg and J. Egerton, *The Age of Hogarth: British Painters*

painting within a painting is complicated still further by the greater prominence given to the pug dog than to Hogarth's own image and the way in which the diagonal line of green curtain in front of the canvas at top right seems to be continued by the edge of red drapery running across the painter's chest inside the painted image of him. Such ambiguities, as well as the conceit of images within images, are, however, also found in Roubiliac's work. Many of his more ambitious monuments engage the viewer by involving the juxtaposition of different representational registers, so that the eye has to move, as on the Duke of Montagu's monument, between the sculptural representation of a (then) living person (the Duchess) to an allegorical figure (Charity) who is shown placing a sculptural image of the deceased Duke on a fictive architectural structure which is itself contained within (and framed by) the larger structure of the monument. A similar play between the seemingly real, fictive and allegorical is made by the different figurative elements of the Warren monument – the bust of Warren, Hercules and Warren's widow in the guise of Britannia or Navigation – where the conceit of a sculpture within a sculpture is likewise played out.³ In these different ways, visual play and a wit that challenges and engages the viewer through a perceptual game are characteristic of both artists' work.

But how can a bust involve wit and visual play? Seemingly conventional, traditional and formal as a genre, the bust had associations that were aristocratic and above all public. As Byron was to put it, 'a bust looks like putting up pretensions to permanency – and smacks something of a hankering for *public* fame rather than private remembrance'.⁴ But during the eighteenth century in both Britain and France the conventions of the genre could be employed in what might be described as a spirit of inventive play.⁵ This seems to have assumed a knowing awareness on the viewer's part of the artificiality of the bust form. In the hands of the most accomplished sculptors – Roubiliac, Pigalle or Houdon, for instance – the virtuosity of carved surfaces is used to create seemingly momentary effects of great brilliance. Yet, at the same time, while the viewer is entranced by this consummate illusionism, the way in which the material is worked leaves no doubt that this is a carved (or, in the case of terracotta, modelled) artefact. The pleasure of viewing such images is to be found in the way that they oscillate between the illusionistic and the material, so engaging us, and presumably eighteenth-century viewers too, in a perceptual game. One aspect of this game was the possibility it opened up for both sculptor and spectator to play with the bust's conventions, including features such as the truncation and the socle. Lemoyne's celebrated bust of Coypel, for example, takes the drapery that would have masked the bust's truncation and brings it down around the socle, so boldly denying the distinction between bust and socle and in the process challenging the bust's conventions and the viewer's expectations. A similar device is

Born 1675–1709 (Tate Gallery Collections, II), London, 1988, pp.110–15; R. Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, 3rd ed., London, 1989, cat. no.181; R. Paulson, *Hogarth*, New Brunswick, NJ, 1992, vol.11, p.260; D. Bindman, *Hogarth and His Times: Serious Comedy*, London, 1997, p.83; M. Hallett, *Hogarth*, London, 2000, p.164; R. Simon, *Hogarth, France and British Art*, London, 2007, pp.125–26, 159, 174–75.

3. For these two monuments and others, such as that to Viscount Shannon and the model for the Shelburne monument, see D. Bindman and M. Baker, *Roubiliac and the Eighteenth-Century Monument: Sculpture as Theatre*, New Haven and London, 1995.

4. For Byron's remarks see *Byron's Letters and Journals*, ed. L. Marchand, vol.1x, London, 1979, pp.20–21.

5. For a fuller discussion see M. Baker, *The Marble Index: Roubiliac and Sculptural Portraiture in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, New Haven and London, 2015, chapter 3.



Fig.4.2 William Hogarth, *Self-Portrait of the Painter and his Pug*, 1745. Oil on canvas, 90.0 × 69.9 cm (Tate)

employed by Pigalle in his bust of Lemoyne himself.⁶ Rather later Houdon was to use the same motif quite frequently in his images of both male and female sitters but, interestingly, the early examples are found on busts representing fellow artists – a category of portrait bust to which Roubiliac’s terracotta of Hogarth (Fig. 4.3) belongs.⁷

One of the most striking features of Roubiliac’s bust is the pronounced turn of the head, giving the image an air of vigour, energy and even pugnacity, the last being a telling term in view of what follows. It is in part because of this that commentators have seen the bust – already described by Vertue in 1741 as ‘very like’ and by Nichols in 1781 as ‘a strong resemblance’ – a vivid representation of Hogarth’s

6. For Lemoyne’s Coypel see M. Baker: “‘A Sort of Corporate Company’: approaching the portrait bust in its setting”, in P. Curtis, P. Funnell and N. Kalinsky, eds., *Return to Life: A New Look at the Portrait Bust*, exh. cat., Leeds (Henry Moore Institute), 2001, pp.30–31; and for Pigalle’s Lemoyne see J.D. Draper and G. Scherf, *Pajou. Sculpteur du Roi 1730–1809*, exh. cat., Paris (Musée du Louvre), 1998, pp.68–69.

7. For Roubiliac’s bust of Hogarth see J. Kerslake, *Early Georgian Portraits*, National Portrait Gallery, London, 1977, vol.1, pp.143–44. The material is given here as terracotta although notes by conservators in the NPG’s files indicate that the socle is either wholly or in part of plaster.



Fig.4.3 Louis François Roubiliac, *William Hogarth*, 1741. Terracotta, 71.1 cm high (including socle) (National Portrait Gallery)

character.⁸ As Samuel Ireland (its owner around 1800) put it, ‘There is an expression in the countenance which conveys a most infallible imitation of its prominent and distinguishing character; and in which it is impossible not to trace almost every feature in the mind of the person it represents’.⁹ While Roubiliac’s Hogarth is hardly unique in this respect – the same assertive turn of the head is seen in examples as various as Scheemakers’s bust after the antique then described as Demosthenes, Pierre Puget’s bust of a king and, most famously, Bernini’s marble of Francesco I d’Este – there is one particular bust of another artist which may be relevant here.¹⁰ This is Coyzevox’s celebrated bust of the architect Robert de Cotte which must have been well known to Roubiliac.¹¹ Might Hogarth’s pose be read as a defiant riposte to this French image, the contrast being heightened by the English artist’s soft cap as opposed to the Frenchman’s wig?

A feature of Roubiliac’s image which is still more specific to Hogarth, however, is the socle. This is also where the playfulness of the bust becomes apparent. One convention of the bust was the use of this field to display a coat-of-arms, as seen for example on Scheemakers’s busts of Lord Cobham and his associates formerly in the Temple of Friendship at Stowe.¹² These formal features – including the cartouche which framed the armorial quarterings – are in Roubiliac’s Hogarth wittily parodied. Instead of indicating a noble rank through heraldry, the cartouche is used here to assert Hogarth’s status as a painter, his arms being his brushes and palette. But these are not the only elements included. At the top is the head of a satyr (and at bottom right his cloven-hoofed leg). By the late seventeenth century it was recognised that the word ‘satire’ was not derived from ‘satyr’, as Dryden discusses at length in his *Discourse of Satire*.¹³ None the less, the linkage between the literary form and the mythological animal continued to be made, as may be seen in Hogarth’s inclusion of satyr figures in his 1726 frontispiece to Samuel Butler’s *Hudibras*. By including a satyr’s head as well as a palette and brushes, Roubiliac was presenting Hogarth not only as a painter but as a satirist. This was presumably the interpretation of Ireland when he comments:

It requires but little penetration, to discover a sort of satyrical conformation in the whole of the face. It exhibits a more than ordinary portion of sagacity; and a species of sharp and quick-sighted penetration, as it were in the very act of exploring those vices, and hunting out those follies, which in so many fanciful combinations were the perpetual objects of his researches.¹⁴

8. For Vertue’s description see *The Walpole Society*, xxii (Vertue Notebooks, iii), p.105; for Nichols’s remarks see J. Nichols, *Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth*, London, 1781, p. 59.

9. S. Ireland, *Graphic Illustrations of Hogarth*, London, 1799, vol.ii, pp.1–2.

10. For Scheemaker’s *Demosthenes* see A. Crookshank and D. Webb, *Paintings and Sculptures in Trinity College*, Dublin, 1990, p.151; for Puget’s king and Bernini’s d’Este see J. van Gastel, *Il Marmo Spirante: Sculpture and Experience in Seventeenth-Century Rome*, Berlin, 2013, pp.38 and 126.

11. For Coyzevox’s de Cotte see F. Souchal, *French Sculptors of the 17th and 18th Centuries: The Reign of Louis XIV*, Oxford, 1977, vol.1, p.211.

12. Baker, *op. cit.* (note 5), chapter 2.

13. For Dryden’s extended discussion of this false etymology and a detailed commentary on his text, see *The Works of John Dryden*, vol. iv (Poems 1693–1696), Berkeley, 1974, pp.35–37, 548–50. For the relevance of this to Hogarth’s satirical prints and his inclusion of satyrs in the *Hudibras* frontispiece, see Bindman, *op. cit.*, 1997 (note 2), pp.39, 91.

14. Ireland, *op. cit.* (note 9), p.2.



Fig.4.4 Samuel Phillips, *Hogarth*, 1799. Stipple. From Volume II of Samuel Ireland, *Graphic Illustrations of Hogarth*, 23.7 × 16.5 cm (British Museum)

Ireland's illustration (by S. Phillips; Fig.4.4) also clearly shows the satyr's head which because of subsequent damage is not immediately easy to read in the terracotta itself. But the print in Ireland also includes another significant element – Hogarth's pug dog, Trump. Trump was very much identified with Hogarth, in both appearance and character, not least his 'pugnacity'. As Ireland puts it:

It had been jocularly observed by him, that there was a close resemblance between his own countenance and that of his favorite [*sic*] dog, who was his faithful friend and companion for many years, and for whom he had conceived a greater share of attachment than is usually bestowed on these domestic animals.¹⁵

While Ireland states that he has 'introduced, beneath the bust, the figure of Hogarth's dog, 'Trump'', the association of the terracotta of Hogarth with that of his dog was already well established. Both had belonged to Hogarth and were sold at his widow's sale, significantly as consecutive lots.¹⁶ (As John Mallet has shown, this terracotta or a

15. Ireland, *op. cit.* (note 9), p.3.

16. As Kerslake, *op. cit.* (note 2), p.144, records, the bust was lot 57 at Greenwood's, Leicester Fields, sale on 24 April 1790. Lot 58 was 'a ditto of the favourite dog, and cast of Hogarth's hand'.

plaster from it was the basis for porcelain versions produced by the Chelsea factory between 1747 and 1749.)¹⁷ It is therefore not surprising that Smith's later image again juxtaposes the bust with the sculptural image of Trump at Hogarth's feet. Assuming that the ceramic versions of Trump, cast from the lost terracotta, were the same size, the model of the dog was not a small and easily overlooked addition but, when placed below the bust, would have been as important as the socle in guiding the viewer as to how to view Hogarth's image. The very juxtaposition of the bust with an animal, at least one-third of the bust's size, would have introduced another playful element, complementing the wit evident in the socle.

While Roubiliac's bust and Hogarth's self-portrait have each figured prominently in the voluminous Hogarth literature, there has been surprisingly little commentary about the relationship between them, other than their shared significance as representations of Hogarth's character.¹⁸ How might the self-portrait be interpreted in the light of the playfulness of Roubiliac's terracotta, especially if seen as a composite image which also includes the model of Trump? Presumably conceived by sculptor and painter together, the sculptural combination of Hogarth and Trump (seen by Vertue in 1741) predates the completed *Self-Portrait with Pug*, dated 1745.¹⁹ The self-portrait was, however, begun much earlier, probably about 1735, but took a very different form, with Hogarth shown in a wig, and white cravat.²⁰ (This is reflected in a miniature generally agreed to be dateable to 1735.) The shift from formal to informal dress thus seems to have taken place between 1735 and 1745, as does the formulation of the present composition though Trump was already present. Standing chronologically between the original self-portrait and its dramatically different adaptation stands Roubiliac's bust and (probably) the associated model of Trump.

The combination of the artist's informal image with dog – though arising from a resemblance between them which must have been much remarked on by the painter and his circle – was perhaps first given visual form in the juxtaposition of the terracottas of painter and pug. The self-portrait (as it was fully realised) adjusts the relative scales of dog and man. Already relatively large in relationship to the bust, the dog is here greatly enlarged so as to occupy and indeed dominate the foreground of the painting. The conceit of the painting within a painting and of the 'real' dog, along with the books and palette, as opposed to the artificially made image of the artist behind, draws on various earlier traditions. One, as Elizabeth Einberg and Judy Egerton suggested, might be French engraved portraits showing artists within an *oeil-de-boeuf* frame, surrounded by tools and other attributes. Still more relevant, however, might be those composite images of artists, swathed in draperies and (significantly) shown, like Hogarth's image, unframed, that were to be found in Jacob Houbraken's plates for the three volumes of the *Groote schouwburgh* by his father,

17. For a meticulous discussion of the complications of the different versions, the likely casting procedures and the issue of the reversal of the image in some versions see J.V.G. Mallet, 'Hogarth's pug in porcelain', *Victoria and Albert Museum Bulletin Reprints*, 16, reprinted with additions from *Victoria and Albert Museum Bulletin*, 3 (1967), pp.45–54.

18. The exception here is Robin Simon's insightful exploration of the relationship between sculpture and painting in Simon, *op. cit.* (note 2), pp.174–75.

19. This assumes, of course, that the model of Trump was not produced later, possibly after the completion of the self-portrait, and then added to the terracotta of the painter. However, the likely dating of the Chelsea porcelain of Trump to 1747–50 means that it cannot be much later than the painting.

20. For the X-rays and the relationship with the miniature see Einberg and Egerton, *op. cit.* (note 2), pp.112–13.



Fig.4.5 Jacob Houbraken, *Frans van Mieris and Jan Steen*. From Jacob Campo Weyerman, *Levens-Beschryvingen*, The Hague, 1729, reproducing (with added frame) the print in Arnold Houbraken, *Groote schouwburgh*, Vol. III, 1721. 14.6 × 9.5 cm (British Museum)

Arnold, published between 1719 and 1721 (Fig. 4.5).²¹ Whatever sources are being drawn on and so inventively reworked here, Hogarth's image has an enhanced sense of play. This is the same sense of play already seen in Roubiliac's bust. Can it be that Roubiliac's playful portrait prompted (or at least played a part in) in Hogarth's radical reworking of his painted image?

There are certainly telling differences between the bust and the painted self-portrait. While the presence of Trump and the informal dress are common to both, the playfulness takes a somewhat different form. The conceit of the satyr's head, and the parody of a coat-of-arms, are nowhere to be seen in the painted portrait. Instead of the witty reference to Hogarth as satirist, the introduction of the works of literature places a new emphasis on Hogarth's serious ambitions as a painter, with the presence of Milton, suggesting in David Bindman's words, 'a desire on

21. For Arnold Houbraken see B. Cornelis, 'A reassessment of Arnold Houbraken's "Groote schouwburgh"', *Simiolus*, 24 (1995), pp.163–80. Jacob Houbraken executed most of the illustrations for the three volumes of his father's work, published between 1718 and 1721. These images were used in the second edition of 1753 and again (with the addition of Régence-style strapwork frames) in Jacob Campo Weyerman's *Levens-Beschryvingen* (The Hague, 1729), from which the illustration used here is taken.

Hogarth's part to be considered a master of the epic in painting'.²² But the way in which both bust and painting play knowingly on the fictive nature of each genre suggests that they are almost in dialogue with each other. For Mark Hallett, the inclusion of the pug in the self-portrait 'works as a typically comic safety-valve, parodying the dignified accessories traditionally found on high-style portraiture' while Robin Simon sees Hogarth's composition as a rehearsal for a painting into which the dog has strayed. Implicit in acute comments such as these is a recognition that conventions are being played with. If this is true of the self-portrait, it is equally true, albeit in a different way and at an earlier date, of Roubiliac's bust.²³

The serious playfulness to be seen elsewhere in the art of both Roubiliac and Hogarth is at its most inventive in these two portraits. Both images bring to mind W.K. Wimsatt's remark about eighteenth-century neoclassical poets that 'it was only on vacation from the vision and the ideal – with a ticket of satiric and burlesque license – that they engaged in serious fun which an expressionist theory would call being true to themselves'.²⁴ It is this inventive sense of fun – a spirit of playfulness that is at once subtle and serious – that is at work in both bust and painting. For all its anachronisms and solecisms, J.T. Smith's image of Roubiliac modelling the bust of Hogarth, in the presence of the already modelled Trump, seems to recognise and celebrate this quality.

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22. Bindman 1981, *op. cit.* (note 2), p.151.

23. It is also possible that Hogarth's self-portrait plays on the relationship between painting and sculpture. While his own image is clearly painted, the tacks around the edge supposedly securing the canvas to the stretcher are far less visible in the painting than in the engraved version, allowing it to be seen, its colour notwithstanding, as being akin to those ivory portrait reliefs being carved around the same time by Rysbrack's assistant, Gaspar van der Hagen.

24. W.K. Wimsatt, 'The Augustan mode in English poetry', in Wimsatt, *Hateful Contraries: Studies in Literature and Criticism*, Lexington, 1965, pp.149–50.



Fig.5.1 Louis François Roubiliac, *Monument to Mary Churchill, Second Duchess of Montagu*, 1753 (St Edmund's, Warkton, Northamptonshire (Buccleuch Collection))

Spinning the Thread of Life: The Three Fates, Time and Eternity

TESSA MURDOCH

THE APPARENT NOVELTY of Roubiliac's representation of the Three Fates or *Parcae* – Clotho, Lachesis and Atropos – in monumental funerary sculpture was a source of much contemporary comment. An article in the Christmas 1753 issue of *The Spectator* praising the recently installed monument to Mary, Second Duchess of Montagu, in Warkton Church, Northamptonshire (Fig. 5.1), commented on the sculptor's 'happiest thought imaginable' in making 'the fates themselves' three beautiful women who mourn their own act of terminating the Duchess's life.¹ Their vitality is emphasised by their contemporary dress and by their infant companion who held the (now missing) spindle for Clotho, who leads the spectator's eye up into the apex of the monument, where two putti are draping festoons of flowers over an urn. The presence of children serves as a reminder that the Fates were also traditionally present at birth,² while the crowning floral feature, though certainly funerary in its origin, might also perhaps contain a reference to the wonderful collection of over fifty flower paintings commissioned by Ralph, later First Duke of Montagu, father-in-law to the commemorated Duchess, from Louis XIV's celebrated flower painter, Jean Baptiste Monnoyer, in the 1680s and 1690s, as decorative over-doors and over-mantels for Montagu House, Bloomsbury. They were still appreciated fifty years later when they were transferred by John, Second Duke of Montagu, to his new house overlooking the Thames at Whitehall and reframed by Benjamin Goodison to conform to the interiors designed by the neo Palladian architect Henry Flitcroft.³ Another iconographical link might be found in the portrait of Mary, Second Duchess of Montagu, attributed to the circle of Sir Godfrey Kneller and dating from the 1720s

I WOULD LIKE to thank Giacomo Comiati, University of Warwick; James McLaverty, University of Keele; François Marandet, IESA, Paris for discussing with me the artistic and literary employment of the Three Fates in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Thanks are also due to Jean-Dominique Augarde, Yannick Chastaing, Matthew Craske and Amelia Jackson for discussing the design sources in the context of clocks by A.-C. Boulle and the significance of the iconography. I am particularly grateful to Caroline Elam for her editorial advice.

1. This is printed in full in K. Esdaile, *The Life and Works of Louis François Roubiliac*, Oxford, 1928, pp.208–10.

2. See Virgil, *4th Eclogue. The Course of Human Life*, published by Hieronymus Cock in 1570 (British Museum 1957.0413.21). Engraved representations of Clotho, Lachesis and Atropos on the back of the Strasbourg Carillon Clock (British Museum 1888.1201.100) are amongst the most relevant Renaissance examples. Thanks are due to Laura Turner for information about the Strasbourg Clock.

3. P. Mason, 'The picture frames', in T. Murdoch, ed., *Boughton House: The English Versailles*, London, 1992, pl.92, p.93, an urn garlanded with flowers; pl.45, bronze bowl with flowers and a parrot, reframed by Benjamin Goodison to Henry Flitcroft's designs. These flower paintings by Monnoyer are now at Boughton House, Northamptonshire.

(Fig. 5.2), which shows her in profile assisted by a black page, with spindle and a skein of thread in her hand, demonstrating that spinning was a favoured domestic occupation.⁴ But it is the presence of the Fates themselves, a poetic conceit commented on by contemporaries, that calls for further investigation. This essay seeks to place the iconography of Roubiliac's monument to Mary, Second Duchess of Montagu, within a Franco-British artistic and literary context.

Six years earlier, in September 1747, the poet William Whitehead (1715–85), later poet laureate, had published in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 'A Parody' entitled 'New Night Thoughts on Death', a response to Edward Young's 'The Complaint or Night Thoughts on Life, Death and Immortality' that first appeared in the same magazine in 1744–45.⁵ Whitehead's poem opened with an incantation to the personification of Night as created by two of the Fates:

O Night! Dark Night! Wrapped round with Stygian gloom!
Thy riding-hood opaque, wrought by the hands
Of Clotho and of Atropos: – those hands
Which spin my thread of life! – so near its end.

This poetic reference to Clotho, who spins the thread of life, and Atropos, who severs it, echoes the engraved representation of the Fates on invitations to London funerals dating from 1737 to 1769 (Fig. 5.3).⁶ The design, engraved by Antoine Jongelincx after a French original by Noel Coypel (1628–1707), shows Clotho, Lachesis and Atropos flanking a Neoclassical stone plinth with an urn festooned with flowers and, to the side, a weeping putto who holds an extinguished torch in his right hand whilst wiping his eyes. To the left, Time with his scythe and hour-glass is held back by a figure representing Life, whose drapery is caught by the reclining skeleton of Death in the foreground. The earlier invitation is to the funeral of Mrs Elizabeth Baldero; the latest recorded example, pirated in reverse, is to the funeral of Peter Motteux, of Charterhouse Square, buried in Tyndal's new ground, Bunhill Fields, in November 1769.⁷ Coypel's composition was inspired by the first of the prestigious cycle of twenty-four paintings by Rubens, executed between 1621 and 1623, which celebrate the life of Marie de Médicis. The first painting of Rubens's narrative cycle, *Les Parques filant le destin de Marie de Médicis*, shows the three Fates as beautiful, naked goddesses spinning the thread of Marie's destiny; their presence at her birth assures her prosperity; here the Fates are associated with vitality. Rubens has deliberately omitted the shears normally used by Atropos in order to stress the privileged and immortal character of the Queen's life. Roubiliac must have seen these paintings in their original setting in the Palais de Luxembourg, Paris, and was probably also familiar with the engravings after Rubens based on drawings by Jean Marc Nattier

4. Murdoch 1992, *op. cit.* (note 3), fig.5, pp.182–83. Thanks are due to Matthew Craske for bringing this portrait to my attention.

5. R. Lonsdale, *The New Oxford Book of Eighteenth Century Verse*, Oxford, 1987, no.274, pp.415–16 (note p.847).

6. N. Lewellyn, *The Art of Death: Visual Culture in the English Death Ritual, c.1500–c.1800*, London, 1991, pp.76–77, 153; T. Murdoch, *The Quiet Conquest: The Huguenots, 1685–1985*, exh. cat., London (Museum of London), 1985, no.164, p.116.

7. London Metropolitan Archives, City of London: SC/GL/NOB/C/022/2-022/83 For Peter Motteux's will see 'Huguenot wills and administrations in England and Ireland, 1617–1849', compiled by H. Wagner and edited by D. North, *Huguenot Society Quarto Series*, LX (2007), pp.287–88.

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Fig.5.2 Attributed to the circle of Sir Godfrey Kneller, *Lady Mary Churchill, Second Duchess of Montagu* (1689–1751) with a black page, circa 1720. Oil on canvas, 141.6 × 144.3 cm (Buccleuch Collection)



Fig.5.3 *Invitation to the Funeral of Peter Motteux*, 1769, etching and engraving (London Metropolitan Archives)



Fig.5.4 André-Charles Boulle, figures after Nicholas Coustou, *clock case with the Three Fates*, c.1715. Oak, ebony, brass with gilt-bronze 49 × 59 × 33.5 cm (Wallace Collection)

(1685–1766). The plate of the three Fates was engraved by Louis de Châtillon, and published c.1707–10.⁸

Roubiliac's origin in Lyons, and his training at the French Académie Royale, provided an opportunity to study in Paris under the Lyonnais sculptors Nicolas Coustou (1658–1733) and his brother Guillaume (1677–1746), who occupied official academy positions as *Recteur* and *Recteur Ajoint* respectively. Although French academic training placed a strong emphasis on drawing and sculpting biblical and classical subjects, French academic sculptors also modelled on a smaller scale for bronze figures on furniture. Roubiliac himself continued this tradition after moving to England. Some ten years after his arrival in London, his models of 'Hercules taking the celestial

8. Rubens's preparatory oil sketch of the Three Fates and the Triumph of Truth for the first and last painting in this series is also in the Louvre M.1.212 (formerly in the collection of the painter Ary Scheffer, 1859).

globe off the shoulders of Atlas' and his personifications of the 'four monarchies of the world' were cast and chased as decorative bronzes for the entrepreneurial clock maker, Charles Clay. His musical clock 'The Temple of the Four Grand Monarchies', advertised in 1743, was later acquired for the British royal collection, and the surviving bronzes demonstrate Roubiliac's mastery of small-scale allegorical sculpture.⁹ Roubiliac supplied models which were cast and chased by a specialist *bronzier*, yet to be identified.

The Three Fates were employed as figural decoration on French clocks, the models supplied by sculptors such as Roubiliac's master Nicolas Coustou. In his review of *Roubiliac and the Eighteenth-Century Monument*, Nicholas Penny raised the question of figures of the Fates on clocks in connection with the Warkton monuments and pointed out that two types of configuration of the Three Fates can be found on 'pendules à parques' associated with the great French cabinet-maker André-Charles Boulle.¹⁰ In Paris, cabinet-makers and bronze casters maintained a stock of clock-cases; the sculptors who provided figurative models in clay, wax or wood, created master models in metal which were kept for reference in providing as many copies as might subsequently be ordered.¹¹ Nicolas Coustou is known to have produced models of the Three Fates for clock-cases supplied by André-Charles Boulle in about 1715.¹² There is an example of such a clock in the Wallace Collection (Fig. 5.4), and another was included in the recent exhibition devoted to Boulle in Frankfurt.¹³ In both, Clotho is seated with her distaff to the left of the clock face; Lachesis reclines above with her bobbin and Atropos with her shears is seated at the right. As in Roubiliac's Warkton monument, the Three Fates have lost the gilt-bronze thread which linked their gestures. The Wallace Collection clock is supported on a Boulle filing cabinet; a relief of the Three Fates appears on its drop-front upper section. A similar mount is preserved on a clock attributed to Boulle in the State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg; the model on the Hermitage clock is not identical to the mount on the Wallace Collection clock; the central figure of Lachesis is a different cast (Fig. 5.5).¹⁴ The iconography of the figures is made explicit in a bracket wall-clock

9. T. Murdoch, 'Time's melody', *Apollo*, 178, no.614 (November 2013), pp.78–85.

10. N. Penny, 'Advancing into scenery: the "theatric" genius of Louis François Roubiliac', a review of M. Baker and D. Bindman, *Roubiliac and the Eighteenth-Century Monument: Sculpture as Theatre*, New Haven and London, 1995, published in *The Times Literary Supplement* (5 April 1996).

11. The historian of French clocks, Jean-Dominique Augarde, cites the example of a clock supplied by Florent Lecomte which was decorated with figures of Hymen crowned by Cupid – the models were made by Cottin after originals supplied by the sculptors Joseph or Ignace Broche in about 1775. The sculptor was paid 200 livres for the drawing and the clay model, 100 livres was paid for the plaster model supplied by Nicolas Salter, but the highest payment of 812 livres was paid to Sr Cottin for supplying the bronze and for chasing. Cottin recovered the model only after the clock-maker Florent Lecomte's bankruptcy; J.-D. Augarde, *Les Ouvriers du Temps: La Pendule à Paris de Louis XIV à Napoléon Ier*, Geneva, 1998, pp.153, 164, 165 and fig.133. The Lecomte clock is now in the Cooper Hewitt Museum, New York.

12. These are listed in the Acte de délaissement, 1715, as 'une boette de pandulle [*sic*] à Parques du modèle de M. Coustou' and in the inventory taken after Boulle's death as 'les modèles de la boeste de Pendule à Parques de Mr. Coustou scavoir le cartouche, les cadres, les trois figures et une quatrième qui est la veille'; see J.-P. Samoyault, 'André-Charles Boulle et sa famille: Nouvelles recherches, nouveaux documents', *Hautes Etudes Médiévales et Modernes*, 40 (1979), pp.67, 145, 171, 177.

13. Wallace Collection museum number F413. See P. Hughes, *French Eighteenth-Century Clocks and Barometers in the Wallace Collection*, London, 1994, pp.22–23; *André-Charles Boulle 1642–1732: Un nouveau style pour l'Europe*, exh. cat., Frankfurt-am-Main (Museum für angewandte Kunst), 2009, no.14, pp.224–25. There is another example in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.

14. Inv. N Epr 837. The clock is attributed to A.-C. Boulle, and dated to the 1730s, a possible late work by the celebrated cabinet-maker although the marquetry is not typical of his work. Acquired in 1921



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Fig.5.5 Attributed to André-Charles Boulle, *clock case with the Three Fates and Time*, c.1730. Oak, ebony, brass, with gilt-bronze figures, 112 × 59 × 24 cm. (State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg)

Fig.5.6 André-Charles Boulle, *clock case with the Three Fates*, c.1690–1700. Oak, ebony, brass and turtleshell with gilt bronze figures, 22.6 × 37.7 × 20.7 cm, dimensions of upper clock case (Buccleuch Collection)

in the Louvre, which bears the Latin inscription ‘CVNCTA CVM TEMPORE REGUNT’ (With time, they direct everything).¹⁵ The Three Fates continued to be used in decorating sophisticated French clocks including, in the 1770s, a clock-case by the leading court goldsmiths Thomas and François Germain with a movement by Julian Le Roy which was made for the marquis de Puyseulx.¹⁶

Significantly, a different and earlier model can be found at Boughton House (Fig. 5.6). Here the Three Fates appear in relief, in ormolu, in front of the dial on a long-case clock; the sculptor responsible for the relief is not known, but the case is firmly attributed to André-Charles Boulle, at a date of circa 1690 and certainly before 1700. The clock is crowned with the figure of Father Time. The marquetry cipher RM with ducal coronet, inserted in place of the glass lenticle in the trunk of the clock, indicates that it was acquired by Ralph, First Duke of Montagu.¹⁷ Clotho sits on the right, Atropos with the shears in the centre and Lachesis to the left. The clock was in Montagu House, Bloomsbury, by 1733; in Room no.31, it can be identified with ‘A Pendulum Clock In the Library’ annotated ‘from thence to the Newhouse’; it was moved in that year to John, Second Duke of Montagu’s new house at Whitehall

from the Stroganoff Collection, St Petersburg. The back of the movement is engraved Chastelain à Paris, a maker not recorded by J.-D. Augarde, *op. cit.* (note 11). Thanks to Helen Jacobsen, at the Wallace Collection and Anna Gueyko, at the State Hermitage Museum for information on these clocks.

15. OA 11029. The movement is by Gaudron. An identical example was shown in the 2014 Paris Biennale with the dealers Gismondi.

16. Augarde, *op. cit.* (note 11), pp.137. The Julien Le Roy clock was listed at the Château de St Cloud, in the *Inventaire Révolutionnaire*, fol.135, no.2125. A clock surmounted by the lone figure of Atropos in the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard, made in Paris c.1810 (111–73) reflects the model supplied for the Roi de Rome, now in the Elysée Palace. This model was also produced in ceramic mounted with bronze.

17. P. Hughes, ‘The French furniture’, in Murdoch, *op. cit.* 1992 (note 3), plate 71, pp.120, 222. I am most grateful to Yannick Chastang for confirming that the later marquetry panel inserted into the trunk of the Boulle ‘pendule ancienne à Parques’ (Fates) clock at Boughton House dates from circa 1705 and was supplied by Boulle’s Paris workshop. The *contrepartie* version, with its original movement by Jacques Langlois, is in a private collection.

where it was again listed in 1746.¹⁸ Roubiliac could have seen it there, as he would have known the Second Duke through his membership of the Freemasons.¹⁹ The sculptor's first recorded presence in London was in 1730 as a member of the White Bear Masonic Lodge in King Street, Golden Square, Soho. John, Second Duke of Montagu, was prominent in the establishment of Freemasonry in London, elected Grand Master of the Masonic Grand Lodge in 1721, and was the dedicatee in 1723 by Dr Desaguliers of *The Constitutions of the Free-masons*.²⁰

The prototypes that inspired Roubiliac's brilliant conceit for the Duchess of Montagu's monument were prestigious. Louis XIV's *Horloger Ordinaire du Roi* enjoyed courtier status. He entered into the presence of the monarch with the First Gentleman of the Bedchamber and dined at the table of the *Valets de Chambre*. During the king's daily *levée*, he wound and set the sovereign's watch for the day. His responsibilities included the maintenance of all the clocks in the Royal Palaces. On the king's death, every clock had to be stopped at the exact time of his demise.²¹

Clocks were luxury items and their cases involved the skills of cabinet-makers, chasers, sculptors and master-founders; they were often commissioned by *marchands merciers*, who dictated fashionable taste. During the eighteenth century, some of the most distinguished French artists, designers and sculptors provided models for clocks. They include Boucher, Oppenord, Meissonier, Pineau, Belanger, Slodtz, Boizot, Marin, Clodion, Houdon, Pajou and Dugourc. Thus in modelling small-scale figures for clocks in London, Roubiliac continued the French tradition.²² His surviving terracotta and plaster models for his monument to John, Second Duke of Argyll and Greenwich, in Westminster Abbey, and those for the Warkton monuments to the Second Duke and Duchess of Montagu (Fig. 5.7), demonstrate that working up a design in miniature for a sophisticated architectural construction with its figural components came naturally to him. The fascinating evidence that Roubiliac intended the ground of the niches for the Warkton monuments to be painted mahogany colour demonstrates the sculptor's decorative perception of such designs.²³

Roubiliac revealed his own literary bent when he published in French, still the London language of fashion, a poem in the *St James's Chronicle* on 14 May 1761. The poem exhorted readers, instead of collecting the Antique, to support contemporary art by engaging with the exhibition of the Society of Artists at Spring Gardens, and recreating, through enlightened patronage, an Augustan era.²⁴ The employment of the Three Fates (*Parcae*) in Roubiliac's monument to Mary, Second Duchess of Montagu, demonstrates how the authority of classical literature, Horace's *Odes* and

18. T. Murdoch, ed., *Noble Households: Eighteenth-Century Inventories of Great English House: A Tribute to John Cornforth*, Cambridge, 2006: listed in the inventory of Montagu House, Bloomsbury, 1733, p.33; in the 1746 inventory of Montagu House, Whitehall, it may possibly be identified with 'A Table Clock. A Carv'd Gilt Pedestal to Do.' in Room no.23 on the Principal Story which was the 'Closet Contiguous' with the hall, p.101.

19. Baker and Bindman, *op. cit.* 1995 (note 10), pp.62–64.

20. N. Barker, 'Books and manuscripts', in Murdoch, *op. cit.* 1992 (note 3), p.172.

21. Augarde, *op. cit.* (note 11), p.29.

22. *Ibid.*, p.162.

23. P. Lindley, 'Roubiliac's monuments for the Second Duke and Duchess of Montagu and the building of the New Chancel at Warkton in Northamptonshire', *The Walpole Society*, LXVI (2014), pp.237–89 (p.272).

24. Esdaile, *op. cit.* (note 1), p.139.



Fig.5.7 Louis François Roubiliac, Model for the monument to Mary Churchill, Second Duchess of Montagu, 1752–53; Wood, plaster, paint, 63.2 cm high (Victoria and Albert Museum, on loan from Westminster Abbey)

Virgil's *Aeneid*, could be revitalised for contemporary enjoyment.²⁵ The reviews and reports of Roubiliac's monuments published during his lifetime in newspapers and journals demonstrate contemporary awareness of the decorative, literary and pictorial prototypes which the sculptor drew on for artistic inspiration.

Victoria and Albert Museum

25. For references to the Fates in classical literature see Catullus, *Poems*, 64 (lines 306 and 383) and 68 (line 85); Virgil, *Bucolics*, 4, line 47; Virgil, *Aeneid*, bk 9, line 107, and bk 10, line 815; Horace, *Odes*, bk 2, 3, lines 15–16; Propertius, *Elegies*, bk 4, 11, line 13, where the idea of death as a necessary end for even the most pure and virtuous of humankind is expressed. Thanks to Giacomo Comiati for this information.

Collecting a Canon: The Earl of Northumberland at Northumberland House and Syon House

JOAN COUTU

IN THE 1750s, Hugh Smithson, recently created Earl of Northumberland, added an immense gallery to Northumberland House, his London town house at Charing Cross and the Strand (later Trafalgar Square). The gallery was decorated with huge painted copies after frescos by Raphael, Annibale Carracci and Guido Reni (Fig. 6.1). Less than a decade later, the Earl commissioned Robert Adam to renovate Syon House, his Middlesex country retreat, and embellish it with numerous copies and casts of iconic classical sculpture. While the painted and sculpted replicas have been discussed separately in detail by different authors, I would like to study both together in order to emphasise the role of painted copies and sculptural casts and copies as an expression of aristocratic patronage in the mid eighteenth century and in the formation of a 'Grand Manner' of art.¹

Smithson's building schemes tell us much about his consciousness of status in a society which was, by the middle of the century, defined by the Shaftesburian concept of natural aristocracy that embraced a balanced commingling of erudition and civic duty. Smithson was from modest gentry stock but, as an assiduous place-hunter, quickly climbed the patriciate ladder through fortuitous inheritances, marriage and political acuity. Brought up a Roman Catholic, he 'conformed' after his father's death in the 1720s, although he remained a Tory in opposition to Robert Walpole until after the Jacobite rout in the 1740s when he sensibly became a soft Whig in the Newcastle–Pelhamite broad-bottom coalition. However, he forsook any real party allegiance, opting instead to stay close to the Hanoverian court, serving as Lord of the Bedchamber to George II and receiving the Order of the Garter in 1756. He later allied himself to George III and the Earl of Bute (his son married Bute's daughter) with varying consequences through the turbulent factious decade of the 1760s.²

Exemplum – the demonstration of one's virtue – is a critical feature of the Shaftesburian concept of the aristocrat, and material culture, in the form of

1. Jeremy Wood and Lesley Lewis have published the most comprehensive accounts of the Northumberland House paintings: J. Wood, 'Raphael copies and exemplary picture galleries in mid eighteenth-century London,' *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 62 (1999), 3, pp.394–417, and L. Lewis, *Connoisseurs and Secret Agents*, London, 1961, pp.161–67. The primary archival resource for the Northumberland commissions is the relevant exchange of letters between Horace Mann and Cardinal Alessandro Albani in the Staatsarchiv, Vienna (Correspondence of Cardinal Alessandro Albani, Rom–Vatikan I) and the Public Record Office, London (Horace Mann State Papers). Vicky Coltman has recently discussed the Syon House sculptures in her penetrating analysis of neoclassicism: V. Coltman, *Fabricating the Antique*, Chicago, 2006, pp. 141–47.

2. Although Northumberland secured the dukedom in 1766, he found himself on the wrong side of the Wilkite election controversy in 1768, having lost his Middlesex seat to the Wilkite radicals.



NORTHUMBERLAND HOUSE, PICTURE GALLERY (p. 17)

Fig. 6.1 The Picture Gallery, Northumberland House, London, 1750s. (*Survey of London*, ed. G.H. Gater and E.P. Wheeler, xviii, London, 1930, pl. 10)

architecture, a good library, collections of paintings, prints, coins and medals, along with proper dress and fine dining, was a means to an end.³ Perhaps compensating for his quasi-*parvenu* and Catholic-Tory heritage, Northumberland was overly zealous, evidenced by his penchant for scale. At Northumberland House, the gallery, which could easily accommodate six hundred people, measured 106 feet long and each of the paintings was immense. Similarly Syon House, despite its comparatively modest size, evokes a sense of massive ponderousness in the entrance hall, while the apparent narrowness of the library on the other side of the house illusionistically accentuates its great length.⁴ Yet Northumberland's endeavours were rescued from mere ostentation by their inherent dignity and refinement.

3. Building on D. Solkin, *Painting for Money*, London and New Haven, 1993, Craig Hanson has recently offered a revisionist assessment of Shaftesbury's philosophy and the critical role of material culture within it: C. Hanson, *The English Virtuoso: Art, Medicine, and Antiquarianism in the Age of Empiricism*, Chicago, 2009, especially pp.2–8. In my forthcoming book, J. Coutu, *Then and Now: Collecting and Classicism in Eighteenth-Century England*, I focus on sculpture in this context.

4. In October 1768, Horace Walpole would churlishly remark that for a spectacular dinner of five courses of thirty-five dishes each served at Syon House, Northumberland had built 'a new road,



Fig.6.2 Robert Adam, Entrance Hall, Syon House, showing Luigi Valadier's bronze copy of the *Dying Gaul*, 1760s (Country Life)

The Northumberland House gallery, designed by Daniel Garrett and then James Paine with the Earl's involvement, had an overall decorative programme of stucco, painting and sculpture reminiscent of the galleries of Roman Renaissance and Baroque palaces that the Earl would have seen on his grand tour in the 1730s. For the painted copies, the Earl employed Horace Mann as agent, specifying copies after 'Raphael, Guido or Carracci' from 'the Farnese gallery or the Vatican' and ultimately approving of the choices that Mann had made.⁵ Cardinal Albani also played a critical role as he assisted Mann in securing access to the original frescos and in negotiating with the artists.⁶ The final selection consisted of Raphael's *Council of the Gods* and *Marriage of Cupid and Psyche* from the Villa Farnesina, both by Pompeo Batoni, who was dilatory in completing the commission; Annibale Carracci's *Bacchus and Ariadne* from the Palazzo Farnese, by Placido Costanzi; Guido Reni's *Aurora* from the Villa Rospigliosi, by Agostino Masucci; and Raphael's *School of Athens* by Anton Raphael

paddock and bridge ... as other folks make a dessert'. Walpole to the Earl of Strafford, 10 October 1768, *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, ed. W.S. Lewis, 48 vols., 1937–83, xxxv, pp.330–31.

5. Mann to Walpole, 11 August 1752, *op. cit.* (note 4), xx, p.328.

6. Wood tells the story well: Wood, *op. cit.* (note 1), pp.407–12.

Mengs (Mengs was simultaneously working on his painting of Parnassus for the Villa Albani). Simon Vierpyl was also hired to make *modelli* based on the sculptures of the Barbarian captives at the Capitoline which were then fashioned into two chimneypieces by Benjamin Carter. These, in turn, were surmounted by full-length portraits of the Earl and his wife, Elizabeth Seymour, by Joshua Reynolds.⁷

At Syon House, Adam, with the assistance of his brother, James, and with the approbation of the Earl, fashioned the entrance hall after that of an ancient Roman *villa suburbana* which would have typically been embellished with busts of the owner's ancestors (Fig. 6.2). However, in place of the Earl's less than salubrious forebears, the hall was furnished with statues and busts, including Demosthenes, Socrates, Antisthenes, Marcus Aurelius, Scipio Africanus and Livia, as well as Roman noblemen and noblewomen. It was also bounded at either end by a plaster cast of the *Apollo Belvedere* and a bronze copy of the *Dying Gaul* by Luigi Valadier. The exquisite dark patina of the bronze contrasts with the other white sculptures and the rest of the room. The visitor is drawn up to the anteroom, an explosion of polychrome with twelve *verde antico* columns, eight of which support gilt casts of the *Venus de' Medici*, the *Callipygian Venus*, the *Celestial Venus*, the *Mercury*, the *Dancing Faun*, the *Idolino*, the *Belvedere Antinous* and one more (later replaced by a cast of Canova's *Hebe*). Bronze casts of the *Belvedere Antinous* and the *Borghese Silenus with the Infant Bacchus* reside in niches (Fig. 6.3). In the adjacent, more visually neutral, dining room, white marble copies of the *Apollino*, the *Diane Chasserresse* from Versailles, the *Flora* from the Capitoline and *Euterpe*, the muse of music, are positioned in niches on one wall with a statue of Ceres by Bartolomeo Cavaceppi and a marble copy, by Joseph Wilton, of Michelangelo's *Bacchus* from the cast Wilton had made for the Duke of Richmond's Gallery at Richmond House, Whitehall (Fig. 6.4).

At both houses, a combination of size, composition and subject matter determined the final selection. In the Northumberland House gallery, four of the five paintings – the *School of Athens* being the exception – form strong horizontals crowded with classical deities in various states of *déshabillé*. While the degree of undress did not match the sartorial abundance of the London *bon ton* (yet was no doubt appealing and arousing for many), the flowing draperies in the paintings, combined with the densely populated and animated compositions, would have been in step with the swirling multitudes who attended Northumberland's sumptuous assemblies. A copy of the equally energetic *Battle of Constantine* in the Vatican, thought in the eighteenth century to be by Giulio Romano, was to have completed the ensemble.⁸ However, the size and proportions of the original fresco did not correspond easily with the dimensions of the gallery wall available so the idea was rejected by Mann. Albani, evidently misreading the tone that Northumberland wished to set, suggested replacing the *Battle of Constantine* and another fresco with Giulio Romano's two *Feasts of the Gods* from the Sala di Psiche in the Palazzo del Tè, Mantua. Mann, Albani and Northumberland ultimately settled on the *School of Athens*, which Mengs had already been studying for a number of years.⁹ The more philosophical content cast a rather heavy note of erudite profundity across

7. Mengs's *School of Athens* is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum; the other painted copies were lost in a fire at Northumberland House in 1868. One chimneypiece is in the Victoria and Albert Museum and the other is at Syon House. Reynolds's portrait of the Earl now hangs at Alnwick.

8. The *Battle of Constantine* is now considered *School of Raphael* with the involvement of Gianfrancesco Penni as well as Giulio.

9. Mann to Walpole, *op. cit.* (note 5); Wood, *op. cit.* (note 1), pp.409 and 412–13.



Fig.6.3 Robert Adam, Anteroom, Syon House, 1760s (Country Life)

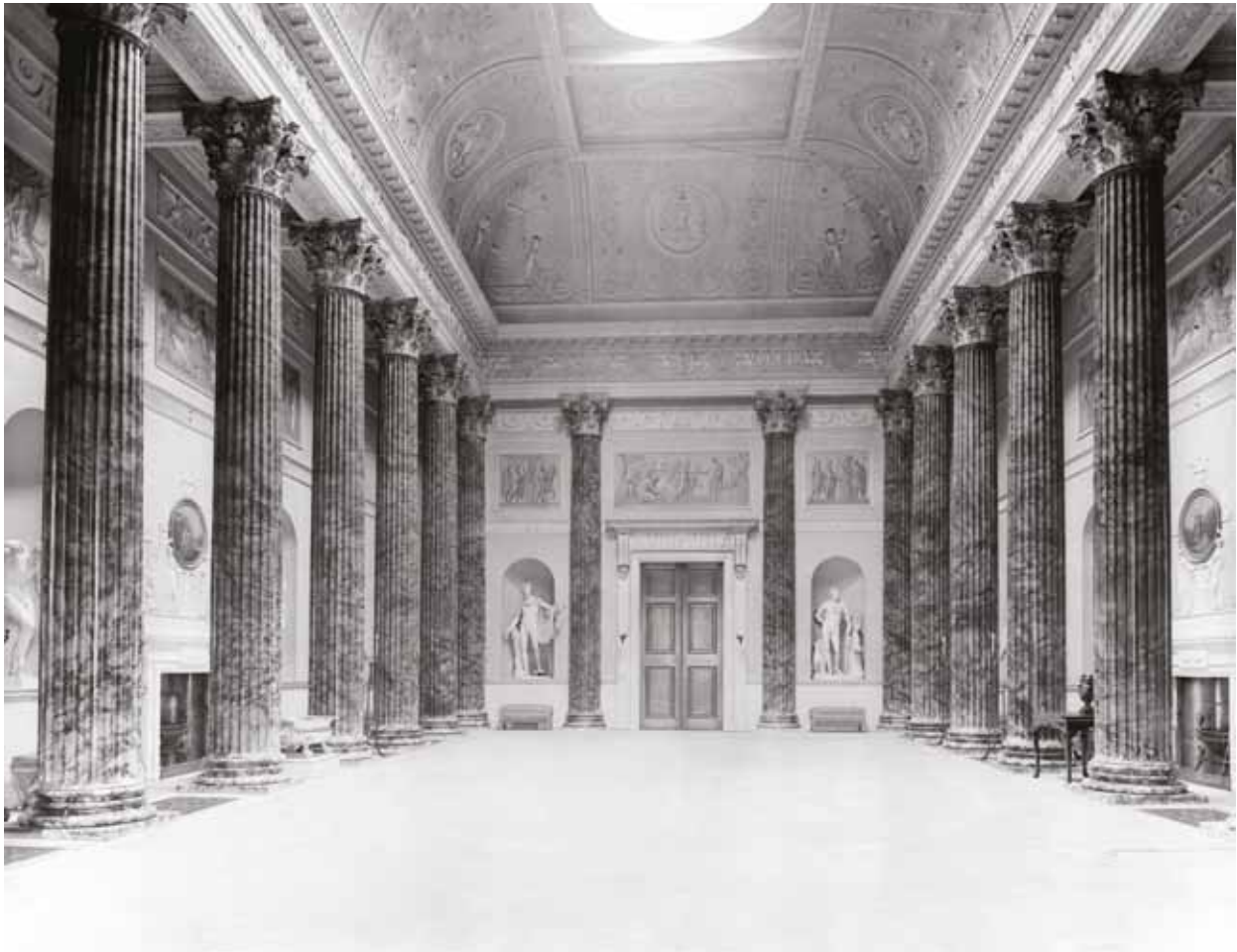


Fig.6.4 Robert Adam,
Dining Room, Syon House,
1760s (Country Life)

the gallery but one that none the less would have reflected well on the owner. The portrayal of Michelangelo/Heraclitus leaning against a block of marble and wearing sixteenth-century stone cutter's dress may also have amused Northumberland who had served as Master of a Masonic Lodge in Florence in the 1730s.¹⁰ Although it is not known if Northumberland continued to be a Mason once he returned from the Continent, by 1736 he had become a Fellow of the Royal Society and Society of Antiquaries as well as a member of the Society of Dilettanti, all fraternities of the erudite as well as haunts of Freemasons.¹¹ Furthermore, the dignified composition of the *School of Athens*, like the portraits of the Duke and Duchess, paced and punctuated the space of the gallery, in contrast to the highly energetic, mythological

10. The Florentine lodge officially existed for only six years. Established by English tourists some time before 1732, its membership would also soon include several Florentines including Antonio Cocchi and Tommaso Crudeli, the latter of whom would be hauled up before an inquisition when Clement XII banned Freemasonry as a heretical sect in 1738. M. Pellizzi, 'The English Lodge in Florence', *Ars quatuor coronatorum*, 105 (1992), pp.129–37.

11. Two excellent sources on the positioning of Freemasonry in London society are: P. Clark, *British Clubs and Societies 1580–1800*, Oxford, 2000, pp.308–49, and J. Harland-Jacobs, *Builders of Empire, Freemasons and British Imperialism, 1717–1927*, Chapel Hill, 2007. Northumberland's illegitimate son, the noted chemist James Smithson who left his fortune for the foundation of the Smithsonian Institute, was also a Freemason.



subject matter of the other paintings. The tone at Syon House, meanwhile, was more reserved; the serene *gravitas* of the entrance hall leading to the anteroom and dining room exuded genteel leisure.

Syon House and Kedleston Hall in Derbyshire, rebuilt by Nathaniel Curzon, are usually paired in scholarly discussion since they were two of Robert Adam's earliest commissions upon his return from Italy. Like Northumberland, Curzon built in the latest *au courant* style; he first employed Matthew Brettingham, then James Paine and finally the much more suave and savvy Adam who, in contrast to Brettingham and Paine, had been careful to hone his professional skills to cultivate potential patrons.¹² The great showpieces of Kedleston are the marble hall and saloon for

Fig.6.5 Robert Adam, Marble Hall, Kedleston Hall, 1760s (Country Life)

12. Despite Brettingham's many efforts, he had trouble endearing himself to the patriciate and had a stuttering career. For example, Mann had employed Brettingham early in the commissioning process of the Northumberland paintings but soon disposed of him, finding him to be an 'insinuating little fellow'; Mann to Walpole, 22 December 1752, *Walpole's Correspondence*, *op. cit.* (note 4), xx, p.352. Brettingham's attempts to establish a drawing academy in London full of casts of antique sculpture also came to naught although Joseph Wilton, William Chambers and Giovanni Battista Cipriani succeeded under the auspices of the Third Duke of Richmond. See J. Kenworthy-Browne, 'Matthew Brettingham's Rome account book', *Journal of the Walpole Society*, 49 (1983), pp.37–132, and J. Coutu, *op. cit.* (note 3), chapter 3. For Paine's disputatious personality see M. Hargraves, *Candidates for Fame: The Society of Artists of Great Britain, 1760–1791*, New Haven and London, 2005, pp.104–7 and *passim*.

which the Roman villa courtyard and the Pantheon serve as prototypes. Both are also filled with plaster casts of iconic aesthetic statues set within niches along the walls and, in the hall, behind a screen of alabaster columns (Fig. 6.5).

Each of the rooms at Kedleston and Syon functions as a totality, in which sculpture, architecture, paintings and furniture create a holistic decorative environment. However, the visitor's viewing experience and engagement with the space in the two houses are markedly different. The marble hall and the saloon at Kedleston can be viewed 'at a glance,' as Peter de Bolla has noted, where the look is 'relaxed' and 'the eye flits from surface to surface, delighting in the variety of decoration, the sheen and glitter of the reflective surfaces'.¹³ The individual components do not demand discrete attention but rather meld into an overall whole. This is consistent with Adam's personal, more picturesque approach to architectural design. The pictorial sweep is also reinforced by the ambiguous nature of the marble hall and the saloon; they seem to be spaces that are to be admired first and then perhaps used.¹⁴ In contrast, the sculptures in the entrance hall at Syon retain their individuality, and are physically accentuated by being mounted on pedestals within the space of the room rather than demurely residing in niches along the walls. Similarly, the various components of the architecture revel in their individual robustness. As such, the entrance hall at Syon is emphatically more Bramantesque in spirit, in the sense that each component retains its integrity yet also contributes to a unified harmonious whole. Although perhaps more fortuitous than planned, given the late addition of the *School of Athens*, the gallery at Northumberland House is imbued with the same aesthetic; the paintings and chimneypieces contribute to a cohesive whole, yet each stands alone in its own right. Furthermore, both the entrance hall at Syon and the gallery at Northumberland House are also emphatically functional 'lived-in' spaces; the visitor experiences them rather than merely looks at them. The anteroom and dining room at Syon are closer to the typical 'Adamesque' pictorial interior, but even here the individual components of column and statue each retain their robust integrity and the visitor becomes absorbed into the space; the function of each room is always explicit.

The contrasting visitor experience at Syon and Kedleston was dictated by the patrons' different agendas. Curzon, soon to be First Baron Scarsdale, was, like Northumberland, acutely aware of the requisite ingredients of the natural aristocracy, with the exemplary country house being of the greatest significance. However, being a generation younger than Northumberland, he was a decade behind in cutting his political teeth and staking his claim to gentry status. By the 1760s, when he was rebuilding Kedleston, the country house could be used for political gain. Wentworth Woodhouse, for example, owned by the marquises of Rockingham, encapsulates the shift in the perception of the country house as the natural expression of the natural aristocracy to something more politically innervated. At mid-century, the Second Marquis, as a young man, took on the task of completing the house begun by his father, the First Marquis, in the 1720s. This included acquiring casts and copies of iconic antique sculptures for the two main entrance halls. By the 1760s, the house and estate took on greater political import as Rockingham became the leader of the eponymous Rockingham Whigs (the antecedent of the modern concept of political party), whose central tenet was the reification of the

13. P. de Bolla, *The Education of the Eye*, Stanford, 2003, p.181.

14. *Ibid.*, pp.151–234, for a critical reading of the spaces of Kedleston and Adam's picturesque approach.

natural aristocracy as England's natural leaders, in the face of the rising career politician and the interventions of the King and Lord Bute. In this sense, Wentworth Woodhouse became Rockingham's political power base and the literal physical manifestation of the Rockinghamite 'natural family mansion', a concept formed and espoused by Edmund Burke, Rockingham's private secretary.¹⁵ Seen in this light, Kedleston could be read, as Mark Girouard has posited, as Curzon's Tory riposte to nearby Chatsworth, a perennial Whig stronghold.¹⁶ As such, it could be argued that Kedleston revels more in mere display than in the *exemplum* of virtue, an exhibition of the accoutrements of aristocracy rather than a demonstration of personal family substance and motivation toward inspiration. Curzon, who had notably not made the Grand Tour, seems to have opted for the package deal, leaving much of the design and the selection of sculpture to first Brettingham, then Paine and Adam.¹⁷

Northumberland was preoccupied with other concerns; he had taken the apolitical path of siding with the monarchy and had spent much money and many years shoring up his familial legitimacy. Thus he harked back to an earlier conception of the natural aristocracy, of deep familial roots and the Shaftesburian expression of erudition. While he did embrace the taste for the painted copy and sculpted cast and copy of the aesthetic ideal – indeed even fostering it at mid-century with the Northumberland gallery painted copies – the carefully selected and positioned sculptures in the entrance hall at Syon House resonate more with the entrance halls of Wilton, Chatsworth, Blenheim, Houghton and Holkham from earlier in the century where the owners sought to reify and articulate their noble lineage and erudition. They selected busts and statues for their individual identity (in the case of Holkham creating an elaborate recondite *conceit* of a rural idyll).¹⁸ Northumberland, working a generation later when aesthetics had become a more integral component of the conversation of the erudite, selected particular philosophers, statesmen, noblemen and noble women, along with the pre-eminent aesthetic examples. The *Apollo Belvedere* and the *Dying Gaul* are also the 'best of' the Vatican and Capitoline collections respectively. The fact that the spaces at Syon and Northumberland House are 'lived in' strengthens the tenor of the demonstration of *exemplum*: Northumberland, his wife and their guests circulated amongst the emperors, noblemen and noblewomen, philosophers and gods and goddesses.¹⁹ Indeed, the Earl and the Countess were ever-present in the Northumberland House gallery by way of their great painted full-length portraits above the twin caryatid chimneypieces.

The 'lived-in' sense of Northumberland House and Syon House, combined with the emphasis on the replication of iconic frescos and sculptures, also distinguishes them from the slightly later collections of antique originals amassed by Charles Townley, Henry Blundell, William Weddell, the Earl of Shelburne and others – what

15. See J. Brewer, *Party Ideology and Popular Politics at the Accession of George III*, Cambridge, 1976, pp.77–95, and Coutu, *op. cit.* (note 3), chapter 2. On Burke's idea of the natural family mansion see E. Burke, *Observations on the late State of the Nation*, London, 1769; Burke: *Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents*, London, 1770, and T. Furniss, *Edmund Burke's Aesthetic Ideology*, Cambridge, 1993.

16. M. Girouard in L. Harris, *Robert Adam and Kedleston*, London, 1987, p.8.

17. De Bolla, *op. cit.* (note 13), pp.151–234, elaborates upon Curzon's possible motivations.

18. On Holkham see E. Angelicoussis, 'The collection of classical sculptures of the Earl of Arundel, "Father of Vertu in England"', *Journal of the History of Collections*, 1 (2004), pp.143–59.

19. On the idea of absorption see M. Fried, *Absorption and Theatricality: Painting and Beholder in the Age of Diderot*, Berkeley, 1980, p.107, and C. Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt, Travel Writing and Imaginative Geography, 1600–1830*, Manchester, 1999, pp.164–65.

might be called the real era of ‘marblemania’. Here, the lure of the individual sculptures, appreciated for their authentic aura, causes the sculptures to vie, rather than work, with their architectural space, thereby disrupting a cohesive sense of a harmonious whole. Even at Weddell’s Newby Hall or Shelburne’s Lansdowne (later Shelburne) House where the architecture was designed to accommodate the sculpture, the architecture functions more as setting. At Ince Blundell or Townley’s house in Westminster, where there is little or no synthesis with the architecture, a prevailing allure of connoisseurial appreciation overrides the notion of *exemplum*, of inspiring the viewer toward imitation.²⁰ Such a distinction is further accentuated by the idea of a museum that runs through these later collections where the objects are gathered together for discrete examination, thus inhibiting a strong connection between viewer and the object viewed and forestalling a sense of absorption. Consequently, a greater wedge is driven between past and present with the past becoming increasingly more remote.²¹ This, in turn, corresponds with the emergence in the third quarter of the eighteenth century of the connoisseur, as Martin Myrone and Vicky Coltman have demonstrated, as someone distinct from the natural Shaftesburian aristocrat.²²

A closer look at the aesthetic choices made by Northumberland and his agents offers a way to conclude. The paintings at Northumberland House emphasise the beautiful classical ideal, the elegantly proportioned bodies of Raphael, Carracci, Reni and Giulio Romano (had the *Battle of Constantine* been selected). Likewise at Syon House, graceful sensuality ripples through the bodies of the *Apollo Belvedere*, the *Dying Gaul*, the *Apollino*, Michelangelo’s *Bacchus* and the many Venuses. Indeed, the Earl was particularly concerned about the proportions and measurements of the copies both at Northumberland House and at Syon House vis-à-vis the integrity of the originals.²³ There was no place for the overly brawny and ill-proportioned Farnese *Hercules* or even Michelangelo’s *David*. This choice was consistent with the copies and casts selected at mid-century for Wentworth Woodhouse and George Lyttelton’s Hagley Hall, as well as the Third Duke of Richmond’s gallery in his Whitehall house that served as an academy. While no doubt satisfyingly titillating, the emphasis on grace and elegance also evokes the Shaftesburian emphasis on a man of good parts, breeding and erudition, a masculinity of grace and ease where godly magisterial grace trumped brawn and brutishness. As Martin Myrone and Douglas Fordham have explored, such was the essence of the Grand Manner taken up by artist and patron alike to portray the leaders and heroes of the new Britain

20. For the experience of these collections see V. Coltman, *Classical Sculpture and the Culture of Collecting in Britain since 1760*, Oxford, 2009, especially pp.191–232.

21. Baron d’Hancarville stated in 1767 that ‘[A]ntiquity is a vast country separated from our own by a long interval of time’. P.F.Hugues, called Baron d’Hancarville, *Antiquités Etrusques, Grecques et Romaines, tirées du Cabinet de M. William Hamilton, Envoyé extraordinaire et plénipotentiaire de S. M. Britannique en Cour de Naples*, 4 vols., Naples, 1766–67 [1767–76], III, p.3. By 1786, Reynolds said that Claude in his Arcadian ‘landscapes ... sends the imagination back into antiquity’ (‘Discourse XIII’, in *Sir Joshua Reynolds Discourses on Art*, ed. R.R. Wark, New Haven and London, 1988, p.237). Chloe Chard indicates that, by the end of the eighteenth century, grand tour writers often portrayed the ancient past as ‘distressingly remote’, that the comfort of myth and history that had enveloped famous places of antiquity in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries had been stripped away; Chard, *op. cit.* (note 19), pp.20 and 9–26.

22. M. Myrone, *Bodybuilding: Reforming Masculinities in British Art 1750–1810*, New Haven and London, 2005, pp. 97–144; Coltman 2009, *op. cit.* (note 20), pp.159–272, *passim*.

23. Mann to Walpole, *op. cit.* (note 5); Coltman 2006, *op. cit.* (note 1).

just after mid-century, poised, as the nation was, to become a major imperial power. Reynolds's portraits of Augustus Keppel and Robert Orme are further examples, as are Joseph Wilton's representations of Admiral Charles Holmes and Major General James Wolfe in Westminster Abbey.²⁴ This taste also corresponded with the era just before the connoisseur would become derided as foppishly effeminate and a vacuous 'macaroni' and when modes of deportment would become emphatically polarised as masculine or feminine.²⁵ Indeed, the Earl of Northumberland's endeavours at Northumberland House and Syon House mark the apotheosis of the true natural aristocrat.

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24. M. Myrone, *op. cit.* (note 22); D. Fordham, *British Art and the Seven Years' War*, Philadelphia, 2010, pp. 65–72 and 107–18. The aesthetic taste evident in sculpture collections and sculpture at mid-century is one of the central tenets of my book, Coutu, *op. cit.* (note 3).

25. On the feminising of the connoisseur see M. Myrone, *op. cit.* (note 22), and C. Chard, 'Effeminacy, pleasure and the classical body', in G. Perry and M. Rossington, *Femininity and Masculinity in eighteenth-Century Art and Culture*, eds., Manchester, 1994, pp.142–61.

Eccentric Pioneers? Patrons of Modern Sculpture for Britain c.1790

JULIUS BRYANT

IN HIS ESSAY 'Thomas Hope's modern sculptures' David Bindman observed that the great collector acquired only one work by Canova, the *Hope Venus* (Leeds City Art Gallery, commissioned 1816–17), and wondered why 'unaccountably for such a voracious collector, he did not try to buy a work from the sculptor when he met him on either of his first two Roman visits, in 1795–6 and 1802–3'.¹ In his most recent book on sculpture Bindman demonstrates how, in the early nineteenth century, a 'vulgar Kantianism' supported the appreciation of new sculptures by Canova and Thorwaldsen.² This essay seeks an answer to this question about earlier attitudes, by exploring some of the issues affecting the patronage of modern ideal sculpture at the end of the eighteenth century.

In April 1805, following the death of Thomas Banks, Hope replied to the sculptor's son-in-law declining the gift of Banks's over-life-size statue of *Achilles*.³ Hope explained that 'it however only occasions a renewal of that regret which I experienced once before on Mr Canova's offering me a cast of his Perseus; and though I am well aware of the immense difference there is between a copy of an original existing elsewhere, and an original model, I still have to lament that my space is so confined as to oblige me to limit myself entirely to marbles. Of these I already possess more than I can conveniently place.'⁴

Hope's excuse was both his lack of a suitable location (as he had filled the statue gallery of his Duchess Street, London, home)⁵ and his preference for marble over plaster. By 1816 his situation had changed, for in 1807 he had acquired a country house, The Deepdene. He remodelled it from 1818 and in 1824 moved his sculpture into four new galleries there.⁶ The change in taste in favour of modern sculpture is most often identified with the creation of three other private galleries at this time. The Duke of Bedford had Jeffrey Wyatt (later Sir Jeffrey Wyattville) complete the conversion of his greenhouse at Woburn into a sculpture gallery from 1816 to 1819, having commissioned Canova's *Three Graces* (Victoria and Albert Museum and National Galleries of Scotland) in January 1815. The Duke of Devonshire started collecting

1. D. Bindman, 'Thomas Hope's modern sculptures: "a zealous and liberal patronage of its contemporary professors"', in D. Watkin and P. Hewat-Jaboor, eds., *Thomas Hope, Regency Designer*, New Haven and London, 2008, pp.131–49.

2. D. Bindman, *Warm Flesh, Cold Marble: Canova, Thorwaldsen and Their Critics*, New Haven and London, 2014.

3. J. Bryant, 'Mourning Achilles: a missing sculpture by Thomas Banks', *Burlington Magazine*, 125 (1983), pp.742–45.

4. C.F. Bell, *Annals of Thomas Banks*, Cambridge, 1938, p.62.

5. Illustrated in Thomas Hope, *Household Furniture and Interior Decoration*, London, 1807, p.21.

6. D. Watkin, 'The reform of taste in the country: The Deepdene', in Watkin and Hewat-Jaboor, *op. cit.* (note 1), pp.219–35.

modern sculpture in Paris and Rome in 1818–19, after Jeffry Wyatt designed his sculpture gallery at Chatsworth in 1818. The Earl of Egremont began collecting modern ideal sculptures in 1813, commissioned Flaxman's *St Michael* around 1819 and extended Petworth's North Gallery between 1824 and 1827 for his modern collection.⁷ However, the price of modern British gallery sculpture continued to be a matter of controversy well into the 1850s.⁸

Several factors lay behind the fashion for these new spaces. Patriotism called for national status symbols following the successful end of the Napoleonic wars in 1815. The arrival of the Elgin Marbles, first displayed at Burlington House, Piccadilly in 1815, spurred artists onwards and offered encouraging evidence of naturalism within the antique ideal.⁹ The lack of further 'opportunities of collecting really fine ancient marbles' was one reason given by the Sixth Duke of Devonshire for buying modern.¹⁰ A fourth factor was Canova himself, for the most celebrated living artist in Europe was a sculptor, diplomat and gentleman, one who promoted the connoisseurship of marble surfaces. The Duke of Wellington's installation of Canova's statue of *Napoleon as Mars the Peacemaker* at Apsley House, Hyde Park Corner, in 1817 encouraged this new commitment to modern marbles.¹¹ Twenty or thirty years earlier, however, in the years of transition in taste, artists intent on making ideal sculpture suffered from a confused form of patronage which had yet to provide ready settings or income.

Thomas Banks's career spans these changes in attitude. Ever since Joshua Reynolds, as President of the Royal Academy, described him as 'the first of our country who had produced any thing like classic Sculpture in England',¹² Banks has been seen as *the* heroic martyr to his medium, pioneering the creation of ideal sculptures despite a lack of patrons.¹³ However, he did receive several commissions for such works; his problems arose when it came to payment. Banks's long-term residency in Rome was curtailed when two major patrons refused to honour their bills. Frederick Augustus Hervey, Bishop of Derry and Fourth Earl of Bristol, was notorious for commissioning without collecting from British artists in Rome. But the Earl-Bishop's behaviour was not unique and should not be explained simply by faults in his personality. The ambiguity of his attitude to modern sculpture, of protracted patronage without possession, was part of a wider social pattern. The confused connoisseurship of British collectors in the last quarter of the eighteenth century is not simply a story of gentlemen behaving badly. The market for modern ideal sculpture, its prices and vendors, its monetary and social value, had to be established before collecting could take off.

7. For Petworth see J. Kenworthy-Browne, 'The Third Earl of Egremont and neo-classical sculpture', *Apollo*, 105 (1977), pp.367–73. For Chatsworth see J. Kenworthy-Browne, 'A ducal patron of sculptors', *Apollo*, 96 (1972), pp.322–31, and M. Hall, 'Excuses for extravagance', *Country Life*, 185 (1991), pp.182–85. For Woburn see J. Kenworthy-Browne, 'The sculpture gallery at Woburn and the architecture of the Temple of the Graces', in T. Clifford *et al.*, *The Three Graces*, exh. cat., Edinburgh (National Galleries of Scotland), 1995, pp.61–71.

8. J. Bryant, *Magnificent Marble Sculpture: British Sculpture in the Mansion House*, London, 2013.

9. I. Jenkins, *Archaeologists and Aesthetes*, London, 1992, pp.75–101. Canova wrote to Lord Elgin (10 November 1815), 'The nudes are real and most beautiful flesh', quoted in Clifford, *op. cit.* (note 7), p.14.

10. William Cavendish, Sixth Duke of Devonshire, *Handbook of Chatsworth and Hardwick*, London privately printed, 1844, pp.87–88.

11. J. Bryant, 'How Canova and Wellington honoured Napoleon', *Apollo*, 162 (2005), pp.38–43.

12. J. T. Smith: *Nollekens and His Times*, London, 1828, II, p.190.

13. J. Bryant, *Thomas Banks 1735–1805, Britain's First Modern Sculptor*, exh. cat., London (Sir John Soane's Museum), 2005, pp.7–11.

The Earl-Bishop was a patron of Canova, Christopher Hewetson, John Flaxman and John Deare, among many others. His frequent refusal to come up with payment has been described by Brinsley Ford as 'eccentric and capricious'.¹⁴ In March 1778 Banks completed in Rome a model of a Cupid which, the sculptor's wife noted, 'is universally lik'd, & is order'd in marble by the Bishop of Derry'. In November that year Mrs Banks wrote again: 'the figure which the *Reverend Father* in *God &c &c &c* had ordered of Mr. B— he return'd on his hands, when almost completed, (with the frivolous excuse of its being Improper for a Bishop to have a naked figure in his house)'.¹⁵ Another work commissioned in marble by the Earl-Bishop was an oval relief that Banks abandoned unfinished (Fig. 7.1). The sculptor fell into a 'Continual Delirium' in which he cursed the Earl-Bishop as the cause of his mental collapse. Months later Banks returned to England with the *Cupid* and, after showing it at the Royal Academy in 1781, took it to St Petersburg and sold it to Catherine the Great.¹⁶

One might dismiss such patronage as 'eccentric and capricious' if it were truly exceptional, but this was not the case. The Earl-Bishop was simply the most disappointing example. Banks's breakdown was sparked not by the Earl-Bishop's rejection of his *Cupid* but rather by an earlier refusal in 1778, by George Grenville of Stowe, to pay the sculptor's asking price for a bas-relief. As Mrs Banks lamented: 'He has Protested Mr Banks Bill for two Hundred Pounds, being one Hundred more than his due & that if Mr. B— does not chuse to accept one Hundred, he is at liberty to sell it to those that will give him more – for he never intended to give so much for a Modern work.'¹⁷ Grenville was one of several difficult patrons. Mrs Banks wrote that they had suffered 'some ill usage from a few other Gent' and concluded: 'what unfortunate people we are, out of commissions that were order'd in one season, to the amount of Nine hundred pounds ... that only two hundred should come to anything'. However, Grenville's letter to Banks reveals that the sculptor had indeed doubled his price, and that Grenville had commissioned the work out of goodwill rather than as a collector. Grenville wrote: 'when I ordered this marble from you as an encouragement to you to proceed in yr. studys the price fixed by you was one hundred pounds ... I most certainly never intended to pay for the work of a modern artist what I cannot help thinking an exorbitant price ... as this commission was ordered for yr. advantage, if any body will give you a larger price you are welcome to dispose of it.'¹⁸ Grenville's expressed reason for the commission was encouragement of the artist, rather than genuine collecting.

Other sculptors in Rome suffered nervous breakdowns at the hands of British patrons. Around 1774 Banks's friend J. T. Sergel was commissioned by an Englishman to carve in marble a 'rage of Achilles'. Ozias Humphry wrote to the sculptor's patron that 'Mr Seriel [*sic*] is undoubtedly the first Sculptor in Europe' and 'the execution ... of this statue would determine whether or not he will settle in England'.¹⁹ However,

14. Brinsley Ford, 'The Earl-Bishop, an eccentric and capricious patron of the arts', *Apollo*, 99 (1974), pp.426–34.

15. Bryant 1983, *op. cit.* (note 3), p.35.

16. J. Bryant, 'Thomas Banks's missing Cupid', *Apollo*, 161 (2005), pp.50–52.

17. Elizabeth Banks to Ozias Humphry, 1 April 1778, London, Royal Academy of Arts, Upcott MSS II, 67.

18. Copy of a letter to Banks from George Grenville, dated 5 March 1778 (private collection), quoted in D. Bindman, 'Thomas Banks's "Caractacus before Claudius": new letters to and from Ozias Humphry', *Burlington Magazine*, 142 (2000), pp.769–72.

19. Quoted in N.L. Pressly, *The Fuseli Circle in Rome*, exh. cat., New Haven (Yale Center for British Art), 1979, p. 20.



following disagreements over the price, the piece remained in terracotta and the sculptor slipped into a debilitating depression. In 1778 another Englishman recorded only as 'Sir Night' in Sergel's notes (possibly Edward Knight, cousin of Richard Payne Knight) commissioned his *Mars and Venus* (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm) in 'colossal size' but failed to pay for it. In 1771 Thomas Mansel Talbot had commissioned from Sergel his *Diomedes* (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm). Completed in 1774, it was shipped to Talbot's home, Margam Castle, Glamorgan, where it remained in its crate, inventoried as 'a Greek Sculpture' until unpacked in 1941.²⁰

In 1790 the Earl-Bishop commissioned Flaxman to produce his marble group *The Fury of Athamas* (Ickworth) for £600. It took three years and the capital costs of marble left him out of pocket after just fifteen months, but the Earl-Bishop held the young sculptor to the agreed price. In February 1791 Thomas Hope signed a contract with Flaxman for his over-life-size group in plaster, *Hercules and Hebe* (1792, University College, London, on loan to Petworth), for 700 guineas, but Hope later paid Flaxman only 341 guineas and did not take delivery. In December 1794 Hope wrote to Flaxman refusing to settle his debt.²¹

John Deare suffered from this same pattern of confused patronage, of commissions being solicited without full payment or actual ownership. Deare arrived in Rome in 1785 on a Royal Academy stipend and began a colossal plaster relief (now lost) *The Judgement of Jupiter* (the marble survives in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art), without commission, intended for exhibition at the Academy. At 5 feet tall and 11 feet wide it exceeded the size limit of 4 by 3 feet, and the Academy

Fig.7.1 Thomas Banks, *Thetis and Her Nymphs rising from the Sea to Console Achilles for the Loss of Patroclus*, begun 1777, finished c.1805–6. Marble, 91.4 × 118.7 × 8 cm (Victoria and Albert Museum)

20. Pressly, *op. cit.* (note 19), p. 19.

21. Bindman 2008, *op. cit.* (note 1), p. 144.



Fig.7.2 John Deare, *Julius Caesar Invading Britain*, 1791–96. Marble, 87.5 × 164 × 17 cm (Victoria and Albert Museum, purchase funded by the Vladimir Caruana and Ivan Booth Bequest)



Fig.7.3 Antonio Canova, *Theseus and the Minotaur*, 1780/1–82. Marble, 145.4 × 158.7 × 91.4 cm (Victoria and Albert Museum, purchased with the assistance of the Art Fund)

refused to pay for the cost of shipping it from Rome. However, Sir Richard Worsley commissioned a marble version of it for Appuldurcombe House for £470. In May 1788 Worsley left Rome without leaving any instructions with his banker and the relief never reached his Palladian house on the Isle of Wight. Worsley also commissioned a smaller relief which Deare had to sell 'very cheap; for £50 or £60'.²² The *Marine Venus* (J. Paul Getty Museum) did reach Appuldurcombe, where it was much admired. In 1790 the Earl-Bishop commissioned from John Deare marble sculptures worth £270,²³ but Deare noted 'just as we all expected orders on his banker, his Lordship (as usual) left Rome without giving any one orders'.²⁴ Edward Poore was one of Deare's major patrons in Rome but in March 1794 Deare was writing 'I have a quarrel pending with that dirty fellow Poore'²⁵ over a relief of *Bacchus Feeding a Panther* (New York art market, 2000). In the same letter he describes his quarrel with 'these thieves the antiquarians & the monopolising artist' Gavin Hamilton and Thomas Jenkins. Some idea of the going price for sculpture is given by the £700 paid to Deare by Lord Berwick of Attingham Park for life-size copies of the *Apollo Belvedere* and *Venus de' Medici*, the marble for which cost £200. By contrast, at the Attingham sale in 1827, Deare's *Apollo* alone sold for £2,770.

Exceptions prove the rule, and Deare seems to have been treated honourably by Thomas Hope who commissioned a relief, *Cupid and Psyche* (unlocated), in 1791, and by John Penn, who commissioned the same year an overmantel relief, *Julius Caesar Invading Britain* (Fig. 7.2).²⁶ Penn paid Deare £470 for the relief, along with a chimneypiece and a bust of himself. Unlike Banks with his oval relief, Deare followed the convention of a rectangular overmantel; the chimneypiece he also supplied probably served as its setting. In 1789 an Irish captain living in Paris paid £100 for a marble variant of Deare's relief of *Edward and Eleanor* (private collection); an original plaster cast of the same was commissioned by Henry Blundell in 1786 to encourage his fellow Liverpoolian and was shown at the Royal Academy in 1788. In 1792 Deare received £120 for another version of the relief, signed and dated 1790.²⁷

While it became fashionable to be seen to be encouraging modern sculpture, conspicuous patronage seems to have fallen short of actual ownership in many cases. Patrons of living sculptors could not become collectors until they knew what a modern sculpture was worth and where to put it. As in John Penn's case, a rectangular relief could fit into an overmantel, in the tradition of the Palladian interior reliefs carved by Rysbrack. But single poetical figures, oval reliefs and colossal groups as yet had no obvious home.

Even Canova could not escape from this pattern of commissioning without collecting, of patronage without possession. Canova arrived in Rome in October 1779, just four months after Thomas Banks had left Rome for good. Hugh Honour described Canova's *Theseus and the Minotaur* (Fig. 7.3) as 'the first modern work of sculpture to satisfy those whose praise had hitherto been reserved exclusively for antiquities. It marks a turning point not only in Canova's own career but in the

22. London, British Library, Cumberland papers v1, Add. MSS 36496, fol. 307v.

23. P. Fogelmann, P. Fusco and S. Stock, 'John Deare (1759–1798): a British neoclassical sculptor in Rome', *Sculpture Journal*, 4 (2000), pp.85–126 (p.96).

24. Smith, *op. cit.* (note 12), II, p. 323.

25. Quoted in Fogelmann *et al.*, *op. cit.* (note 23), p.98.

26. Fogelmann *et al.*, *op. cit.* (note 23), pp. 100–1; M. Trusted, 'Two eighteenth-century sculpture acquisitions for the Victoria and Albert Museum, London', *Burlington Magazine*, 154 (2012), pp.773–79.

27. Charles Avery, 'John Deare's marble reliefs for Sir Andrew Corbet Corbet, Bt', *The British Art Journal*, 3, (2002), 2, pp.50–57.

general history of European sculpture.’²⁸ Was Canova simply so much better than Banks that he could secure genuine patronage from a collector? Seemingly not. The group was commissioned in 1780–81 by the Venetian Ambassador in Rome, after Canova had refused to carve for him copies of antique sculptures. The question of price did not arise, as the ambassador purchased the raw marble and provided accommodation and a studio at the Palazzo Venezia. The piece was completed in 1782. But when Canova asked his patron where he wanted the group the ambassador replied ‘I did not carve the group, you did, therefore make of it what you think best: I wish you well and good luck.’²⁹

Around 1786 Canova sold his *Theseus* to a Viennese banker, Josef von Fries, for 2,000 scudi, which Hugh Honour considered ‘a high price for any modern work of sculpture, and a quite exceptionally high one for the production of a young and relatively unknown artist’.³⁰ The Earl-Bishop told Canova that his prices were too high. However, the following year, 1787, he commissioned Flaxman to carve the *Fury of Athamas* for £600, which was equivalent to 2,400 scudi (more than Canova’s *Theseus*, but without free marble and accommodation). In 1788 Banks and other leading sculptors were called in to arbitrate on a dispute between G.B. Locatelli and his patron, the Third Earl of Orford over a group, *Theseus, Hercules and Cerberus* (destroyed) which the Earl had commissioned in 1782, after he refused to pay the asking price, £2,400. The Royal Academy’s sculptors valued it at £1,300 and the Earl settled on £1,400, but Locatelli was considered at fault for seeking to overcharge ‘an English nobleman, who has ever done honour to his country by a spirited encouragement of the arts’.³¹

Let us put these prices in context. Thomas Jenkins usually charged between £200 and £400 for the best life-size antique statues and groups. The highest price paid by Charles Townley and by Lord Shelburne was £600. The highest recorded price for any antiquity sent from Rome in the eighteenth century was £1,000, paid by James Hugh Smith Barry for a colossal Antinous excavated by Gavin Hamilton in 1775. A full-length portrait painted by Batoni would cost 200 scudi, a tenth the price of Canova’s group.

One reason for this confusion was a change in attitude to the antique. It was not simply that there were no good antique marbles left to purchase by the early nineteenth century, so that one had to buy modern. As Henry Blundell discovered, some of the collections formed in Rome in the 1760s and 1770s came on to the London art market around 1800. After Thomas Banks’s death in 1805 Blundell bought an antique marble of a life-size seated figure from the Arundel collection that had belonged to the sculptor.³² This change in attitude to the antique can be illustrated by comparing the fortunes in Rome of Joseph Nollekens and Carlo Albacini.

Soon after Nollekens arrived in Rome in 1761 he found employment in the workshop of Cavaceppi. There he combined authentic fragments into complete sculptures and carved copies of celebrated antique marbles for the antiquities trade. The approach was similar to that of Piranesi, who assembled miscellaneous

28. Hugh Honour, ‘Canova’s Theseus and the Minotaur’, *Victoria and Albert Museum Yearbook*, 1 (1969), pp.1–15.

29. Quoted in Honour, *op. cit.* (note 28), p.5.

30. Honour, *op. cit.* (note 28), p.11.

31. Horace Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, 5, London, 1937, p.148.

32. A. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, Cambridge, 1882, pp.356–57; J. Fejfer and E. Southworth, *The Ince Blundell Collection of Classical Sculpture*, London, 1991, pp.14, 20.



Fig.7.4 Joseph Nollekens, *Diana*, 1778. Marble, height 124 cm (Victoria and Albert Museum)

antique fragments into torcheres to help sell his architectural salvage as the supply of antique statues dried up. This was not as deceitful as it sounds today, for the joints were left visible, if subtle, as customer demand was more antiquarian than aesthetic. The authenticity of the assembled parts, the documentary value of ancient likenesses and the associative values of provenance and subject matter were valued most highly.

Authentic antiquity and provenance were not qualities offered by modern sculptures, and so long as collectors valued these criteria they could not compete in price. As Canova lamented, ‘You English see with your ears.’³³ Offering more sensual qualities, the first successful commissions for modern British free-standing marble gallery sculptures of classical subjects were the *Venus taking off her sandal*, *Minerva* and *Juno* (J. Paul Getty Museum) by Joseph Nollekens,³⁴ a decade before Canova sold his *Theseus*. Nollekens sold these free-standing gallery sculptures to the Second Marquis of Rockingham between 1773 and 1776 for £210, £205 and £200 respectively, as companions to a supposedly antique figure of *Paris* (also J. Paul Getty Museum). However, although Nollekens’s statues were later installed in a new sculpture gallery at Wentworth Woodhouse, Yorkshire, they remained in a small rectangular room in Lord Rockingham’s London house at his death in 1782. Rockingham also paid Nollekens 300 guineas in 1778 for a *Diana* (Fig. 7.4) which he never displayed

33. C.R. Leslie, ed. T. Taylor, *Autobiographical Recollections*, London, 1860, II, p.73.

34. The rival claimant is John Bacon’s *Mars* (Usher Gallery, Lincoln), which Lord Yarborough commissioned in marble after seeing the life-size plaster, either at the Royal Academy in 1771 or later at the Society of Arts, but it is undated and undocumented.



Fig.7.5 Hugh Douglas Hamilton, *Antonio Canova in his studio, with Henry Tresham and the plaster model for 'Cupid and Psyche'*, 1788–89. Pastel on paper, 75 × 100 cm (Victoria and Albert Museum, purchased with the assistance of the Art Fund in honour of Sir Brinsley Ford)

and may have been left in the sculptor's studio. Nollekens's greatest patron, Lord Yarborough, purchased his *Venus chiding Cupid* (Usher Gallery, Lincoln) in 1778 (price unknown) and, in 1783 (for £262 10s) his *Mercury* (Usher Gallery, Lincoln) which he kept in his house in Arlington Street, London.³⁵ Nollekens helped to create the market for modern sculpture, not simply by playing to its obvious advantages over the antique, of completeness. He also responded to and encouraged a change in ways of looking at sculpture. Taste changed from an associative antiquarian admiration of subject, composition, and proportions towards a more aesthetic appreciation of surface, of the soft shiny Greek fleshiness of Praxiteles. Credit for this is usually given to the influence of J.J. Winckelmann's *History of the Art of Antiquity* (1764).³⁶

The leading dealer in Rome in the early 1770s, Thomas Jenkins, encouraged this more aesthetic response to antique marble surfaces, moving on from Cavaceppi to engage his pupil, Carlo Albacini, as his principal restorer. Four years before Banks suffered his rebuttal from George Grenville for seeking £200 'for a modern work', Grenville had purchased from Jenkins in 1774 the Stowe *Meleager*, which had probably been restored by Albacini, for £450. The best-known works restored by Albacini are Bernini's *Neptune and Triton* fountain (Victoria and Albert Museum), which Jenkins bought in 1786 and sold on to Joshua Reynolds for about 700 guineas, and the *Lansdowne Hercules* (J. Paul Getty Museum), the latter without Albacini's additions

35. N. Penny, 'Lord Rockingham's sculpture collection and the Judgement of Paris by Nollekens', *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*, 19 (1991), pp.5–34. The best-known examples of ideal sculpture produced in Britain before the 1770s are Rysbrack's *Hercules* (1756) and *Flora* (1761) for which Henry Hoare paid £350 and £400 respectively, but as these were based on antique masterpieces and installed in a temple at Stourhead their aesthetic context belongs more to the tradition of garden sculpture.

36. J.J. Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst der Alterthums*, Dresden, 1764. See A. Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art History*, New Haven and London, 1994.

which he attached in 1792. Jenkins preferred Albacini over Cavaceppi for his pursuit of visual completeness to the point of perfection, which necessitated refinishing the entire surface to achieve a uniform whiteness. With such aesthetic values coming to the fore in the way connoisseurs looked at sculpture it was a shorter step for the generation of Canova's patrons to appreciate, and hence collect, modern works (Fig. 7.5).

The change in approach can be characterised by the fate of the Townley marbles. They are recorded in 1794 in Townley's London home in a pair of coloured drawings (British Museum).³⁷ The collection had been installed by d'Hancarville in an 'arrangement mythologique' grouped by subject. With the death of Townley in 1805 and removal of his collection to the British Museum the new arrangement was entrusted not to another antiquarian but to living sculptors, first Nollekens and then Richard Westmacott, who set them in new top-lit classical galleries. The ownership of 'taste' in sculpture had begun to pass from gentlemen patrons and their agents to artists.

To conclude, long before the influence of Canova and his noble clients with their new sculpture galleries there was a tradition of commissioning modern ideal sculpture in Britain. Support for it increased in the last third of the century, but came from a generation of pioneer patrons, several of whom seemed 'eccentric' for not settling their bills in full and not collecting what they commissioned. Their apparently ambivalent patronage was not entirely due to aristocratic arrogance as the artists believed. Institutional patronage in London through prizes and exhibitions, premiums and travel stipends, had encouraged younger sculptors to pursue their ambition to make their name through prestigious new works and had also encouraged patrons to commission them. Both sculptors and patrons did so without a realistic idea of their eventual cost in marble or their long-term locations.

Alongside this artificial market for modern sculpture, collectors were still led by dealers to pay far more for antiquities. When the market changed and galleries were built for modern British sculpture it was not simply that the supply of antique marbles had dried up and that British sculpture finally became good enough to collect. More significantly, the gap between the ways of looking at antique and modern sculpture was closing. To admirers of unbroken subtle surfaces, assembled fragments and plaster casts began to lose their appeal. Before modern sculpture could commence in earnest, patrons had to think of themselves not only as public-spirited benevolent gentlemen of taste but as paying customers, to learn to look at sculpture through the eyes of artists, and to find somewhere to put what they paid for.

Victoria and Albert Museum

37. A. Wilton and I. Bignamini, *Grand Tour*, exh. cat., London (Tate Gallery), 1996, pp.258–60.



Fig.8.1. Chatsworth Sculpture Gallery (looking north). (Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth)

Canova and Thorvaldsen at Chatsworth

ALISON YARRINGTON

THE SUBJECT FOR this essay in honour of David Bindman is the singular response to the sculpture of Thorvaldsen and Canova by one of the nineteenth century's most discerning patrons of contemporary sculpture, William Cavendish, Sixth Duke of Devonshire. The formation of his sculpture collection in its purpose-built gallery at Chatsworth between c.1819 and 1834 (Fig. 8.1) has been examined in detail elsewhere, as has Canova's central place in its continuing evolution.¹ But comparatively little attention has been paid to Thorvaldsen's *Venus with an apple* (Fig. 8.2), which the Sixth Duke placed opposite Thomas Campbell's portrait statue of *Paolina Borghese*, or indeed to Thorvaldsen's other works in this setting and elsewhere in the collection. The abundance of Canova's work and Canovian reference at Chatsworth is in sharp contrast to Thorvaldsen's more muted presence there. Some explanation for this can be teased out from contemporary correspondence and other documents.

In 1844, when the Sixth Duke was writing his *Handbook to Chatsworth and Hardwick*, reviewing his acquisitions, their settings and the meanings they held, he provide little commentary on Thorvaldsen's statue beyond stating that she is 'a perfectly beautiful woman – not at all Goddess'.² His response corresponds with other contemporary critical reactions to Canova and Thorvaldsen that David Bindman has recently addressed. Bindman has found that Thorvaldsen's *Venus* proved to be a 'disconcerting' figure for some contemporary viewers, emphasising that her pose is 'strikingly unclassical', a naked figure with 'an adolescent, maidenly quality', very different from Canova's conception of *Venus*.³ In the Sculpture Gallery the interchangeability of Goddess and Princess was highlighted by the Sixth Duke's placing of *Paolina's* mourning bracelet for her brother Napoleon on the wrist of the *Venus*, part of a strong underlying Napoleonic frame of reference. Thorvaldsen's reliefs of *Night and Day*, and of *Briseis taken from Achilles by Agamemnon* and *Priam petitioning Achilles for the body of Hector*, originally ordered by Agar Ellis and transferred to the Sixth Duke's ownership at the same time as he placed the *Venus* commission, are positioned respectively in the east and west walls of the gallery. For the Sixth Duke there were 'few things more beautiful', and it is clear that Thorvaldsen's

1. See J. Kenworthy-Browne, 'A ducal patron of sculptors', *Apollo*, 96, new series, no.128 (1972), pp.322–31; A. Yarrington and C. Noble, "'Like a Poet's Dreams': the redisplay of the 6th Duke of Devonshire's Sculpture Gallery at Chatsworth', *Apollo*, no.170 (2009), 570, pp.46–53; and A. Yarrington, "'Under Italian Skies": the 6th Duke of Devonshire, Canova and the formation of a sculpture gallery at Chatsworth House', *Journal of Anglo-Italian Studies*, 10 (2009), pp.41–62.

2. William Cavendish, Sixth Duke of Devonshire, *Handbook to Chatsworth and Hardwick*, London, 1845, p.102.

3. D. Bindman, *Warm Flesh, Cold Marble: Canova, Thorvaldsen and Their Critics*, New Haven and London, 2014, p. 96.



Fig.8.2. Bertel Thorvaldsen, *Venus with an apple*, 1821. Marble (pedestal: cipollino), 163 cm high (Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth)



smaller works and portraiture pleased him.⁴ Thorvaldsen's post-mortem bust of Cardinal Consalvi, was, in the Duke's words, 'made from memory' and informed by Sir Thomas Lawrence's portrait, resulting in the most 'perfect likeness'.⁵ It faces Canova's bust of Laura, which is accompanied by pedestals and other objects made out of rare and sought-after coloured marbles. This arrangement references both the Sixth Duke's network of art, politics, family and friendship in Rome – which included his stepmother Elizabeth, Duchess of Devonshire, the Cardinal and the sculptors – and his love of marble and its working. Elsewhere in the house, Thorvaldsen's bust of Lord Byron links with more troubled familial connections with Lady Caroline Lamb.⁶ Copies of Thorvaldsen's works are found in the garden and there is also an unusual later addition to the collection ordered in 1846, a version by David Ducci, an assistant in Francesco Bienaimé's Carrara studio, of

Fig.8.3. David Ducci, *Head of Christ*, version of the *Head of Christ* by Thorvaldsen, 1846. Marble (Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth)

4. Ibid., p.103. The reliefs were dispatched from Leghorn by Gabrielli in August 1824 (Devonshire MSS, Chatsworth, Sculpture Accounts, letter to the Sixth Duke from Rome, 14 August 1824). They were received at Chatsworth on 7 January 1825, see the Sixth Duke's Diary entry for that date (Devonshire MSS: DF4/2/1/1).

5. Sixth Duke of Devonshire, *op. cit.* (note 2), p.91.

6. Thorvaldsen modelled the bust from life in April–May 1817. There are four known versions of this herm-type bust. The Chatsworth bust was originally the property of Francis Hodgson, a friend of the poet and of the Sixth Duke.

Thorvaldsen's *Head of Christ* (Fig. 8.3), from his colossal statue of Christ (completed 1833) for the altar in the Church of Our Lady, Copenhagen. This later acquisition and the early commissions for the sculpture gallery show that the Sixth Duke's interest in Canova and Thorvaldsen clearly operated at different levels of intensity and interest, from the first commissions he placed in 1819 until his death in 1858. It seems that the nature and extent of Thorvaldsen's direct involvement in the sculptural process, and specifically the carving of his figures, were at issue.

The Sixth Duke's enduring love of Canova's work was both impeded and spurred by the sculptor's death in October 1822, an urgency which contrasts with his apparent lack of interest in acquiring further 'poetic' works by Thorvaldsen, despite the fact that by 1824, as John Gibson pointed out to his friend John Crouchley, 'Cavalier Thorvaldsen' had assumed Canova's place as 'the prince of sculptors'.⁷ The reasons for the Sixth Duke's relative indifference seem to be connected with his overwhelming passion for marbles and minerals, and the ways in which a sculptor could transform these cold and inert materials to create 'warm flesh', colour and poetry. His selection of works for display in the Sculpture Gallery and at his other properties exemplifies this, not least the setting of Thorvaldsen's *Venus*, placed on pedestal of a rare, richly coloured, cipollino marble, its natural wave patterns alluding to the sea foam from which the goddess was born.

The Sixth Duke's first extensive post-Waterloo tour across northern Europe and Russia had awakened him to the beauties of contemporary sculpture, in particular to Canova, whose works he encountered in princely settings. This sculptural epiphany, occurring at a time when he was often in the company of his friend Crown Prince Nicolas of Russia, would shape and sustain his collecting career. The Prince was also a connoisseur of marble and the two friends would continue to exchange gifts of rare minerals, such as the Siberian vases and the malachite objects that were sent from St Petersburg to the Duke at Chatsworth, arriving there in 1844. Sculptures by Canova and Thorvaldsen were in the Imperial collection, and there was a continuing demand for their works in Russia as there was in other European royal and aristocratic circles with which the Sixth Duke had direct contact. Thorvaldsen's portraits of Russian sitters included his bust of Alexander I, modelled from the life in Poland during the sculptor's 1819–20 tour, and there were those other impressive, full-length portrait statues and busts, many of which now populate the Thorvaldsen museum in Copenhagen. The flow of Russian artists to Rome, wishing to study with Canova and Thorvaldsen, perpetuated their artistic practices. Perhaps the most eminent of these disciples was Boris Ivanovic Orlovski, who was sent from the St Petersburg Academy to study with Thorvaldsen in 1823.⁸ Therefore from the outset the Sixth Duke would have been keenly aware of both sculptors' international reputations, as well as the market for their works and their place in a variety of elite locations.

The project for the Sculpture Gallery gathered momentum after Canova's death, generating both energy and anxiety, as is indicated in diary entries, correspondence and plans. Time was of the essence in realising this major project, and the Sixth Duke would have been aware of the recent installation of Canova's *Three Graces*

7. Thorvaldsens Museum Archives, Copenhagen, Letter from John Gibson to John Crouchley from Carrara, 27 August 1824 (original National Library of Wales MS 4914D-30), <http://arkivet.thorvaldsensmuseum.dk/documents/ea5809>.

8. See R. Giuliani, 'Thorvaldsen e la colonia romana degli artisti russi', in P. Kragelund and M. Nykjaer, eds, *Thorvaldsen: l'ambiente, l'influsso, il mito, Analecta Romana Instituti Danici, Supplementum 18*, Rome, 1991, pp.131–47.



at Woburn and the tardiness of Thorvaldsen in completing his subsidiary commission for a statue of Georgina Russell (plaster model 1815, marble 1818). John, First Earl Russell, wrote an exasperated note to the sculptor, asking if the work had been completed and urging him to make arrangements for its dispatch to England.⁹ However, delays over this commission were as nothing compared to the twenty-five years Thorvaldsen took to complete *Jason and the Golden Fleece* for Thomas Hope (now at the Thorvaldsen Museum), from the original commission of 1803 to its final realisation in 1828. The Sixth Duke's commission for the *Venus* was placed at a time when there was an increasingly acrimonious correspondence between Thorvaldsen, Hope and Prince Torlonia who was acting as the patron's intermediary. Torlonia, a member of the Sixth Duke's and Duchess Elizabeth's Roman social circle, was tasked with ensuring the completion of *Jason* and urging the sculptor's immediate resumption of this work on his return to Rome in December 1820. It was not only potential delay that would have concerned the Sixth Duke but an underlying question of artistic integrity.

Gibson summarised the significance and power of Thorvaldsen's recent work in his previously cited letter of 1824: 'How it would surprise you to see his great studio and his colossal works. He has lately made a statue of Christ. [...] this is by far the finest figure of Christ executed by man – the simplicity, the majesty and the beauty of the head is beyond description.' The full-scale clay model for this work had been made by Pietro Tenerani, Thorvaldsen's pupil and assistant (who also seems to have made one of the bozzetti) and was completed by December 1822. The plaster visible in Ditlev Martens's painting *Pope Leo XII visiting Thorvaldsen's atelier on the Palazzo Barberini in 1826* (1830; Thorvaldsen Museum) (Fig. 8.4) was on show to all visitors.

Fig.8.4. Ditlev Martens, *Pope Leo XII visits Thorvaldsen's studio near the Piazza Barberini, Rome, on Saint Luke's Day October 18th 1826, 1830*. Oil on canvas, 100 × 138 cm (National Gallery of Denmark, Copenhagen)

9. Thorvaldsens Museum Archives, letter from John Russell to Thorvaldsen, Brussels, 31 August 1816 (m4 1816, nr.38), <http://arkivet.thorvaldsensmuseum.dk/documents/m41816,nr.38>.

The statue itself was finally cut in marble in Carrara in 1827–33 by Pietro Bienaimé, with Thorvaldsen visiting the studio workshop to instruct on the finish in August 1828, not himself carrying out this crucial stage. On Whitsunday 1839 the altar with the statue of Christ in place was consecrated and by this date the *Baptismal angel*, his personal gift to the church, was also installed (Fig. 8.6a).¹⁰

The Sixth Duke saw these works in Thorvaldsen's studio during his frequent visits to Rome. A diary entry for Friday 20 December 1822 records that he ordered from Tenerani, 'a pupil of Thorvaldsen ... a groupe [*Venus and Cupid*] which has already been executed for prince Esterharzy'. He then states, 'We met Thorvaldsen and he shewed me his grand works, but I see him as a modellino not a sculptor', an indication that he was not impressed by the grandeur of the final works that lacked a true sculptor's intervention.¹¹ Gibson's letter praises Tenerani's skills: 'a Venus which I think would do honour to Praxiteles. Cupid is drawing the thorn out of her foot.'¹² In the *Handbook* the Sixth Duke comments that Tenerani had now become 'distinguished' and, perhaps more tellingly, that 'he was for many years the finisher of Thorvaldsen's works'.¹³ It was the working of the marble that made the art: if the hand of the sculptor was absent at this stage (as could often be the case with contemporary workshop practices) or the final touches were not supervised by the sculptor, what difference was there between a copy and an authentic work? Gibson in his letter also refers to Thorvaldsen's other pupils Mathieu Kessels and Pietro Finelli, as well as Thomas Campbell, Joseph Gott and Richard James Wyatt, all of whom were commissioned by the Sixth Duke to make works for Chatsworth during his 1822–23 Rome visit. Given the Duke's appetite for the innovative and contemporary, it is not surprising that at this pivotal moment in the Sculpture Gallery's evolution he chose not to commission more 'poetic' works from the 'prince of sculptors'.

The progress of Canova's and Thorvaldsen's first works for the Sixth Duke helps to clarify the distinction he drew between them. During the first Continental tour he managed only a first brief encounter with Italy, making a visit to Venice and the Veneto, Canova's homeland. When finally in 1819 he made the journey to Rome and the heartland of contemporary sculpture, he made sure that he immediately put in place commissions for major pieces of sculpture for his new Gallery at Chatsworth. Significantly these were from Canova an original work, the *Endymion* (Fig. 8.5), and from Thorvaldsen a version of his recently completed *Venus with an apple* (1813–16). Both commissions were overseen directly by his Roman agent Gaspare Gabrielle, but further information on progress was supplied by other intermediaries. Duchess Elizabeth was resident in Rome, a companion when he was there and a correspondent who provided news of his commissions and the art world. She was another Canova *aficionado* and also a keen admirer of Thorvaldsen's work. It seems likely that it was thanks to her encouragement that the Sixth Duke made his commitment to the *Venus*. In the Thorvaldsen museum there is a gift from the Duchess to Thorvaldsen of a recent edition of Horace's *Satires*, with her handwritten

10. See E. Henschen, 'The making of the Thorvaldsen statue' and 'The practical progress of the work with the statue', in A.-M. Gravgaard and E. Henschen, *On the Christ by Thorvaldsen*, Copenhagen, 1997, pp.45–52 and p.52.

11. This distinction was noted by John Kenworthy-Browne; see *op. cit.* (note 1), p.324, and that the Sixth Duke valued Thorvaldsen's work only 'rather slightly', citing the diary entry.

12. Thorvaldsens Museum Archives, letter from John Gibson to John Crouchley, Rome, 19 November 1819 (original Liverpool Record Office, Liverpool Libraries, MD207/6), <http://arkivet.thorvaldsensmuseum.dk/documents/ea5637>.

13. Sixth Duke of Devonshire, *op. cit.* (note 2), p.90.



dedication.¹⁴ Thorvaldsen took a copy of this publication to Augustus Foster, the Duchess's son, on her behalf in 1819.¹⁵ She and Thorvaldsen also corresponded over the monument to Canova,¹⁶ and the two busts of Consalvi destined for the monument in the Pantheon and for Chatsworth.¹⁷

Evidence of the contractual basis for the *Venus* is found in a receipt from Thorvaldsen to the Sixth Duke, dated 5 May 1819. This acknowledged his agreement to sculpt a *Venus* 'della grandezza naturale' in 'best-quality Carrara marble' within a year.¹⁸ However, whilst Canova made excellent progress with the *Endymion*,

Fig.8.5. Antonio Canova, *Endymion*, 1822. Marble, 185 cm long (Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth)

14. Horace, *Satyrarum Libri I. Satyra V*, Rome, 1816, Thorvaldsens Museum Archives, M431.

15. Foster was plenipotentiary to Denmark between 1814 and 1824. Thorvaldsen's transmission of this volume was recorded in W. Jerdan, ed., *The Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences, etc.*, no.159, 5 February, 1820 (London), pp.93–94.

16. Thorvaldsens Museum Archives, letter from Thorvaldsen to Elizabeth Devonshire, 26 June 1823 (original source Accademia di S. Luca, Archivio Storico, vol.73, nr.2), <http://arkivet.thorvaldsensmuseum.dk/documents/ea4682>.

17. Thorvaldsens Museum Archives, letter from Elizabeth Devonshire to Thorvaldsen, after 24 January 1824, m9 1824, nr.105, <http://arkivet.thorvaldsensmuseum.dk/documents/m91824,nr.105>. See also Devonshire MSS, Sculpture Accounts, p.87, letter from Gaspare Gabrielli to the Sixth Duke, Rome, 4 November 1824, which announces the completion of the Sixth Duke's bust of Consalvi.

18. Devonshire MSS, Sculpture Accounts, p.5; and Thorvaldsens Museum Archives, 19 May 1819: 'Io sottoscritto ho ricevuto dal Sige. Duca di Devonshire Scudi Mille quali sono a conto di Scude

Thorvaldsen's commission for the *Venus* appeared to falter during a year-long absence from his Roman studio when he left all work then under way in the care of his assistants. He departed in July 1819, travelling to Switzerland and arriving on 3 October in Copenhagen, where, among other business, including safely delivering the volume from Duchess Elizabeth to her son, he began modelling portrait busts of the Danish royal family. He was also intent on securing important public commissions, including the statue of Christ that Gibson so admired and the other sculptural work for the Church of Our Lady.¹⁹ He eventually returned to Rome on 16 December 1820.

The Duke was aware of Thorvaldsen's protracted absence through correspondence with Gabrielli, the Duchess Elizabeth and Gibson. In a letter of 18 October 1819 Gabrielli reported from Rome on the progress of the various commissions that also included Johann Gottfried Schadow's *Filatrice* which was 'nearly finished'. Canova's *Endymion* was also making progress, being modelled in clay. Thorvaldsen's *Venus* however was 'much backward he is gone at last to Danemark'. In a letter to the Duke dated 4 December 1819 Gibson reports that the *Venus* 'is in a forward state' and the marble of good quality, although there were 'a few faint spots about the lips but nothing worth mentioning'. While the Duke might have been comforted to hear of the material's quality (an issue that had so hindered the progress of *Jason*), it would have been clear to him that the execution of the statue lacked the intervention of not only the hand but, more seriously, the discerning and controlling eye of the sculptor. In October 1821 Gibson commented more informally (and more frankly) to Rose Lawrence on the state of the marble being used: 'Thorvaldsen's *Venus* for the Duke of Devonshire is very badly spotted', adding that 'he never changes a figure on account of the spots in marble'. He contrasts this with the very great care that Canova took 'over the working of marble in his group for the King which had several spots on it, this is the third time which he has done it. The first and second he actually threw on one side being very much marked.'²⁰ Questions of authorship and attention to quality are mentioned by the Sixth Duke in the *Handbook* where he refers to evidence he has of *Endymion* being 'finished by Canova', adding that the 'quality of the marble is so fine, so hard, so crystalline, that Canova would not change it' when a stain was found on the cheek and arm.²¹

Given these circumstances, it is perhaps not surprising that, in a letter to the Sixth Duke dated 10 October 1821, Gibson was scrupulous in providing details of work and progress on his own *Mars and Cupid* destined for Chatsworth, indicating that he was a sculptor of the genus Canova rather than Thorvaldsen. He informs his patron that the marble block 'of the most exquisite quality and colour' was currently in his studio; the workmen had been 'cutting away on it for fifteen days so that we can now form some idea of its purity'. But he also refers to Thorvaldsen's apparently perennial bad luck with his own material; he had seen Gibson's marble 'three

Duemille. Valuta fissata per una Venere della grandezza naturale che m'obbligò scolpirgli in Marmo di Carrara della prima qualita nel termine [di] un Anno a me contante dico 1000/ questo di 19 Maggio 1819'. Thorvaldsen was dyslexic (see Kira Kofoed, 'Thorvaldsen's spoken and written language' trans. D. Possen, <http://arkivet.thorvaldsensmuseum.dk/articles/print/thorvaldsens-spoken-and-written-language>). It would appear that the receipt in the Devonshire archive is written by an amanuensis.

19. Henschen, *op.cit.* (note 10).

20. Thorvaldsens Museum Archives, letter from John Gibson to Rose Lawrence, 27 September 1821 (original source unknown, a copy exists in the archives of the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool), <http://arkivet.thorvaldsensmuseum.dk/documents/ea5890>.

21. Sixth Duke of Devonshire, *op. cit.* (note 2), p.105.

days ago and exclaimed bello, bello, bello! He says he would have given anything to have had such a block for his Three Graces, the marble of which has turned out very bad, but he is finishing it up.' Gibson then concludes with a firm indication of the time that completion would take, being 'afraid to promise to finish the group in less than a year and a half'.²²

The idea that Thorvaldsen took insufficient care over his choice of marble, and had a rather cavalier attitude to carving and finish, could have been reinforced when the *Venus* eventually arrived at Chatsworth. As the statue was unpacked, a fracture in three parts across the wrist and the ankle was revealed, which may have been caused in transit.²³ Details of the fracture were confirmed by Allan Cunningham, who completed its repair in early January 1822.²⁴ Six months later Duchess Elizabeth, reporting on the progress of the Sixth Duke's works, wrote both of the damaged *Venus* and of Thorvaldsen's commission for the Church of Our Lady: 'Thorvaldsen was in a sad [state] at the misfortune to his Venus – he has done a great deal & a magnificent Christ for a Church in Copenhagen'. She also mentions Gibson 'going on with your Mars & – promises well'.²⁵ It is interesting to note that in the *Handbook* more attention is paid to the detail of Cunningham's repair of the *Venus* than to the beauty of the statue itself. This makes it very unlike the section devoted to *Endymion*.

Thorvaldsen's death in March 1844 coincided with a time of reflection and reassessment for the Sixth Duke, concerning both his life and his possessions. It was also a time when he was facing an urgent need to economise after a lifetime devoted to lavish spending. His delicate health accompanied an increasing awareness of his own mortality and a deepening religious sensibility. His apparently belated purchase in 1846 of the version of Thorvaldsen's magisterial *Head of Christ* – an otherwise aberrant Christian work in his sculpture collection – makes sense in this context. In addition the death of his sculptors always gave him pause: in 1822 those of Schadow and Canova had disallowed any further original commissions from them, and potentially disrupted his plans for the Sculpture Gallery, as Duchess Elizabeth commented: 'I grieve for poor Schadow – he is a great loss – it is well you had the filatrice & the bas reliefs'.²⁶ In 1846 the Duke took an extended European tour which he considered would help him to economise, but during it he made several significant commissions: from Ludwig von Schwanthaler in Munich he ordered the *Nymph and huntsman*, which proved to be the sculptor's 'swansong', as it is designated on its elaborate pedestal in the Sculpture Gallery, from Raffaele Monti in Milan a veiled head and a kneeling *Veiled Vestal*.²⁷ It was also at this time that he ordered the *Head of Christ*, as well as copies after Thorvaldsen's *Adonis* and Canova's *Danzatrice* for the

22. Devonshire MSS, Sculpture Accounts, p.115, letter dated 10 October 1821.

23. The Sixth Duke's Diary records its arrival at Chatsworth on 18 December 1821 and the fact that it had been broken in 'nailing up' by Peter Furness and his men (Devonshire MSS: DF4/2/1/5).

24. Devonshire MSS, letter from Allan Cunningham to the Sixth Duke of Devonshire, 4 January 1822. Cunningham was foreman to Francis Chantrey, another of the Sixth Duke's sculptors, who with Westmacott advised on the Sculpture Gallery.

25. Devonshire MSS, letter from Elizabeth Duchess of Devonshire to Sixth Duke of Devonshire, Rome, 3 June 1822.

26. Devonshire MSS, letter from Elizabeth Duchess of Devonshire to the Sixth Duke, Rome, 3 June 1822.

27. The bust was ordered immediately before the commission for the kneeling *Veiled Vestal* (*Vestale*): 'ordered clever veiled bust from Monti's Milan studio', see Sixth Duke's Diary, Monday 12 October 1846 (Devonshire MSS: DF4/2/1/26).



Fig.8.6a. Bertel Thorvaldsen, *Baptismal angel*, 1839. Marble (Church of Our Lady, Copenhagen)



gardens at Chatsworth from Bienaimé's studio workshop in Carrara.²⁸ The *Head of Christ* and the *Veiled Vestal* could be seen as referencing and echoing Thorvaldsen's *Baptismal angel* and thus his grandest of sculptural schemes, that for the Church of Our Lady (Fig. 8.6), although the Sixth Duke may not have been conscious of this beforehand. It is perhaps significant that he chose to purchase a reduced version of the Christ – inscribed '*Invenzione ed Esecuzioni David Ducci*' by the workshop assistant in order to proclaim its originality – as his memento of the Prince of Sculptors, who always remained for him more a 'modellino' than a sculptor.

Loughborough University

Fig.8.6b. Raffaele Monti, *Veiled Vestal*, 1847. Marble, 37.5 inches high (Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth)

28. In the diary entry for Sunday 8 November 1846 the Duke records his visit to Carrara with Francesco Bienaimé: 'I saw and settled the 5 next statues, Minerva, Telemarco, the Adonis of Thorvaldsen, & the 2 danzatrices of Canova. I bought – Christo – of [scribbled out] workman of Bienaime' (Devonshire MSS: DF4/2/1/26).



Above left: Fig.9.1 William Wyon, *Newcastle upon Tyne and Carlisle Railway, opened in 1840*. The medal was first struck in 1844. Silver, 50.5 mm (National Railway Museum/Science & Society Picture Library)



Above right: Fig.9.2 John Flaxman, *Mercury Descending with Pandora*, 1804/5. Plaster, 720 × 800 mm (The Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art)



Right: Fig.9.3 John Flaxman, *Pandora Brought to Earth*, Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 1817, plate 6. Engraving, 177 × 165mm (British Museum)

William Wyon as a Pupil and Follower of Flaxman

MARK JONES

PROUD OF THE new railway that they had constructed between Newcastle and Carlisle, the directors of the company responsible approached William Wyon (1795–1851), the best-known and most distinguished medallist of the day, to come up with a design suitable to commemorate their great achievement. His response to their commission was curious. The new railway viaduct leading into Newcastle-upon-Tyne and the city's most recognisable buildings are delicately delineated on its obverse and above them flies a rather bulky figure of Mercury, holding his caduceus in front of him while his robe billows in the air (Fig. 9.1). It all looks rather unconvincing; as if the figure has been plucked from elsewhere and plonked into the northern sky. As indeed it has, because William Wyon has taken the figure of Mercury directly from Flaxman's *Pandora*, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1805 (Fig. 9.2). The image was subsequently reproduced as an illustration to Hesiod's *Works and Days* in 1817 (Fig. 9.3), but it is clear from the arrangement and disposition of the drapery that Wyon has taken the figure from the relief, not the illustration.

Mercury, as god of commerce, will have seemed entirely suitable as the presiding deity for an undertaking intended to speed trade, making, as the inscription (PLANERUM PER ARDUA DUCO) suggests, a straight way through the wild northern hills. And a visual quotation from Britain's greatest neoclassical sculptor might also seem appropriately flattering to those involved. But, if we return to the original image, the reason for the awkwardness of the figure of Mercury and the curious arrangement of the floating drapery is apparent. He was originally carrying not a caduceus but a beautiful young woman and the drapery was more hers than his. A charming image, but problematic for the reading of the medal. Mercury, on Zeus's orders, is carrying Pandora to Epimetheus. She is Zeus's revenge on Epimetheus's brother Prometheus, for the theft of fire. 'Son of Iapetus' thunders Zeus, in Hesiod's text, 'surpassing all in cunning, you are glad that you have outwitted me and stolen fire – a great plague to you yourself and to men that shall be. But I will give men as the price for fire an evil thing in which they may all be glad of heart while they embrace their own destruction.'¹ Pandora was constructed by the gods to bring with her all the evils to which humanity is subject and ushered in the age of iron which is characterised by toil and hardship.

So the reason why Mercury is so clearly a visual quotation, imported into the medallion composition from elsewhere, becomes apparent. The medal commemorating and celebrating the completion of the Newcastle–Carlisle railway also represents Wyon's own feelings about the age of steam; the railways which many felt were blighting the countryside of England and the Industrial Revolution which had

1. Hesiod, *The Homeric Hymns and Homericica*, trans. H.G. Evelyn-White, Cambridge, MA, 1936, book 2, lines 54–59.



Fig.9.4 Thomas Simon, *Petition Crown*, 1663. Silver, 40mm (Spink Auction, September 2007, lot 503)

brought hardship and long hours of toil to so much of the population. An apt use of Flaxman's image perhaps, but not one which the directors of the railway company are likely to have welcomed. So this medal tells us about Wyon's continuing reputation and influence: it tells us that Wyon was deeply familiar with Flaxman's work and that he was confident that his message would be received and understood by his peers in the artistic and literary establishment, but also, and equally telling, is the assumption that its true meaning would not be appreciated by the wealthy businessmen who funded and directed the new railway. Outside the art world Flaxman was already, in the 1840s, on the way to being forgotten.

William Wyon has not, generally, been seen or discussed as a significant follower and pupil of Flaxman, but I hope to suggest both that Flaxman had a considerable and continuing influence on Wyon's work and that Wyon's work in its turn acted as a conduit for Flaxman's ideas about sculpture into the mid-nineteenth century. According to Leonard Forrer, Flaxman was an early influence on Wyon: 'the art of Flaxman, with which he became acquainted, when a boy, through coming across a copy of the famous artist's *Dante*, left a lasting impression on his mind; so much so that in after life he was in the habit of calling Flaxman his real instructor'.² It would be surprising if Wyon had not known of Flaxman as a child. Wyon's grandfather George, father Peter and uncle Thomas all worked, from the 1770s onwards, for Matthew Boulton, for whom Flaxman had designed and modelled the Earl St Vincent medal in 1800. They were on friendly terms with Peter Rouw, from whose model Peter Wyon engraved a large medallion portrait of Boulton in 1809. Rouw in his turn suggested consulting Flaxman on the use of this portrait as the basis for a memorial medal of Boulton in 1813.³ And the Wyon family had connections to the Royal Mint and the goldsmiths' trade in London.

William Wyon was apprenticed to his father as a die engraver in 1809, exhibiting an 'impression from an engraving on steel from an antique figure of Antinous' at the Royal Academy in 1812.⁴ In the same year he came to London, to stay with his Uncle Thomas, a seal engraver, whose son, another Thomas, was one of Flaxman's first students at the Royal Academy, winning the silver medal for sculpture in 1811 and again in 1812. While in London, William entered and in 1813 won the Society of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce's new prize of a gold medal 'for the best die engraving of one or more heads after the engraver's own model'.⁵ His entry *Ceres* was immediately adopted by the society as its prize medal for agriculture. William

2. L. Forrer, *The Wyons*, London, 1917, p.82.

3. *John Flaxman R.A.*, ed. D. Bindman, exh. cat., London (Royal Academy of Arts), 1979, p.136.

4. RA Exhibition, 1812, no.640.

5. Decision of the Committee of Polite Arts, 9 March 1813.



Wyon went on to win the society's other medal prize for 'one or more figures' the following year with 'A Compliment to the British Navy', which celebrated the Victory of Algiers and was shown at the Royal Academy in 1818.⁶

Wyon enrolled as a student at the Royal Academy on 26 March 1817 on the same day as the architect Decimus Burton, and the painters F.W. Watts and William Bewick. He was one of a handful of sculpture students: his contemporaries included Joseph Bonomi, who had enrolled the previous year and who won the silver medal in 1817 and 1818, and George Hepinstall, who started in November 1817. Flaxman was a famously kind and conscientious professor. Wyon will have heard from him that the purpose of sculpture was 'the representation of superior natures, divine doctrines and history, the perpetuation of noble acts, and assisting in the elevation of our minds towards that excellence for which they were originally intended'.⁷ Understanding that Flaxman's own work consisted largely of memorial sculpture, he may have felt reassured that medallic art with its tradition of commemorating famous individuals and great events, of inspiring and rewarding emulation of great examples and new excellence, was very much in line with his professor's conception of high art. It is evident from Wyon's art that he followed Flaxman's belief that classical examples were best and that Roman dress was 'highly favourable to painting and sculpture, in affording a beautiful variety of folds and showing the body and limbs advantageously'. He followed Flaxman in believing that the sculptor must seek 'beautiful simplicity', 'irresistible sentiment' and 'grandeur of character and drapery'.⁸

Wyon will also have understood that Flaxman was intensely patriotic, glorying in the fact that 'works by living artists ... have been admired by foreigners, and have raised the British School to distinguished eminence in Europe'.⁹ Wyon had every reason to share Flaxman's patriotic preference for British artists. In 1817 his cousin Thomas died and, to his great chagrin, the Italian neoclassical sculptor and gem-engraver Benedetto Pistrucci¹⁰ was appointed in his place by William Wellesley-Pole,¹¹ the Master of the Mint. Wyon, mindful of Thomas Simon's protest against Charles II's appointment of Roettiers to the same post after the Restoration in 1662 (Fig. 9.4), struck and exhibited two pattern Crowns, one directly imitating Simon's Petition Crown (Fig. 9.5) and the other with England, Ireland and Scotland as the

Fig.9.5 William Wyon, *Pattern Crown*, 1817. Silver, 40mm. The beautiful patina of these crowns was highly prized by Wyon. Too many of his proof coins and medals have been ruined by subsequent cleaning. (St James's Auctions, lot 26, 5 March 2014)

6. H. Wood, *A History of the Royal Society of Arts*, London, 1913, p.318.

7. John Flaxman, *Lectures on Sculpture*, London, 1884, p.32.

8. *Ibid.*, p.47.

9. *Ibid.*, p.52.

10. 1783–1855. Came to London, from Paris, in 1815.

11. Brother of the Duke of Wellington and Cabinet member.



Fig.9.6 William Wyon, *Pattern Crown* (Three Graces), 1817. Silver, 40 mm. From William Wyon's own collection, via A. G. Wyon (St James's Auctions, lot 30, 29 September 2014)



Fig.9.7 William Wyon, *Portrait of George IV after Benedetto Pistrucci*, Farthing, 1821. Copper, 22 mm (British Museum)



Fig.9.8 G.F. Pigeon, after Flaxman, *Minerva and Mercury*, 1805/6 Society of Arts prize medal. Silver, 44 mm (British Museum)



Fig.9.9 William Wyon, *Minerva and Mercury*, 1820 Society of Arts prize medal. Silver, 43.5 mm (British Museum)

Three Graces, after a drawing by Henry Howard (Fig. 9.6). Exhibited first in Cork and then at the Royal Academy, Wyon's patterns made an impression on contemporaries like Richard Sainthill, who probably sponsored the exhibition in Cork, and Nicholas Carlisle, Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, who was to write a passionately partisan biography of Wyon in 1837.¹²

It may have been with this in mind that, when Wyon, as Second Engraver at the Mint, participated in the creation of the new coinage for the reign of George IV, Flaxman remarked that he had placed Wyon's farthing (Fig. 9.7) in his collection 'as a gem'.¹³

Flaxman was himself a medallist, of course, so not only Wyon's master and mentor but also the measure against which Wyon compared himself and against which he had to compete. In 1818 a new opportunity arose. The minutes of the Society of Arts's Committee of Polite Arts record that 'The Secretary stated to the Committee that the legend of the Society's Minerva medal [Fig.9.8] was in part obliterated, and that it was expedient to take some measures for repairing the Die' and that 'the die being at present at Mr Boulton's Mint office at Birmingham' it was ordered that 'the Secretary do write to Mr. Boulton requesting him to send the die to the Society's house as soon as convenient'. At a subsequent meeting, on 10 June, a letter was read from Wyon:

The Minerva Medal Die from which I struck the Prizes this year being badly broken and otherwise excessively injured, I beg leave to offer my services to engrave a new one of the same subject, which gratefully considering the liberal treatment I have received from the Society in having had awarded to me two gold medals I shall beg respectfully to present to the Society; and being convinced that the Society cannot have a more appropriate design I shall be glad to have the original Model from which this medal was taken, made by Mr. Flaxman, placed in my hands immediately in order that I at my leisure may engrave a new one in time for next year's distribution.

It was agreed that the offer should be accepted and Flaxman's model delivered to him. But, interestingly, when in May 1820 an impression of the medal arrived, the accompanying letter made no mention of Flaxman's model. Instead Wyon wrote, 'As agreeable to my promise I have executed a new medal for the Society of Arts from an original design of my own [Fig.9.9], and I beg that you will do me the favour of submitting the enclosed impression before the Society, and if it is worthy of their acceptance I shall consider myself more than amply repaid for the trouble of engraving it.'

His reward was immediate: 'A motion was made that Mr. William Wyon having presented the Society with Dies for their principal Medal after an original design modeled and engraved by himself, the Society to mark their sense of its excellence as a work of art to present him with the first medal struck from them in gold and return their thanks to him for his present.'

It seems difficult to believe that the youthful Wyon, still in his early twenties, would have replaced Flaxman's design without his knowledge and permission and it may well be that Flaxman, as his professor, encouraged Wyon to put forward a

12. N. Carlisle, *A Memoir of the Life and Works of William Wyon*, London, 1837.

13. *Ibid.*, pp.96, 105.



Fig. 9.10 William Wyon, Cymmrodorion Society medal, 1822. Copper, 63 mm (British Museum). The medal bears the date of the re-foundation of the society in 1820



Fig. 9.11 William Wyon, *Leucothea rescuing the shipwrecked Ulysses*. Lloyds Lifesaving Medal, 1837–39. Copper, 72 mm (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge)

design of his own. If so it was a generous action on his part. The contemporary response to Wyon's design was very much what Flaxman, who gloried in the success of the British School, would have wished. The antiquarian and numismatist Richard Sainthill, for example, wrote, 'There are some collectors in England ... who can see no beauty nor worth in medals, unless they come from Greece. Such admirers of the fine arts we invite to the examination of this medal, which although English in creation, is yet purely Greek, in design and workmanship.'¹⁴

In 1820 Flaxman seems once more to have taken an opportunity to further Wyon's career. The Cymmrodorion, or Royal Cambrian Institution, decided to further its aim of fostering literature in Welsh and about Wales by awarding medals. The society, which had Sir Watkin Williams Wynn (1772–1840) as its president, approached Flaxman, who provided a drawing for a medal and seems to have recommended Wyon as the right person to execute it. The medal was shown by Wyon at the Royal Academy in 1823 (Fig. 9.10), with Flaxman credited as the author of the design.¹⁵ Flaxman himself was given one of the first medals in 1824 'in acknowledgement of the honour conferred by him upon the Institution, by presenting it with the beautiful design now exhibited upon its medals'.

In February 1822 it looked as though another of Flaxman's medal designs, the drawing which he had originally provided for the fiftieth anniversary of the Royal Academy in 1819, was to be realised with Wyon's assistance. Council 'resolved that in the present circumstances [that is the beginning of a new reign] it is expedient to relinquish the intention of striking a medal in commemoration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Royal Academy; & that in lieu thereof a medal be struck in honor of His Present Majesty's accession to the Throne & His gracious adoption of this Institution—& that Mr Flaxman's Design of the King protecting the Three Arts be engraved on the Reverse with a head of His Majesty on the Obverse.'¹⁶

Wyon had already been asked by the Academy, in November 1821, to engrave the dies for two new medals for the Academy and in June it was decided that 'the

14. Ibid., p.174.

15. RA Exhibition 1823, no.168.

16. RA Council minutes, 8 February 1822, p.265.



Secretary write to Mr Chantrey requesting that he would be so kind as to furnish the President & council with a small copy in bas-relief of his Bust of the King to serve as a model for the die to be sunk by Mr. Wyon for the Academy Medal'. In fact, though, no new medal was struck: instead the Academy went on ordering more copies of the old medal from Rundell, Bridge & Co. In 1828, a 'discussion having taken place on the subject of a new reverse for the Gold medal, it was resolved that the President be requested to take such measures as he may think expedient for obtaining an appropriate design for that purpose, and to lay the same before the Council as early as convenient', and in 1829 Thomas Stothard was paid 20 guineas for his design for a reverse to the gold medal, approved by the General Assembly.

In the end Wyon, who was elected ARA in 1831, was asked to prepare a portrait of William IV for the medals for the new reign in November of that year and had specimens of the new medal ready for Council's consideration the following month.

Even after Flaxman's death in 1826 his influence on Wyon's work persisted. In the late 1830s Wyon was working on three medals for saving life at sea, for the Royal Humane Society, the Liverpool Shipwreck Society and Lloyds. The story of Leucothea, who took pity on the shipwrecked Ulysses and told him to let go of his raft and cloak and take her veil, which would enable him to reach land, seemed a natural source (Fig. 9.11). Flaxman had illustrated this scene, and Henry Howard showed a picture on this theme at the RA in 1838. Unlike Pistrucchi, who had made some earlier designs for the Royal Humane Society's Fothergillian medal,¹⁷ Wyon did not base himself on Flaxman's design for *Leucothea Preserving Ulysses*,¹⁸ but followed the sketch provided by his client (Fig. 9.12),¹⁹ drawing inspiration from other illustrations by Flaxman, most obviously the figure of Thetis in *Thetis calling Briareus to the assistance of Jupiter* (Fig. 9.13), and the drapery illustrated in his RA lectures, in particular that of Callirhoe.²⁰

Fig.9.12 James Wine, sketch in a letter to M. Jenkins of Lloyds, dated 1836 (Lloyds Archive)

Fig.9.13 John Flaxman, *Thetis calling Briareus to the assistance of Jupiter*, *Iliad*, plate 2. Engraving, 1793. 185 × 251mm (British Museum)

17. M. Jones, 'The Fothergillian Medal of the Royal Humane Society', *British Numismatic Journal*, 54 (1984), pp.248–57.

18. *The Odyssey of Homer engraved from the compositions of John Flaxman*, RA, London, 1805, plate 9.

19. In a letter from James Wine to M. Jenkins of Lloyds, dated 1836.

20. Flaxman, *Lectures*, *op. cit.* (note 7), plate 45.



Fig.9.14 Benedetto Pistrucci, Sovereign, with *St George and the Dragon*, 1817. Gold, 22 mm (Royal Mint Museum)



Fig.9.15 William Wyon, Equestrian figure of St George spearing the dragon (the reverse of the Prince Albert medal) (The Royal Collection)



Fig.9.16 John Flaxman, *St Michael overcoming Satan*, 1826 North Gallery, Petworth House. Marble, 3.44 mm (The National Trust)



Fig.9.17 William Brockedon, *William Wyon*, 1825. Pencil and chalk, 337 × 279 mm (National Portrait Gallery)

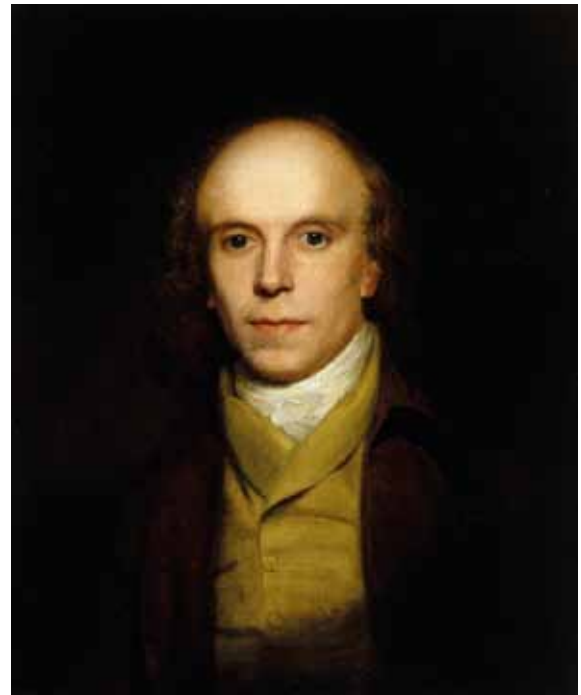


Fig. 9.18 Henry Howard, *John Flaxman*, 1825. Oil on canvas, 592 × 495 mm (UCL Art Museum, University College London)



Perhaps the most ambitious of Wyon's later works was his portrait of the Prince Consort which was struck in 1845, for the Society of Arts. The portrait was taken from sittings given by Albert in 1840. The reverse is clearly intended as a riposte to Pistrucci's famous George and the Dragon (Fig. 9.14), done for the coinage in 1817 and perhaps his only coin design to be universally admired thereafter. Wyon's George and the Dragon (Fig. 9.15) is informed and inspired by Flaxman's *St Michael overcoming Satan* (Fig. 9.16). Inspired I think by Flaxman's moral purpose, which Prince Albert shared, and informed by Flaxman's treatment of the musculature of St Michael's back and arms as he plunges his spear into the foe.

In the end, it seems, Wyon came even to resemble Flaxman. William Brockendon's portrait in the National Portrait Gallery (Fig. 9.17), dated 1825, shows a marked resemblance between the two (Fig. 9.18). After Flaxman's death the Art Union turned to Wyon to execute Flaxman's portrait in 1849. Commissioned to provide a memorial medal, he chose Mercury and Pandora for the reverse, but was only part way through when he died in 1851, leaving it for Henry Weigall to complete. The medal (Fig. 9.19) was issued in 1854, immediately to be followed by Leonard Wyon's medal of his father (Fig. 9.20), the reverse of which, Britannia with her chariot, by William Wyon himself, once again recalls Flaxman's work: two of the horses are derived from the illustration of Neptune in Flaxman's *Iliad*.²¹ The pair of medals act as a memorial to Flaxman and Wyon and also, perhaps, as a symbolic termination of the long sway exercised by Flaxman's neoclassicism over the medals of Regency and Victorian Britain.

Fig.9.19 Henry Weigall, *John Flaxman*, by 1854. Silver, 55 mm. For the Art Union of London (British Museum)

Fig.9.20 Leonard Charles Wyon, *William Wyon*, 1854. Silver, 56 mm. For the Art Union of London (British Museum)

21. *The Iliad of Homer engraved from the compositions of John Flaxman*, RA, London, 1795, plate 18.



Part II

DRAWINGS, WATERCOLOURS & PAINTINGS

Opposite: detail of Fig.14.3

IO

Introduction:

‘A close inspection’ of British Paintings and Drawings, ‘within the context of their own time’

KIM SLOAN

THE SUBTITLE of this section is a conflation of two phrases used by David Bindman to describe his own methodology for researching and writing his book *Hogarth*, published in 1981 for the Thames and Hudson World of Art series. His observations were based ‘on close inspection’ of Hogarth’s works and he approached the artist ‘as much as possible within the context of his own time’.¹ These are not only the fundamental precepts of David’s own work but also the basis of his teaching, so clearly evidenced in the essays and their acknowledgements in this section. Sitting in a small, dark room at Westfield College in the mid-1970s during the first seminar class of a course on Hogarth, I recall being amazed by the depth and variety of knowledge conveyed by a lecturer without recourse to any notes. The slides and two hours slipped by swiftly and the underlying mantra has remained with me since: that no art is created in a vacuum – an understanding of politics, religion, society, and culture are the keys that open up an artist’s oeuvre. The rest of the classes were not taught from slides in the stygian gloom in Hampstead but in front of Hogarth’s works at the Tate, the Soane, the National Gallery, the British Museum Print Room and the V&A, or walking through Hogarth’s London from the Foundling Hospital, Lincoln’s Inn, the Gatehouse at Clerkenwell and St Bartholomew’s the Great to the staircase at Bart’s, with the spires of churches familiar from Hogarth’s prints pointed out en route. A course on British sculpture was held mostly in Westminster Abbey and the V&A; as there were only two students in the class, we took turns in alternate weeks researching and presenting in front of the works, followed the next week by a

DAVID BINDMAN was and is an inspiring teacher; in his seventy-fifth year, students at Harvard and in an MA in Eighteenth-Century Studies run by the British Museum with King’s College London continue to benefit from his knowledge, his constant challenge to look and think hard, his enlivening sense of humour. His research is collegial and, during his recent project cataloguing the English drawings in Copenhagen, I was treated to a lunch in a Chinese restaurant for which I then paid in kind with my responses to photographs of drawings that required all the skills of connoisseurship, association and memory he had taught me years ago in classes and through his supervision of my PhD. After the courses on Hogarth and British Sculpture, I had come to him with an idea of writing a thesis on Cotman and left that initial meeting with a plan to work on drawing masters instead, advice that has shaped my career since and for which I will always be grateful. One fellow student, who attended the seminars David ran at the Paul Mellon Centre with Brian Allen in the 1980s, would have been a contributor to this section of the book if her early death had not deprived us: Angela Rosenthal (d.2010), to whose memory I would like to dedicate the essays here. In preparing this essay, I received much helpful information from Lorraine Skreene, the Archivist at Queen Mary University London. It has been improved by the kind editing of Caroline Elam, and I have relied most of all on the discreet digging and personal memory of my friend and colleague Frances Carey.

1. David Bindman, *Hogarth*, London, 1981, pp.125, 8.

written paper. This was a baptism of fire for a student from Toronto who had during her undergraduate degree been taught mainly in large lecture theatres by professors reading notes as pairs of slides came and went, with not a single visit to the art gallery two blocks away; instead the two carousels of slides were left in a study room afterwards, to be used to memorise the artists, titles and dates.²

At Westfield, David's interdisciplinary approach encouraged the three editors of this book and fellow students from the History and English Departments to set up an 'Eighteenth-Century Society', which ran for several years out of the common room of the Institute of Historical Research and gave us all exposure to the methodologies and research of such luminaries as E.P. Thompson, Roy Porter and the young Nicholas Penny. There were no teaching assistant positions when we were doing our doctoral degrees; we gained experience instead by running the society under David's encouragement and support, but also by teaching for American university summer schools, opportunities that he had arranged. I duly introduced the students from Tufts, Duke and Wake Forest to Hogarth's London, but the visits were condensed into a very strenuous afternoon, beginning in Bloomsbury, proceeding through Lincoln's Inn and on to Smithfield. To walk in David Bindman's intellectual and pedagogical footsteps takes physical as well as mental stamina. Leading by example, David's own work was not narrowly specialised, nor did a book take a decade to gestate and be produced; during the time it took me to produce one doctoral thesis, he had written monographs and organised exhibitions on subjects as varied as Blake, Hogarth, the French Revolution and John Flaxman and had edited an encyclopaedia of British art.³

In addition to working in libraries and researching in archives, David's graduate students at Westfield and University College London (UCL) were expected to spend time in the Print Rooms of the V&A, British Museum and UCL, examining drawings and watercolours first-hand, understanding their media and how they were created. He also ensured they spent time with curators, learning what was required to catalogue works of art in order to understand them, passing on his respect for curatorial research, always regarding curators as fellow academics and collaborators. In this, he became a curator himself; in 1967, when he began to teach at Westfield, it did not have a collection of its own, so he secured £200 from the College to create one, with the support of the then Librarian, Miss Dorothy Moore, so that art history classes held in Hampstead could benefit from teaching in front of the objects.⁴ He acquired around forty prints and drawings with the assistance of the print dealer Christopher Mendez. They reflected what could be purchased at low cost at the time, so there are no Rembrandts or Dürers, but a number of major artists, including Delacroix, Goltzius, Goya and Sandby, are represented. The funds were also used to purchase artists' papers available on the market at the time including manuscripts and letters from Benjamin Robert Haydon, John Martin, Samuel Palmer, James Smetham and

2. Only one professor, the Delacroix scholar Lee Johnson, arranged interaction with primary material, organising a small group of students to transcribe and edit a group of early nineteenth-century artists' correspondence. One joyous course on Decorative Arts was taught in the Royal Ontario Museum but was not considered 'serious art history'.

3. For the details of these publications see the Bibliography at the end of this book (pp. 265–71). *Roubiliac and the Eighteenth-Century Monument: Sculpture as Theatre*, co-authored with Malcolm Baker, New Haven and London, 1995, had a rather longer gestation, becoming such an integral part of family life that David's young daughter called one of her imaginary friends Roubiliac.

4. The amount is not recorded in the College archive papers concerning the collection, nor is the number of works; this information has come from David Bindman.

John Flaxman.⁵ Friends and lecturers visiting Paris during the riotous summer of 1968 came back with student posters which were donated to the collection and have recently been used by Queen Mary London MA students studying French politics.⁶

In 1978, David proposed a scheme whereby graduate students should catalogue the Westfield prints at the British Museum, where they could be deposited for comparison with those in that collection, and similarly the manuscripts and early printed books were to be catalogued with the help of the British Library.⁷ Three students, Tessa Murdoch, Joanne Elvins and I, were taught the basics of print cataloguing by Antony Griffiths, and worked there on the prints for a year before they were returned to Westfield and provided with appropriate solander boxes for storage. In 1982, a display in the Caroline Skeel Library of the prints, manuscripts and a selection from the art history books that had also been acquired under David's supervision was organized by David Bindman with the assistance of Diana Dethloff to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of the College and a mimeographed catalogue was produced.⁸ Looking through the catalogue entries now, I see they contain a level of cataloguing that is scarcely found in today's online databases and which certainly few graduate students now would be capable of producing. There is a full description of the medium, including the type of paper, size, condition, printed text, proof and full-page discussion of the context and production of the print, provenance when known, and full literature and references. There is no better way to understand a work of art than to catalogue it and, looking back, I recall the prints I worked on as well as I do my thesis and have called upon skills and knowledge acquired then on innumerable occasions since.

When Westfield College was merged with Queen Mary College (now Queen Mary University of London) in 1989, it was decided that the Westfield collection of prints and drawings, manuscripts and most of the books should go there rather than with the Art History department, which went its separate way to be incorporated into the department at University College London with which it had long had close links. University College had its own collection and print room with which David immediately became involved, helping to organise the collections and displays and ensuring that graduate students there were also involved in cataloguing and exhibitions. QMUL does not have an art history department but the Westfield collections are well catalogued and imaged on line and available to consult in the Archives Reading Room where they are used by visitors, staff and students for displays in the archive and research.

The creation of the Westfield College collection not only served to fulfil a didactic need; it also satisfied David's personal passion for acquiring works of art and inspired the same in others. Students were encouraged to frequent dealers' exhibitions and sales; Bill Drummond's Covent Garden Gallery, Abbott and Holder located

5. The prints and drawings and artists' papers are fully catalogued on the QMUL online Archives Catalogue.

6. Information from Frances Carey and from the QMUL College Archivist, Lorraine Skreene, in email 14 August 2014; online versions of displays of selections from the collection in the Archive display cases in the Mile End Library are also available on the Archives site under Archives – Galleries.

7. Information from excerpts from letters from 1978 concerning the cataloguing of the collection, taken from Westfield Archives WFD/19/5/4, kindly sent by Lorraine Skreene (see note 5).

8. *Westfield College, 1882–1982, Catalogue of the Exhibition of the College Collection*, Caroline Skeel Library, 10 Nov.–15 Dec. 1982. This catalogue consisted of xerox copies of typed pages; there is a copy in the QMUL Library Archives (WFD/24/6/4) which was used as the basis for the QMUL Archive online catalogue entries on the individual prints and drawings.

in Castelnau, Barnes, and then Museum Street, and Christopher Powney's peripatetic sales were particular favourites for drawings, and auctions were also attended with successful results. One of David's own most important acquisitions, which left a great impression on students who had supervisions in his living room, is Benjamin Haydon's *Study of a Peasant Woman* dated 9 June 1846, related to his painting of *Alfred and the Jury*; it is probably the portrait of his wife Mary that was recorded in Haydon's studio at the time of his dramatic suicide on 22 June. David's collection was also a research tool – a working collection – so that Blake, Hogarth, Flaxman, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century sculpture, French and British satire and popular prints, German Romanticism, the Danish Golden Age and more recently the image of the Black have all provided a focus at different times. These personal acquisitions were only ever limited by means; when means didn't permit, they continued through swaps with friendly dealers and people such as the print scholar Richard Godfrey and other close friends. Thus David's collection continued to grow and students have been and will be benefiting from his generous donations from it. The Hutchins/Du Bois Center at Harvard, the Yale Center for British Art, the Hood Museum at Dartmouth College, the Klassik Stiftung in Weimar, UCL, the Wordsworth Trust, Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, Tate Britain and two departments in addition to Prints and Drawings in the British Museum have all received works carefully chosen to enhance their collections and often given in honour or memory of colleagues and friends. David's significant collection of French Revolutionary prints and other satires and popular prints will be going to University College London.⁹

The eight essays that follow demonstrate this passion for close looking, for understanding drawings, watercolours and paintings and how they were made, and for immersing research in an exploration of the artist's intellectual, political and cultural worlds. They are arranged roughly chronologically, beginning with Nick Grindle's observant analysis of the place and understanding of representations of gypsies at the turn of the nineteenth century; how, through their dark skin, they could easily be conflated with 'Indian', whether North American or Asian, but how skin colour could also imply itinerancy, with both positive and negative connotations. Alison Wright's essay continues the issue of race; she was encouraged by David to address the topic for her graduate work shortly after he had completed his own book on the subject.¹⁰ She situates an image identified as a portrait of Saartjie Baartman within the work of Rowlandson and other artists' depictions of the woman who 'performed' as the 'Hottentot Venus' and within contemporary ideas of stereotypes, science and comparative anatomy. Martin Butlin, not a student but a supervisor, with Anthony Blunt, of David's thesis on Blake, deals in his essay with a different type of physiognomy, one of the imagination, and untangles Blake's strange nocturnal visionary drawings of heads on which John Varley drew for his *Treatise on Zodiacal Physiognomy* (1828); he brings into the discussion of the seventy-five heads already known, those that have been discovered more recently, some of which Martin and his colleague Anne Lyles were responsible for adding to the collection at Tate Britain. The discussion of 'difference' continues, although this time not racial but sexual, in Martin Myrone's analysis of Blake's various versions of his watercolour of *Dante and Virgil among the Blasphemers*, at the same time reminding us of David's early pioneering insistence on the centrality of Blake's output as a visual artist.

9. This information kindly provided by Frances Carey.

10. *Ape to Apollo: Aesthetics and the Idea of Race in the 18th Century*, London, 2002.

Jane Roberts traces the morphing of the career of Edward Harding from portrait draughtsman to printmaker and publisher for the 'grangerising' trade, to the prolific author of illustrated books, all of which he abandoned to become the caretaker of Queen Charlotte's library at Frogmore. He assisted her with the creation of her extra-illustrated manuscript catalogues and histories, taught her daughters and printed their etchings and ran the Frogmore Press and oversaw the dispersal of them all on her death in 1818. Until the publication of this essay, his life and work and Queen Charlotte's patronage of him have been completely unknown, and all of the information has been gathered from scattered surviving books and other primary archival and catalogue sources. Stephen Calloway's paper is similarly multimedia and multidisciplinary and crosses national boundaries of art; inspired by a fortunate purchase of a book of German prints illustrating Shakespeare which had once been presented to the young and impressionable John Everett Millais, it is also revealing about patronage and collecting. Mark Evans closely examines a luxurious 1879 portrait of a wealthy patron by William Blake Richmond, uncovering links to Ingres and Bronzino, to Florence and Henry James, to Levantine merchants, to the 'Aesthetic' style evident in hair, dress and ornament, and ending with the rediscovery of the provenance of a rare gilded Empire-style sofa. In the final essay, Susan Owens demonstrates what can be discovered through the drawing curator's eye and close understanding of media and artistic practices, especially as taught in drawing schools and academies. She demolishes several myths about 'silverpoint' drawing and also reveals that Victorian artists not only studied Old Master drawings at first hand in the Print Room of the British Museum, in exhibitions and in each other's collections, but also took advantage of new technology that could reproduce a facsimile of a quality that would be envied today.

The methodology of all these authors is to approach their subjects from a passion for the objects themselves, to undertake wide-ranging original research in galleries, print rooms and archives, to ask intellectually rigorous questions about production and reception, and to set those questions in the wider world of patronage, society, literature and politics, following and developing David Bindman's example.

British Museum

II

‘The gipsey-race my pity rarely move’? Representing the Gypsy in George Morland’s *Morning, or the Benevolent Sportsman*

NICHOLAS GRINDLE

GEORGE MORLAND’S painting *Morning, or the Benevolent Sportsman*, 1792 (Fig. II.1) is one of the most enduring images of English landscape at the end of the eighteenth century.¹ It is one of four paintings commissioned by the Hon. Charles Stuart (1753–1801), fourth son of the Third Earl of Bute, Prime Minister between 1762 and 1763. Stuart was a successful officer who had fallen out with his senior commanders after questioning the conduct of the war in America. The painting reworks the theme of military charity seen in Edward Penny’s *The Marquis of Granby Relieving a Sick Soldier* of 1764 in a bid to acknowledge Stuart’s military career; in fact the two paintings are almost exactly the same size.² Contemporary accounts say that Morland finished the painting ‘in about a week’.³ Stuart’s father Bute had died in London on 10 March and Morland may have decided to finish the painting in time for the Academy’s deadline for exhibits on 5 April, where it would have been noticed on account of its patron.⁴

Morning, or the Benevolent Sportsman was part of a larger commission which included *The Gypsies Tent* and *Happy Cottagers* (both 1790; private collection) and *Evening: the Sportsman’s Return* (1792; location unknown).⁵ Both pairs offer what was meant to be a pleasant contrast between a family gathered round a cottage door

THIS ESSAY draws on David’s work on race, which I first encountered in a stimulating course he taught at UCL called Representing Others in British Art. I am very grateful to David for his unwavering support of my study and work, and for fostering the far-sighted, collegial, and vibrant intellectual atmosphere that helped make the History of Art department at UCL an unrivalled place to encounter not only British art but the discipline as a whole.

1. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, ref. no.1786. *Morning, or the Benevolent Sportsman* is P134 in David Winter’s catalogue of Morland’s oil paintings; D. Winter, *George Morland 1763–1804*, PhD thesis (Stanford University, 1977), p.191.

2. *The Marquis of Granby Relieving a Sick Soldier* (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, ref. no.WA1845.39) was shown at the Society of Artists exhibition in 1765 and a mezzotint was published by Robert Sayer in 1769 (British Museum, London, ref. no.1870,1008.2601), and again in 1779 and 1786. *Morning, or the Benevolent Sportsman* is 101.6 by 137.2 cm, and *The Marquis of Granby* is 101.6 by 127 cm.

3. G. Dawe, *The Life of George Morland with Remarks on his Works*, London, 1807, p.119.

4. See *The Public Advertiser*, Monday 2 April 1792, which also announced that the exhibition would open on 30 April.

5. *Gypsies Tent* and *Happy Cottagers* are P41 and P42 in Winter’s catalogue: Winter, *op. cit.* (note 1), p.172. They were engraved by Joseph Grozer in 1793 (British Museum, London, ref. nos.1873,0510.2596 and 1873,0510.2599); *Morning, or the Benevolent Sportsman* and *Evening, or the Sportsman’s Return* were engraved by Grozer in 1795 (British Museum, London, ref. nos.1870,0514.1653 and 1870,0514.1653). Grozer also engraved Romney’s portrait of Stuart (1779; Glasgow Museums ref. no.2240) in 1794 (British Museum, London, ref. no.1886,0617.77).



Fig.11.1 George Morland, *Morning, or the Benevolent Sportsman*, 1792. Oil on canvas, 101.6 × 137.2 cm (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge)

Fig.11.2 George Morland, *Indian Girl*, 1793. Oil on canvas mounted on panel, 21 × 22.9 cm (Yale Center for British Art, New Haven; Paul Mellon Collection)



and a family of gypsies with their tent, and both aim to stir the viewer's feelings through the depiction of ragged but peaceable poverty. But *Morning, or the Benevolent Sportsman* makes a more serious bid for the viewer's sympathy by celebrating dependence rather than independence. The more ambitious scope and tenor of the painting is heightened by the depiction of a dark-skinned girl in the centre of the picture who is silhouetted against the light foliage behind, and whose simple dress, youth and striking appearance are certainly meant to appeal to the viewer's feelings.

The girl seems to have been a successful inclusion because Morland painted an enlarged version of her in a painting currently titled *Indian Girl* in the Yale Center for British Art (Fig. 11.2).⁶ David Winter's assertion that she is 'not an Indian girl, but a gypsy girl' is understandable but misplaced, since there were multiple associations between gypsies and 'Indians' from both Asia and North America in the eighteenth century.⁷ *Indian Girl* is signed and dated a year later than *Morning, or the Benevolent Sportsman* but this also does not resolve any questions about where the girl is from, and to try to do so would miss the point that these categories aren't exclusive. The key point is surely that Morland has given the girl a distinctive skin and hair colour, and unusual dress. Gypsies were often described as 'tawny' in the eighteenth century but the girl's colour is unique in Morland's work, even though he painted many pictures of gypsies. The painting seeks to establish a relationship between her skin colour and the viewer's response to the picture in the same way that Morland had done with his painting *Execrable Human Traffick, or The Affectionate Slaves*, shown at the Royal Academy in 1788 (cat. no.201; location unknown), and his largest and most ambitious work at the time (Fig. 11.3). No one who has written about *Morning, or the Benevolent Sportsman* has mentioned the girl's unique appearance, which is odd

Fig.11.3 John Raphael Smith after George Morland, *Slave Trade*, 1791. Mezzotint and etching on paper, 48 × 65 cm (trimmed) (British Museum)

6. Yale Center for British Art, ref. no.B1981.25.455; the painting is p154 in Winter's catalogue: Winter, *op. cit.* (note 1), p.191.

7. Winter, *op. cit.* (note 1), p.191.

when we consider that quite a lot has been suggested about the painting's politics, and it is only recently that anyone has even discussed the significance of the fact that these are gypsies.⁸ It seems to me that the visual distinctiveness of the gypsies, and the girl's skin colour in particular, are key to understanding the picture. In this essay I will explore her representation and show how it helps us better understand the politics of landscape in this period.

In *Ape to Apollo: Aesthetics and the Idea of Race in the 18th Century*, David Bindman showed how the relationship between ideas of human variety and ideas of beauty was framed in different ways, and that speculation on this relationship grew in intensity towards the end of the century.⁹ Little has been said about gypsies, but David's analysis of these debates, his focus on British and German writing in particular and his wish to avoid reading later attitudes back into the eighteenth century give us a good basis on which to launch such an investigation.¹⁰ I want to start by identifying two distinct (but not exclusive) discourses relating to gypsies around the time that Morland was painting *Morning, or the Benevolent Sportsman* for Charles Stuart.

For Morland and his contemporaries gypsies could be considered beautiful in so far as they met the standards of picturesque subject matter. Broadly speaking, picturesque theory was a constellation of ideas about how objects might excite the visual sense and so raise pleasing sensations in the viewer, who in turn demonstrated their sensibility (helpfully defined by Ann Bermingham as 'not only a mode of feeling but also a way of seeing') in how they responded to such scenery.¹¹ The most significant manifestation of these ideas in regard to gypsies in the eighteenth century, although never explicitly tied to one particular reading of the 'picturesque', was Thomas Gainsborough's inclusion of gypsies sitting by the road or making a twilight campfire in numerous paintings from the 1760s onwards. Such images, tied to the language of sensibility, enabled people to appreciate the appearance of gypsies in circumstances which might otherwise have inspired fear. Describing gypsies in Spain but probably having his friend Gainsborough's paintings in mind, Philip Thicknesse wrote: 'They are extremely swarthy, with hair as black as jet; and form a very picturesque scene under the shade of those rocks and trees where they spend their evenings.'¹² For Gainsborough, as for Morland, gypsies could be and were picturesque in their own right, but, rather than forming the subject of 'fancy pictures', where individual figures were treated in isolation, they tended to form part of a larger scene where attention was given to the pictorial effects of a wider setting. A similar pattern can be seen in cottage door scenes, which Morland paired with his pictures of gypsies in his commissions for Charles Stuart.

The symbiosis of gypsies and their environment is a crucial point in their representation in the eighteenth century. Sarah Houghton-Walker has argued that with the repeal in 1783 of the Egyptians Act (1562) 'gypsies gain a greater aesthetic right to be in the landscape, and become legitimate parts of it', and she has shown how

8. S. Houghton-Walker, *Representations of the Gypsy in the Romantic Period*, Oxford, 2014, pp.233–39.

9. D. Bindman, *Ape to Apollo: Aesthetics and the Idea of Race in the 18th Century*, London, 2002.

10. It should be noted that the context of *Ape to Apollo* was work on the image of the Black in western art, and so not intended to include gypsies. The question of whether 'gypsy' is a distinct ethnic category or purely a social construction is still hotly debated: see the essays in N. Saul and S. Tebbut, eds, *The Role of the Romanies: Images and Counter-Images of 'Gypsies'/Romanies in European Cultures*, Liverpool, 2004.

11. A. Bermingham, *Sensation and Sensibility: Viewing Gainsborough's Cottage Door*, New Haven and London, 2005, p.1.

12. P. Thicknesse, *A Year's Journey through France and part of Spain*, London, 1789, 1, p.332.

this is the case in *Morning, or the Benevolent Sportsman*, with the tent, for example, blending in to the hedgerow behind.¹³ But there are wider implications. As David Bindman has noted, aesthetics refers in its broad sense to the non-rational aspects of the mind, as well as, in a narrower sense, to beauty.¹⁴ The idea that gypsies had some aesthetic appeal could be extended to suggest that they themselves were of an aesthetic complexion, and that they acted according to instinct rather than reason. The magistrate John Langhorne struggled with the contradictory implications of this in the first part of his poem *The Country Justice* (1774). ‘The gipsey-race my pity rarely move’, he wrote, ‘but their strong thirst of liberty I love.’¹⁵ In other words he didn’t care for the fact that they inhabited the landscape and (in his view) caused trouble, but he could not but be moved by their impulse to live freely. The girl’s distinctive colouring in *Morning, or the Benevolent Sportsman* is significant when seen in this light, since it not only serves to identify the family as gypsies rather than any other kind of itinerant rural group, it also explains their makeshift camp, and offers a possible defence of the sportsman’s regard for them, and prompts a similar response from the viewer.

A different framing of relationship between ideas of beauty and ideas of human variety, although one that rehearsed many common prejudices about gypsies, appeared in Heinrich Moritz Gottlieb Grellmann’s 1783 *Die Zigeuner*, translated by Matthew Raper and published as *Dissertation on the Gipsies* in 1787.¹⁶ Supporting contemporary views that human variety is not innate but is determined by climate, Grellmann set out to discover the ‘perfect philosophers’ stone’ of why it was that in spite of a prolonged residence in Europe these dark-skinned people ‘remain ever, and every where, what their fathers were – Gipsies’.¹⁷ Skin colour occupies a key place in his analysis. Not only is it outward evidence of a seemingly unchanging nature (‘Africa makes them no blacker, nor Europe whiter’), it is also the ground for a debate about taste, the perception of beauty and understanding the causes of variety.¹⁸ Grellmann argued that beauty was a matter of use: ‘Let me only ask if, as children, we have not at some time or other run affrighted from a Gipse? The case is entirely altered, if we only divest ourselves of the idea that a black skin is disagreeable. Their white teeth, their long black hair ... their lively black rolling eyes, are, without dispute, properties which must be ranked among the list of beauties, even by the modern civilised European world.’¹⁹ He suggested that sensitivity to beauty and detachment from established prejudices and superstitions would enable a viewer to see that the difference between gypsies and white Europeans was not an inherent trait but was the result of upbringing. ‘Observe only a gypsy from his birth, till he comes to man’s estate, and one must be convinced, that their colour is not, so

13. Houghton-Walker, *op. cit.* (note 8), p.25; see also pp.197–209 for a detailed discussion of gypsies and picturesque theory; and pp.230–43 for a discussion of Morland’s and Gainsborough’s portrayal of gypsies.

14. Bindman, *op. cit.* (note 9), p.23.

15. John Langhorne, *The Country Justice: A Poem*, part 1, London, 1774, lines 181–82.

16. H.M.G. Grellmann, *Dissertation on the Gipsies, being an Historical Enquiry concerning the Manner of Life, Oeconomy, Customs and Conditions of these People in Europe, and their Origins*, trans. Matthew Raper, London, 1787. A short useful analysis of Grellmann’s *Dissertation* is given in Cristian Suciu, ‘G.H.M. [sic] Grellmann and the Enlightenment’s discovery of the Roma’, *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai – Studia Europaea*, 53 (2008), 1, pp.189–200.

17. Grellmann, *op. cit.* (note 16), p.ix.

18. *Ibid.*, p.ix.

19. *Ibid.*, p.8.

much, owing to their descent, as to the nastiness of their bodies [such as not washing] ... Experience also shews us that it is more education and manner of life, than descent, which has propagated this black colour of the Gypsies, from generation to generation.²⁰ If the thrust of Grellmann's work was to show by means of linguistic analysis that the gypsies came to Europe from Hindustan, or northern India, he also found a significant role for aesthetic sensitivity in the quest to understand human variety, and explicitly acknowledged its value in overcoming long-standing prejudice while also confirming the 'modern civilised European's' cultural superiority to the gypsy.

The two different framings of the relationship between beauty and human variety in relation to gypsies that I have outlined here share some common features, the most important of which is that they were both presented as advice to magistrates or state officials. Langhorne's *Country Justice* was written by a Somerset magistrate to colleagues in Westmorland and Somerset. Grellmann's *Die Zigeuner* takes the 'reformation' of the gypsies as its central problem and starts by outlining the Habsburg Empress Maria Teresa (d.1780) and Emperor Joseph II's 'wise regulations ... for the management of these people'.²¹

Questions about beauty's relation to human variety allow us to understand the category of 'gypsy' as a historical category, both specific to a time and place, and contested within that moment and location. One way to do this, as Cristian Suciuc has recently argued, is to relate the history of gypsies to the evolution of western attitudes towards poverty and vagrancy.²² This can be put another way: given that some of the liveliest discussion on beauty focused on the landscape and state territory, how was race related to place and space?

Distinct conceptions of landscape frame and govern the discourse about gypsies sketched above: residual and local in English writing, networked and territorial in Grellmann's work. Perhaps the most well-known English literary representation of gypsies in the eighteenth century was *The Life and Adventures of Bampfylde-Moore Carew, commonly called King of the Beggars*, which describes a Devon gentleman's 'entering into a society of gypsies' and subsequent life as wanderer in Somerset and Devon.²³ John Barrell has suggested that Carew's *Life and Adventures* and its 'particular account of the origin, government, customs, and laws of the gypsies' show a political utopia which is manifest in the way the landscape and its inhabitants are known only through personal experience and local knowledge.²⁴ This emphasis on local associations and customary relations helps explain why Langhorne took what to us may seem the remarkable step of taking gypsy society as a model for how the magistrate should have an interest in the welfare of the poor.²⁵ Grellmann's *Dissertation*, by contrast, conceived of landscape in an abstract sense as the terri-

20. Ibid., p.10.

21. Ibid., p.xv. Grellmann's subsequent work was all on the political economy of central Europe and *Die Zigeuner* should be seen in this light.

22. Suciuc, *op. cit.* (note 16), pp.199–200.

23. A helpful summary of the publishing history of Carew's *Life* is given in J.S. Berson, 'The Memoirs of Bampfylde-Moore Carew: additional plagiaries and dateable events', *Notes and Queries*, 57 (2007), 4, pp.456–64.

24. J. Barrell, 'Afterword: moving stories, still lives', in G. MacLean, D. Landry and J.P. Ward, eds., *The Country and the City Revisited: England and the Politics of Culture, 1550–1850*, Cambridge, 1999, pp.231–50; the quotation is from *The Life and Adventures of Bampfylde-Moore Carew, commonly called King of the Beggars*, London, 1793, title page.

25. J. Langhorne, *The Country Justice: A Poem*, part 2, London, 1775, lines 1–10.

tory of a state. If judgements of beauty were not subject to the rational analysis needed in addressing questions about economy and trade, for example, they still fell within the purview of a specifically cosmopolitan mentality that in its modernity transcended ties to any one place.

Such different conceptions of landscape were modelled on different aesthetic formulations which resonated with distinct political traditions. It stands that they both conceive of 'human variety' in regard to different criteria. English writers tended to admire the gypsies' love of liberty and to see this as congruent with certain kinds of landscape and ways of looking. Concerns about itinerancy were highly localised. But to a 'modern civilised European' gypsies represented a problem of knowledge and of classification guided by the imperatives of political economy. In Grellmann's work this is represented above all by skin colour. Black skin denotes residual habits and a refusal to reform. The solution is to study gypsies more closely in order to better know and reform the people who live within the state's borders, and mould a population 'whose extraction is not at all discernible in their colour'.²⁶

The formulations of the relationship between beauty and human variety I have described here are a tiny selection of the range that David Bindman has explored in more detail especially in his work on the representation of national identity, and on race, aesthetics, and the image of the Black in western art. Uniquely, with gypsies, these relationships were located in historical attitudes towards poverty and vagrancy and found expression in different conceptions of landscape. Morland's *Morning, or the Benevolent Sportsman* seems at first glance to be fully in agreement with the attitudes evident in English writing. John Barrell suggests that Morland's painting is an exemplary instance of how a painter could 'extend ... the range of aesthetic interest in the poor' in order to 'extend the sympathetic range of his admirers, who were certainly up to a point willing to have it extended'.²⁷ Donna Landry and Stephen Deuchar suggest that viewers would also have been reassured by the sportsman's actions, while Sarah Houghton-Walker takes more account of the fact that the sportsman is giving money to gypsies whom he may later choose to drive off his land, and thinks Morland may even be 'mocking' and 'laughing' at the sportsman's pretensions to charity which, she suggests, are belied by the prominence of his gun on the right of the picture.²⁸ However, I want to suggest that the distinctive colouring of the gypsy girl in the centre of the picture, and the conspicuous swarthinness of the other figures, signify that conceptions of landscape in which benevolence finds a natural place were coming under pressure in the 1790s because, while it may be the case that ideas about picturesque beauty accorded nicely with a growing interest in human variety, it is also true that attention to skin colour was characteristic of a kind of observation that relied on distance and abstraction rather than residual familiarity. In simple terms, Morland's attention to skin colour in the picture shows that the gypsies are regarded as vagrants in a landscape which stretches beyond the bounds of personal acquaintance. Far from showing the naivety of the sportsman, I think it shows that this specifically local encounter is taking place within a

26. Grellmann, *op. cit.* (note 16), p.10.

27. J. Barrell, *The Dark Side of the Landscape: The Rural Poor in English Painting, 1730–1840*, Cambridge, 1980, p.105.

28. D. Landry, *The Invention of the Countryside: Hunting, Walking, and Ecology in English Literature 1671–1831*, Basingstoke, 2001, pp.21–22, 139–40; S. Deuchar, *Sporting Art in Eighteenth Century England: A Social and Political History*, New Haven and London, 1988, pp.155–56; Houghton-Walker, *op. cit.* (note 8), pp.237–39.



Fig. 11.4 Thomas Heaphy, *Credulity*, 1808. Watercolour over graphite on paper, 61.1 × 46.1 cm (British Museum)

wider, national landscape, and that the sportsman is representative of a distinctively national character, just as the gypsies, while picturesque, also represent the ‘other’. I don’t want to suggest this reveals anything about Morland’s own views. Instead I think it shows how the terms in which it was possible to conceive of gypsies were changing. In what we might call a more ‘modern’ conception of landscape, in which national and financial imperatives transcended local attachments, a relationship is established between vagrancy and race.

A quick look at another representation of a gypsy can help clarify the point here. Thomas Heaphy’s watercolour *Credulity*, 1808 (Fig. 11.4) shows a maid preparing to hand over a coin to a gypsy to read her fortune, having neglected her duties in order to read a letter from her lover and no doubt excited to know the fate of their

relationship.²⁹ Heaphy's fortune-teller is strikingly beautiful, with dark skin and jet black hair. She is not entirely alone: the thief stealing from the cupboard may be her accomplice and the presence of an equally dark-skinned child suggests there may be other gypsies nearby but, rather than part of a family group which gathers round a fire under the rocks at twilight, this is a group which travels (though the two activities are not exclusive). The fact that the fortune-teller makes a living by telling fortunes replaces the more benign (though no less prejudicial) 'type' of gypsy woman who sells her body, with a more malignant image of active vagrancy that preys on other people. The fortune-teller is recognisable as a gypsy but, rather than being a familiar part of the landscape, this gypsy represents a group and a culture that is alien to the maid and her employers. The presence of children in pictures of gypsies is important in this regard because they recall stories about the gypsies' traffic of children which, then as now, shaped contemporary perceptions of Roma in a way they did not for other races whose colour was thought to be inherent or formed over many generations.

David Solkin suggests that *Credulity* is a picture about deception and that this is signified by the maid's 'failure to read the outward appearance of the fortune-teller as evidence of the gypsy's true character'.³⁰ If the maid lacks discretion, it is less the common good sense shown by kind domestic servants in large houses in Carew's *Life and Adventures*, and more the knowledge of, and distance from, superstition that is required in modern civilised life, in which organisation of time and space bring problems such as foreign vagrancy in its wake. There is every suggestion that Morland's sportsman is as alert to these dangers as the maid is ignorant: doubtless his independence affords him the means to observe the world and its changes from a suitable vantage point. Both Morland's and Heaphy's representations of gypsies are premised on a similar conceptions of landscape and national identity which enjoyed a symbiotic relationship with ideas about beauty and human variety.

In this essay I have tried to show that the skin colour of the girl in *Morning, or the Benevolent Sportsman* is key to understanding the painting and to grasping how not only landscape but movement within it, is inscribed with race, and how racial distinctions, in turn, were formulated in part through conceptions about landscape and ideas about beauty. I have also argued, less explicitly, that Morland's representation of race is broader than has hitherto been recognised, and that fruitful analysis of his work need not take his own attitudes as a starting-point.³¹

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29. British Museum, London, ref. no.1946,1012.1.

30. D. Solkin, *Painting out of the Ordinary: Modernity and the Art of Everyday Life in Early Nineteenth-Century England*, New Haven and London, 2008, p.95.

31. On Morland's representation of Africans see especially M. Gamer, 'George Morland's *Slave Trade* and *African Hospitality*: slavery, sentiment and the limits of the abolitionist image', in E. McGrath and J. M. Massing, eds., *The Slave in European Art: From Renaissance Trophy to Abolitionist Emblem*, Warburg Institute Colloquia, 20 (2012), pp.297–320.



Fig.12.1 Thomas Rowlandson, *Head of a Black Figure*, identified on the mount as the 'Hottentot Venus', c.1822–27. Pen and watercolour, 22.9 × 18.5 cm (The Menil Collection, Houston)

The Face of Saartjie Baartman: Rowlandson, Race and the ‘Hottentot Venus’

ALISON E. WRIGHT

The most repulsive thing about our Bushwoman was her physiognomy ... our Bushwoman offers very remarkable and very singular differences ... she has an even more protruding muzzle than the negro, a face wider than the Kalmuck, and the nose bones are flatter than in either case; in that last respect above all, I have never seen a human head more similar to the monkeys than hers.

Georges Cuvier, *Observations sur le cadavre d’une femme connue ... sous le nom de Vénus Hottentote*, 1817¹

AN INTRIGUING PEN and watercolour drawing by Thomas Rowlandson at the Menil Collection in Houston, Texas, depicts the head of a strong-featured black person with a sardonic expression; the mount is annotated ‘Hottentot Venus’ (Fig. 12.1).² Intriguing, because though Saartjie (or Sarah) Baartman,³ the Khoisan woman from the Cape of Good Hope who performed as the ‘Hottentot Venus’ in Britain and Paris in 1810–15, was pictured on numerous occasions in the 1810s and 1820s by Rowlandson’s fellow British satirical printmakers, these artists paid little attention to her face, focusing instead on her much exaggerated posterior. Despite the publication of an advertisement aquatint portraying her from the front in 1811, which has the appearance of a study from life, she was usually shown in profile and with stereotypical ‘Negro’ features.⁴ In France, however, Baartman’s face was the subject of intense interest. While living, she was studied as a rare racial and comparative anatomical ‘specimen’ for three days in March 1815 at the Muséum d’Histoire Naturelle, Paris, where she was dissected after she died late in the same year. Her

DAVID BINDMAN introduced me to Saartjie Baartman in 2003, when he suggested her as a dissertation topic for my History of Art MA at UCL. Thank you, David, for this and for much besides. I am also grateful for help during the writing of this essay to Kim Sloan, Kate Heard, Alan Donnithorne, Richard Carroll, Rupert Halliwell, Caroline Duroselle-Melish, Robert Hernandez, Consuelo Gutierrez and Richard Evans.

1. Cuvier (1817), in G. Cuvier, *Discours sur les révolutions de la surface du globe*, 3rd ed., Paris, 1864, pp.214–15, 219–20; translation author’s own.

2. The Menil Collection, Houston, inv. no.81–001 DJ D. This drawing is apparently undescribed in the literature on Baartman except by Claude Rawson, who calls it ‘remarkable’; C. Rawson, *God, Gulliver, and Genocide. Barbarism and the European Imagination, 1492–1945*, Oxford, 2001, p.115.

3. There is extensive literature on Baartman; two useful recent works are C. Crais and P. Scully, *Sara Baartman and the Hottentot Venus: A Ghost Story and a Biography*, Princeton, 2009 (in which details of her life, otherwise unfootnoted in this essay, can be found); C. Blanckaert, ed., *La Vénus hottentote entre Barnum et Muséum*, Paris, 2013.

4. For a discussion of the 1811 aquatint portrait see A.E. Wright, ‘The Hottentot Venus: an alternative iconography’, *The British Art Journal*, 14 (2013), 1, pp.59–70.



Fig.12.2 Léon de Wailly, *Portrait of Saartjie Baartman*, 1815. Watercolour on vellum, 46 × 33 cm (Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris)

features and skull were seen to be crucial to identifying her position in relation to other human races, as can be seen in the *Observations* of the renowned comparative anatomist Georges Cuvier quoted above. A moving study in watercolour on vellum by Léon de Wailly (Fig. 12.2), an artist at the Muséum present during the March sessions, seems to offer a sensitive and fully individualised portrait of Baartman (indeed, it was adopted as the South African government's official national image of her in 2002), and several of the features in Rowlandson's drawing can be seen in the vellum – pale skin, wide cheekbones and a broad, domed forehead, a roughly triangular shape to the face, upward tilting eyes and full lips.⁵ If intended as a portrait of Baartman, then, the Menil Collection drawing, with its bold contours and sinewy line, masculine strength and humorous intelligence, would be a startlingly original interpretation by a major British artist of an enigmatic historical character. Rowlandson was certainly aware of the 'Venus', who appears in a print on a back wall in his satirical print *Exhibition at Bullocks Museum of Bonepartes Carriage taken at Waterloo* (January 1816), turning her back on her audience – interestingly, another more imaginative engagement with her character than the standard profile view.⁶

5. Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris, collection des Vélins, portefeuille 69, fol. 1. See also R. Holmes, *The Hottentot Venus*, London, 2007, p.144.

6. F.G. Stephens and M.D. George, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires ... in the British Museum*, 11 vols., London, 1870–54, IX, no.12702. Baartman was topical in 1816 because her death in Paris was reported in British newspapers in early January; interestingly, some notices mention the anatomical interest in her body: 'The French Savants are dissecting her', *The Examiner*, 7 January 1816; 'modellers

In fact, Rowlandson's immediate source for the drawing was a series of studies of Khoisan and other indigenous people made in 1801–2 by the artist Samuel Daniell, on an expedition into the interior of Southern Africa, which (to say the least) suggests a more complicated relationship to Baartman the individual that will be discussed further below.⁷ Wailly's portrait, too, although it appears to undercut Cuvier's negative picture of a 'repulsive' physiognomy, will have been made under official direction and to convey particular information observed by the naturalists, such as the width of her face and the size of her lips, which Cuvier described as 'monstrously swollen'.⁸ As will be seen, there is a risk in identifying Baartman's features with typologies such as 'wide cheekbones forming a triangle with a pointed chin', and in attempting to ascertain what she 'really' looked like, when the artists who portrayed her were as much, or more, invested in delineating ideas about her race as in producing a naturalistic portrait of an individual.

None the less, Rowlandson's construction and use of the image is suggestive, particularly the exploration of variants of the head in his 'Comparative Anatomy' albums and sketches of the 1820s, and prompts a second look at the material. This essay will examine the possibility that the Menil Collection drawing could still represent Baartman despite, or indeed because of, its derivation from images of other Khoisan people, in the context of other examples of her problematic and often troubling portraiture.

Though, as Sadiah Qureshi has pointed out, Baartman could be 'made to correspond' with the African American, West Indian and Caribbean black people most familiar to white Europeans, her particular interest both for popular audiences and anatomists was in her rarer identity as a 'Hottentot', and, later, a 'Bushman'.⁹ Since the late sixteenth century, travellers and writers had located 'Hottentots' (a derogatory term for the Khoikhoi) among the most bestial and uncivilised of people, claiming that they ate raw entrails and spoke an incomprehensible language that was compared to the 'chattering' and 'clacking' of wild creatures.¹⁰ In the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, as western conceptions of 'race' became increasingly concerned with fixed physical characteristics, European colonisers began to differentiate 'Hottentots' (pastoral herders often working as servants to the Dutch) from 'Bushmen' (the San: hunter-gatherers demonised as 'raiders' and 'robbers'), and to investigate and compare the anatomy of both.¹¹ Cuvier's transformation of Baartman from the 'Hottentot Venus' to a 'type' specimen of the 'Bushman', through the preservation of her body parts and the publication of his *Observations*,

were occupied in taking the impression of her peculiar beauties; and the dissectors were prepared to follow them in a more minute examination of her structure', *The Morning Chronicle*, 6 January 1816.

7. The expedition is recounted in the appendix 'An account of a journey to Leetakoo', in J. Barrow, *A Voyage to CochinChina, in the years 1792 and 1793*, London, 1806, pp.363–437.

8. Cuvier, *op. cit.* (note 1), p.215. See P.R. Kirby, 'The "Hottentot Venus" of the Musée de l'Homme, Paris', *South African Journal of Science*, 50 (1954), 12, p.320. The Muséum portraits and Cuvier's *Observations*, *op. cit.* (note 1) are often reproduced together in nineteenth-century scientific texts.

9. S. Qureshi, 'Displaying Sara Baartman, the "Hottentot Venus"', *History of Science*, 42 (2004), pp.239–41.

10. L.E. Merians, *Envisioning the Worst: Representations of 'Hottentots' in Early-Modern England*, Newark and London, 2001.

11. For example, F. Le Vaillant, *Voyage dans l'intérieur de l'Afrique*, 2 vols., Paris, 1790, and *Second Voyage dans l'intérieur de l'Afrique*, 3 vols., 1795; J. Barrow, *An Account of Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa in the years 1797 and 1798*, 2 vols., London, 1801–4; F. Péron and C.A. Lesueur, 'Observations sur le tablier des femmes hottentotes' [1804], *Bulletin de la Société Zoologique de France*, 8 (1883), pp.15–33.

was predicated on his view of her anatomical extremity, informed by reports from travellers such as François Péron and John Barrow: the latter, in his influential *An Account of Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa* (1801), had characterised ‘Bushmen’ as ‘differing in so extraordinary a manner from every other race of men ... upon the face of the whole globe even’ and described their manner of sleeping in dug-out earth like a ‘nest’, ‘coiled round in the manner of some quadrupeds’.¹² The examination of Baartman as a case study in comparative anatomy built on this idea of a closer resemblance between the Khoisan and the animal world than found in other human ‘races’, purposely setting out to compare her with ‘the lowest race of humans, the Negro race, and with the highest race of monkeys, the orang-utan’.¹³

Early physical constructions of ‘race’ often focused on the measurement of skulls and facial features, whether for classificatory purposes or with a view to assessing moral and intellectual faculties – a premise that David Bindman has shown to be deeply tied to aesthetics and ideals of proportion.¹⁴ Analysis seems often to have involved arbitrary judgements of significance, exaggeration of certain supposedly typical features and even abstraction into geometry: one of the more famous and influential examples, Petrus Camper’s facial angle, involves a simple sliding scale based on the relative recession (in profile) of the forehead and projection of the jaw.¹⁵ Cuvier preferred a complex system including longitudinal and vertical sections of the head, an oval drawn from the cranium to the base of the nose and a triangle projecting forward to the mouth. Part of his assessment of Baartman’s inherent racial inferiority was based on the width of her face and the size of her nose and lips, because his index to the perfection of animal faculties was based on the proportional relationship between the cranium (the seat of intelligence) and the face, in which the two largest organs, those of smell and taste, acted most powerfully on animal instincts towards ‘the most blind fury, and the greatest bestiality’.¹⁶ In late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century authors’ constructions of the ‘typical’ Khoisan head, geometrical terms of reference such as these are strikingly rehearsed. In his *Travels*, John Barrow gives an important early ‘type’ of the ‘Hottentot’ face as ‘in general extremely ugly ... [The eyes] are very long and narrow, removed to a great distance from each other ... [the eyelids] rounded into each other exactly like those of the Chinese ... The cheek-bones are high and prominent, and with the narrow-pointed chin form nearly a triangle.’¹⁷ ‘Bushmen’, whom he argues share these features but to a more exaggerated degree, ‘partake much of the apish character, which their keen eye, always in motion, tends not to diminish’.¹⁸

The ‘triangular’ typology was repeated in innumerable descriptions, and the prominent cheekbones tapering to a point in the chin can be seen, almost to the point of caricature, as visual shorthand denoting the Khoisan in some illustrations.¹⁹

12. Barrow, *op. cit.* (note 11), I, pp.275–78, 282.

13. Henri de Blainville (1816), quoted by A. Fausto-Sterling, ‘Gender, race, and nation: the comparative anatomy of “Hottentot” women in Europe, 1815–1817’, in J. Terry and J. Urla, eds., *Deviant Bodies: Critical Perspectives on Difference in Science and Popular Culture*, Bloomington, IL, 1995, p.33.

14. D. Bindman, *Ape to Apollo: Aesthetics and the Idea of Race in the 18th Century*, London, 2002, ch.4.

15. See K.M. Figlio, ‘The metaphor of organization: an historiographical perspective on the biomedical sciences of the early nineteenth century’, *History of Science*, 14 (1973), p.28.

16. G. Cuvier, *Lectures on Comparative Anatomy*, trans. W. Ross, 2 vols., London, 1802, II, pp.2–15.

17. Barrow, *op. cit.* (note 11), I, p.157.

18. Barrow, *op. cit.* (note 11), I, pp.277–78.

19. For example, Le Vaillant, *Voyage*, *op. cit.* (note 11), I, pls.1, 2; Le Vaillant, *Second Voyage*, *op. cit.* (note 11), II, pls.10, 11; III, pls.13–15; W.J. Burchell, *Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa*, 2 vols., London, 1822–24, I, pl.9; II, pl.3; see also the work of Samuel Daniell, discussed below in this chapter.

It is perhaps this that we see at work in the emphatic triangularity of Baartman's lower face in Wailly's 'portrait' and in another study from the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle sessions, a small oil painting on wood by Jean-Baptiste Berré,²⁰ as well as in the 1811 advertisement portrait depicting Baartman from the front. Though these three images are quite consistent and may offer the best glimpse of Baartman in life, it is notable that there is rather less definition in a plaster cast taken from her body after she died, though this may be the result of her last illness or changes after death.²¹

This is just one instance of the exaggeration of particular features and diminution of naturalistic effect in nineteenth-century images of Baartman that are strongly motivated by the representation of racial physiognomy. In Wailly's portrait, Baartman's body appears flattened out diagrammatically against the dead white background, and her forehead seems significantly wider than in the plaster cast; the artist has used strong lighting and careful 'zoning' of the facial area to indicate the underlying 'racial' skull structure of the broad cheekbones noted by Cuvier, and the 'spheroidal brain-box' of 'remarkable convexity' reported by another Muséum naturalist, Etienne Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire.²² The attempt to emphasise the supposedly bulging cranium and cheekbones within the flattened outline creates surface distortions and tensions that divide the face into sharply defined shapes – the central line in the middle of the forehead and the triangle of shadow above the right eye, in addition to the emphasis on a triangular lower face and the geometric effect of her hair. Later illustrators who copied this model clearly struggled with it, producing even flatter and more distorted versions.²³ The modelling of Baartman's face is similarly manipulated in the 'pair' to Wailly's portrait, a watercolour on vellum by Nicolas Huet that shows her in profile.²⁴ Huet makes a marked effort to improve upon the simple linearity of Camper's facial angle, emphasising a more specific racial identity through the use of deep shadow to highlight the 'Mongol' cheekbones and the projection of the jaw. The resulting pale circles around Baartman's eyes and mouth may actually indicate an attempt at a visual analogy with orang-utans, to which she is specifically compared in the Muséum reports, and particularly to Geoffroy's outlandish claim that she had 'the beginning of a muzzle even more considerable than that of the red orang-outang which inhabits the larger islands of the Indian Ocean'.²⁵

Even less subtly, the naturalist and early anthropologist Julien-Joseph Virey and popular science writer Auguste Debay both published strangely transformed later illustrations of Baartman with her forehead dramatically lowered and sloping

20. Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, inv. no.1605. The work is not well preserved, but is reproduced in fine detail in an 1815 engraving by Louis-Jean Allais, for which see Blanckaert, *op. cit.* (note 3), p.133.

21. For the cast, see Blanckaert, *op. cit.* (note 3), pp.27, 132.

22. Kirby, *op. cit.* (note 8), p.320; see also Qureshi, *op. cit.* (note 9), pp.241–42.

23. See for example F. Cuvier and E. Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, *Histoire Naturelle des Mammifères*, 4 vols., Paris, 1824–47, I, pls.1, 2; G. Cuvier, trans. and with additions by E. Griffith *et. al.*: *The Animal Kingdom arranged in conformity with its organization*, 16 vols., London, 1827–35, I, p.200; G. Cuvier, *La Règne Animal distribué d'après son organisation*, 10 vols., Paris, 1836–49, I, pl.21; Cuvier, *op. cit.* (note 1), p.215; R. Hartmann, *Die Völker Afrikas*, Leipzig, 1879, p.95.

24. Illustrated by H. Honour in D. Bindman and H.L. Gates, eds., *The Image of the Black in Western Art*, 5 vols., Cambridge, MA, and London, 2010–14, IV pt.2, p.57.

25. Quoted by Kirby, *op. cit.* (note 8), p.320. For the Muséum naturalists' interest in orang-utans, see E. Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire and G. Cuvier, *Histoire naturelle des orangs-outangs* [reprinted from the *Magazin Encyclopédique*, Paris, 1795], pp.1–12; *L'Impératrice Joséphine et les sciences naturelles*, exh. cat., Paris (Musée national des châteaux de Malmaison et Bois-Préau), 1997, p.132, no.90.

backwards, her cheekbones widened, eyes tilted sharply upward and lips grossly distended.²⁶ The deliberate alteration to the forehead and caricatural emphasis on a beak-like projection of the lips, far removed from the delicacy of the face drawn by Wailly, are characteristic of a particularly virulent form of the popular 'Negro' visual stereotype, and are interesting as both authors argued for strong anatomical difference between white and black (Virey was an avowed polygenist), using Baartman specifically as an example of 'monstrous' black anatomical development. Debay's illustration even places Baartman alongside a 'monstrosity', a man with a parasitic twin.

Virey and Debay's illustrations show an overt distortion and exaggeration of Baartman's reported features that approaches caricature, to which Baartman was no stranger. Her posterior had been caricatured into a balloon-like shape from her first advertisement 'portrait' – as a contemporary ballad had it, 'a rump ... large as a cauldron pot'. In the visually inventive and bizarre world of satirical prints, however, Baartman's spherical bottom seems to have become fixed as an individual attribute, and served as the synecdoche that called to the viewer's mind her persona and personal history.²⁷ The distinct tendency to the schematic or typifying racial representation in images of her face, especially those presented to some degree as portraiture, seems somehow more damaging to a sense of her individuality. It is in this context that the Menil Collection drawing annotated 'Hottentot Venus' must be considered.

The Menil sheet is on an unremarkable mount that may or may not be Rowlandson's own, with a wash border enclosed by four lines; it is the mount that is annotated, and the inscription does not appear to be in his hand, although it could be of the same period and therefore reflect his own or a contemporary identification. The drawing can be dated c.1820–27 (the year of the artist's death) from its relationship to Rowlandson's 'Comparative Anatomy' albums of the 1820s, of which more below, and from its derivation from a print series published in 1820, *Sketches representing the native Tribes, Animals, and Scenery of Southern Africa, from Drawings made by the late Mr. Samuel Daniell* – specifically, a plate titled *Hendrick. Caffer* depicting two Xhosa men (Fig. 12.3).²⁸

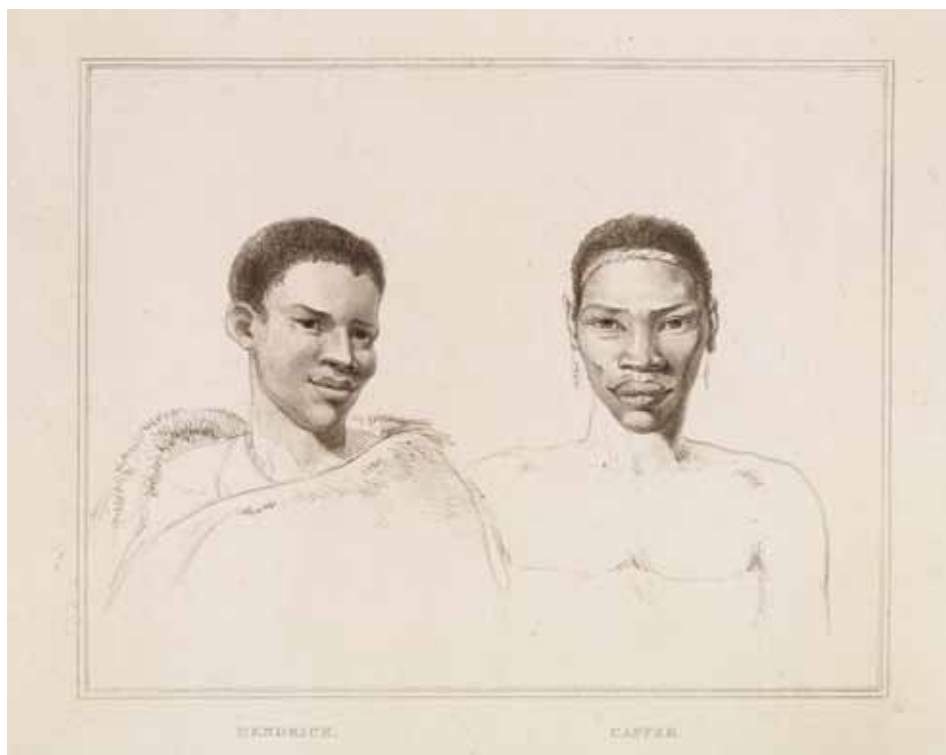
John Barrow, on whose 1801–2 expedition Samuel Daniell made his original studies, and whose *Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa* and other writings are quoted in the text accompanying the *Sketches*, had a much more positive aesthetic response to the Xhosa (referred to as 'Kaffers') than the Khoisan, admiring their open and cheerful countenances, which he claims – in a rehearsal of the classic literary trope of the 'noble savage' whose superiority is indicated by Europeanised features – 'have not one line of the African negro': they had 'neither the thick lips nor flat noses of Africans in general; and the whole contour of the face and head was equally well formed as those of the European'.²⁹ Indeed, 'Kaffer' men (though not women) are afforded the highest possible aesthetic praise of the period, comparison to classical

26. J.-J. Virey, *Histoire naturelle du genre humain*, 3 vols., Paris, 1824, 1, p.240, pl.2; A. Debay, *Histoire naturelle de l'homme et de la femme*, 8th ed., Paris, 1861, pl.10. This version of the figure also appears in J.J. Bertuch, *Bilderbuch für Kinder*, 12 vols., Weimar, 1792–1830, 1x, no.59. I have not located the original source, but it seems to be derived from Allais's print after Berré (see note 20).

27. See Wright, *op. cit.* (note 4), pp.60–61, 65–69.

28. W. Daniell, *Sketches representing the native Tribes, Animals, and Scenery of Southern Africa*, London, 1820, pl.31. A series of forty-eight soft-ground etchings by William Daniell reproducing his brother Samuel's original drawings made in Africa, with accompanying text drawn from Barrow and, apparently, from notes or identifications by Samuel Daniell.

29. Barrow, *op. cit.* (note 11), 1, pp.168, 205. See Bindman, *op. cit.* (note 14), pp.30–32.



models: one is described as ‘a perfect Hercules; and a cast from his body would not have disgraced the pedestal of that deity in the Farnese palace’.³⁰

This presents an obvious challenge to further consideration of the Menil Collection drawing as Baartman, but Rowlandson’s selection and manipulation of his source material is intriguing, and the resulting features are not impossible to reconcile with the representations of Baartman already discussed, nor the resilient and humorous expression with her satirical persona in Britain, with which Rowlandson would no doubt have been familiar.³¹ The Menil drawing is mainly based on Daniell’s right-hand figure (identified as ‘Caffer’), taking from it the direction of the head and facial features, the headband and the earrings. Rowlandson also incorporates several elements from the softer-featured youth identified as Hendrick: the more strongly curved eyebrows, the angle of the left eye, the smile and the rounded right cheekbone – even the small widow’s peak appearing at the top of the forehead. Rowlandson’s changes make the originally male figure ambiguous – the softer, rounded features and rosy pink of the lips suggesting femininity – and he also borrows other elements from several different plates in the series: the sardonically knotted eyebrows of Daniell’s ‘Hottentots’ and ‘Boosshwanas’ (Tswana), and the narrower chin and appealing expressions of his ‘Hottentot’ and ‘Kaffer’ women.³² The mixture of features confuses Barrow’s gendered and racialised vision of South Africa; particularly, it critically undermines his categorical distinction that ‘no two people can differ more than the Bushmen [classed by Barrow with ‘Hottentots’]

Fig.12.3 William Daniell after Samuel Daniell, *Hendrick. Caffer*, 1820. Soft-ground etching with aquatint, 22.6 × 27.5 cm (British Museum)

30. Barrow, *op. cit.* (note 11), I, p.169.

31. For Baartman’s fictional personality, see Holmes, *op. cit.* (note 5), p.74; Stephens and George, *op. cit.* (note 6), VIII, nos.11580, 11602; IX, nos.11748, 11765; X, no.14449.

32. E.g. Daniell, *op. cit.* (note 28), pls.25, 29, 32, 34.



Fig.12.4 Thomas Rowlandson, *Satyr's and Two Heads of Black Figures*, c.1822–27. Pen and ink, 22.4 × 18.6 cm (Sims Reed Ltd.)

and the Kaffers, having no one agreement either in their physical or their moral character'.³³ Rowlandson's intention is unclear and his mixing of the supposedly polarised 'types' may result merely from a slightly careless interpretation of the source material, in which Daniell's strongly recognisable style gives a similar cast to many of the figures, with their triangular faces, emphatic eyebrows and softly romanticised features and expressions; it is this formula to which Rowlandson appears to have been attracted, and that his drawing most resembles.³⁴

The drawing's relationship to Rowlandson's mysterious 'Comparative Anatomy' studies of c.1822–27 is particularly interesting. The studies are contained in three albums in the British Museum, in the Houghton Library, Harvard, and in private ownership, with additional dispersed related drawings and frequent repetition of designs; it is thought that Rowlandson may have been considering the publication of a print series.³⁵ The subjects are physiognomic, grotesque and comical, the most

33. Barrow, *op. cit.* (note 11), I, p.283.

34. It has been noted that Daniell's 'lyrical' and 'sinuous and romantic realism' is, at times, in striking contrast to Barrow's texts; M. Van Wyk Smith, "'The most wretched of the human race": the iconography of the Khoikhoi (Hottentots) 1500–1800', *History and Anthropology*, 5 (1992), 3 and 4, pp.322–27; Honour, *op. cit.* (note 24), p.54.

35. British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, reg. no.1885,1212.182–244; Houghton Library, Harvard, MS 100.1. The third album is currently held by Sims Reed Ltd., London and Erasmushaus, Basel, and was last sold by the auctioneers Dreweatts & Bloomsbury of London, 7 November 2013, lot 317. The 'Comparative Anatomy' albums can be roughly dated from the 1822 watermark on several sheets, though additional sheets have also been pasted in. For a useful discussion see A. Meyer, 'Man's animal nature: science, art, and satire in Thomas Rowlandson's "Studies in



striking theme being the comparison of paired human and animal heads, recalling Giambattista della Porta's *De humana physiognomia* (1586).

A variant of the Menil Collection head appears in each of the three albums and in one separate drawing, always on a sheet with sketches of the same three satyr heads. While the latter are remarkably consistent (possibly traced, a frequent practice in the albums), the significant variation in the head of the black figure suggests the artist was actively working through his ideas about this particular subject. The Houghton Library version has the appearance of an early thought: the head has a strong-jawed outline that is closer to the unnamed Xhosa man in Fig.12.3 than in the Menil drawing, and the four sketches are each worked up with pale brown and pink wash, while the British Museum's album has a faint outline only of this head.³⁶ The version in the privately owned album (Fig. 12.4), a more satisfactorily vigorous composition hatched in pen and ink, is the most similar to the Menil drawing, but the chin, again, is more masculine, and the face put together in a gnarly, knobbly manner.³⁷ These more apparently masculine interpretations of the character are, however, severely challenged by a pen and ink drawing in the collection of York Art Gallery (Fig. 12.5), in which the three satyrs appear with the head, shoulder and breast of a black woman looking upwards and to right; her animated pose and rounded cheeks bear little resemblance to the Menil head and its other variants, yet she has

Fig.12.5 Thomas Rowlandson, *Satyrs and bust of a Black Woman*, c.1822–27. Pen and ink (York Art Gallery, York)

Comparative Anatomy", in F. Palmeri, ed., *Humans and Other Animals in Eighteenth-Century British Culture*, Aldershot and Burlington, VT, 2006, pp.119–36.

36. Houghton album, fol. 25; British Museum album, 1885,1212.211: both cited at note 35 above.

37. Sims Reed and Erasmushaus album cited at note 35 above, fol. 32.

the same headband, earrings and chin, and is therefore a related figure.³⁸ This is one of the most dynamic changes within the closely repeated designs of Rowlandson's 'Comparative Anatomy'. The figure can also be connected to a secondary graphite sketch in Fig.12.4, a profile of a round-cheeked black person perhaps also intended as female; the nose shows that it is loosely related to the satyrs to the side and below, although the resemblance to the main figure is slight.

In a fascinating discussion, Arline Meyer gives a useful analysis of Rowlandson's reasons for describing his human-animal studies specifically as 'Comparative Anatomy', a title which suggests an investigation into the inner structures of the entire animal body, rather than 'physiognomy', which might be a better definition of his actual emphasis on facial characteristics and expression:

These works ... reflect a new perception of nature and of man's place within it. Rowlandson's growing inclination toward the grotesque was in fact an interest rooted in the intellectual preoccupations of the early nineteenth century ... comparative anatomy ... had far greater scientific authority [than physiognomy], having gained currency at the end of the eighteenth century when anatomical studies moved from being a purely descriptive science ... to an inquiry about correlations between structure and function.³⁹

Meyer draws attention to Rowlandson's witty, visually incisive comparisons of over-developed and sensual snouts and mouths: 'functional' rather than 'structural' features, indicating the formative actions on the face of base, animalistic habits and passions.⁴⁰ Of the place of the satyr sheets within the project, she writes that Rowlandson 'tangentially turns to the fauns and satyrs of antiquity', 'recast[ing] these poetic fictions for the nineteenth century as vital and convincing embodiments of man's true hybrid nature', and she relates them to Rowlandson's contemporaneous studies of satyrs and grotesque masks in his 'After the Antique' sketchbooks, revealing his strong interest in the antique theme at this time – but she does not address the identity or function of the black figure on these sheets.⁴¹ The prominently fleshy and sensual treatment of the lower parts of the face (mouth, nose and chin) can certainly be related to the animal-human comparisons in the rest of the album, and indeed this was probably a large part of its appeal for Rowlandson.⁴² However, the evident function of the head – to inform or to provide a structural analogy to the satyrs' anatomy (particularly clear in the high rounded cheekbones, knotted eyebrow ridges and tilted eyes of Fig.12.4) – is a new element, and deepens Meyer's reading of Rowlandson's interest in contemporary science. Whether or not

38. York Art Gallery, inv. no.R1716. Another point of connection is a Rowlandson sketch of the boxer Tom Molyneux, once in the collection of Henry Reitlinger, London, which shares some of the features of the Menil drawing, in the pose from the York sheet; London, Warburg Institute Library, The Image of the Black in Western Art archive.

39. Meyer, *op. cit.* (note 35), pp.120, 124.

40. *Ibid.*, pp.125, 130.

41. *Ibid.*, pp.121, 135. As Meyer writes, Rowlandson's 'After the Antique' albums and related sketches appear to be a parallel project to the 'Comparative Anatomy'. Two albums are in the British Museum, pressmarks 201.a.14, 15.

42. See for example the ox-man figure copied from della Porta in the British Museum album cited at note 35 above, 1885,1212.186. Compare also with C. Bell, *Essays on the Anatomy of Expression in Painting*, London, 1806, pp. 32–42.

Rowlandson intended to depict a particular figure such as Baartman, it seems clear that he is engaging with ideas about the specific structural forms of racial 'types'.⁴³

The possible intended identity of the head as a 'type' of the South African or the Khoisan, then, is highly significant, given the stereotype of the 'Hottentots' and later the 'Bushmen' as amongst the lowest peoples on earth and the closest to animals – a position supposedly given new weight at this time by anatomical investigations such as Cuvier's dissection of Baartman. The comparison specifically with classical fauns and satyrs, rather than the real animals that dominate the rest of the 'Comparative Anatomy', is also intriguing in the light of suggestions such as Barrow's in 1801 that the comparatively short-statured 'Bushmen' could possibly be identified with the 'pygmies' and 'troglodytes', semi-mythological African tribes described by ancient authors.⁴⁴ To Meyer's observation that Rowlandson's interest in contemporary comparative anatomy contributes to the believably animalistic and vital forms of his satyr hybrids, we can perhaps add that possible references to 'Hottentots' and 'Bushmen' might show an attempt to integrate contemporary thinking on human variety at an anatomical level, and the historical relationship between classical antiquity and primitive humanity.

Why, though, make the head of the black figure female, when it was based on a male model, and especially when the comparison was to be made with bearded, masculine satyrs? While the gender of most of the sketches is ambiguous, the York version, with its prominent full breast, clearly shows a female identity, which must impact on our reading of the others. If we can accept, too, that the Menil Collection head and its variants may be intended as 'Hottentots' or 'Bushmen', it seems very likely that the figure could be associated with Baartman, the most famous Khoisan woman in Europe in Rowlandson's lifetime, and the focus of a crucial comparative anatomical text⁴⁵ – even if it is not a direct portrait (and her portraiture, as has been seen, was highly variable). The Menil head annotated 'Hottentot Venus' is the most finished of all the versions, and it has been altered and adapted significantly from the source in Daniell, in line with what we tentatively know of Baartman's appearance from sources such as Wailly's portrait. It is possible to speculate that Rowlandson had the famous 'Hottentot Venus' in mind when making his 'Comparative Anatomy' sketches, and made an additional larger and more polished drawing that would more successfully capture her likeness, a face he may even have seen in London in 1810. But as to whether we can know for sure: the answer is as elusive as a gaze into Saartjie Baartman's face always will be.

University of East Anglia and Tate Britain, formerly British Museum

43. See also a sketch by Rowlandson of the head of a black man that displays a similar interest in the anatomical structure of a racialised head, and bears a resemblance to the satyrs in the 'Comparative Anatomy', in which there may even be the trace of a headband as in the sketches currently under discussion; Achenbach Foundation for Graphic Arts, San Francisco (acc. no.1963.24.532).

44. Barrow, *op. cit.* (note 11), pp.282–83. There is a parallel here to Edward Tyson's *Orang-Outang, sive Homo Sylvestris: or, the Anatomy of a Pygmie compared with that of a monkey, an ape, and a man. To which is added a Philological Essay concerning the Pygmies, the cynocephali, the satyrs, and sphinges of the ancients ...*, London, 1699.

45. See notes 1, 6.

Blake, Linnell and Varley and *A Treatise on Zodiacal Physiognomy*

MARTIN BUTLIN

THE WORKS THAT brought Blake most notoriety in his lifetime, and were most responsible for accusations that he was mad, were the 'Visionary Heads' he did for the delectation of the landscape watercolourist John Varley, whom he had met in 1818 through one of Varley's pupils, John Linnell, the great patron of Blake's later years. These Heads (sometimes in fact complete figures or even figures in interiors) portray biblical and historic individuals such as David, Socrates and Richard Coeur de Lion, semi-historical characters such as Wat Tyler's Daughter and imaginary beings such as *The Man who built the Pyramids*. They were executed from 1819 onwards, mainly in the evenings at Varley's house. The first, near-contemporary account of them was given by Alan Cunningham in his *Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, published in 1830; the 'friend' and 'artist of some note' mentioned in the following extract is Varley himself:

To describe the conversations which Blake held in prose with demons and in verse with angels, would fill volumes, and an ordinary gallery could not contain all the heads, which he drew of his visionary visitants. That all this was real, he himself most sincerely believed; nay, so infectious was his enthusiasm, that some acute and sensible persons who heard him expatiate, shook their heads, and hinted that he was an extraordinary man, and that there might be something in the matter. One of his brethren, an artist of some note, employed him frequently in drawing the portraits of those who appeared to him in visions. The most propitious time for these 'angel-visits' was from nine at night till five in the morning; and so docile were his spiritual sitters, that they appeared at the wish of his friends ...

The friend who obliged me with these anecdotes on observing the interest which I took in the subject, said, 'I know much about Blake – I was his companion for nine years. I have sat beside him from ten at night till three in the morning, sometimes slumbering and sometimes waking, but Blake never slept; he sat with pencil and paper drawing portraits of those whom I most desired to see ...'¹

I HAVE ADMIRER David's writings on Blake ever since Anthony Blunt asked me to dissuade him from working on that artist (that is another story to be found in the companion volume to this, *David Bindman: 'An Alien of Extraordinary Ability'* (printed privately)). We also share the proud boast that we are the only Blake scholars who, so far as we know, believe that Blake, as well as being very good, can also be very bad; for some reason this shocks our American colleagues. I would like to acknowledge the help of Anne Lyles who also suggested the subject, the staff of the Clore Gallery Print Room, Tate Britain, in particular Christine Kurpiel, and the Paper Conservation Department of Tate Britain.

1. A. Cunningham, 'William Blake', in *Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters, Sculptors, and Archi-*

A handful of Blake's drawings were engraved for Varley's *A Treatise on Zodiacal Physiognomy*, the first and only volume of which was published in 1828. Despite the vast amount of anecdotal reportage of Blake's nocturnal activity while doing the Heads, it is only relatively recently that the full extent of all these works and their ramifications, involving all three artists – Blake, Varley and Linnell – has become fully known. This paper discusses the discovery of much of the material associated with the Heads and in particular the reappearance of Varley's working drawings for his *Treatise*.²

Up until the mid-1960s some seventy-five separate Heads were known, variously dated between 1819 and 1825 and including such famous examples as *The Ghost of a Flea* (also developed as a tempera painting) and *The Man who Taught Blake Painting in his Dreams*; all but one of these drawings are in Tate Britain. Then, in 1967, came the discovery of the first known sketchbook begun by Varley but taken over by Blake in 1819 for his nocturnal visions. It provided invaluable evidence of the closeness of the two artists and the way these drawings were originally made: four of the Visionary Heads that were already known were seen to have been drawn on pages that were originally part of the sketchbook.

Some twenty-two years later, again at Christie's, came the sale of what has, perforce, become known as the 'Large Blake–Varley Sketchbook' (private collection), also of 1819. It is similar in its contents and structure to the previously sold 'Small Blake–Varley Sketchbook' (as it must now be known; broken up before the 1971 Christie's sale), in that Blake had taken over and used a sketchbook already being used by Varley. More recently still G.E. Bentley, Jr., has reconstructed the contents of a still larger sketchbook, the one described by Allan Cunningham in 1830. This, now known as the 'Folio Sketchbook', consists of large drawings of Visionary Heads previously regarded as having being separate works.³

One of the extraordinary features of Blake's Visionary Heads is the number of replicas and copies of them, made by a variety of means – counterproofs, tracings and, it would seem, the Patent Graphic Telescope invented by John Varley's brother Cornelius Varley. There is plenty of evidence of this being used by the two brothers

tects, 5 vols., 2nd ed., London, 1830, 11, pp.170–75, reprinted in G.E. Bentley, *Blake Records*, 2nd ed., Oxford, 2004, pp.648–51.

2. Blake's 'Visionary Heads' and his possible madness are covered in detail in G.E. Bentley Jr., *The Stranger from Paradise: A Biography of William Blake*, Oxford, 2001, pp.368–82, and, in strict chronological order, G.E. Bentley, *Blake Records*, *op. cit.* (note 1), pp. 346–69, 407–9, 424–26 and *passim*. See also A. Gilchrist, 'John Varley and the Visionary Heads: 1818–20', in *Life of William Blake*, London, 1863, reprinted ed. W. Graham Robertson, London, 1907, and Mineola (Dover edition), 1998, pp.270–75. For Blake's dependence upon eidetic images, see J. Burke, 'The eidetic and the borrowed image: an interpretation of Blake's theory and practice of art', in F. Philipp and J. Stewart, eds., *In Honour of Daryl Lindsay: Essays and Studies*, Melbourne, 1964, pp.110–27, reprinted in R.N. Essick, ed., *The Visionary Hand*, Los Angeles, 1973, pp.253–302.

3. The Small Blake–Varley Sketchbook (dispersed at Christie's sale, 15 July 1971, lots 141–72) is catalogued in M. Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, New Haven and London, 1981, pp.495–506, no.692 (later references to Butlin's numbers will be in the form 'B692'); the first owner is, however, incorrectly given as William Mulready, who in fact owned the Large Blake–Varley Sketchbook. The Small Blake–Varley Sketchbook is also illustrated in facsimile, with a commentary, in M. Butlin, *The Blake–Varley Sketchbook of 1819*, London, 1969. The Large Blake–Varley Sketchbook is catalogued and illustrated in L.M.C.K. [Laura Keen], *The Larger Blake–Varley Sketchbook*, Christie's sale catalogue, London, 21 March 1989. For the Folio Sketchbook see G.E. Bentley, Jr., 'Blake's Visionary Heads: lost drawings and a lost book', in T. Fulford, ed., *Revolution and Millenarianism*, New York and Basingstoke, 2002, pp. 183–205. Both Blake–Varley Sketchbooks, together with the Folio Sketchbook, are analysed and listed in Bentley 2004, *op. cit.* (note 1), pp. 347–63.



Fig.13.1 John Varley, *Gemini, Cancer and Ghost of a Flea*, three heads for plate 5 of *A Treatise on Zodiacal Physiognomy*, c.1828. Pencil on paper, 14.5 × 22.6 cm (Tate)

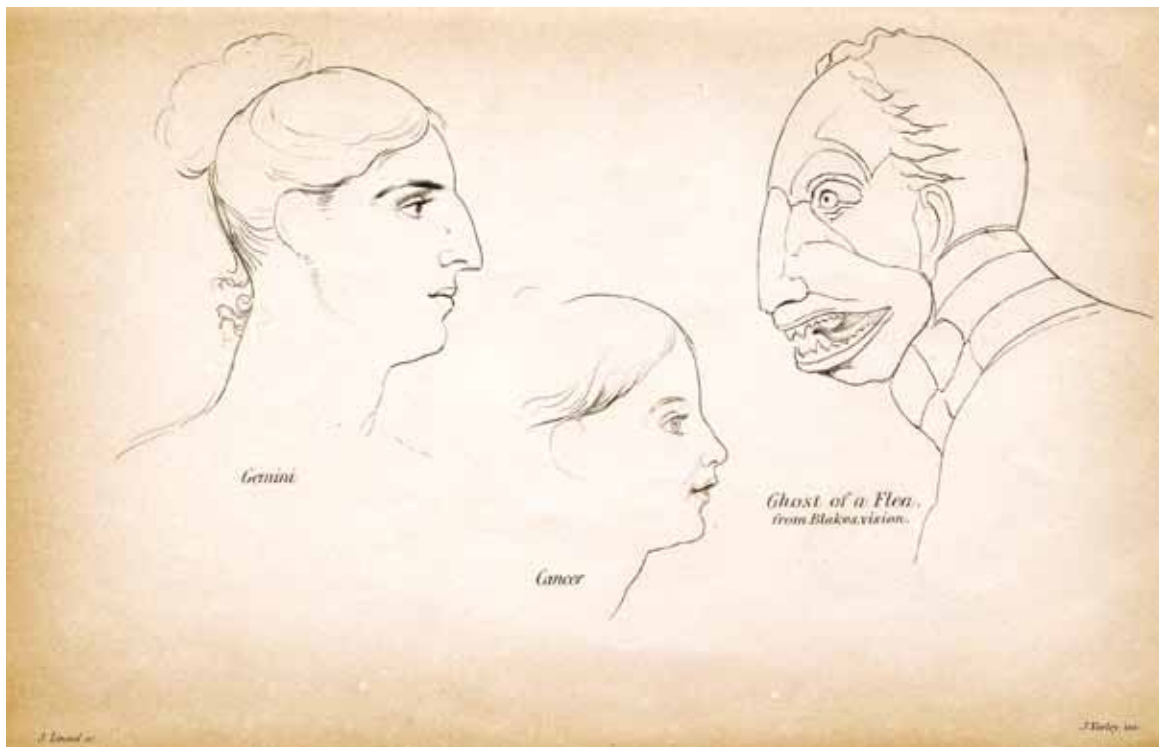


Fig.13.2 John Linnell after John Varley, plate 5 of *A Treatise on Zodiacal Physiognomy*, 1828 (British Museum)

for both landscapes and portrait drawings, and the characteristics of some of the versions of the Visionary Heads are the same as of those works: no reversal, variation in size, near but not complete accuracy to the original and a slight deadness in the line.⁴ A particularly 'good breeder' is the 'Wat Tyler by W^m Blake, from his Spectre. as in the act of striking the Tax Gatherer on the head. drawn Octr 30. 1819. 1h AM' (inscribed thus by Varley). This subject, apparently first drawn in the Large Blake–Varley Sketchbook, where it was page 66, also exists in two counterproofs (one of which comes from the same sketchbook) and two replicas.⁵ Blake himself made a version in tempera of *The Ghost of a Flea*, and there were copies in oil done by John Linnell in October and November 1819 of at least two other subjects, *William Wallace* and *Edward 1st*.⁶ All this activity suggests some commercial intention, particularly as Blake is recorded as telling Henry Crabb Robinson on 19 February 1826, a year after the last dated Visionary Head, that, although he continued to see such visions, he would not draw any more of them: 'It is not worthwhile ... Besides there are so many that the labour would be too great – And there would be no use in it.'⁷ What did he mean by 'use', one wonders?

Some commercial use did in fact follow, however, again involving the three artists, Blake, Varley and Linnell. Linnell made engravings after copies by Varley of Blake's original drawings of *The Ghost of a Flea* with open and closed mouth, inscribed as 'from Blakes. Vision', and also of the reverse of *The Coin of Nebuchadnezzar* 'after Blake'; these appear on plates 5 and 6 of *A Treatise on Zodiacal Physiognomy*.⁸ In addition, the front of the *Coin of Nebuchadnezzar* and the head of *Cancer* appear on a unique copy of an uninscribed engraving from the Keynes collection, probably done for a later volume of the *Treatise*.⁹ It is just possible that these were done directly from Blake's drawings, but the ones in the *Treatise* were inscribed with variants of the inscriptions 'J. Varley inv' and 'J. Linnell [sic] sc.'. How directly Blake may have been concerned with the publication is unclear, particularly as the first of the intended four volumes was not published until 1828, a year after his death.

The amount of energy that Varley put in to preparing the illustrations for the *Treatise* is apparent from a group of twenty-seven drawings he made for the book, which was acquired by Tate Britain in 1997; two other examples had already been acquired six years earlier.¹⁰ All these drawings had descended from John Linnell and had been sold by his great-grandson J.S. Linnell, O.W.C.S. (Old Water-Colour

4. See J. Gage, *A Decade of English Naturalism 1810–1820*, exh. cat. (Norwich Castle Museum and Victoria & Albert Museum), London, 1969, p.16, the Telescope illustrated on cover and p.17; M. Butlin, 'Blake, the Varleys and the Graphic Telescope', in M.D. Paley and M. Phillips, eds., *William Blake: Essays in Honour of Sir Geoffrey Keynes*, Oxford, 1973, pp.294–304; and C.M. Kauffmann, *John Varley, 1778–1842*, London, 1984, pp.132–35, with illustrations of examples of portraits done with the aid of the Patent Graphic Telescope.

5. See B737–40, illustrated pls.950–53 (B737 is in fact numbered '66' upside-down) and Keen, *op. cit.* (note 3), as page 65, illustrated; this last also bears two drawings of Wat Tyler's mouth.

6. The Tate tempera of the *Flea* is illustrated in colour in M. Butlin, *William Blake 1757–1827*, Tate Gallery Collection v, 1990, p.159; Bentley 2004, *op. cit.* (note 1), p.363.

7. Bentley 2001, *op. cit.* (note 2), p.418; Bentley 2004, *op. cit.* (note 1), pp.434–35.

8. Plate 5 is illustrated in Butlin 1969, *op. cit.* (note 3), pl.vii.

9. R.N. Essick, *The Separate Plates of William Blake*, Princeton, 1983, pp.246–47, no.lvii, ill. fig.112; Blake's drawings ill. figs.113–14.

10. Tate acquisitions nos.T06494–5 (*Tate Gallery Biennial Report, 1990–92*, p.46) and T07246–70, 07387–8 (*Tate Gallery Biennial Report 1996–98*, p.52, T07258 illustrated). These will be referred to in the form 'T06494', etc.

Society) in a parcel at Sotheby's in 1964.¹¹ It was bought by Hugo Schwab, in whose memory the first two examples were given to the Tate in 1991. In 1984 Christie's sold five sheets, two of which can be identified as being distinct from the main group by the inscriptions recorded in the catalogue.¹² No sale of the rest of the group has been traced but they subsequently passed to the Trim Bridge Galleries, Bath, from whom they were finally acquired by the Tate in 1997.

What the new material demonstrates is the variety of the preparatory work done for the *Treatise*. Some of the sheets are quite clearly page layouts, with three, six or eight heads arranged on a page; in some cases the more usual profile heads are varied by the insertion of a half-profile. Some are inscribed with zodiacal names such as Cancer, Gemini, Taurus and Aries; other zodiacal identities, such as 'Capella as transmitted from Taurus' can be inferred from the inscriptions to the plates in the *Treatise*.¹³ The drawings include a layout of plate 5 of the *Treatise*, showing Gemini, Cancer and the Ghost of a Flea with a truly comical head of the last, sticking out a protruding, proboscis-like tongue (Figs. 13.1 and 13.2).¹⁴ On one drawing these heads are accompanied by the appropriate zodiacal signs.¹⁵ One page is inscribed with criticism by Varley of Linnell's proof engraving of *The Ghost of a Flea*, together with further criticism of the engraving of Aries on plate 1 of the *Treatise* accompanied by a sketch of the latter by Varley.¹⁶ Two further pages bear what seem to be drafts for the text of the *Treatise*, possibly for the intended unpublished volumes.¹⁷ Two pages are crowded with heads, both profile and full-face (Fig. 13.3),¹⁸ while another shows three heads full-face apparently illustrating 'Self will' as on plate 3, fig. 2 of the *Treatise*.¹⁹ Sometimes individual heads are more casually drawn on the page, or even drawn on separate bits of paper stuck on to the main sheet (Fig. 13.4).²⁰ The heads are sometimes accompanied by details of eyes, which played an important part in Varley's theories.²¹ The drawings are mainly in pencil but in some cases have been strengthened in ink. There are further rough sketches on the backs of some of the sheets.

The quality of the drawings varies widely. A superior example is the central one of three female heads, two of Taurus and one of Libra, which is far better than its companions (Fig. 13.5). In other cases it is very difficult to tell what zodiacal heads Varley is depicting. Two drawings are rather distinct from the rest, showing the head and shoulders of a girl, apparently the same sitter in both cases, in an interior.²² However, a tiny, almost caricature-like head has been added at the bottom of one of these (Fig. 13.6). In addition the backs of both drawings bear inscriptions and a

11. Sotheby's, London, 10 June 1964, lot 9.

12. Christie's, London, 20 March 1984, lot 28 as ex Hugo Schwab.

13. Ill. Kauffmann, *op. cit.* (note 4), fig. 17 as plate 4 of *The Treatise*; this is the pencilled number of the plate in the copy in the National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Varley's plate numbers in his text are highly confusing; see main text below.

14. Varley's drawing is ill. *Tate Report 1990–92*, p. 46; Linnell's engraving for the *Treatise* is illustrated in Butlin 1969, *op. cit.* (note 3), pl. vii.

15. T07260.

16. T06494, illustrated Butlin 1969, *op. cit.* (note 3), pl. vi.

17. T07246 and 07252.

18. T07268–69.

19. T07253.

20. T02749 and 02752.

21. T07247, 07250, 07259, 07260 and 07261.

22. T07387–8.

Fig.13.3 John Varley, *Heads and Eyes*, for *A Treatise on Zodiacal Physiognomy*, c.1828. Pen over pencil on paper, 16 × 19.4 cm (Tate)



Fig.13.4 John Varley, *Gemini, Other Heads and Two Eyes*, for *A Treatise on Zodiacal Physiognomy*, c.1828. Pencil on various pieces of paper, 12.9 × 21.5 cm (Tate)



Fig.13.5 John Varley, *Taurus, Libra and Taurus*, three heads for *A Treatise on Zodiacal Physiognomy*, c.1828. Pencil on paper, 13 × 20.6 cm (Tate)



Fig.13.6 John Varley, *A Girl in an Interior*, with caricature head, c.1825–28. Pencil on paper, 22 × 18.5 cm (Tate)

number of heads, both physiognomic and, in the case of T07388, three variants of the portrait-like head on the *recto*.

The drawings are on a number of different kinds of paper and between them incorporate seven different watermarks: 'I+S 1813', 'Basted Mill 1817', '1825', 'Wise & Co', 'J WH... TURK...1' (presumably 'J Whatman Turkey Mill', cut by the edge of the paper), '1823', and 'Hagar & Son 1825'.²³ The variety of papers and dates demonstrates Varley's casual approach, or perhaps his anxiety to use up stocks of spare paper. More of an aid in determining when he began work on the illustrations to his *Treatise* is page 12 in the Small Blake–Varley Sketchbook of 1819, which bears drawings very similar in character to some of the works in the group depicting a variety of different heads, casually arranged on the page. One of these heads, almost a caricature, appears among the group of Varley drawings in the small sketchbook, presumably done before Blake took it over for his own visions. Two very similar profiles appear on the reverse of the *Visionary Head of Socrates*; there is also a rather crude profile on page 97 of the Small Blake–Varley Sketchbook that looks more like Varley's hand than Blake's.²⁴

Thinking in reverse, one finds oneself assigning signs of the zodiac to Blake's original Visionary Heads, though whether he discussed such things with Varley while he was making his drawings is unclear. Blake would have been interested in the subject of Varley's *Treatise*, having been engaged, through Fuseli's sponsorship, in engraving four plates for the English translation of Johann Caspar Lavater's *Essays on Physiognomy, Designed to Promote the Knowledge and the Love of Mankind*, vol.1, published in 1789. He was also aware of the development of Lavater's theories by Johann Caspar Spurzheim, who had settled in London in 1814 and whose *Observations on the Deranged Manifestations of the Mind, or Insanity* he annotated in 1817.²⁵

Varley, however, went much further than these authors in his determinist view that the precise moment of one's birth determined one's physiognomy as well as one's character. He even boasted that 'whenever such as are called black-eyed persons, have given me a time of birth which would suit for the ascending of Sagittarius, I have invariably found they have been obliged to acknowledge a mistake, or have confessed their uncertainty as to the exact time' (p.41). Ever the patriot, Varley was happy to stress the favourable stars under which such figures as the Duke of Wellington (p.6) and 'his Royal Highness the late Duke of York' (p.7) had been born. He also singles out artists, engineers and craftsmen under examples of people born under Aries, including 'Van Dyke, Wm. Mulready, Mr. Brunel, jun, civil engineer' and 'the late John Scott, the eminent engraver of animals' (pp.44–45).

The six plates of the only published volume of the *Treatise* are, typically, somewhat muddled, in that some of the illustrations clearly relate to the future, unpublished, volumes. Inscriptions, when present, usually indicate the signs of the zodiac but can also be to such aspects of character as 'Self Will' or 'Goodness' or to such a detail as 'Masked Eyeball'. The plates themselves are not numbered and their order varies in different copies of the book (perhaps as a result of later rebinding). References to the plates in the text can be either to numbers or to capital letters. On each plate there are sometimes, but not always, individual 'fig.' numbers.

23. Respectively T07246, 07251, 07252, 07254, 07267, 07287 and 07288.

24. B713, pl.929; B692 57, ill. Butlin 1969, *op. cit.* (note 3) and Butlin 1990, p.158.

25. A.K. Mellor, 'Physiognomy, phrenology, and Blake's Visionary Heads', in R.N. Essick and D. Pearce, eds., *Blake in His Time*, Bloomington and London, 1978, pp. 53–74; S. Erle, *Blake, Lavater and Physiognomy*, London, 2010.

This lack of method is typical of Varley. Despite the relative conservatism of his watercolours and teaching, he was anything but orthodox in his behaviour. He was highly superstitious and rejoiced in his many misfortunes provided that they had been foretold in the stars, as when, on more than one occasion, his house burnt down. He was delighted to be introduced to Blake by John Linnell, whose drawing of the two of them in 1821 (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge) shows their disparity of character – Varley eager and expansive, Blake cautious and sceptical.²⁶ Varley's *Treatise* reflects his chaotic, erratic and credulous nature. Nor would Blake have approved of its contents.

However, Varley's lack of pecuniary success matched that of Blake and both were associated with madness, sometimes jointly. For example, Varley's *Treatise* was described in *The Literary Gazette* for 11 October 1828 as 'a work of really too absurd a nature to be tolerated in the present age', with the added comment: 'But seriously speaking, the madness of Blake ... is too serious a subject to be jested with.'²⁷ However, the whole enterprise should be valued, if for nothing else, for Varley's transcript of Blake's conversation with the Ghost of a Flea. It was first published in the *Treatise* but reached a much wider audience in a review of that work in *The Literary Gazette* for 27 December 1828:

With respect to the vision of the ghost of the Flea, seen by Blake, it agrees in countenance with one class of people under Gemini, which sign is the significator of the Flea; whose brown colour is appropriate to the colour of the eyes in some full-toned Gemini persons. And the neatness, elasticity, and tenseness of the Flea, are significant of the elegant dancing and fencing sign of Gemini. This spirit visited his imagination in such a figure as he never anticipated in an insect. As I was anxious to make the most correct investigation in my power, of the truth of these visions, on hearing of this spiritual apparition of a Flea, I asked him if he could draw for me the resemblance of what he saw: he instantly said, 'I see him now before me.' I therefore gave him paper and pencil, with which he drew the portrait, of which a fac-simile is given in this number. I felt convinced by his mode of proceeding, that he had a real image before him, for he left off, and began on another part of the paper, to make a separate drawing of the mouth of the Flea, which the spirit having opened, he was prevented from proceeding with the first sketch, till he had closed it. During the time occupied in completing the drawing, the Flea told him that all fleas were inhabited by the souls of such men, as were by nature blood-thirsty to excess, and were therefore providentially confined to the size and form of insects; otherwise, were he himself for instance the size of a horse, he would depopulate a great portion of the country. He added, that if in attempting to leap from one island to another, he should fall into the sea, he could swim, and should not be lost. This spirit afterwards appeared to Blake, and afforded him a view of his whole figure, an engraving of which I shall give in this work.²⁸

26. The drawing is ill. Butlin 1969, *op. cit.* (note 3), pl.1. Linnell described the drawing and Blake's scorn for astrology in his manuscript autobiography (private collection); see Bentley 2004, *op. cit.* (note 2), p.368.

27. Bentley 2001, *op. cit.* (note 2), pp.377–78; Bentley 2004, *op. cit.* (note 1), p.489.

28. Bentley 2004, *op. cit.* (note 1), pp.492–93. Blake's drawing of the Head of the Flea with its mouth closed, accompanied by a separate drawing of the open mouth, is B692 98, illustrated Butlin 1990, *op. cit.* (note 6), p.158, that of the Flea full-length B692 94, ill. Butlin 1969, *op. cit.* (note 3).

Both views of the Flea, but not the full length, were engraved for the *Treatise* and the whole operation gives some idea of the madcap, harum-scarum world that Blake, Varley and Linnell occupied when working on the Visionary Heads and *The Treatise on Zodiacal Physiognomy*.

As an appendix to this essay it is hoped to produce detailed provisional catalogue entries to each of the drawings, which will be deposited at Tate Britain.

London, formerly Tate Britain

William Blake's Sodomites

MARTIN MYRONE

THE SIMPLE TITLE of David Bindman's major study *Blake as an Artist* (Phaidon, 1977) is deceptive; for in the formulation proposed by those four words lies a constellation of divergences from and challenges to dominant scholarly thinking. To insist that Blake can properly be viewed as a visual artist can, or should, force some significant adjustments, even inversions, within the dominant forms of Blake scholarship. Centrally, it means putting the series of famed Illuminated Books that occupied Blake for a moment in the early 1790s and then – with the production of *Milton* and *Jerusalem* – from around 1804, in perspective, placing them alongside the (generally illustrational) watercolours and paintings that occupied him more consistently over his lifetime – but which have so often been dismissed or diminished by literary historians, who view these works as lacking the distinctiveness, personality and originality they seek. It means, also, looking at Blake alongside contemporaries and inspirations like John Flaxman and Henry Fuseli, James Barry and Thomas Stothard. And it means at least suggesting that Blake – the visionary, eccentric, marginal, radical or anarchic Blake – could be comprehensible even within the ostensibly conservative framework of mainstream academic art theory of the period. Bindman went so far as to propose that Blake could be framed in the terms offered by Sir Joshua Reynolds in his discussion of a distinct, but still meritorious division of the grand style:

which may be called the original or characteristical style, being less referred to any true archetype existing either in general or particular nature, must be supported by the painter's consistency in the principles which he has assumed, and in the union and harmony of his whole design.¹

Even almost forty years on, the kind of art-historical Blake envisaged by Bindman remains remarkably scarce; as Keri Davies and David Worrall recently remarked, the fact that 'Blake was a part-time poet but a full-time visual artist' is still routinely overlooked, as 'the study of Blake remains amazingly over-determined around a very fairly [*sic*] narrow set of texts' while 'art historians working in universities have more or less abandoned Blake'.²

I want here to review two thematically linked works by Blake from the long series of watercolours illustrating Dante's *Divine Comedy* that occupied him in the

IN ITS CONJUGATION of Blake, Fuseli and Flaxman this chapter owes much to David Bindman's teaching, which I experienced as an undergraduate at the former Queen Mary and Westfield College and then UCL in the early 1990s. His faith, encouragement and support have been a constant during the twenty years since then, for which I am hugely grateful.

1. Quoted in D. Bindman, *Blake as an Artist*, Oxford, 1977, p.10.

2. K. Davies and D. Worrall, 'Inconvenient truths: re-historicizing the politics of dissent and anti-nomianism', in M. Crosby, T. Patenaude and A. Whitehead, eds., *Re-envisioning Blake*, Basingstoke, 2012, pp.30–47 (p.33).



final three years of his life (c.1824–27). While my focus is on small points of iconography, these raise themes of sodomy and scatological abuse and therefore questions around Blake's treatment of gender and sexuality which have been so central to recent literary and historical work on the artist. I want also, if only suggestively, to think about some of the unfulfilled potential which still remains in the art-historical reading of Blake.

The first image is *Dante and Virgil among the Blasphemers* (Fig. 14.1).³ This has been known in the modern literature under several titles but illustrations, as annotations on the sheet reveal, Canto 14 of the *Inferno*, wherein Dante the narrator and his poetic guide through the afterlife, Virgil, come to a barren plain where they see three kinds of sinners suffering for their crimes: the blasphemers, prostrate; the usurers, sitting; and a third group running incessantly.⁴ Although there is no explicit statement given in Cantos 14–16 (the sequence dealing with their punishment) as to the nature of the particular sin committed by the running souls, these characters were identified in translation as sinners 'against Nature', which phrasing would have made absolutely

Fig.14.1. William Blake, *Dante and Virgil Among the Blasphemers*, c. 1824–27. Watercolor, black ink, graphite, and black chalk on off-white antique laid paper, 37 × 52.3 cm (Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Mass., Bequest of Grenville L. Winthrop, 1943.433)

3. M. Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, 2 vols., New Haven and London, 1981, 1, p.564 (as 'The Blasphemers, the Usurers and the Sodomites').

4. J. Pequigney, 'Sodomy in Dante's *Inferno* and *Purgatorio*', *Representations*, 36 (Autumn 1991), pp.22–52; J. E. Boswell, 'Dante and the sodomites', *Dante Studies*, 112 (1994), pp.63–76; B.W. Holsinger, 'Sodomy and resurrection: the homoerotic subject of the *Divine Comedy*', in L. Fradenburg and C. Freccero with K. Lavezzo, *Premodern Sexualities*, New York and London, 1996, pp.243–74; S. Stowell, 'Visualizing the sodomites in Dante's *Commedia*', *Dante Studies*, 126 (2008), pp.143–74.

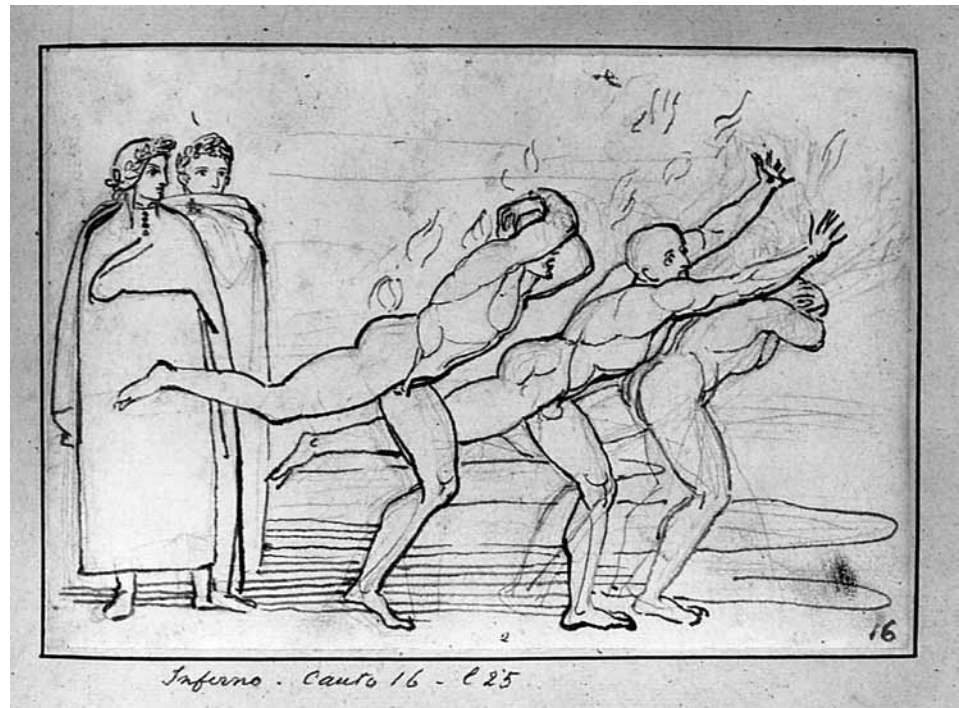


Fig.14.2. John Flaxman, sketch illustrating Dante's *Inferno*, Canto 16, c.1792–93. Pencil and pen and ink on paper (National Gallery of Art, Washington, Rosenwald Collection)

evident to any contemporary readers that their crime was male homosexuality, identified with the act of sodomy – ‘the infamous *crime against nature*’.⁵

Giving the work the generic title of ‘The Blasphemers’ in his pioneering list of Blake’s works (1863), William Michael Rossetti noted – implying that such was noteworthy – that, ‘A woman is a principal figure in it’.⁶ Albert S. Roe, whose commentary on the Dante illustrations (1953) has been a dominant influence over modern interpretation, noted the prominent presence of a woman in this scene without further comment, interpreting the flames in strictly Blakean terms as punishment for those consumed by ‘pure physical desire unilluminated by love’.⁷ In his authoritative catalogue of Blake’s paintings, Martin Butlin offers no comment at all, nor does Milton Klonksy in his account of the series, while Bindman simply raises an eyebrow in noting Dante’s encounter with the group of figures, ‘mysteriously including a woman’.⁸

The incongruity is all the more notable given the immediate pictorial source for Blake, in John Flaxman’s series of line engravings (issued privately in Italy in 1793 and published in Britain in 1807), the only sustained modern cycle of illustration and a formative precedent for Blake’s project.⁹ Blake’s direct model appears not to have been any of the published plates for Cantos 14–16, but rather a preparatory drawing

5. Henry Francis Cary, *The Vision: Or Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise of Dante Alighieri*, 2nd ed., London, 1819, 1, p.117; similarly, H. Boyd, *The Divina Commedia of Dante Alighieri*, 3 vols. London, 1802, 1, p.219, ‘Crimes against Nature’. Also quoted here, W. Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (1765–69), quoted at R. Norton, ed., ‘Blackstone’s Commentaries, 1769’, in *Homosexuality in Eighteenth-Century England: A Sourcebook*, 26 November 2006 <<http://rictornorton.co.uk/eighteen/1769blac.htm>>.

6. In A. Gilchrist, *Life of William Blake*, new and enlarged edition, 2 vols., London 1880, II, p.229.

7. A.S. Roe, *Blake’s Illustrations to the Divine Comedy*, Princeton, 1953, p.81.

8. Butlin, *op. cit.* (note 3), II, p.564; M. Klonksy, *Blake’s Dante: The Complete Illustrations to the Divine Comedy*, New York, 1980, p.143; D. Bindman, *The Divine Comedy: William Blake*, Paris, 2000, p.74.

9. See F. Salvadori, ed., *John Flaxman: The Illustrations for Dante’s Divine Comedy*, London, 2004.

for Canto 16 (Fig. 14.2) where four sodomites are shown running together, in a dynamic, interlocking grouping which, from its overall disposition and down to the arrangement of limbs, has been lifted quite comprehensively by Blake.¹⁰ Flaxman's figures are, though, distinctly masculine, with the male genitals of two figures to the left visible, and a third figure, turned away with arms over his head, displaying an evidently masculine physique with a marked musculature. And yet Flaxman's design must have been Blake's source. Although he is credited with knowledge of Vellutello's sixteenth-century illustrated edition of Dante, the miniaturised hordes ranged within architectonically expressed circles which characterise those illustrations – including the rendering of sodomites in Canto 14–16 – could hardly have been a very immediate inspiration for him. Sodomites wrapped in flames do fly forwards to the right in Vellutello's wood engraving, in the lower left-hand quarter of the circular design, but they are also all quite patently intended as male and it would be hard, given all the variances of scale and treatment, to argue for any direct indebtedness to this plate.¹¹ An outside possibility would be the engraving for the luxurious Zatta edition (1757–58); while the plate for Canto 14 shows the sodomites only obscurely, as seen through trees, the plate for Canto 15 featuring a group of sodomites in a burning pit reaching up to Dante and Virgil has six distinct figures, the foremost of which has the long hair, small breasts and curvaceous figure, disposed in a gentle sway approximating a *venus pudica*, which would make her identification as female entirely reasonable.¹² Flaxman did own the 1784 edition of Zatta, and may have drawn on the plates for a general sense of the pictorial scheme and some iconographic details, although he owed nothing to it in conceiving his illustrations for Cantos 14–16; if Blake had somehow gained access to the Italian plates, and noted the figures illustrating Canto 15, this would only make his adjustment of the content of Flaxman's far more decisively relevant design all the more deliberate.¹³

If Blake's illustration departs from the pictorial precedent set by Flaxman, and the commonplace identification of sodomy as an act of male homosexuality, he had, in this case, English law on his side. For this dictated that 'Buggery, or Sodomy, is the carnal knowledge of a man or beast, against the order of nature; and it may be committed by a man with a man (which is the most common), or by a man with a woman, or by a man or woman with a beast'.¹⁴ Yet, quite precisely within Blake's time, sodomy was consolidated in the public imagination as a crime involving anal sex between men, with the infamous case of the Venn Street 'monsters' and the escalation of prosecutions (more than fifty resulting in hanging in the first thirty-five years of the century).¹⁵ Indeed, historians have pointed to this moment as a key stage in the fixing of modern gender roles, including the male homosexual.

10. National Gallery of Art, Washington, Rosenwald Collection, 1943.3.3734 f.55r; Salvadori, *op. cit.* (note 9), pp.84–85.

11. See D. Pirovano, ed., *Alessandro Vellutello: La 'Comedia' di Dante Algieri con la nova Esposizione*, 3 vols., Rome, 2006, 1, figs. 23–24. The evidence that Blake owned, or at least had in his possession at the time of his death, an edition of Vellutello's Dante derives from its mention in the obituary of the artist in *The Literary Gazette*, 18 August 1827; G.E. Bentley, *Blake Records*, 2nd ed., New Haven and London, 2004, p.466.

12. *La Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri*, 2 vols., Venice 1757–58, 1, p.156 and p.168.

13. On Flaxman's knowledge of Italian editions see Salvadori, *op. cit.* (note 9), pp.19–20.

14. W. Addington, *An Abridgement of Penal Statutes*, London 1795, p.117.

15. A.D. Harvey, 'Prosecutions for sodomy in England at the beginning of the nineteenth century', *The Historical Journal*, 21 (1978), 4, pp.939–48 (p.939); also, C.Z. Hobson, *Blake and Homosexuality*, Basingstoke, 2000.



Fig.14.3. William Blake, Vanni Fucci 'Making Figs' against God, (*Inferno* xxv, 1–15). Illustration for *The Divine Comedy* by Dante Alighieri, 1824–27. Pen and ink and watercolour over pencil and traces of black chalk, with sponging 52.7 × 37.2 cm (National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne) Felton Bequest, 1920

Blake's illustration to Canto 14 obscures, or at least complicates, homosexual content which might readily have been more explicit; it resists the (from this time, increasingly) ready identification of the sodomite as defined by genital activity. The second illustration to be considered here makes more explicit what could easily have been obscured. The design of *Vanni Fucci Making the Figs* (Fig. 14.3) refers to the opening lines of Canto 25 of the *Inferno*, as a defiant blasphemer – characterised by Blake as a massive, heroic figure on the model of the Miltonic Satan who recurs in much contemporary British art (including his own) – gestures to heaven, and is attacked by snakes:

When he spoke, the sinner raised his hands
Pointed in mockery, and cried: 'Take them, God!
I level them at thee.'¹⁶

The gesture made by Fucci with both hands is 'the figs', where the thumb is pushed between the first and second fingers. In his influential translation of Dante, Henry Francis Cary, quoted here, simply says that Fucci 'pointed'. In fact, none of the English translations that Blake might have had reference to would have directed him to create the specific gesture of the figs so clearly rendered here.¹⁷ He would of course have found it in the original Italian (in the Vellutello edition or in the parallel texts in the translations by Charles Rogers or some editions of Cary).¹⁸ But if there are anecdotal suggestions that Blake learned some Italian at the end of his life, the 'fiche' of the original would arguably have still been obscure to him without some additional explanation. Nor would he have found it in Flaxman, who avoided the scene altogether (instead illustrating the centaur who pursues Vanni Fucci, following a precedent in the Zatta edition), or in Vellutello's illustrations, where any figging (if present, which appears not to be the case) would anyway have been microscopic.

He would, though, have discovered considerably more via the detour of a note in Cary's editions of 1814 and 1819 (the latter being the text he would almost certainly have referred to in preparing the illustrations).¹⁹ This refers to a passage in Francis Douce's *Illustrations of Shakespeare* (1807) elucidating lines in *Henry V*, Act 3, Scene 6 ('Die and be damn'd! And figo for thy friendship!'): 'The practice of thrusting out the thumb between the first and second fingers to express the feeling of insult and contempt has prevailed very generally among the nations of Europe, and for

16. See A. Oldcorn, 'Canto XXV: the perverse image', in A. Mandelbaum, A. Oldcorn and C. Ross, eds., *Lectura Dantis: Inferno: A Canto-by-Canto Commentary*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1998, pp.328–47; also, stressing Blake's Satanic rendering of the character, C. Corti, 'Blake and Dante: hellish serpents and devilish serpentines', in G. Galigani, ed., *Italomania(s): Italy and the English Speaking World from Chaucer to Seamus Heaney*, Florence, 2007, pp.27–41.

17. C. Rogers, *The Inferno of Dante Translated*, London, 1782, p.94, had 'mocking signs'; Boyd, *op. cit.* (note 5), I, p.299, 'ruffian hands'; Nathaniel Howard, *The Inferno of Dante Alighieri*, London 1807, p.149, 'clench'd hands'. Of these versions, Blake is known to have owned and annotated only the Boyd translation (as published in 1785); see Geoffrey Keynes, 'Blake's copy of Dante's *Inferno*', in *Blake Studies*, Oxford 1971, pp.147–54.

18. Rogers, *The Inferno* (note 9), p.94, and Henry Francis Cary, *The Inferno of Dante Alighieri*, 2 vols., London, 1805, II, p.136.

19. The 1819 edition was the most widely distributed; it is noted as being by him at his death along with Vellutello in the *The Literary Gazette*, 18 August 1827; G.E. Bentley, *op. cit.* (note 11), p.466. Blake's knowledge of the Cary translation is testified to by other sources as well; he also knew the author personally. See M.D. Paley, *The Traveller in the Evening: The Last Works of William Blake*, Oxford, 2003, p.111 and n.

many ages been denominated *making the fig*, or described at least by some equivalent expression'.²⁰ Douce – a collector of Blake's works who probably knew the artist personally – went to the trouble of illustrating no fewer than five antique objects incorporating this obscene gesture and evoked a range of Latin and Italian sources:

The Italian *fica* seems more intimately and etymologically connected with the obscure disease known to the Romans by the name of *ficus*, a term, with its appendages, rather to be conceived than fully explained in this place ... Whether it is abstractedly a symbol of the *ficus* Itself, and, in the use, connected with the very worst of its causes; whether it be the genuine remains of a custom actually known among the Romans; or whether a corruption of the *infamis digitus*, must be left to every one's own determination. The complicated ambiguity of the word *fica* must be likewise attended to; and whoever is at a loss on this occasion may consult the *early* Italian dictionaries.²¹

The 'complicated ambiguity' alluded to here is the etymological and cultural complexity involved in the 'fig' in Latin and Italian, confounding gender distinctions and making reference to both male and female genitals, vaginal sex, anal sex and the anal ruptures (*ficus*) that might result.²² Douce had to make special efforts to introduce this 'ambiguity', for even the modern antiquarian authorities he refers to were (perhaps unexpectedly) both more definite and more discreet on this matter: for Winckelmann the gesture, if 'obscene', represented 'the tongue issuing from between the two lips'; Richard Payne Knight in his infamous account of priapic antiquities noted the association of the gesture with phallic symbolism without elaborating.²³ Douce's interpretation of the gesture as necessarily evoking the 'crime against nature' was also errant within Shakespeare scholarship; the allusion had previously been explained with reference to 'the custom of giving poison'd figs to those who were the objects of Spanish or Italian revenge', a reading which was generally preferred.²⁴ Douce himself notes that the Latin associations with anal sex and its consequences were retained in German and Dutch, but were lost in English usage: 'With us the expression has happily dwindled altogether into a more innocent meaning.'²⁵ But the base bodily associations he endeavoured to recover are perhaps necessary to understand the full force of Vanni Fucci's gesture against God, and to

20. Cary 1819, *op. cit.* (note 5), 1, pp.215–16n, referring to Francis Douce's *Illustrations of Shakespeare and of Ancient Manners*, 2 vols., London, 1807, 1, p.492.

21. Douce, *op. cit.* (note 20), 1, p.494. On the relationship between Blake and Douce see J.K. Stemmler, "'Undisturbed above Once in a Lustre": Francis Douce, George Cumberland and William Blake at the Bodleian Library and Ashmolean Museum', *Blake An Illustrated Quarterly*, 26 (Summer 1992), 1, pp.9–14, esp. p.14, citing the evidence of a letter from George Cumberland Jr. to Douce, 14 June 1826, which suggests they had met in person by that date.

22. See Holsinger, *op. cit.* (note 4), pp.250–51; Oldcorn, *op. cit.* (note 16), pp.332–33; see also J.P. Hallett, 'Something in excess? Priapea 50, 2', *Mnemosyne*, 4th series, 31 (1978), 2, pp.203–5; E. O'Connor, 'A note on Fici Suavitas in Priapea 69', *Mnemosyne*, 4th series, 35 (1982), 3/4, pp.340–42; J.N. Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary*, London, 1982, pp.113–14.

23. J.J. Winckelmann, *Critical Account of the Situation and Destruction by the first Eruption of Mount Vesuvius, or Herculaneum, Pompeii and Stabia*, London, 1771, p.50; *An Account of the Remains of the Worship of Priapus*, London, 1786, p.5.

24. See J. Ritson, *Remarks, Critical and Illustrative, on the text and notes of the last edition of Shakespeare*, London, 1783, p.109, referring to the Steevens edition of 1778, followed by, for example, T. Bowdler, *The Family Shakespeare*, 2nd ed., 10 vols., London, 1820, V, p.336.

25. Douce, *op. cit.* (note 20), 1, p.499.

match the heroic outrage performed by this Satanic superhero. William Michael Rossetti, at least, recognised the extreme inferences of Vanni Fucci's gestures: the title for the work given by him (1863) identifies the 'figs' and explains that it was 'grossly insulting'. Rossetti was of Italian heritage and knew Italy well; as Douce notes, following several literary references to 'figs' as anal sores, 'No one who has lived among Italians will fail to perceive the force of these quotations'.²⁶

In these specific instances and others, the Dante watercolours refer in more-or-less direct ways to the theme of sodomy, albeit in allusive, elusive ways, evading (in the presence of the female figure at the fore of the sodomites in the illustration to Canto 14) the fixing of sodomy as a male homosexual practice which was coming into force precisely at this point as part of a general firming up of set gender roles, and engaging (in the richly suggestive gestures of Vanni Fucci) with a deeply ambiguous signal of (probably sexual) obscenity. At the very least the allusions to sodomy and its purported physical as well as moral consequences in these designs ought to provide enticing evidence for the purveyors of the anti-homophobic, pro-sex, 'sexy' or 'queer' Blake who have become a significant force in Blake studies over the last decade or so.²⁷ Yet these claims have been pursued almost exclusively with reference to the Illuminated Books. Typically, the Dante watercolours are not even mentioned in Hobson's *Blake and Homosexuality* (2000), notwithstanding the laudatory comments asserting that his book 'picks up on every reference to homosexuality in Blake's writings and illustrations'.²⁸

But we could also shift our interpretation of the Dante illustrations in another direction. Bindman has noted of the designs that they are adept at 'creating an ambiguity between human and natural forms and the transformation of one form into another', dwelling particularly on the 'perpetual transformation' of certain characters into serpents and back again.²⁹ So tree trunks harbour the outlines of figures (*The Wood of the Self-Violators*, Tate); a monumentally muscular male figure seems at once nude and armoured (*The Course of Human History Personified*, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne); a vat of fire is both solid and transparent (*The Simoniac Pope*, Tate); serpentine and human forms fuse (*Agnello Brunelleschi Transformed by the Serpent*, Harvard Art Museums); and giants are simultaneously megaliths (*The Primeval Giants*, Tate). What facilitates these shape-shifting, palimpsestic qualities is Blake's distinctive technique for these works, combining a bounding tracery of pencil lines defining contours and outlines, kept visible through (and sometimes reinforced in ink over) broad, open patterns and washes of transparent colour, the

26. Ibid., p.495. Rossetti's own translation of Dante named 'the figs' directly and provided an explanatory note that this was 'a gesture of the grossest insult' (*The Comedy of Dante Alighieri Part I – The Hell*, London and Cambridge, 1865, p.175 and note).

27. See, respectively, Hobson, *op. cit.* (note 15); S. Matthews, *Blake, Sexuality and Bourgeois Politeness*, Cambridge, 2011; H.P. Bruder and T. Connolly, eds., *Queer Blake*, Basingstoke, 2010; H.P. Bruder and T. Connolly, eds., *Sexy Blake*, Basingstoke, 2013.

28. M. O'Rourke and D. Collings, 'Introduction: queer romanticisms: past, present, and future', *Romanticism on the Net*, 36-7 (November 2004), para.9 <<http://id.erudit.org/iderudit/011132ar>>. Elsewhere Hobson uses Blake's annotations to Boyd's essay on Dante as a starting point for his argument for the artist's anti-homophobic views, but still does not engage with his illustrations; see C.Z. Hobson, "'What is Liberty without Universal Toleration': Blake, homosexuality, and the cooperative commonwealth", in S. Clark and D. Worrall, eds., *Blake, Nation and Empire*, Basingstoke, 2006, pp.136–52 (p.136).

29. D. Bindman, 'Artists discover Dante', in D. Bindman, S. Hebron and M. O'Neill, *Dante Rediscovered: From Blake to Rodin*, Grasmere, 2007, pp.23–43 (p.34).



Fig. 14.4. Henry Fuseli, *The Punishment of the Thieves*, 1772. Pen and ink, watercolour and pencil on paper 46.3 × 61.3 cm (Kunsthhaus Zurich, Grafische Sammlung)

compressed perspective and large landscape forms organised to further facilitate shifts between and interrelationships over different planes, in defiance of conventional perspective.³⁰ The arrangement of Vanni Fucci's right hand, barely anatomically feasible, gives the impression of being a palimpsest; both clenched as a 'fig', and with a finger extended, that digit supplementary and distinctly outlined in ink, while the grey wash below seems just as certainly to define a closed hand. Blake's draughtsmanship generally abounds in these uncertain doublings or shifts, with flesh rendered sculptural, drapery fleshly, and contours which may be outlines or incisions (hence Coleridge's complaint about Blake's 'ambiguity' in designing the figure, 'sometimes' giving 'the effect of rigidity and sometimes of exossation', or confusing drapery with flesh).³¹

The paradoxical technique apparent here originates with the example of Fuseli and his followers. Their development from the 1770s of a highly idiosyncratic, experimental drawing style and exaggerated heroic imagery, which could readily be considered in relation to the Reynoldsian categories of the original and 'characteristical', provides the immediate context for Blake's visual art. In one of his earlier illustrations to Dante – among the first in British art and surely path-finding in relation to Blake's later works – Fuseli renders the punishment of the thieves as an awesome spectacle of mutating flesh, with Dante and Virgil as awestruck bystanders, bearing witness as snake and bulging human muscle interpenetrate and become confused (Fig. 14.4); the top of Virgil's head is left open, as too that of the main thief; Dante's

30. On Blake's watercolour technique in the Dante designs, see R. Lister, *Infernal Methods: A Study of William Blake's Art Techniques*, London, 1975, esp. pp.40–1; also, N.C. McManus and J.C. Townsend, 'Watercolour methods, and materials use in context', in J.C. Townsend, ed., *William Blake: The Painter at Work*, London, 2003, pp.61–79.

31. Quoted in Bentley, *op. cit.* (note 11), p.336.

hair and costume blend at some points with the Roman's. The linearity of Fuseli's style speaks less of rationality, clarity, order and control than of a certain kind of indeterminacy in the rendering of form (noted by contemporary critics as the uncontrollable excesses of Michelangeloesque bombast, or even signs of disease, intoxication or incompetence).³² The lightly sketched figure prostrate beneath the writhing thief to the right is both superheroically muscular and apparently stripped of flesh, both dead and alive; some forms are left lightly traced, or unfinished, outlined or incised. David Fuller, in his commentary on Blake's Dante illustrations, draws attention to the sexual elements in the punishment of the thieves, with the sensual entanglement of human and serpentine.³³ But what Fuller attributes to the literary source material might more properly be identified as an element of a visual mode arising in the last third of the eighteenth century with Fuseli and his associates. It has been noted of Dante illustration more generally that the Michelangeloesque aestheticisation of superhuman or supernatural suffering was the invention of the artists rather than something inherent in the original texts.³⁴ Fuseli, and Blake after him, took the spectacle of suffering in ambivalent new directions, presenting heroic male bodies as openly the object of masculine gazes and thus potentially eroticised in a way which was generally disavowed in the dominant culture, upsetting or confounding the gender certainties increasingly associated with biology from this point in history. Blake's apparent resistance to such fixed sexual divisions has been a major theme in Blake studies, but such discussions tend always to lead back to the question of what he believed, how his own difference was marked; what even these abbreviated reflections may suggest, I hope, is that we may need, still, to think more about Blake as an artist in order to position such works as cultural products of their time, and, as such, a proper object for mainstream art history.

Tate Britain

32. I expand on this point in M. Myrone, *Bodybuilding: Reforming Masculinities in British Art 1750–1810*, New Haven and London, 2005, pp.183–85, and with reference to Blake, 'The body of the blasphemer', in Connolly and Bruder, *op. cit.* (2010, note 27), pp.74–86.

33. D. Fuller, 'Blake and Dante', *Art History*, 11 (1988), pp.349–73 (pp.369–70).

34. Oldcorn, *op. cit.* (note 16), p.329.

Edward Harding and Queen Charlotte

JANE ROBERTS

FOR THE LAST fifteen years of Queen Charlotte's life, she employed Edward Harding (1755–1840) – the printmaker, printseller and publisher – as her librarian. It is the purpose of this essay to explore Harding's activities both before and after his time in the Queen's service, and to attempt to clarify his role while he was in royal employment.

Edward Harding (Fig. 15.1) was the younger brother of the miniature painter Silvester (or Sylvester) Harding (1745–1809). Born in Staffordshire, by 1780 both brothers had settled in London, where in August 1776 Silvester had enrolled in the newly established Royal Academy Schools. Edward, 'being naturally of a quick and enterprising turn of mind ... in conjunction with his brother, Silvester Harding, an artist of considerable eminence, opened a print and bookseller's shop in Fleet Street, where they successfully published many spirited prints ... Finding their business increase, they removed to more spacious premises in Pall Mall, where they received an extensive patronage.'¹

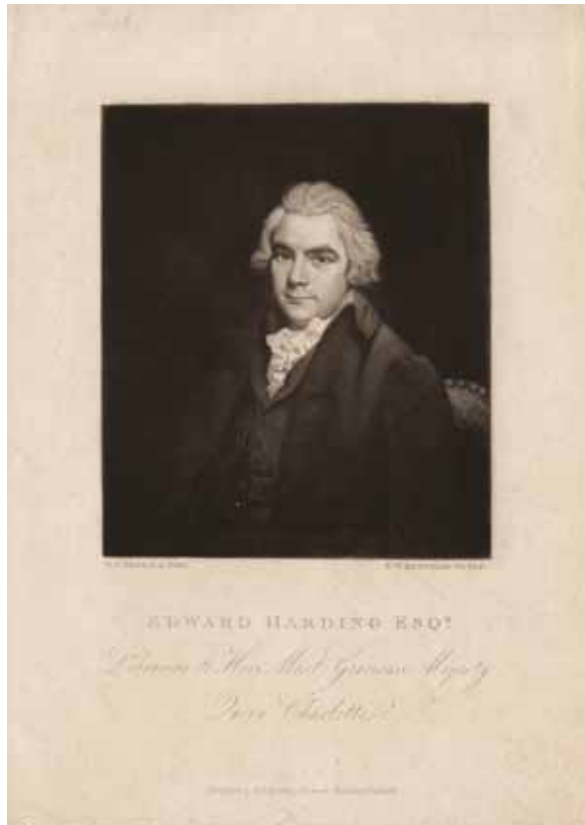
Silvester was indeed widely known as a reliable copyist of portraits, working particularly for Horace Walpole and members of his circle, and was familiar with most of the great collectors of his day.² His small portraits, and those by his sons Edward (c.1776–96) and George Perfect (1779/80–1853), were works of art in their own right, intended to fill gaps in portrait series, or for use in extra-illustrated volumes – the fashion for which began in earnest in England in the early eighteenth century. The collecting of such small portraits was given a particular boost by the publication (from 1769) of the Revd James Granger's *Biographical History of England*, 'so that within a few years it became by far the most popular of all kinds of print collecting in this country'.³ In 1774 Mrs Delany, who was to become a close friend of

THIS PAPER is dedicated with gratitude to David Bindman who (with Nicolai Rubinstein) offered me a place in the first year of their History and History of Art joint honours BA course at Westfield College (University of London) in 1968. Over forty years later, I realise how fortunate I was to have been taught by such inspiring people. My extra-curricular work, throughout my BA and MA studies, included several freelance secretarial and typing assignments. Among the texts that I typed for David was his *William Blake: Catalogue of the Collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*, Cambridge, 1970. During my thirty-eight years as Curator of the Print Room at Windsor, I had hoped to discover more about the drawings by Blake in the Royal Collection. Instead, the following discussion of an episode within Blake's lifetime, concerning the history of royal employment, collecting and artistry, is offered to David with profound respect, by a former pupil.

1. Obituary notice, *Gentleman's Magazine*, 168 (December 1840), pp.668–69.

2. Illustrated biographical notice of Silvester Harding, printed by Lee Priory Press (impressions at BM 1876.1209.258 and Harding folder in NPG archive). See also L. Peltz, 'The social politics of presentation books and their extra-illustration in Horace Walpole's circle', *Journal of the History of Collections*, 19 (2007), 1, pp.33–49; *Horace Walpole's Description of the Villa at Strawberry Hill*, ed. N. Barker, The Roxburghe Club, 2010, *passim*. 'Mr Harding, painter, and 3 artists' visited Strawberry Hill on 20 September 1787 (*The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, ed. W.S. Lewis *et al.*, New Haven and London, 1937–83, 12, p.229).

3. A. Griffiths, 'Sir William Musgrave and British biography', *British Library Journal*, xviii (1992), p.181. I am most grateful to Antony Griffiths for his help with this essay.



both George III and Queen Charlotte, observed that she enjoyed ‘Mr Granger’s biographical account ... as it is very authentick and pleasant to have recourse to when you meet with any character you are uncertain about the time or place he lived in, and the general character he bore’,⁴ thus succinctly explaining how portraits could enhance the reader’s enjoyment.

To satisfy the growing demand for portraits for ‘Grangerising’, as it became known, a logical next step was to engrave, print and publish the small drawn copies, concentrating particularly on those subjects not included in Granger’s publication: this was to be one of the main activities of Edward and Silvester Harding during the years of their working partnership, from 1786 to 1797. All members of the Harding family were competent engravers, but they also employed other professionals. Edward’s chief role appears to have been to oversee publication. The Hardings’ prints were generally issued by subscription, in series – for instance *Shakspeare Illustrated* (1790–93), their edition of the *Memoirs of Count Grammont* (1793/4), *The Biographical Mirrour* (1795–1810) or Adolphus’s *British Cabinet* (1799). In 1792 their shop moved from 132 Fleet Street – in the heart of London’s book-printing and publishing world – to 102 Pall Mall – in the heart of London’s print-selling area, and also close to the court. The obsessive nature of the market that was fed by the Hardings’ publications (and by those of many others too) was summarised in 1801 by Walpole’s printer, Thomas Kirgate (1734–1810), who was a close associate of Silvester: ‘Ten, nay Twenty Guineas, is readily given for a Print, that has no other

Fig.15.1. Samuel William Reynolds after Sir Martin Archer Shee, *Edward Harding Esq.*, before 1818. Mezzotint, 23.3 × 17.0 cm (National Portrait Gallery)

4. Quoted in L. Peltz, ‘The Eton correspondence of the Revd James Granger and Richard Bull’, *Walpole Society*, 66 (2006), pp.8–9.

value but scarcity. Illustrators of Granger, and other books, care less for Money than Portraits; the Rage for which increases – 'tis a Madness.'⁵ The Hardings came to owe much of their livelihood to this 'Rage' or 'Madness'. An indication of the quantity of portraits created to feed this market can be gathered from the fact that there are over seven hundred works by the Hardings, the majority portrait prints, in the Department of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum, around the same quantity in the National Portrait Gallery and just under six hundred in the Royal Collection.⁶

The Hardings' book- and print-publishing businesses operated from the same premises. While some of their titles were no more than collections of engraved portraits (with or without biographical detail), they also published literary texts, including editions of Shakespeare's plays – 'Harding's Shakespeare'. Most of their books contained illustrations, designed and engraved by a number of talented illustrators and engravers in their employment. The magnificent library formed by George III, located at Buckingham House (now 'The King's Library' in the British Library), included at least fourteen bound works issued by Harding between 1795 and 1804.⁷

After the termination of the brothers' business partnership in 1797, Silvester moved from 102 to 127 Pall Mall, while Edward was initially at no.98, later moving to Pall Mall Court, and 100 Pall Mall. In 1803 Edward Harding published *The Costume of the Russian Empire*, illustrated by seventy-two engravings and dedicated (by permission) to Princess Elizabeth, the talented third daughter of the King and Queen. In the same year he commenced his employment as librarian to Queen Charlotte.⁸ Early in January 1804, an auction was held in London of 'a collection of prints ... The Property of Mr Edward Harding, of Pall-Mall, quitting Business.' Over fifteen hundred prints, the majority portraits, were included in this sale; in addition there were eleven copper plates.⁹

Harding's new employer, Queen Charlotte (1744–1818), was a keen reader from her earliest years, and soon after her marriage to George III in 1761 she began to form her own separate library or book collection.¹⁰ It is likely that her books were

5. Barker, *op. cit.* (note 2), p.16.

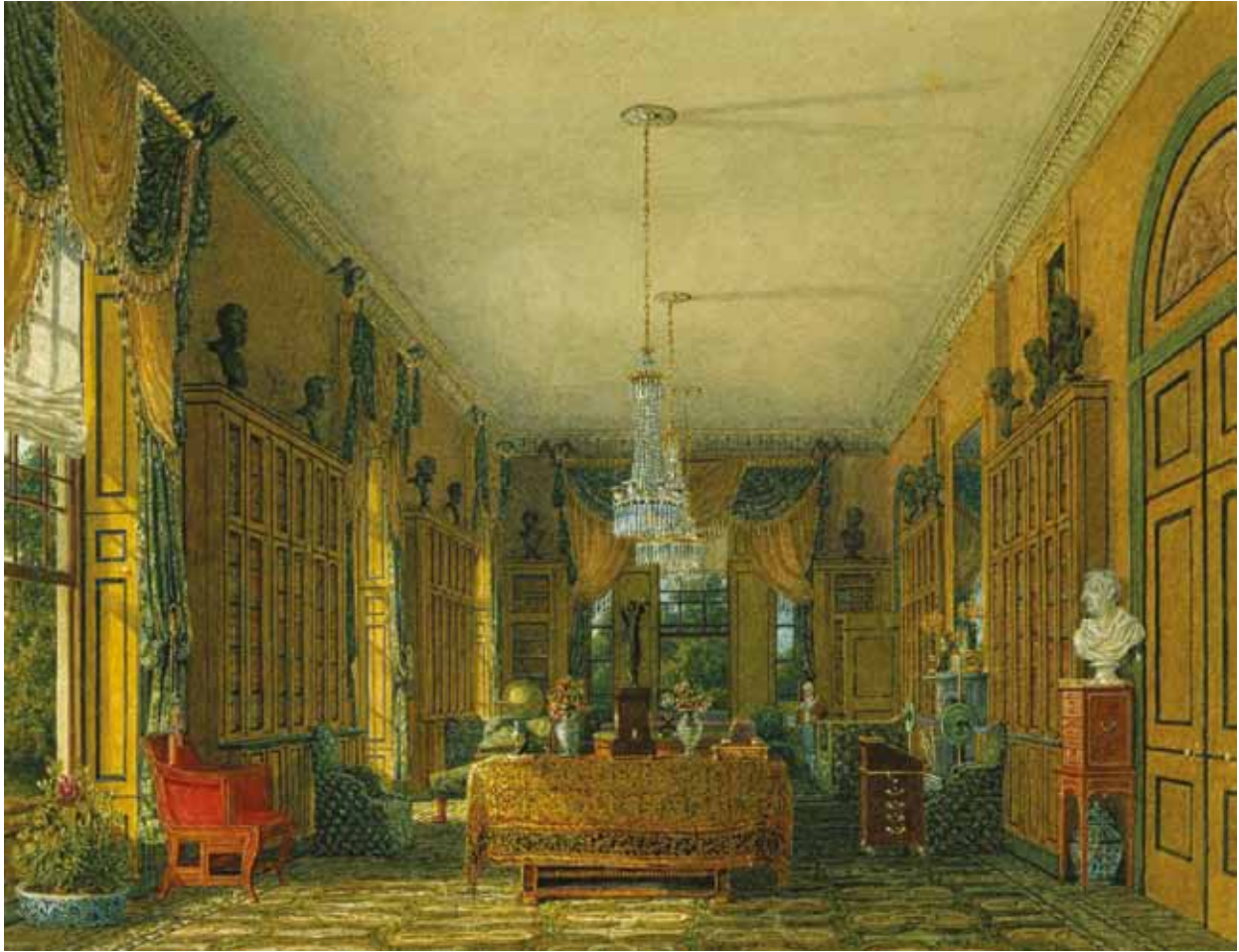
6. I am very grateful to Dr Carly Collier, Print Room Assistant at Windsor, for her assistance.

7. On George III's library see most recently J. Goldfinch, 'Royal libraries in the King's Library', in K. Doyle and S. McKendrick, ed., *1000 Years of Royal Books and Manuscripts*, London, 2013, pp.213–36. The Hardings' publications in the King's Library (BL) are: joint publications: *Biographical Mirrour* (1795–1810; 133.d.2); Burger's *Leonora* (1796; 82.1.13); *Fourth year of the French Republic* (1796; 278.3.29). Publications by Edward Harding alone: Mason's *Comments* (1797; 81.3.24); Dryden's *Fables* (1797; C.7.e.6); Adolphus's *British cabinet* (1799–1800; 134.f.1); Coxe's *Anecdotes of G.F. Handel* (1799; 135.f.15); Pinkerton's *Scotish Gallery* (1799; 133.f.11); Walker's *Historical Memoir* (1799; 89.g.2); Lindley's *Persian Lyrics* (1800; 74.g.26); Pennant's *Journey from London* (1801; 192.e.12–13); Manby's *Parish of St David* (1801; 288.g.8); Ouseley's *Observations on some medals* (1801; 139.f.13); and Park's *Cupid turned volunteer* (1804; 83.k.1). I am very grateful to John Goldfinch and Stephen Parkin for their help in identifying these copies.

8. Documentation concerning Edward Harding's royal employment, and accounts relating to Queen Charlotte's library, have yet to be located. According to his obituary, in 1803 he was asked to publish a work by the 'fountain of iniquity ... Tom Paine'; after involving the Bishop of London (Dr Beilby Porteus, 1731–1809) in his dilemma, Harding was invited to publish the works of the Religious Tract Society, but declined owing to his royal appointment (*Gentleman's Magazine*, *op. cit.* (note 1), p.668).

9. Sale catalogue, for auction by W. Richardson, 4 January 1804; copy in Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum. In addition to prints, and the copper plates (lots 111–20), there were three lots containing 'a large quantity of superfine watercolours in cakes' (lots 95–97). One of the copper plates (*The House of Commons in Sir Robert Walpole's Administration*) was published in 1803 by Harding from 100 Pall Mall.

10. See C. Campbell Orr, 'Queen Charlotte as patron: some intellectual and social contexts', *The*



initially located in London, but it was at Windsor – used by the royal family increasingly from the mid-1770s – that Harding was to be based from 1803. In the early 1790s Frogmore House – a short walk from Windsor Castle, but away from public view – was acquired for the Queen's use, as a daily retreat. The first mention of a library at Frogmore occurs in a letter from the Queen to Lord Ailesbury in November 1793.¹¹ Very little documentation concerning the assemblage of the Queen's books appears to have survived but we know of the library's final contents via the catalogue made prior to its sale and dispersal in 1819.¹² This lists over 4,500 titles, in German, French and Italian as well as English. A large proportion of the books were recent publications, including several issued by the Hardings themselves. As the book stock

Fig.15.2. Charles Wild, *Frogmore House: The Queen's Library*, 1817. Watercolour and bodycolour over pencil, 20.0 × 26.1 cm (The Royal Collection)

Court Historian, vi (2001), 3, pp.183–212; C. Campbell Orr, *Queenship in Europe 1650–1789: The Role of the Consort*, Cambridge, 2004, *passim*; and J. Roberts, ed., *George III & Queen Charlotte. Patronage, Collecting and Court Taste*, exh. cat., London, Royal Collections, 2004, pp.242–3.

11. Queen Charlotte to Lord Ailesbury, 26 November 1793 (Wiltshire and Swindon Archives 1300/3128A). For Frogmore, see J. Roberts, *Royal Landscape: The Gardens and Parks of Windsor*, New Haven and London, 1997, pp.211–36.

12. *A Catalogue of the genuine library, prints and books of prints of an illustrious personage*, Christie's, London, 9 June – 16 July 1819. In March 1814 and December 1817 Edward Harding wrote from Windsor to the London booksellers Cadell and Davies, to order books (see Derbyshire Record Office D364/B/6 and /24).



Fig. 15.3. Anonymous, *Queen Charlotte at her Writing Desk*. c.1812. Watercolour, (sight size) 19.0 × 14.5 cm (Schlossmuseum, Bad Homburg)

John & Josiah Boydell 1802.¹⁶ By this time Queen Charlotte had also begun to create volumes containing both handwritten text and illustrations (mostly prints, but also some watercolours) – variants of the extra-illustrated printed books which the Hardings' portrait prints had been produced to fill.¹⁷ The first of the Queen's own extra-illustrated productions was a two-volume *History of England (from Henry VII to George II)* dated 1808, the text in the hand of her fourth daughter, Princess Mary, and (according to the Queen's inscription on the title page) 'illustrated with prints from Henry 7th time, to the present day by myself'.¹⁸ This was followed in 1812 by the Queen's *Copy of a manuscript in the Prince Regents possession, found in the Stuart papers*, entitled *The advice of James II to his son*, written 'in her own handwriting'.¹⁹ When offered assistance with this somewhat monotonous copying task, the Queen replied, 'I am accustomed to such work; I have 400 pages of extracts which I have [made] from various works'.²⁰ The hunched figure of the Queen at her writing desk is the subject of an anonymous and undated watercolour (Fig. 15.3) which once

increased, so the need for more shelf space would have become evident. Between 1804 and 1809 new wings were added to the north and south of Frogmore House; the northernmost room (Fig. 15.2), overlooking the garden, was to house the majority of the Queen's books.¹³ That handsome room was the subject of an engraving made shortly before the Queen's death, for inclusion in Pyne's *Royal Residences*.¹⁴

Harding's royal employment commenced just before the start of building work on the new library wing. We can only guess at his activities while work was under way: safeguarding the book stock; arranging appropriate shelving in the new space; ordering and registering new publications, and so on. But it is also very likely that Harding assisted his employer in the compilation (from 1805) of manuscript volumes, including in 1809–10 three manuscript catalogues of her collections respectively of *Theatrical portraits collected by me in the years 1808–9*,¹⁵ of engravings after portraits by Reynolds, and of *Historical prints illustrative of Shakespear [sic] plays published by*

13. Roberts, *op. cit.* (note 11), pp.217–18.

14. W.H. Pyne, *The History of the Royal Residences*, London, 1819, 1, part 2, opposite p.8. The engraving was issued on 1 October 1817. Fig.15.2 is from the set of finished watercolours of the Pyne plates in the Royal Collection.

15. Royal Collection Inventory Number (hereafter RCIN) 1047461.

16. RCIN 1154804 (Reynolds: 1809) and 1047627 (Boydell: 1810). The later history of the collections catalogued in these manuscripts is not known. It is possible that they passed to the Prince Regent, and then entered the Royal Collection (and see below, note 58). During this period (1805–12) the Queen had also produced four volumes of handwritten copies of text, in French and German, all now in the Royal Collection (RCIN 1047437, 1047515, 1047599, 1047608).

17. Pyne, *op. cit.* (note 14), p.9, also mentions a copy of 'Clarendon's *History of his own times*, illustrated with prints, by her Majesty' (current location unknown).

18. RCIN 1046714–15.

19. RCIN 1046711 (copying RCIN 1006012). The illustrations added to the text included miniatures by G.P. Harding, and engraved portraits by Edward and Silvester Harding. G.P. Harding's portrait of Louise, Duchess of Portsmouth (opposite p.25), is dated 1816 so was evidently a later addition; his portrait of Thomas, Lord Clifford (opposite p.31), is undated.

20. Joseph Farington's diary for 11 April 1813 [sic], quoted in J. Roberts, *Royal Artists from Mary Queen of Scots to the Present Day*, London and Glasgow, 1987, pp.67–68.

belonged to Princess Elizabeth and remains at her married home in Bad Homburg.²¹ The James II volume was followed in 1813 by the Queen's copy of a 'curious printed book' in the British Museum,²² and a magnificent volume concerning the Dukes of York, with their armorials, on vellum.²³ The last of the Queen's volumes, dated 1815, is entitled *The King of Denmark's Welcome in 1606*.²⁴

Another project on which Harding was engaged during this period at Windsor was an illustrated volume, issued in May 1806 (when his address was still given as 100 Pall Mall), entitled *Portraits of the whole Royal Family, with engravings by Bourliere, Cheesman and others, after paintings by Gainsborough, Beechey, Lawrence, Edridge, and others, in the Royal Collection*, with a dedication to the Queen by 'her Dutiful and Obedient Servant, Edward Harding'. Six months later, on 11 November 1806, Harding signed and inscribed (to the Queen) the leather-bound volume containing the twenty portrait drawings made by him for the published series – rare examples of Edward's draftsmanship (Fig. 15.4).²⁵ A copy of *Portraits of the whole Royal Family* in the British Library bears a note in Edward Harding's hand stating that 'Her Majesty having had Drawings don [sic] from the original pictures of the Royal Family, from which plates have been Engraved the Nobility & Gentry are respectfully informed that Her Majesty has most graciously permittd [sic] a few Copies to be vended, of which a few in Colours nearly equal the Drawings price £10.0.0, plain £5.0.0.'²⁶ – from which it is clear both that the drawings were commissioned by the Queen and that their publication had been a semi-private venture.

During his employment by the Queen at Frogmore, Edward Harding would have worked alongside her daughters, and in particular Princess Elizabeth (1770–1840) – the dedicatee of Harding's Russian costume book in 1803. In the following year Harding published *Cupid turned Volunteer: in a series of prints designed by Her Royal Highness the Princess Elizabeth; ... with poetical illustrations by Thomas Park*.²⁷ And in May 1806 he published the *Series of etchings representing the power and progress of genius*, with



Fig.15.4. Edward Harding after Sir William Beechey, *Princess Elizabeth*, 1806. Watercolour, 20.6 × 16.5 cm (The Royal Collection)

21. Bad Homburg, Schloss Inv. Nr.1.3.685.

22. RCIN 1046713 (*A Messenger from the Dead, or Conference ... between the Ghosts of Henry the 8 and Charles the First*). According to Pyne (*op. cit.* (note 14), p.8), the 'drawings, in imitation of wood-cuts' were by Princess Elizabeth 'and the paper stained to imitate the age of the originals'. See also *Catalogue, op. cit.* (note 12), lot 621. The choice of subject may have been influenced by the examination of the contents of Charles I's coffin in St George's Chapel in April 1813.

23. RCIN 1047849.

24. RCIN 1046712. The text is traced for the title page, then copied, ending with the words *Windsor the 13th of November 1815*.

25. For the drawings see A.P. Oppé, *English Drawings, Stuart and Georgian Periods, in the Collection of His Majesty The King at Windsor Castle*, London, 1947, nos.290–309 (RCIN 913901–920).

26. The BL copy is 1757.a.16; in a contemporary red morocco binding with rich gilt decoration; coloured plates, into which additional uncoloured plates have been inserted. The inscription is undated (but is presumably before November 1818), and the volume's early provenance is not known. The only copy in the Royal Library is RCIN 809308, purchased by Queen Mary.

27. The King's copy (now BL 83.k.15) contains two sets of plates (plain and coloured). A small number of other copies are known, but there is no copy in the Royal Library. The plates were engraved by W.N. Gardiner (1766–1814).



Fig.15.5. The main output of the Frogmore Press: (at back) five sets of *Chronological Abridgements* (1809–17) in their original slip-cases, with (selective) contents in left and right foreground; (front centre) *Translations from the German* (1812) and *Miscellaneous Poems* (1812) (The Royal Collection)

a dedication to Queen Charlotte.²⁸ This was the first publication involving Princess Elizabeth's designs which employed plates etched by the Princess herself; in earlier publications (from the mid-1790s), professional engravers had been employed to create the plates, using the Princess's designs.²⁹ It is likely that the Princess's various publications, combined with the royal family's knowledge of the production of the numerous English private presses, lay behind the establishment and operation of a printing press at Frogmore House in 1809. In July 1795, Queen Charlotte and her daughters had breakfasted with Horace Walpole at Strawberry Hill, where they may well have been shown Walpole's private press.³⁰ The visit was evidently enjoyed by both host and guests: Princess Elizabeth confessed that she wished to become Walpole's housekeeper, should a vacancy arise.

After the passage of the 'Unlawful Societies Act' in 1799, all printers had to receive certificates and to include their name on any documents or books issued from their press. The Printing Certificate for the Frogmore Press was requested by Edward Harding 'of Frogmore' on 4 November and issued on 8 November 1809.³¹

28. One of the two copies in the BL (558*.g.19(1) and C.160.c.2) was a gift from Princess Elizabeth to Sarah Sophia Banks (1744–1818; sister of Sir Joseph Banks). There are six copies in the Royal Collection, all gifts from the Princess to various friends and family members.

29. See Roberts, *op. cit.* (note 20), pp.79–81.

30. See *Walpole's Correspondence*, *op. cit.* (note 2), 12, p.144 n.39, pp.510, 511. The Strawberry Hill Press had virtually ceased to operate by the time of the visit, but Walpole's printer, Kirkgate, was still employed (see S. Clarke, *The Strawberry Hill Press & Its Printing House*, New Haven and London, 2011).

31. Berkshire Record Office, Q/RZ/1/p.459. The certificate was required by the terms of the 1799 Act for the more effectual suppression of societies established for seditious and treasonable purposes,

Much of our knowledge of the Frogmore Press is owed to W.H. Pyne, writing in 1819:³²

Among the many means which the queen found for the rational enjoyment of the hours passed at Frogmore, was the fitting up of a room with a printing-press, and furnishing it with materials for printing and binding books, and all the little convenient arcana of ingenuity that belong to a literary museum in a house of science. This department was consigned to Mr Harding, the librarian at Frogmore, whose kindness has furnished the following list of works, published at the queen's private press, and other information.

- Translations from the German, in verse and prose, 12mo; only sixty copies.³³
- A Chronological Abridgement of the History of Spain, on cards. 1809.³⁴
- Ditto of Germany, on cards. 1810.³⁵
- Ditto of France, on cards. 1811.³⁶
- Ditto of Portugal, on cards. 1817.³⁷
- Ditto of Rome, on cards. 1817.³⁸

These abridgements were made up in boxes, and presented by her Majesty to young persons of both sexes.

Pyne's information, doubtless provided by Harding himself, is the basis for our knowledge of the Frogmore Press's activities (Fig. 15.5).³⁹ But to his list must be added a further small volume: *Miscellaneous Poems*,⁴⁰ issued – like *Translations from the German* – in 1812, and containing thirty-nine poems.

and for better preventing treasonable and seditious practices. Harding's certificate was witnessed by Charles Knight junior (1791–1873).

32. Pyne, *op. cit.* (note 14), p.9. The productions of the press are also summarised in (e.g.) J. Martin, *Bibliographical Catalogue of Privately Printed Books*, London, 1854, and H.G. Bohn, *Appendix to the Bibliographers Manual of English Literature*, London, 1864.

33. According to the printed dedication, *Translations* was 'The Gift of the Queen to her beloved Daughters, Charlotte-Augusta-Matilda, Augusta-Sophia, Elizabeth, Mary and Sophia: and with Her Majesty's permission dedicated to their Royal Highnesses by the Translator Ellis Cornelia Knight'. Copies of this work in the Royal Library today are: RCIN 1009376 (ex-coll. Prince Ernest, Duke of Cumberland), 1047598 and 1047603. The sale catalogue of Princess Elizabeth's library included the copy of *Translations from the German* that had been presented to her by the Queen at Christmas 1811 (*Catalogue of the valuable and choice library of HRH The Princess Elizabeth*, S. Leigh Sotheby and J. Wilkinson, London, 7–11 April 1863, lot 803), with a note that 'only 25 copies printed as presents from Her Majesty Queen Charlotte'. On the book itself the publication date is stated as 1812. A new edition was issued in 1832, by W. Nicol for Edward Harding (see RCIN 1047597).

34. RCIN 1128956. According to Princess Elizabeth's library sale *Catalogue*, *op. cit.* (note 33), lot 361: 'Only a few copies of [all sets of] these Cards were printed to be used as Historical Games for the Royal Family.' Thirteen sets of each of the five packs of *Chronological Abridgement* cards were offered as lots 358–61 in that sale. Four further sets of the *Rome* cards (lot 1299) and twelve sets of the *Spain* cards (lot 1371) were offered later in the same sale – suggesting that very few sets were ever distributed by the Queen.

35. RCIN 1128954.

36. RCIN 1128953.

37. RCIN 1128957.

38. RCIN 1128955.

39. See also *Gentleman's Magazine*, 140 (1826), pt. 2, p.448, according to which 'only 30 copies of each work were struck'. Further information on each publication (including references to the copies of these works in the Royal Collection) has been added to notes above alongside the individual titles.

40. There are five copies of *Miscellaneous Poems* in the Royal Collection: RCIN 1047604, 1047611 (with

A small (8vo) leather folder in the Royal Library contains further information about the activities of the Frogmore Press.⁴¹ Within is a letter from Edward Harding (at Queen's Lodge,⁴² Windsor) to 'My dear friends' (whose identities are not recorded) on 11 September 1811.

I am quight [*sic*] a prisoner, nor can I tell when I shall make my escape to have the pleasure of seeing you. You will oblige me by giving Anne the No. of Brookshaw's *Fruit Repository*⁴³ as Her Majesty has orderd them to be Bound. Have inclos'd a Prayer, & Hymn. I think you have not the first, and am sure you have not the last. Do not expose them too much as her Majesty has given but very few away, and there are but few printed. With my best respects to the Ladies, I am yours Most sincerely E Harding.

It appears that the little folder retains its original contents: three octavo bifolia, each printed with a different hymn or biblical extract; at the end of one of these (text from John 13.7) are the words *Printed by E. Harding, Frogmore Lodge, Windsor, 1811*. We therefore know that the Frogmore Press also issued single sheets or bifolia, few of which appear to have survived. Each of the religious texts within the little folder was also included – after being reset – in the Press's *Translations from the German* (1812) described above. Another hymn ('on the near approach of death') is pasted into a copy of *Miscellaneous Poems*, and was issued by the Frogmore Press in 1817,⁴⁴ a reminder of the tragic circumstances prevailing at Windsor while the Press was in operation, particularly after the start of the Regency in February 1811: the blind and sick King in the north range of the Upper Ward; the Queen and her daughters (minus Charlotte, who had married in 1797; and Amelia, who had died in November 1810) in the east and south range, with frequent recreational day visits to Frogmore nearby.

According to Pyne, Harding was in sole charge of the Frogmore Press. In the years before his move to Windsor he had published numerous books, but the printing and typesetting had been entrusted to others. It is likely that Edward and Silvester Harding printed some if not all of the engraved plates that they published.⁴⁵ However, Edward's lack of prior experience with letterpress printing was noted by his obituarist: 'The Queen having expressed a wish to possess in print, privately, a Chronological Abridgment [*sic*] of the history of Spain, Germany, &c. &c. on cards from her own manuscript, he undertook to accomplish it, which he did, although he had not been accustomed to the trade. Possessing himself with types and press

Harding's letter of 8 March 1823, see note 62 below), 1047614, 1086256 and 1086257. According to Princess Elizabeth's sale *Catalogue, op. cit.* (note 33), lots 1201–2, six copies were printed on large paper, while 'only a few copies' of either edition were 'privately printed for presents'.

41. RCIN 1047609 (presented May 1948 by the publisher Desmond Flower, MC (1907–97)).

42. Queen's Lodge was to the south of and parallel to the south range of the Upper Ward of Windsor Castle. Originating in the early eighteenth century, it was greatly enlarged for (and by) George III and served as his family's Windsor residence from 1776 until they moved into refurbished rooms in the castle itself in 1804. Thereafter Queen's Lodge provided accommodation for members of their household until it was demolished as part of Wyatville's remodelling of Windsor Castle in the 1820s.

43. George Brookshaw, *Pomona Britannica*, issued in parts; title page of first edition dated 1812.

44. I owe this reference (and other helpful comments) to David Chambers. For the copy of the 'Hymn' in Oxford, see note 48 below.

45. Silvester Harding's posthumous sale (13–15 December 1809) included his stock of unused paper, in addition to several engraved plates, over five thousand separate engravings, paintings and artist's materials.

he succeeded in gratifying the Queen's wishes, and performing that which but few men would have had the industry to have accomplished.'⁴⁶ The Press was evidently a very private and personal operation, producing no more than sixty copies of each publication. Its operation was for the amusement of the Queen, without any consideration of financial gain.⁴⁷ Although there are parallels with other private presses, the output of Frogmore Press was intended entirely for private circulation, by the Queen and her daughters.⁴⁸

The authorship of the works issued by Frogmore Press is not securely known. Harding's obituarist suggests that the Queen alone wrote the texts, but the dedication page of *Translations from the German* gives the translator's name as the author and bluestocking Ellis Cornelia Knight (1757–1837),⁴⁹ who is usually named as the author of the Press's *Miscellaneous Poems* (1812),⁵⁰ as well as being translator of *Translations from the German*.⁵¹ It is unclear whether she (rather than the Queen) wrote the text for the *Chronological Abridgements*.⁵² However, the paucity of substantial new works issued by the Press after 1812 might well be explained by Miss Knight's departure from the Queen's household in January 1813.

After Queen Charlotte's death on 17 November 1818 the situation at Frogmore, including its library and Press, was instantly transformed, as was Harding's employment situation. The Queen's will directed that her possessions were to be valued and divided into equal lots to be shared among her four younger daughters. On 20 December the royal bookseller George Nicol (1740?–1828) received clear instructions from Sir Herbert Taylor (one of the Queen's executors) concerning the Queen's library.

All the books in the late Queen's Library which have any of Her Majesty's Writing or Annotations upon them, or are otherwise particularly distinguished

46. *Gentleman's Magazine*, *op. cit.* (note 1), p. 668.

47. There is conflicting contemporary information (including from Harding himself) about the number of copies printed.

48. A copy of *Miscellaneous Poems* at the Bodleian (280 e.1206 (1)) includes the following manuscript note in the hand of G.P. Harding: 'Only 60 copies of this book printed. A copy is only to be procured by the Gift of Her Majesty. G.P. Harding 1816.' The existence of G.P. Harding's bookplate in the volume (in addition to Queen Charlotte's) suggests that this copy of the Poems may have been presented to him. The little volume, in its original blue morocco binding (with lyre corner decoration), also contains two additional products of the Frogmore Press: a card with a list of eight tunes ('Music of Her Majesty's Clock at Frogmore') and 'A Hymn on the near approach of death'.

49. *The Autobiography of Miss Knight*, ed. R. Fulford, London, 1960, p. 82. Miss Knight had dedicated *Dinorbas* (1790) to the Queen, and served as her 'reader' or companion from 1805 to January 1813, before transferring to the household of Princess Charlotte of Wales.

50. Notes in different copies of *Miscellaneous Poems* attribute some poems to Samuel Rogers, W.R. Spencer and Sheridan.

51. According to the printed Introduction to the *Translations*, the prayers were written by the philosopher Georg Friedrich Seiler (1733–1807), and several of the hymns were by the Leipzig-based poet Christian Furchtegott Gellert (1715–69); Queen Charlotte's posthumous library sale included over twenty works by Seiler, and a small number by Gellert. On 10 July 1814 the Queen's eldest daughter (the Queen of Württemberg) wrote to Lady Harcourt: 'Pray, are you acquainted with a very clever Miss Knight, who is now with Princess Charlotte? I believe she was once under my Mother's protection, and translated the beautiful Prayers which were published at Frogmore' (*Harcourt Papers*, ed. E.W. Harcourt, 1880–1905, 6, p. 151).

52. B. Luttrell, *The Prim Romantic: A Biography of Ellis Cornelia Knight 1758–1837*, London, 1965, p. 227, includes the *Chronological Abridgements of Spain, France and Germany* among her literary works. J. Martin, *A Bibliographical Catalogue of Books Privately Printed*, London, 1854, p. 180, had attributed the compilation of *Spain* to Miss Knight.

as objects of Her Majesty's Attention are to be reserved, and a Special List made of them, that the Princesses may have the option of selecting for themselves such as they may wish to keep.

The remaining Books of this description to be purchased, if approved by the Prince Regent, for the King's Library, at a *reasonable* valuation: this applies to all the Illustrated Works in which there is any of Her Majesty's Writing, observing however that the Grainger or any other expensive Collections, which, by the Erasure of a few Words, may be left for general sale, shall be so disposed of.

The remainder of the Books of every description to be catalogued for Sale and the price affixed to each article, that the Princesses may previously to the Sale select such Works as they may wish to keep, to which their Initials would be affixed, in order that Mr Nicol may apportion the reserved value to each.

The Remainder of the Books & Prints to be disposed of to the best advantage, but not by auction, as being the late Queen's books, this includes the whole of the Botanical Collection which had perhaps better be sold as a Collection.

The Books after the Reserves above mentioned have been made, will be progressively moved to London.⁵³

This process must have commenced very soon after Queen Charlotte's death. The thirteen leather-bound volumes containing the Queen's writing which remain in the Royal Library were evidently reserved prior to the sale.⁵⁴ The Princesses had apparently made their selections by Christmas 1818, but it is not known precisely what items were chosen by them. The bulk of the collection was then dispersed at a series of auctions held by Christie's in London from early January to late August 1819, with the library sale taking place in June and July 1819.

In the documentation of the work of the Queen's executors, no mention is made of Harding, for George Nicol was in charge. However, Harding's name occurs very frequently among the records of purchasers at the library sale.⁵⁵ He was the successful bidder for over four hundred lots of books, a small number of which have been traced; some evidently passed to the Queen's son, Prince Ernest, Duke of Cumberland, later King of Hanover.⁵⁶ In the subsequent sale of the Queen's prints,

53. Nicol's instructions are RA GEO / MAIN / 36826 and 50375-6. At the end of RA GEO / MAIN / 50376 there is an additional note: 'Mr Nicol has since been instructed to get a small Number of Catalogues copied with the Prices for the Use of Their Royal Highnesses and others who may wish to purchase *here*. – The German Books which are very numerous to form a distinct Catalogue.' I acknowledge, with gratitude, the permission of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II to quote from the Royal Archives (here abbreviated as RA). For the dispersal of Queen Charlotte's property see M. Winterbottom in *George III op. cit.* (note 10), pp.385–89.

54. For these see above. Four volumes (RCIN 10046711-13, and 1047849) were included in the list of books made by John Glover (assistant, then Librarian 1837–60) on 26 August 1828, 'which were taken from the Library at Buckingham House by Command of His Majesty' (Inv. A (RCIN 1155585), p.172).

55. According to the annotated copies of the sale catalogue in Christie's Archives; the BL (123.f.16: the King's Library copy); and the Royal Collection (including RCIN 1154696, 1052940). Harding's purchases included some of his own publications (e.g. lots 68, 3922), and the Queen's copies of Jane Austen's novels (lots 2356–62).

56. For instance, RCIN 1009387, 1009341-2 and possibly 1009334, acquired by HM The Queen at Sotheby's, London, 13 July 2006 (lots 121, 113). See below and n.64 for Ernest's acquisition of his sister Augusta's library.

Harding purchased six lots of prints, and three 'books of prints';⁵⁷ these included nearly five hundred prints with 'theatrical' subject matter. As these volumes have not been traced, it is possible that after being acquired by Harding they were supplied by him to George IV, whose 'Collection of Theatrical Portraits' he was employed to arrange between 1820 and 1827.⁵⁸ Among the fine collection of engraved portraits and topographical prints in the Royal Collection, there are numerous theatrical prints, some of which may have originated in Harding's work for Queen Charlotte.⁵⁹ Likewise, some of the numerous prints by the Hardings in the Royal Collection may have a similar provenance.

In his *History of the Royal Residences*, W.H. Pyne also mentions rooms at Frogmore housing the Queen's Botanical Library, her private press and her bindery.⁶⁰ In the final auction sale of the Queen's possessions, held in London in late August 1819, the printing and binding equipment was disposed of in four lots.⁶¹ The remaining stock of the Frogmore Press was also gradually dispersed. On 8 March 1823 Edward Harding wrote from Buckingham Palace to send a copy of the *Miscellaneous Poems* to an unnamed recipient:

The inclosed Poems were printed for Her Majesty Queen Charlotte, to give to Her select friends. I think I printed only 30 Copys, if you find them worthy of a place in your valuable Library, and will do me the honor to accept them, it will oblige your very Humble S^t E Harding.⁶²

At the time of Queen Charlotte's death, Edward Harding was sixty-three years old. His wife Sarah (née Bawtree) had died in 1817 at the age of seventy-two.⁶³ As the above letter demonstrates, Harding had remained in royal employment. He worked initially for the Prince Regent (later George IV) and at the time of his own death in 1840 was in the service of George IV's brother, Queen Charlotte's fifth son, Prince Ernest Duke of Cumberland, since 1837 King of Hanover. On 28 March 1833 Harding's

57. *Catalogue*, *op. cit.* (note 12), lots 417 (Gray's *Poems*, 1800, with eighty-five additional prints; £6 10s), 418 (*Life of Colley Cibber* by himself, with 150 prints, 2 vols; £13 13s) and 419 (Davies's *Life of Garrick*, with 347 prints, 4 vols; £37 18s). These were the three volumes in the Queen's library at Frogmore singled out by Pyne (or by Harding for Pyne), with the following comment: 'Many of the prints and etchings in the above works are daily becoming more scarce, and consequently increasing in value; for it is only at an occasional sale of a collector's effects that the connoisseur can now, such is the demand for subjects of virtue, add a choice print, or a good impression of an etching, to his portfolio' (Pyne, *op. cit.* (note 14), p.11).

58. RA GEO/MAIN/26482-3. According to Harding's obituary, 'He also completed for George the Fourth (and it may perhaps be considered the finest of his productions), Theatrical Portraits from the earliest period, with a biography, forming eight folio volumes' (*Gentleman's Magazine*, *op. cit.* (note 1)). For what appears to be the start of that series, see K. Heard, "'His Royal Highness the Prints of Wales': George IV as a collector of prints", in H. Wiegel and M. Vickers, eds., *Excalibur: Essays on Antiquity and the History of Collecting in Honour of Arthur MacGregor*, BAR Occasional Series 2512, 2013, p.118; and note 16 above.

59. The Royal Collection contains twelve portrait engravings of Cibber, and one of his daughter (see note 57).

60. Pyne, *op. cit.* (note 14), p.9.

61. *A Catalogue of Sundry Valuable Miscellaneous Effects*, Christie's, Pall Mall, London, 26 August 1819ff., lots 139–42.

62. The letter is kept with RCIN 1047611.

63. According to the engraved portrait of her by J. Stow, after G.P. Harding, in the NPG Archives (folder for Harding).

final letter to George IV's executors, requesting payment of the £120 outstanding for his services to the late King, was signed 'your Obed. Servant E Harding Librarian to His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland St. James's', and according to a later newspaper report 'Edward Harding the Librarian at St. James's Palace' was responsible for packing up the 5,000 books in Princess Augusta's library at Frogmore, following the Princess's death in September 1840. The report states that 'The greater part of the collection was originally the property of Queen Charlotte', so Harding would already have known the books – now 'sadly neglected ... strewn on the floor ... [or] placed upon the wrong shelves,' and now to be shipped to Hanover.⁶⁴ It is, however, unclear how long he had been in the Duke's employment.

Queen Charlotte had evidently depended on Edward Harding's loyal, faithful and professional service. One of her gifts to him – a fine oval marquetry tea caddy – has survived in an English private collection.⁶⁵ When W.H. Pyne wrote his magisterial three-volume *History of the Royal Residences* (1819), he went out of his way to thank Harding for his help – which was in very marked contrast to the assistance that Pyne had received from the King's librarians in London. (It is possible that Harding is the grey-haired figure carrying books, at the back of the Queen's library at Frogmore in Fig.13.2.) Likewise, when the collection of the Countess of Cardigan was sold, Harding was called upon to identify the artist responsible for two etchings; he confirmed them as the work of the Queen's fourth son (and Queen Victoria's father), Prince Edward, Duke of Kent.⁶⁶

There are numerous recorded instances of Harding's personal contact with members of the royal family, in particular with Princess Elizabeth.⁶⁷ The Princess's library sale in 1863 included a copy of Dodsley's *Oeconomy of Human Life* (published by the Harding brothers in 1795), which had been given to her by Edward.⁶⁸ In June 1833 Princess Elizabeth, now based in Germany (following her marriage to the Landgrave of Hesse-Homburg in April 1818), wrote anxiously to Harding (in London) in connection with a new edition of her *Power and Progress of Genius*, which was duly issued in Hanover in 1833 and 1834 – as *Genius, Imagination, Phantasie* – with lithographic copies of the Princess's designs by J.H. Ramberg. The Princess hoped that Harding would be able to ascertain how many copies of the book Ackermann would take for sale.⁶⁹ It is very likely that Edward Harding also helped Princess Elizabeth with the compilation of each of her own extra-illustrated volumes.⁷⁰ He

64. RA GEO/MAIN/26486, and *London Standard*, 12 March 1841 (by which time Harding had been dead for four months). See above and note 56 for Prince Ernest's later ownership of books acquired by Harding at Queen Charlotte's library sale.

65. Inside the lid is a paper label inscribed 'Given by Queen Charlotte to Edward Harding (husband of Sarah Bawtree), Librarian at Frogmore'.

66. The prints are now BM 1857,0520.90, 92. Although Harding was described as 'one of the Royal pages', the identification with Edward Harding seems secure. The former owner was presumably Elizabeth (née Waldegrave; 1758–1823), the second wife of James Brudenell, Fifth Earl of Cardigan; she was Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Charlotte 1791–1823 and a close confidante of the royal family.

67. See BM 1887, 0722.135, a soft-ground etching by Princess Elizabeth taken to the British Museum in 1812 'by Mr Harding'.

68. *Catalogue, op. cit.* (note 33), lot 447. The same sale included other books published by the Hardings (e.g. lots 876, 878–79).

69. See copy letter RA GEO/ADD21/196, obtained in the early 1970s from the original held by Miss Joyce of Essex, a descendant of Harding, quoted in F. Fraser, *Princesses: The Six Daughters of George III*, London, 2004, p.358.

70. See for example *An account of the succession of the Earls and Dukes of Gloucester* (1827), today at Windsor (RCIN 1009392), lot 944 in the Princess's library sale (*Catalogue, op. cit.* (note 33)); and a two-

definitely assisted the Princess with her *La vie de la Duchesse d'Ahlen* [sic], née *Princesse de Celle* (1837), now at Windsor.⁷¹ By the time that this was produced, Edward Harding was in his early eighties, and the fashion for such productions was nearly over. His last years were spent in London (Parish of St George's Hanover Square). His will, drawn up in October 1836, was proved on 10 October 1840.⁷²

Princess Elizabeth's *Earls and Dukes of Gloucester* volume (1827) contains seventy-two drawings, and seventy-one engravings, by Edward's nephew, George Perfect Harding. The latter, who gradually took over responsibility for the production of royal extra-illustrated volumes from his uncle, had also contributed miniature paintings to several of Queen Charlotte's volumes mentioned above, and was an early possessor of at least one Frogmore Press publication.⁷³ In February 1839 G.P. Harding was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries; his supporters included the Marquess of Northampton and John Gough Nichols. At the time, G.P. Harding was involved in discussions leading to the foundation of the short-lived Granger Society 'for the Publication of Ancient Portraits and Family Pictures', but he resigned in 1843.⁷⁴ His lavish manuscript volume entitled *Memoirs of the Princes of Wales*, on which he had commenced work in 1820,⁷⁵ was finally acquired by George III's granddaughter Queen Victoria in 1851, and remains in the Royal Library with many of Edward's productions, whether drawn, engraved or published, and with the volumes that Edward had produced with, and for, his royal mistress, Queen Charlotte.

Lockinge, Oxfordshire, formerly Royal Library, Windsor Castle

volume account of the Earls and Dukes of York and Cambridge, mentioned by Harding's obituarist (*Gentleman's Magazine*, *op. cit.* (note 1), p.669).

71. The d'Ahlen MS (RCIN 1046710), described as nearly 'finished for binding' in the Princess's letter to Harding, 5 October 1836 (RA GEO / ADD21 / 197), later belonged to Prince Adolphus, Duke of Cambridge.

72. PROB 11 / 1937 / 318. It included one specific bequest (of a watch chain) to his son, Silvester, and named his (?second) wife Anne as his residuary legatee. Edward's (first) wife, Sarah née Bawtree, had died in 1817 (see note 63 above).

73. See note 48 above. In addition to the works in manuscript volumes, there are thirteen individual original works by G.P. Harding in the Royal Collection, including his 1816 portrait of William, Duke of Zell, now RCIN 452404 (see Oppé, *op. cit.* (note 25), no.310); it was included in Queen Charlotte's print sale where it was acquired by Colnaghi, from whom the Prince Regent purchased it on 19 July 1819. For his other works see the Royal Collection website.

74. G.P. Harding's *Ancient Historical pictures* was published by the Granger Society in 1844 (see RCIN 1195566). I am grateful to the staff of the Society of Antiquaries for information concerning his election as FSA.

75. RCIN 1052420. It is described by G.P. Harding in NPG MS 48 with the comment: 'This work occupied the Artist more than Ten years Labour'. He added (in a feeble hand: he was seventy-one years old) 'This work was bought by Her Majesty Queen Victoria, April 2 1851'; details of another Prince of Wales (later King Edward VII, born in 1841) were late additions to the text. The presentation copy of the printed description (RCIN 1052419) bears a manuscript inscription to Queen Victoria in G.P. Harding's hand, with the date 9 August 1838; see also RCIN 1052287. According to a manuscript note within RCIN 1052420, it had been offered to the Trustees of the Duchy of Cornwall, at the artist's valuation of £200.

John Everett Millais, James Wyatt of Oxford and a Volume of Retzsch's *Outlines to Shakespeare*: a Missing Link

STEPHEN CALLOWAY

THE INFLUENCE of the once-popular books of 'outline' illustrations of the 1820s and 1830s by the German graphic artist Moritz Retzsch upon the formation of the distinctive drawing style evolved by Millais, Holman Hunt, Rossetti and others in their orbit around the time of the formation of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood in the summer of 1848 has long been recognised. As early as 1948 John Gere, in a highly perceptive centenary essay on Pre-Raphaelite drawing, listed Retzsch as one of several draughtsmen, Continental and British, whose work was known and admired by the group at this formative period.¹ A definitive account of the reception and wider influence of Retzsch's work in England was given by Will Vaughan in his seminal study *German Romanticism and English Art*, 1979.² More recently, the major exhibition of Pre-Raphaelite drawing in Birmingham (2011) selected by Colin Cruise afforded an unparalleled opportunity to chart the clear and extensive influence of Retzsch's illustrative style in the work of all the main and many of the minor figures of the PRB circle.³

The discovery of a previously unrecorded volume of Retzsch's celebrated *Outlines to Shakspeare* [*sic*] which came into the possession of John Everett Millais as early as May 1846 is therefore significant (Fig. 16.1; see Appendix). That the book was inscribed and presented to the young Millais by James Wyatt, a prosperous print dealer and one of the artist's first and most enthusiastic patrons, adds a further intriguing dimension to the discovery.

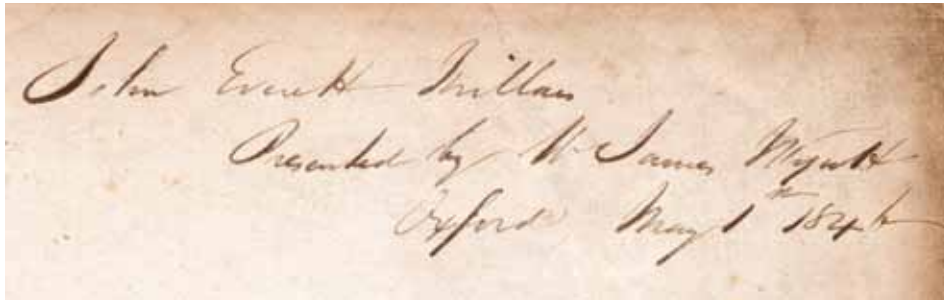
Millais's interest in 'outline style' illustration was already apparent by 1842–43 when, following the lead of his friend and fellow Jerseyman, the already

THIS ESSAY is dedicated with gratitude to David Bindman. Although I had begun to collect books and prints while still a schoolboy, it was during my undergraduate years that David, by his own inspiring example, first revealed to me the way in which one's chance discoveries and fortunate purchases can illuminate the odd corners of research and often shed light on larger art-historical questions. Over many years David and I have met at antiquarian book fairs, in street markets and elsewhere and excitedly shown and compared 'finds'. The book described in this article, found at a London fair, proved to be the 'missing link' in a sequence of events and stylistic influences that I had first sought to unravel forty years ago whilst working on nineteenth-century book illustrators for my MA at the Courtauld Institute in 1973–75.

1. J. Gere, 'Pre-Raphaelite drawings', *Alphabet and Image: A Quarterly of Typography and Graphic Arts*, 6 (January 1948), pp.18–32.

2. W. Vaughan, 'F.A.M. Retzsch and the outline style', in *German Romanticism and English Art*, London, 1979, pp.123–54.

3. *The Poetry of Drawing: Pre-Raphaelite Designs, Studies and Watercolours*, Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, 29 January – 5 May 2011, and see also the accompanying book: C. Cruise, *Pre-Raphaelite Drawing*, London, 2011, esp. ch.2, pp.43–63.



well-established artist Henry Courtenay Selous, he submitted a set of drawings to the first annual competition organised by the Art Union of London.⁴ Millais's designs were somewhat stiff but, for a thirteen-year-old, precociously competent efforts. Taking as subject matter a sequence of episodes illustrative of *The Rise and Progress of Religion in England*, they were drawn in an identical manner to Selous's winning series illustrating *The Pilgrim's Progress* (the latter published in book form in 1844).⁵ Stylistically this was a development of John Flaxman's pure outline manner, but employed a characteristic varied thickness of line to create added emphasis.⁶ This so-called 'shaded outline' style of drawing was clearly related to the contemporary graphic convention used by engravers for the representation of antique bas-reliefs and thus when applied to literary subjects conferred an inevitable aura of classical sensibility that was often – but by no means always – appropriate to the work in hand. Millais's most carefully elaborated ink drawing in this essentially still classical idiom is a virtuoso rendering of the composition for his important early oil painting *Cymon and Iphegenia*.⁷ Dated 1847, the drawing stands, therefore, along with the better-known set of six designs for architectural lunettes also begun that year, on the cusp between the young draughtsman's entirely conventional 'pre-Pre-Raphaelite' manner and the excitingly novel, angular style of drawing adopted within a matter of months by the PRB in which a debt to the romanticised gothic settings, costumes, figure and facial types and intricate incidental details of Retzsch's etched illustrations is so manifest.

In the key early and first-hand accounts of the initial phase of the PRB, the significance of prints examined by the young revolutionaries at their foundation meeting held in the Millais family house in Gower Street is given conspicuous prominence. Holman Hunt gave at least two descriptions of the event, the first of which is recorded in the two-volume study of Millais's life and art published by his son, John Guille Millais, in 1899. Hunt told him:

4. For a description of this series of drawings see M. Warner, *The Drawings of John Everett Millais*, exh. cat., London (The Arts Council), 1979, nos.4, 5, pp.18–19.

5. On Millais, Selous and the Art Union competitions see Stephen Calloway, *Attitudes to the Medieval in English Book Illustration, 1800–1857*, MA Dissertation (Courtauld Institute of Art, London, 1975), ch.3, pp.24–41.

6. Flaxman's own designs for illustration do often reveal the natural variation of line to be expected in drawings made with a pen, but when translated into printed form by reproductive print-makers such as Thomas Piroli the results are characterised by the fine, even strokes of the professional engraver's burin.

7. Pen and ink, 25.5 by 35.5 cm, signed and dated: *Millais, 1847*. Christie's, London, 7 June 2005, lot 3; present whereabouts unrecorded.

Fig.16.1 Presentation inscription from James Wyatt to John Everett Millais, Oxford, 1 May 1846, in Retzsch's *Outlines to Shakspeare* [sic], Third Series: *Romeo and Juliet*, 1836 (Stephen Calloway)

Your father then invited us all to spend the evening in his studio, where he showed us engravings from the Campo Santo, and other somewhat archaic designs. These being much admired by the new candidates, we agreed that it might be safe to admit the additional four members on probation.⁸

In his own memoirs, Hunt would elaborate on the mention of 'somewhat archaic designs' in his previous recollections of that momentous evening, specifically naming Retzsch and another German outline artist, Joseph Führich, as well as citing again the volume of prints of the Pisan frescos by the antiquary and engraver Carlo Lasinio:

The meeting at Millais' was soon held. We had much to entertain us. Firstly, there was a set of outlines of Führich in the Retzsch manner, but of much larger style ... In addition to these modern designs, Millais had a book of engravings of the Campo Santo in Pisa which had by mere chance been lent to him. Few of us had before seen the complete set of these famous compositions.⁹

In his monograph on Rossetti, Frederick Stephens (who, as one of the original members of the PRB, was also present at those crucial early meetings) is more emphatic still concerning the importance of Retzsch:

The influence of Retzsch and his once-famous Outlines anent Faust was manifest in all the productions of this category [line illustrations to literature] by Rossetti as well as all his colleagues of the PRB who could draw, that is six of the seven. Every one of these was accustomed to make designs in this way. Thus some of the finest 'inventions' of Sir John Millais' brilliant youth were with stringent care and delicacy put on paper.¹⁰

It is clear that, as the years passed and more memoirs and studies, such as that by Stephens quoted here, appeared in print, Hunt, as self-appointed keeper of the PRB flame, became increasingly keen to play down the extent of the influence exerted by German and 'Early Christian' art. In 1905 he wrote with still grudging approval that

The misfortune of Germans as artists had been that, from the days of Winckelmann, writers had theorised and made systems, as orders, to be carried out by future practitioners in ambitious painting. The result was an art sublimely intellectual in intention, but devoid of personal instinct and often bloodless and dead; but many book illustrators had in varying degrees dared to follow their own fancies, and had escaped the crippling yoke.¹¹

However, according to Hunt 'the danger at the time arose from the vigour of the rising taste for Gothic art rather than from the classical form of design'. He claimed that at that time he had felt the need to bring about 'the thorough purgation of Rossetti from his remaining German revivalism'.¹²

8. J.G. Millais, *Life and Letters of Sir John Everett Millais*, 2 vols., London, 1899, I, pp. 50–51.

9. William Holman Hunt, *Pre-Raphaelitism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood*, 2 vols., London, 1905, I, p.130.

10. F.G. Stephens, *Rossetti*, London, 1894, p.9.

11. Hunt, *op. cit.* (note 9), I, p.130.

12. *Ibid.*, I, p.131.



Yet, for all these retrospective reservations – clearly emphasised in order to play up the originality of the early PRB style – Hunt in 1847–48 was every bit as susceptible as Millais and Rossetti to the appeal of medieval subject matter, especially as they encountered it in the poetry of Keats. It should be recalled in this context that, whilst it was undoubtedly Rossetti who, as self-styled ‘poet-painter’ and the most adventurous reader in the Brotherhood, took an often dogmatic lead in literary matters, according to tradition it was actually Hunt’s discovery of an original edition of Keats’s verses in the fourpenny box of a second-hand bookstall which first made the group aware of the striking narratives and colourful imagery of ‘Isabella, or the Pot of Basil’ and ‘La Belle Dame sans Merci’.

An intriguing conjecture can be advanced that two of the most accomplished early drawings in the emerging shared PRB drawing style, Hunt’s *Lorenzo at his Desk in the Warehouse* (Fig. 16.2) and Millais’s *Isabella* (Fig. 16.3) were specifically intended for inclusion in an album of designs illustrating subjects from Keats’s ‘Isabella’ planned in the manner of Retzsch’s popular volumes.¹³ Stylistically and in terms of

Fig.16.2 William Holman Hunt, *Lorenzo at his Desk in the Warehouse*, 1849. Pen and ink, 22.2 × 33.3 cm (Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris)

13. Hunt’s recollections (first recorded in *Contemporary Review*, 1886, p.482) are imprecise and there may be a confusion here between two similar but separate projects. Alastair Grieve in his essay ‘Style and content in Pre-Raphaelite drawings’ (in L. Parris, ed., *Pre-Raphaelite Papers*, London, 1984, p.25) suggested that Millais’s drawing may be connected with a slightly earlier proposal initiated by Rossetti that the members of the Cyclographic Society should draw eight subjects from ‘Isabella’. The eight suggested episodes are recorded in E. Wood’s *Dante Rossetti and the Pre-Raphaelite Movement*, London, 1894, p.60, but none coincides with the subjects of the drawings by Hunt and Millais. Both W. Vaughan,



Fig.16.3 J.E. Millais, *Isabella*, 1848. Brush and ink, 20.3 × 29.4 cm (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge)



Fig.16.4 J.E. Millais *Romeo and Juliet*, 1848. Pen and ink, 36.1 × 26.5 cm (Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery)

their size, format, graphic handling and even in the positioning of lettering below the lower border of Millais's design, the suggestion is remarkably plausible. Colin Cruise has pertinently observed that, in their 'stark linearity', many of the early PRB drawings 'were often so restricted in their range of marks that they seemed like engravings', and we do know that around this time both Hunt and Millais made some drawings specifically to serve as *modelli* for intended prints.¹⁴ Indeed, Hunt himself refers to these two *Isabella* drawings as 'designs for etchings', adding that Rossetti also promised a contribution to the project, but characteristically failed to deliver.¹⁵

Returning specifically to the book of illustrations given to Millais by James Wyatt, we find further compelling evidence of the direct influence of Retzsch on the younger artist. The volume in question was a copy of the third series of Retzsch's outlines illustrating Shakespeare's plays, containing twelve etchings of scenes from *Romeo and Juliet*, published in 1836. Retzsch's first great success had come with his set of illustrations to Goethe's *Faust* of 1817. These had been immediately appreciated throughout Europe; in England by 1819–20 avant-garde critics and connoisseurs such as Thomas Griffiths Wainewright and literary figures including Shelley were enthusiastic advocates of Retzsch's work. So great was the demand for expensive imported copies of his books that, from only shortly after this date, successive new titles such as volumes illustrating Schiller's *Fridolin*, 1824, and *The Fight with the Dragon*, 1825, were published in simultaneous editions in Leipzig, Paris and London. In all, Retzsch created seven series of illustrations to individual Shakespeare plays, which appeared between 1828 and 1847.

Millais clearly studied his copy of *Romeo and Juliet* closely, absorbing the particular stylistic traits which distinguish Retzsch's illustrations from those of Flaxman and lesser figures such as Selous. The most striking outcome of this process of absorption was Millais's creation of his own large, carefully elaborated pen and ink drawing of 1848 depicting the climactic scene of the play (Fig. 16.4). Whilst enhancing his angular, wiry outline with subtly hatched or pen-stippled shading, in all other respects – that is to say in compositional terms, in its schematic architectural setting, in the morphology of the figures and in costume and much of the other incidental detail – Millais's drawing might reasonably be described as an imaginatively reworked version of the final plate in Retzsch's book (Fig. 16.5). This is not, of course, to deny the startling originality of the younger draughtsman's achievement as he searched for his own style, but it does point up the significance of James Wyatt's gift at a key moment in the genesis of the early Pre-Raphaelite drawing style, as developed by Millais and Hunt in particular.

J.G. Millais's account of his father's early years supplies the context of this generous and seminal gift.

It was in the summer of 1846 that Millais first travelled down to Oxford, where he stayed with his half-brother Henry Hodgkinson, who lived in that town. One of the people whose acquaintance he made then was a dealer in works of art named Wyatt – a remarkable man in many ways.¹⁶

op. cit. (note 2), p.154, and A. Smith in her catalogue entry on the Millais drawing for the Tate exhibition *Millais*, 2007 (cat.10, p.36) incline toward the idea of a Retzsch-style album.

14. Cruise, *op. cit.* (note 3), p.46.

15. Hunt, *op. cit.* (note 9), 1, p.142.

16. J.G. Millais, *op. cit.* (note 8), 1, pp.34–5.



Fig.16.5 Moritz Retzsch, Illustration to *Romeo and Juliet* (plate 13), 1836. Etching, 18 × 24 cm (Stephen Calloway)

James Wyatt (1774–1853) was the proprietor of a thriving family business, James Wyatt & Son, ‘printsellers, dealers in pictures and frame-makers’, with commercial and domestic premises at 115 High Street, Oxford. Wyatt’s standing in Oxford’s town circles was clearly high. In addition to running his prominently sited print shop, he also acted as curator of the Duke of Marlborough’s collections at nearby Blenheim Palace and played a part in civic life as a justice of the peace and an alderman; for forty years he was a local councillor and served as mayor of Oxford in 1842–43.¹⁷ From their first meeting, Wyatt, still sprightly at the age of seventy-four, seems to have been keen to be of help to the precocious young artist. We must assume from the date of the presentation inscription that the gift of the Retzsch book, the first of several generous acts, took place at one of their earliest encounters. In 1848 Wyatt bought for £60 Millais’s intended exhibition picture, the large oil *Cymon and Iphigenia*; begun the previous year, this had been rejected as ‘unfinished’ by the Royal Academy and, greatly to Millais’s distress, remained unsold. Subsequently Wyatt commissioned portraits of himself with his granddaughter Mary (Fig. 16.6), and a pendant of his daughter-in-law Eliza and second grandchild Sarah (1850; Tate Britain). In the first of these portraits Millais depicts his patron as an almost eighteenth-century figure, the successful and respected tradesman, impeccably, if soberly, dressed and seated with his legs supported on a gout-stool. The minutely delineated contents of the room – small gilt-framed pictures, bibelots set on carved and gilded rococo brackets, an array of old china in a glazed cabinet and a posy of flowers in

17. On Wyatt see S. Jenkins, *Oxford History* (website) <http://www.oxfordhistory.org.uk/high/tour/south/115.html>, entry for 115 High Street, and also J. Rosenfeld, *John Everett Millais*, London, 2012, pp.40–41.



Fig.16.6 J.E. Millais, *Portrait of James Wyatt and his granddaughter*, 1849. Oil on canvas, 35.5 × 45 cm (Private collection)



Fig.16.7 J.E. Millais, *Romeo and Juliet*, 1847–48. Oil on millboard, 16.1 × 26.9 cm (Manchester City Art Gallery)

an expensive cut-glass champagne flute – seem a trifle ‘feminine’ in taste. However, in this context they all speak of the comforts and ‘tasteful’ luxuries that rewarded a long and profitable career. Beside the old man on a table lies an open book, which has been tentatively identified as a seventeenth-century volume of Killigrew’s poems, but which is far more likely to be a scrap-album containing prints; a telling ‘prop’ that must in this instance be intended to reflect Wyatt’s personal artistic and antiquarian tastes as well as the polite nature of his trade.¹⁸

James Wyatt seems to have dealt in a wide range of prints, both old and new, as well as original paintings.¹⁹ In the Millais portrait the pictures hanging in Wyatt’s room include a conventionally prettified depiction of his daughter-in-law (contrasting intriguingly with Millais’s later, distinctly novel and austere depiction of her), but also what appears to be a small Italian Renaissance tondo in a heavy gilt frame. A further telling reflection of the scope of Wyatt’s business, as well as a glimpse, perhaps, of his old-fashioned integrity as a businessman, is suggested by a group of six drawings, probably of eighteenth-century date but at one time attributed to Rembrandt, which appeared recently in the trade. An ink inscription on the mount of one of this group records:

18. The suggestion that the book could be Anne Killigrew’s *Poems*, 1683, a somewhat recondite choice of reading matter, surely, was made by Malcolm Warner in his entry in the exhibition catalogue *The Pre-Raphaelites* (Tate Gallery, 1984), cat.28, p.81. Though painted as a private commission, Wyatt encouraged Millais to submit the portrait to the RA in 1850. It was badly received when exhibited, largely as a result of an overflowing of journalistic bile from critics keen to attack the artist’s principal contribution to that year’s show, *The Carpenter’s Shop*. *The Examiner* described this genial image of family piety as an ‘ogre-like caricature of some unfortunate grandfather’. More successful as a composition and in characterisation, Millais’s second portrait, that of Eliza, the wife of Wyatt’s son (also named James Wyatt) and their younger child Sarah, is notable for the unusually formal treatment of the background in which austere framed prints after the Old Masters again reference the family business and perhaps hint also at a certain severity in the younger Wyatt family’s taste.

19. It was in the window of Wyatt’s shop in 1855 that William Morris and Edward Burne-Jones, then undergraduates at nearby Exeter College, first saw a copy of Rossetti’s newly published illustration to ‘The Maids of Elfen-Mere’, an aesthetic epiphany that helped determine their future courses in life, for which see Georgiana Burne-Jones, *Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones*, 2 vols., London, 1912, p.119.

These sketches were bought by Mr James Wyatt when he was trading at Oxford about 1850 as Rembrandts, but he became doubtful of their genuineness and therefore was unwilling to sell them – they came into the possession of his grandson James Martin Ackland Wyatt who gave them to W.R. Wilson. About 1910 they were examined by Sotheby's and Christie's who both said that they were either by Rembrandt or were clever forgeries. Note by W.R.W. 1944.²⁰

Wyatt died in 1853 and a group of works of art from his collection was sold at Christie's on 4 July that year. Among the lots offered were a considerable number of early drawings and several paintings by Millais, including a small version of the composition of his *Romeo and Juliet* drawing (Fig. 16.7). Since this sketch is both smaller and so much simpler than the elaborate pen drawing of the subject, being broadly painted and largely relying upon bold chiaroscuro rather than fully resolved details for its effects, it has been very plausibly suggested that, contrary to the usual sequence of things, the oil is likely to predate the drawing and perhaps even served as a sort of preparatory sketch for it.²¹ As such, this cherished little panel would have held a very particular resonance for James Wyatt, who would naturally have seen in it the first fruits of his gift of Retzsch's *Outlines* to his brilliant young protégé.

Debenham, Suffolk, formerly Victoria and Albert Museum

APPENDIX: BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS OF MILLAIS'S COPY OF RETZSCH

Retzsch's / *Outlines* / to / Shakspeare [*sic*] / Third Series. / *Romeo and Juliet*. / Thirteen plates / Genuine original edition.

Leipsic: / Published by Ernest Fleischer. / (No. 626, New-Market.) / 1836 / London: Sold by Black & Armstrong, / foreign Booksellers to the King / (2, Tavistock Street, Covent Garden.) / Paris: Sold by Veith & Hauser. / (11, Boulevard des Italiens.)

[collation: frontispiece; title in German; title in English; engraved dedication leaf; 30 pp. text; 12 plates, etched, each signed *Moritz Retzsch invt. delt. & sculpt.* and dated 1836, interleaved with text pages]

Bound in drab paper-covered boards, sometime rebaked, with printed title label pasted on upper cover.

Provenance: [ink inscription on front paste-down, in Millais's hand] *Mr John Everett Millais*; [ink inscription on front endpaper, probably in James Wyatt's hand] *John Everett Millais / Presented by Mr James Wyatt / Oxford May 1st 1846*

Collection of Stephen Calloway

20. Dominic Winter Auctions, Cirencester, Sale 28 January 2010, lot 174 (present whereabouts unrecorded)

21. Alison Smith raises this possibility in her catalogue entry for the panel in the catalogue for the exhibition *Millais* (Tate, 2007), cat.7, p.3.



Fig. 17.1. William Blake Richmond, *Mrs Luke Ionides*, 1879. Oil on canvas, 102.2 × 115.2 cm (Victoria and Albert Museum)

An Aesthetic Sitter on an Empire Sofa: William Blake Richmond's Portrait of Mrs Luke Ionides

MARK EVANS

WILLIAM BLAKE RICHMOND's half-length portrait of *Mrs Luke Ionides* (Fig. 17.1) was painted in 1879. When it was first exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery in 1882, F.G. Stephens remarked: 'Lifelike and a characteristic specimen of Mr. Richmond's proper style, which is at once elegant and simple, is the charming portrait of *Mrs Luke Ionides* (186), a young lady in a pure red dress, seated on a couch, and holding an amber necklace.'¹ Another critic demurred, observing that 'the elaborate composition of which *Mrs Luke Ionides* (186) is the centre is so hard and cold in execution, that much of the charm which it would otherwise possess is destroyed'.² More recently described as 'one of the most decorative female portraits Richmond ever painted', this picture was purchased by the Victoria and Albert Museum in 2003.³ It sheds considerable light on the confluence of art, literature, fashion and design at a formative phase of the Aesthetic movement.

W.B. Richmond (1842–1921) was the eighth child of the artist George Richmond, and the godson of his father's fellow 'Ancient', Samuel Palmer. He was christened in honour of their hero, the poet and painter William Blake, whose birthday fell just a day before his own. Palmer and the other Shoreham artist Edward Calvert encouraged the young painter to develop an idealised style, and he was initially attracted to Pre-Raphaelitism. At Rome between 1866 and 1869, he studied the Old Masters and the art of antiquity, and became a thoroughgoing classicist, one of

MORE THAN forty years ago, David Bindman introduced this then teenage author to the seminal British Council *Age of Neo-Classicism* exhibition at the V&A and expounded to him the intricacies of William Blake, the 'glorious luminary' who gave his name to the painter of this portrait of an Aesthetic sitter on an Empire sofa. Like Blake, David is 'a man not forestalled by predecessors, nor to be classed with contemporaries, nor to be replaced by known or readily surmisable successors' (W.M. Rossetti, *The Poetical Works of William Blake: Lyrical and Miscellaneous*, 1890, p. xiii). For their generous advice and assistance during the preparation of this essay I am grateful to Frances Collard, Nicola Costaras, Max Donnelly, Richard Edgcumbe, Irene Helmreich-Schoeller, Martin Hopkinson, Julia Ionides, Anna Jackson, Barbara Lasic, Sarah Medlam, Tessa Murdoch, Linda Parry and Guy Savill.

1. 'Grosvenor Gallery', in *The Athenaeum*, no.2847 (20 May 1882), p.641; the portrait was given the date 1879 in the catalogue of the exhibition *Works of Sir W.B. Richmond*, held at the New Gallery, London in winter 1900–1 (no.55). Also exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery in 1882 was Richmond's portrait of *Luke Ionides, Esq.* (no.146), which Stephens described in his review as 'also a first-rate piece of character painting, but not so agreeable and artistic'. Its current whereabouts are unknown.

2. Anon., *The Art Journal*, new series (1882), p.189.

3. S. Reynolds, *William Blake Richmond: An Artist's Life 1842–1921*, Norwich, 1995, pp.125, 149. The portrait passed by descent and was offered for sale at Christie's on 7 June 1996 (lot 572), bought in, and lent to the V&A in 1998. It was purchased by the museum with the assistance of the Art Fund and the Friends of the V&A (E.1062–2003).

the 'Olympians' headed by Frederic, Lord Leighton. Richmond travelled widely in Italy, Greece and as far as Egypt, lectured and wrote extensively on art and succeeded Ruskin as Slade Professor at Oxford. The recipient of honorary degrees from Oxford and Cambridge, he was elected a Royal Academician in 1895, and knighted two years later.

Richmond is best remembered for his controversial mosaics at St Paul's, executed in 1891–1904, and his fierce criticism of Cézanne and W.R. Sickert, which branded him as a reactionary in the eyes of Roger Fry and D.S. MacColl. However, a generation earlier, his own Aesthetic style had earned the disapproval of Queen Victoria and between 1877 and 1887 he eschewed the elderly jury and crowded displays of the Royal Academy, preferring instead to exhibit with Pre-Raphaelite and Olympian artists in the highly fashionable Grosvenor Gallery, by invitation of its proprietor Sir Coutts Lindsay. In old age Richmond would encourage the young Paul Nash in a Neo-Romantic style conditioned by Blake and Palmer.

Richmond's professional success depended largely on a lucrative portrait practice, with sitters including statesmen such as his friend W.E. Gladstone and Prince Otto von Bismarck, as well as scientists, men of letters and artists – ranging from Charles Darwin and Robert Louis Stevenson to William Morris and Arthur Evans. *Mrs Luke Ionides* exemplifies his elegant and sensuous ideal of female portraiture, which was aptly characterised by Simon Reynolds:

They depict the society hostess of the 1870s and 1880s as a reborn Greek goddess, untouched by any form of labour other than the writing of love poems and the study of fine arts ... an ornament to her aristocratic wealthy or otherwise successful husband ... Hers is the world of privilege, culture and grace, justly to be envied by those born outside their social position.⁴

The classical poise, intense surface finish and elegant settings of these works are reminiscent of the magnificent late female portraits by the doyen of international classicism, J.A.D. Ingres, who made finished drawings of numerous English clients at Rome in 1815–1817.⁵ Contemporaries of both the English painter and his illustrious French predecessor were struck by their debt to Renaissance court portraiture, especially that of the Florentine mannerist Agnolo Bronzino.⁶ Queen Victoria complained in 1873 that 'Young Richmond who used to paint charming portraits a little while ago – has taken to paint flat, bad imitations of Holbein and I don't know whom; with green flesh and blue lips and Chinese sorts of leaves as a background!!', but in 1877 *The Athenaeum* found one of his female portraits 'A scholarly echo of the antique mood ... an example of pure, flat, and almost tempera-like painting, sober and refined in sentiment, broad and bright'.⁷ A decade later *The Athenaeum* singled out the influence of Bronzino for criticism, finding Richmond's half-length of *Mrs Ernest Moon*, now in the Tate Gallery, 'more Bronzino-like than usual, even

4. Reynolds, *op. cit.* (note 3), pp. 110–11.

5. I am indebted to Martin Hopkinson for this insight; communication with the author, dated 23 April 2014. For the English patrons of Ingres, and his late portraits of *Viscomtesse d'Haussonville* (1845), *Madame Moitessier* (1851 and 1856) and *Princesse de Broglie* (1853), see G. Tinterow and P. Conisbee, eds., *Portraits by Ingres: Image of an Epoch*, exh. cat., New York (Metropolitan Museum of Art), 1999, pp. 15–16, 111–12, 190–96, 198–211, 217–18, 401–13, 426–54, 505–14.

6. For Bronzino's influence on Ingres, see Tinterow and Conisbee, *op. cit.* (note 5), pp. 5, 7, 37, 105, 124, 247, 252, 296, 298, 451.

7. Cited in Reynolds, *op. cit.* (note 3), pp. 105–6 and 111.



Fig.17.2. Agnolo di Cosimo, called Bronzino, *Lucrezia Panciatichi*, 1541–45. Oil on panel, 102 × 83.2 cm (Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence)

for Mr Richmond' and cautioned that 'his style is in danger of fossilising, so to say into a sort of Bronzino-like manner, the charm of which may before long fail to move many who now admire the extremely accomplished painter'.⁸

Indeed, the imperious air, upright frontal pose and hard finish of *Mrs Luke Ionides* are all distinctly reminiscent of Bronzino's solemn female portraits, which Richmond would have known well from his frequent visits to Florence. In particular, it resembles one of the Renaissance master's finest portraits, that of *Lucrezia Panciatichi* (Fig. 17.2), painted between 1541 and 1545 and praised by Vasari, which similarly depicts a half-length sitter with auburn hair in a bright red dress with puffed sleeves.⁹ This

8. Tate (107130). *The Athenaeum*, no.3165 (23 June 1888), p.800 and no.3160 (19 May 1888), p.658; cited in Reynolds, *op. cit.* (note 3).

9. The portrait and its pendant of the sitter's husband Bartolomeo Panciatichi (Uffizi, inv.1890, nos.736, 741) entered the Uffizi in 1704; C. Falciani and A. Natali, eds., *Bronzino: Artist and Poet at the*

striking image also deeply impressed that other lover of Florence, Henry James, who imagined his doomed heroine Milly Theale as having a close physical resemblance to *Lucrezia Panciatichi*, whose portrait he described thus in *The Wings of the Dove*:

the face of a young woman, all magnificently drawn down to the hands, and magnificently dressed; a face almost livid in hue, yet handsome in sadness and crowned with a mass of hair rolled back and high ... The lady in question at all events, with her slightly Michelangelesque squareness, her eyes of other days, her full lips, her long neck, her recorded jewels, her brocaded and wasted reds, was a very great personage.¹⁰

James's description could as aptly be applied to *Mrs Luke Ionides*. Although *The Wings of the Dove* was not published until 1902, its plot is essentially an elaboration of *The Portrait of a Lady*, which the novelist began on a visit to Florence in 1879, and includes a scene set in the Uffizi, while the principal female characters in both stories are believed to have been based on his beloved cousin Minnie Temple, whose early death in 1870 occurred the year after he first visited the Tuscan city. James lambasted Richmond's 'extraordinary portrait of Mr. Gladstone' as 'the last word of Philistinism' in his unsigned Grosvenor Gallery review of 1882, but he reserved judgement on *Mrs Luke Ionides*, which he would have seen in the same exhibition.¹¹ Unabashed, a few weeks later Richmond read *The Portrait of a Lady*, albeit with little enjoyment, and in 1888 he invited James to dinner.¹² The novelist perhaps saw the portrait again at Richmond's retrospective exhibition in 1900–1, shortly before he started to write *The Wings of the Dove*.

Luke Ionides (1837–1924) was a stockbroker, from an art-loving family of Greek extraction, now remembered principally for the paintings and drawings – including major works by Edgar Degas, Honoré Daumier, J.F. Millet, D.G. Rossetti and Edward Burne-Jones – that his brother Constantine Alexander (1833–1900) bequeathed to the V&A in 1900.¹³ In the 1850s, Luke and his younger brother Alecco (1840–98) were members of the 'Paris Gang' with George du Maurier and E.J. Poynter, and friends of Henri Fantin-Latour and James McNeill Whistler. Their father, Alexander Constantine (1810–90), was a successful merchant in the Levantine trade, associated since his youth with Edward Calvert, and an early and loyal patron of G.F. Watts.¹⁴ Following his move to Holland Park in 1864, most of his children also acquired houses in that fashionable district. In 1869 Luke married Elfrida Elizabeth Bird (1848–1928), with whom he had seven children. They lived at 16 Holland Villas

Court of the Medici, exh. cat., Florence (Palazzo Strozzi), 2010, pp.153–69.

10. M. Allott, 'The Bronzino portrait in Henry James's *The Wings of the Dove*', *Modern Language Notes*, 68, 1 (January 1953), pp.23–25.

11. Henry James, 'London pictures and London plays', *Atlantic Monthly*, 50 (August 1882), pp.253–63; reproduced in P. Rawlings, ed., *Henry James: Essays on Art and Drama*, Aldershot, 1996, p.350.

12. Reynolds, *op. cit.* (note 3), pp.169, 200.

13. C. Dakers, *The Holland Park Circle: Artists and Victorian Society*, New Haven and London, 1990, pp.106–21; Luke Ionides (ed. Julia Ionides), *Memories*, Ludlow, 1996; M. Evans and M. Vandenbrouck, '"A collection as a man of taste would wish to live with": Constantine Ionides at home', *Journal of the Decorative Arts Society*, 36 (2012), pp.22–45.

14. C.M. Kauffmann, 'Alexander Constantine Ionides (1810–1890)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, article 62820, www.oxforddnb.com, accessed 21 September 2011; M. Evans, 'Blake, Calvert – and Palmer? The album of Alexander Constantine Ionides', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXLIV, 1194 (September 2002), pp.539–49.

Road, and subsequently at 17 Upper Phillimore Gardens, also in Kensington, but, as a result of a disastrous investment in 1895, Luke lost his money and parted from his wife. Latterly, Elfrida lived with their youngest son Basil (1884–1950), who became a successful interior designer and, together with his wife Nellie Samuel (1883–1962), was an important art collector.

Luke's *Memories*, published in 1924, is a gossipy account of his friendships with celebrities including Whistler, William Morris, Wagner, Richard Burton, Watts, W.G. Gilbert and du Maurier. It does not mention Richmond, although he was evidently a friend, with whom Luke and his wife dined regularly in the 1880s and early 1890s.¹⁵ Luke's father and his elder brother Constantine usually obtained their family portraits from Watts, whose praise of a work by Whistler motivated the former to commission a head of Luke from the American painter in 1860.¹⁶ Luke and his wife may have become acquainted with Richmond through the artist's mentor Edward Calvert, who was also an old friend of the head of the Ionides family. At the time Elfrida sat for her portrait in 1879, Richmond was charging £350 for a half-length.¹⁷ This was less than the customary fee of 500 guineas then charged by Watts, who evidently gave Constantine a substantial discount for five bust-length portraits painted in 1880 and 1881, doubtless because of his father's long-standing patronage.¹⁸ Two of these, depicting Constantine and his wife Agathonike, were included in the Watts retrospective at the Grosvenor Gallery early in 1882 (nos.171, 198), shortly before Richmond's portraits of Luke and Elfrida were also shown there.

Richmond took pains to orchestrate the compositions of his portraits, selecting characteristic props and items of furniture to provide a focus of interest, such as the Ashanti stool in the full-length of his own daughter Helen, painted in 1876, and the zither – an instrument Lady Ida Sitwell 'had never seen in her life until she sat to Richmond' – which appears in her portrait of 1888.¹⁹ For his picture of *Mrs Luke Ionides*, the artist utilised a standard 'half-length' canvas, measuring 50 by 40 inches, like those also used for his horizontal triple portrait of *The Daughters of Charles Cavendish-Bentinck*, dated 1877, and his vertical likeness of *Charles Darwin*, of 1879–80.²⁰ *Mrs Luke Ionides* was subsequently trimmed by six inches at the left, possibly after it was completed, to assume its present size of 40 ¼ by 43 ⅝ in. A horizontal format provided a roomier field for the sitter's accessories, which Richmond depicted with characteristic attention to detail.

The daughter of a doctor, Elfrida was well educated, and the dress she wears exemplifies what the influential Victorian commentator on style Mary Haweis termed in 1878 'Pre-Raphaelitism in Dress'; a fashion later succinctly explained by Stella Mary Newton:

There was a short interval at the end of the 'seventies and the beginning of the 'eighties ... when those who followed high-fashion wore neither crinolettes

15. Reynolds, *op. cit.* (note 3), pp.200, 240.

16. A. McLaren Young, M. MacDonald and R. Spencer with the assistance of H. Miles, *The Paintings of James McNeill Whistler*, New Haven and London, 1980, p.12.

17. Reynolds, *op. cit.* (note 3), p.139.

18. V. Franklin Gould, *G.F. Watts: The Last Great Victorian*, New Haven and London, 2004, pp.142, 147. These portraits, of Constantine, his wife Agathonike and their first three daughters, all now in the V&A (CA1.1141-1145), were valued at £250 each in an inventory of his collection, now owned by a descendant, which he drew up in November 1881.

19. Reynolds, *op. cit.* (note 3), pp.32, 108–9, 216–17.

20. Reynolds, *op. cit.* (note 3), pp.xv, 116–17, 133.

nor bustles. Preceded, or followed by, this new straight dress which covered her like a sheath, a new ideal woman appeared who no longer looked her best in profile. It was, indeed, only from the front that this revised design for a woman could be understood, and then only when upright and still.²¹

A surviving dress of similar cut, but with a square neck and made of blue and white striped Liberty silk, was apparently designed for his wife by the sculptor Hamo Thorneycroft in 1884.²² The hue of Elfrida's silk dress contrasts dramatically with her reddish-blond hair, a tone much admired by D.G. Rossetti. Her piled-up coiffure was of a fashion criticised in 1883 by G.F. Watts as distorting 'that fitness without which there is no harmony or beauty', but the intense coral colour of her dress corresponds more closely to that painter's preference for 'noble textures and colours' than the faded tonalities recommended by Mrs Haweis in 1878, which came to be associated with the habituées of the Grosvenor Gallery.²³

The silver-gilt belt-buckle, decorated with fretwork incorporating figures of *Faith, Hope and Charity*, which Elfrida wore for her portrait, was given by a descendant to the V&A in 2004. It resembles an 'All Sterling Silver Ladies' Belt, handsomely Pierced and Chased, very massive' which was still being distributed in 1900 through the retailers Mappin & Webb, at a price of £6 10s.²⁴ Her amber beads are of a kind typically used as prayer beads in the Middle East, while the mother-of-pearl inlaid dark wood occasional table is of a type retailed through Liberty's.²⁵ As a similar piece of furniture appears in a photograph of the drawing room of Luke's brother Constantine, at Hove in 1900, it is likely that both the beads and the table were included as allusions to their family's Levantine origins.²⁶ Behind Elfrida is a screen of Japanese kimono silk, resist dyed and embroidered, with a pattern of plum blossoms, waves and butterflies, datable around 1840–80, but displayed upside down.²⁷ When Liberty's opened in 1875, it specialised exclusively in such oriental silks, which were immensely popular with William Morris, Burne-Jones and their friends.²⁸ A decorated black curtain of similar material appears at the left of Whistler's most celebrated painting, *Arrangement in Grey and Black: Portrait of the Painter's Mother*, which Richmond doubtless saw at the Royal Academy in 1872.

The gilded Empire-style sofa with a top-rail decorated with a central palmette and flanking swans in Richmond's portrait of *Mrs Luke Ionides* is identical to one sold at Bonham's in 2002 (Figs.17.3, 17.4).²⁹ This bears the maker's mark of the Frankfurt

21. S.M. Newton, *Health, Art & Reason: Dress Reformers of the 19th Century*, London, 1974, pp.52–54, 70–71. For Mrs Haweis, see also D. Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and Their Possessions*, New Haven and London, 2006, pp.63–88.

22. Victoria and Albert Museum, T.171-1973; N. Rothstein, ed., *Four Hundred Years of Fashion*, London, 1992, pp.43, 139.

23. Newton, *op. cit.* (note 21), pp.72–74, 81, 83–86, quoting G.F. Watts, 'On taste in dress', *Nineteenth Century* (January 1883), pp.45–58.

24. Victoria and Albert Museum, M.1.1-2004; P. Hinks, *Victorian Jewellery*, London, 1991, p.110.

25. When used as prayer beads, they were usually strung in shorter runs of thirty-three beads, which were told three times to complete a 'Tesbih' of 99 prayers. An 'Inlaid Occasional Table' of 'Syrian Work' retailing at 2 guineas is illustrated in a catalogue of *Eastern Art Manufactures and Decorative Objects from Persia, India, China and Japan*, Liberty & Co., London, 1881, p.2A.

26. Evans and Vandenbrouck, *op. cit.* (note 13), p.28, fig.3.

27. See, for comparison, Victoria and Albert Museum, T.155-1965 and FE14-1983.

28. A. Adburgham, *Liberty's: A Biography of a Shop*, London, 1975, p.19.

29. I am grateful to Guy Savill for this information; communication with the author, dated 18 March



cabinet-maker Johann Valentin Raab (1777–1839), who probably trained in France. His principal surviving furniture was made for the court at Würzburg in 1807–12, and includes a boudoir suite for the so-called *Toskanazimmer* which also utilises swan motifs, but as elements of the chair legs.³⁰ The whereabouts of the sofa sold at Bonham's prior to the 1960s are unknown, but, as furniture by Raab is quite rare, it is probably the piece previously owned by Luke and Elfrida Ionides.

This particular sofa was illustrated and discussed at some length by Mrs Haweis in her 1881 book *The Art of Decoration* (Fig. 17.5), to show that 'simple forms ... are ... more manageable and more restful to the eye' and that a 'sofa should be judged like a dress or a house, by the laws of appropriateness and pleasure'.³¹ At the time, Empire furniture was not popular in Britain, and she called it 'The fine old French sofa (*temp.* Louis Quinze) belonging to Mr Luke Ionides', explaining:

the additional decorations ... are all in the direction of defining, not disguising it. This sofa is at once a beautiful ornament and a luxurious refuge. It belongs to the date when Madame de Pompadour's taste became classic, and there is no detail in its elaborate yet never obtrusive ornament but deserves study. Its refined form, its height, proportions, and workmanship are perfect. The quaint swans and the wreath of oak-leaves are conventionalised, but not unnatural; the floral ornament on the lower part is delicate and charming,

Fig.17.3. Johann Valentin Raab, Frankfurt, early nineteenth century. Carved giltwood sofa with drop-in seat and padded arms, stamped IV RAAB, 200 cm wide (current whereabouts unknown)

Fig.17.4. Detail of carved giltwood swan, from Fig.17.3

2003; see Bonham's, London, *Sale of Fine English and Continental Furniture, Tapestries and Works of Art*, 9 April 2002, lot 154. The sofa was purchased at auction during the 1960s, and was consigned for sale by Caroline Fleur, Dowager Lady Hobart, formerly the Duchess of Leeds (1931–2005).

30. A. Feulner, *Kunstgeschichte des Möbels*, Berlin, 1927, pp.568, 599, 605. A carved giltwood white painted and parcel gilt console table with Raab's stamp, apparently from the Würzburg Residenz, was offered for sale at Sotheby's, London on 24 May 2002 (lot 156). Two giltwood side chairs with lion's masks, also bearing Raab's stamp, and similar to an open armchair in the Frankfurt Historisches Museum, were sold at Phillips, London, on 8 February 2000 (lot 153) and Christie's, London, on 13 November 2003 (lot 81).

31. I am grateful to Frances Collard for this information; verbal communication with the author, March 2003; see Mrs H.R. Haweis, *The Art of Decoration*, London, 1881, p.284.

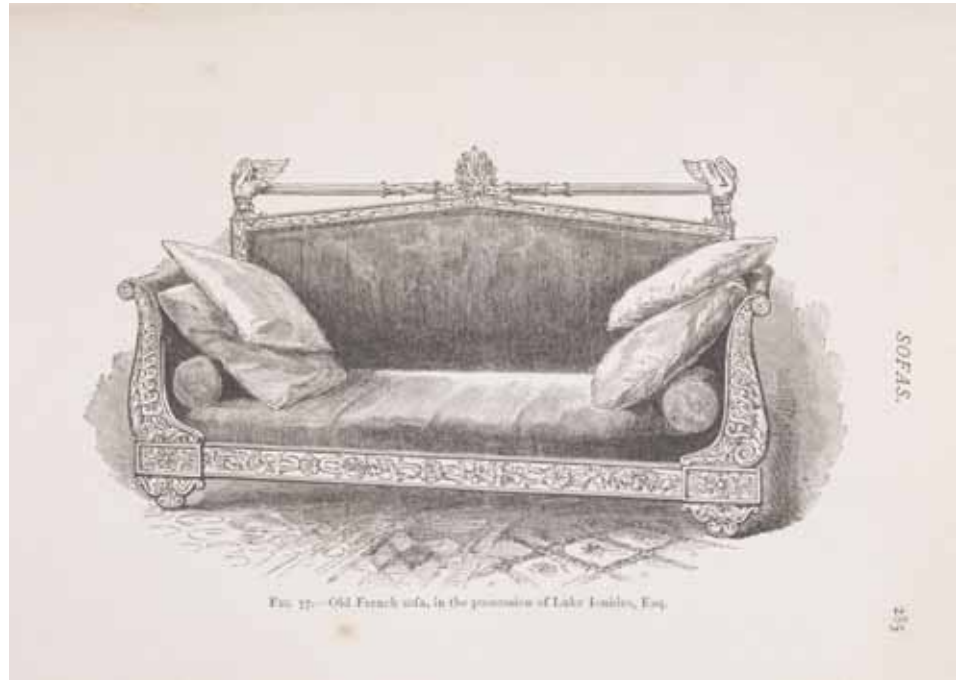


Fig.17.5. Anonymous engraver, Old French sofa, in the possession of Luke Ionides, Esq. Illustration in H.R. Haweiss, *The Art of Decoration*, London, 1881, fig.57, p.285

though its combination with the conventional Greek 'honeysuckle,' etc, is indulgent enough.³²

Mrs Haweis's misidentification of the sofa as a piece of early neoclassical furniture dating from the last years of Louis XV was compounded by her insistence that

Empire sofas ... are not usually comfortable ... the mood of that time was adverse to pleasure, and those Chippendale admirers who are so run away with by this 'Empire' hobby as to assert that these high heavy seats are pleasing, deny the very spirit which brought them forth. They were meant to be good artistically and mechanically – they were meant to be Greek; they are for the most part neither Greek nor good, neither convenient nor comfortable.³³

The 'Empire hobby' of Luke and Elfrida Ionides was also in advance of the taste of their friend Whistler, credited by no less an authority than Mario Praz as the principal pioneer of the Empire revival, whose interest in such furniture developed only after his return to Paris in 1892.³⁴ Like other members of the Ionides family, Luke and his wife were enthusiastic promoters of the Aesthetic Movement, and William Morris reputedly copied their drawing-room colour-scheme for the house of their mutual friend Burne-Jones in Fulham.³⁵ After Luke's younger brother Alecco took over their father's house at 1 Holland Park in 1876, he commissioned from Thomas

32. Haweis, *op. cit.* (note 31), fig.57, pp.285, 287.

33. Haweis, *op. cit.* (note 31), p.284.

34. M. Praz, *On Neoclassicism*, London, 1969, pp.178–79, 307; D.M. Bendix, *Diabolical Designs: Paintings, Interiors and Exhibitions of James McNeill Whistler*, Washington and London, 1995, pp.186, 189–91, 193, 196–99.

35. Ionides, *op. cit.* (note 13), p.88.

Jeckyll, Philip Webb and Morris & Co. a lavish programme of interior decoration in the height of 'Aesthetic' fashion, replete with flowered wallpaper, ornate ceilings and luxurious fittings and furniture.³⁶ Following his retirement to Hove in 1892, their elder brother Constantine employed Webb and Morris & Co. to create an altogether more sober 'Artistic' abode, as a neutral setting for his spectacular art collection.³⁷ William Blake Richmond's portrait of *Mrs Luke Ionides* provides a hint of the residence at 17 Upper Phillimore Gardens where the sitter and her family lived from 1875 to 1895. Its elegant and eclectic decor received the approval of William Morris and of Mrs Haweis, who firmly argued that homes should reflect their inhabitants personal moods, likes and taste because, as she put it, 'A man's house, whilst he is in it, is a part of himself'.³⁸

Victoria and Albert Museum

36. C. Harvey and J. Press, 'The Ionides family and 11 Holland Park', *Journal of the Decorative Arts Society*, 18 (1994), pp.2–14.

37. Evans and Vandenbrouck, *op. cit.* (note 13), pp.23–45.

38. Haweis, *op. cit.* (note 31), p.30; cited in Cohen, *op. cit.* (note 21), p.83.

‘A dose of Paradise’: Some Effects of Renaissance Drawings on Victorian Artists

SUSAN OWENS

THE FIRST OF the Grosvenor Gallery’s winter exhibitions was spectacular. *Drawings by the Old Masters, and Water-colour Drawings by Deceased Artists of the British School*, which opened at the very beginning of 1878, brought together a staggering 1,238 exhibits from the greatest collections in the country, including the Royal Collection and those of John Malcolm of Poltalloch, the Earl of Warwick and the Duke of Devonshire.¹ This overwhelming display, which included large quantities of drawings by Botticelli, Leonardo, Michelangelo, Raphael, Titian, Dürer and Holbein, caused the poet Algernon Swinburne to exclaim that it had ‘fairly swept away such small remains of sanity as I possessed before going there ... One cannot stand such a dose of Paradise all at once.’² For Swinburne’s great friend Edward Burne-Jones and his contemporaries, this and other revelatory exhibitions of Old Master drawings had profound consequences.

For British artists to find inspiration in the Old Masters, whether drawings, paintings or sculpture, was, of course, hardly a new phenomenon. What was unprecedented was the accessibility of Old Master drawings in Victorian England, both in reality and through photographic reproduction. From 1846 the Ashmolean Museum displayed drawings by Michelangelo and Raphael fairly constantly on screens in a dedicated gallery. From 1858 exhibitions, the first containing 145 Old Master drawings and 262 prints, were held at the British Museum – where of course such works could also be studied in the Print Room. The Burlington Fine Arts Club (first established in 1856 as the Fine Arts Club) hosted numerous drawing exhibitions, including, in 1870, an ambitious show of Raphael and Michelangelo with extensive loans from the Royal Collection and the Malcolm collection.

Illustrated books employed cutting-edge methods of photographic reproduction which aspired to capture something of the quality of original drawings. An

MY IDEAS ON this subject were shaped at an early stage by two thought-provoking papers given at the conference ‘Drawing and the Victorian Artist’ held in Birmingham in 2011: one by Colin Harrison, ‘The revival of interest in Old Master drawings and prints’, the other by Colin Cruise, ‘Silverpoints: visibility and invisibility in late nineteenth-century drawing’. I am grateful to both Colins. I should also like to thank Stacey Sell, whose article ‘“The Interesting and Difficult Medium”: the silverpoint revival in nineteenth-century Britain’ appeared in *Master Drawings* in spring 2013. This chapter is informed by their research. I am also grateful to Stephen Calloway for a number of fruitful suggestions. Finally, this chapter is about looking at drawings, which is what David taught me – among many others – to do.

1. See A. Staley, ‘“Art is Upon the Town!” The Grosvenor Gallery winter exhibitions’, in S.P. Casteras and C. Denney, eds., *The Grosvenor Gallery: A Palace of Art in Victorian England*, New Haven and London, 1996, pp. 59–74. The first two Grosvenor Gallery winter exhibitions, held in the early months of 1878 and 1879, contained large groups of Old Master drawings. In 1880 and 1881 drawings by contemporary artists were shown.

2. From a letter to Edmund Gosse of 8 January 1878; *The Swinburne Letters*, ed. C.Y. Lang, 6 vols., New Haven, 1960, IV, p.31.

important early publication is *Specimens of the Drawings of Ten Masters, from the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle* compiled by the Royal Librarian, Bernard Woodward. Published in 1870, it was among the earliest books to be illustrated with high-quality carbon prints known as autotypes.³ In 1882 the introduction which J. Comyns Carr had written for the original Grosvenor Gallery winter exhibition handlist was republished, in a deluxe quarto, as *Drawings by the Old Masters*, with fourteen star works reproduced by ‘positive etching’, a rather expensive photomechanical technique.⁴ Some of these illustrations were printed in a subtle colour – warm brown for Mantegna, dark brown for Rembrandt, terracotta for Leonardo and pink for Botticelli. Individual photographs of Old Master drawings were also sought after. Burne-Jones in particular assembled a large collection, to which he evidently referred in his working practice as he wrote in 1871 to a friend who had sent him a catalogue: ‘I want them all. Select some for me, will you – ... choose as you would for yourself. You know what I like – all helpful pieces of modelling and sweet head-drawing, and nakers by Leonardo and M. Angelo and Raphael ... If Ghirlandaio draws sweet girls running, and their dresses blown about, O please not to let me lose one.’⁵

As a consequence, British artists working in the second half of the nineteenth century were in a position to benefit from opportunities to study large numbers of drawings, which previously had been the privilege of wealthy collectors and their circles. The sporadic nature of chances to see actual works in an exhibition context should be weighed against the sheer quality and quantity of drawings when they were displayed – these were not just the contents of one collection but the gems of many. For artists receptive to models outside the mainstream of the British art establishment, whether Frederic Leighton, whose early exposure to Nazarene principles shaped his draughtsmanship, or the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood who sought to emulate the qualities they found in early Renaissance masters, the advent of these drawings had great significance. In addition to which, for Victorian artists seeking what was ‘direct and serious and heartfelt in previous art’, as the Pre-Raphaelites had put it in their manifesto, the relative simplicity and provisional or exploratory quality of a drawing often had greater appeal than the more public rhetoric of a painting.

So what were the specific effects of these doses of Paradise on Victorian artists? The principal one was reflected in the impetus to emulate certain characteristics of Renaissance drawings, the most extreme manifestation of which was the occasional use of metalpoint, a medium which had been little used since the early sixteenth century.⁶ The trajectory of metalpoint use by nineteenth-century English artists roughly divides into three phases which may be summarised as follows. Phase one is represented by William Dyce, who seems to have been the earliest adopter: one of his metalpoint drawings is dated 1845, the year after the English publication of Cennini’s *Il Libro dell’Arte* (as *Treatise on Painting*, translated by Mary Merrifield), which described the technical method of making a metalpoint drawing by preparing a surface with a coating of ground bone and of drawing on it with a silver or

3. See G. Wakeman, *Victorian Book Illustration: The Technical Revolution*, Newton Abbot, 1973, pp.101–6.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

5. G. Burne-Jones, *Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones*, 2 vols., London, 1904, II, pp.20–21.

6. For an extensive discussion of metalpoint use by Victorian artists see S. Sell, ‘“The Interesting and Difficult Medium”: the silverpoint revival in nineteenth-century Britain’, *Master Drawings*, 51 (2013), 1, pp.63–86. However, I differ from Sell in my interpretation of the revival’s momentum, ideas I outline here.

silver-tipped stylus. Experimentation with metalpoint was typical of the polymathic Dyce, who not only had a taste for fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Italian art but was also deeply concerned with historical techniques and was active in the fresco revival of the 1840s. On the whole, Dyce used metalpoint much as Old Masters themselves often used it – to make rapid and sometimes quite summary studies.⁷ Phase two is represented by artists associated with the Pre-Raphaelite and Aesthetic movements, in particular George Frederick Watts, William Holman Hunt, Frederic Leighton, Edward Burne-Jones and William Blake Richmond. This second phase is mostly concentrated in the 1870s when each made occasional forays into metalpoint (although Watts had used a metalpoint sketchbook earlier than this, from about 1850).⁸ And phase three is what has come to be known as the ‘silverpoint revival’, when in the late 1880s and throughout the 1890s the medium came into wider and more sustained use. The principal exponent of metalpoint during this phase was Alphonse Legros, Slade Professor from 1876 to 1892. Legros’s sometime students, most notably William Strang and Charles Prosper Sainton, were also prominent practitioners. Increased publicity for the medium in this period through exhibitions of contemporary drawings resulted in it becoming popular with amateurs; in response, the manufacturers of artists’ materials Winsor & Newton began to produce metalpoint kits about 1892.⁹

The second phase of this phenomenon has distinctly puzzling aspects. Metalpoints made before Legros’s wholesale adoption of the medium in the mid- to late 1880s represent a tiny proportion of Victorian drawings; and, given the enticingly Old Masterish associations of metalpoint, the artists one would most expect to use it, whether for brief studies or for set-piece exhibition drawings, seldom did. What can perhaps be termed the ‘myth of metalpoint’ has led to artists of supreme technical skill, such as Leighton, Watts and Burne-Jones, being considered to be masters of a medium they only occasionally employed. So why was it that the artists who were most sensitively attuned to the Old Masters, and knowledgeable about drawings – in particular Leighton and Burne-Jones – so rarely used metalpoint? The idea I want to adumbrate here is that both Burne-Jones and Leighton absorbed lessons from Old Master drawings and engaged creatively with them in their working practices, using certain drawing media in ways which were informed by metalpoint without necessarily using the medium itself. For these artists and some of their contemporaries, the use of metalpoint was one aspect of a complex response to Old Master drawings encompassing a range of related practices.¹⁰

Because metalpoint materials for the use of artists do not appear to have been widely manufactured until the 1890s, artists wishing to use the medium had to improvise; in the 1870s, Burne-Jones was picturesquely obliged to fashion his own stylus from a sharpened sixpence – or, at least, so he later claimed.¹¹ The majority of the drawings that might loosely be called metalpoints, executed prior to the third phase of the revival, were made in commercially available ‘metallic notebooks’ with integral styluses which were not aimed in particular at artists.¹² The advantage of

7. This point is made by Sell, *op. cit.* (note 6), p.66.

8. See Sell, *op. cit.* (note 6), p.67.

9. See J. Watrous, *The Craft of Old-Master Drawings*, Madison, WI, 1957, p.8 and p.156, n.10.

10. Although the focus of this essay is linear drawing, the Old Master influence on both artists is also strongly reflected in their tonal studies, in Burne-Jones’s emulation of Leonardesque *sfumato* and in Leighton’s numerous elaborate drapery studies, which refer to Renaissance studio practice.

11. Quoted by Sell, *op. cit.* (note 6), p.70.

12. See Sell, *op. cit.* (note 6), pp.67–68, for a discussion of metallic notebooks.



these memorandum books was that words or sketches committed to their pages would not smudge in the way that a graphite drawing on paper was prone to do. They were useful to those, such as architects, who wished to make notes out in the field with an instrument which did not, like a pencil, need frequent sharpening, or, like a pen, require the user to carry a pot of ink. George Eliot, for example, habitually took metallic books with her when she travelled.¹³ Leighton, Burne-Jones, Watts, Walter Crane and E.W. Godwin all made use of these for sketching; but how far they associated these metallic memorandum books with Old Master drawing materials is a moot point – it seems far more likely that their contemporary associations were entirely modern and commercial.¹⁴

For an artist wishing to make a single-sheet metalpoint drawing, the lack of prepared materials and the consequent necessity of laying a ground and finding a suitable drawing implement must, after the novelty had worn off, have been discouraging. As a result, most artists compromised with contemporary materials. Burne-Jones, who was unusually alive to the qualities of Old Master drawings and prints, took full advantage of the possibilities offered by these modern commodities. One of the most striking examples of this occurred at the end of the 1850s, when he made a number of drawings on vellum in which he emulated the exceptionally fine lines and overall richness of detail and pattern found in engravings by Dürer such as *Knight, Death and the Devil* (Fig. 18.1).¹⁵ The irony is that Burne-Jones was able to achieve uniform lines of such crispness only with the combination of modernity

Fig.18.1. Edward Burne-Jones, *Sir Galahad*, 1858. Pen and ink on vellum, 15.6 × 19.2 cm (Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Mass., Bequest of Grenville L. Winthrop, 1943.672)

13. See T. Burns, *The Luminous Trace: Drawing and Writing in Metalpoint*, London, 2012, p.174.

14. This point is also made by Sell, *op. cit.* (note 6), p.68.

15. For a discussion of Burne-Jones's debt to Dürer see J. Christian, 'Early German sources for Pre-Raphaelite designs', *Art Quarterly*, 36 (1973), pp.56–83.



Fig. 18.2. Edward Burne-Jones, *Study for The Golden Stairs*, 1877. Metalpoint with graphite and heightened with white, on grey prepared paper, 32.5 × 15.9 cm (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford)

and archaism offered by a fine, flexible steel nib (of the kind which came into common use in the 1830s) and a smooth vellum support.

As far as we know, Burne-Jones's use of metalpoint was by and large confined to the 1870s, when he used it for a number of figure studies made in preparation for his painting *The Golden Stairs* (1876–80). As John Christian has pointed out, the idea for the painting came in a rush of creative energy which followed a visit to Italy in 1871 when he travelled to Florence, Assisi and Rome.¹⁶ Burne-Jones's use of metalpoint was no doubt connected to drawings that he had seen during this visit; at the Uffizi, for example, a selection had been displayed since 1867 in the Vasari corridor.¹⁷ However, he apparently found the metalpoint line insufficiently emphatic. In one study for the painting, the celebrated drawing of the Italian artists' model Antonia Caiva, Burne-Jones has created the illusion of volume with white heightening in a way which is entirely consistent with Old Master practice, but has also used graphite to strengthen the contours of the drawing, especially around the figure's head, which in pure metalpoint would be fainter (Fig. 18.2).¹⁸

What seems to me to be of equal, if not more, significance to his actual use of metalpoint is Burne-Jones's employment of other media to emulate the appearance of certain Old Master drawings. This manifested itself in two main ways. In the early 1870s, setting aside the soft graphite and chalk he had favoured in the previous decade, Burne-Jones began to draw with hard graphite, sharpened to a point, which enabled him to emulate the crisp contours associated with Florentine drawings.¹⁹ His recourse to graphite at this time suggests that he used it as a contemporary substitute for metalpoint – a medium he may well have regarded as unnecessarily

inhibiting. Because graphite was readily available, and since Conté's 1795 patent had been manufactured in a spectrum of hardness, why go to the trouble of using metalpoint?

The other way in which Burne-Jones engaged with Old Master drawings can be seen in studies he made in the 1870s in which he laid coloured grounds, usually olive green or grey, as though in preparation for a metalpoint line, but instead used graphite. In 1877 he employed this modern material, alongside white bodycolour, in studies for *The Passing of Venus* (Fig. 18.3), emulating the appearance of drawings of the late fifteenth century by artists such as Perugino, Ghirlandaio and Pinturicchio. It is surely this type of drawing that contributed to Burne-Jones's reputation as an artist who frequently used metalpoint.²⁰

16. J. Christian, entry on *The Golden Stairs*, in J. Christian and S. Wildman, *Edward Burne-Jones: Victorian Artist-Dreamer*, exh. cat. (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, and Musée d'Orsay, Paris), New York, 1998, p.247, no.109.

17. See M.E. de Luca, 'History of the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi', in H. Chapman and M. Faietti, *Fra Angelico to Leonardo: Italian Renaissance Drawings*, exh. cat. (British Museum, London, and Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence), London, 2010, p.83.

18. See Sell, *op. cit.* (note 6), p.71.

19. See J. Christian, 'The compulsive draughtsman', in *Hidden Burne-Jones: Works on Paper* by Edward Burne-Jones from Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, London, 2007, pp.7–27 (p.16).

20. In the 1890s Burne-Jones returned to coloured grounds, choosing deep purple papers as a



Fig.18.3. Edward Burne-Jones, *Study for The Passing of Venus*, 1877. Graphite and white bodycolour on grey prepared paper, 26.1 × 22.5 cm (Tate)

Another contributory factor to this misconception might have to do with the many platinotype reproductions of Burne-Jones's drawings made by Frederick Hollyer, who specialised in photographing drawings and paintings.²¹ Hollyer's remarkably deceptive prints can be difficult to distinguish from drawings; the giveaway is the absence of graphite sheen – which could lead to a platinotype being misidentified as a metalpoint, the lines of which have a dull appearance. Hollyer's platinotypes also suggest the narrow tonal range of metalpoint.

An artist with a similar reputation as a master of metalpoint, with even less justification, is Frederic Leighton. He occasionally used metallic memorandum books, but the evidence of a surviving example, in which he used nearly half the leaves

background for delicate drawings of heads and figures executed in bodycolour and metallic paint. See Christian and Wildman, *op. cit.* (note 16), pp.328–32.

21. In the 1860s Hollyer photographed a series of drawings by Simeon Solomon, and from the 1870s onwards he photographed works by Leighton, Burne-Jones, Albert Moore, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Ford Madox Brown, William Holman Hunt, Frederick Sandys and George Richmond in addition to Old Masters. See A. Hammond, 'Hollyer, Frederick (1838–1933)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2005 (<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.londonlibrary.co.uk/view/article/58918>, accessed 5 January 2015). Catalogues of the platinotype reproductions offered by Hollyer were issued from 1893 onwards; some copies are held in the National Art Library.



Fig.18.4. Frederic Leighton,
Head of Dorothy Dene, 1881.
Graphite, 22.8 × 17.4 cm
(Leighton Drawings
Collection, Leighton
House)

for written notes, strongly suggests that he regarded it as a conventional sketch-book – or, if anything, rather more suitable for note-making.²² Aside from metallic sketch books, only a single metalpoint drawing by him is known.²³ The key issue here is the phenomenon of drawings by Leighton that have gained the reputation of being metalpoints but which are in fact graphite on ordinary paper. The principal examples are two exceptionally skilful drawings, *Study of a lemon tree* of 1859 and the *Head of Dorothy Dene* of 1881 (Fig. 18.4), both of which, although drawn in graphite on uncoated paper, have at various points been described in authoritative sources as silverpoints, *Study of a lemon tree* as recently as 1996.²⁴ This mythology that grew

22. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, inv. no.1946.35.1–6.

23. The Leighton Drawings Project online database lists just one: a metalpoint head study of Hetty Dene of c.1879–96 (LHO/D/0896). Three botanical studies of c.1890–96 (LHO/D/0983, 0986 and 0987), described as silverpoint in the ‘Handlist of the Leighton drawings collection’ published in *A Victorian Master: Drawings by Frederic, Lord Leighton*, London, 2006, p.113, have subsequently been recatalogued as graphite in the online database (www.rbkc.gov.uk/leightonhousemuseum/drawings).

24. S. Jones, entry on *Study of a Lemon Tree*, in S. Jones et al., *Frederic, Lord Leighton: Eminent Victorian Artist*, exh. cat., London (Royal Academy of Arts), 1996, pp.102–3, no.3. See Sell, *op. cit.* (note 6), pp.73–74

up around metalpoint reflects a perception of virtuosity based on the difficulty of expunging an incorrect line made on prepared paper; to decide that a drawing is a metalpoint is thus to award its creator the highest accolade.

Burne-Jones and Leighton were in the vanguard when they made lively, linear drawings reflecting their knowledge of Old Master exemplars. Until the 1870s this kind of draughtsmanship was not practised in England's dominant art-educational establishments; in fact it was anathema to the kind of painstaking representation of gradations of light and shade falling on plaster casts which was the basis of Royal Academy teaching. At the regional government-run schools of art and design, there was a dogged insistence on a kind of laborious and time-consuming drawing practice described by one critic as 'detestable effeminate stippling and rounding'.²⁵ But drawing in Britain was taken in a new direction by the foundation in 1871 of the Slade School of Fine Art. Edward Poynter, the first Slade Professor, made 'constant study from the life model' the central tenet of the new school's teaching.²⁶ Poynter regarded drawing as an incisive analytical practice and, from the outset, a fundamental principle was the importance of drawing with the point of sharpened graphite or chalk. As Augustus John later remarked, at the Slade 'stumping' – rubbing chalk with a tool of rolled paper with a blunt tip to achieve a smooth tonal effect – was banned.²⁷ Successive professors maintained Poynter's commitment to drawing as a means of understanding the human figure, rather than as an end in itself, and as a consequence Slade students' drawings were linear and summary in comparison with those produced by their contemporaries at the Royal Academy.

As important for the school's ethos as study from the life model was the Slade's intention to reconnect drawing with practices and techniques derived from the Old Masters. Drawings themselves were used as models; students studied Old Master drawings, both at the British Museum and in the school's own collections. Poynter's successor at the Slade was Legros, whose tenure as Slade Professor began in 1876, and whose teaching method was actually described by Randolph Schwabe as 'a return to the practice and tradition of draughtsmanship among the old masters'.²⁸ Legros's verbal communication was compromised by his inability to speak more than basic English; as a result, his comments to individual students were, as one of them recalled, 'laconic and somewhat bleak'.²⁹ Perhaps as a result of this, he taught by demonstration, making drawings, often head studies, in front of a class; one former student remarked that 'the watchers probably learnt more in that silent

on Leighton's *Head of Dorothy Dene*, which, as she describes, was reproduced in P.G. Hamerton's 1882 book *The Graphic Arts* as an exemplary metalpoint drawing, even though it is graphite. I suspect that confusion arose because of the existence of the head study of Dorothy's sister Hetty, which actually is a metalpoint (see previous note). Burns, *op. cit.* (note 13), p.153, remarks on the longevity of this confusion, pointing out that in his 1895 biography of Leighton Ernest Rhys described *Study of a Lemon Tree* as silverpoint on page 17 and pencil on page 18.

25. Edward Armitage to Edwin Wilkins Field in a letter of 27 August 1868, quoted in M. Postle, 'The foundation of the Slade School of Fine Art: fifty-nine letters in the record office of University College London', *Walpole Society*, 58 (1996), pp.127–230 (p.168).

26. E. Poynter, *Ten Lectures on Art*, London, 1879, pp.100 and 107.

27. A. John, 'A note on drawing', in L. Browse, ed., *Augustus John Drawings*, London, 1941, p.10.

28. R. Schwabe, 'Three teachers: Brown, Tonks and Steer', *Burlington Magazine*, 82 (1943), pp.141–46 (p.142).

29. W. Rothenstein, *Men and Memories: Recollections of William Rothenstein 1872–1900*, 2 vols., London, 1931, I, p.24.



Fig.18.5. Alphonse Legros, *Academic study of the head of a man*, 1882. Graphite, 38.4 × 29.5 cm (Victoria and Albert Museum)

lesson than during three times the amount of verbal instruction'.³⁰ A demonstration drawing from 1882 exemplifies what became known as 'Slade shading', a method of modelling with even diagonal hatching derived from Renaissance metalpoint drawings (Fig. 18.5). Here Legros has used graphite in a highly disciplined way that is clearly informed by his experience of working in metalpoint.

Henry Tonks, who began teaching in 1892, was appointed Professor in 1918 and finally retired in 1930, was equally insistent on his students learning from Old Master drawings. 'Alone among the Art teachers of his time', remarked Augustus John, Tonks 'directed his students to the study of the Masters', while another student wrote of his 'faith in the great European traditions as seen in the Italian Renaissance and a period following it. He believed in the methods of drawing as practised in Italy – more particularly in Florence and Umbria – from the Quattrocento onwards.'³¹ As a result of this conviction, in typical students' drawings of this period multiple

30. Quoted in E. Chambers, 'The cultivation of mind and hand: teaching art at the Slade School of Fine Art 1868–92', in P. Barlow and C. Trodd, eds., *Governing Cultures: Art Institutions in Victorian London*, London, 2000, p.109.

31. A. John, *Chiaroscuro: Fragments of Autobiography: First Series*, London, 1952, p.41; and L. Morris, ed., *Henry Tonks and the 'Art of Pure Drawing'*, Norwich, 1985, p.8.

contour lines are plainly visible, revealing that they did not carefully erase incorrect lines, as they might easily have done, but were encouraged to use graphite as though it were metalpoint and could not be expunged – much as Legros had used it.

While Burne-Jones, Leighton and other artists sought to emulate the appearance of Old Master drawings, focus at the Slade shifted to practice; and, in each case, graphite was often brought into play as a convenient substitute for metalpoint. If metalpoint itself had a more limited actual use among British artists than might have been expected, it had a correspondingly wider reach. Its influence on British drawing, both in individual artists' practice and in progressive art education, though subtle, was pervasive.

Debenham, Suffolk, formerly Victoria and Albert Museum



Part III

PRINTS

Opposite: detail of Fig.21.1

Introduction: A Fine Line: Collecting, Communication and the Printed Image

DIANA DETHLOFF

EVERYONE KNOWS THAT David is an inveterate and avid collector of many different types of art objects. From triumphant finds at Portobello Road print dealers, to online purchases of both two- and three-dimensional work delivered to unsuspecting family members at the Highgate flat, his collection continues to grow. Not surprisingly, much of the collection over the years has been associated with his many research interests: sculpture whenever possible; ceramics decorated with themes from high and popular art, and caricature and satire in general. The focus now, with his current work as a W.E.B. Du Bois Fellow at Harvard's Hutchins Center for African and African American research, is on images of the Black and slavery. As with many collectors, things come and go, either to be given away as gifts, swapped or occasionally sold, to make room for new items. Much of his print collection, particularly his eighteenth- and nineteenth-century French and English satires, has also been built up as a very specific teaching tool, with the express purpose of enabling students to work directly from the object and focus on prints 'as a form of actual history'.¹

This was already apparent in a course taught jointly with Tom Gretton in the mid-1980s on 'Art and the Industrial Revolution', when David began to think seriously about popular imagery and caricatures, and also in his own course 'Hogarth and Graphic Satire'. However, the real turning-point for this pedagogic collecting came with the *Shadow of the Guillotine* exhibition he curated for the British Museum in 1989, to mark the bicentenary of the French Revolution (and celebrated *chez* Bindmans with fireworks, the Carmagnole and Marseillaise, and appropriate novelty confectionery in the shape of frogs, bourbon biscuits and a huge cake of the Bastille).² Over half this exhibition, which looked at the English response to events in France, was devoted to caricatures and David now began teaching in this area – usually in collaboration with Tom Gretton and Helen Weston – as well as collecting. Gaps in the BM's holdings were soon identified and supplied from specialist dealers, leaving David free to add to his own collection; in one case he was simply given a group of prints as the dealer could not sell them. One purchase was of a collection formed in the nineteenth century, minus its more expensive items that had already been sold, still leaving an interesting group of works. Buying at a time when these prints were inexpensive, sometimes, by his own admission, in not especially good

1. David Bindman in an informal interview in August 2013 with Emily Doucet, an intern at the UCL Art Museum and MA student in the History of Art Department at UCL. I am very grateful to Emily Doucet and Andrea Fredericksen for allowing me to read the transcript of this interview.

2. Information from Frances Carey in an email 24 February 2015.

condition, he built up a significant teaching collection, particularly strong in prints of Marat and Charlotte Corday, which were used regularly in classes taught in the Strang Print Room (now renamed UCL Art Museum). This gave, as David himself has said, a particular kind of reality to such courses as 'Britain and the French Revolution', enabling students to see, not through slides or Powerpoint projection, but at first hand, how prints were used as forms of propaganda and political communication.³ He has continued to add to this collection, which he has given to the Art Museum (along with his collection of English caricatures) and it is now used, appropriately, by one or two current members of the UCL department, in particular Richard Taws, in their own teaching.

In keeping with the commitment to use prints as material evidence within his teaching was the setting up of the MA in the History of the Print taught jointly with the British Museum's Department of Prints and Drawings. David believed very strongly in such a course, which he first suggested to Antony Griffiths in 1991, the year Antony was made Keeper of Prints and Drawings. The course took in its first intake of around half a dozen students in 1994 (the group was always small) and ran almost every year until 2007, continuing for just two years after David's retirement from UCL. The course directors at UCL were David and Tom Gretton and at the BM Antony Griffiths and Stephen Coppel, with most seminars held in the P&D Students Room in front of the works themselves. David gave classes on Hogarth, Gillray and Rowlandson; Tom on French popular prints and nineteenth-century English lithography; Antony introduced the students to different print techniques, while Stephen taught classes on Munch and Gauguin, Picasso and the School of Paris and Avant-garde British printmaking. Other P&D curators such as Guilia Bartrum, Martin Royalton-Kisch and Frances Carey also gave classes within their specialisms, for example on Dürer and early German printmaking, Rembrandt and his contemporaries, and Expressionism, Nolde and Kirchner. Outside experts such as David Landau, Juliet Wilson-Bareau, Pat Gilmour and Charles Booth-Clibborn of the Paragon Press were invited to give guest lectures on Italian Renaissance prints, Goya and Manet, printmaking from the 1960s and contemporary print publishing.

Working predominantly from original objects, the course aimed to provide a broad survey of western printmaking; to train students in the skills necessary to examine and classify prints; to raise issues in the relationship between the history of printmaking and the history and theory of art and in the relationship between printmaking as an art and as a communication technology. It was also intended to help them develop research projects in which these issues could be further explored on the basis of both a contextual and a theoretical understanding. Close first-hand study was central, but this was not a course about connoisseurship.

These classes made up just one component of the MA. Students were also required to take another special subject – often David's course on 'Hogarth and Graphic Satire', or Tom Gretton's and Helen Weston's 'Art of the French Revolution', as well as a core course on theory. They wrote a ten-thousand-word dissertation, usually on a print-related topic. Sessions on practical printmaking were also initially included, given by Bartolomeu dos Santos, Head of Printmaking at the Slade, where students could watch and try out printmaking themselves under Barto's expert guidance. A few years earlier Barto and David had organised a special 'event' to mark the

3. All the information in this paragraph about forming a teaching collection comes from the August 2013 interview transcript.

BM's purchase in December 1990 of a complete set of the twelve copper plates for Hogarth's *Industry & Idleness* series, acquired through the print dealer Christopher Mendez. The BM lent the plates, Barto provided the printing expertise – and the early eighteenth-century paper – and all of us present in the Slade's printmaking studio, realised, perhaps for the first time, just exactly what – skill, knowledge, strength, patience and seriously ink-stained hands – is required to pull a print.

Probably the most rewarding and exciting aspect of the Print MA was the end-of-year exhibition curated by the students themselves. They were responsible collectively for choosing the theme, the hang, the necessary fundraising to cover the costs and the writing and production of the catalogue, although the course directors, especially David, would always offer specialist guidance and the Strang's then curator, Emma Chambers, expertly helped secure loans, often from the BM. The first exhibition ran from October to December 1996 and was fittingly devoted to Barto's own prints, *Reminiscences on Fernando Pessoa: A Celebration of the 'Maritime Ode' of Alvaro de Campos*. Other exhibitions included: *C.J. Grant's Political Drama* in 1998; *Prints as Propaganda: The German Reformation* in 1999 and *Slade Prints of the 1950s* in 2005. Although the shows were usually held in the Strang, on three memorable occasions the venue was the Soane Museum. The first two of these (their catalogues published as supplements by *Apollo* magazine) were based on Hogarth's paintings and their afterlife in prints (*A Rake's Progress, from Hogarth to Hockney*, 1997, and *Hogarth's Election Entertainment: Artists at the Hustings*, 2001). The third, held in 2003, and the only exhibition that did not have prints as its main focus, *Flaxman; Master of the Purest Line*, was split between the Soane, where Flaxman's drawings were displayed to demonstrate his real gifts as a draughtsman, and the Strang, using UCL's own extensive collection of Flaxman drawings and plaster models to explain how his work developed from 'idea to realisation'.⁴ The exhibition that turned out to mark the end of the course, *Tradition Aside: Slade Printmakers of the 1960s*, was held in 2007 back at the Strang.

Many of the Print MA students have gone on to a career in prints, curating, teaching and writing on the subject, often in the main academic print journal *Print Quarterly*; David has been since 1993 a member, and from 2002 a director, of its supporting charity Print Quarterly Publications. Most of the contributors in this section of the present book were either students on the MA itself or took the 'Art in the French Revolution' special subject taught by Tom Gretton and Helen Weston, and their essays reflect many of the concerns raised in these courses, such as the effectiveness of printed imagery to communicate and visualise political and satirical messages or the relevance of the use of particular techniques.

Simon Turner focuses on Gillray's engraved portrait of William Pitt, which he defines as both a 'milestone and a millstone' in Gillray's career. He discusses the reception of this work by both contemporaries and later commentators, and examines the complex relationship between the print publisher and Gillray's 'free wheeling character', concluding that the image of Pitt occupies a place somewhere between satirical caricature and the more elevated category of conventional portrait engraving. In her essay 'Amorous Antiquaries: Sculpture and Seduction in Rowlandson's Erotica' Danielle Thom discusses the erotic prints of Thomas Rowlandson which

4. UCL's remarkable Flaxman collection of plaster models, drawings and tracings was also the subject of a more recent exhibition *Flaxman: Line to Contour* shown at The Ikon Gallery, Birmingham, from 13 February to 21 April 2013, curated by David Bindman, Andrea Fredericksen of the UCL Art Museum and Jonathan Watkins of the Ikon Gallery.

drew upon the compositions and contexts of antique sculpture. She argues that his bawdy images of eighteenth-century English life and his sculpture-inspired erotica provided a possible way for contemporaries to negotiate a delicate and difficult path between vulgarity and sexual permissiveness and polite good taste.

Richard Taws considers some of the ways in which the motif of the 'infernal machine' operated as a way of visualising violence, and especially revolutionary violence, in nineteenth-century French printed images, and examines how it was used to negotiate historical, metaphorical and imaginary responses to the intersection of past and future time. Starting with Freud's account of the assassination attempt of Napoleon in 1800, he argues that the politically and temporally ambivalent nature of the infernal machine, and its alternation between visibility and invisibility, made it a powerful means of approaching the representation of political, physic or pictorial crisis.

Mercedes Cerón in her essay discusses the antiquarian collector Francis Douce and his interest in wood-engraving and the ways in which his collecting activities may have influenced contemporary printmakers. She argues that Douce's interest in this technique must be considered in connection with both his support of radical publishers and also his own researches into popular culture. His belief in the importance of relief printing to reproduce and preserve popular imagery led him to collect works that many other contemporary collectors would not have considered. Jonathan Black, whose PhD, supervised by David and Stephen Coppel, developed from his Print MA dissertation on C.R.W. Nevinson, considers the lithographic propaganda series of 1917, "*Britain's Efforts and Ideals*". Drawing on a considerable number of primary sources he analyses, in the context of their personal wartime experiences, the artistic contributions of both Nevinson and Kennington which helped secure the project's critical success.⁵

Ute Kuhlemann Falck's essay raises questions about Edvard Munch's activity as a printmaker and his possible sources. Focusing on the woodcut technique, she suggests that both contemporary artists and their new approach to the woodcut medium, and also the potential impact of historic woodcuts and their idiosyncratic aesthetics, were important influences on Munch. She argues that the aesthetics of 'reproductive' historic woodcuts, such as those of the German Renaissance, may be evident in his woodcut-like lithographs, while his actual woodcut production may be affected by the more 'authentic' variants, such as broadsides and Chiaroscuro woodcuts. Finally Anna Schultz considers the English career of the German émigré artist John Heartfield (born Helmut Herzfeld), who, unable to repeat the earlier success of his political photomontages in prewar Germany attacking the rise of fascism, looked to alternative forms of artistic expression. An important influence was the political cartoons of Vicky and David Low which Heartfield enthusiastically collected, and this collection, together with letters and photographs of Heartfield's years in London, now in the Berlin archive of the Akademie der Künste, was consulted for the first time in preparation for Schultz's essay.

All these contributors have, like everyone associated with this Festschrift, received guidance and wise counsel at some point in their careers from David. As Sue Walker writes in the Foreword of the 2004 Strang catalogue, *The Hero at Home in France; Lithographs by Nicholas-Toursaint Charlet*, consisting of a collection of 169 works by

5. Much of this research has recently been published in Jonathan Black's *catalogue raisonné C.R.W. Nevinson: The Complete Prints*, Farnham, 2014.

this important nineteenth-century lithographer discovered by David in 1996, and subsequently given to the UCL Art Museum: 'His contribution has been more than that of a donor and we are indebted to his endeavours as an academic and teacher as well as a collector'.⁶ Countless others would certainly agree. In addition, all of us are indebted to David for his loyal friendship, his kindness and – not least – his irrepressible sense of humour.

University College London

6. Sue Walker, who took the Art of the French Revolution MA at UCL and wrote her PhD on Charlet, supervised by Tom Gretton, subsequently catalogued the BM's collection of Charlet's lithographs. This had been begun by Tania Szrajber, who had already catalogued his Sketchbooks. Walker was able to trace in the BM many lettered and captioned versions of the proof prints in the UCL Art Museum and still uses the latter's Charlet collection in her teaching.

‘I will not alter an Iota for any Mans Opinion upon Earth’: James Gillray’s Portraits of William Pitt the Younger

SIMON TURNER

JAMES GILLRAY’S ‘serious’ or ‘straight’ engraved portrait of *The Right Honorable William Pitt, Chancellor of the Exchequer, first Lord of the Treasury, &c.* (Fig. 20.1), published jointly by Gillray and S.W. Fores, 20 February 1789, shows a statesman basking in an aura of prudence and reform, with papers marked ‘Annual Reduction of the National Debt’ and ‘Regulation of the Slave Trade’.¹ While it stands out among Gillray’s more familiar, brightly hand-coloured, satirical-caricature etchings, the image of the tall and slender Pitt is not quite right as a portrait: it is unflattering, and the hauteur, languorous pose, stern expression and sharp nose betray the artist’s underlying nature as a caricaturist. Or, to put it in a Victorian way, ‘the work has more the appearance of historical portraiture . . . but the features are too literally marked for agreeable portraiture, in which asperities are, as a rule, treated with a flattering hand, too frequently, it is true, at the sacrifice of fidelity’.²

Gillray’s print, which he engraved and published after his own design, is both a milestone and a millstone within his oeuvre. Draper Hill has described in considerable detail the débâcle surrounding the ‘neither literal nor complimentary’ formal portrait and Richard Godfrey also seized on the disparity between the requirements of high art practice and the unconventional caricature mode: ‘The portrait was not a success. This was scarcely surprising since despite his best intentions, and his aggressively vehement assertions of the faithfulness of the likeness, Pitt’s face with its woodpecker’s nose is practically a caricature.’³ Diana Donald uncovered fundamental correspondence concerning the background story of the print, revealing Gillray’s

I WISH TO acknowledge David Alexander, Andrew Edmunds, Donato Esposito and Elenor Ling. I also want to thank David Bindman for introducing me to Gillray, and I hope this otherwise serious paper provokes some chuckling.

1. F. O’Donoghue, *Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits Preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in The British Museum*, III, London, 1912, p.475, no.24. There are impressions in the National Portrait Gallery, London (D13067-8) in two states (the first state is signed and with the address only in the margin, while the second has in addition the title and the coat-of-arms in the centre). The example in the British Museum, London (1851,0901.1338) is cut below and lacks the address. See also M. Bills, *Samuel William Fores, Satirist: Caricatures from the Reform Club*, exh. cat., Sudbury, (Gainsborough’s House), 2014, pp.26–28, fig.16.

2. [J. Grego?], *The Works of James Gillray the Caricaturist*, ed. T. Wright, London, 1873, appendix: ‘Works, not belonging to the province of Caricature or Satire, executed by James Gillray as an Engraver’, p.373.

3. D. Hill, *Mr Gillray. The Caricaturist: A Biography*, London, 1965, pp.31–33, fig.24; and R. Godfrey, *James Gillray: The Art of Caricature*, exh. cat., London (Tate Britain), 2001, no.102. In his introduction, Godfrey comments (p.13): ‘Likewise in his laboured portrait of William Pitt (1789), a project that he took with great seriousness, the Prime Minister ends up with a nose so sharp that he could chip ice with it.’

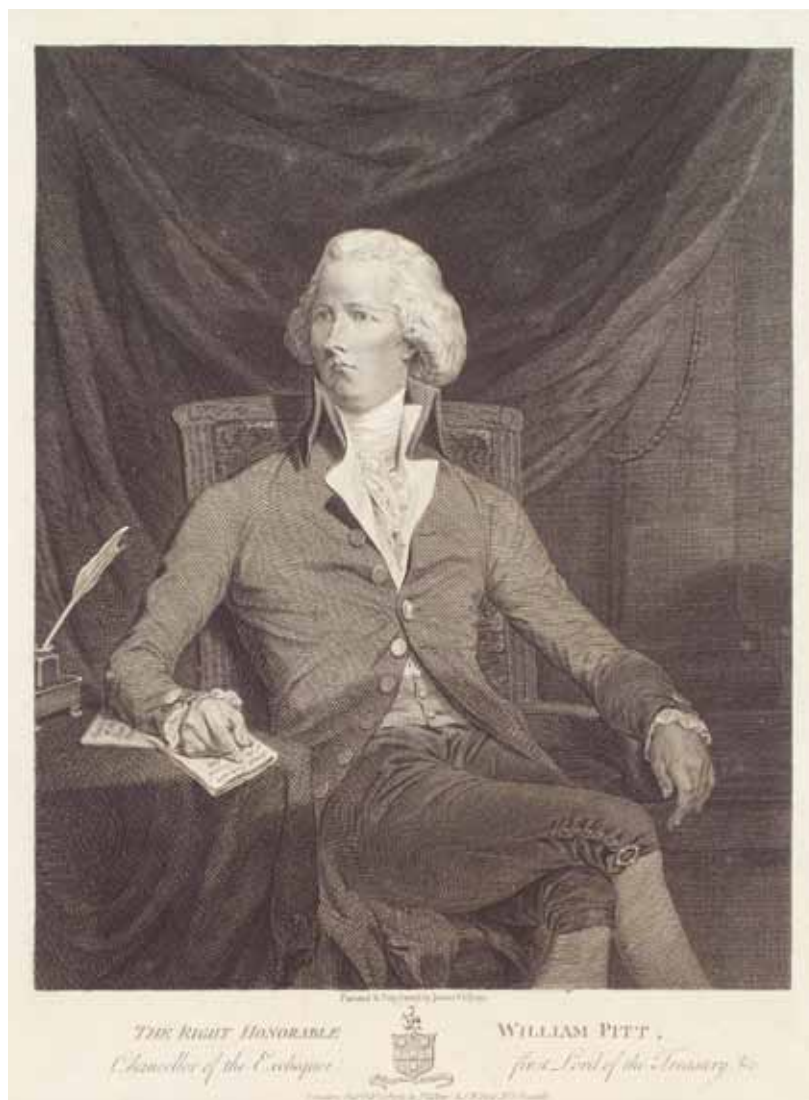


Fig.20.1 James Gillray,
William Pitt the Younger,
Engraving, 50 × 37 cm
(National Portrait Gallery)

‘truculent confidence in his own gifts and judgement, in resisting the peremptory demands of the publisher’. Further, Donald observed, ‘Gillray’s gut antipathy to Pitt had already manifested itself in his 1789 portrait engraving – rejected by the publisher, according to *London und Paris*, because it reproduced too exactly Pitt’s “dark cold face”, while the expression and pose conveyed both arrogance and neurosis’.⁴

Gillray had entered into an elaborate contract dated 26 June 1788 with S.W. Fores, which was to allow an initial print run of 550 impressions. The document is untraceable, but according to Hill: ‘The pair agreed to place mutual confidence in one another regarding the painting, engraving, printing and publishing. Profit or loss was to be shared equally, after the deduction of expenses which were to be paid immediately to Gillray by Fores in fifteen weekly instalments of two guineas ... if

4. D. Donald, *The Age of Caricature: Satirical Prints in the Reign of George III*, New Haven and London, 1996, pp.31 and 165. See also C. Banerji and D. Donald, *Gillray Observed: The Earliest Account of His Caricatures in London und Paris*, Cambridge, 1999, pp.31–35, fig.7 and appendix: ‘Two previously unpublished letters from Gillray to the print publisher Samuel Fores’, pp.260–65.

either defaulted he was liable to a penalty of five hundred pounds.⁵ Gillray cleared his desk and dedicated himself to the task in hand, declining other work. On 23 December 1788 he wrote to Mr Martin, an amateur who hoped that Gillray would etch a design, apologising that he was ‘so circumstanc’d at present, as not to have it in his power to oblige him, by executing his admirable idea of “the Word-Eater” ... being now engraving a portrait of Mr. Pitt, the extreme urgency of which debars him from engaging at present in any other work’.⁶ In a long, ranting but revelatory, undated letter to Fores he wrote: ‘The Plate is very forward & I must decline Etching the Caricatures you want – as I have reason to believe that Mr Pitt’s portrait will be of more consequence than I at first imagined.’⁷ In another letter to Fores of 5 January 1789 he complains of the difficulty of the engraving, far more onerous than the etching adopted for caricatures: ‘The quantity of work which I find in the Plate almost drives me mad.’⁸

Even before the plate was properly finished it was extensively advertised:

PORTRAIT OF Mr. PITT
On the 1st of January 1789, will be published, by S.W. FORES, No.3,
Piccadilly,
A PORTRAIT of the Right Hon. WILLIAM PITT,
Painted and Engraved by JAMES GILLRAY
The same size and manner as Lords Thurlow and Mansfield, and intended
as a centre piece to those prints.
Price of the Prints, 15s. Proofs £1 11s. 6d

This advertisement, or similar ones, appeared in numerous newspapers in December 1788 and February 1789, and in *The Morning Chronicle*, 21 February 1789, it was announced that ‘A proof may now be seen at S.W. Fores’s’.⁹ Finally on 5 March it was confirmed in *The Times* and elsewhere that ‘This day is published’ the portrait of Pitt and that ‘Those Ladies and Gentlemen who have honoured the publisher with their names for first impressions, are desired to send for them immediately, whether proofs or prints’.

These are entirely typical of the regular advertisements that can be found in the London press placed by a myriad of printmakers and publishers. Newspapers were widely used to market prints and they provide an invaluable insight into publishers’ projects and new work.¹⁰ While the advertisements hint at a minor delay in the publication of the plate, two remarkable letters preserved in the New York Public Library written from Gillray’s residence in Chelsea to Fores in Piccadilly near the Haymarket explicitly record the difficulties in the production of the plate, of which

5. Hill, *op. cit.* (note 3), p. 31. Hill refers to the contract being in the Collection Fores Ltd., London. Sadly this and other papers now appear to have been lost and the present author was unable to trace them when writing the entry on S.W. Fores for the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

6. Letter in the Getty Research Institute, Research Library, Special Collections, Los Angeles (861087; 86-A1415).

7. Banerji and Donald, *op. cit.* (note 4), p.264.

8. *Ibid.*, p.264.

9. *The World*, 11 December 1788; *The Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, 24 December 1788; *The Star and Evening Advertiser*, 27 December 1788; *The World*, 5 February 1789.

10. Martin Hopkinson has recently traced the career of the illustrious engraver and ‘Orcadian Jacobite’ Sir Robert Strange and how he consistently announced his prints through notices in the newspapers: M. Hopkinson, ‘Sir Robert Strange’, *Print Quarterly*, 25 (2004), pp.408–23.

we would otherwise know nothing. One letter reveals Gillray's sheer exasperation that he had to alter the 'Nose, Mouth, Hair, Eyes, Chin &c &c &c'.¹¹

The marketing of the print makes it clear that it was an ambitious venture and conceived in terms of format to go alongside, and rival artistically, prints by Francesco Bartolozzi after Sir Joshua Reynolds – two men who were arguably the most illustrious in their respective fields. For his portrait of the Lord High Chancellor, Edward Thurlow, painted in 1781 (Longleat, Wiltshire), Reynolds was paid 100 guineas.¹² It was exhibited in the Royal Academy that same year and was admired for its animation. We do not know the details of the financial arrangements with Bartolozzi for the print published by Anthony Poggi the following year.¹³ Reynolds remarked of his painting of the Lord Chief Justice William Murray, First Earl of Mansfield (Scone Palace, Perthshire), that 'I have made him exactly what he is now, as if I was upon my oath to give the truth and nothing but the truth'.¹⁴ This witticism is typical of the good grace and manners that so endeared Reynolds to the aristocracy. Gillray, with his acerbic personality, had an entirely different approach. He was contemptuous of the suggestion that he dedicate his engraving of Pitt to Lady Chatham: 'the Print I trust will be such, as to support itself, without the flimsy assistance of any fool of Quality', and stubbornly refused to make changes: 'I will not alter an Iota for any Mans Opinion upon Earth.'¹⁵ Bartolozzi received £500 from Thomas Macklin merely for selling him the Mansfield plate.¹⁶ For his print of Pitt Gillray hoped for a wider market and a much larger financial return (he had in mind 200 guineas) than for his caricatures.¹⁷ According to Hill, before his partnership with Mrs Humphrey in 1791 his average fee for a satire was only 2 guineas.¹⁸

It is likely that Gillray had received some training under Bartolozzi at the Royal Academy Schools, which he joined in 1778, although details about this are sadly scant.¹⁹ He may have been motivated by competitive feelings, even resentment

11. Banerji and Donald, *op. cit.* (note 4), p.264.

12. D. Mannings and M. Postle, *Sir Joshua Reynolds: A Complete Catalogue of His Paintings*, New Haven and London, 2000, p.444, no.1751.

13. A. de Vesme and A. Calabi, *Francesco Bartolozzi*, Milan, 1928, no. 916 (hereafter Calabi and De Vesme); *Reynolds*, ed. N. Penny, exh. cat., London (Royal Academy of Arts), 1986, no.127.

14. Letter of 4 January 1786 from Reynolds to Charles, Fourth Duke of Rutland (J. Ingamells and J. Edgcumbe, eds., *The Letters of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, New Haven and London, 2000, p.157, no.149).

15. Banerji and Donald, *op. cit.* (note 4), p.264.

16. First published by Bartolozzi 24 August 1786 and later 19 October by Macklin, and signed by Bartolozzi as 'R.A. Engraver to his Majesty'; Calabi and De Vesme 871; A. Griffiths, in *Gainsborough and Reynolds in the British Museum*, exh. cat., London (British Museum), 1978, no.156; D. Alexander and R. Godfrey, *Painters and Engraving: The Reproductive Print from Hogarth to Wilkie*, exh. cat., New Haven (Yale Center for British Art), 1980, no.80; Mannings and Postle, *op. cit.* (note 12), pp.347–48, no.1318. The print apparently required an intermediary draughtsman. A preliminary drawing for the print of Earl Mansfield, in black and red chalk and squared for transfer, 44.5 by 34.6 cm, was made after the painting by Giovanni Battista Cipriani in the Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens, San Marino, Gilbert Davis Collection, object number 59.55.79.

17. Banerji and Donald, *op. cit.* (note 4), p.265.

18. Hill, *op. cit.* (note 3) p.25, n.3, refers to a letter to S.W. Fores in the Curzon Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford (Curzon b.2, fol.176r). The letter is transcribed in A.M. Broadley, *Napoleon in Caricature*, London, 1911, pp.36–37. My thanks to Dr Alexandra Franklin for sending me an image of the original. In the letter dated 5 March 1789 Gillray asks 'to settle the little account between us, as I am in very much want of money'. The prices of three plates are itemised: M.D. George, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires in the British Museum*, VI, London, 1938 (hereafter BM Sat.), no.7380, *Falstaff*, £2 2s 0d; no.7422, *Pig in a poke*, £1 11s 6d; and no.7381, *Bologna sausage*, £2 2s 0d.

19. Hill, *op. cit.* (note 3), pp.19–20.

towards Bartolozzi, who was the only printmaker to become a Royal Academician (in 1768) and could sign his plates as 'Engraver to his Majesty'. Gillray was a highly proficient printmaker and it is significant that he adopted the more exalted engraving technique for his portrait of Pitt. Bartolozzi's print of Thurlow consists of etching reinforced by engraving, and stipple is employed only for the face and hands, wig and lace. Gillray's print on the other hand is entirely engraved and the technique recalls the virtuoso engraving and slick finesse adopted by John Keyse Sherwin in his engraving of Pitt after Thomas Gainsborough, published in 1789.²⁰ Gillray even mentions Sherwin in his undated angry letter to Fores

'I have several reasons for thinking that Shirwin is about the Plate of Pitt, tho' he has not the Picture', feigning 'I am not much concern'd about it'.²¹ Evidently rival portrait prints were a particular anxiety.²²

Pitt achieved political celebrity status early on as a result of his meteoric rise and numerous portraits of him soon appeared. The engraving by Sherwin after Gainsborough was the most serious competitor to Gillray's and is even similar in dimensions (51 by 36.5 cm). Gainsborough's oil was begun in 1787 and another version remained unfinished, eventually completed by Gainsborough Dupont.²³ Donald perceptively describes the 'patrician grace and aplomb' in Sherwin's print, precisely the attributes that Gillray could not help but satirise.²⁴ A small oval portrait print of Pitt by Bartolozzi²⁵ after John Singleton Copley was published 8 January 1789 (before Gillray's) by William Dickinson, probably adapted from Copley's preparatory work for his celebrated painting of *The Death of the Earl of Chatham* (1779–81). Thus print buyers had a choice. But aristocrats might well have preferred to buy a portrait engraved by Sherwin with the imprimatur 'Historical Engraver to His Majesty and to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales'.

Gillray approached the print of Pitt in his capacity as a 'Portrait Painter' (Fig. 20.2) and professional engraver, rather than as an anti-establishment, freewheeling caricaturist and graphic satirist.²⁶ His (undated) trade card is unequivocal that he was a bona fide 'Portrait Painter' and that his services should be sought at No.7 Little Newport Street, Leicester Fields. This must have been a rented studio, a prerequisite for any aspiring portrait painter. It was an ideal address, where Gillray would have been surrounded by other artists and related craftsmen, but it must have been a drain on scarce resources and we can imagine that Gillray's sitters' books, if he ever



Fig.20.2 Trade card of James Gillray. Engraving, 4.5 × 6.5 cm (British Museum)

20. Published 15 June 1789 by Sherwin and Robert Wilkinson; Banerji and Donald, *op. cit.* (note 4), p.31 and p.34, fig.9.

21. Banerji and Donald, *ibid.*, p.264.

22. R. Walker, *Regency Portraits: National Portrait Gallery*, 2 vols., London, 1985, pp.394–97, based on Sir G. Scharf, *Catalogue of All Known Portraits ... of William Pitt*, 1886.

23. For a discussion of this see the forthcoming catalogue raisonné of Gainsborough portraits by Hugh Belsey.

24. Banerji and Donald, *op. cit.* (note 4), p.31.

25. Calabi and De Vesme 889.

26. Trade card in the British Museum (Heal, 3.8). Hill, *op. cit.* (note 3), p.28.

had them, consisted mostly of blank pages. Although the 1780s were boom years for portraiture it is perhaps unfortunate that Gillray attempted this career path at a time of such established painters as Gainsborough, Reynolds and George Romney, not to mention many lesser artists.²⁷

At this time Gillray also supported himself by working for the publisher Robert Wilkinson and producing conventional prints, both engravings of sensational subjects – notably shipwrecks and disasters at sea – and sentimental subjects rendered in delicate stipple – which he referred to as his ‘common dotting manner’.²⁸ A number of these engravings are after James Northcote, and the two artists certainly had a professional relationship if not a friendship.²⁹ In 1786 Northcote exhibited a painting of the tragic and heroic death by drowning of Duke Leopold of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel and subsequently sought Gillray’s advice about the likeness.³⁰ Gillray considered that the portrait in the related print by Thomas Gaugain published in 1787 displayed a ‘placid-melancholy’. The letter shows his sensitivity and his ability to articulate matters of appearance and character in terms of Lavaterian physiognomy, whereas Northcote seems to have been influenced by Le Brun’s *Passions*. Gillray enclosed his own portrait sketch of the Duke, modestly calling it ‘an unintelligible scrawl’, although it actually shows his adeptness at capturing a likeness and it is revealing that Gillray was sought as a respected expert in this capacity.³¹

Gillray was an undeniably acute portraitist, and this served him well throughout his career.³² The self-portrait miniature in the National Portrait Gallery is ample evidence, arguably rivalling Richard Cosway, and demonstrating Gillray’s ability to work in diverse media.³³ Yet another established artist to approach Gillray for help was Philippe-Jacques de Louthembourg, who engaged Gillray to make portraits of the Duke of York and the various marshals commanding the campaign in Flanders against the invading French armies, in preparation for a grand-scale painting of the Battle of Valenciennes, 1793.³⁴ Hill notes that Gillray’s portrait drawing of General Count Clairfayt in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, was ‘scarcely altered in the

27. M. Pointon, ‘Portrait-painting as a business enterprise in London in the 1780s’, *Art History*, 7 (2), pp.187–205.

28. See the letter to John Boydell of 30 September 1788 in the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC (shelfmark ART Flat a5 no.4).

29. D. Bindman, *The Shadow of the Guillotine: Britain and the French Revolution*, exh. cat., London (British Museum), 1989, no.24; Godfrey, *op. cit.* (note 3), nos.38 and 53.

30. Hill, *op. cit.* (note 3), pp.28–29. T. Clayton, *The English Print 1688–1802*, New Haven and London, 1997, pp.243, 278, fig.304; M. Hopkinson, ‘James Northcote’s *The death of Prince Maximilian Leopold of Brunswick*’, *The British Art Journal*, 4 (2003), pp.29–36.

31. Hopkinson, *ibid.*, fig.11 (collection Andrew Edmunds, London, formerly H. Minton Wilson). It is proposed that the likeness could have been made from either a medal or another portrait print.

32. In Godfrey’s words, ‘At the heart of his satiric vision is an astute grasp of personality and physique’; Godfrey, *op. cit.* (note 3), p. 130.

33. NPG 83; Hill, *op. cit.* (note 3), p.133 and fig.128; Godfrey, *ibid.*, no.100A.

34. On this fascinating episode see ‘Across the Channel’, chapter 5 in Hill, *ibid.*, pp. 49–55; ‘Gillray goes to the battlefield’ in Godfrey, *ibid.*, pp.108–11; A. Griffiths, ‘The contract for *The Grand Attack on Valenciennes*’, *Print Quarterly*, xx (2003), pp.374–79; O. Lefeuvre, *Philippe-Jacques de Louthembourg 1740–1812*, Paris, 2011, pp.56–57, 170–76, nos.236–37. See the two portrait prints published by V. & R. Green and Ch. de Mechel in 1794 of the Prince of Saxe-Coburg and General Count Clairfayt. See particularly the album in the Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum (shelfmark 201.c.5) and the curator’s comments on the British Museum database, under 1868,0328.1. See also a pen and ink drawing *The Duke of York on Parade* (‘History and catalogue of the collections of Sir Brinsley Ford’, *The Walpole Society*, 60 (1998), II, p.208, no.RBF 250).

finished painting'.³⁵ The same was true of De Loutherbourg's monumental *Lord Howe's Victory, or The Battle of the Glorious First of June, 1794*. Gillray was behind many of the portraits, including sailors, featured in this painting, even providing 'meticulous pen notes of ship construction and rigging'.³⁶

It was not just fellow artists who recognised his innate ability, nor was he appreciated only in England. His 'extremely accurate drawing; his ability to capture the features of any man' was remarked upon by Johann Christian Hüttner in *London und Paris* in 1806.³⁷ One of the foreign correspondents to the journal, Hüttner had lived in London intermittently since 1790 and was personally acquainted with Gillray, commenting on his 'unassuming character'. He was in no doubt that Gillray was a 'great artist'.³⁸

Gillray must have heeded some of the bitter experiences and invective of Northcote, who had been an apprentice to Reynolds, and found the whole business of portrait painting exasperating.³⁹ It is hard to imagine Gillray as an ingratiating portraitist seeking out respectable clients, accommodating them in an elegant studio and engaging them with polite chit-chat. The whole process of flattering the sitter as opposed to making a likeness, literally raising them on a dais as Reynolds is reported to have done, must have been complete anathema to Gillray. Marcia Pointon has written on the business and working life of a portrait painter, describing the constant, often prosaic demands made on artists, especially to make alterations to a painting – an entry in Romney's sitters' book provides a telling example of this: 'Sir John Pool called and desired that his Pictures may be finished as soon as Mr. Romney returned & that the whip must be altered and made with a Thong to it. & he must have spurs on and that his clothes must go home with the Pictures.'⁴⁰ In view of Gillray's attitude to making changes to the portrait of Pitt, we may imagine that he would have deemed this aspect of portraiture venal and infuriating. Clearly he was not cut out to be a conventional portraitist: it was details of costume rather than 'psychology or, indeed, facial appearance and character' that most concerned Reynolds, whereas for Gillray the latter were the heart of the matter.⁴¹

The print of Pitt gives every impression of being a reproduction of a formal painting by Gillray and is lettered as such. And yet Pitt's likeness was produced 'without the benefit of a sitting but based on many personal sightings'.⁴² In the undated letter to Fores, Gillray explicitly states: 'as to trying to procure Mr Pitt to give me a sitting (as you proposed) it might be productive of the worst consequences; if from whim, or from perswasion, he should refuse to sit, it would damn the reputation of the Plate at once'. Instead Gillray claimed that he had had 'two opportunities for

35. The drawing in Boston is accession number 48.166. There are two other drawings of Major-General Wenckheim (48.165) and General-Count Wallmoden (48.167) in Boston from the collection of John T. Spaulding. Hill, *op. cit.* (note 3), p.51.

36. Hill, *ibid.*, p.53. Godfrey, *op. cit.* (note 3), p.109, sums it up: 'He [De Loutherbourg] evidently wanted a draughtsman who could work swiftly, accurately and with character, and whose drawings would serve as a visual reference library.'

37. Banerji and Donald, *op. cit.* (note 4), pp.35 and 245. Also quoted in Godfrey, *ibid.*, p.17.

38. Banerji and Donald, *ibid.*, pp.16–21 and 246–47.

39. Pointon, *op. cit.* (note 27), pp.198–99. See M. Ledbury, *James Northcote, History Painting, and the Fables*, New Haven and London, 2014.

40. Pointon, *ibid.*, p.195, quoting Romney's sitters' book 7 August 1787.

41. Pointon, *ibid.*, p.196.

42. Godfrey, *op. cit.* (note 3), p.134, under no.102.



Fig.20.3 James Gillray,
William Pitt the Younger.
Watercolour over
graphite, black and red ink
and traces of white, 24 ×
20 cm (National Portrait
Gallery)

examining every particular feature of the face of the original'.⁴³ Clearly the portrait was unauthorised. Gillray must have watched Pitt from close quarters and discreetly made a number of sketches on which he subsequently relied. Godfrey has shown evidence of this spying approach and the way that Gillray made annotated pencil sketches capturing the essentials on small pieces of card; the British Museum has examples: a simple portrait drawing of the Speaker in an enormous wig was evidently adopted in the print *Sketch of the Interior of St. Stephens, as it now stands*, 1802.⁴⁴ Another example is a page from a sketchbook showing the Earl of Sandwich, annotated 'White Hair', 'Black Pallor', 'Short and thick'.⁴⁵

No painting of Pitt was made. None the less the print must have been the result of much preparatory work. An initial sketch of Pitt in pencil, pen and watercolour is extant in the primary collection of the National Portrait Gallery, London⁴⁶ (Fig. 20.3). This is oval in format and clearly closer to the smaller oval plate discussed below, but it is possible that a similar watercolour of the overall design was made to the same scale as the more ambitious print to serve as the model for it, perhaps in the manner of the preparatory work, grisailles and drawings, that Van Dyck made

43. Banerji and Donald, *op. cit.* (note 4), p.264.

44. BM Sat. 9843; Godfrey, *ibid.*, nos.131-32.

45. Hill, *op. cit.* (note 3), p.54.

46. 24 by 20 cm sheet and 22.5 by 17.5 cm oval, inv. no.NPG 135a; Hill, *ibid.*, p.31. Walker, *op. cit.* (note 22), pp.391-92, pl.940. The watercolour is inscribed with the provenance on the verso *Bought at a sale of Fores' Caricatures at Puttick & Simpsons, Leicester Sq. 1859 H.W. Martin* and on the recto *Presented by H.W. Martin Esqr November 21st 1861*. There is another portrait of Pitt on the verso, drawn in a different sense and cut.



for his series of portraits known as *The Iconography*. This comparison may seem far-fetched but it is striking how Gillray's oval watercolour pays particular attention to the tonal qualities and has *pentimenti* correcting the profile of the shoulders and the top of the head, the hair and forehead.

It has been speculated that Gillray's engraving of Pitt may have been withdrawn by Fores, who subsequently published another portrait of Pitt, this time a mezzotint by Henry Kingsbury which appeared on 15 July 1789.⁴⁷ Gillray, unperturbed and determined, quickly engraved a second portrait.⁴⁸ This oval, more modest, half-length portrait is smaller in format and was published by John Harris on 9 April 1789 (Fig. 20.4) and again on 28 May (Fig. 20.5) when the design was reconfigured to a rectangular format and the buttons adjusted. The print is also priced on the plate at 4 shillings. In addition to the Sherwin print, others entered the arena: for example, John Jones published an elegant mezzotint after Romney on 20 May 1789.⁴⁹ On 1 January 1791 Bartolozzi executed yet another print after a suave painting by Gainsborough Dupont, again proclaiming himself to be 'Historical Engraver to his Majesty'.⁵⁰

Fig.20.4 James Gillray, *William Pitt the Younger*, published by J. Harris. Engraving, 37.5 × 26.8 cm (British Museum)

Fig.20.5 James Gillray, *William Pitt the Younger*, published by J. Harris. Engraving, 39 × 29 cm (National Portrait Gallery)

47. J. Chaloner Smith, *British Mezzotinto Portraits*, II, London, 1883, no.12; O'Donoghue 35 (note 2); Hill, *ibid.*, p.33, and Banerji and Donald, *op. cit.* (note 4), p. 260. An impression of the Kingsbury mezzotint is in the British Museum (1902.1011.2963).

48. O'Donoghue 25; Hill, *ibid.*, p. 33, and Banerji and Donald, *ibid.*, pp.31, 33, fig.8 and p.260. There are three states of the print in the National Portrait Gallery (NPG D4086, D12402-3). There is an impression in the British Museum (1851.0901.1337).

49. Chaloner Smith 63; O'Donoghue 53. Impressions in the British Museum (Q.2.114 and 1871.1209.287).

50. Calabi and De Vesme 890. An impression in the British Museum (S.7.28).

In the end Gillray's print of Pitt is neither a portrait nor a caricature but a hybrid. Gillray, the 'protean satiric virtuoso',⁵¹ never attempted a similar portrait of Charles James Fox or the King, and from this point on in his career, the beginning of the French Revolution, he settled with the publisher Hannah Humphrey and devoted himself to producing a stream of remarkable satirical prints. The experience of making the portrait of Pitt certainly had a significant influence on his subsequent production. Before 1789 Gillray had mildly caricatured Pitt a number of times and the two judges Mansfield and Thurlow had also featured in his prints, both appearing in their characteristic robes and wigs in *Britania's assassination. or – the Republicans amusement* published by Elizabeth d'Archery, 10 May 1782.⁵² Later, Thurlow appeared often in Gillray's satirical prints – e.g. *The Fall of the Wolsey of the Woolsack* in 1792⁵³ – but Pitt was ubiquitous. In the portrait engraving Gillray had captured Pitt's likeness and in the process also grasped his character. The formal portrait is above all significant in helping Gillray after 1789 to establish an effective image of Pitt, with the 'gut antipathy', that was to inform all of his subsequent caricatures of the leading politician of the age.⁵⁴

Berlin

51. Donald, *op. cit.* (note 4), p.73.

52. BM Sat. 5987.

53. BM Sat. 8096.

54. For a good selection of caricatures of Pitt by Gillray see Godfrey, *op. cit.* (note 3), pp.134–50, nos.103–22.

Amorous Antiquaries: Sculpture and Seduction in Rowlandson's Erotica

DANIELLE THOM

'A naked male figure ... is a disgrace to public modesty.'¹

THE 'GOLDEN AGE' of English satirical visual culture coincided with – and helped to create – a period of anxiety in the public consumption of the polite arts. The satirical print had always occupied a liminal ground between vulgarity and politeness – commercial yet sophisticated, concerned with the bawdy realities of eighteenth-century life while borrowing heavily from heroic academic art. Nowhere is this dichotomy more apparent than in the erotic prints of Thomas Rowlandson, the sociable rake who turned his academic training and experience of London life into a successful career lampooning the foibles of society high and low. The Rowlandsonian erotica, produced at the mid-point of his career between about 1790 and 1810, drew extensively on the compositions and contexts of antique sculpture, the collecting and classifying of which was a key preoccupation for academic artists and gentleman-connoisseurs. In this essay, I argue that Rowlandson's sculpture-inspired erotic and bawdy images offered a way of negotiating the tricky territory between sexual permissiveness and polite good taste opened up by the dissemination of the antique nude.

In the decades immediately following the establishment of the Royal Academy, the art-viewing public faced a dilemma – or rather, a dilemma was constructed for them by critics and the press. The reception of antiquity, and of neoclassical works produced in response, was linked to an index of taste. An appreciation of the antique, and a knowledge of the principal sculptures that were determined by connoisseurs to form the canon of Hellenistic and Roman art, were markers of refinement.² They connoted travel, or at least wide reading, and enabled the polite art viewer to draw comparisons between the antique canon and contemporary art productions which emulated that canon. It was, however, impossible to separate the consumption of antiquity from the rakish morality of the connoisseurial coterie whose pronouncements and publications dictated public taste. Wealthy, aristocratic men such as Sir William Hamilton, Richard Payne Knight and Charles Towneley combined their thorough knowledge of *virtù* with an appreciation of its erotic qualities; living libertine existences to match. It was Payne Knight's 1786 publication of *An Account of the Worship of Priapus*, describing in explicit detail a rural Italian cult of phallus-worship, and the place of this cult in the narrative of Christian history,

1. *The Times*, London, Wednesday 20 August 1788.

2. F. Haskell and N. Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500–1900*, New Haven and London, 1981, p. xiii.

which crystallised public outrage against the libertine-connoisseurs.³ Condemned for both its blasphemous and its sexual imagery, Payne Knight's work was unlikely to find favour among polite consumers who reacted to nudity thus: 'At one of the public academic exhibitions in Somerset-House, within these last four years, some naked figures stood in the sculpture-room, that highly displeased their Majesties. There was not so much as a fig leaf. The public afterwards complained, and they were removed.'⁴

But to construe this reaction *prima facie* as evidence of a collective public revulsion would be ingenuous, to say the least. Rowlandson's erotic output suggests that an interest in the titillating potential of sculpture coexisted alongside moral outrage. Rowlandson, who was acquainted with Payne Knight and his circle, produced works to sell; his gambling-fuelled financial difficulties meant that a wide distribution of his print work was essential to his survival.⁵ Though they were subsequently dismissed by some as low hack-work, Rowlandson was producing prints which demonstrated a sophisticated engagement with phallic symbolism and sexualised antique nudity.⁶ The fact that these were successfully sold and distributed among the same individuals who visited and commented upon formal exhibitions of academic art demonstrates both the heterogeneity of the polite audience and, more specifically, the ability of this audience to regard the antique nude in more than one moral or aesthetic dimension.

Before examining the erotica proper, it is worth looking at the influence of antique sculpture on some of Rowlandson's bawdier social satires. Rowlandson not only used sculpture as a framework for many erotic compositions; he also brought the erotic potential of sculpture to sites of art-making and art-viewing. In his etching *The Exhibition Stare Case* (c.1800), the Royal Academy's audience becomes the viewed object, reversing its usual collective function. As a crowd trips and falls down the staircase of Somerset House, the female visitors are arranged in a complex composition of tumbling bodies, their legs splayed and their skirts flying up, landing on young men in compromising positions – to the amusement and arousal of spectators, predominantly older men. Though not especially graceful, the disposal of limbs recalls contemporary images of archaeological excavations and statuary collections, with disembodied marble arms or amputated torsos strewn about. Indeed, Rowlandson's own drawing of *A Statuary's Yard* reflects this, and also offers a context for the sculpture in the *Stare Case*: comprising a Bacchanalian relief above the crowd, depicting a female nude reclining upon a couch pulled by satyrs; and a Venus Callipyge, a sculpture notable for its erotic connotations, in a recess adjacent to the stairs.⁷ The relief amplifies the sexual potential of the scene, while Venus functions as a response to the tumbling women; she turns her buttocks ostentatiously towards the viewer, as her living counterparts attempt to conceal themselves. As in the *Statuary's Yard*, the sculptures appear to look – at each other, at their audience – as well as being looked upon, forming a tripartite dynamic between print viewer, depicted audience and observing object. The status of each is therefore in flux, with

3. J. Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1997, p.271.

4. *The Times*, *op. cit.* (note 1).

5. V. Gatrell, *City of Laughter: Sex and Satire in Eighteenth-Century London*, London, 2006, p.389.

6. R. Paulson, *Rowlandson: A New Interpretation*, London, 1972, p.74.

7. Haskell and Penny, *op. cit.* (note 2), pp.316–18.



those who usually look being looked at, and vice versa. As Ronald Paulson writes, 'Rowlandson's pictures ... are to a very large extent about people looking at things'.⁸

This dynamic, and its relationship to competing ways of looking at antique sculpture, also informs *The Sculptor* (Fig. 21.1, c.1800). This satire on Joseph Nollekens and his studio practice plays on the relationship between the living nude model and the Venus being crafted in her likeness.⁹ By this stage in his career, Nollekens was abandoning the portrait busts that had made his name and fortune, and producing a series of small classical figure groups which were less kindly received by critics. The small clay *Venus With Cupid* being crafted in this scene would have been typical of such pieces, for which his contemporary Joseph Flaxman complained that Nollekens 'wanted Mind', being insufficiently versed in classical literature to execute them successfully.¹⁰ Knowing this, it becomes clear that Nollekens – who is portrayed in this etching as a grotesque and lecherous old man – is being presented as more interested in the modern and the living, than in any antique ideal. The voluptuous model seated before him is full of fleshy presence and fertile sexuality, and her fleshy

Fig 21.1 Thomas Rowlandson, *The Sculptor*, c.1800. Hand-coloured etching, 28.5 × 21.8 cm (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)

8. Paulson, *op. cit.* (note 6), p. 80.

9. The clay *modello*, if based on a 'real' Nollekens work, is not identifiable. See M. Whinney, *Sculpture in Britain, 1530–1830*, London, 1964, note 7 to ch.20, p.269.

10. J.T. Smith, *Nollekens and His Times*, London, 1828, pp.225, 255–56

qualities distinguish her from the various marble and plaster figures surrounding her (coloured in white or grey); although these latter are also arrayed in a variety of morally questionable, sexually charged poses, reinforcing the suggestion that Nollekens's interest in sculpture is perverse rather than intellectual. It is also worth noting that the surviving coloured editions of this print represent a distinct blush on the cheeks of both model and sculptor, highlighting the division between marble and flesh. Angela Rosenthal has noted the connection between blushing, visceral sexuality and the tangibility of the body.¹¹ This idea of the sculptor's studio as a space of sexual licence would have been reinforced by contemporary knowledge that any woman who modelled nude for an artist was likely to be a whore or courtesan; and this is picked up by the placement of an upturned sculptor's mallet and pair of compasses at the foot of Nollekens's work table, resembling male and female genitalia respectively.

This recalls, once again, *A Statuary's Yard*, where the whiteness of their marble and the artificiality of their presentation mark the statues as distinct from the living figures who observe them; as does their nudity. In Nollekens's studio, a bust of Jupiter has its gaze directly fixed upon the model's breasts, recalling the lustful and sexually explicit narratives of the classical pantheon.¹² Behind, two nude male figures stand in close proximity, their gazes focused upon each other and their hands suspiciously near each other's genitals. It is difficult to identify these statues as specific figures from antiquity – that on the right resembles an Apollo Citharoedus inasmuch as it bears a lyre and staff, with a youthful face; while the laurel wreath, beard and pronounced musculature of the figure on the left suggest Hercules. Alternatively, they may represent a Bacchus and youthful faun. Their posture also recalls Nollekens's own copy after the antique of Castor and Pollux (1767), but is by no means a copy. It is perhaps more relevant that the two figures recall the pederastic relationship between man and boy in ancient Greece.¹³ By including these figures in an erotically charged spatial exchange, Rowlandson emphasises the connection between sculptural practice, collection and deviant or aberrant sexuality; and this in turn recalls his drawing *The Sculptor's Shop* (Fig. 21.2, c.1785–90). This image, less overtly bawdy than the representation of Nollekens's studio, picks up on the potential for homoerotic exchange in the collector–object relationship. The sculptor in the background drives his chisel between the legs of the female nude figure being carved, in a show of acceptably heterosexual masculine desire; meanwhile, the attention of the two connoisseurs and another sculptor, possibly a studio assistant, is fixated upon a large Hellenistic relief – specifically upon two nude warriors. Both connoisseurs, wearing their typical quizzing glasses, gaze directly at the left-hand figure's muscular torso and genitals, while the taller of the two holds his hat in front of his groin, with one corner conspicuously erect. The seated studio assistant wields his (noticeably smaller) chisel against the buttocks of the right-hand figure. The dynamic of the predatory heterosexual male viewer and passive female object is

11. A. Rosenthal, 'Visceral culture: blushing and the legibility of whiteness in eighteenth-century British portraiture', *Art History*, 27 (2004), 4, pp.563–94.

12. C. McPhee, entry on 'The sculptor' in C. McPhee and N. Orenstein, eds., *Infinite Jest: Caricature from Leonardo to Levine*, exh. cat., New York (Metropolitan Museum of Art), New Haven and London, 2012, p.130, no.96. The bust resembles Michaelangelo's *Moses*.

13. An earlier drawing on which this print is based shows some variations in the draperies and hair of the background sculptures, suggesting that they are inventions in the antique style rather than references to specific works. See R.M. Baum, 'Joseph Nollekens: the neo-classic eccentric', *The Art Bulletin*, 16 (1934), pp.385–95.



thus ruptured, as Rowlandson acknowledges, mocking the deviant sexual mores of his grand connoisseur-patrons. However, the broader relationship between looking and being looked at, in collector–commodity terms, remains intact. Arline Meyer has argued that Rowlandson’s familiarity with the reality of sculptural production (including a possible apprenticeship in the Parisian studio of Jean-Baptiste Pigalle, c.1774–75), and the emphasis in his academic training on copying from the antique, ensured that his satirical approach to sexual and commercial dynamics was formulated in sculptural terms: the beautiful commodity, the lecherous connoisseur, the powerful artist-creator.¹⁴

Rowlandson portrays the sculptor as both creator and consumer, that relationship mirroring one of the most notorious of the late eighteenth century, between Sir William Hamilton and Emma Hart, later Lady Hamilton. Noted for her ‘attitudes’, in which she adopted a series of antique postures while wearing classical draperies, Emma’s celebrity and status were Hamilton’s creation, for his pleasure as a collector. Referred to by contemporaries as ‘an object of *virtù*’ and as ‘his gallery of statues’, representations of Emma dissolved the boundaries between art and erotica.¹⁵ One of Rowlandson’s own representations, *Lady H*****’s Attitudes* (c.1791), blurs this distinction further, showing her posing nude for a handsome young artist while a grotesque older man (presumably Hamilton) points proudly to her body. Behind this tableau stands a statue group of a satyr and nymph embracing, while a male and a female bust appear to kiss at Emma’s feet. The artist is clearly sketching Emma as he would an inert sculpture, and the urn and mask about her assist in producing that antique context, as well as referencing Hamilton’s collection of antique vases. At the same time, however, her nudity and the sexual innuendo of her surroundings – plus, of course, her history as a courtesan and artists’ model – align her with

Fig 21.2 Thomas Rowlandson, *The Sculptor’s Shop*, c.1785–90. Pen, ink and watercolour drawing, 24 × 34.5 cm (State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg)

14. A. Meyer, ‘Regency Rowlandson: Thomas Rowlandson’s studies after (long after) the Antique’, *The British Art Journal*, 10 (2009), 1, pp.50–60.

15. Brewer, *op. cit.* (note 3), pp.266–68.



Fig 21.3 Thomas Rowlandson, *The Modern Pygmalion*, c.1790–1800. Etching, 20.5 × 14.8 cm (British Museum)

the ‘posture girls’ who provided sexual entertainment to rakes by dancing nude and lewdly on tables. Indeed, Rowlandson depicted posture girls in *Lord Barr--res Great Bottle Club* (c.1800–10), the orgiastic scene again blurring the lines between the statue and the woman; both functioning as beautiful and arousing objects on display for male consumption. What such women lacked in virtue, they compensated for as objects of *virtù*.

The *Great Bottle Club* leads us to the pornographic, rather than merely bawdy, prints and drawings within Rowlandson’s oeuvre. One such etching, *The Modern Pygmalion* (Fig. 21.3, c.1800), makes explicit the sexual potential of the sculptural nude: a male and female figure are copulating, in a room filled with similarly erotic sculptural figures and scenes. Their congress represents a pornographic interpretation of the Pygmalion myth. Though this myth centres on ideals of female chastity (given that Pygmalion’s desire for Galatea is sparked by his disgust at the prostitution of the Propoetides), it also carries erotic connotations as the discovery of Galatea’s transformation occurs only when Pygmalion begins to feel her breasts. Indeed, going back to the blushing visible in *The Sculptor*, we are reminded of the Propoetides’ fate at the hands of Aphrodite, forgetting how to blush as they sank into vice and ‘hardened into stone’, while a blush on Galatea’s cheek is the first sign of her transformation into flesh. This image restructures the relationship between sculpted body and living body, configuring the former as a site of lust and sensuality equal to the latter, as the boundary between flesh and marble is rendered permeable and unstable. To represent explicit intercourse in an antique, sculptural context is not, therefore, too great a conceptual leap. The influence of Payne Knight’s *Priapus* is evident here, as the male lover is endowed with an extravagant penis resembling the largest phallic votives on Payne Knight’s frontispiece.

The trope of the monstrous phallus, when used by Rowlandson, offers the viewer a way of understanding the relationship between sculptor, sculpture and collector.



The phallus is both tool, edifice and object, as is made clear in another untitled print (Fig. 21.4, c.1800) which depicts statuary and statue-like figures in a garden setting. A couple copulate in the background, posed similarly to Pygmalion and Galatea, while in the foreground two partially clad women observe a bare-buttocked gardener trimming a series of topiary penises into a tall hedge. A nude male statue, less conspicuously endowed, is positioned so that it too gazes towards the gardener's buttocks and the tip of the topiary penis.

Again, the key to reading this print lies in the dynamics of looking or being looked at which were produced between object, creator and spectator. In exploring and disrupting the looking process, Rowlandson offers a commentary on the nature of connoisseurship and its public reception. The sculptural phallus stands proxy for the connoisseur-collector, its penetrative function mirroring connoisseurial exploration, excavation and ownership. In that respect, it is a symbol of power, and is displayed as such in Fig.21.3 as Pygmalion claims sexual ownership of his beautiful object. However, this association also leaves the phallus vulnerable. If the collector is symbolised by the phallus, what should we make of its homoerotic potential? This is further complicated by the possibility that it also represents the sculptor's chisel; which it resembles both in shape and in generative function. That which is generated by the chisel is male as well as female, and the process of creation requires prolonged and intimate contact with the sexual form – as in *The Sculptor's Shop*. In the moral and gendered context of the later eighteenth century, this association with homosexual desire places both the collector and the sculptor in a position of sexual deviance, justifying the public revulsion against certain manifestations of antique and Neoclassical sculpture (particularly the male nude). In this respect, we can see Rowlandson's use of the proxy penis as a mechanism for mocking and destabilising the power of the connoisseur in favour of the viewing public; notwithstanding his profitable relationship with the Townley, Hamilton and Payne Knight coterie.

Fig 21.4 Thomas Rowlandson, untitled print, c.1800. Etching, 10.7 × 16.8 cm (British Museum)

The public display of the phallus, on sculptures and in Rowlandson's prints, renders it open to abuse as well as misuse. The possibility of castration – which to the collector means a loss of status and power, and to the sculptor a loss of creativity and skill – is introduced in Fig. 21.4, as the gardener attacks the topiary penis with his shears. This gardener is both sculptor and object here, complicit in the production of sexual imagery while, his buttocks on display to the amusement and arousal of the women below, he is a feminised, Callipygian sexual object in his own right. Public display also leaves the phallus vulnerable to mockery based on size and prowess; which perhaps explains Rowlandson's insistence on presenting the most monstrous and stiffest penises possible in his explicit images. This, in turn, reminds us that the phallus is a sculpture-object in its own right – quite literally, an erection – which becomes the site of performance anxiety relating to gender expression, the cultural power of the connoisseur, the complicity of the sculptor and the role of the viewing public in perpetuating or challenging these performed roles. It is crucial, also, not to forget the role of the print viewer as a participant in the dynamics of looking, for, if vulnerability, immorality or vice are produced from the interaction between Rowlandson's human and sculptural characters, then the viewer is implicated in that interaction.

Returning to our initial premise – that Rowlandson's erotica offered eighteenth-century audiences a way of understanding and negotiating the sculptural nude – what has this investigation produced in the way of answers? Certainly, most of those members of the public who expressed moral revulsion at nude statues were unlikely to be converted to appreciation by Rowlandson's much bawdier images. But for those who occupied the liminal ground between politeness and libertinism – those individuals, mostly men of means, who indulged their sensual appetites while believing in the importance of maintaining public standards – these prints and drawings were useful.¹⁶ They enabled frank and explicit sexual scenes to be consumed, contextualised and justified as objects of classical *virtù*, while simultaneously they mocked and undermined the power of the connoisseur and the artist. This process recentred the non-specialised, bourgeois art viewer as key in the dynamic of looking which Rowlandson presented for their pleasure. It was therefore possible for such persons to consume sexual imagery as private individuals, becoming complicit in the disruptions and moral ambiguities that this consumption entailed, while at the same time forming part of that polite audience which condemned the public display of nakedness in art.

Victoria and Albert Museum

16. Gatrell, *op. cit.* (note 5), p. III.

Infernal Machines in Nineteenth-Century France

RICHARD TAWS

ON CHRISTMAS EVE 1800, a bomb blast shook the rue Saint-Nicaise in central Paris, killing and injuring a number of bystanders.¹ One who escaped, however, was Napoleon Bonaparte, then First Consul, for whom this device – known as the ‘machine infernale’ – had been intended. In fact, Napoleon had been soundly asleep at the time, and missed the whole thing. He was reported to have been having a bad dream about his defeat by the Austrians at the Tagliamento River in 1797 at the time the explosion took place, waking abruptly with the cry ‘We are undermined!’² This episode was later discussed by Sigmund Freud, who offered it as an example of how a dreamer might incorporate external stimuli – the bomb blast in this instance – into the structure of their dream, preventing them from waking.³ Freud described how ‘The currently active sensation is woven into a dream *in order to rob it of reality*. Napoleon could sleep on – with a conviction that what was trying to disturb him was only a dream-memory of the thunder of the guns at Arcole.’⁴ In other words, for Freud, Napoleon dreamed the present through the image of the past, both of which were potentially traumatic. Freud’s slip between Arcole and Tagliamento is worth taking into account (I hesitate to call it ‘Freudian’), as it reveals the temporal confusion provoked by the impression of such events. The assassination attempt was perpetrated by a group of royalist Chouan rebels, although, in a further dreaming of the recent past, Napoleon was certain that it had been carried out by Jacobins loyal to the Robespierriest government that had preceded his *coup d’état* by five years; 130 Jacobins were exiled, and several suspects were executed wrongly, with little evidence to support their condemnation. Taking Freud’s interpretation of this episode as my point of departure, this essay considers the multiple ways in which figurations of ‘infernal machines’ of various kinds condensed diverse responses to the relationship between past and future in post-revolutionary France, examining the role of printed images, in particular, in mediating their effects.

If, for Freud, cataclysmic or potentially traumatic events such as this one were liable to processes of repression or working-through, only to emerge later in highly mediated forms, a consideration of images documenting the explosion of the infernal machine reveals more immediate attempts to reconcile this violent rupture with a stable order of representation. These images were, however, no less freighted with

1. For a comprehensive account of the incident, see J. Lorédan, *La Machine infernale de la rue Nicaise* (3 nivôse, an IX), Paris, 1924.

2. S. Freud, *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, vol. IV: *The Interpretation of Dreams* (first part), trans. and ed. J. Strachey, with A. Freud, A. Strachey and A. Tyson, London, 1953 [1900], p. 26. Freud cites Garnier’s 1865 account of the dream. Although he later suggests that not all accounts agree, he does not provide his other source.

3. Freud, *op. cit.* (note 2), IV, pp. 233–44; also vol. V, p. 497. Freud notes that Napoleon was ‘incidentally, an extremely sound sleeper’.

4. Freud, *op. cit.* (note 2), IV, p. 234.



Fig. 22.1 Poll, after Bonnefoy, *La Machine Infernale*, 1801. Hand-coloured stipple engraving and etching, 27.1 × 35 cm (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

anxiety, and they elicited forms of historical thinking that were tied closely to a recent revolutionary past which had expunged all memory of what had preceded it, save in negative form. The bomb blast on the rue Saint-Nicaise would have been instantly comprehensible in the wake of a Revolution that had excelled in sudden and radical attacks on figures of authority, and its representation also proceeded along relatively familiar lines: a number of prints recorded the event, folding the past into the present in interesting ways.⁵ Since the outbreak of the French Revolution, print culture had proved a particularly effective means of relaying historically unprecedented events and integrating them into comprehensible narratives. At this time, etching, in particular, was a medium whose speed of production enabled a swift response to a volatile political scene, although the Revolution was also represented in print media of manifold form and quality, aimed at distinct audiences and clienteles.

One image shows the infernal machine – a barrel filled with gunpowder, shrapnel and bullets – being detonated by a shady-looking sans-culotte type, in fact the plotter Saint-Régeant (Fig. 22.1). Images of the rue Saint-Nicaise plot unfolded over time, and also dealt in aftermath; a later print shows the violent arrest of Georges Cadoudal, one of the key plotters.⁶ Yet in this minimally staged image of detonation, we are given little information as to the wider consequences of the explosion, although the location is identified clearly by a street sign on the wall. Saint-Régeant

5. The most sustained account of the iconography of assassination, including the affair of the rue Saint-Nicaise, is given in K. Salome, 'Les représentations iconographiques de l'attentat politique au XIXe siècle: enjeux et usages de la mise en image d'une violence politique', *La Révolution Française*, 1 (2012), special issue on 'L'attentat, objet d'histoire', online at <http://lrf.revues.org/402>.

6. Anon., 'Arrestation de Georges Cadoudal', col. etching, Musée Carnavalet, inv. G.30839 (PC Portraits 42).



is represented here in a pose redolent of the Borghese Gladiator, and the image was in fact based on a 1797 anti-Jacobin print titled *l'Exclusif*, in which the culprit clutched a pistol and was identified more explicitly with the political language of the Terror.⁷ However, even more powerfully perhaps, the print echoes the sparse theatrical space, outstretched muscled figure, downward-facing blade and motif of transmission of Jacques-Louis David's 1784 *The Oath of the Horatii*, but it demeans and inverts David's *grande machine* both spatially and politically; a key marker of radical politics and public morality as it was understood in the early 1790s is shown to have become base and monstrous.⁸ As with the *Horatii*, the key action happens off-stage. Prefigured in Saint-Régeant's tattered clothing, the blast is anticipated here, but destined to occur outside the space of representation; adumbrating impending fracture, the barrel itself is amputated by the frame of the print, while the void in the background points to the apparent impossibility of figuring the ensuing convulsion. In fact, aside from the figure of Saint-Régeant, the main subject of this print is – unusually – the device itself, the infernal machine. What might it have meant in the early nineteenth century for a machine to be infernal? How might this confluence of the rational and diabolical, dream and nightmare, have inflected printed images in post-revolutionary France?

If these images presented the affair of the rue Saint-Nicaise as imminent catastrophe or criminal history, other prints attempted to capture the event of the blast itself. In *Vue de l'explosion de la machine infernale, rue St. Nicaise, à Paris* (Fig. 22.2) the

Fig. 22.2 Anon. [Basset pub.], *Vue de l'explosion de la machine infernale, rue St. Nicaise, à Paris*, c.1801. Hand-coloured etching and engraving, 30 × 39 cm (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

7. *Au temps des merveilles: La société parisienne sous le Directoire et le Consulat*, exh. cat., Paris (Musée Carnavalet), 2005, p.48.

8. For a recent analysis of caricatural images that draw upon David's *Oath of the Horatii*, see P. Davis, 'Le Serment des Horaces face à la satire graphique', *RACAR*, 37 (2012), 1, pp.26–40.

tranquil mastery of vision implied by the urban perspective view is shattered by the animation of the figures and objects represented. Horses, carriages, and people fly through the air. Glass smashes, and more stuff falls to the ground from the windows of the nearby houses, recalling no doubt, in the minds of some viewers, the revolutionary iconoclasm that had entered its most fervent phase during the period of the Terror. Erika Naginski has characterised the 'network of forces' that comprised the revolutionary approach to the destruction of objects of everyday life or works of art as one of 'propulsion, dispersion, reassembly'.⁹ Naginski observes that 'Where that network of forces is most tangible ... is in the *representation* of erasure: in woodcuts recording pillage, in engravings depicting toppled royal statues, in etchings setting down the fragile silhouettes of mutilated cathedral façades, or in drawings and paintings recapitulating significant historical junctures like Bastille Day or the desecration of Saint Denis'.¹⁰ Yet, Naginski continues, erasure is not presented in these images as something to be contained or documented but, rather, the destruction of things asserts itself through a materiality that is at once scornful and loaded with desire. In *Vue de l'explosion de la machine infernale, rue St. Nicaise, à Paris*, elements of this process, identified so closely with the Revolution, are still apparent. This is a world turned upside-down, and back-to-front too – the lettering at the top of this *vue d'optique* print is reversed to facilitate reflected viewing through a zograscope. Propulsion, no doubt, and also dispersion – the horses tumbling from the skies cannot but help figure as inversions of the royal equestrian statues that had been dismantled on the Place Vendôme and Place des Victoires only a few years earlier.¹¹ But in this print the world is in a sense also reassembled. Viewing the image in reverse through the lens and mirror of the zograscope gave the print a feeling of depth, barely tangible to our modern, image-saturated eyes, but powerful in an age better attuned to more subtle visual effects. As in the dream-work Freud describes, this *vue d'optique*, by offering an illusion of three-dimensional space and of visual control, paradoxically 'robs' the scene of its reality, allowing the viewer the measured and leisured looking necessary for it to make sense and for its constituent parts to be recomposed. The true horror of the immediate situation – of violence sudden and uncontrolled in the street – is, to some extent, absorbed by the dream-memory of revolutionary violence that is no longer proximate.¹²

The explosions of the infernal machine conjured revolutionary destructions and their attendant political systems in 1800, and, although the coinage was not new, it took on a particularly loaded meaning in the post-revolutionary climate of the Consulate. Nevertheless, the machine was not limited to this incident, and reappeared in a range of different contexts. Several printed images from around the same time record attempts by the British to blow up French ports during the course of the previous century. A raft loaded with explosives was sent to blast the fleet at Boulogne, while the infernal machine that targeted Saint-Malo in 1693 was a boat packed from deck to hull with barrels of gunpowder, shrapnel, and loose cannon.¹³

9. E. Naginski, 'The object of contempt', *Yale French Studies*, 101 (2002), pp.32–53.

10. *Ibid.*, p.36.

11. For a sophisticated recent reading of these acts of revolutionary iconoclasm, see R. Clay, *Iconoclasm in Revolutionary Paris: The Transformation of Signs*, Oxford, 2012.

12. On post-revolutionary representations of violence, see L. Graybill, 'A proximate violence: Mme Tussaud's chamber of horrors', *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide*, 9 (2010), online at <http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/autumn10/a-proximate-violence>.

13. See A. Le Moyne de la Borderie, *Le Bombardement et la machine infernale des Anglais contre Saint-Malo en 1693*, Nantes, 1885.



The most notable infernal machine of the period, however, related to another failed assassination, the 1835 attempt on the life of King Louis-Philippe, led by the Corsican Giuseppe Marco Fieschi. So infernal was the machine that it metamorphosed into an entirely different thing. It took the form of twenty-five rifles attached to a metal frame and fired simultaneously from the upper window of a house on the Boulevard du Temple (Fig. 22.3). This was a contraption as dangerous to the user as the intended victim, as Fieschi was himself shot several times in the head.¹⁴ His life was saved, only for him to be guillotined shortly afterwards.

Fieschi's execution folded a contemporary understanding of the infernal machine into an image of technologised hellishness that had exerted a powerful sway over the European imagination since the 1790s. As Roland Barthes described, in his essay on the plates of the *Encyclopédie*, Enlightenment technological expertise held within it the potential to morph swiftly into something more grotesque or terrifying; although Barthes does not mention it, the guillotine was perhaps the ultimate example of rationalism pushed to horrific conclusions.¹⁵ A print representing Fieschi's

Fig. 22.3 WC, after TB, View of house at Boulevard du Temple No. 50 from which Giuseppe Fieschi attempted assassination of King Louis-Philippe, with portrait bust of Fieschi below, in profile to left, between representations of his 'infernal machine', c.1835. Etching, 24.3 × 18 cm (British Museum)

14. Fieschi's death mask, which transforms his wounds into gruesome spectacle, is displayed among others in Norwich Castle Museum.

15. R. Barthes, 'The plates of the Encyclopedia', in *New Critical Essays*, trans. Richard Howard, New York, 1980 [1964], pp. 23–39.



Fig. 22.4 Anon. [pub. Criviccik], *Souvenir de la machine infernale dessinée sur la place de l'exécution*, 1836. Lithograph (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

execution, titled *Souvenir de la machine infernale dessinée sur la place de l'exécution* (Fig. 22.4) was transparent in its linkage of these two apparatuses, although the guillotine as a demonic, animate, monster had haunted the imagination of satirists for some time, and was experienced particularly powerfully in Britain.¹⁶ It hovers over William Windham's waking nightmare in James Gillray's *Political-Dreamings! – Visions of Peace! – Perspective Horrors!* of 1801, to take one example, and was still a powerful motif in George Cruikshank's *A Radical Reformer, – (ie.) a Neck or Nothing Man!*, published eighteen years later, where the guillotine, breathing hell-fire and dripping blood, staggers after the crowned heads of Europe.

As described by Daniel Arasse, the infernality of the guillotine was – like that of the bomb-blast – linked irrevocably to the speed and near-invisibility of its actions.¹⁷ More awful still, its terror lay in the possibility of consciousness remaining after death. As Arasse puts it: 'What a philosophical monster the guillotine's instantaneousness now becomes! By suggesting a distinction between the time-continuum

16. See D. Bindman, *The Shadow of the Guillotine: Britain and the French Revolution*, London, 1989, pp.144–65.

17. D. Arasse, *The Guillotine and the Terror*, trans. Christopher Miller, London, 1989, pp.35–47.

of the intact body (at an end) and that of consciousness (which continues), the instant of the guillotine creates a temporal divergence in which the unity of self is fragmented.¹⁸ In other words, the guillotine, like the bomb blast, became infernal – and ‘philosophical’, a concept as much as an apparatus or event – through its rupturing of a time that was personal, psychic and somatic, as well as historical. It makes a lot of sense that Freud’s initial account of bomb on the rue Saint-Nicaise was followed immediately by a description of Alfred Maury’s feverish dream of being condemned to death by the revolutionary Tribunal during the Terror.¹⁹ Having faced Robespierre, Marat, and the public prosecutor Fouquier-Tinville, Maury climbed the scaffold and was bound to the plank. The blade fell, and he experienced the sensation of his head being separated from his body. Waking up in (understandably) extreme anxiety, Maury discovered that the top of his bed had collapsed and struck his neck at the exact point where the guillotine blade would have connected. Maury’s dream of his own guillotining, Freud suggested, demonstrated the extent to which dreams might ‘compress into a very short space of time an amount of perceptual matter far greater than the amount of ideational matter that can be dealt with by the waking mind’.²⁰ Moreover, Freud writes, Maury’s dream was not necessarily preoccupied with the past, or the subject’s psychic present, for ‘dreams are reputed to have the power of divining the future’.²¹

Infernal machines, then, operated as repositories for imaginative responses of all kinds, initiating a temporal lurch that bridged the rupture between past and future. They also took much of their force from their operation at the edge of vision and their immediate transformation of materiality into terrifying nothingness; the sudden quake of the bomb-blast, the flash of the guillotine blade. Yet the infernal machine might also signify something with a more pronounced materiality that preceded the Revolution but which was transformed with it, and which had equal potential to switch between invisible, clandestine forms and public efflorescence. Printing itself – the printing press to be exact, but also the impressions it produced – had long claimed the potential to function diabolically. In as much as print might serve the Muses or convey virtuous moral truths, it was also bound to the devilish production of profane commodities, and it possessed an unequalled potential to counter established power.²² Exploiting this association, and situating it in the immediate aftermath of Fieschi’s assassination attempt, the final issue of *La Caricature*, the magazine of Honoré Daumier, Charles Philipon and other radical satirists, issued a print showing the Chamber of Deputies as the infernal machine, firing censorship laws that crippled the press (Fig. 22.5). *La Caricature* had, effectively, been rendered entirely toothless by the highly repressive ‘September laws’ of 1835.²³ This lithograph shows flying ordnance dismembering statues representing individual liberty and the liberty of the press. In the foreground, a figure representing *Le Charivari* makes a last stand while a jester marked *La Caricature* falls to the ground, his writing hand

18. Ibid., p.38. On this issue see also L. Jordanova, ‘Medical mediations: mind, body and the guillotine’, *History Workshop Journal*, 28 (1989), 1, pp.39–52.

19. Freud, *op. cit.* (note 2), IV, pp.26–27.

20. Ibid., p.64.

21. Ibid., p.65.

22. This dialectic has been acknowledged most recently in E.L. Eisenstein, *Divine Art, Infernal Machine: The Reception of Printing in the West from First Impressions to the Sense of an Ending*, Philadelphia, 2011.

23. On censorship in nineteenth-century France, see, most recently, the essays contained in R.J. Goldstein, ed., ‘Out of sight: political censorship of the visual arts in nineteenth-century France’, *Yale French Studies*, 122 (2012).

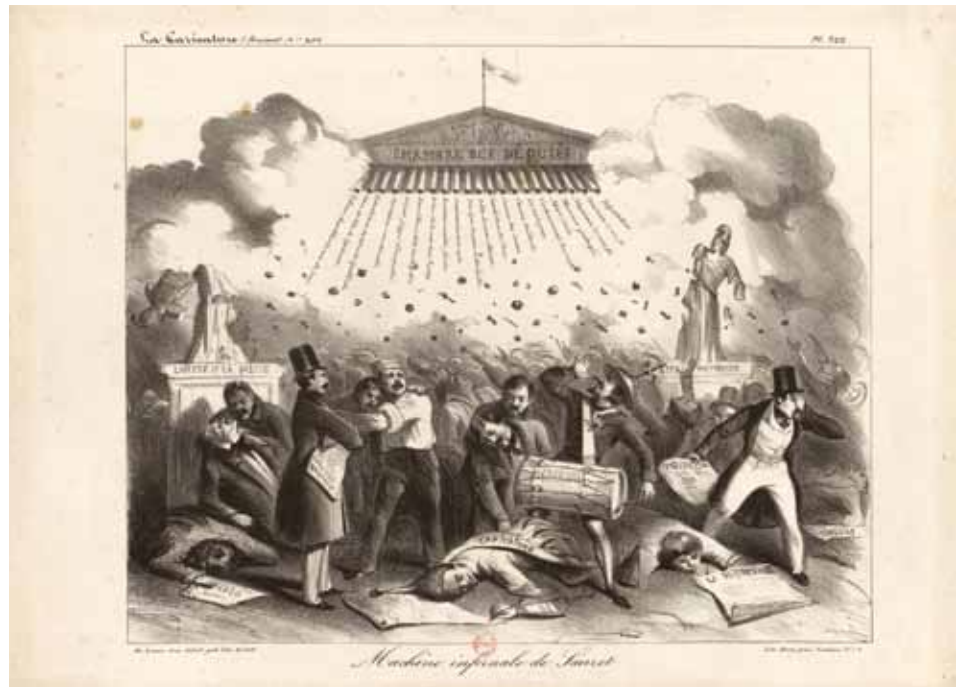


Fig. 22.5 Anon. [lith. Junca], *Machine infernale de Sauzet*, published in *La Caricature*, 20 August 1835. Lithograph, 22.1 × 27.8 cm (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

severed above Philipon's famous courtroom sketch of Louis-Philippe transmuting into a pear. Censorship is equated here with the bodily damage inflicted by the fusillade or the guillotine – the infernal machine, after Fieschi, merging deliriously with the firing squad – although this was an attack on a body politic that remained alive even after death. Yet if printing is shown in this image to be a technology that counters the technologies of state repression, the infernal machine, as a metaphor for print media, sometimes worked in the other direction too. An image, published in an earlier climate of heavy censorship in the years before 1789, titled *Le Gazetier Cuirassé* (The Armour-Plated Journalist), shows the eponymous pamphleteer-as-cannon firing off scandalous broadsides in all directions, 'one hundred leagues from the Bastille, under the sign of liberty'. Meanwhile, in London in 1833, the radical printmaker C.J. Grant deployed the motif of the infernal machine as a way to think about the explosive printing press, 'blowing all the rubbish to hell'.²⁴ The infernal machine was therefore, at different times and in different places, both an ebullient free press and the censorship of print media, manic visibility and forced invisibility, a technology of production and of destruction, an attack on liberty and a radical metaphor, speculative print capitalism and moral idealism. In other words, as elsewhere, the infernal machine of printing was a pliable object of fantasy that moved through different incarnations over time.

Every day, like several contributors to this volume I expect, I walk past the site of the 2005 London bus bombing, under the scarred façade of the BMA building, to a department on Gordon Square situated next to an abandoned Second World War bombsite; surely one of the few such vacant spaces in central London still to be colonised by property speculators or institution builders (although its days as such

24. On Grant, see R. Pound, ed., *C.J. Grant's Political Drama: A Radical Satirist Rediscovered*, London, 1998.

are now numbered). The rue Saint-Nicaise, on the other hand, having survived its attack, was demolished and remodelled by Haussmann's builders in 1853. Infernal machines resonate differently in Paris, in the light of its own subsequent history – anarchist bombs in the 1890s, the Algerian War brought home – but their melancholy reverberations are felt elsewhere too. Bomb blasts, assassination attempts, terrorist attacks, revolutions, are all attempts to shift the direction that history might take, and the infernal machine might be thought, in its various nineteenth-century incarnations, to instantiate a particularly modern model of crisis, whether psychic, social or political. The philosopher of history Reinhart Koselleck, drawing together theological, medical, economic and political formulations of 'crisis', has tracked the term's usage as a 'free-standing concept' to the eighteenth century, when 'at least since the French Revolution, "crisis" turned into a central interpretament for both political and social history' – crisis as a final decision to be made, from Robespierre's enforcement of moral justice, to Thomas Paine's belief in the future as absolute turning point, to the fervent Jacobins who maintained their belief in semantic and political rupture even in the face of its Bonapartist consequences (the same terrorists who were thought to have blown up their infernal machine on the rue Saint-Nicaise).²⁵ For Koselleck, 'the answer to crisis consists in looking out for stabilizers which can be derived from the long duration of human history', political, social, or even theological.²⁶ Nineteenth-century infernal machines, however, might be thought to 'blast' the past out of the 'continuum of history', as Walter Benjamin described the French revolutionary approach to time.²⁷ Hardly a form of 'stabilisation', but a means of pressing contemporary subjects to face the debris of the past, and, even, the possibility of their own fragmentation.

'Representations of crisis need not be crises in representation', write Jeff Kinkle and Alberto Toscano in a recent essay about cinematic responses to financial meltdown – they are right of course, and we might in fact observe an opposite tendency, as hegemonic visual strategies are reinforced in response to the conditions under which they take shape.²⁸ Yet nineteenth-century prints that invoke infernal machines – whether guillotines, printing presses or bombs – force, despite their often familiar representational forms, the question of what it means for forms of crisis to be made visible. In sharp contrast to, yet consonant with, the invisibility of contemporary Terror's mechanisms or the obscurity of the financial instruments that have placed us in our current situation, infernal technologies enact their invisibility, where it occurs, in plain sight. The machine itself comes in and out of view, but it is a material thing made immaterial, a technical device constructed with varying degrees of sophistication, but complex and explosive in its effects. If Napoleon's dream on the rue Saint-Nicaise, in Freud's telling, turned to history as a protection against psychic damage in the present, these prints' appeal to the devilish authority of the infernal machine allows no such salvation.

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25. R. Koselleck, 'Some questions regarding the conceptual history of "crisis"', in *The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History, Spacing Concepts*, trans. Todd Samuel Presner, Stanford, 2002, p.239.

26. *Ibid.*, p.247.

27. W. Benjamin, 'Theses on the philosophy of history', in *Illuminations*, trans. Harry Zohn, New York, 1968 [1940], p.261.

28. J. Kinkle and A. Toscano, 'Filming the crisis: a survey', *Film Quarterly*, 65 (2011), 1, p.39.

Wood-engravings from the Collection of Francis Douce at the Ashmolean Museum

MERCEDES CERÓN

AMONG THE LARGE number of works on paper bequeathed by the antiquary Francis Douce (1757–1834) to the Bodleian Library there are a few hundred prints set aside, not because of their subject, as it is the case with the rest of the collection, but because of their technique. The folders where they are kept, now in the Ashmolean Museum, were marked in the early nineteenth century as containing either woodcuts or wood-engravings.¹ Most are illustrations cut from periodicals and satirical prints produced by contemporary British, German and Swiss wood-engravers. Some of the mounts bear annotations in Douce's handwriting that provide additional information on the printmakers and their works.

Douce was an antiquary concerned with the history of manners, customs and beliefs, who collected rare books, manuscripts, coins, miscellaneous antiquities, prints and drawings illustrating these subjects. In this essay, I will discuss the reasons why an antiquarian collector such as Douce, who declared himself interested 'only [in] singular prints', would have turned his attention to a technique associated with cheap reproducibility.² Moreover, I will explore his relationship with contemporary wood-engravers, from the celebrated Thomas Bewick to the little-known John Berryman.

The wood-engravings collected by Douce were by no means rare or 'singular'. An example would be the prospectus for *Dolby's Universal Histories*, produced c.1823 and signed by Henry White (c.1790–1861) after a design by William Henry Brooke (1772–1860). Dolby's advertisement stated that his work would be 'in design novel, in execution unsurpassed, and in price unprecedented'.³ According to *The Literary Chronicle*, for 'twenty or thirty shillings' Dolby's customers could obtain 'a neat, cheap, and correct edition' of the History of England.⁴

I AM GRATEFUL to the Department of Western Art of the Ashmolean Museum and, in particular, to Caroline Palmer for her assistance.

1. The handwriting on the folders is that of Thomas Dodd (1771–1850). Dodd, a printseller and an acquaintance of Douce, was asked by the Bodleian to catalogue the collection after the latter's death. Although there is evidence of some rearrangement of Douce's prints on their arrival at the Bodleian, Dodd seems to have merely integrated into the collection Douce's piles of 'unsorted' prints following the latter's classification. On Douce and his collections see J.W. Jolliffe et al., *The Douce Legacy: An Exhibition to Commemorate the 150th Anniversary of the Bequest of Francis Douce (1757–1834)*, Oxford (Bodleian Library), 1984, and J. Whiteley, 'The Douce collection', *Apollo*, 145, no.423 (1997), pp.58–59.

2. Douce wrote the following note on the verso of a letter from the travel writer Richard Twiss dated 18 April 1792: '... I collect only singular prints / none of your Madonas' (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Douce d. 39, fol.42v).

3. See advertisement for the first volume in the *The London Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres*, 353 (25 October 1823), p.688.

4. 'Dolby's Universal Histories', in *The Literary Chronicle*, 6 (10 April 1824), 256, p.232.

During the years before the publication of Dolby's prospectus, an 'efflorescence of radical publishing' coincided with the increasing popularity of wood-engraving.⁵ Regency radicalism benefited from recent developments in printing techniques while adopting the visual language associated with popular ephemera. Publishers such as Dolby and William Hone favoured a type of publication whose effectiveness relied on a combination of low price and high-quality printing. The link between reform and the dissemination of knowledge through cheap publications was thus acknowledged by the reviewer of Dolby's work in *The Examiner*:

If any proof were required of the expansion of intellect throughout the country, and the thirst for knowledge which universally prevails, the encouragement experienced by the multiplicity of cheap publications which every day issue from the press, is quite sufficient to afford it ... Autocrats and Despots – Tyrants and Slaves – Holy and unholy Confederates may combine against the freedom and the happiness of man, but so long as the powers of his mighty mind are unfolded – so long as the giant shall obtain a knowledge of his own strength, their machinations are moonshine, and their manacles cobwebs.⁶

Together with Dolby's frontispiece, Douce kept a proof of one of George Cruikshank's prints for Hone's *The right divine of kings to govern wrong!* (Fig. 23.1).⁷ Douce's annotation in pencil explaining that 'Only two impressions on India paper were taken off' appears again on a proof of *The clerical magistrate*, also by Cruikshank, published in Hone's *The political house that Jack built* (1819).⁸ Both prints (and a third that has not been located) were given to Douce by Hone himself, as the latter explained in a letter dated 9 February 1821:

I enclose India proofs of three wood Engravings – only two were taken of each. The 'Clerical Magistrate', from the 'Political House that Jack built' was never worked in that state. I had the Dove taken out and a Triangle inserted as reference to the pamphlet will shew. The Debauchee is not on so large a paper as my own, but a more perfect impression. The 'Power of Royalty' is a 'thing of my own' (as indeed all my cuts are) for 'The Rights Divine of Kings to govern wrong', a Satire which I am now working on from that great man Daniel Defoe's 'Iure Divino'. If they find a place in your Collection they will be honoured.⁹

In the same way Hone considered his works 'honoured' by being in Douce's possession, Douce regarded all of Hone's publications as worthy of his collection, as he wrote in a letter dated in about 1820.¹⁰ Douce and Hone shared an interest in popular culture that underlined their antiquarian pursuits and their collecting activities. Douce's letters attest to his admiration of Hone's genius as a publisher and to

5. M. Wood, *Radical Satire and Print Culture, 1790–1822*, Oxford, 1994, p.3.

6. 'Dolby's Universal Histories', in *The Examiner*, 858 (11 July 1824), p.441.

7. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. no. WA2003.Douce.4716.

8. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. no. WA2003.Douce.2800.

9. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Douce d. 23, fol.233r and v.

10. 'All the books you have publ. have already found their way into my possession, & well worth it they are in every respect' (London, British Library MS. Add.40120, fol.158).



Fig.23.1 George Cruikshank, *Tail-piece*, 1821. Wood-engraving, 11.6 × 8.7 cm (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, Douce Bequest)

his sympathy for Hone's political views. In early 1821, Hone sent Douce a copy of his edition of Vicesimus Knox's *The spirit of despotism*, about which Douce wrote:

If I forgot to make my best acknowledgements to you for the 'Spirit of despotism' let me do it now, when after a taste only of this work I perceive it to be the honest emanation of an elegant, human & philosophical mind admirably well [suited] to open the eyes & improve the understandings of those whom it more immediately concerns. In all that I have yet read of this book I review feelings of which I have always been proud, but have too seldom ventured to manifest, fettered & trammelled as one is in the present state of society.¹¹

In return, Douce assisted Hone with loans of books from his library and, possibly, of prints from his collection. As J.W. Robinson noted, Hone's own 'unsuspected store of "black-letter" learning and knowledge of popular literature' were probably his main source of materials to defend himself at the blasphemy trials of 1817, but 'Hone was probably more dependent [on Douce] than is immediately apparent'.¹²

11. Letter from Douce to Hone, 16 February 1821 (British Library MS. Add.40120, fols.160r–160v).

12. J.W. Robinson, 'Regency radicalism and antiquarianism: William Hone's *Ancient Mysteries Described* (1823)', *Leeds Studies in English*, 10 (1978), p.138.

Hone often referred to Douce and to his collection as the sources of many of the accounts of popular customs and beliefs published in his *Every-Day Book* (1825), which Douce had hoped would be highly successful.¹³

The *Every-Day Book* was a 'guide to the Year relating the popular amusements, sports, ceremonies, manners, customs, and events' that contained, as Hone wrote in his 'Explanatory Address', 'nearly two-hundred Engravings from the original designs of superior artists, or from rare and remarkable prints and drawings'.¹⁴ He included an advertisement for his planned *History of Parody*, also to be 'illustrated by numerous Engravings on copper and wood, plain and coloured'. Hone regarded these illustrations as integral to his publications, which relied heavily on reproductions of prints and drawings of antiquarian interest. The list of subjects published by Hone at the beginning of his work almost exactly mirrors the list of subjects according to which Douce's collection was arranged.

The essential role of illustrations, the usefulness of antiquarian collections, and the suitability of wood-engraving for the reproduction of rare works were also discussed by William Young Ottley (1771–1836) in the introduction to his *Collection of one hundred and twenty-nine fac-similes of scarce and curious prints ... illustrative of the history of engraving*. Ottley included an 'account of the early use of wood-engraving in Europe' that emphasised the importance of new printing techniques in the dissemination of knowledge. He based some of his observations on prints from 'the valuable collection of Francis Douce', to whom his book was dedicated.¹⁵

Both Hone's letter and Ottley's dedication acknowledged Douce's status as a collector of wood-engravings and, in Ottley's case, the importance of his collection to document the history of this technique. Even authors who questioned Douce's views on specific works felt obliged to refer to his collection, as did John Jackson in *A treatise on wood engraving, historical and practical*.¹⁶ Douce's own historical approach to wood-engraving is evinced by his correspondence with the Cambridge librarian and fellow collector Thomas Kerrich (1748–1828), which addressed, among other issues, the vexed question of the origins of relief printing.¹⁷ In his search for information on this subject, Douce acquired relevant examples of early German and Italian woodcuts, which he kept with contemporary prints showing the survival of the technique. The latter include broadsides, game boards, rebuses, emblems, playing cards, chapbooks, lottery tickets and almanacs, such as the seventeenth-century publication from which he cut a set of fine small woodcuts by Christoffel van Sichem IV and Dirck de Bray (Fig. 23.2). From these materials, and from the Dutch and German anti-Catholic imagery also collected by Douce, contemporary artists he knew, such as George Cruikshank, James Barry, and possibly William Blake, could have adopted both models and graphic methods.¹⁸

13. 'I was in hopes that the Every day book, from the popularity of the subject & the manner in which it has been executed, would have filled your coffers & rewarded your skill & industry as it ought to have done in the attainment of comfort & independence' (Letter Douce to Hone, n.d., London, British Library, MS. Add.40856, fol.27).

14. William Hone, *The Every-Day Book; or, the Guide to the Year*, London, 1825, n.p.

15. W.Y. Ottley, *Collection of one hundred and twenty-nine fac-similes of scarce and curious prints by the early masters of the Italian, German and Flemish schools illustrative of the history of engraving*, London, 1828.

16. W. Chatto and J. Jackson, *A treatise on wood engraving, historical and practical*, London, 1839.

17. See, for instance, Kerrich's letter to Douce dated 28 May 1804 (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Douce d. 36, fols.3v–4r).

18. See Wood, *op. cit.* (note 5), pp.3–4, and D. Bindman, 'William Blake and popular religious imagery', *The Burlington Magazine*, 128 (1986), pp.712–18.



Fig.23.2 Dirck de Bray,
Januarius / Louw-Maendt,
c. 1694. Woodcut, 6.3 × 11
cm (Ashmolean Museum,
Oxford, Douce Bequest)



Fig.23.3 Johann Friedrich
Unger, *Title-page*, c.1779–1804.
Wood-engraving, 19.7 × 16.5
cm (Ashmolean Museum,
Oxford, Douce Bequest)

The survival of the woodcut tradition documented by Douce's collection overlapped with its revival in the form of wood-engraving, as explained by George Gleig, who in 1801 attributed its 'reinvention' to Thomas Bewick (1753–1828).¹⁹ Similarly, contemporary German authors were at the time discussing the connection between early German woodcuts and the resurgence of the technique in the works of Johann Friedrich Unger (1753–1804) and Friedrich Wilhelm Gubitz (1786–1870), while also considering their prints in relation to Bewick's methods.²⁰ In addition to loose book-illustrations by Unger and Gubitz, Douce owned a bound copy of *Vier und zwanzig in Holz geschnittene Figuren* (Berlin, 1787) by the former, which he annotated, praising its 'exquisitely beautiful woodcuts'.²¹ According to another note on the margin of one of his prints, Douce considered Unger as 'The best engraver on wood in Europe' (Fig. 23.3).

Douce also collected and greatly valued Bewick's prints, most of which he cut from his publications. A few were, however, directly requested from the printmaker, whom Douce might have known since the 1780s.²² In about 1789, Bewick's brother John had illustrated Thomas Hodgson's *Emblems of Mortality*, published with an introductory essay by Douce's friend John Sidney Hawkins.²³ In 1795, Douce tried to persuade Thomas Bewick to illustrate the 1804 edition of Holbein's Dance of Death for which he himself wrote an introduction.²⁴ Bewick's working methods were also discussed by Douce with Kerrich, who contrasted them with the division of labour in the production of Hans Weiditz's sixteenth-century botanical illustrations. After describing the three stages involved in the making of early German woodcuts, Kerrich concluded that 'It is evident one man might perform all these operations, as Bewick now does, & have the whole matter to himself'.²⁵

When asked by Douce about his influences, Bewick explained that, although he had heard of Jean Michel Papillon (1698–1776), he had 'not seen many of the productions of other Artists on wood' apart from those of Albrecht Dürer and he therefore

19. George Gleig, 'History of wood-cuts', *Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure*, 108 (May 1801), pp.319–23.

20. Ute Kuhlemann, *Caspar David Friedrich, Christian Friedrich and the Woodcut in Germany in the Romantic Period*, PhD thesis (University College London, 2009), p.102.

21. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce p 70.

22. In 1795, Douce asked Bewick for proofs of his wood-engravings. Bewick replied: 'I rec.d your obliging letter requesting that I wou'd send your [you?] impressions from the Cuts which I had done on wood &c – since the quadrupeds made their appearance in the world I have had so many applications from my friends of this kind, that at present my stock of impressions is very low – indeed I never kept many nor ever took any pains to preserve those I had, being satisfied with seeing the proofs a few times after they were pulled – they have been mostly afterwards given to children – however I will look thro' my drawers and with great pleasure send you such as I have duplicates of by the first acquaintance that may be going to London' (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Douce d. 20, fol.60). Douce was one of nine London-based collectors whom John Bewick presented with a royal paper copy of the *Quadrupeds* in June 1790 (see N. Tattersfield, *Thomas Bewick: The Complete Illustrative Work*, London and Newcastle, 2011, p.91).

23. Francis Douce, *The Dance of Death exhibited in elegant engravings on wood with a dissertation on the several representations of that subject ...*, London, 1833, pp.118–19.

24. See letter from Bewick to Douce, April 1795: 'I cannot form any guess what kind of reception Death's Dance might meet with from the Publick sho'd I ever do the Cuts for it, but I feel myself much obliged to you Sir for your kind offer to assist me shou'd I undertake to execute that work' (Document cited at note 22 above).

25. Letter Kerrich to Douce, 31 May 1808, Oxford, Bodleian MS. Douce d. 36, fol.24.

welcomed Douce's offer of his collection for the purpose of study.²⁶ In his memoirs, Bewick explained that the prints by Dürer he had seen belonged to the collection of the antiquary John Brand (1744–1806), who became a close friend of Douce's after moving to London from Newcastle.²⁷ Joseph Ritson (1752–1803), another antiquary whom Douce befriended when they were both students of Gray's Inn, was the author of *Pieces of ancient popular poetry* (1791), illustrated by Bewick.²⁸ Douce's close friend and colleague at Gray's Inn, the lawyer and political reformer John Baynes (1758–87), provided transcriptions for Ritson's work and the tracings on which some of Bewick's wood-engravings were based.²⁹

Bewick was not the only contemporary British wood-engraver whose works were collected by Douce. Bewick's brother John and his pupils are also well represented in the collection, which includes many prints by Allen Robert Branston (1778–1827) and his disciples, as well as correspondence with James Lee (fl.1800–75), and works by John Lee (d.1804), Henry Sears (fl.1830s) and John Thompson (1785–1866), among others. Douce's likely acquaintance with these wood-engravers is suggested by his notes on the mounts: next to one of John Lee's illustrations for the 1804 edition of the *Temple of the Fairies* Douce wrote that this was 'The last cut that Lee engraved. The others are by his nephew and his pupils.'³⁰ Their wood-engravings were kept with the already mentioned proofs sent by Hone and with proofs of Luke Clennell's wood-engravings after Thomas Stothard's designs for Charles Rogers's *Pleasures of Memory*, presented to Douce by Stothard himself in January 1810.³¹

Given Douce's knowledge of and taste for wood-engraving, it is not surprising that a wood-engraver was chosen to work on his *Illustrations of Shakspeare and of ancient manners* (1807). The name of the little-known John Berryman (1794–1840) was suggested to Douce by his publishers, Longman and Rees. However, Douce wrote that they had 'literally left [me] the whole management & arrangement both in printing & decoration without any limitation of expence & had instructed the engraver to act in all respects as I should wish'.³² Douce recorded his meetings with Berryman between November 1806 and May 1807 in a small notebook whose cover is decorated with a print he annotated as 'J. Berryman's first etching'.³³ According to this notebook, the publication was hindered by constant delays and missed deadlines that Berryman justified because of the huge amount of work he was doing in

26. 'Shou'd I ever visit London and do myself the pleasure of accepting your kind invitation, I can easily conceive that you cou'd furnish me with a treat by shewing me your Collection in that way' (Document cited at note 23 above).

27. R.H. Sweet, 'Brand, John (1744–1806)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3254> (accessed 28 August 2014).

28. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Douce c. 11, fols.126–29 and MS. Douce d. 20, fols.48, 66. On Ritson, see S.L. Barczewski, 'Ritson, Joseph (1752–1803)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23685> (accessed 28 August, 2014).

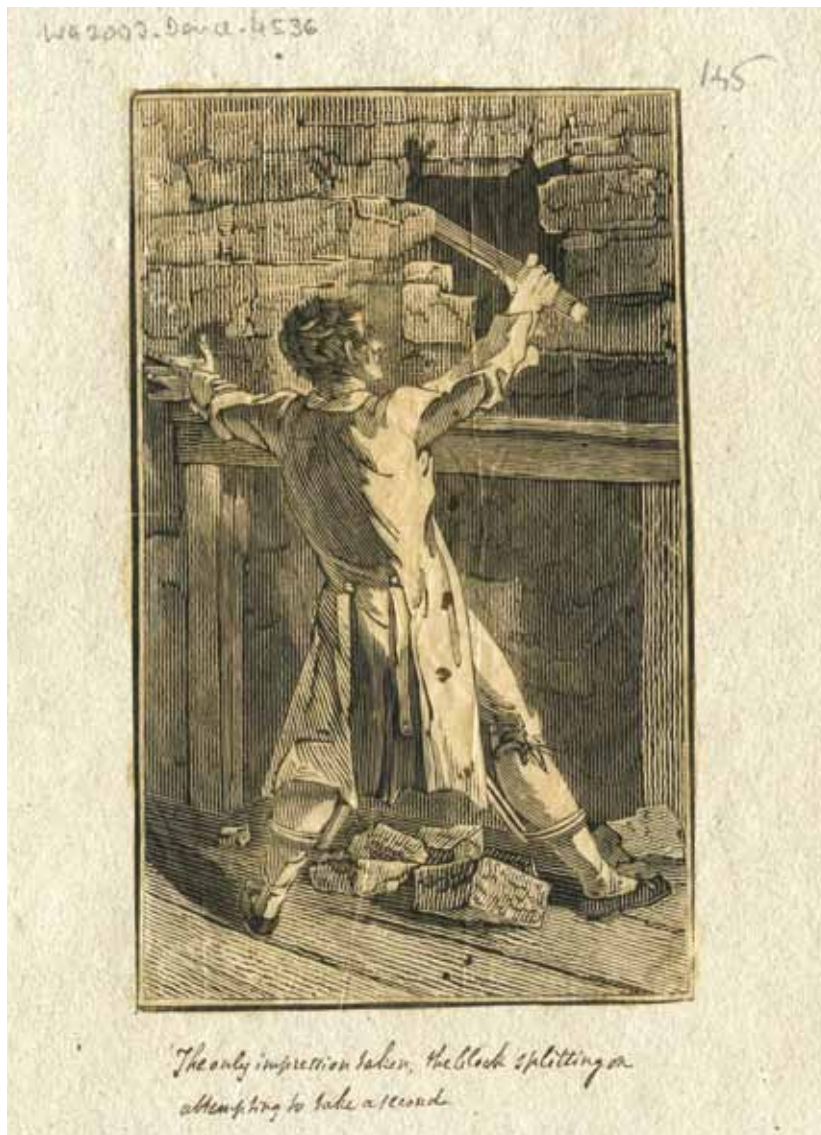
29. J.Cannon, 'Baynes, John (1758–1787)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1779> (accessed 13 July 2014). See Tattersfield, *op. cit.* (note 22), p.88.

30. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. no. wa2003.Douce.4589. The print is a tail-piece (see *Temple of the Fairies translated from the French of various authors*, London, 1804, I, p.78).

31. 'Mr Stothard gave me beautiful proofs of his charming designs for Mr Rogers' *Pleasures of Memory*', *Collecta*, January 1810 (typed transcript of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Douce e. 66–68, in the Ashmolean Museum).

32. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Douce f. 7, fols.1r–1v.

33. Document cited at note 31 above.



addition to the *Illustrations*.³⁴ Douce was, however, ultimately satisfied with the forty-four wood-engravings that Berryman produced after prints from his own collection. Author and illustrator remained on good terms and, in January 1816, Douce wrote in his *Collecta* that Berryman had given him 'a parcel of his proofs'.³⁵ Berryman must have discussed them with him, since on one of the mounts Douce wrote: 'The only impression taken, the block splitting on attempting to take a second' (Fig. 23.4). He was equally pleased with the illustrations to his *Dance of Death* (London, 1839) executed by George Wilmot Bonner (1796–1836) and John Byfield (1788–1841), to whom he referred in the preface as 'two of our best artists in the line of wood engraving'.³⁶

34. In the same year, his wood-engravings (some of them after Stothard's designs) appeared in the *Antiquities of Westminster* published by another of Douce's acquaintances, John Thomas Smith.

35. Document cited at note 31 above.

36. Francis Douce, *The Dance of Death exhibited in elegant engravings on wood with a dissertation on the several representations of that subject*, London, 1833, p.vi.

Fig.23.4 John Berryman, *Book illustration* (?), c.1807–16. Wood-engraving, 13.7 × 8.4 cm (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, Douce Bequest)

The works produced by Berryman recall hundreds of woodcuts and wood-engravings cut from early nineteenth-century Swiss almanacs that can also be found in Douce's collection. Douce might have obtained some of them from the Swiss art dealer, printmaker and publisher Christian von Mechel (1737–1817), whom he met in London in 1792.³⁷ They are mostly unsigned and dated between 1801 and 1823, with title pages that show a 'limping messenger' (a pedlar or *colporteur* with a wooden leg) distributing his goods among country people in remote villages.³⁸

Publications such as the Swiss almanacs and German house calendars collected by Douce linked ordinary people to the public sphere in the early nineteenth century.³⁹ The illustrations cut and kept by Douce depicted not only sensational murders, robberies, and ghost stories but also current affairs and 'world events'. They were part of a 'textual bricolage' emulated by Hone in his *Every-Day Book*.⁴⁰ As noted in 1833 in the *Monthly Magazine*, woodcut and wood-engraving lent themselves particularly well to this method of composition 'from their capacity of being worked in juxta-position with type'.⁴¹ The author of this article deplored, however, as the downside of the versatility of this technique the indiscriminate use of 'pastepot and scissars [*sic*]' by some wood-engravers.⁴² The way they reused and combined their woodblocks would have been associated with the 'cobbling together elements from diverse sources' that characterised popular culture.⁴³ It would also favour the subversion of the original meanings of their materials in satires and parodies, where 'anything might be joined with anything else'.⁴⁴ Not surprisingly, Hone declared that he made his books with 'a pair of scissors'.⁴⁵

Douce's interest in wood-engraving must be considered in connection with both his support of the work of radical publishers, such as Hone, and his own researches into popular culture. His collection not only provided a historical context for the works of the wood-engravers he supported but also reflected current debates on the origins and development of this technique. As his correspondence with Bewick evinces, Douce made his portfolios and boxes of prints available to contemporary printmakers, whom he provided with a vast repository of earlier models and examples of different techniques. Moreover, British wood-engravers could obtain a sense of their own place within a long tradition with broad Continental ramifications by having their works added to the collection.

37. A silhouette portrait of Mechel in Douce's collection is annotated by the sitter with the dedication 'I beg dear Mr Douce, the friend of curious and interesting things, to allow the shadow of his new friend from Switzerland to follow him home in his absence'.

38. See for instance WA2003.3789, WA2003.Douce.3797, WA2003.Douce.3783 and WA2003.Douce.3799, all in the Ashmolean Museum.

39. See S. Greilich and Y.-G. Mix, eds., *Populäre Kalender im vorindustriellen Europa: Der Hinkende Bote / Messenger Boiteux*, Berlin, 2006, and J.M. Brophy, *Popular Culture and the Public Sphere in the Rhineland, 1800–1850*, Cambridge, 2007, pp.26–28. For Britain, see T. Gretton, *Murders and Moralities: English Catchpenny Prints, 1800–1860*, London, 1980.

40. J.M. Brophy, 'The common reader in the Rhineland: the calendar as political primer in the early nineteenth century', *Past & Present*, 185 (2004), p.130.

41. 'Our wood engravers', *Monthly Magazine, or, British Register*, 15 (May 1833), 89, p.499.

42. The author's criticisms were specifically directed to John Northcote's head-pieces for his *Fables*, 'Our wood engravers', *op. cit.* (note 41), p.501.

43. P. Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 3rd ed., London, 2009, p.13.

44. Wood, *op. cit.* (note 5), p.67.

45. 'I took a pair of scissors (for this is the way I make books) and took what I wanted and gave them to the printer; and out came my Apocryphal Gospels that made such a noise in the world' (J.E. Howard, *Recollections of William Hone*, London, 1874, p.11). See also Wood, *op. cit.* (note 5), p.10.

The geographical and chronological scope of Douce's interest in wood-engraving suggests that his approach to collecting this type of print followed the same principles governing the rest of his acquisitions, which he studied and arranged by subjects. Throughout his collections, Douce tried to trace the origins and development of specific literary and visual themes, motifs and formulae. As a result, he became an authority on what his friend Walter Scott called 'the community of fable', or the way popular fiction – and, it could be added, popular imagery – was transmitted 'from age to age, and from country to country'.⁴⁶ Similarly, when considered in the context of his collection of rare woodcuts and early printed books, Douce's wood-engravings appear as part of his study of the origins and development of relief printing.

Douce's interest in popular culture explains his acquisition of works documenting the survival of the woodcut and its re-emergence in late eighteenth-century wood-engraving. His views on the importance of these techniques in the production, reproduction and preservation of popular imagery led him to collect works that, at the time, would not have been generally deemed collectable, such as Dolby's frontispiece and the Swiss almanacs. In 1826, Douce wrote to his friend George Cumberland that he collected 'in order to understand [his] subject'.⁴⁷ His concern with understanding not only his subject but also his objects makes Douce's collection invaluable for the study of the history of printmaking.

Bodleian Library, Oxford

46. Walter Scott, *The lady of the lake. A poem*, 4th ed., Edinburgh, 1810, p.392.

47. Letter Douce to Cumberland, 3 December 1826 (London, British Library, MS. Add.36511 fol.292).

‘The Human Element’: The Contribution of C.R.W. Nevinson and Eric Kennington to the *Britain’s Efforts and Ideals* Lithographic Project of 1917

JONATHAN BLACK

IN EARLY FEBRUARY 1917 the Department of Information was created by the British government with the novelist John Buchan as its director. A few days later the head of its Visual Art Section, C.F.G. Masterman, received a proposal from the artist Thomas Derrick, along with Campbell Dodgson (Keeper of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum) and the master lithographer Francis Ernest Jackson, that the Department should commission a series of propaganda lithographs. It was to be called *Britain’s Efforts and Ideals* – and would comprise sixty-six prints by twenty artists.¹ *Efforts*, consisting of fifty-four prints, would be specifically aimed at the population on the home front, to demonstrate how vital its contribution was to the war effort, while the twelve *Ideals* would indicate to neutrals – principally at that stage that United States – the justice of Britain’s cause and the likelihood that it would prevail, with its allies, over Imperial Germany.

At first Jackson sought to recruit older and more established artists. Frank Brangwyn agreed to produce six *Efforts* on the theme *Making Sailors*; Muirhead Bone, an official artist since July 1916, promised six on *Making Ships*; George Clausen six on *Making Guns*; Charles Pears six on *Transport by Sea*; while Archibald Standish Hartrick was keen to produce six drawings exploring *Women’s Work*. Jackson himself was to make one of twelve *Ideals* on the subject of *The Defence of England and France in 1914*. Jackson also recruited other friends of his generation to contribute further *Ideals*: Augustus John on *The Dawn*; Charles Shannon on *The Rebirth of the Arts*; Charles Ricketts on *Italia Redenta*; William Rothenstein on *The Triumph of Democracy* and William Nicholson anticipating *The End of War*.

By the spring of 1917 Jackson felt the *Efforts* part of the project would benefit from the recruitment of younger artists with direct experience of front-line conditions; the majority of the artists engaged on the project to date were too old to have served in the military.² As it turned out, early in April 1917 a new Military Service Act was passed which reviewed all previously granted exemptions from conscription. This directly affected two younger artists, Eric Kennington (1888–1960) and C.R.W. Nevinson (1889–1946), whose work Jackson admired and who had previously been invalided out of the army. Jackson was informed by his friend Campbell

1. S. Malvern, *Modern Art, Britain and the Great War: Witnessing, Testimony and Remembrance*, New Haven and London, 2004, p.41. The number of artists was later reduced by two.

2. C. Dodgson to C.F.G. Masterman, 2 April 1917; London, Imperial War Museum, Department of Art, Kennington First World War File.

Dodgson (by now a part-time adviser on artistic matters to the Department of Information) that both were extremely keen to find some form of official post which would make productive use of their artistic talents.

Kennington, after service as a private in the Thirteenth Battalion the London Regiment (the Kensingtons) in northern France, had been wounded in mid-January 1915 and given an honourable medical discharge from the Army in June of the same year. His large oil and gold paint on glass, *The Kensingtons at Laventie: Winter 1914*, created a sensation when exhibited in April 1916 at a charity exhibition at the Goupil Galleries. On his own initiative he arranged a month-long visit to the Somme battlefield in December 1916, but his father's sudden death forced him to return after a fortnight. He exhibited two dozen drawings from this Somme visit in March 1917 at the Goupil Gallery, where they were admired by Campbell Dodgson. It was at this point, shortly after the exhibition had closed, that Dodgson brought Kennington to Masterman's attention and suggested he should contribute something on the subject of 'soldiers in training' to the *Efforts* part of *Britain's Efforts and Ideals*.

Nevinson was similarly looking for a war artist position after the passing of the April 1917 Act. He had volunteered as an ambulance driver for the Friends Ambulance Unit (FAU) in October 1914 and worked in that capacity in Flanders and northern France for about a fortnight in November 1914. He was then transferred to the FAU's hospital at Malo-les-Bains, in the north-eastern suburbs of Dunkirk, as a medical orderly and was given responsibility for a ward of forty wounded soldiers. He continued to work in this role until he took leave at the end of January 1915. Early that March he exhibited at the London Group a number of war-themed paintings, executed in a robust, simplified Futurist style, and was praised by many critics as the modern artist whose work captured the reality of modern, mass-industrialised warfare. After overstaying his leave from the FAU, and forbidden to return to his unit, he volunteered as a private in the Royal Army Medical Corps in June 1915, serving at the Third London General Territorial Hospital in Wandsworth. By July he was ward orderly for approximately forty shell-shock victims. From September to November the Leicester Galleries staged a very successful solo exhibition of his war art. In November, shortly after his marriage, he fell ill with rheumatic fever and was honourably discharged from the Army on medical grounds on 7 January 1916.

When the Leicester Galleries exhibition closed, Nevinson maintained that he would no longer paint images of war, although he reconsidered when the April 1917 Act was passed. He dreaded the prospect of conscription; he did not think he would be sent to a front-line unit to fight but suspected he would have to serve in the ranks in some deadly tedious post on the home front. The following month Masterman, prompted by Campbell Dodgson, recommended him as an official war artist for the Department of Information. After meeting Nevinson, Masterman reported to John Buchan (the Department's director) that the artist struck him as 'a desperate fellow and without fear ... only anxious to crawl into the front line and draw things full of violence and terror'.³ Nevinson must have been an excellent actor for his father noted several times in his diary at that time that his son was showing signs of a nervous breakdown.⁴

3. C.F.G. Masterman letter to John Buchan, 18 May 1917; London, Imperial War Museum, Department of Art, Nevinson First World War File 226-A6-234.

4. Diaries of Henry W. Nevinson, entry for 17 March 1917; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Nevinson Papers.



Fig.24.1 Eric Kennington,
The Bayonet Instructor, 1917.
Lithograph, 47 × 35.6 cm.
(Private Collection)

Masterman was keen to employ both Nevinson and Kennington but decided to ask them first to contribute to the *Efforts* section of *Efforts and Ideals*. He estimated that the quality of their results would indicate how suited they would be as future war artists out in the field. Given that Nevinson had made something of a speciality of depicting flight, Masterman suggested he produce six drawings on the subject of *Building Aircraft*. The drawings would then be produced as transfer lithographs by Jackson, who appears to have taught Nevinson the rudiments of lithography at the LCC School on Southampton Row early in 1912.⁵ Greatly impressed by Kennington's 1916 drawings of soldiers on the Somme, Masterman thought he would be admirably suited to the theme of *Making Soldiers*, depicting the process by which a conscript, after three months intensive training, was sent to the front to fight.

Between late May and mid-June 1917 first Kennington and then Nevinson produced six charcoal drawings each. Kennington executed in the following order: *The*

5. C.R.W. Nevinson, *Paint and Prejudice; The Life of a Painter*, New York, 1938, p.37.



Bayonet Instructor (Fig. 24.1); *The Gas Mask*; *Ready for Service*; *In the Trenches*; *Over the Top* and *Bringing in Prisoners*. As he began the series Kennington was very aware of the Army's keenness to advertise that it had radically overhauled its training regime and tactics for front-line infantry units in February 1917.

In *The Bayonet Instructor* (Fig. 24.1) Kennington's everyman Tommy is something of an enigma: the viewer does not see his face; he is reduced to a hand holding a rifle while his instructor is masked and equally unknowable. The soldier in training moves from uncertainly participating in bayonet instruction and putting on the new box gas respirator, to the test of battle – launching himself into no-man's-land, engaging and triumphing over the enemy by taking German prisoners. The stance of the Tommy in the foreground of *Bringing in Prisoners* (Fig. 24.2) presents him now clearly at ease in his uniform, in the front line, with his rifle. He has experienced combat at close quarters, survived the battle and now awaits orders to move to his next task, looking upon German prisoners in a relaxed pose that radiates confidence born of confronting and passing the test of battle.

Fig.24.2 Eric Kennington,
Bringing in Prisoners, 1917.
Lithograph, 46.3 × 35.9 cm.
(Private Collection)

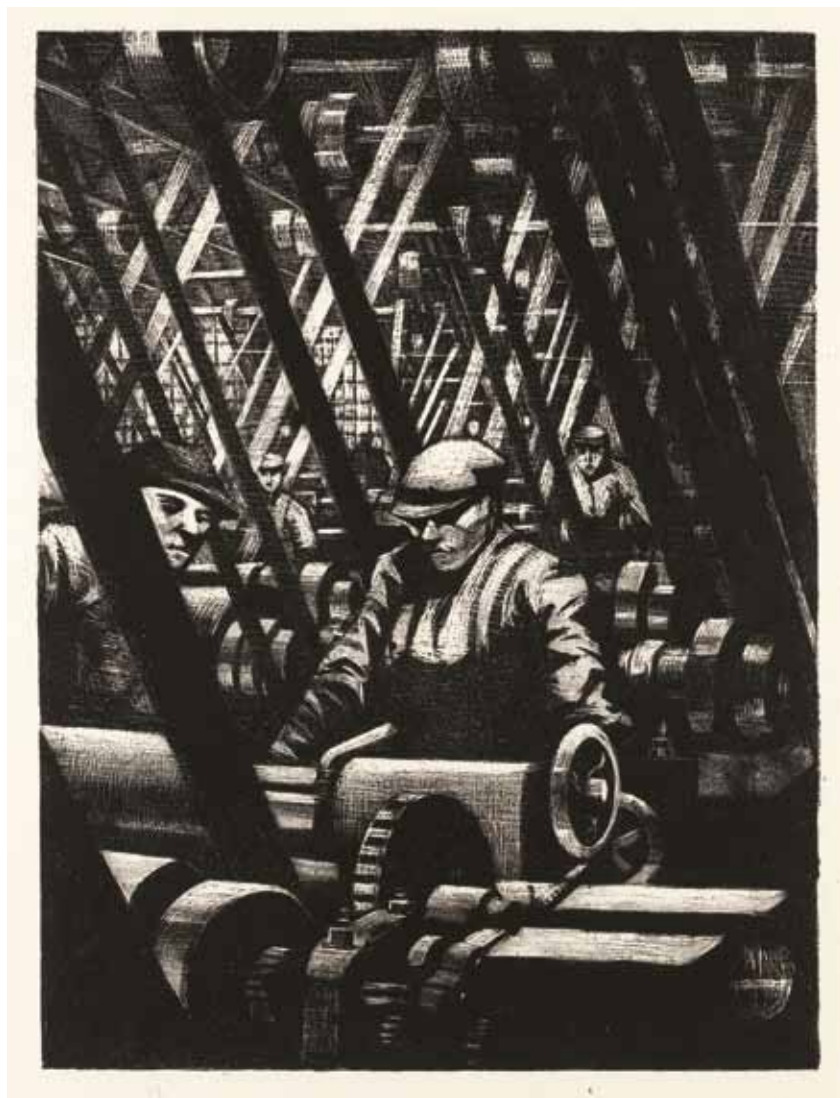
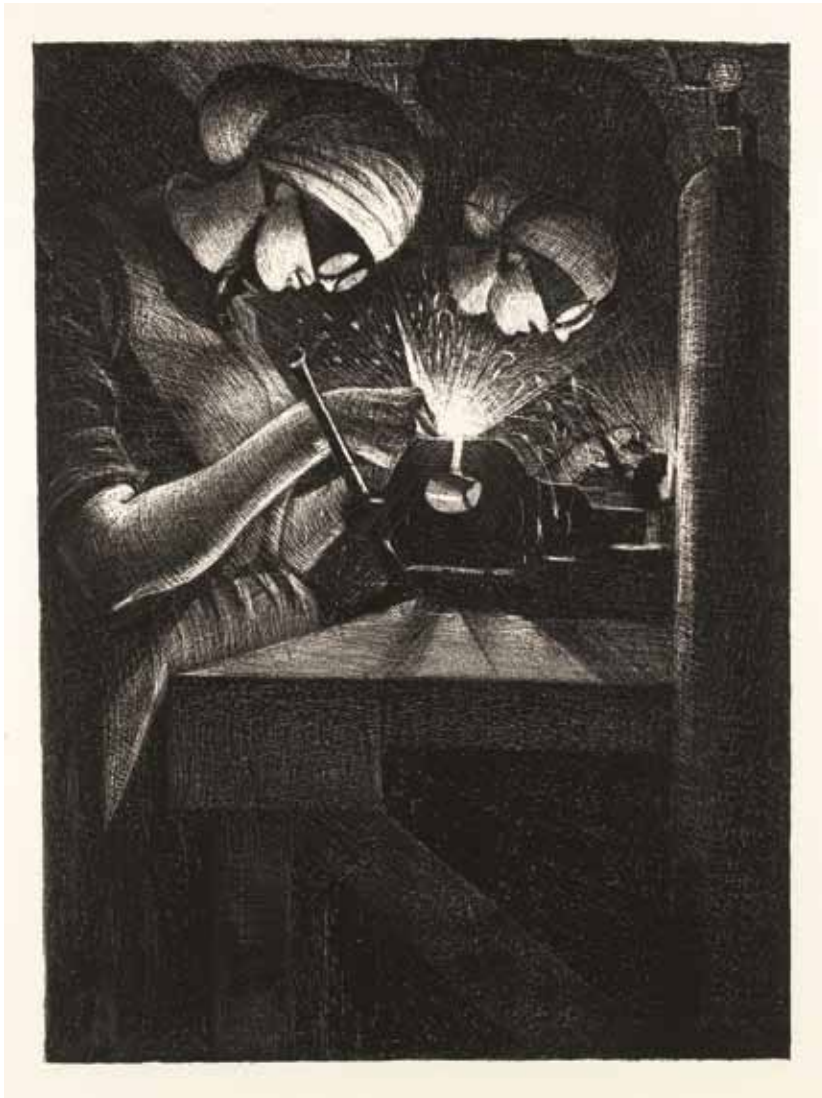


Fig. 24.3 C.R.W. Nevinson,
Making the Engine, 1917.
Lithograph, 40.4 × 30.3 cm
(Fine Art Society PLC)

In early June 1917 Nevinson visited aircraft factories in north London and Norfolk, producing sketches which evolved into three of the lithographs for *Building Aircraft: Making the Engine* (Fig. 24.3); *Acetylene Welders* (Fig. 24.4) and *Assembling Parts*. In *Making the Engine*, the lathe, absorbing the attention of the workman and his foreman, resembles the machine gun that dominates his celebrated oil painting *La Mitrailleuse*, painted in November 1915 and first exhibited in London with the London Group the following March. The *Acetylene Welders* (Fig. 24.4) vividly illustrates the very real contribution women made to the British aircraft industry. By the end of 1917 nearly forty-five per cent of that workforce would be women, prized for the neatness their small hands supposedly enabled.⁶

Later in June 1917 Nevinson was taken for his first flight over London, piloted from Croydon in a two-seater biplane by Major-General Sir Sefton Brancker (1877–1930). Brancker was apparently only the second man in the UK to be awarded a pilot's licence (in June 1913) and was one of the first to join the Royal Flying Corps

6. D. Winter, *The First of the Few: Fighter Pilots of the First World War*, London, 1983, p.39.



on its creation in 1912, even before he had properly learnt how to fly.⁷ Nevinson channelled his mingled anxiety and delight with the experience of flight into the designs for *Banking at 4,000 Feet* and *In the Air*. In the first the artist clutches the side of the aircraft with whitened knuckles, while in the second two FE2b 'pusher' fighters, of the type which had put an end to the reign of the Fokker Eindecker monoplane on the Western Front in 1916, float serenely over the semi-abstract, staccato pattern of fields below.⁸

The final drawing for *Building Aircraft*, the dramatic *Swooping Down on a Hostile Plane*, was actually derived from an oil painting entitled *Swooping Down on a Taube*, completed towards the end of April 1917 and purchased the following month by Sir Alfred Mond, Chairman of the Brunner-Mond Chemicals Company.⁹ Mond was

Fig.24.4 C.R.W. Nevinson, *Acetylene Welders*, 1917. Lithograph, 40.4 × 29.7 cm (Fine Art Society PLC)

7. Nevinson Diaries (note 3), entry for 19 June 1917.

8. Winter, *op. cit.* (note 6), p.153.

9. C.R.W. Nevinson, letter to Sir Alfred Mond, 30 April 1917; Nevinson First World War File (note 2), 226-A6-242.

also the first Chairman of the Imperial War Museum – having been a prominent supporter of its creation – and he donated this painting as one of the first works in the museum’s fledgling art collection.

An exhibition of *Britain’s Efforts and Ideals* opened to the public at the Fine Art Society in London on 7 July 1917. Prints could be purchased singly, for 2 guineas each, or as a set of six *Efforts* for 10 guineas. Two hundred impressions of each image had been made before the composition was erased from its lithographic stone.¹⁰

Critical reactions were mixed. While the contributions of Nevinson and Kennington were singled out for praise, reactions to the *Efforts* produced by older artists and to the majority of the *Ideals* were tepid at best. The *Manchester Guardian* thought most of the *Ideals* and far too many of the *Efforts* seemed ‘merely decorative’ and were irrelevant to the pressing issues of the war.¹¹ The more politically conservative *Morning Post* dismissed as ‘risible’ the ‘more allegorical works’ among the *Ideals*, though acknowledging that some of the younger men such as Nevinson, Kennington and Claude Shepperson (who produced a set entitled *Tending the Wounded*) had at least tried to engage with the reality of modern war and to convey something of ‘this terrible vast business’ to ordinary members of the public at home.¹² Indeed Nevinson’s *Building Aircraft* gained an additionally tragic relevance. They had gone on public display only three weeks after the first daylight raid on London by German Gotha IV bombers: 162 people were killed (including sixteen children at Poplar Junior School) and 432 were injured.¹³

The art critic Paul Konody, who had provided the text for a book reproducing Nevinson’s war art, *Modern War*, published in December 1916, wrote with breathless enthusiasm about *Building Aircraft*. To look at *Banking at 4,000 Feet* and *Swooping Down on a Hostile Plane*, he asserted, was ‘to share [Nevinson’s] experience of swooping through the air. Here are all the essentials of movement, of exhilaration, of the victory of human intelligence over the forces of nature and these essentials are detached from their insignificant and disturbing details.’¹⁴

In a review in the *Sunday Times*, Frank Rutter wrote that Nevinson’s *Making Aircraft* were by far ‘the most powerful and arresting of all the exhibits’.¹⁵ The following month he returned to discuss *Britain’s Efforts and Ideals*, stating that Nevinson and Kennington stood out not only for their evident talent but because their *Efforts* powerfully emphasised ‘the human element’, whereas many of the others focused on machines and processes. The viewer felt that Nevinson’s women war workers would do ‘their utmost’ to manufacture well-made aircraft, while Kennington’s ‘sturdy tommies’ offered reassurance that the British Expeditionary Force in France would continue to build upon recent battlefield success – at Arras and Messines.¹⁶

In the *Daily Telegraph* Sir Claude Phillips remarked that Nevinson’s series had ‘achieved some of the greatest successes’, with his skilful rendition of ‘glitter and darkness’ in *Making the Engine* and *Acetylene Welders*. He was even more enthusiastic about Kennington’s contribution, declaring: ‘No artist of the day has presented with

10. Malvern, *op. cit.* (note 1), pp.41–42.

11. *Manchester Guardian* (7 July 1917); London, Tate Gallery Archive, Nevinson Press Clippings, 73II.2B-33a.

12. *Morning Post* (12 July 1917); Nevinson Press Clippings (note 11), 73II.2B-341.

13. D. Stevenson, ‘With Our Backs to the Wall’: *Victory and Defeat in 1918*, London 2011, pp.186–87.

14. P.G. Konody, ‘Britain’s Efforts and Ideals at the Fine Art Society’, *The Observer*, 8 July 1917; Nevinson Press Clippings (note 11), 73II.2C-339.

15. F. Rutter, *Sunday Times*, 15 July 1917; Nevinson Press Clippings (note 11), 73II.2B-345.

16. F. Rutter, *Sunday Times*, 5 August 1917; Nevinson Press Clippings (note 11), 73II.2C-532.

greater intensity, or a more unaffected pathos, the British Soldier in all his sturdiness and in his martial ardour and free from all taint of sentimentality.’¹⁷

Writing in early August 1917, Laurence Binyon – Dodgson’s colleague as Deputy Keeper of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum and an accomplished poet – commented that *Britain’s Efforts and Ideals* had been conceived as an ‘expression of what, as a nation, we felt as a faith to sustain us through all the waste and horror that otherwise seems quite insane’. Binyon thought that Nevinson and Kennington, each in his own way, possessed a ‘singular intensity of vision’, which enabled them to see beneath ‘the mere surface of things’, even though in the compositions produced by both artists Binyon was acutely conscious of the stylised and pristine nature of the surfaces of the objects they depicted.¹⁸ That same month the print expert Malcolm C. Salaman wrote in *The Studio* that both Kennington and Nevinson had given the civilian spectator ‘the real thing ... a peculiar sense of actuality’. Overall, he imagined the project would convey a ‘message of confidence and aspiration ... to all friendly lands’. Salaman was among the few to comment positively on the allegorical designs of the *Ideals*.¹⁹

After the Fine Art Society exhibition closed at the end of August, *Efforts and Ideals* toured to a number of major British cities, including Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Glasgow and Birmingham. The exhibition at the City Art Gallery in Manchester sparked a lively exchange of letters in the pages of the *Manchester Guardian*. One visitor wrote to the Editor that while he found Nevinson’s images ‘compelling’ there was something ‘repellently inhuman’ about them as well. Kennington’s soldiers were more ‘satisfying emotionally ... all of them loom big in the foreground like a young giant, cleanly and strongly drawn dominating the incidents of the war going on in the background’. Oddly, given that the soldiers’ features cannot really be made out in Kennington’s six images, the writer added: ‘The face of each is sane and sensitive ... there is no rhetoric, no delusion here ... it is that of the civilian soldier seeing through and beyond everything going on around him.’²⁰

Another letter reacted in part to the one already quoted. Its author commented that Nevinson’s prints attracted him ‘only intellectually – as brilliant cartoons do ... they are biting satires on the war in which everything human is eliminated as something accidental while the horrible and mechanical is left in an isolation’. Still, they offered hope that the nation had developed a war-winning ‘formula of production’. Kennington, the writer felt, was less adventurous than Kennington stylistically. However, with his Tommies he had achieved ‘something of lasting firmness and beauty out of all the hideous clamour dirt and the slaughter’, hinted at in many of the other designs and also described in Henri Barbusse’s novel, *Le Feu*: ‘men who will fight to their utmost who yet loathe the dreadful business with all their heart and soul’.²¹

17. Sir Claude Phillips, *Daily Telegraph*, 20 July 1917; Nevinson Press Clippings (note 11), 73II.2C-346.

18. L. Binyon, *New Statesman*, 4 August 1917; Nevinson Press Clippings (note 11), 73II.2C-347.

19. M.C. Salaman, ‘The Great War: Britain’s Efforts and Ideals’, *The Studio*, 15 August 1917, p.103.

20. ‘FWH, Withington’, letter to the *Manchester Guardian*, 7 September 1917; Nevinson Press Clippings (note 11), 73II.2C-373.

21. ‘M. E. Durham’, letter to the *Manchester Guardian*, 9 September 1917; Nevinson Press Clippings (note 11), 73II.2C-375. Henri Barbusse’s classic account of an infantry squad of perpetually grousing French soldiers or ‘poilus’ had first been published in French in 1916. The book then appeared in English, as *Under Fire*, in the spring of 1917 whereupon it quickly became a bestseller.

In March 1918 another set of *Efforts and Ideals* was despatched to New York where the prints were exhibited for just short of a month at the Jacques Seligman Galleries.²² They then went round the United States, in a tour which included the National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC, and the Art Institute in Chicago, before returning to New York in February 1919 to form part of an exhibition of British Official War Art held at the Anderson Galleries.²³ It appears there were also plans in autumn 1917 for a set of *Efforts and Ideals* to be sent for exhibition in Paris, and another to Petrograd. Neither show took place: the Bolshevik Revolution of November 1917 put paid to the Russian project.²⁴

It is hard to determine what effect the exhibitions of *Britain's Efforts and Ideals* had on British civilian morale in 1917 and 1918, or on the perception of the British war effort in the United States. The surviving evidence suggests that prints from the project did not sell very well. Enough remained at the end of the war for complete sets to be gifted by the Ministry of Information to most provincial British art galleries.²⁵ However, for Nevinson and Kennington, participation in the project gave their careers a definite boost. Both were confirmed as official war artists in large part because their contributions were regarded as successful even before they were exhibited to the public. Nevinson, in particular, felt energised by his experience with *Building Aircraft*. He greatly increased his output of lithographs and took further instruction from Francis Jackson in working directly on the lithographic stone. He later acknowledged that without his involvement in *Britain's Efforts and Ideals* he might not have acquired the expertise in lithography that helped establish him as one of the leading British printmakers of the first half of the twentieth century.²⁶

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22. Anon., *The New York Times*, 10 March 1918, Section VII, p.13.

23. Anon., *The New York Times*, 8 February 1919, Section VII, p.14.

24. *Land and Water* (20 December 1917); Nevinson Press Clippings (note 11), 7311.2C-351.

25. B. McIntyre, *The Great War: Britain's Efforts and Ideals*, Cardiff, 2014, p.3.

26. J. Black, C.R.W. Nevinson: *The Complete Prints*, Farnham, 2014, p.7.

Idea and Reality: Edvard Munch and the Woodcut Technique

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A SIMPLE Google search on the internet confirms a frequent observation in daily museum life: Edvard Munch's probably most iconic print, *The Scream* from 1895, is often mistaken for a woodcut – while in reality it is a lithograph (Fig. 25.1). This mistake is understandable, as the image seems to tick most of the boxes which one generally associates with the woodcut technique, in particular the bold contrast of black and white, and the angular, descriptive black lines, which in some parts are reminiscent of the pattern of woodgrain. Very interestingly, the mistake has a long history, going back to an American newspaper article in January 1896, written shortly after the print was first reproduced in *La Revue Blanche*.¹ Pondering this observation, one soon starts to wonder whether the allusion may have been intended by the artist. After all, the lithograph was produced when Munch had not yet embarked on making woodcuts, and thus may have served as a quasi-prototype, testing the aesthetic potential of a 'new' technique. However, if one looks at the roughly 150 woodcuts Munch produced from 1896 onwards, one has to realise that they are almost exclusively executed in quite a different way, in which the image is less dependent on a descriptive printed (black) line and more on bold printed areas (black or colour) defined by white lines.² Is it possible that Munch initially – in his lithographs – fostered a different idea of the woodcut which he was then to abandon once he actually started to make them? And if so, why? These are intriguing questions, which automatically lead to further queries regarding Munch's possible motivation and his reaction to contemporary developments. Following their lead, this chapter will, however, not be able to provide satisfactory answers; instead it should be understood as an open invitation for further research into Munch's idiosyncratic woodcut technique.

The Norwegian artist Edvard Munch spent several years of his career abroad, mainly in the European capitals of Berlin and Paris. It was there that he discovered

AS ALWAYS, I'm grateful to my colleagues at the Munch Museum, generously sharing their time, ideas and expertise with me, particularly to Magne Bruteig, Inger Engan, Sivert Thue and Karen Lerheim. However, I'm most indebted to David Bindman for continuously supporting my specific interest in the woodcut technique throughout my many years at UCL, and thus my career in the fascinating world of prints and drawings. Happy birthday, David!

1. When first reproduced, the image was correctly described as a lithograph, *La Revue Blanche*, 1x, 60 (1 December 1895), pp.527–28. In the previous issue, the co-editor of the magazine, Thadée Natanson, had favourably reviewed Munch's current exhibition in Oslo, *La Revue Blanche*, 1x, 59 (15 November 1895), pp.477–78. In the USA, Vance Thompson published his negative commentary on Munch, and – with reference to *La Revue Blanche* – reproduced *The Scream* lithograph and described it wrongly as a woodcut. V. Thompson, 'Munch, the Norse artist', *M'lle New York*, New York, I, 10 (10 January 1896), n.p.

2. G. Woll, *Edvard Munch – The Complete Graphic Works*, London, 2001.

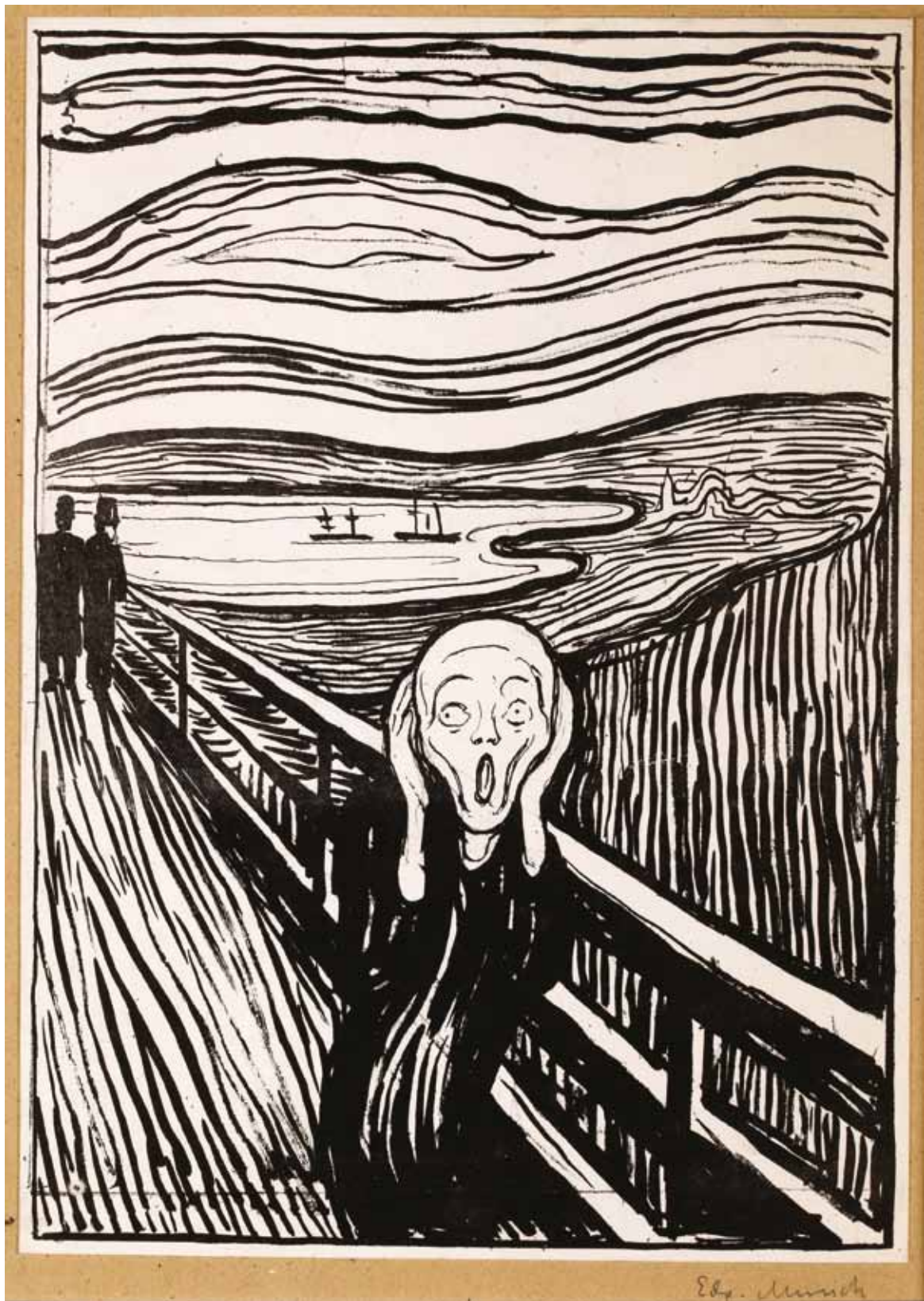


Fig 25.1 Edvard Munch, *The Scream*, 1895. Lithograph, 35.5 × 24.4 cm, Woll G 38 (Munch Museum, Oslo)

the art of printmaking, swiftly mastering the main techniques, etching, lithography and woodcut – in that order – within an impressively short period of two years (1894–96). We know that he turned to printmaking as a means to proliferate his art as well as a viable source of income, but there is frustratingly little documentation of the artistic inspiration.³ With regard to the woodcut technique, Munch made his first specimen in autumn 1896, at a time when the medium had already been rediscovered by various artists all over Europe, including England, France and Germany. With varying results, these artists shared an interest in the authenticity – of both making and expression – of the centuries-old print medium, deliberately turning away from the reproductive, industrial variant, ‘wood-engraving’.⁴ The list of practising ‘original’ woodcut artists is long, and Munch had certainly received significant impulses from the works of, for example, Félix Vallotton and Paul Gauguin, not to mention Japanese woodcuts which had become exceedingly popular since the 1860s.⁵ Although this is correct, it seems incomplete to concentrate only on Munch’s actual woodcuts and their possible stimuli. If one also considers Munch’s aesthetically rather different woodcut-like lithographs, it becomes evident that one needs to broaden the scope to include early European woodcuts as well.

With the *Scream* lithograph, Munch employed a black-line woodcut aesthetic at a time when the traditional woodcut technique had generally been re-evaluated, both intellectually as well as practically. Historic woodcuts by the great old masters, such as Albrecht Dürer, had been appreciated as works of art and prime collectors’ items ever since their production in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and hence were generally well studied and well known.⁶ Earlier and simpler pre-Dürer woodcuts had not received the same attention; they had mainly been adduced as documentation material in discussions of print-historical developments, i.e. in the century-long debates on the (national) origins of printing and printmaking in general, and the woodcut technique in particular.⁷ It was not until the 1860s that a serious interest in the early woodcuts awakened, starting – according to Körner – with Passavant’s comprehensive print catalogue and Weigel/Zestermann’s reproduction projects, and resulting in an ‘inflation’ of publications on early printmaking.⁸ Into this context falls Champfleury’s illustrated historical account of popular images (1869), which was particularly significant for French avant-garde artists.⁹ From

3. Ibid., pp.10 and 12.

4. A good summary of the diversity of the woodcut revival can be found, for example, in P. Parshall and R. Schoch, *Origins of European Printmaking – Fifteenth-Century Woodcuts and Their Public*, exh. cat. (National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, and Germanischen Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg), Washington, New Haven and London, 2005, pp.7–10. See also J. Bass and R.S. Field, *The Artistic Revival of the Woodcut in France 1850–1900*, exh. cat. (The University of Michigan Museum of Art, Yale University Art Gallery, Baltimore Museum of Art), Ann Arbor, 1984, pp.14–29.

5. Woll 2001, *op. cit.* (note 2), p.13.

6. U. Kuhlemann, ‘The celebration of Dürer in Germany during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries’, in G. Bartrum, *Albrecht Dürer and His Legacy*, exh. cat., London (British Museum), 2002, pp.41–42.

7. Parshall and Schoch, *op. cit.* (note 4), pp.3–7.

8. H. Körner, *Der früheste deutsche Einblattholzschnitt*, Munich, 1979, pp.18–22. Passavant, *Peintre-Graveur*, Leipzig, 1860, and T.O. Weigel and A. Zestermann, *Die Anfänge der Druckerkunst in Bild und Schrift*, cited in Körner, *ibid.*

9. Champfleury [Jules-François-Felix Fleury-Husson], *Histoire de l’imagerie populaire*, Paris, 1869. See E. Pernoud, ‘De l’image à l’ymage – Les revues d’ Alfred Jarry et Remy de Gourmont’, *Revue de l’Art*, 115 (1997), p.60.

now on – and well into the twentieth century – early woodcuts were persistently presented as ‘archaic’ and ‘primitive’, understood as authentic, unspoiled expressions of the common ‘folk’. The woodcut technique became a powerful symbol for bridging the discrepancies of modern society: art with craft, cultured intellectuality with humble existence, and the individual with the masses.¹⁰

The assigned authority of historic woodcuts becomes evident in what is probably one of the most famous myths of modern woodcut making: Ernst Ludwig Kirchner’s later claim of having revived the woodcut technique under the inspiration of old woodcuts and woodblocks seen in Nuremberg in 1889, in addition to works by Cranach, Beham and other ‘medieval German masters’.¹¹ With this recollection, Kirchner bluntly refuses to acknowledge the true impact of the first generation of woodcut revivalists such as Vallotton and Munch. Though wrong, it is nevertheless informative as it seems to narrate not *his* but *their* story.

Like everyone else in the late nineteenth century, Munch had ample opportunity to read about or study historic woodcuts – either in original or reproductive form. Museums and auction houses regularly hosted (sales and academic) displays on the subject, the publication of reproductions flourished and woodcuts were widely collected by private individuals. However, the link between early and contemporary woodcuts was never demonstrated more compellingly than in the highly creative symbolist periodical *L’Ymagier*, which should therefore be examined more closely here.¹²

Comprising eight issues only, *L’Ymagier* was rather short-lived – from October 1894 to December 1896 – precisely the period in which Munch embarked on his woodcut-like lithograph *The Scream*. *L’Ymagier* was a co-publication by Remy de Gourmont and the eccentric avant-garde artist and writer Alfred Jarry.¹³ Although it is not established that Munch and Jarry actually met, one may safely assume that Munch knew of Jarry’s work and of *L’Ymagier*, for example through friends and other contacts. In 1895, the year when the *Scream* lithograph was made and first published (in December), Munch had visited Paris twice (in June and September) and it is believed that he already then knew the Norwegian composer William Molard, whose home was a popular meeting place for French and Scandinavian artists and intellectuals, including Jarry.¹⁴ It is difficult to imagine that Molard, or someone else, would not have shown Munch copies of the latest art magazine *L’Ymagier*, which Munch would have studied with the greatest interest. One has to remember that Munch simply devoured illustrated magazines and newspapers, a trait which was

10. Körner, *op. cit.* (note 8), p.19.

11. P. Selz, *German Expressionist Painting*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1957, p.79. Kirchner’s text ‘Chronik der Brücke’ (1913) is cited *ibid.*, appendix A, pp.320–21.

12. One of the few publications on *L’Ymagier* is Pernoud, *op. cit.* (note 9), pp.59–65. See also A. Brotchie, *Alfred Jarry – A Pataphysical Life*, Cambridge and London, 2011, pp.89–92, and Pashall and Schoch, *op. cit.* (note 4), pp.8–10. The possible significance of *L’Ymagier* is observed, for example, in G. Woll, ‘The woodcuts of Edvard Munch’, in A. Bastek, ed., *Edvard Munch: Holzschnitte – Edvard Munch: Woodcuts*, exh. cat. (Museum Behnhaus Drägerhaus, Lübeck), Petersberg, 2011, p.17. A complete set of *L’Ymagier* is held in the National Art Library, London.

13. For more information on Jarry, see Brotchie, *op. cit.* (note 12).

14. J.H. Langaard and R. Revold, *A Year by Year Record of Edvard Munch*, Oslo, 1961, p.25. It is also at Molard’s place that Munch most likely encountered Paul Gauguin’s woodcuts. B. Torjusen, ‘The Mirror’, in R. Rosenblum, ed., *Edvard Munch: Symbols & Images*, exh. cat. (National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC), New Haven, 1978, p.198. Brotchie, *op. cit.* (note 12), p.145.

later commented on amusingly by his contemporaries,¹⁵ and is reflected in the impressive list of periodicals in his estate.¹⁶

The focus of *L'Ymagier* is – as the title suggests and the introduction to the first volume explains – the image and its communicative power, in particular popular images such as broadsides and their effect on the viewer's imagination.¹⁷ Each issue is dedicated to a specific topic ranging from 'The Passion' to 'Monsters', presenting on some seventy pages a rather eclectic mixture of essays, notes, printed music and numerous illustrations, predominantly woodcuts. Even if, like Munch, one does not read French well, the publication is a visual feast: the creative, unpredictable layout ranges from pure text pages to full-page illustrations and from minute vignettes interspersed within the text to large, garishly coloured broadsides. Sophisticated Dürer woodcuts are reproduced alongside anonymous medieval block-book fragments and contemporary prints. The contemporary contributions are mainly by artists associated with the Nabis group, for example Émile Bernard, but also by Jarry and Gourmont.

The entertaining as well as didactic dimension of *L'Ymagier* should not be underestimated. The journal takes readers from one visual surprise to another, physically engaging them in turning pages as well as opening fold-outs (the broadsides were folded up to four times), before further enticing them to decipher the old inscriptions of the woodcuts, for which the assistance of fellow viewers might be sought. The publication thus may have become the focus of a conversation, which then may have spun off at other, interesting tangents. With its variety of printed images, *L'Ymagier* demonstrates the utter richness and effectiveness of 'primitive' visual communication, which must have been extremely stimulating for any artist interested in printmaking. Hence, in my view, it is very likely that certain elements of *L'Ymagier* seeped into Munch's art.

I would like to demonstrate this notion by turning to Gourmont's lithograph *L'Annonciation*, published in *L'Ymagier* in January 1895 (see Fig.25.2). There is no doubt about this image being a lithograph: besides the fluidity of the black line and the autographic lettering, the major giveaway is the intricate net of black lines radiating from the Virgin, crossing over large parts of the image. It would have been difficult and time-consuming to cut such lines into wood, and highly unlikely for such a humble and unpretentious image. However, the purpose of the image was not to mimic the woodcut technique faithfully but to generate associations with historic popular imagery. Gourmont achieves this by reducing his palette to solid black ink set against white paper, employing mainly simple, bold lines and flat areas, and – last but not least – framing the whole image with a line that is generally associated with historic woodcut illustrations. *L'Ymagier* contains numerous historical as well as contemporary examples which share these characteristics. In addition to stylistic elements, one has also to consider the strategic placement of the image, rather suggestively positioned between two pages with German Renaissance

15. C. Gierløff, *Munch Selv*, Oslo, 1953, p.217. See also the unpublished diaries of Ludvig Ravensberg, e.g. entries 7 January 1910 (Munch Museum LR536), 17 April 1910 (Munch Museum LR377), 16 December 1914 (Munch Museum LRI94).

16. The overwhelming presence of all kinds of printed matter in Munch's home is vividly described by O. Myre, *Edvard Munch og hans boksamling*, Oslo, 1946, pp.7–9. The Munch Museum library holds more than 150 periodical titles from Munch's estate (with runs of various lengths).

17. *L'Ymagier*, 1 (October 1894), pp.5–9.

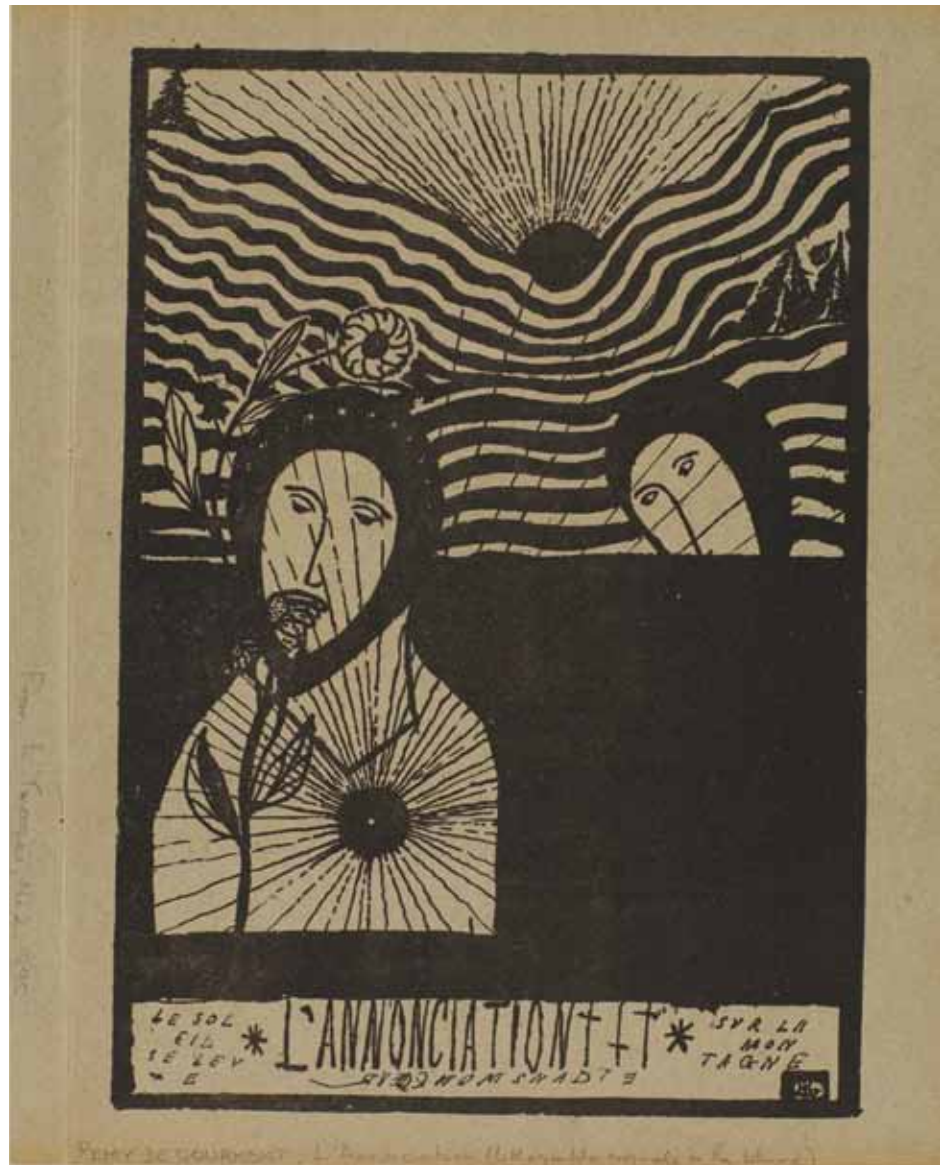


Fig.25.2 Remy de Gourmont, *L'Annonciation*, 1895. Lithograph, 23.7 × 16.7 cm (Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow)

woodcuts.¹⁸ It is not difficult to imagine that Munch would have wanted to achieve the very same effect with his lithograph *The Scream*, which carries exactly the same woodcut aesthetic.

In Munch's early oeuvre are three woodcut-like lithographs, all executed in 1895 and 1896 – probably just before he actually started making woodcuts: *The Scream*, *Angst* and *By the Deathbed*.¹⁹ The particular woodcut aesthetic of these prints has been observed in the literature,²⁰ though the significance of this observation remains essentially unexplored. The subjects of these three images all relate to the

18. *L'Ymagier*, 2 (January 1895), n.p. [p.118]. The preceding page shows Christoffel van Sichem after Albrecht Dürer, *The Seven Trumpets of the Apocalypse*, while the following page shows Hans Burgkmair's woodcut *St Gudule* (in reduction).

19. Woll 2001, *op. cit.* (note 2), nos.38, 63 and 64.

20. For example, Woll 2011, *op. cit.* (note 12), p.18.



rawest and most primeval emotion of existential fear. In my view, it is only natural that Munch should have sought an aesthetic that could best convey this emotional quality. After the putative experience of *L'Ymagier*, Munch would have been acutely aware of the power of simple, reductive images as found in historic and popular woodcuts. He may very well have adapted some of their key features such as the characteristic black woodcut line and a prominent framing device in order to recreate their archaic aura, thus underlining the monumentality and perpetual character of human anxiety.

Very interestingly, Munch did translate one of these lithographs into a woodcut: *Angst* in 1896. A comparison of the *Angst* lithograph and its woodcut version is extremely instructive in that it illustrates the essential aesthetic differences between Munch's conceptual and actual woodcut techniques. As with *The Scream*, one is struck by the sheer boldness of the lithograph, based on a strong contrast of the ink

Fig 25.3 Edvard Munch, *Angst*, 1896. Lithograph, 42 × 38.5 cm, Woll G 63 (Munch Museum, Oslo)

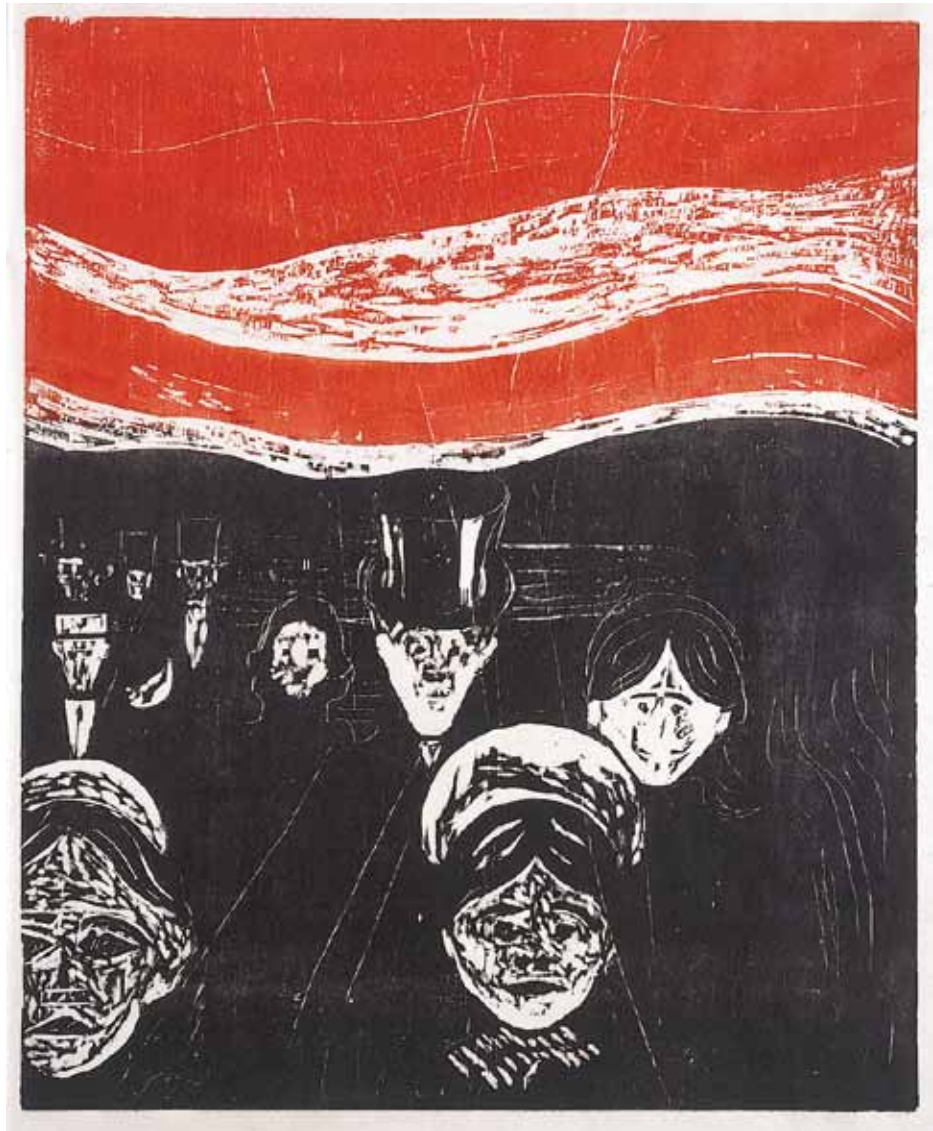


Fig 25.4 Edvard Munch, *Angst*, 1896. Woodcut, 46 × 37.5 cm, Woll G 93 (Munch Museum, Oslo)

against the paper, as well as a highly simplified representation (Fig. 25.3). The image is to a great extent built up by broad curvilinear lines, particularly in the middle ground and area of the sky. Although these lines are essentially fluid, thus betraying the real media (lithographic tusche), they are also of a certain angularity and thickness, which strongly allude to the traditional woodcut technique. The woodcut aesthetic is further enhanced by a general lack of fine shading lines or hatchings, which one often finds in Munch's other lithographs.²¹ Even a framing device is present, although only as an imaginary line. Little wonder that – like the *Scream* lithograph – this work has been mistaken for a woodcut – probably first and most famously in the index of Ambroise Vollard's print portfolio *Les Peintres-graveurs* (1896).²²

21. For example, *Madonna*, Woll 2001, *op. cit.* (note 2), no.39.

22. Arranged in alphabetical order, Munch's print is listed in fourteenth position: 'Munch – Le Soir: bois en deux couleurs'. For an illustration of the index page, see C. Drake, *Ambroise Vollard: éditeur Les peintres-graveurs 1895–1913*, exh. cat., London (Thos. Agnew & Sons), 1991, appendix A.

The woodcut *Angst* (Fig. 25.4) is quite different: it may be equally bold in its simplicity and stark contrasts, but note the absence of black descriptive lines. Instead the image relies almost entirely on the white line to define the image's various areas. The focus on white and black line woodcutting techniques may seem pedantic, but it is important to remind oneself of the technical implications of cutting these two types of lines. A black woodcut line can be achieved only by carefully cutting away all surrounding areas, which is not only time-consuming but also highly artificial; it is essentially an illusion and not a true record of the artist's hand. In contrast, a white woodcut line is a direct record of the cutting tools in the wood, leaving the untouched areas standing to be printed. Thus, it is the principles of the latter technique one tends to find in modern woodcut-making, including Munch's actual woodcut oeuvre.

If we return now to the woodcut-like lithograph *Angst*, we can appreciate that Munch emulated the authentic white-line technique very successfully, for instance in the figure group in the foreground, where the black lines have the sculptural quality of remaining areas. In contrast, the relatively fine and regularly executed black lines in the bay area are of a completely different quality, and – if they had been cut in wood – would have qualified as 'reproductive' rather than 'original' woodcut lines. The mixture of these two opposing woodcut aesthetics suggests that Munch, who had not yet produced any woodcuts himself, was still more concerned about creating the desired visual associations to the woodcut technique, which – from a historic perspective – could well be achieved by black woodcut lines.

Once Munch starts making woodcuts himself he seems to be less concerned about creating these visual associations. Instead, he explores the materials and technique in a most authentic fashion, thus creating wonderfully fresh and expressive results. The question is whether this stylistic change happened naturally, for reasons of practicality, as with other contemporary artists (see above), or whether he may yet again have adapted certain aspects of historical woodcuts. For example, Munch's rather rough approach to hand-colouring and his preference for large formats may be linked to hand-coloured broadsides as, for instance, published in *L'Ymagier*. Furthermore, the printing of colour woodcuts from several blocks and the use of the white-line cutting technique may partly stem from sixteenth-century Chiaroscuro woodcuts. If so, this must have been via a different, as yet unidentified source of inspiration; one seeks in vain for any chiaroscuro woodcut examples among *L'Ymagier's* many hundreds of illustrations. Further research will, it is hoped, shed some more light on these questions.

Munch Museum, Oslo



Fig 26.1 Zehnislov (?), John Heartfield leaving Prague, dedicated to 'meinem Freund Johnny', 1 December 1938. Pencil, 14.7 × 9.8 cm (AdK, JHA)

John Heartfield: A Political Artist's Exile in London

ANNA SCHULTZ

WHEN THE Berlin-based artist Helmut Herzfeld changed his name to John Heartfield in 1917 to protest against the anti-British sentiment in Germany, he made a clear and bold public statement. The name-change not only emphasised his anti-nationalist stance but consciously underlined his political affiliation with Britain. During the 1920s and 1930s he devoted his art to the struggle against fascism and National Socialism. Having invented the medium of the political photomontage, Heartfield created hundreds of hugely popular images, which were published in popular magazines such as the *Arbeiter-Illustrierte-Zeitung* (AIZ). Some of these visual symbols of the resistance (such as the dove being stabbed by a bayonet) have become iconic popular images, which are frequently referenced even today and have lost none of their poignancy. He drew upon popular source material, such as newspaper cuttings, which he reassembled in order to compose biting humorous and to-the-point images, drawing on a multitude of visual references which would have been immediately recognised.

Soon after Hitler's rise to power, Heartfield was forced to flee Berlin and settled in Prague, on account of his communist sympathies. Then on 7 December 1938, only three months before the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia, he fled to London (Fig. 26.1). The period he spent in north London has long been regarded as relatively unproductive; for reasons I will discuss later, he was unable to match his earlier success as a political artist. However, it was also a time in which he explored alternative modes of expression. An important influence, previously not studied in great detail, was his fascination with the works of popular cartoonists, most notably Vicky and David Low, whose cartoons in the form of newspaper cuttings he avidly collected. Alongside letters and photographs documenting his life in exile, the cartoon collection survives in the archives of the Akademie der Künste, Berlin, and has been examined for the first time in preparation for this essay.

Exhausted and traumatised, and not anticipating that London was to remain his home for the following twelve years, Heartfield initially stayed with Yvonne Kapp (1903–99), a Czech journalist, novelist and political activist.¹ Along with many other refugees who had escaped the Nazi terror, he was then interned as an 'enemy alien' when war was declared in September 1939. He was held in three different camps for a

I WOULD LIKE to thank my colleagues at the Akademie der Künste Michael Krejsa, Volker Landschof und Rosa von der Schulenburg. I would also like to extend my thanks to Bob Sondermeijer for his permission to publish the photographs.

1. In an interview Gertrud ('Tutti') Heartfield recalls him saying that his landlady had offered him on arrival a meal which he declined. Instead he went straight to bed and was overwhelmed by such a deep sleep that he did not wake up even when his door was forced open by 'two strong men'. See E. Siepmann, *Montage: John Heartfield. vom Club Dada zur Arbeiter-Illustrierten-Zeitung*, Berlin, 1977, p.222. For Yvonne Kapp see Y. Kapp, *Time will Tell: Memoirs*, London, 2003.

total of six weeks, before being released on health grounds. The internment was to have a lasting effect on his health: he contracted a crippling disease and suffered from recurring severe headaches.² Upon his release, he stayed in a room at 47 Downshire Hill in Hampstead;³ the house had previously belonged to the artist Richard Carline (1896–1980) and was at the time the home of the lawyer and artist Fred Uhlman (1901–85) and his wife Diana.⁴ The Uhlmans' house (where Heartfield was to live for six years) was a meeting point for many refugees and intellectuals, among them Heartfield's flatmate, the Marxist art historian Francis Klingender (1907–55), with whom he would maintain a close friendship throughout his life. Communist émigrés were generally met with prejudice and suspicion and, especially following the non-aggression-pact between Hitler and Stalin in June 1939,⁵ were often assumed to be Russian spies. Heartfield, who made no secret of his communist ideals, was under observation by MI5.⁶ In 1939 Uhlman set up the Free German League of Culture at his home.⁷ From 1941 the club, headed by Oskar Kokoschka and hugely popular with the growing community of émigrés, occupied an entire building at 36 Upper Park Road and was financially supported by the Russian Comintern. Heartfield actively contributed to its programme,⁸ and was also involved with the Artists' Refugee Committee whose prime goal was helping artists to escape Nazi-occupied Europe.⁹

Heartfield remained in constant fear of being reinterned until a letter from the Parliamentary Committee on Refugees in January 1941 informed him that his case was closed.¹⁰ However, his permit to reside in Britain was dependent on a decision to be taken by the Czech Refugee Trust Fund in London, to which he wrote increasingly desperate letters begging for permission to stay.¹¹ Eventually (and possibly

2. W. Herzfelde, *John Heartfield: Leben und Werk*, Dresden, 1962, p.75.

3. See A. Müller-Härlin, "'It all happened in this street, Downshire Hill': Fred Uhlman and the Free German League of Culture", in S. Behr and M. Malet, eds., *Arts in Exile in Britain 1933–45: Politics and Cultural Identity*, Amsterdam, 2005, pp.241ff; <http://blog.chestertonhumberts.com/chblog/wp-content/uploads/2010/01/The-History-of-No.47-Downshire-Hill.pdf>

4. Diana Uhlman was the daughter of Henry Page Croft; the couple married in November 1936 against her parents' wishes.

5. This must have been exceedingly painful for Heartfield, whose allegiance to Russia was severely tested by the agreement reached with Nazi Germany. See A. Coles, *John Heartfield: Ein Politisches Leben*, Cologne, 2014, pp.313ff. Coles's book came out only after the first draft of this text. He dedicates a whole chapter to Heartfield's life in London and gives a thorough account, pointing out that whilst Heartfield was unable to produce or publish work which would match up to his previous successes, these years were by no means idle, as was often proclaimed, first and foremost by Wieland Herzfelde (note 2). Whilst the book is a valuable source, Cole does not refer to or consult the material housed in the John-Heartfield-Archives of the Akademie der Künste, which is vital to a fuller understanding of Heartfield's time in the UK.

6. Coles, on the basis of recently released files in the National Archives, Kew, KV2/1010 and KV1011, claims that it can be proved beyond doubt that Heartfield had been a member of the OGPU (later KGB), the Russian secret police. Nevertheless, he was not regarded as a threat and one can assume that he was not actively spying; Coles, *op. cit.* (note 5), p.310.

7. C. Brinson and R. Dove, *Politics by Other Means: The Free German League of Culture in London 1939–1945*, London, 2010.

8. For example, Heartfield gave a mock-ballet performance as the 'Dying Swan', and for the play '4 & 20 Black Sheep' designed a stage set based on his iconic collage 'Hurra! Die Butter ist alle!'.

9. He was also actively engaged with the AIA (Artists' International Association).

10. 'Releases from internment on grounds of ill-health or under other categories of the White paper, are intended to be permanent. I do not think, therefore, that you need fear re-internment, but if any doubt arises as to your position, please get in touch with me without delay; or ask your local police to do so' (Berlin, Akademie der Künste, John-Heartfield-Archiv (hereafter cited as JHA), 460.

11. Letter to the Czech Refugee Trust Fund (1 April 1941), Helmut-Herzfeld-Archiv Nr.393. Deutsches



Fig 26.2 John Heartfield, *Kaiser Adolf*. Cover illustration of *Picture Post*, 34.5 × 25.7 cm (AdK, JHA)

helped by his contacts with Yvonne Kapp), he received a certificate, confirming his status as a 'political refugee, because of the danger in which he stood as a result of his political activities'.¹²

Like many émigrés, with only rudimentary command of English, not only was Heartfield unable to find work, he was also officially forbidden to do so, and was thus reliant on the financial generosity of his hosts. Fred Uhlman had, however, come to England penniless and unable to speak the language, and was living off his wife's fortune, a situation causing some tension with her parents. Dependency must have been even more humiliating for Heartfield, who had made all possible attempts to prepare for a life in England. While still living in Prague, but foreseeing his flight to England, he had submitted some of his photomontages to the newly founded magazine *Picture Post*, which published some of his work in the autumn of 1938 and even reproduced his iconic photomontage 'His Majesty Adolf' on its cover (Fig. 26.2).¹³ Through his engagement with *Picture Post* he was also in contact with many other cartoonists, notably the German illustrator and émigré Walter Trier (1890–1951).¹⁴ Trier's poster *What I remember most in one year's Picture Post* (7 October 1939) (Fig. 26.3), of which a copy exists in Heartfield's archive, features in vignette-like sketches of many people, events and themes Heartfield would also have encountered and reproduces a drawing of Heartfield's 'Kaiser Adolf' cover in Trier's style. Nevertheless, Heartfield's involvement with *Picture Post* was short-lived. This was partly because the publication had more of a tabloid character and was no substitute for the more politically critical AIZ, but mainly because Heartfield did not get on with the editor, Stefan Lorant.¹⁵

In November 1939, Heartfield's brother Wieland Herzfelde, to whom he was exceptionally close (they had spent years together in exile in Prague and a few months in London), was denied permanent residency in England but, having 'accidentally' been born in Switzerland, he and his family were granted permission to emigrate to the USA. Heartfield applied to follow him, but permission was denied, forcing him to remain in England and turning what was to have been a short stay into over a decade of continuous residence.

Humiliated by his experiences during imprisonment, and struggling to find work, Heartfield, despite his gratitude for having escaped Nazi terror which would most certainly have resulted in his death, reconciled himself only reluctantly to the idea of remaining in England. His overall mood was sombre; he was worrying about friends he had left behind – many of whom he would never see again – and the 'Burdens of War' were resting heavily on his shoulders (Fig. 26.4). Yet he felt

Exilarchiv 1933–1945 der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek, EB75/177). For a scan of the letter see <http://kuenste-im-exil.de/KIE/Content/EN/Objects/heartfield-czech-trust-fund-en.html?single=1>. For an English translation, see P. Pachnicke and K. Honnef, *John Heartfield*, New York, 1991, p.311.

12. The letter adds: 'He has not been given an opportunity to offer his services to this country, but we know that he is willing and anxious to help the cause of freedom in any way that he can' (JHA337).

13. A letter of 7 October 1938 from the editor Stefan Lorant to Heartfield's address in Prague announces the publication of some photomontages in the forthcoming issue and extends an invitation to London to 'talk about this matter [i.e. a future collaboration] more fully' (JHA337). A technical obstacle made collaboration with the magazine difficult. The *Picture Post* was not printed in the 'Kupfertiefdruckverfahren' (intaglio-copperplate-method), Heartfield's usual printing method, used for the AIZ.

14. Trier, who had emigrated to London in 1936, created many covers for *Lilliput* and is today best known in Germany for his illustrations for books by Erich Kästner.

15. Coles, *op. cit.* (note 5), pp.320ff.



Fig 26.5 *John Heartfield outside the British Museum, c.1940. Photograph, (AdK, JHA)*

obliged to continue his struggle against the fascist regime, if not (as the title of the monthly publication would suggest) from 'Inside Germany', then all the more from the safety of his refuge.

Finding Gertrud, known as Tutti, who became his third wife and was to remain his companion for the rest of his life, made him feel more at home. The couple met at the FGLC and soon were going on expeditions to explore London and the countryside. Family photographs show him outside the British Museum (Fig.26.5), at the grave of Karl Marx at Highgate Cemetery, dipping his feet in water, presumably the Men's Pond on Hampstead Heath, or sitting on a cannon, smiling and mimicking the pose of the 'fantastic liar, Baron Münchhausen', the character in German children's literature famous for claiming to have ridden on a flying cannon ball.

Despite extensive efforts, and various letters of reference,¹⁶ Heartfield did not obtain permission from the Home Office to work as a 'freelance cartoonist' until January 1943, and was therefore forced to explore other possibilities, such as working

16. Heartfield, armed with a doctor's certificate, tried to gain permission to work as a freelance cartoonist, stating that his ill health would prevent any other work. He also added references from '1. Die Zeitung, 2. Lindsay Drummond Ltd., 3. Martin Secker & Warburg Ltd, 4. The Hogarth Press (the publishing house run by Virginia and Leonard Woolf)' (JHA337).

as an inspector in the metal industry.¹⁷ According to his brother's account, political refugees were expected to live a 'gentlemanly' existence and refrain from any openly political statements, which meant that Heartfield had to consider alternative ways of making some money.¹⁸ Though he was revered by the leftist elite and had been acclaimed for his achievements since the 1920s, his reputation was nowhere near as prominent as it had been at the height of his career in Prague, shortly before he moved to England. From there his fame – and notoriety – had spread quickly through the publication of his photomontages in critical magazines such as the AIZ, and through posters which were targeted at the German audience, but had to be produced secretly and smuggled in from the relative safety of a neighbouring country.

The English audience were by and large less familiar with Heartfield's work and accordingly less responsive. Many of his photomontages bear a message which could have been and still can be understood without a detailed knowledge of political or historical trends or specific events; some were translated into English. However the majority directly addressed the suffering German population and drew upon visual imagery, as well as linguistic puns, nuances and subtleties, which were lost in translation. Heartfield therefore found it difficult to attract a British audience beyond the small circle of the refugee community.

Despite having no work permit, he did contribute to two small exhibitions,¹⁹ and the satirical magazine *Lilliput*²⁰ published a number of his photomontages (among them some as part of an exhibition review), as did the Sunday paper *Reynolds News*. For this Heartfield published ten small-scale photomontages including, in December 1939, 'The voice that Hitler fears', which accompanied an article about the 'Freedom station', a secret (dissident) German radio station. Heartfield went to some lengths to produce the photomontage accompanying the short text, which, in an extended version, also appeared as a pamphlet published by Frederick Muller Ltd. and financed by the FGLC. In order to achieve the optimum result, he not only posed as the broadcaster seated in the background with his back turned towards the viewer;²¹ more remarkably, the head of Hitler is also mounted on a photograph of Heartfield's own body for which he posed with his hands clenched to his ears (Fig. 26.6).²² To keep himself busy and to generate a modest income, he also gave lectures, drawing on an impressive range of art-historical topics, including

17. Letter forwarded by the Czech Refugee Trust Fund, 114 Richmond Hill, Richmond, Surrey (JHA337).

18. 'von den politischen Behörden wurde den Emigranten aller Schattierungen zur Pflicht gemacht, sich politisch nicht zu betätigen ... Auch durften sie keinem Beruf oder Erwerb nachgehen, Die einzelnen Gastgeber erwarteten, daß ihre Schutzbefohlenen sich wie Gentlemen benahmen, also den Sitten und Maßstäben des jeweiligen Haushalts anpaßten, sich sorgfältig kleideten und ihre politischen, religiösen und künstlerischen Anschauungen zwar ehlich, aber niemals kategorisch oder gar verletzend äußerten. Ein Blatt wie die AIZ (oder die Volksillustrierte) herauszugeben war also nicht nur aus geschäftlichen Gründen unmöglich.' Herzfelde, *op. cit.* (note 1), p.72.

19. At the London Gallery on Cork Street and at the Arcade Gallery ('One man's war against Hitler'). See R. Carline, 'John Heartfield in England', in J. Drew, ed., *John Heartfield 1891–1968: Photomontages*, exh. cat., London (Institute of Contemporary Arts), 1969, pp.22–24.

20. In 1939 this was hugely popular, with a print run of 260,000.

21. Coles, *op. cit.* (note 5), p.327, admits a resemblance with Heartfield but, not having visited the Akademie der Künste's archives, is unaware of the direct source material.

22. In a first version of the photomontage (JHA895), Heartfield still used a cut-out photo of Hitler's head, but apparently he was not entirely content with the composition. The practice of posing for figures in his photomontages was frequently employed by Heartfield, e.g. 'Hey Stop, Max! He is still in Power', published by *Reynolds News*.



Fig 26.6a John Heartfield, Self-portrait. Preparatory photograph for the photomontage *Freedom calling*, 1939, 13.4 × 13.7 cm (AdK, JHA)

a discussion of how a Nazi magazine could have printed a lithograph by Daumier;²³ the work of his friend Grosz; 'A walk through the "isms" of Painting'; and 'What Breughel can teach us' (*Was uns Bauern-Breughel zu sagen hat*).²⁴ He also worked as an editor, and produced stage props,²⁵ thus contributing actively to the programme of the 'Kulturbund'.

Unsurprisingly, and probably with the plan of returning to his favoured artistic medium, photomontage, he amassed a collection of photographs ordered from press agencies, among them exceedingly gruesome images of the victims murdered by the Nazi regime, many of them depicting piled-up bodies of murdered Jews in concentration camps and executed communists, most of which he did not use in his work.²⁶

23. J. Heartfield, 'Daumier im Reich', *Freie Deutsche Kultur* [German Anti-Nazi-Monthly], 2 (February 1942).

24. A postcard of Pieter Breughel the Elder's painting *The Poor Eating the Rich* (Statens Museum Copenhagen) survives in the Heartfield archive (JHA2079).

25. For example in November 1941 he made a satirical portrait painting of Bismarck, which might have been part of a larger stage set for the play *Hauptmann von Köpenick*, staged at Laterndl, an amateur theatre maintained by Austrian émigrés located at 69 Eton Avenue, Swiss Cottage, London NW3 (JHA1687).

26. A supplier of photographs Heartfield frequented was Keystone, a picture agency located on Fleet Street. The stamp or inscriptions on the verso of the photographs usually indicate that the pictures



He also vigorously explored the work of his British colleagues and assembled a large collection of newspaper cuttings, which survives in the archives of the Akademie der Künste, Berlin. It is noticeable that he was drawn to images which resembled his own visual language, such as the photo of a potato in the shape of Hitler's head, entitled 'Po-Tater'. Heartfield was a particular fan of the cartoonist David Low, famed for his strong anti-Nazi stance. He bought the *Evening Standard* every day on his way home in order not to miss any of Low's cartoons, hundreds of which survive in his archive.²⁷ He also owned copies of Low's books such as the compilation *Low's War Cartoons* and *Low Again: A Pageant of Politics – with Colonel Blimp*, which may have been given to him by Low himself. He was apparently so struck by the dark humour evident in Low's response to a reader's letter that he added this clipping to his archives (Fig. 26.7).

One can also detect an echo of Heartfield's photomontage in the cartoons of Wyndham Robinson, such as 'The Swasticle', which shows Hitler with a moustache

Fig.26.6b. John Heartfield, preliminary design for the photomontage *Freedom calling*, 1939, 36 × 25 cm (AdK, JHA)

were to be returned, a request which Heartfield obviously ignored as the images were still in his possession after he had returned to Berlin and remained with him until his death in 1968.

27. 'Bald befinde ich mich auf dem Heimweg. Wie üblich kaufe ich mir noch den "Evening Standard", um nicht eine Zeichnung von Low zu versäumen'; E. Siepmann and J. Holtfreter, eds., *Montage: John Heartfield: vom Club Dada zur Arbeiter-Illustrierten-Zeitung; Dokumente – Analysen – Berichte*, Berlin, 1983, p.23.



Fig. 26.7 *Low company*: David Low's response to a reader's letter, from *The Evening Standard*, c.1940 (AdK, JHA)

made out of a swastika and hammer and sickle, a poignant comment on the non-aggression pact between Russia and Germany.²⁸ Heartfield had comparatively little talent as a cartoonist and, rather than developing toned-down and perhaps less radical photomontages for the English market, he more or less abandoned the medium, working instead as a book designer for a series of publishing houses. Between 1943 and 1949, he worked for the newly founded Lindsay Drummond Ltd. The programme of this publishing house, with its focus on nature themes (ornithology, flowers etc.), was little suited to Heartfield's political interests. The more political publications for which he designed the covers, such as *The Future of the Jews* (1945), bear little resemblance to the work he had created before and during the war years. Either the driven agitator had vanished with the war's ending or, after years of adversity, he was suffering from fatigue and resignation. He did, however, come up with some original designs and was also able to oversee the printing processes. We can assume that he was at least content to have found work which paid him a regular income.²⁹

In 1946 Heartfield was actively involved in the publication of the book *The Pen Is Mightier*,³⁰ a collection of wartime cartoons, which reproduced work previously published in newspapers but also drew upon his own collection of drawings by fellow campaigners. He owned at least two drawings by Victor Weisz (1913–66), better known as Vicky, a fellow Berliner who had emigrated to London in 1935 and had quickly managed to establish himself as a successful cartoonist; one of the drawings is reproduced in *The Pen Is Mightier*. Vicky's success with the British public may be credited to his ability to adapt more swiftly and successfully than Heartfield to British culture by intensively studying English language and literature and referring to it in his cartoons – from nursery rhymes to Shakespeare.³¹

Vicky served as an inspiration to Heartfield, who collected the cartoons that appeared in *The News Chronicle*, *Daily Mirror* and the *Evening Standard*. In turn, Heartfield's method of composing a poignant image by assembling a variety of significant markers was adopted by Vicky in his image of a 'Super-world-statesman',³² composed of 'Franco's nose (to put out of joint), Tito's fist (to clench), Truman's glasses (to see red), Winston's cigar (to cloud the issue)' etc. Heartfield kept this cartoon, which he may have regarded as an *hommage* to his own work.

After Heartfield's marriage to Tutti Fietz they moved into number 1 Jackson's Lane in Highgate, the house of his friend the German doctor Otto Manasse. In the flat the couple, who shared a deep love for animals, lived with a number of cats, among them the beautiful Grumpy and

28. See note 3.

29. Heartfield also worked for Dennis Dobson Ltd, and between 1949 and 1950 for Penguin Books.

30. J(oachim) J(oe) Lynx (ed.), *The Pen Is Mightier: An Anthology of Allied War Cartoons, The Story of War in Cartoons*, Lindsay Drummond Ltd, London, 1946. The Akademie der Künste's John-Heartfield-Archiv houses the drawings by Vicky for this publication as well as Walter Trier's design for the cover.

31. For a detailed analysis on émigré cartoonists in London, see R. Neugebauer (von der Schulenburg), *Zeichnen im Exil – Zeichen des Exils: Handzeichnung und Druckgraphik deutschsprachiger Emigranten ab 1933*, Weimar, 2003, pp.88–130.

32. JHA1848.

another known as the King of Highgate (the captions in the photograph albums call them 'our children'). At his departure from the Uhlmans' house, Heartfield was given by Fred Uhlman a pair of rabbits, which quickly multiplied in number, forcing Heartfield, as Uhlmann records in his autobiography, to spend hours every day gathering food for them on Hampstead Heath.³³ Heartfield kept the rabbits in the garden but once they managed to escape among the passengers on a Routemaster bus.³⁴

It was a modest existence, somewhat removed from the fame Heartfield had achieved before his emigration. By 1949 he seems to have relaxed, painting water-colours of picturesque cottages on holiday in Cornwall, and designing patterns for ceramic vessels. Although he had never fully settled in England, when he was offered a professorship in East Berlin in 1950, he was hesitant: not only because he was suffering from a dislocated vertebra, from which he took some time to recover, but also because the idea of moving back to the country from which he had been forced to flee must have triggered mixed emotions. After acceptance of the appointment, the return to Berlin was to prove challenging in many respects. Although the Heartfields remained in contact with many of the friends they had made in London³⁵ they did not return to Britain until 1967. None the less, throughout their lives they remained sentimentally attached to the country and people that provided them with a home – and a happy one – at a time when Europe experienced its darkest moments.

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33. F. Uhlmann, *The Making of an Englishman*, London, 1960, p.214, quoted from Pachnicke and Honnef (note 11), p.401.

34. Carline, *op. cit.* (note 19).

35. Heartfield kept many letters he received, among them those sent to him by his friend and fellow émigré Wilhelm Sternfeld (1888–1973). In these personal accounts, Sternfeld kept Heartfield up to date with the goings on in London, informing him of notable cultural events, what their friends were up to, address changes and deaths, and fondly as well as humorously remembering social times the friends had spent together: For example in a letter dated 22 September 1952: 'Bitte lass mich wissen, wann ich den Nekrolog fuer Dich schreiben darf, Sei sicher, dass ich darin sagen werde, Du hättest jeden Tag einen fetten Kapitalisten gefressen und zum Abendessen zwei, dass Du aber sonst ein ganz passabler Kerl und ein guter Kamerad gewesen seiest [...] Prosit Johny [*sic*]! Ich trinke eine Kaffeetasse auf Dein Wohl – mit Whisky gefüllt natürlich!' JHA258.



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